Vihagottama – Superbird The multifaceted life of Jean Philippe Vogel



Edited by Lennart Bes, Alied de Cock and Dory Heilijgers

This volume is published on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern (VVIK, Society of Friends of the Kern Institute). The Sanskrit term Vihagottama, Superbird or in Dutch Oppervogel, was a nickname for professor Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958), to whom this work is devoted. Vogel was a Sanskritist and archaeologist, and also the founder of both the VVIK and Leiden's Indological centre, the Kern Institute. In this volume, the VVIK presents seven articles about various aspects of Vogel's multifaceted life, highlighting his countless and varied activities, his extensive network and his rich legacy up to the present day.

Vihagottama – Superbird

The multifaceted life of Jean Philippe Vogel

Published on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute Leiden, 1 December 2024

Edited by
Lennart Bes
Alied de Cock
Dory Heilijgers

Cover illustration: drawing by Johan Huizinga showing Jean Philippe Vogel as "Superbird" at the top, with the Sanskrit term *Vihagottama* next to his left temple, ca. 1921 (for an extensive explanation, see Chapter 2).

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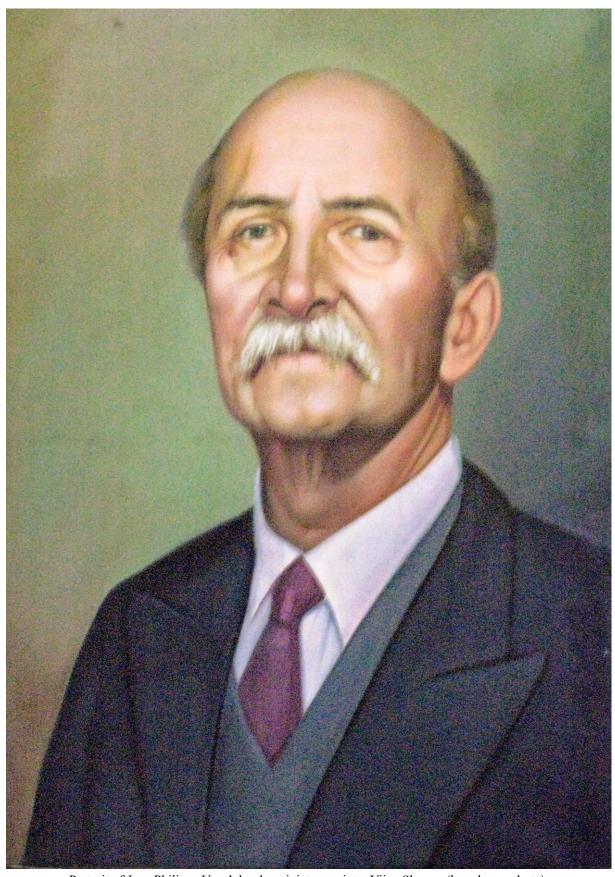
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Portrait of Jean Philippe Vogel, by the miniature painter Vijay Sharma (based on a photo), Chamba (Himachal Pradesh, India), oil painting, ca. 2007.

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Preface

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* (VVIK, Society of Friends of the Kern Institute), the board of the VVIK presents this book, titled *Vihagottama – Superbird: the multifaceted life of Jean Philippe Vogel*, with pride and gratitude. The Sanskrit term *Vihagottama*, in Dutch *Oppervogel*, was used by the historian Johan Huizinga and Sanskritist Christian C. Uhlenbeck as a nickname for professor Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958) – Sanskritist, archaeologist and founder of the VVIK – to whom this book is devoted.

Vogel was born in The Hague on 9 January 1871. After finishing the *gymnasium* (grammar school), he studied Dutch language and literature at the University of Amsterdam, where he also took up Sanskrit under professor Uhlenbeck, together with Huizinga. Later, he studied Sanskrit literature under professor Hendrik Kern at Leiden University, receiving his *kandidaats* diploma ("BA") in 1893 and his *doctoraal* diploma ("MA") in 1895. In 1897, he obtained his PhD in Sanskrit under the supervision of Uhlenbeck, after which he became a *privaatdocent* (private teacher) at the University of Amsterdam.

Between 1899 and 1913, Vogel travelled across India, where he was appointed superintendent of the "Northern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India" (present-day Pakistan, Kashmir and Punjab), based at Lahore and introduced by the archaeologist and explorer Mark Aurel Stein. From 1910 to 1912, he replaced John Marshall as the director-general of archaeology for the entire South Asian subcontinent.

In 1913, Vogel went back to the Netherlands, where he held the chair in Sanskrit and Indian antiquities at Leiden University from 1914 to 1939. During his career he published many books and articles, including, between 1928 and 1939, the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology (ABIA)*. He passed away in Oegstgeest on 10 April 1958.

The VVIK – then named *Vereniging Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute Society) – was founded on 1 December 1924 by Vogel, who served as its first chairman from 1925 to 1939. Co-founder professor Nicolaas J. Krom was the Society's second chairman until 1945, when he was succeeded by professor Frederik D.K. Bosch, who resigned in 1959. After a period of inactivity, the Kern Institute's librarian Hanneke J. 't Hart-van den Muyzenberg, the honorary secretary Dr. Pieter H. Pott and Dr. Johannes Bronkhorst initiated a new era for the Society, changing its name from *Vereniging Instituut Kern* into *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* in 1986. The Society's logo adopted at this time was borrowed from Vogel's work, *De zegelring van Râksjasa door Wisjâkhadatta: Indisch tooneelspel uit het Sanskrit en Prâkrit in het Nederlandsch vertaald* (The signet ring of Rākṣasa by Viśākhadatta: Indian theatre play translated from Sanskrit and Prakrit into Dutch), published in 1946. Drawn by the artist Gunhild Kristensen, the logo depicts two peacocks carved on the eastern *toraṇa* (gateway) of Sanchi's great *stūpa*.

One of Vogel's main goals was to establish an institute at Leiden University for research and education on the archaeology and art history of South and Southeast Asia. Opening its doors on 4 April 1925, this institute was named *Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute) after professor Hendrik Kern, who in 1865 had been appointed Leiden's first professor of Sanskrit. In the course of the twentieth century, the Kern Institute developed into an establishment for the study of India and Tibet in the broadest sense. The Institute and its extensive library achieved international acclaim. Closely cooperating with Leiden University, in 1960 the Society reached an agreement on a partial delegation of the management of its collections and staff to the university. In the 1970s and 1980s, all separate university institutes, including the Kern Institute, were formally abolished.

Thus, while the Kern Institute itself no longer exists, the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute is still active, operating separately from Leiden University's current South and Southeast Asian Studies

programme. Presently, at its hundredth anniversary, the VVIK has about one hundred members, inside and outside academia, all of whom are in one way or another involved in the study of India or Tibet.

In this volume, we present seven articles about various aspects of the multifaceted life of Jean Philippe Vogel, highlighting his countless and varied activities, his extensive network and his rich legacy up to the present day. In the first chapter, Sanne Dokter-Mersch describes Vogel's great efforts to found, first, the Kern Institute Society and next the Kern Institute itself. In Chapter 2, Peter C. Bisschop considers Vogel's life-long friendship with Johan Huizinga, as expressed in three drawings by the latter. The third chapter, by Gerda Theuns-de Boer, explores Vogel's many journeys and other activities in India between 1901 and 1912 as an employee of the Archaeological Survey of India. In Chapters 4 and 5, Ellen M. Raven discusses two of Vogel's legacies: the extensive wanderings of the Society's collections over the decades and the precarious history of the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology*, respectively. Chapter 6, by Dory Heilijgers, details Vogel's numerous studies and publications on an amazingly wide range of subjects. In the last chapter, Peter C. Bisschop returns with an overview of Vogel's Sanskrit and English letters to the Kashmiri Pandit Nityanand Shastri. In all these articles, the individual authors have followed their own preferences with regard to diacritical marks and (to some extent) annotation and the spelling of names.

As the board of the VVIK, we wholeheartedly thank the volume's authors, editors and sponsors for their efforts to do justice to Vogel's rightful reputation as *Vihagottama*, Superbird and *Oppervogel*.

Peter Bisschop (chairman)
Alied de Cock (secretary/treasurer)
Sanne Dokter-Mersch (2nd secretary)
Ellen Raven
Lennart Bes

Leiden, November 2024

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1.

Jean Philippe Vogel, the founding father of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* (VVIK)

Sanne Dokter-Mersch

This year, in 2024, the hundred-year anniversary of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* (VVIK, Society of Friends of the Kern Institute) is celebrated. This Society aims to bring together people who are interested in pre-modern South Asia. The Society organizes lectures on different aspects of Indology, from Sanskrit literature to Indian archaeology, from Hindu philosophies to Buddhist iconography. Its members are academics who teach and do research in the field of Indology in the broadest sense of the word, as well as people who study it in their leisure time. However, the organization of lectures was just one of the activities of the Society as it was designed by Jean Philippe Vogel, the man celebrated in this volume. In 1924, he and his colleague Nicolaas Johannes Krom founded the *Vereniging Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute Society), with the aim to establish and maintain a new institute for Indian archaeology in Leiden, named after one of the most famous Dutch Indologists, Hendrik Kern. In 1925, the Kern Institute as a physical entity opened its doors and flourished in the decades following. However, the foundation and the continuation of the Institute and its Society did not come about without a struggle. For this article, I dove into the archives of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* in order to get a glimpse of the painstaking process of establishing this new institute and its early years.¹

The first letters in the archives are from the autumn of 1924. On 8 November 1924, on behalf of the provisional board of the Kern Institute Society, Vogel and Krom sent a letter to colleagues and other potentially interested people. In this letter, they outlined their plans to establish a new institute for Indian archaeology and art history in Leiden, associated with the University of Leiden. It should serve as a research institute, as well as a place for teaching and collecting books, inscriptions, photos and art. Although the focus would be on India and Indonesia, culturally associated neighbouring countries, such as Persia, Turkestan, Tibet, China and Japan, would find their place at the Institute too. With this writing, Vogel and Krom did not only hope to find sympathizers for the project, but also dared to kindly ask for donations, no matter how small and in what form. After all, they were confident that "out of this small beginning, in due time, an institute will grow that meets the fame of the Eastern studies in the Netherlands and meets the importance of the wise man after whom it will be named."²

For this new institute to become a success, money and other donations were not the only means needed; it also needed members and supporters. Vogel and Krom, therefore, asked the recipients of the letter whether they were willing to accept membership of the to-be-founded Kern Institute Society and to sign a circular. This circular, expressing the aims of the Institute, was planned to be sent out shortly thereafter to an even larger group of potential supporters.

As the provisional board impatiently awaited replies, they established the *Vereniging Instituut Kern*. The Society had "the goal to establish and maintain an Institute for Indian archaeology at the

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¹ The archives of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* are kept by the Society itself at Leiden. All letters discussed here are in the file "Ontvangen brieven A-Z, Instituut Kern Lidmaatschappen en Leden; Oprichting," section "Oprichting Inst. Kern."

² "Wij vertrouwen echter dat uit dit kleine begin allengs een instelling zal groeien beantwoordend aan den roem der Oostersche studiën in Nederland en aan de beteekenis van den geleerde wiens naam het zal dragen."

Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, called Instituut Kern," as stated in the statutes.³ The Society was officially founded on 1 December 1924 – the birthdate of the still existing Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern.

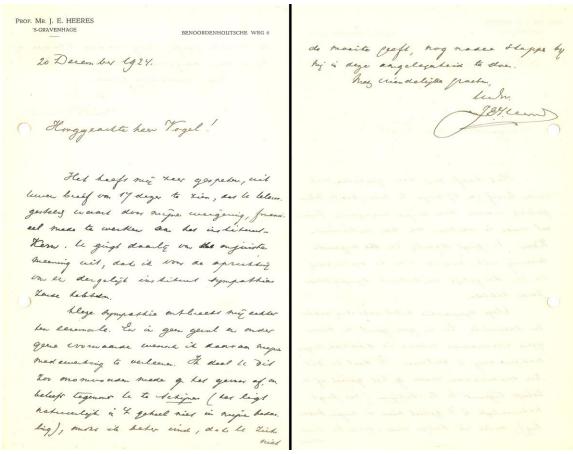


Figure 1.1. Letter by J.E. Heeres to J.Ph. Vogel, 20 December 1924.

Meanwhile, Vogel as the president and the other members of the board⁴ started receiving responses to their letter. The reactions were not tender. According to A.C. Mees, for example, there were already so many societies struggling with decreasing members, that it was not desirable to establish new ones.⁵ An even more direct reply came from J.E. Heeres (figure 1.1), who wrote that the board was wrong to think that he "would have sympathy for the foundation of such an institute. Such sympathy lacks, however, completely. And in no circumstance and under no condition, I wish to lend cooperation." The most critical of them all came from The Hague on 26 November 1924.7 The author expressed several

³ "Art. 1. De vereeniging: Instituut Kern, heeft ten doel het stichten en in stand houden van een Instituut voor Indische archaeologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, genaamd: Instituut Kern."

⁴ The members of the board were J.Ph. Vogel, N.J. Krom, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, A.W. Byvanck, J.H. Kramers, R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka and M.W. de Visser.

⁵ "In beleefd antwoord op Uwe letteren van 18 [sic] dezer meld ik U van meening te zijn dat de tijd nog niet daar is om te streven naar nieuwe stichtingen in den geest als de door U bedoelde. Door de ongunst der tijden hebben reeds verschillende bestaande vereenigingen en stichtingen een moeilijk leven; verscheidene zagen en zien nog den kring hunner contribuanten verminderen."

⁶ "U gingh daarbij van de onjuiste meening uit, dat ik voor de oprichting van een dergelijk instituut sympathie zoude hebben. Deze sympathie ontbreekt mij echter ten eenenmale. En in geen geval en onder gene voorwaarde wensch ik daaraan myne medewerking te verleenen."

⁷ Unfortunately, the name of the person is illegible.

complaints. "I could get over the objection that I am asked to sign a circular of which I was not involved in its redaction." However, his main complaint was that "where You want to present Your Institute as a national institution, in Your provisional board, I only see names from within Leiden." Vogel must have responded quickly to this writing, for on 30 November another letter was written. Apparently, the aforementioned author was not able to get over the fact that he was not involved in the redaction process of the circular after all. In response to Vogel's answer that the board appreciated the cooperation of people from other places (than Leiden), he argued that cooperation apparently only meant the signing of the circular, which moreover had already been sent out to the national press. The writer of the letter seemed to feel excluded and part of the grudge was likely rooted there. It was clear that the two men would not come to an agreement and the correspondence ended here. It is praiseworthy that the board did not suspend their efforts as a result of critical letters like this.

Fortunately, there were also many positive reactions to the board's plans. Already after five days, it received a positive response from J.C. Overvoorde that his name could be added to the list and that he would initially pay 5 guilders as an annual contribution and would consider raising this amount once the Institute would be in a better-defined state (figure 1.2). And H. ter Kuile, for example, signed the circular and provided the board with 35 names of people who might be interested in supporting the Institute as well. Although none of them appeared at the final circular, the circular nevertheless counted 52 names. This must have been enough to convince others about the importance of the Institute, because on 4 April 1925, the Kern Institute opened its doors at the Gravensteen in Leiden.

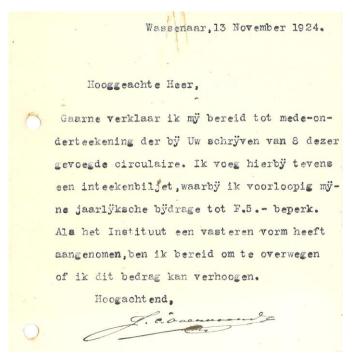


Figure 1.2. Letter by J.C. Overvoorde to J.Ph. Vogel, 13 November 1924.

⁸ "Over het bezwaar, dat van my gevergd wordt eene circulaire mede te onderteekenen aan welker redactie ik part noch deel heb gehad, zoude ik gemakkelyk heen kunnen stappen."

⁹ "Myn hoofdbezwaar is echter, dat, waar U Uw Instituut tot een nationale instelling wilt maken, ik in Uw voorloopig bestuur slechts Leidsche namen zie."

¹⁰ "U rept in Uw brief van het feit "dat wy de medewerking van personen van elders niet alleen wenschen maar zelfs byzonder op prys stellen". Denkt U zich die medewerking in myn geval b.v. zòò, dat U my verscheidene weken na Uw eerste besprekingen een gedrukte circulaire toezendt, waarvan verlangd wordt dat ik ze slechts onderteeken, terwyl zy reeds gelyktydig in de pers verschynt (N.R.C. enz.)? Onder steun wordt in dit geval dan niet anders verstaan dan verlof tot plaatsen van een onderteekening onder een circulaire die kant en klaar is."

The local newspaper, *Leidsch Dagblad*, was there to record the celebration and published Vogel's speech spoken that afternoon in slightly abbreviated form (*Leidsch Dagblad* 4 April 1925, 2-3). First, Vogel addressed the mayor of Leiden, N.Ch. de Gijselaar, who, long before the plans for the Kern Institute were worked out, supported Vogel to establish a new institute. The *Leidsch Universiteitsfonds* (Leiden University Fund) was thanked because of their generous donation of 1,000 guilders with which the Kern Institute Society bought furniture. Vogel then addressed the director of the university library, F.C. Wieder, who decided to lend books on Indian archaeology, so that the Institute was able to accommodate students and researchers with books as long as it had limited financial resources. Even family members of the late professor Kern were present. Vogel thanked them for a portrait of Kern, a reproduction of the portrait by Jan Veth present in the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam, which they had offered to the Institute. The festive opening was not only the moment to thank people, but also to reiterate the Institute's goals. As Vogel continued, it was not only the aim to create a space for students and researchers in Leiden, but also to send young Dutch scholars to India to study monuments there and to participate in excavations. After all, India "contains in her lap the remains of an endless number of old cities, buildings and art works, awaiting a spade."

Once the Institute was officially opened, it initiated various activities. Its achievements, ventures, acquisitions, as well as its (financial) challenges were documented in annual reports, published by E.J. Brill. Already in its early days the Institute became famous for its extensive collection of books, photographs, sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions and other materials relevant to the study of Indian archaeology in its broadest sense. Another important, international achievement was the publication of the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology (ABIA)*, documenting publications on Indian archaeology and related topics. The first volume appeared in 1928, cataloguing and describing publications from 1926. To this very day, *ABIA* is not only used worldwide, it is still continuing as an online version called *ABIA* – *South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index* (https://bibliographies.brill.com/ABIA/). Vogel himself was member of the editorial board for the first twelve volumes, covering the years from 1926 to 1937 and published between 1928 and 1939 (Heilijgers 2013-present). It must have been difficult to continue the publications all those years, since the first years of the Kern Institute Society were characterized by financial problems. The years between 1930 and 1933 were particularly difficult due to the decrease of donations, contributions and annual subsidies from the Dutch government and the government of the Dutch East Indies (Vogel 1934, 1 and 6). The

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¹¹ The Kern Institute was able to buy furniture from the Hôpital Wallon at the Papengracht in Leiden for a low price, since it had just gone bankrupt (Vogel 1935, 5).

¹² The reproduction is still in the collection of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern*. The original portrait is also still present in the Trippenhuis (www.knaw.nl/nl/het-trippenhuis).

¹³ "Dat groote Noord-Indië, waarvan gij een kaart voor u ziet, bergt in haar schoot de overblijfselen van een oneindig aantal oude steden, gebouwen en kunstwerken, die wachten op de spade." (Leidsch Dagblad 4 April 1925, 3).

¹⁴ According to Vogel, the library even belonged to the top three libraries of the world. "I do not consider myself bragging, when I say that the library of our Institute in the field of Indian archaeology is more complete than any other, except that of the "India Office" in London and that of the British-Indian Archaeological Service in Simla" (Vogel 1935, 8, translation from Dutch: "Ik meen mij niet schuldig te maken aan snoeverij, wanneer ik zeg dat de boekerij van ons Instituut op het gebied der Indische oudheidkunde vollediger is dan eenige andere behalve die van het "India Office" te Londen en die van den Britsch-Indischen Oudheidkundigen Dienst te Simla.").

¹⁵ See Ellen Raven's article in this volume (no. 5) on Vogel's contribution to the foundation of the *ABIA* and its first years.

board of the Kern Institute Society must have had the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* high on its agenda, as it always pursued the continuation of the bibliography even in those difficult times. ¹⁶

In 1939, Vogel retired after 25 years of professorship at the University of Leiden. With his retirement, he also resigned from the editorial board of the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology*, as well as from the board of the Kern Institute Society. However, in the last annual report written by him as the chairman of the Society, it is said that he continued as honorary chairman of the Society. I could not think of a more proper token of gratitude to the founding father of the Kern Institute Society. I wonder whether he would have ever thought that the Society would one day celebrate its hundred-year anniversary.

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Vogel, Jean Philippe. 1934. Instituut Kern, Leiden – Jaarverslag 1930-1933. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Vogel, Jean Philippe. 1935. De arbeid van het Instituut Kern 1925-1935. Rede uitgesproken door den voorzitter Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, bij de herdenking van het tienjarig bestaan van het Instituut op 6 april 1935. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

¹⁶ Besides the annual reports, information about the first ten years of the existence of the Kern Institute can be found in Vogel's celebration speech at the Institute's ten-year anniversary in 1935, which has been published in that same year under the title *De arbeid van het Instituut Kern 1925-1935* (Vogel 1935). Vogel's speech is not only rich in information on the collection, finances, publications and other activities of the Institute, it is also a joy to read thanks to Vogel's eloquence.

¹⁷ At this occasion, Vogel received a bust made by P.L. Damsté (see figure 4.8 in this volume), which is still in the collection of the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* and on display in one of the buildings of the faculty of Humanities of the University of Leiden.

2.

Jean Philippe Vogel and Johan Huizinga: three drawings by Huizinga

Peter C. Bisschop

The Dutch historian Johan Huizinga and Jean Philippe Vogel were lifelong friends. Huizinga embarked on a study of Dutch languages at the University of Groningen in 1891. Since Sanskrit formed a regular part of the curriculum of Dutch studies in those days, in accordance with the Higher Education Act of 1876, Huizinga also had to take up Sanskrit. His Sanskrit teacher in Groningen was Jacob Speijer, about whom Huizinga would later write that he never had any better teacher. Huizinga had a strong passion for linguistics and, under the supervision of Speijer, wrote his PhD thesis on a Sanskrit subject: *De vidûşaka in het Indisch tooneel* (The Vidūṣaka in Indian theatre) (1897). In the same year he took up private Sanskrit lessons with Speijer's own teacher, Hendrik Kern, in Leiden.

It is in these circumstances that he must have met and befriended Jean Philippe Vogel. In September 1899, they attended the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome together, after which Vogel journeyed on to India. Unlike his fellow student, Huizinga did not continue on the path of Indology, but became one of the world's major historians of culture, authoring historical classics such as *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen / Autumntide of the Middle Ages* (1919), *Erasmus* (1924), *Homo Ludens: proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur / Homo Ludens: a study of the play element in culture* (1938) and *Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw / Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century* (1941).²

While Huizinga was first and foremost a historian, he was also a gifted maker of drawings and caricatures. Three of his drawings of Vogel and himself are known, the first two of which come from the collections of the Kern Institute now held at the Leiden University Library. Their current whereabouts and access numbers are unknown.³

The first is a drawing on a postcard dated 18 June 1898 (figure 2.1). It has been published once before in the first volume of Huizinga's edited letters. The drawing depicts Vogel as a sturdy Dutch man cycling through the puddles in the pouring rain. In the headlight two Hindu deities are shown. The first is a four-armed Viṣṇu, in a seated position, holding the mace (gadā), discuss (cakra) and a third object that cannot be easily identified, perhaps the conch shell (śańkha)? Next to him sits a cheerful four-armed Gaṇeśa with a trident in his upper left hand and an unidentifiable object in his lower right hand. His upper right hand appears to be cheering Vogel on and with his lower left he seems to be guiding him the way. The accompanying text in Dutch reads: "Zijt gij droog overgekomen?" (Have you come across dry?), along with two names: "Tjeenk" and "Huizinga." The card was sent from Haarlem, where Huizinga was a teacher of history at the high school (HBS Haarlem) at the time. Vogel himself was

¹ Huizinga 1947, 21: "In 1913 heb ik aan zijn graf getuigd, dat ik geen beter leermeester heb gekend."

² For an insightful account of his move from Indology to Dutch and European history, see Huizinga 1947.

³ The images are reproduced from Huizinga 1989.

⁴ Huizinga 1989, 27, no. 6.

⁵ This refers to the publisher Herman Diederik Tjeenk Willink jr (1872-1945). Huizinga often visited the family of his father, the publisher H.D. Tjeenk Willink sr. See Huizinga 1989, 27.

private teacher of Indian literary history at the University of Amsterdam from 1897 to 1899, so it may have been quite a cycle ride for him.

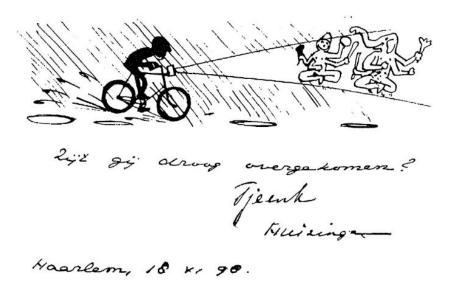


Figure 2.1. Drawing with Dutch text by Johan Huizinga, 18 June 1898.

The second drawing is found on another postcard (figure 2.2).⁶ Stamped 12 December 1899, the postcard is addressed to Vogel in Bombay, from where it was forwarded to Benares, where he was based from October 1899 for nine months of fieldwork.⁷ In other words, this was sent to Vogel not long after he and Huizinga had been in Rome together. The accompanying text is written in Sanskrit. The drawing depicts a man in various positions of skating and falling on the ice. As the Sanskrit text makes clear, the man in question portrays Huizinga as he imagines himself:⁸

saumya hastinī-mahāmātra-prabhṛteḥ tava citraphalaka-viracanasya samudra-plavanena sarvalokāya sādhv iti vismayotpādanasya +śubhatayā+ harṣa-pulakito + 'smi ||+ uttara-deśād loha-pādapakṣa-gamanāyatta-manaso mama kṣudra-lekhana-parigrahanena anugrahaṃ karotv āryaḥ tvadgurur ulūka-cañcur-nāma panditah laidanākhya-pattana-stha-mahā-pandita-madhya-gatah

"Gentle man! My hairs stand on end with joy by the splendidness of your painting of the mahout on the female elephant and so on, which produces the wonderful thought that it is good for everyone to plunge in the ocean. Sir, may you be pleased with the receipt, from the northern country, of a little letter from me whose mind is set on going skating. Your teacher, the professor named Owl's Beak, is among the great professors resident in the city called Leiden."

The postcard appears to acknowledge the receipt of a picture sent to Huizinga by Vogel, which would have depicted, among others, a female elephant and its driver plunging in the ocean. It being wintertime in the Netherlands ("the northern country"), Huizinga expresses his excitement at going skating

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⁶ Huizinga 1989, 38, no. 19.

⁷ Theuns-de Boer 2008, 180.

⁸ Plus signs indicate corrections and additions to the text by Huizinga himself. I have added hyphens in the Sanskrit compounds to facilitate easier comprehension. The Sanskrit has not been reproduced in the volume of Huizinga's edited letters, but a Dutch translation is provided. My translation differs in several respects from the one given there.

(literally: "flying on iron feet"). "Professor Owl's Beak" refers to Vogel's teacher Christiaan Cornelis Uhlenbeck, who had just taken up the position of full professor in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, middle High German and (Indo-)Germanic Languages at Leiden University, after his spell as extraordinary professor in Sanskrit, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Russian and comparative (Indo-Germanic) linguistics at the University of Amsterdam.⁹

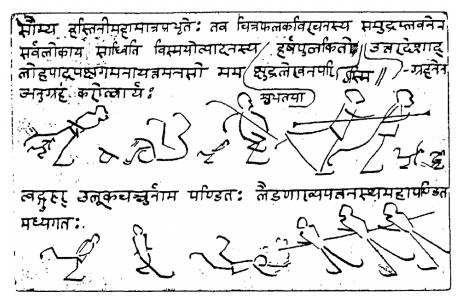


Figure 2.2. Drawing with Sanskrit text by Johan Huizinga, 12 December 1899 (stamped).

A final drawing, whose current whereabouts is again unknown, was made more than twenty year later when Huizinga's reputation as a historian was well established and Vogel was professor of Sanskrit and Indian Antiquities at Leiden University (figure 2.3). It has been published in a book about Pieter Vincent van Stein Callenfels, the archaeologist of the Dutch East Indies, which also identifies the persons depicted. We see Vogel as a venerable teacher surrounded by his pupils, as indicated in the Sanskrit caption:

rākṣasa-yavadvīpaja-ṣaḍācāryāśvadaṣṭā-prabhṛti-śiṣya-ratnāvaly-alaṃkṛto mahāgurur vihagottamaḥ

"The great master, Superbird, decorated with a necklace of pearls of students, including the Demon, the One Born on the Island of Java, the Six Teachers and Miss Horse-Bitten."

From October 1921 P.V. van Stein Callenfels started attending classes of Sanskrit with Vogel, along with Raden Poerbatjaraka, Miss Amshoff and six school teachers from the Dutch East Indies, misters Emeis, Boswinkel, Noordenbos, Deenik, Bakker and De Wilde, who had been sent to the Netherlands for this purpose. ¹¹ It is this highly diverse group that is depicted in this drawing.

Starting with the figure to the left of "Superbird" Vogel (on the right for the viewer), this depicts P.V. van Stein Callenfels as a $r\bar{a}k\bar{s}asa$ demon. The similarity is quite striking. The archaeologist of the

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⁹ For the details of Uhlenbeck's professorships I follow the information provided by Dory Heilijgers on the website www.dutchstudies-satsea.nl/deelnemers/uhlenbeck-christian-cornelis.

¹⁰ Swanenburg 1951, 134.The following section largely reproduces in English an earlier piece written in Dutch for the *VVIK Newsletter* (Bisschop 2024).

¹¹ Swanenburg 1951, 133.

Dutch East Indies studied architecture and archaeology from 1921 to 1924 in Leiden, where he obtained his doctorate with a thesis entitled *De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche kunst* (The Sudamala in Hindu-Javanese art) (1925). Due to his imposing appearance and eccentric lifestyle, he was nicknamed "Iwan de Verschrikkelijke" (Iwan the Terrible). The description " $r\bar{a}k\bar{s}asa$ " was also used by other Indologists, as can be seen in a handwritten postcard of the French Indologist Sylvain Lévi. ¹² In Huizinga's caricature, he is depicted in the style of a fearsome temple gatekeeper ($dv\bar{a}rap\bar{a}la$) from classical Indonesia.

"The One Born on the Island of Java" refers to Raden Poerbatjaraka. He is depicted next to the Demon as a *wayang* puppet. Poerbatjaraka was a prominent Javanese philologist from the court of Surakarta. He obtained his doctorate for a thesis entitled *Agastya in den archipel* (Agastya in the archipelago) (1926), a study on the spread of the figure of the sage Agastya and its significance in art and literature. After Indonesia's independence, Poerbatjaraka was a professor at various Indonesian universities. He published several editions and translations of Old Javanese literature.

The image at the bottom shows a woman being attacked by a horse, in other words "Miss Horse-Bitten" (aśvadaṣṭā). This depicts M.C.H. Amshoff who, according to the reports, had indeed recently fallen victim to an attack. ¹³ Amshoff was the first female researcher of Acehnese language and literature and one of the first women to obtain a PhD in the study of Southeast Asia, for her thesis *Goudkruintje:* een Atjèhsche roman met vertolking en toelichting (Goldcrest: an Acehnese novel with rendition and commentary) (1929). ¹⁴

Finally, the group of six teachers (<code>sadācārya</code>). These depict, as mentioned above, six teachers from the Dutch East Indies. The designation "<code>sadācārya</code>" calls to mind the first part of the first chapter of the <code>Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad</code>. This is traditionally called <code>Ṣadācārya-Brāhmaṇa</code>, after the six previous teachers of King Janaka before he was taught about Brahman by Yājñavalkya. I have no further information on how these six teachers fared.



Figure 2.3. Drawing with Sanskrit text by Johan Huizinga, ca. 1921.

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¹² Swanenburg 1951, 160.

¹³ Swanenburg 1951, 133.

¹⁴ Contrary to what I wrote earlier (Bisschop 2024, 2), she was not the very first woman to do so. As Marijke Klokke has informed me, her grandmother, Lina Maria Coster-Wijsman, preceded Amshoff by three weeks. While Amshoff received her PhD on 28 June 1929, Coster-Wijsman received hers on 7 June 1929, for a thesis entitled *Uilespiegel-verhalen in Indonesië, in het biezonder in de Soendalanden*.

In these caricatures, Huizinga shows himself to be a master of play: serious and playful at the same time, in accordance with his own analysis in his erudite *Homo Ludens* (1938) about the play element of culture. A richly illustrated reissue, edited by Anton van der Lem, will be published this year. I end with a photograph of Huizinga himself, posing as the Buddha in lotus position showing the *abhayamudrā* "gesture of freedom from fear" (figure 2.4). Dated about 1895, the photograph illustrates that not long after his first encounter with Sanskrit under Jacob Speijer, Huizinga started experimenting and playing with incorporating aspects of Indian culture in his own life. The three drawings for his friend Vogel each in their own way display a similar playful attitude as well.



Figure 2.4. Johan Huizinga posing as Buddha, ca. 1895.

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¹⁵ Koops, Kossmann & van der Plaat 1973, plate 3 (dated ca. 1895). Anton van der Lem has drawn my attention to a letter written by Johan Huizinga's brother Jakob Huizinga, dated 18 January 1900 (Elandsfontein, South Africa), in which he refers to it: "Tegenover mij zit Han-Boeddha mij aan te kijken: sarvam śūnyam, voor mij is alles ook een beetje leeg tegenwoordig" (Leiden University Libraries, BPL 3711: 4). The fact that his brother is able to cite the Sanskrit passage "sarvam śūnyam" and apply it to his own condition ("everything is a bit empty for me these days too") suggests that Johan Huizinga may have written this on the back of the photograph accompanied by a Dutch translation.

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3.

Jean Philippe Vogel: a Dutchman serving the Archaeological Survey of India, 1901-1913

Gerda Theuns-de Boer

The Dutch Sanskritist, epigraphist and self-trained archaeologist Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958) left us a true treasure trove of data. During his eleven-month private North India tour in 1899-1900 and his tenure as a superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) from 1901 to 1913, Vogel kept a diary and wrote 156 letters to his father. These reflect the travel and work experiences of a young scholar during the British Rāj period. As a researcher, Vogel enjoyed drawing links between a variety of scholarly disciplines, which perfectly suited the purposes of archaeology.

Without Vogel's Indian career and his lasting contacts with scholars, friends and institutions there, the collections of the Kern Institute at Leiden University Libraries would never have become such a well-stocked "vase of plenty" (pūrṇakalaśa).

Pioneering India: Vogel's private tour in 1900

The idea of exploring India came from his father, an advocate at the Amsterdam court. He felt that his son, after he had defended his PhD thesis, *Het leemen wagentje: Indisch tooneelspel uit Sanskṛt en Prākṛt in het Nederlandsch vertaald* (The little clay-cart: Indian theatre play translated from Sanskṛt and Prākṛt into Dutch) (1897), was unhappy with the limited professional options in Amsterdam.¹ He encouraged him to continue his Sanskrit studies in India and to explore India's rich palette of multireligious cultures and their built environments. On 8 October 1899, at the age of 28, Vogel took a passage from Brindisi on a cargo boat to Bombay where he arrived on 20 October.² In Bombay, the Dutch consul helped Vogel with all practicalities and arranged for a pleasant companion, Govind Ragoe, who teamed up with Vogel during the full tour.³ They got along very well and communicated in Hindi. And Vogel, always eager to learn, recorded all of his "wise sayings." Vogel's financial means were limited. It made him stay in railway station guest rooms or, in the cooler regions, in his second-hand tent bought from a Sikh in Multan.

Vogel started his Sanskrit studies in Jaipur and continued these in Benares at the Sanskrit College, following in the footsteps of the Dutch Sanskritist Hendrik Kern (1833-1917), who had studied there in the 1860s. Besides, he wanted to improve his spoken Sanskrit and to that purpose was trained by Babu Sastri Bhave, one of the many Brahman tutors living there. The last planned city to proceed his Sanskrit "apprenticeship" was Srinagar. But Vogel felt quite disappointed with the level of Sanskrit of Pandit Shajabatta, whom he fired.

By mid-April 1900, at the Ambala rail station, Vogel met Mark Aurel Stein (1862-1943), a Hungarian-born, British versatile man who had studied at various universities and showed a great

¹ It resulted in a temporary appointment as a private lecturer (*privaatdocent*) of Indian literature at the University of Amsterdam.

² Place names are given in accordance to the data in the various sources.

³ During this period Vogel visited Bombay, Broach, Surat, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Alwar, Mount Abu, Ajmer, Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Jaipur, Delhi, Benares, Lahore, Srinagar (and other parts of Kashmir), Calcutta, Darjeeling and Colombo.

eagerness to "foreignness." Vogel was fascinated by Aurel Stein, whom he had sent several letters.⁴ Together they travelled on to Lahore, where Stein held the post of principal of the Oriental College. In May, Stein, financed by the ASI, was to leave for his first expedition into Chinese Turkestan, Tibet and Central Asia, to explore, map and study archaeological remains.⁵ Likely, it was Stein who had brought Vogel's capacities to the attention of the Panjab government, as on 9 August, staying in Srinagar, Vogel received a telegram from Simla, holding the invitation to become the archaeological surveyor for the Panjab, Baluchistan and Ajmir Circle, later renamed Northern Circle.⁶ Vogel grabbed this opportunity to work in India at once and felt highly privileged, as this job would be "endlessly more sympathetic than education here (i.e. the Netherlands), which is no more than training for exams." In a few months' time he arranged for his future Indian life to finally arrive by mail train at Lahore on 31 December 1900.

A concise and exacting surveyor

Was Jean Philippe Vogel indeed the right man for this surveyorship? Ostensibly, no. Vogel lacked any professional archaeological or architectural education. He was neither well informed about conservation or restoration measures, nor had he ever been involved in excavation work. He was an enthusiastic amateur sketcher and collector of paintings, but not a designer of maps, plans or cross-sections and his photographic skills were moderate.⁸

Based on the letters written to his father and his diary entries between 1900 and 1912, Vogel can be described as a calm, level-headed, honest and reliable man with a vision. Besides, he was a non-complainer with a dry sense of humour. He enjoyed performing accurate studies and drawing links between a variety of scholarly disciplines, preferably epigraphy, which perfectly suited the purposes of archaeology. Consequently, Vogel expected the people he worked with – ranging from staff members to excavation diggers – to be concise and exacting as well.

Bearing in mind that archaeology was a young discipline,¹⁰ and professional archaeologists were few and far between, the appointment of Jean Philippe Vogel was not too surprising. His Sanskrit

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⁴ Vogel and Stein had a live-long friendship. Stein's 146 letters to Vogel are kept at the Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives: Or.26.821, file 54. It's unknown to the author whether Vogel's letters sent to Stein are kept in the Stein Archives of the British Academy in London.

⁵ Stein's first expedition was from 31 May 1900 to 15 May 1901. He explored Kashgar, Gilgit, Hunza, Batur glacier, Turkestan, Yarkand and Kothan.

⁶ ASI appointments were on a temporary basis and to last for a maximum of five years. Vogel's salary started at 300 rupees, one rupee being equal to 0.80 Dutch guilders at that time. "Too low to be married," concluded Vogel. Over the years the salary could increase to 800 rupees and possibly higher, once one had been publishing.

⁷ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives: Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for 9 August 1900, while staying in Srinagar.

⁸ Photography could be a sore point for Vogel, as the medium for an image that time was a glass plate. While staying in Srinagar on 25 May 1900, he complained that the twelve plates from Amsterdam still not had arrived and taking photographs in the Himalayas thus was impossible. And when these finally arrived, he had to cut the plates up to make these suitable for his camara. Eleven images failed and the twelfth plate was far from perfect. Later, after the production of the so-called dry plate, he was more successful. See Theuns-de Boer 2008, figures 46, 47, 68, 70, 71, 92, 93, 96, 98, 103, 104, 106. These photographs were most likely taken by Vogel himself.

⁹ See for Vogel's 154 letters written to his father: Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 37. The diaries are kept in Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47.

¹⁰ The first chair for archaeology in the world was initiated in Leiden, the Netherlands, in 1818.

scholarship and, above all, his eagerness to collect and decipher epigraphic data, would enable him to constitute a much-desired foundation for a solid chronological framework in various regions.¹¹



Figure 3.1. Archaeological surveyor J.Ph. Vogel, working in the shade of an arched gallery, accompanied by two staff members and two monks, North India, ca. 1901-1905 (photographer unknown). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, Kern GD 10 881 (digitized glass slide).

Working from Lahore

Vogel's arrival at the Lahore station on 31 December 1900, just outside the walled city, must have felt like entering into an unknown no man's land: there was no archaeological department, no office, 12 not even a single staff member to take charge of an 800,000 square kilometre region, almost equalling that of present-day Pakistan in size. Ten years had passed since the last surveyor for the region, Charles J. Rodgers (acting from 1886 to 1890), had been economized into oblivion. In fact, the only place to witness of former archaeological activities was in the new Central Museum, built in 1894 in the Indo-Saracenic style.

Forming a modest staff was priority number one for Vogel (figure 3.1). His assistant, Maulvi Nur Bakhs M.A., who until that time had worked at the Educational Department, was called upon "to compensate for my ignorance" of the Arabic and Persian languages, as Vogel stated. Ghulam Muhammad, a well-seasoned man with twelve years of survey experience in various other Circles, became his head draftsman. Ghulam Nabi, the second draftsman, had done his apprenticeship at the Mayo School of Arts in Lahore and was particularly interested in photography. In February 1903, he

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¹¹ Epigraphy made Vogel feel at rest. In Himachal Pradesh there were regularly earthquakes. For Vogel these were the moments to re-read *Lucifer*, a tragedy by the Dutch writer Joost van den Vondel (completed in 1654), which describes the battle in heaven between Lucifer and the archangel Michael.

¹² Vogel initially worked from the Charing Cross Hotel. Altogether, he changed places in Lahore seven times.

became the Circle's first permanent photographer. The clerk Bal Kishen became his administrator and two *chaprasis* (office attendants) were hired to arrange all other things. ¹³

From the archaeological and art historical point of view, Vogel was more than content with his Panjab Circle. With Delhi, Lahore and Multan in his remit, he oversaw a large number of early Islamic and Mughal period monuments. In addition, the former Gandhāra region, with its predominantly Buddhist remnants, had enjoyed an "excellent reputation" among scientists, thanks to international exhibitions and publications since the 1860s. In contrast, the Panjab Hills were as yet an attractive *terra incognita*. Vogel's studies there – in Mandor, Kulu and Chamba – generated interesting data, while the old Buddhist and Jain sites in the lowlands of the United Provinces and the art centres Mathura and Sarnath were attractive to new expertise. The fact that precisely Vogel's Circle had the most museums made his work an extra challenge.



Figure 3.2. Sculpture of a jewelled, seated Kubera, lord of the north, god of wealth and king of the *yakṣas*. His hands are damaged. The figure at the centre below holds up a huge bowl, enabling Kubera to share his wealth. To that purpose the worshipper to the visual right holds a bowl. Former Gandhāra region, Peshawar region (KP), Kuṣāṇa period, ca. third century (photo by J.Ph. Vogel taken at the Punjab Regiment Centre Officer's Mess at Mardan, April 1902). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, Vogel Album 3, p. 2; Panjab Circle 143-45 (gelatin silver printing-out-paper print, 21 x 14.5 cm).

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¹³ Bal Kishen was Vogel's first clerk. On 2 December 1904 he died in het Gorakhpur Hospital after being injured in a train accident in Tahsil Deoria. Leiden University Collections, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 35, holds two letters addressed to Vogel written on the instruction of Kishen's father, expressing his gratitude for the delivery of Kishen's properties and Vogel's personal financial gift. Babu Gursaran Das Mehta, appointed per 19 December 1904, was Kishen's successor. See Vogel 1905a, 4.

The state of archaeology in India

It is an open question what Vogel knew upon his arrival about the state of archaeology in India and the ongoing discourses on how to further proceed. But big, necessary changes were to be implemented. One year before Vogel had arrived, Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925) had become the new viceroy, who was to govern India from January 1899 until August 1905. Compared to his predecessors, India's built environments had a strong impact on him. It made him appreciate their monumentality, aesthetics and artistic expressions, regardless of any religion. "What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us read its riddles and to look it in the eyes, these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look." 14

By 1900, Curzon's plans to invest in India's "highest beauty" were to be effected. It made him sketch a bright future for Indian archaeology in his speech on 7 February, addressed at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Budgets were to be raised, as were the expectations. The "curtain of dark and romantic mystery" hanging over the early chapters of history, should be lifted in order to push back its chronology. "It is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archaeologist in India will in future lie. [...] Epigraphy should not be set aside research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other." ¹⁵

Archaeology was expected to bring about a new wave of inspired activities, which should interest a broad audience, national and international, by its publications. It was the period in which Indian and British governments for the first time defined a structural vision towards the need for monument preservation and research. At the same time, they recognised the political potentials of archaeology in rooting and binding India's various social and religious groups and in magnifying British Rāj.

Within the ASI organization, the country was now divided into a number of zones, called Circles, for the purpose of archaeological work. These zones were not bounded by State boundaries, and the boundaries of the various Circles could periodically be altered to suit administrative convenience and academic cohesion. Each Circle was responsible for the exploration of new and potential archaeological sites, scientific clearance and small-scale excavations, conservation, preservation and protection of sites and monuments under its jurisdiction.

The ASI's new setting

Thus, Curzon's overall framework for Vogel's future survey activities: an ambitious plan with a predictable degree of wishful thinking. Vogel's Panjab, Baluchistan and Ajmir Circle, was one of the five archaeological Circles which went into service in May 1899, at the recommendation of India's central government. The superintendents were to be placed under their respective provincial government. The post of government epigraphist, carried out by Eugen Hultzsch (1857-1927), was continued.

Each Circle was allowed a modest staff, while the Provincial Buildings and Roads Branch of the Public Works Departments (PWD), was charged with the practical implications of the superintendent's advices on the duties of conservation and restoration. They, in turn, directed the real managers on the work floor: the team of executive engineers. They were the ones who made most of the conservation proposals, oversaw the budgets and, pursuant to Vogel's approval, executed the activities. The

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¹⁴ www.restoretrust.org.uk/restore-trust-issues/kedleston-lord-curzon-and-the-eastern-museum.

¹⁵ Chakrabarti 1988, Appendix II, 230.

monumental care network was large and complex and a distribution of fifty copies of an official letter to keep everyone informed was no exception.

Vogel's appointment on 1 January 1901, to effectuate a fresh archaeological breeze, was the first practical outcome of this new policy. But to Vogel's frustration, his Circle was regularly "on the move." Regions could either be added or skipped. In June 1901, a number of princely territories which fell outside British administration had now come under Vogel's archaeological supervision as well: Kashmir and the Panjab Princely States Dir, Swat and Chitral. But per June 1903, Vogel's Panjab Circle was amalgamated with the United Provinces, which implied a considerable enlargement of his remit. From now on, he should only focus on Buddhist and Hindu antiquities. It made him appoint Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M.A. Sanskrit and Reader of the Panjab University. Unfortunately, in July 1904 the Kashmir darbar decided to have its own survey. However, very little came of their promise to fuse with Vogel's conservation plan, which he had drafted during an extensive summer tour in 1904.¹⁶

An archaeological year had its own rhythm. The cold season, from December to March, was reserved for excavation, exploration and inspection tours. The summer months were preferably spent at higher altitudes, whether for study or to write publications at the Simla Director-General of Archaeology head office. According to Vogel, its specialised library was the best place to be (figure 3.2).



Figure 3.3. J.Ph. Vogel, working from the ASI's head office at Benmore villa in Simla, India. Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, P-045812 (modern print of 2001, taken from a 1908 glass-plate negative, 17.7 x 20.5 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:7351).

It might well be from that place that Vogel studied the archaeological explorations made in the Northern Provinces by his predecessors, in particular those by the Englishman Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893). He had started his career as a soldier and engineer in 1836, but became highly interested

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¹⁶ In July and August 1904, Vogel visited Kashmir, the greater part by feet, to make an inventory of its archaeological remains. On 14 August he visited Mahārājā Sir Pratap Singh (1848-1925). See for his conservation plans Vogel 1904. See for Kashmir State Council Resolution 8, of 16 May 1904, Vogel 1905b.

in antiquarian investigation. In 1839, about sixty years before Vogel, Cunningham had explored the same areas that Vogel was now to inspect and further explore. 17

Each year Vogel travelled 6,500 kilometres on average. Considering the low speed of transport, a significant portion of his work time was swallowed up by the limited processes of mobility, ranging from *tongkas* to horses. Being constantly on the road and sleeping in the most varied circumstances turned out to be a challenge of its own. All too often Vogel was required to stay in remote regions under primitive circumstances. Still, there was nothing worse for him than being "bound to the wheel" in Lahore, where he "patiently and sweatingly" had to file his many reports.

To explore and tour

In general, Vogel's first explorations in the Panjab were still characteristic for nineteenth-century organised, colonial archaeology. These can be sketched as "touring" a part of the Indian subcontinent by way of one man's missions into the districts under British rule, aiming to select monuments and sites of archaeological, art historical or historic interest for further examination. In line with these duties, Vogel was to explore and tour, make inventories of all antiquarian remains and draw up a list of structures to be formally declared protected. He had to prepare fresh epigraphic impressions, read inscriptions and safeguard artefacts. He should enlarge the role of photography within the ASI, work on the visibility of heritage in museums, stay alert on possibilities to enrich museum collections and instruct curators on educational displays of exhibits and the accessibility of their collection. Given the fact that Vogel had a very small team, it was quite a number of duties. In addition, he was expected to prepare official reports about all archaeological tours and write an *Annual progress report*, preferably documented with drawings and photographs created by the Circle's own staff.

Vogel's activities in 1901: an exemplary year

Date	Action type	Details
Jan. 1	appointment	Vogel is appointed surveyor of the Panjab Circle at Lahore
Before Jan. 19	advisory	restoration the tiled Dai Angi Mosque Lahore (seventeenth century)
Jan. 19	preservation	unnamed tomb at Lake Road, Lahore
Feb. 1	appointment	draftsman Ghulam Muhammad
Before Feb. 6	advisory	preservation stepped well water reservoirs (baolis) at Kharian in
		Gujarat (Mughal period)
Feb. 12	unknown	Lahore
March 1	appointment	draftsman Ghulam Nabi, later also his photographer
Before March	advisory	adaptions of the Anarkali Tomb Lahore (sixteenth century)
4		
Before March	inspection	Diwan-i-Khas (private audience hall) at Delhi Red Fort, built to the
4		orders of Shah Jahān (ca. 1486-1545), Mosque of the Afghan Sher
		Shah Suri (ca. 1486-1545), Humāyūn's sandstone tomb, railing
		completed to the orders of Curzon
March 5-18	inspection/	tour southern Baluchistan, accompanied by Major Toghe
	explorations	
March 5	inspection	leaves Lahore, visits Shujabad
March 8	restoration	orders the frescos to be repainted at Multan, Karachi
March 10	exploration	travels to Hab, accompanied by Major Toghe

¹⁷ Singh 2004, 24.

¹⁸ During his stay in Amsterdam in 1900, Vogel had taken a few horse riding lessons. Especially in the hilly regions it proved a practical means of transport.

March 12-18	exploration	focuses on the 71 Islamic sandstone graves at Hinidan, located north-
	1	west of Karachi, along the Hub River, with its exceptional geometrical
		designs and horsemen decorations, made in Chaukhandi style; exact
		period unknown ¹⁹
March 18	restoration	arrives in Lahore, proceeds work at Lahore fort and Shahdara
< March 28	prevention	decay of the serai, in the vicinity of Jahāngīr's tomb in Shahdara Bagh,
		close to Lahore
March 28-	exploration	Peshawar and Hazara districts accompanied by the Sanskrit scholar
April 10		A.W. Stratton, Mardan, Guides Mess, Vogel tries to photograph the
		Gandhāran sculptures there, no success
	inspection	studies the Gandhāran-style sculpture of Hārītī (?) with its Kharoṣṭhī
		inscription, to be sent to the Central Museum Lahore
	exploration	Mansehra in Hazara region, present Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, to see the
		14 Mansehra rock edicts of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (r. ca. 272-235
	207	BC), cut into the surface of three boulders, written in Kharoṣṭhī script
April 10	office work	Lahore: concerns about money
April-half	maintenance	Lahore: work to be done on the fort and Shahdara
May	1 .	
< April 11	advisory	Delhi: Diwan-i-Khas at the Red Fort and Delhi Museum
< April 11	advisory	Delhi: provisional measures tomb Mughal general Azam Khan
< April 11	advisory	Shahdara: roof over Jahāngir's tomb
April 22	unknown	Lahore
May 15	explorations	Kangra: start tour in the present Himachal Pradesh area
May 16	explorations	Nurpur
May 23-June	publication	Dharmsala: writing Report of the Archaeological Survey, Panjab
12		Circle, preparations for tour in Kangra
June 12	epigraphy	Khanyara: make impressions of two inscriptions
June 13-16	epigraphy	Dadh: foot of the Pathiar hill: Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on
1.7	. 1	rock-cut sculptures
June 17	epigraphy	Drang: inscriptions, rock-cut images
June 20	explorations	Baijnath Control of the American Control of the Americ
Jun 21-29	explorations	Dhelu, Aiju, Shapur, Karnapur fort, Harabagh
Jun 30	explorations	Kulu territory
July 1-25	explorations	Kulu valley: Bajaura, Manikarn, Malanaga valley, Nagar
July 26	explorations	Manali; Kashmir and Rajputana now also in Vogel's Circle
July 28	explorations	departure for the Lahul region
August 17	explorations	visit the <i>tīrtha</i> of Triloknath
August 26	explorations	passing Rotang Pass (3978 m.)
Sept. medio	explorations	Kulu valley and paying a visit to the $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ of Mandi
Sept. 22	explorations	Hamirpur K. J. K.
Sept. 28	explorations	Mandi State: Kangra Kot
Oct. 2	explorations	Kangra; Vogel has now lost his Dutch citizenship
Oct. 15	explorations	arrival Lahore
Oct. 18-20	unknown	Delhi
Oct. 29-Nov. 9	unknown	Delhi
Nov. 1	unknown	Vogel sends assistant Maulvi Nur Bakhsh to Delhi
Nov. 19	study	takes up Hindi lessons by Maulvi N.B., Oriental College Lahore
Nov. 22-23	inspect	stūpa at Manikyala
NovDec.	inspect	general survey at Lahore Fort

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¹⁹ Vogel 1904b.

Dec. 9-12	explorations	tour to Sitpur to see a tomb and a mosque
Dec. end	renovations	copying tiles Lahore fort

Vogel's position was highly advisory. Like all surveyors, he was fully dependent on the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Public Works Department (PWD). At the inspection of important monuments, a district engineer was invited to be present, in order to discuss all technical difficulties on the spot. Based on his recommendations, the archaeological officer should translate this recommendation into a "conservation note," in which his recommendations were to be put down as accurately as possible. These "notes" had to be sent to the Director-General of Archaeology for confirmation. He could extend and improve the suggestions made by the provincial archaeologist. The "conservation note" was then printed and served as a guide for the execution of the work. Conservation measures, renovations and restorations were all tasks to be carried out by the PWD. The role of this department as an important executive party has hardly been studied. Despite all formal procedures, it could happen that Vogel made an inspection tour and was fully dissatisfied with activities of the PWD workers.

The working methods may have appeared thorough on paper. In Vogel's view, however, the directions could not have been precise enough to prevent subordinates, both British and Indian, from acting according to their own insights. Some painful errors had been made, creating a situation which could only be averted at great pains. This was the case for the fifth-century Hindu brick temple in Bhitargaon, which Vogel had visited on horseback. "To my horror I perceived, even from a distance, that the walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster, the spotless whiteness of which contrasted strangely with the subdued colour of the high roof which (probably owing to lack of funds) had been left in its dilapidated condition. On inquiry it appeared that a subordinate Public Works officer, to whom the conservation of this temple had been entrusted, had conceived the plan of thoroughly doing up the old building, so that it would look fresh and new! Fortunately, it was easy in this case to undo the ill-considered piece of restoration, to remove the layer of plaster, and take more adequate measures for the preservation of the ancient temple." 20

John Hubert Marshall, new director-general of the ASI

With the appointment of the third director-general of the ASI, John Marshall (1876-1958), in February 1902, a new era began – almost literally, as there had been quite a gap between the last director-general, James Burgess (acting 1886-1889), and Marshall. Fortunately, Marshall was to stay 26 years, ensuring continuity. Marshall was the first professional archaeologist to enter the ASI. After his college period in Cambridge, he was trained in archaeology at Knossos, Greece, working on the Bronze Age Minoan civilization, and was sponsored by the British School in Athens to further participate in excavations. His appointment was one of Curzon's later decisions and the ASI was to benefit from it. Working from Simla, he was expected to interconnect the various Circles and take on the idea of the survey at a pan-Indian level.

Vogel's first meetings with Marshall in Delhi took place on 7 and 8 April 1902, where he discussed options to excavate in Charsadda, in the heart of ancient Gandhāra. He himself had recently seen the private Gandhāran art collections of Captain Roos Keppel, Rev. Mr. Goare and Mr. Close to get an idea of sculptures and further artefacts to possibly excavate (figure 3.3). "He has great projects and plans, a splendid spirit he is," enthused Vogel about John Marshall in his diary on 13 August 1902.

Vogel and Marshall, at that time the youngsters in the survey, got along very well. Their personalities differed, but they shared a same set of values, in which reliability and consistency were important qualities. But above all, working from an academic approach was their highest aim. Vogel and Marshall

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²⁰ Theuns-de Boer 2008, 81.

developed a lasting friendship and Vogel even became the godfather of Margaret, one of Marshall's children. Later, when Vogel was invited to apply for the position of directorship of the Archaeological Survey in the Dutch East Indies in 1909, Marshall begged Vogel to stay, writing: "There is no one who could continue your work here, no one who could possibly make good the loss." In 1913 he wanted Vogel even to become his assistant director-general.

The art of fieldwork: Charsadda, Kasia and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh

Vogel, often accompanied by Marshall, carried out six excavations: one at Charsadda in the Gandhāra region (present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan) in 1903; four seasons in Kasia (1904-1907), likely the old Kuśināgara where the Buddha had died around 480 BCE (present-day Uttar Pradesh), and one season at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh (1908), the old Śrāvastī, the former capital of the Kosala region (present-day Uttar Pradesh).²¹

Vogel himself was not unhappy with the excavations he had carried out between 1901 and 1913. There may have been too few of them, but he had conducted these according to the principles of "the art of excavation." Vogel was an archaeologist of his time, when part of his efforts had to be spent on verifying the nineteenth-century archaeological work carried out by Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) and his assistants Joseph Beglar (1845-1907), Archibald Carlleyle (1831-1897) and Henry Garrick (1880-1885). After a first wave of enthusiasm, archaeology had now arrived at a point where the correctness of identifications produced under Cunningham was called into question.

Marshall and Vogel developed a three-phase work model, consisting of a pre-excavation phase, an excavation phase and a reporting phase. Vogel was to handle the pre-excavation phase, presenting a clear description of the topography, the history of the region and the archaeological history of the site. The excavations were carried out twenty years after Cunningham and his assistants Henry Garrick and engineer Lieutenant Alfred Martin had explored the region.

The Charsadda trial excavation of 23 February to 25 April 1903

After travelling together in the former Gandhāra region and Taxila further south, Charsadda became their first objective. Located on the Swat River, in the lower part of the Peshawar valley, Charsadda was assumed to be the ancient Pushkalavati (Greek: *Peukelaotis*), capital of the Gandhāra region in the early historic period, where, in the lapse of ages, foreigners and locals had fused into populations known as Indo-Greeks (second-first century BCE), Indo-Scythians (first century BCE) and Indo-Parthians (first century CE). Together with the Kuṣāṇas (first-forth century CE), a population originating from the steppes of Central Asia, they were expected to all have contributed to the visual language of coins and art expressions. Through time, the Gandhāra style had developed into a characteristic, mixed art style, with demonstrable Greek and Roman traits.

Marshall and Vogel's first chosen site was Bālā Hisār (high fort), a 23-metre-high mound rising up from the plateau like an "acropolis," which by its physical appearance was expected to be of considerable antiquity. The technical team consisted of Bairon Backsh, who made most plans and drawings, Vogel's draftsman and later photographer, Ghulam Nabi (figure 3.4), and Sher Bāz, who should gather information from the neighbouring villages and collect the traced antiquities. When the excavations started, John Marshall had fallen ill: not an ideal start. Still, Vogel's letter to Marshall expresses his enthusiasm for his new duties:

February to April 1908.

²¹ Charsadda: 23 February to 25 April 1903. Kasia: 28 November 1904 to 28 February 1905; 15 January to 25 March 1906; 3 December 1906 to 23 February 1907; winter season 1912, ending 5 March; Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh:

"[...] You will be anxious to hear how the excavations are going on. Great discoveries have not been made yet but a certain number of small objects came to light regularly such as terracottas, lamps, pottery and beads. [...] We have started now digging pits of 12 x 8 yards and about six feet deep from three corners of the Hisar and continue so along the edges. Each of the parties will have to make a dozen of such pits in order to finish the whole outline of the Fort. Here and there walls have been found which have been preserved for your inspection. There are three gangs each of thirty men under a *jamandar* at work now, at a pay of Rs. 2 each a week (the *jamandar* gets Rs. 3). This is considered a very good pay and there is no difficulty in procuring as many men as we want. They work with real enthusiasm encouraged by their *jamandars* with the war cry "Sabash Imandars!" as if the object was a religious one instead of revealing the remnants of despised idolaters. At the same time, they work far more carefully than I had anticipated as appears from the fact that many objects like beads do not escape their notice. This is undoubtedly due to the reward system, which is very popular with them. One wonders how much material must have been lost at previous excavations, when no rewards were given and consequently any small objects were thrown away [...]."



Figure 3.4. Excavations carried out at the northeast corner of the stūpa remains at Ghaz Dheri site, Charsadda, Pakistan. The man in suit is J.Ph. Vogel, archaeological surveyor of the Panjab and Frontier Circle. Thanks to the archaeologist John Marshall, the new director-general of the ASI, the series of the Charsadda excavations is the first professional, archaeological photo series in the British-Indian period (photo by Ghulam Nabi, D.G.A. 1902-1903, no. 148). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, P-036528 (gelatin silver printing-out-paper print, 14.5 cm x 20.5 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:89006).

The excavated Kuṣāṇa period artefacts were meagre: pottery sherds, eleven terracotta figurines, two coins (one likely of Kaniṣka), an Indo-Scythian coin and beads of various materials.

At the second site, the Mir Zayarat mound, Marshall and Vogel had expected to find the remains of a *stūpa*, possibly the *Eye-Gift Stūpa* mentioned by Xuan Zang in the seventh century. Helas, they did not find it. It was now considered a sacred site by Hindus who made the mound the focus of their

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²² ASI no. 86 of May 1902, Vogel's letter to Marshall, 15 March 1903, cited in Lahiri, 2000, 91.

biannual *mela*. However, most of the site generated Islamic finds with a date no earlier than the end of the ninth century.

The third and fourth site, the mounds Palatu *Dheri* and Ghaz *Dheri*, were chosen because two dated statue pedestals had previously been found there, increasing the likelihood of new, dated epigraphical finds, which as "the only sure grounds of historical evidence" could put other remains into context.

The excavation was guided by two important principles: a proper instruction of the workers on archaeological methods and the use of standardized equipment. It resulted in the appliance of standard-sized trenches and boxes at precisely defined locations, more or less in a grid-like pattern, showing vertical cross-sections. As archaeologists became increasingly aware of the information to derive from the various stratified deposits, workers had to subject the strata to painstaking inspection for artefacts, after which the earth was deposited at a designated place on the site. Accordingly, a trained photographer should select various stages of the excavation for documentation, whereas a draftsman was to produce maps and cross-sections for the necessary overviews. The finds, sherds of black clay pottery, a hoard of Ghaznavid copper coins traced in an earthenware jar, beads, shell ornaments and terracotta figurines were to be labelled, packed and safekept in a museum, in this case the Lahore Museum.

The third phase, that of reporting, generally included the writing of a preliminary or final report and the administration of artefacts in the museum archives. Reports had to be well-structured, systematically paying attention to topography, historiography, the description of the excavation activities proper and full presentation of finds put into stratigraphical context, including the decipherment and translation of epigraphical sources. The report should be exacting and evocative.²³ In the Charsadda report, Vogel provided the topographical context and the descriptions of the sculptures and inscriptions, while Marshall reported on the excavation itself and discussed the other finds. Drawings and informative photographs (far less stylized than they would later become) made Marshall's and Vogel's first publication an attractive, almost professional production, although the drawing work could and should be bettered and proper stratigraphic indications lacked. What the report also missed was the discussion on what the investigation added to the knowledge of the region's history and its art and material culture.

Due to the fact that the Gandhāran region was soon to fall in a new Circle, the Frontier Circle, headed by Aurel Stein, it was – quite to Vogel's frustration – his first and last excavation at Charsadda.²⁴

Excavations at Kasia: the place where the Buddha had died?

Vogel nominally headed five excavations at Kasia (Uttar Pradesh), between November 1904 and March 1912. Supposedly, it was the old Kuśināgara, the place where the Buddha had died and reached *nirvāṇa* around 480 BCE (provisional date). It was Hirananda Shastri (1878-1946), who supervised the two last excavations and wrote the final report while Vogel was on leave in the Netherlands. The excavations had two objectives. Firstly, Vogel was to re-examine the site and verify the reliability of Cunningham's and Carlleyle's conclusions; secondly, he was to collect new archaeological evidence to prove that Kasia indeed was the ancient city of Kuśināgara. Marshall and Vogel hoped to resolve the debate that Vincent Smith (1848-1920) had sparked off in 1896 about the identity of the place. Without that debate, they would never have chosen Kasia, for in Marshall's opinion, there would be many other famous spots connected with the life of Buddha, whose identity was undisputed, and where the ground on the whole was more promising for excavation.

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²³ Marshall and Vogel 1904.

²⁴ Vogel felt quite annoyed by the fact that Aurel Stein, heading the new Frontier Circle, hardly had time to properly carry out new, follow-up excavations at Charsadda, because he was too much engaged in his new expeditions.

²⁵ Vogel 1908, 1909a, 1909b, and Shastri 1914.



Figure 3.5. Excavation at Kasia of the monasteries L. and O. with the Nirvāṇa temple and stūpa in the background, various periods (photo by Ghulam Nabi, 1906-1907, Northern Circle 866). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, P-038386 (gelatin silver printing-out-paper print, 20 x 28 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:83824).

The archaeological remains near Kasia (figures 3.5 and 3.6) had already interested archaeologists for some hundred years. Francis Buchanon-Hamilton discovered the site in around 1810 and D. Liston and Robert Montgomery Martin had drawn attention to it in their publications of 1837 and 1838.²⁶ When the Sanskritist Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860) identified Kasia as the former Kuśināgara, the site became an archaeological challenge. After a brief investigation in 1861-1862, an enthusiastic Cunningham embraced the identification and it was confirmed by his assistant Carleylle, who in 1876 discovered a heavily damaged, over six metres long, monolithic statue of the Buddha in a reclining pose, referring to his death (parinirvāṇa). According to Vincent Smith, he recovered "as many fragments as possible, and when fragments were not available, he did not hesitate to make up the deficiencies with stones and Portland cement. He also painted and coloured the statue and ultimately left it, in his opinion, perhaps even better than ever it was."27 He also devoted himself to repairing the room, buried beneath the rubble, in which he had found the statue. It became his Nirvāna Temple and his Buddha, restored at his own expense. Vogel was not charmed by Carlleyle's rough archaeological practices: "he is a rotter" and his plans were "singularly inaccurate." Nevertheless, his interpretations were regularly found to be correct.

It was Vogel's best man Hirananda Shastri who finally traced a copperplate inscription in the vicinity of the *stūpa* in 1911, stating that Kasia's *stūpa* indeed was the *Nirvāna Stūpa*.

²⁶ Liston 1834, 477-479. Montgomery Martin 1838, vol. 2, 357.

²⁷ Smith 1896, 8.

²⁸ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for 18 February 1905.



Figure 3.6. Colossal sculpture of a seated Buddha, displaying the bhūmisparśamudrā, originally set up in the Matha Kuar Shrine of the Kalachuri Monastery at the old Kuśināgara, the place where the Buddha had died, close to Kasia (Uttar Pradesh), India, Pāla style, twelfth century, height 3.20 m (photo by Ghulam Nabi, Northern Circle 1232, 1911). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, P-038386 (gelatin silver printing-out-paper print, 12 x 14.5 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:87674).

Vogel on Kasia in the Annual Report of 1904-1905

"This year's excavations have clearly shown that the Kasia remains have had a history far more extensive and intricate than was hitherto supposed. There existed buildings on the site at a very remote period, the earliest hitherto found apparently dating back to the time of the Mauryas. Later on, there had been constant collapse and rebuilding, one monument being raised over the ruins of another. This is true not only of the central sanctuary, but also of those numerous minor monuments

of various sizes and shapes which stand crowded around it. These facts go far to prove the great holiness attaching to this site for many centuries in the eyes of the faithful."²⁹

The remains unearthed here are the results of extensive excavations by Carlleyle in 1876 and by the Archaeological Survey of India between 1904 and 1912. They comprise the main $st\bar{u}pa$, the Nirvāṇa Temple on a raised platform surrounded by a group of monasteries on the western side and a group of small sized $st\bar{u}pas$ with carved bricks and ornamental pilasters on the southern side; in addition, a large two-tiered brick platform and small sized $st\bar{u}pas$, partly concealed beneath the main $st\bar{u}pa$ on the eastern side; and votive $st\bar{u}pas$ and monasteries on the northern side ranging in date from the Mauryan period (third century BCE) to the tenth century CE. Numerous antiquities such as inscribed clay seals, gold and silver coins, and terracotta figurines were recovered during the course of the archaeological excavation.

Excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh (1908)

The excavations conducted at the twin archaeological sites of Sahēṭh and Mahēṭh (Ōinagar district, Uttar Pradesh) were not scheduled for 1908. However, Lieutenant-Governor John Hewett had decided to move these forward and turn them into a famine relief project, to employ people in the region. Vogel was not happy with the decision. When to carry out pre-excavation investigations and how to oversee an estimated 5,000 people? "I feel perfectly sick after this interview," Vogel wrote after his visit. "That is the bane of archaeological work in this country that one is dependent on despotism and unintelligent officials."³⁰

Lucknow, 22-1-1908

Confidential

My dear Marshall

It has been decided that the excavation at Saheth-Maheth will be started as an ordinary work, but from an interview I had with the L.-G. today it appears that it is his express wish that it will be made a famine relief work afterwards. This would mean employing some 5000 men till the end of June when the rains break. [...] I tried to point out that from our point of view this is impossible. [...] It is difficult to discuss such questions with persons who have no idea of the real aims of excavation and the labour it involves [...].

What I intend to do is the following. I shall start the work with a few hundred men next week and shall increase the number as much as is feasible without impairing archaeological interests. When I know what the site is like, I shall report on the advisability (or more likely the inadvisability) of carrying on the excavation as a famine work. [...] and make my point as clear as possible. In case the Government insists on it against my advice, I shall have to make an appeal to you and if the final decision is against us, I shall have no choice but to resign. [...]

Yours sincerely J.Ph. Vogel.

Marshall's brilliant reply settled the whole matter.³¹

Camp Sarnath, 25-1-08

²⁹ Quote taken from Vogel 1908, 58.

³⁰ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for 22 January 1908.

³¹ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 59, letters to and from Marshall: letter Vogel 22 January 1908; letter Marshall 25 January 1908.

Confidential

My dear Vogel

I am sorry to hear that you anticipate some trouble about Sahet-Mahet, but I think that you may have taken too serious a view of the matter. I quite appreciate however your reluctance to employ thousands of diggers, and I should of course be prepared if the worst came to the worst and [if] there was any danger of ruining the site, to fight the question tooth and nail on your side. [...] What I should advise is this. Go to Sahet-Mahet to take on as many men as you can to make trials of the site first. You can easily manage 400 to begin with, with the assistance of Daya Ram [Sahni]. Then pick out all those who prove good workers and make them overseers, when the famine labour comes along. At the same time advertise for about 8 or 10 native assistant engineers on 30 or 40 rupees per month and make them your lieutenants with say 10 overseers under each of them. Supervise yourself any work that you do at the real centres of the site and let the Engineers do all the other work. [...] If you organise things well and insist on having competent assistants, then I do not see why you should not, *ceteris paribus*, do a fine piece of work at Sahet-Mahet, and make for yourself casting fame over it. [...]

Yours ever J.H. Marshall

Marshall was right. At the 1911 Conference of Orientalists, Vogel even described the situation as "fortunate," and declared that 1500 people working on a twin site "both of the most ancient and most extensive to be found in India" were capable of little more than "scratching the surface." The fact that Dayaram Sahni had found a copperplate that settled the identity of the site was a "rare piece of good luck."³²

The excavations began officially on 3 February 1908. Sahni explored Sahēṭh, which was assumed to be the Buddhist nucleus Jetavana, and Vogel worked at nearby Mahēṭh, most likely the old Śrāvastī, the capital of North Kosala in the early historic period. This place had a rich religious and philosophical tradition and was a centre of Jain culture as well as the site of the Buddha's "Great Miracle." It was Cunningham's find in 1863 of a life-sized Bodhisattva statue with an inscription that had led to this provisional identification and it was Vincent Smith once again who contested its accuracy. A

Mahēṭh, located on the Rapti River, presented itself as a fortified inner city with an impressive 5.25-kilometre perimeter and 27 passages in the earthen ramparts leading out to its many surrounding suburbs. Within the city's walls Vogel attempted to find archaeological evidence for Mahēṭh's assumed multireligious nature. He therefore finished excavating the subsidiary sites Kachchi Kuti and Pakki Kuti. Kachchi Kuti was not even a Buddhist site, as Cunningham had stated, but primarily Hindu, judging from the many terracotta plaques that illustrated scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa epic. Pakki Kuti, on the

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³² Vogel 1911b, 126.

³³ According to legend the Buddha, when being in Śrāvastī, was challenged by a group of non-Buddhist heretics to perform a miracle. The competition was presided by Prasenajit, king of Kosala. The Buddha performed several miracles. In the miraculous act known as the "Great Miracle," the Buddha divided himself into multiple bodies by which act all people could approach their own Buddha. The contest was thus won by the Buddha.

³⁴ The Bodhisattva statue was donated by friar Bala in the early Kuṣāṇa period, as was proven later. Its inscription refers to Śrāvastī as the place where the Bodhisattva was installed, more precisely to the promenade (*chankrama*) of the Lord in de *Kosambakuti*. The statue is kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Smith situated Śrāvastī in Nepal, between the villages Balapur, Kamdi and Intava. He suggested that the Bodhisattva was transported to Sahēṭh via the Rapti River, ca. 80 km further down the river.

other hand, was a $st\bar{u}pa$, but not necessarily a Buddhist one. The framework was similar to the Jain Kankali Tila $st\bar{u}pa$ at Mathura.

On the other side of the city, Vogel investigated the Sobhnāth temple, a Jain temple named after Sambhavanātha, the third *tīrthaṅkara*. The complex yielded numerous fragments of statuary that had once graced the niches in the courtyard. One room contained three *tīrthaṅkara* statues, virtually intact and lined up one right next to the other. Although the excavations within the city walls were restricted in scale, remains confirmed that Mahēṭh was indeed a multi-religious city. Despite Vogel's general disappointment, he managed to write a highly accurate report. Descriptions are structured according to the various subsidiary sites and each section ends with a list of finds, including a description of the object, the precise location of the find and the object's measurements – quite a chore for a list e.g. consisting of 356 ceramic fragments. The cross-sections, plans and four-colour drawings show the growing maturity of Indian archaeological documentation with an advancing awareness of stratigraphic values.³⁵

"There is something wrong in our methods," stated Vogel. Some days after finishing the Mahēth part of the excavation, Vogel visited the Lucknow Museum, where he and the young Rakhal Das Banerji (1885-1930) hoped to trace all earlier finds excavated by William Hoey. ³⁶ They indeed traced these finds, including the parasol belonging to the Bodhisattva, donated by a friar named Bala. "The parasol inscription practically settles the question of the identity with Śrāvastī. Cunningham is right after all and Vincent Smith's method is all wrong as I always expected it was, but could not prove it. But isn't it odd. The thing I have been digging for two months, I find standing in the Lucknow Museum. There is something wrong with our methods, to be sure." It was indeed a case of sloppiness; the parasol had remained behind in Lucknow, whereas the Bodhisattva statue had been taken to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. As a result, the parasol inscription had not been published.

In the meantime, Sahni continued the initial survey of the Sahēth remains, which looked like a confusing conglomeration of eminences rising in the landscape. Twenty of these were excavated by Cunningham (1863, 1877-1878), while Hoey (1877-1878, 1884-1885), according to Vogel, had opened "every detached mound that he noticed," leaving all the debris at the site itself in his greediness and lack of funds. It was "a beastly job" for Sahni's famine team to have it transported. A ninth-century Buddha statue was found in one of the three shrines of Monastery 19 (previously numbered 21), which had 24 rooms situated around a courtyard. Another find, just below the surface in room 23, was an inscribed Sanskrit copperplate packed in a terracotta box. The plate commemorated a gift by Govindrachandra of Kanauj of six villages to the community of friars residing in the great convent of the Holy Jetavana, in [Vikrama] *Samvat* 1186 (1130 CE). The identity debate had been resolved: Sahēṭh was ancient Jetavana and Mahēṭh was therefore the former city of Śrāvastī.³⁸ It also showed that Jetavana had still had benefactors in the twelfth century. Fragments of images in Mathura and Gaya stone and an exceptional Buddha image in Mathura style indicated that Jetavana had had dealings with both regions and that the relationship was one of artistic dependence.

Reviewing the three excavations, we may conclude that the process of professionalizing Indian archaeology had been successful, not in the least because of the much improved reports, published in the *Annual Report* series. The demands for quality publishing, however, made the series generally run into major delays, which meant that the old complaint on the nineteenth-century publications was still valid. A second complaint – excavations were seldom completed – was also hard to avoid. The lure of

³⁵ Vogel and Sahni 1911; Marshall 1914.

³⁶ Vogel incorporated all of William Hoey's data in his report.

³⁷ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for 9 April 1908.

³⁸ Shastri 1915, 19 (E27).

the entire national heritage was so strong, and the size of the teams so small, that it was almost impossible for archaeologists to restrict themselves to excavating an entire site or have these major efforts financed.

According to Vogel, Cunningham was after all much to be praised for his "wonderful and truly general insight into topographical questions," but room for criticism should also be there.³⁹

Early photography and photographic perceptions

From a technical point of view, Vogel had time on his side. Photography as a medium for documentation was highly valued within an archaeological context. With the introduction of the ready-to-use dry gelatine glass plate, coated with a gelatine emulsion of silver bromide, photography had become much easier. It could be stored until exposure and, after exposure, brought back to a darkroom for development. Various new printing technologies made it possible to publish these photos in a variety of techniques. The new series of *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports*, was to benefit from these developments.

Vogel had personally experimented with photography, although time and again the results were unsatisfactory. As early as during his pioneering North India tour in 1900, he had experienced a surfeit of problems, all of which forced him to give up on "all that messing about with photography." In 1901 and 1902 – Vogel did not yet have his own photographer – he twice tried "in the service of science" to record the collection of Gandhāran art in the relatively dark Guides' Mess at Mardan. In April 1901, travelling with the Canadian Sanskritist Alfred W. Stratton, his efforts were a complete failure. However, a year later the results were "satisfying" thanks to exposure times of between half an hour and an hour, and the use of an actinometer.⁴⁰

Early photography in the ASI

Increased mobility allowed photographers to move into more remote regions. One such example was Marshall's photographer Babu Pindi Lal, who accompanied the Moravian missionary August Hermann Francke (1870-1930) on his expedition. From June to October 1909, at Marshall's request, Francke travelled through the region between Simla and Srinager by way of Bashar State, Spiti and Ladakh. Francke's knowledge of the history and languages of former "Western Tibet" made him the best possible scholar to conduct the exploration, since his missionary region was Lahul and Ladakh. Vogel had also travelled part of these areas. In the summer of 1901, Lahul was part of his tour. He was invited to write the foreword for Francke's two-volume *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, published in 1914. It was a rare pleasure, as he put it, for a friend who had put out an "awfully nice" publication with unique black-and-white photos, including the first magnesium flash photos of the clay figures in the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in the Tabo Monastery.

The pictures by Vogel's photographer Ghulam Nabi were equally spectacular and exceptional. He managed to make interior exposures of religious art never recorded before that time. To have had at hand Theodore Bloch's A list of photographic negatives of Indian antiquities in the collection of the Indian Museum: with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India office (published in 1900 by the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing at Calcutta), would have been quite valuable to all superintendents. Vogel also expressed his displeasure at the fact that

³⁹ Vogel 1921, 36-37, quoting: "In fact it may well be said that the archaeological investigations, so vigorously undertaken by him and his assistants, greatly encouraged the hunt for antiquities and the consequent despoiling of ancient structures. [...] I am not aware at any rate, that he ever suggested any means of combating the natural decay or willful destruction of the monuments, except so far that sculptures and inscriptions were collected by him in great numbers and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal."

⁴⁰ Vogel 1901, 8, and 1902, 6. Also see Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entries for 1 and 2 March 1902.

photographs donated to the government went to the Asiatic Society and the School of Art in Calcutta, and not to the Archaeological Department, although these were of paramount importance to them. Seemingly, photographic documentation was still the ASI's stepchild.

Although Vogel personally enjoyed collecting early, professional photographs, the annual numbers of ASI photographs for the Panjab Circle were still low: e.g. for the season 1903-1904: 118 photographs and 19 drawings; season 1910-1911: 170 photographs (among others 56 taken at the Lucknow Museum; 27 copies of photographs donated by the $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ of Mandi) and 37 drawings (17 in ink, 20 in pencil).

Care for monuments

Vogel was quite aware of the need for heritage care in India, which – according to him – could only be realized through professionalization and reorganization. Back in 1885, the first appointed directorgeneral of the Archaeological Survey, Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), had started these processes.

In contrast to the precisely described aims of care for monuments, publications were hard to find. It was only in 1905, shortly after India had its own Monuments Protection Act, that the first complete book on heritage topics came from British soil: Baldwin Brown's The care of ancient monuments, an account of legislative and other measures adopted in European countries for protecting ancient monuments, objects and scenes of natural beauty, and for preserving the aspect of historical cities. Vogel's signature in Brown's book and later non-British publications on the topic in the Kern Institute's collections attest to the lack of available literature within the ASI. In 1923, Marshall published his own Conservation manual, handbook for the use of archaeological officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments, which gave further substance to aspects of heritage care in 72 pages. In his Preface (page i), he stated that all archaeological efforts up to that point "were framed by the Military works handbook," a book designed solely to meet the requirements of engineers and builders, working on new buildings. This made "a taste for archaeology" extremely desirable, even though not every district officer bore this particular instinct. Conservation continued to be an additional task, while the regular Roads and Building Branch duties were already "pressing." The lack of any requirement to provide reports among the engineers means that there was little understanding of the exact techniques and materials used in conservation at the time.

Leading principles of care for monuments

What were Vogel's views on monumental care? His first rule of thumb was to preserve and perpetuate authentic specimens of the country's monumental antiquities, rather than rebuild or renew them. Rule number two, preservation before repair, stemmed from the first rule. Vogel's quote from Marshall's first *Conservation of ancient monuments, Conservation pamphlet* (1907), emphasizes his agreement: "Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their historical value is not to renew them, but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are to be carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself." In actual practice, this statement was to create tension. The condition of most structures predominantly called for repair. Any delay would make preservation more difficult and expensive.

Vogel, as a purist, attached great importance to the original design, purpose of structures and their decoration. As a result, he made restoration to the original context his aim and preferred to dismantle additions to the original context. Actions like this called for study, as did the proposal of the Superintendent Engineer, 3rd Circle, who requested the construction of a pent roof over the sarcophagus

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⁴¹ Marshall 1907, 3-4.

of Mughal Emperor Jahāngir at Shahdara. "I endeavoured to satisfy myself as to what had been the original covering and whether there had been a covering at all." In view of the fact that the available sources and experts all contradicted each other, Vogel deemed the existing pent roof "perfectly adequate."

To repair or not to repair?

When should one intervene in the process of monumental disrepair and to what degree? This was not a real problem for Vogel. "Overhanging walls must be supported, cracked arches propped up, and gaps filled in," but if new masonry is required, "it is the endeavour of the archaeologist to make such additions as little conspicuous and objectionable as possible." Creating harmony between old and new elements in form and colour was a precondition. In his view, these reconstructions were unavoidable, in which he, together with Marshall, distanced himself from the views of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, which favoured only protection, because every form of intervention implies a certain degree of destruction. In Vogel's view it was impossible "to treat all monuments according to one principle, by which all reconstruction is simply forbidden [...]. Each case must be judged on its own merits." How would the Taj Mahal look, using this approach? It was this idea that made Vogel choose for the moderate path. The heavy-handed "conservation" of the second-century Buddhist *stūpa* in Manikyala (Rawalpindi district, modern-day Pakistan) was viewed as the most rigorous action.

My beloved Chamba (1901-1908)

Vogel's great archaeological passion was the former princely state of Chamba, in present Himachal Pradesh – a relatively unexplored region, which, located far from the former trade routes and dissected by three mountain chains, had retained its traditions, a region that had to be explored on foot and by pony, and where a traveller after a day's march was still received by an official, whose title and presumable duties also had remained unchanged through the lapse of ages. Chamba was not chosen by chance. Vogel had made an introductory Panjab Hill Tour between May and October 1901, during which he explored the princely states Mandi and Chamba and the hill states Kangra and Kulu for their archaeological potential. From spring 1902 onwards, he more or less focused on Chamba and made his approaches to Rājā Shyam Singh (1866-1905, r. 1873-1904). These were not an immediate success, as the $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ was quite occupied with polo and hardly interested in archaeology. Not so his younger brother and the later $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, Miyan Sahib Bhuri Singh (1869-1919, r. 1904-1919), with whom Vogel had a inspiring relationship, ultimately resulting in a joint wish to establish a heritage museum, which opened as the Bhuri Singh Museum on 24 September 1908. Vogel's museum catalogue was published in 1909.

Much good came about for Vogel in Chamba. Apart from its natural beauty, pleasant temperatures and a diverse and friendly population, Chamba had an astonishing wealth of epigraphical sources, unique early metal images, temples in a wide variety of styles and woodcarvings of exceptional quality. The local people surpassed any that Vogel had encountered in supplying sources and objects for research, both literally and figuratively, making the search for their cultural heritage a combined effort. His frequent contacts with the Chamba court and its three teenager princelings made him some kind of "uncle" and evoked fatherly feelings in him.⁴⁴ With the exception of the summer of 1907, Vogel visited

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⁴² Vogel 1901.

⁴³ Vogel 1921, 49 and 51.

⁴⁴ These princelings were Rām Singh (1890-1935) and Keśri Singh (1892-1949), both sons of the then ruling Rājā Srī Bhuri Singh Bahadur (1869-1919) and Nihal Singhji Sahib (b. 1895), son of the former ruler of Chamba, Rājā Srī Sham Singh Bahādur (1866-1904). The princelings were tutored by Dr. Atkinson, whereas Rām Singh and Keśri Singh later visited the Aitchison College in Lahore, where they regularly visited Vogel. Nihal Singh was Vogel's favourite prince; for a short while he cherished the idea of adopting him: "How delightful it would be to

Chamba every year, his priority being to make "fresh copies" of inscriptions that provided the foundation for his research. No less than 130 inscriptions were traced between 1902 and 1908, all dating from before 1700. Of this set Vogel published the fifty oldest inscriptions in 1911 as *Antiquities of Chamba state*, Part I, while the eighty medieval and later inscriptions were published in 1957 as Part II by B.Ch. Chhabra, who received his PhD in Leiden under Vogel.

Vogel's many walking tours in Chamba made him intimately acquainted with the geography of the region and its many art treasures. By linking this knowledge to the dates given in the inscriptions, he was able to draw a substantiated picture of Chamba's social and cultural history from ca. 700 onwards, when king Meruvarman seized power. Photographic documentation is no different in that respect; it includes images of the $r\bar{a}n\bar{a}s$ of Svai, Ulansa and Gurola (figure 3.7), the sons of the $r\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ of Triloknath and the state officials of Brahmaur, photographed because "the past to which they belong, is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads."



Figure 3.7. Three rāṇās from the Chamba region (Himachal Pradesh, India). Rāṇā is both the title name for a petty chief and a caste name. From left to right: Cet Singh, Rāṇā of Svai; Judbhir Singh, Rāṇā of Ulansa; and Sahib Singh, Rāṇā of Gurola (photo by Ghulam Nabi, 1902-1908). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections, P-038760 (gelatin silver printing-out-paper print, 14.5 cm x 20 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:83515).

love such a boy and to look after him." After a few days he fully recognized the absurdity of the idea and went on drawing and playing chess with them. See Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for early September 1907. The Kern Institute collections also hold a few letters of them.

⁴⁵ Vogel's approximate date of ca. 700 is based on comparison with the Multai copperplates and Meruvarman's place in the *Chambā Vaṃśāvalī*. See Vogel 1911a, 141.

"Beastly" inscriptions

In Vogel's view, the significance of Chamba's four categories of inscriptions, i.e. on rock, slabs, images and copperplates, lay not in their literary interest. Neither was it that they might help solve a vast number of major chronological questions. Their true significance was their full documentation of regional history and their paleographic value. Nowhere else was it possible to trace the development of the Sharada script as precisely as here, where it was plain to see how it had evolved from the western Gupta script into the modern forms of Gurmukhi and Takari. However, Vogel also ascertained that many of the Sanskrit consecration inscriptions, title deeds and eulogies — the three most important categories of epigraphic documents — were grammatically incorrect and replete with metrical mistakes and spelling errors, a problem stemming from the fact that Kashmir, one of the Sanskrit centres of expertise, was at distance.

The charged language Vogel uses in his diaries makes it clear how hard he had to toil over the material. The Mul Kihar inscription is "beastly" (although with some very fine verses in it), the Meruvarman inscriptions "wretched," the Gum inscription "an awful piece of bad Sanskrit," but the Devirikothi inscription "a real treat." The inscriptions were also a form of therapy for Vogel when feeling frustrated or caught in bad news. When he heard of the earthquake in the Northwest of 4 April 1905, he coped by sinking his teeth into inscriptions.⁴⁶ The earthquake had caused great damage in Kangra and Chamba and in Brahmaur in particular, where the Manimahesh temple could be restored, a task that proved impossible for its administrative and stately mansion, the Kardar *kothi*.

The four large, inscribed metal statues, one found in Chhatrarhi and three in Brahmaur, are the oldest epigraphical sources bearing witness to the autonomous pursuit of political dominance in the Chamba territory. Their donor was king Meruvarman, a Rājput chief of the Solar race, who Vogel believed would have subdued the region in around 700, in order to rule the upper Ravi valley from Brahmaur (ancient Brahmapura). One of these rare statues, both in art history terms and size, is the four-armed, 1.37-metre Śakti Devī (Śiva-Śakti), adorning the cella (*garbhagṛha*) of the Śakti Devī or Candeśvarī Devī temple in Chhatrarhi, west of Brahmaur (figures 3.8 and 3.9). It is an seventh- to early eigth-century octametallic image with a bright brassy lustre, produced by the metal caster Gugga according to the lost-wax process. Its place of production is still debated, since it shows both traits of early Kashmir metal imagery and post-Gupta sculpture produced in the Gangetic mainland.

The special status of the temple in semi-domestic design derives from the fact that the architectural context is also much preserved to the original design, especially its interior layout. Its four wooden columns, capitals and lantern ceilings refer in their wood-relief work to Ajanta examples in stone, once again raising Chamba art far beyond the limits of local style. That same contextual unit of concurrent temple construction and image installment is to be found in the cella (*garbhagrha*) of the almost equally richly ornamented Lakṣaṇa Devī temple in Brahmaur, containing the octa-metallic statue of Lakṣaṇa Devī. After cleaning and preservation by the ASI in 1998, its wooden entrance pediment is once again one of the finest examples of wood craftmenship, showing a complex iconographic programme. King Meruvarman's donated metal image of Gaṇeśa is now enshrined in a subsidiary temple of the Lakṣaṇa Devī temple and the statue of Vṛṣabha, safeguarded beneath a shelter, facing the Maṇimaheśa temple.⁴⁷

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⁴⁶ Vogel 1909c.

⁴⁷ Vogel questioned whether the present Lakṣaṇa Devī temple was the original, basing himself mainly on the Gaṇeśa statue's inscription, which describes the temple as being of the same height as Mount Meru. It might well be that the Gaṇeśa statue was installed in a former Maṇimaheśa temple in *śikara* style, of which, according to Handa (2005, 135), parts were used to enlarge the Lakṣaṇa Devī temple at Brahmaur in the tenth century.



Figure 3.8. Inscribed, four-armed image of Śakti Devī, also called Māheśvarī or Śivaśakti, representing Siva's female energy, holding a lotus, a lance, a bell and a snake. Ordered by Meruvarman, a Rājput chief of the Sūryavanśi ethnic group, who subdued the Chamba region in the late seventh to early eighth century, made in the same period by metal caster "Gugga" at an unknown location. Octa-metallic image, height 1.37 m, Inner shrine of the small Śakti Devī Temple, or Candeśvarī Devī Temple, Chhatrarhi (Himachal Pradesh), India (photo by Ghulam Nabi, Northern Circle no. 846, 1906). Leiden University Libraries, Kern Institute photographic collections: P-038872 (gelatin printing-out-paper print, 20 x 14 cm, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:84136).



Figure 3.9. Upper body photo of the same Śakti Devī sculpture at Chhatrarhi. Lotus and lance are visible. She wears a long red garment and a coat-like red and gold upper garment with spiral motifs, and is decorated with huge, silver earrings, necklaces and bracelets. Over her casted crown, an additional crown is put. The two medallions depict Śiva and Gaṇeśa (photo by H.M. Theuns, 10 March 2008).

Parts of Udaipur's Mārkula Devī Temple can be assigned to around the ninth century, although there is no epigrahical evidence to it. The temple is located in Lahul and Spiti district, at that time known as the Chamba-Lahul region. The temple's woodcarvings make clear that religious dominance shifted from Buddhism to Hinduism, or these coexisted side by side through the centuries. The ceiling, with scenes from the Buddha legend and Hindu mythology, is quite literally an interface of cultural exchange in this frontier area. In the next centuries the temple was enlarged and accordingly endowed with new

woodcarvings. The age of its window panels, decorated with Hindu narrative scenes, is debated.⁴⁸ Triloknath (Tunde) offers the same pluriform religious mix. Vṛṣabha and Śiva dominate the main square, but in the temple Avalokiteśvara is worshipped by both Buddhists and Hindus as Triloknātha, "Lord of the three worlds." Triloknath is the site of a major annual fair, which even in Vogel's time drew visitors from far and wide, as did the festival at Churah. Mindhal to the northwest, with its seventeenth-century Cāmuṇḍā temple, demonstrates that wooden temple construction still was continued in the area.

In the post-Meruvarman period, dynastic continuity became a rule in the early tenth century when Sahillavarman, a Pratihāra general, controlled the Ravi valley, making Chamba his capital. This is when the Pratihāra Shikhara temple style found its way into the area, for example in the former capital Brahmaur, where the tenth-century Manimaheśa Śiva temple is one of the earliest examples – and later also in Chamba itself, where a group of six Shikhara style temples, known as the Lakṣmī-Nārāyan temple complex (tenth century), has become an UNESCO heritage site.

Fountain slabs

An exceptional category of slab inscriptions are the inscribed fountain stones, the oldest dating back to the early dynastic period of King Meruvarman. The fountain slabs are typical of Chamba and, to a lesser extent, of Lahul, where they do not bear inscriptions, however. The quality of the reliefs varies from stiff and mechanical to flowing representations, such as on the fountain stone from Salhi, which betrays the influence of the post-Gupta style. Given the function of the stones, the thematic focus is on Varuṇa, the Vedic god of the waters, Viṣṇu lying on Śeṣa on the primordial waters (anantaśāyin) and the river goddesses. But also series of the nine planets (navagrahas), Viṣṇu's ten incarnations (daśāvatāra) and other divinities or human beings are depicted. The inscription always provides information on the donor's perspective, stressing the beneficial effects of the meritorious deed for both the donor and the deceased wife or husband.

Even in Vogel's time there were only a few places left to witness the general appliance of these stones in the early days. Brehi was one such place; its fountain was referred to by the locals as the "fountain of the four castes," i.e. the castes interpreted locally as $R\bar{a}n\bar{a}s$, Rathis, potters and carpenters. By then, many of the stones were broken or sunk below the surface.

In Vogel's diaries one will never read about him being proud of his own efforts, but his two-volume publication of *Antiquities of Chamba State* was an exception. He had been able to combine his knowledge of Sanskrit, epigraphy and Indian archaeology to mutually beneficial effect. Even the ever crital Lord Curzon in 1912 immediately praised the work – written in the cool of Bhuri Singh's palace and his shooting bungalow in Khajyar – as a "most excellent" publication. In 1955 the German scholar Hermann Goetz, conservator at the Kern Institute, added *The early wooden temples of Chamba*, published as *Memoirs of the Kern Institute* no. 1 in Leiden, with a foreword and additions by Jean Philippe Vogel.

Since the eighties of last century, Chamba art has enjoyed new scholarly research, with a focus on temple styles, additions and alternations and its sculptured or painted, iconographic programme. Nevertheless, the two-volume publication of *Antiquities of Chamba State* is still a standard work, especially valued for its epigraphical data. Vogel liked to write more publications of this kind and after he returned to the Netherlands he did so. Despite his workload, he published 35 works, including his annual reports between 1901 and 1913. Together these present a kaleidoscopic overview of his early career in India.

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⁴⁸ Thakur (1996, 99-100) defends the viewpoint that these window panels are as old as the woodcarvings of the ceiling (ca. ninth century). Goetz (1955, 91-95), however, assigns these panels to a much later period, without further specification.

From dust to form: refurbering the museum

Vogel was often shocked about the state of the various museums with respect to conservation and display. In his Circle, the most important archaeological-cum-art museums were in Delhi (1868), Lahore (1894), Mathura (1881), Lucknow (1884), Peshawar (1906), Sarnath (1910) and Chamba (1908). The very reason that museums were generally founded, was often not visibility or to educate the public, but, quite pragmatically, an upcoming imperial or international event. These were the real moments that establishments wanted to show off. For Lahore that had been The Punjab Exhibition of Natural Products, Arts and Manufactures in 1864 and for Delhi the Coronation Durbar for King George V in December 1911.

According to Vogel the ties between the ASI and the museums should become better and lasting. To that purpose he had become "honorary" curator in the museums of Lahore, Mathura and Lucknow. New catalogues for the museums in Delhi, Mathura, Lucknow were written by him, as well as the first catalogue for the Chamba Museum. He hoped that two important Indian values, reverence for tradition and religious spirit, could bring about appreciation of India's diverse cultures.

All in the family?

To live as a Dutchman in a society where neither the indigenous culture nor the culture of the colonial ruler are one's own turned out to be highly intriguing for Vogel. It also provided him with a certain distance to both Indians and Englishmen. "I have every sympathy for the English as individuals, as a nation I condemn them most severely," he had already noted during his India tour in 1900. The English, in Vogel's opinion, were stiff and reserved by nature, had an overblown sense of self-worth and had formed their own self-contained society. Vogel's message was a relatively non-political one: India was richly endowed with a wide range of archaeological sources ranging from architectural remains, sculptures and art objects to inscriptions and coins. For centuries, historical and social-religious developments had resulted in a continually changing artistry with interesting regional accents and styles. That wealth had to be excavated, restored or conserved and brought to the attention of its own people and the international public, academic or otherwise. Sites, museums, catalogues, photographs and publications all had to bear testimony to this wealth.

The lack of any real interest in archaeology among the British establishment was detestable to him. DuCane Smythe's comment that "archaeological work is nearly completed in India and that he used to go to Kashmir to shoot but never saw any building there," was a striking example of that attitude. "What an astonishing culture in a head of Department." And that was his superior, head of the Public Works Department for the Punjab, highest senior manager of the conservation activities!

Vogel hated pomp and circumstance. The parties were "stupid", a dinner never an occasion to look forward to. "I don't mind talking nonsense after sunset, I am disgustingly polite." Even so, "those dinner parties seem to upset my nerves completely." If at all possible, Vogel would leave again after being present for an hour "feeling sufficiently bored."

Vogel prefered to organise a few activities at Simla himself. Together with epigraphist Sten Konow he introduced the "archaeological teas," meetings for interested persons from around Simla, where a number of antiquities would be put on display and discussed. Together with John Thompson and Alfred Woolner, he founded the Punjab Historical Society that, based on the rules of the Royal Asiatic Society, organised lectures in Lahore and Simla alternatively.⁵⁰

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⁴⁹ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entry for 16 July 1907.

⁵⁰ Alfred Woolner was the registrar of the Punjab University and principal of the Oriental College. The meetings of the Punjab Historical Society were fairly successful and aimed at the dissemination of Punjab heritage in its broadest sense.

In the period 1901-1912, Vogel saw the ASI change from a cosmopolitan organisation into an increasingly British working circle, later slowly becoming more Indian. The British component, which became substantial from 1904 onwards, had consisted solely of architects, owing to the emphasis on restoration and conservation. This one-sided input of expertise annoyed Vogel, who was to give numerous introductory courses on Indian Art. "What is a mosque?" asked the new superintendent for Muhammadan buildings of the Northern Circle, Nicholls, upon his arrival in 1904. The process of Indianisation that had begun at the end of the nineteenth century was cautiously continued in the twentieth century, with the greatest difference being that in addition to draftsmen and photographers, the so-called "second men" within the Circle were now also Indians. Vacancies in the top grade were still reserved for Europeans. In 1911, while Vogel was heading the ASI, officiating for John Marshall, archaeology was moved from the Home Department of the Government of India to the Department of Education, which was controlled by the Viceroy's Council. The transition brought about a number of considerable changes to accelerate the Indianisation of the archaeological department. Vogel: "They have only two aims: to employ natives, to reduce expenditure. The interests of science are nothing to them. [...] I feel much depressed. [...]" 11

The end of an Indian career and the start of the Kern Institute

His mixed feelings made it easier for Vogel to end his job in India. It had always been clear to him: an archaeologist had to be a free man. Besides, nice girls "don't frequent places of archaeological interest."

As early as in 1904, during leave, Vogel had met Marie Strumphler and started an exchange of letters with her from India. But Marie had a clear wish list, with which Vogel was not to comply. In his diaries for this period, several pages are torn out. "It's all over now," he wrote in 1905. However, on 1 October 1912, after having finished the fifth season of excavations in Kasia, he left for the Netherlands to marry Marie on 15 April 1913. Although being recalled to duty, Vogel did not return. His Indian career was over. Vogel was only once to come back, in 1925-1926, to visit places and friends in the company of Marie.

In the spring of 1914, Vogel was invited to hold the chair of Sanskrit and teach Indian archaeology at Leiden University. With the appointment of Nicolaas Johannes Krom (1883-1945) as professor of archaeology for the Dutch East Indies in 1919, there were options to strengthen both fields. Like Vogel, Krom had been active as an archaeologist and in 1913 he had become the first director of the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies. On 1 December 1924, Krom and Vogel founded the Kern Institute Society (*Vereniging Instituut Kern*), named after Hendrik Kern, the first professor of Sanskrit in the Netherlands, who had been active between 1865 and 1903. In April 1925 the Kern Institute was opened. Both Vogel and Krom gave acquisition full priority. It made the Kern Institute's library become a repository for books, manuscripts, lithographs, photographs and epigraphical rubbings.

When Vogel retired in 1939, after twelve years of active archaeological work in India and 25 years of academic work in Leiden, he felt satisfied with his contributions to Indian archaeology.

Epilogue

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The first step of bringing Jean Philippe Vogel's life, career and collections back into the spotlight, was the author's article in *IIAS Newsletter* 22 (2000), "Jean Philippe Vogel: a Dutchman who went Indian." The Netherlands Embassy in New Delhi, triggered by this unknown and surprising topic, initiated the first contacts with the National Museum in Delhi to jointly organize a photo exhibition on Vogel's years in India, in March-May 2008 (figure 3.10). A book to accompany the exhibition was a must: *A vision of splendour: Indian heritage in the photographs of Jean Philippe Vogel, 1901-1913*, by Gerda Theuns-de

⁵¹ Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, file 47, diary entries for 8 and 22 May 1911.

Boer, published in 2008 by Mapin at Ahmedabad (figure 3.11). The research for the book was financed by the Jan Gonda Fund Foundation. An internal symposium, organized by the National Museum in cooperation with the author, was held shortly before the opening.



Figure 3.10. Opening of the exhibition "Photographic Splendour: Early Indian Heritage Views from the Vogel Collection, The Netherlands" at the National Museum of India, New Delhi, 5 March 2008. At the centre Dr. Vijay S. Madan, director of the National Museum, and Dr. Manvi Sharma, director of the National Museum Institute, who coordinated the exhibition (photo by H.M. Theuns).



Figure 3.11. Book presentation at the opening of the same exhibition, 5 March 2008. To the right Bob Hiensch, ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to India, and the author (photo by H.M. Theuns).

These events were also a good opportunity to reconnect with Vijay Sharma, who had joined the opening of the exhibition. Sharma is a successful miniature painter in Chamba town, who had contacted the author asking for a photo of Vogel to portray him. In the Bhuri Singh Museum, founded by Vogel

and Rājā Bhuri Singh in 1908, there is a small hall of fame with the names of former directors. But Sharma personally wanted to portray Vogel as being a founder. It is good to see Vogel not only in sepia or black-and-white photos, but finally in flashy colours and a nice purple tie (figure 3.12).



Figure 3.12. Meeting at the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba town (Himachal Pradesh, India), with director Hari Chauhan and miniature painter Vijay Sharma, who painted a portrait of J.Ph. Vogel based on a photograph sent by the author, 11 March 2008 (photo by H.M. Theuns).

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4.

The "heirlooms" of the Society of Friends of the Kern **Institute**

Ellen M. Raven

In early June 2024, the former Kern Institute and its Society moved to a new location, for the seventh time in the hundred years of its existence (figure 4.1). High in the rejuvenated south wing (renamed after the Egyptologist Herta Mohr) flanking the University Library at the Witte Singel was the new home for Indology at Leiden University, and so for the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute too (figure 4.2). For our Society's board,² this was an excellent opportunity to take stock. The new building would offer deplorably little individual work space for its learned inhabitants, let alone for their books or for storing "stuff." So, board members, with the help of volunteers, checked out the assorted inheritance accumulated over a century to decide what could come along and what had to stay behind and be discarded.





Hart-van den Muyzenberg prepare the Kern Institute's move to the Arsenaal building in 1981.

Figure 4.1. Librarians Marianne Oort and Hanneke't Figure 4.2. The Herta Mohr building, Leiden, August 2024.

A contribution such as this may in due course serve as a "state of affairs back then." That is why I will offer particulars on the nature of the Society's "heirlooms." These observations are based on what librarians and successive boards of the Institute faithfully documented over the years,³ and on personal

¹ (1) 1925-1938: north wing of the Gravensteen building; (2) 1938-1981: south wing of the vacated Academic Hospital at 1e Binnenvestgracht 33; (3) 1981-1986: 1st floor of the Arsenaal building (Witte Singel-Doelen complex, WSD); (4) 1986-1994: Witte Singel 25 (WSD); (5) 1994-2010: Nonnensteeg 3, 1st floor; (6) 2010-2015: Huizinga building (WSD); (7) 2015-2024: Matthias de Vrieshof 3 (WSD).

² In 2024, the board consisted of Peter Bisschop (chairman), Alied de Cock (secretary/treasurer), Sanne Dokter-Mersch (2nd secretary), Lennart Bes and Ellen Raven.

³ Detailed early lists survive in the archives. In more recent decades, the academic librarians Hanneke 't Hart-van den Muyzenberg and Dory Heilijgers prepared detailed documentation on the collections in the Kern Institute Library. Similarly, detailed inventories of the photographs were compiled by Hedi Hinzler, student-assistant and librarian, and a state-of-the-art database with digitized images was set up by Gerda Theuns-de Boer. Sadly, the

recollection as – so I realized – I was involved in various roles with six of the eight (re)locations of the Kern Institute!⁴

Heirlooms in the Wereldmuseum

Let us first take a look at what the board did not need to carry across. A fair share of the Society's special collections has been kept as permanent loan by the Wereldmuseum Leiden for many decades now.⁵ These items include, for instance, objects of Tibetan art and ritual, next to costly inscribed scroll paintings from Nepal and Tibet. Several of our sculptures, from famous sites such as Mathura and Bodh Gaya, and small terracottas from the Northwest of the subcontinent, are preserved in the museum as well. Two monumental Balinese paintings, showing scenes from the Indian epics, were donated to the Society in its early years. After eighty years of institutional life and several moves, these art works were in dire need of restauration and proper conservation.⁶ That is why in 2008 they were donated to the Wereldmuseum Leiden (figure 4.3), where the paintings were expertly restored and could be put on display.



Figure 4.3. One of the Balinese paintings is carried down the stairs in the Nonnensteeg for transportation to the Museum Volkenkunde, 2008.

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database was dismantled by the university at a later stage in a rather disheartening process of centralization of digital tools and collections by the Faculty of Humanities.

⁴ As a student-assistant, helping out in the move to the Arsenaal building in 1981; as a PhD student and board member of the rejuvenated Society of Friends of the Kern Institute, assisting in the move to the Witte Singel in 1986; as an assistant-librarian and board member, enjoying the upgrade to the renovated Nonnensteeg 3 in 1994; as a board member and assistant-professor, during the dismantlement of the library and the move to the Huizinga building (WSD) in 2008-2010; as a member of the teaching staff, with the move to the Matthias de Vrieshof in 2015; and finally, retired but back "on board," for the jump across the University Library premises in 2024.

⁵ The Society's archives carry a list specifying the items in the Wereldmuseum, registered individually with serial numbers under loan # B79.

⁶ Information compiled in 2007 by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer reveals the following. The larger painting (# 12546-7, 1.66 x 4.55 m) depicts the battle between the gods and the demons over the drink of immortality, *amṛta*. It was given by H.T. Damsté to the Society before 1930. See Goedheer 1939. The smaller painting (# 12546-8, 1.70 x 3.05 m) depicts a scene from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It was given by Mrs R.S. van Stenis-James in 1930-1933. Dr. David Stuart-Fox considered them unique pieces, especially because of the gold touching, and clearly valuable. They probably date back to the early twentieth century. Both paintings were used in 1916 at a grand cremation ceremony of Gusti Gede Djelantik, whom the Dutch had installed as *rāja* on the throne of Karangasem (on Bali) and Lombok. The Wereldmuseum Leiden preserves early photographs of the event, probably made by Damsté, the donator of the larger painting.

A famous, "rather intensively published" copperplate from East Java, also on long-term loan in the museum, carries an engraved image of the female personification of a Buddhist tantric spell, Mahāpratisarā, together with her textual manifestation in Sanskrit. The plate came into the possession of the Society in April 1940, via a donation by the widow of Jan George Dom. The April date cannot be a coincidence; the gift must have marked the fifteen-year anniversary of the Kern Institute's opening.

On permanent loan to the University Library in 2010

The fifth move of the Institute, from the Nonnensteeg to the Huizinga building in 2010, coincided with the dismantlement of the Kern Institute Library. It was the sad closing act of several years of a hard-fought struggle to prevent the Faculty of Arts (later: Humanities) from closing down the library of the Institute (figure 4.4).⁸ Since 1960, by agreement with the Society, the university had been the official caretaker and main financier of the library, its staff and the collections used there. In 2008 though, the Society got caught up in the faculty's policy to centralize its library facilities and storage of special collections.



Figure 4.4. Demonstration against the closing down of the Kern Institute Library in 2010.

Undeniably, much of the holdings in the Kern Institute Library had been acquired by the Society or had been donated to it since 1925. The 1960 agreement had dealt with curating and locating these, but

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⁷ Cruijsen, Griffiths and Klokke 2013, 93-117. On long term loan by the Kern Institute to the Wereldmuseum, # B79-1.

⁸ The 2008 annual account by the board of the Society's activities (Ellen Raven, *Jaarverslag 2008*) illustrates the multifarious activities at the Kern Institute Library. It was a BUSY year! The report refers to lectures, receiving VIP visitors, responding to the faculty's plans for a reorganization of its libraries, consulting with the University Library, organizing the loan to the National Museum at New Delhi of eighty photographs from the collection of professor Vogel (coordinated by Gerda Theuns-de Boer, who in 2008 also brought out an eye-catching book on his photographs), digitization of photographs carrying inscriptions, digitization of the rubbings and their rewrapping, sleeving of Borobudur photographs, dealing with outside requests for the use of specific photographs, next to stock taking of black-and-white slides, colour slides and glass slides and preparing a selection for digitalization (carried out by Dr. Anna Ślaçzka). The report also mentions the official transferral of our Balinese paintings to the Museum Volkenkunde (figure 4.2, now Wereldmuseum) and refers to its publications, its plans for a website and the De Cock Fund from which the Society can offer small subsidies to students.

⁹ The archives of the Society contain meticulous documentation on donations and acquisitions from 1925 onwards. Any book or journal owned by the Society would also carry an institutional stamp on the title page. In 2010, members helped to verify the full range of institutional books and journals on the shelves. This was a major undertaking, since the University had deposited similar books and journals in the Kern Institute Library soon after

not with a change of ownership. That is why in 2016 the Society and university finally signed a permanent loan agreement pertaining to these belongings. ¹⁰ They include a fair number of very early books (1600-1799, figure 4.4), monographs published since, journals and off-prints, manuscripts (figure 4.5) in Sanskrit, Lepcha, Tibetan and other languages, Tibetan block prints and archived correspondence, for instance of Hendrik Kern and Mark Aurel Stein, and letters exchanged between Vogel and his network of learned colleagues and former students.





Figure 4.5. Early books at the Kern Institute Library.

Figure 4.6. Manuscripts at the Kern Institute Library (photo Savita de Backer).

Also moving house in 2010 were a marble bust image of Hendrik Kern (figure 4.7),¹¹ two wooden sculptures from Bali (figure 4.8),¹² scholars' archives, early and more recent maps, rubbings, microfilms and microfiches, videos, photographs and early glass positives.¹³

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the opening of its doors in 1925. There had never been a need to distinguish between them, except in the case of rebinding or restauration. Dory Heilijger's contribution on the Kern Institute in the brochure published on the occasion of the Society's 75th anniversary in 2000, offers a history of the Institute and a glimpse of its rich and diverse collections.

¹⁰ Bisschop 2017, 2.

¹¹ The marble sculpture was modelled after a bust image in terracotta by Charles van Wijk, which is now housed in the portrait gallery of the university's Academy Building. In 1934, the marble copy had been given on loan by Mrs. S. Kern-Salomons to the Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV). When the Kern Institute Library moved to the Nonnensteeg in 1992, the KITLV gave the marble sculpture "in perpetual loan" to the Vereniging.

¹² These represent Viṣṇu riding on the eagle Garuḍa and the demon Rāvaṇa riding on the bird Vilmāna. These wooden art works were manufactured in Bali by order of the Society.

¹³ This enumeration is not meant to be exhaustive or complete for all of the Society's belongings transferred in 2010.

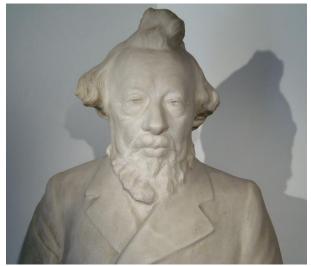


Figure 4.7. Bust image of Hendrik Kern at the entrance to the library (photo Savita de Backer).



Figure 4.8. Balinese sculptures in transport from the Kern Institute Library to the University Library, 2010.

How about the rest?

There remained an assorted mishmash of institutional heritage items that was increasingly difficult to manage properly in a phase in which the Society had assumed a virtual *avatar*, manifest mostly through the activities organized by its board and members and the websites www.instituut-kern.nl and www.dutchstudies-sat-sea.nl. Journals of which the Kern Institute held unique copies had been transferred to the University Library in 2010. Duplicates stayed behind and faculty members had been given the option to place these in their office. The librarian of the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam selected in particular those periodicals that related to ancient Indonesia's cultural history. In the run up to the seventh move, any journals remaining on the shelves by the spring of 2024 had to be disposed of.



Figure 4.9. Bronze sculpture of J.Ph. Vogel, by P.L. Damsté (photo Savita de Backer).



Figure 4.10. Inauguration of the thang ka depicting Mañjuśrī, in the reading room of the Kern Institute Library.

Visitors to the library of the Kern Institute may remember the bronze bust image of professor Vogel, made by P.L. Damsté in 1939, which greeted them on entry (figure 4.9). An enormous gypsum bust of the Tibetologist Johan van Manen, prepared in 1932, also miraculously survived the successive moves of the Institute over the years. The Bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, depicted in a large scroll painting gifted to the Society in 2005 (figure 4.10), had been overseeing the comings and goings at the LIAS

(Leiden Institute for Area Studies) premises since 2015 and may likely do the same again in its new home. Home. Home. Home it is trained to Vogel's teaching were his foldable reading stand and a wooden cabinet with trays that could carry faithful reproductions of ancient Indian coins, presented to Vogel by one of his former pupils, Hermann Goetz (figure 4.11). The holdings also include the long oak tables that always stood in the library's reading rooms, together with other furniture acquired at a bargain price from the Hôpital Wallon in 1925 (figure 4.12). All these items were moved to the Herta Mohr building.



Figure 4.11. Wooden coin cabinet, donated to J.Ph. Vogel by Hermann Goetz.



Figure 4.12. Visit of Dr. Karan Singh, crown prince of Jammu and Kashmir, to the Kern Institute Library, 10 November 2008. In the photo he admires the book *A vision of splendour*, on professor Vogel's photographic collections, authored by Gerda Theuns-de Boer. Professors Jonathan Silk and Ab de Jong are also attending.

Much of this furniture had collapsed since, but the tables still solidly stand a century later. A large institutional Junghans clock, inactive for many years now, could not be brought back to life and would not make the trip. In the office of Peter Bisschop stood the wooden cabinet crafted in (French) Empire style, which had been gifted to professor Jean Philippe Vogel by his friends and colleagues on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1941. A beautifully carved cupboard from Kerala, gracing the east wall of the LIAS common room, most definitely would not be left behind.

On the shelves were also boxes filled with the Society's archives and administration, while the large vault in the basement of the LIAS contained a core selection of 75 representative books owned by the Kern Institute. These had been carefully selected before the fifth move in 2010 to stay "close at heart." The inventory lists also mentioned framed and unframed photographs and engravings, next to several gypsum casts of medallions from Candi Panataran (Java) carrying animal ornaments, donated by Theodoor van Erp. Quite a few boxes were filled with "minor" archaeological objects, such as small images, lamps and votive tablets, which Vogel had brought together or received as gifts for his Institute over time. Some of these items would be put on display in their new home. Silent witnesses to the

¹⁴ The *thang ka* was painted by Tharphen Lingtsang and officially inaugurated at the Kern Institute Library by Tibetan monks at the Institute in 2005.

¹⁵ Our librarian, Dory Heilijgers, had ensured that for each of these books there was at least one more copy available in the Leiden University Library collections.

¹⁶ These were part of a much larger series of such medallion casts. By 2010, most of these fragile reproductions were in such a poor condition that they were decommissioned at that time.

Society as a publishing house were several boxes with a considerable stock of the *Kern Institute miscellanea* (*KIM*) series. Among these was, for instance, the catalogue for the Society's collections of Lepcha manuscripts, prepared by Heleen Plaisier in 2003 and published as *KIM* 11. As storage space would be scarce, only a small set of each *KIM* volume was earmarked for transfer.

Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology

Many of the boxes with our belongings had been stowed since 2010 in small, cell-like closets (figure 4.13). On opening one of these, the board members on duty, Peter Bisschop and Ellen Raven, were facing a wall of boxes piled on top of one another, up to the ceiling. Out came another reminder of the Institute's days of glory: ten complete sets of the printed edition of the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology (ABIA)*, with no less than 23 volumes in each set! The Kern Institute had started bringing out this bibliography only shortly after the birth of the Institute, and had continued to do so until 1984. With each move the stock of *ABIA* volumes had been relocated to new premises, in much larger quantities than the ten sets that remained in 2024. Luckily for the board, by then the data in the old *ABIA* had been given a digital *avatar*, so it was no longer necessary to hold on to the paper version, for which there was no space in the Herta Mohr building anyway. One can only imagine how flabbergasted and probably upset the first compilers of the *ABIA* would have been if they had been offered a vision of this "*ABIA* dump." My second contribution (see article no. 5) for this centennial volume tells the story of the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology (ABIA)*.



Figure 4.13. Closet with stored boxes with belongings of the Society, April 2024.

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5.

The Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology: "the cork that keeps the Institute afloat"

Ellen M. Raven

While on 1 December 2024 the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute celebrates its centennial, the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology (ABIA)* is close on its heels, as it will reach the same milestone in 2028. The histories of the Kern Institute and the *ABIA* are closely interwoven, but each marked out its own trajectory on the Leiden stage. Initially, they were like two peas in a pod, as both the Kern Institute and the *ABIA* were dedicated to Indian archaeology in its widest sense – so including art history, ancient history, epigraphy and numismatics – of those areas that were considered part of the "Greater India" cultural sphere. The net was cast wide: from Iran in the west to China in the east, from Mongolia in the north down to mainland and island Southeast Asia in the south ("further India" and "Indonesia" in *ABIA* 1).

The bibliography was the brain child of the archaeologist F.D.K. Bosch, who headed the Archaeological Survey of the Dutch East Indies in Batavia (now Jakarta). As Bosch was stationed away from Leiden, it was Jean Philippe Vogel, professor of Sanskrit at Leiden, who carried the burden of actually establishing the *ABIA* as a bibliographic enterprise at the brand-new Kern Institute, founded by him together with Nicolaas Krom, professor of archaeology and ancient history of the Dutch East Indies at Leiden University. Vogel would remain its chief editor until his retirement in 1939, when the baton was passed on to Krom. After the latter's demise in 1945, Bosch succeeded him as chairman of the Society and chief editor of the *ABIA*.

The Society's Kern Institute

To understand the trials and tribulations of the early *ABIA*, we need to realize that until 1960, the Kern Institute was a privately run enterprise. Its inception had already led the initiators along a bumpy road (as detailed by Sanne Dokter-Mersch in her contribution for this volume). Luckily, Dutch sympathizers outdid those fellow countrymen who did not see any added value in yet another institute. Among scholars abroad, however, an expertise centre such as envisioned by its founding fathers was warmly welcomed. Originally, the Institute at the Gravensteen (figure 5.1) was open to the public on three mornings each week, except during academic holidays (which still existed back then).

From the very start – so much is clear from the first annual report – teachers of the university lectured at the Gravensteen and also students found their way to the Institute. Vogel took great pains to bring together the "tools" required for the research institute that he and his compatriots had envisioned (as shown in this volume's previous chapter). In the start-up year, these already included many thousands of archaeological photographs of the Archaeological Survey of the Dutch East Indies, on long-term loan from the government. During the Institute's fifth move, in 2010 to the Huizinga building, these photographs were transferred to the University Library, together with photographs donated at Vogel's request by the Archaeological Survey of India to the Kern Institute in the early years.



Figure 5.1. Postcard from 1912 illustrating the Gravensteen, printed at De Tulp, Haarlem, courtesy Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, # PV18836.5.

For purchases the board relied of necessity mostly on contributions of its members, gifts and subsidies. Luckily many scholars and other sympathizers, in the Netherlands and abroad, expressed their support by becoming a contributing member of the new *Vereniging* (Society) (figure 5.2). Once it had been initiated, members were entitled to a free copy of each *ABIA* "regularly." Originally the bibliography was published in a print run of 1000 copies (of vol. 1), which was next raised to 1200 copies and, a few years later, brought down to a still impressive 800 copies. Many of these books were sent out in exchange or offered as complementary copies, but the Society managed to generate some money through sale.²

Contributions and subscriptions alone, however, could not pay the bills.³ By hosting affordable language courses at the Institute (given by volunteers),⁴ the Society managed to secure an annual allowance from the Ministry of Education that helped pay for renting the rooms in the Gravensteen,⁵ salaries of an assistant and a concierge, heating, light, maintenance and cleaning. With the remaining

¹ Contributions by members amounted to fl. 1,200 annually and fl. 180 could be derived from a starting capital. Overall, Vogel found the results of the first attempts to secure money for the new institute "not exactly encouraging" (1935, 5). A sizable donation of fl. 1,000 by the Leiden University Fund (LUF) finally enabled the initiators to carry out their bold plan. They used the money to buy furniture at a bargain from the Hôpital Wallon on Leiden's Papengracht, which had been closed down in 1924.

² The Institute could keep the price low thanks to generous subsidies from the Governments of the Dutch East Indies and British India. In 1929, *ABIA* 2 cost fl. 6 or DM 3.60 (letter to William Cohn, 8 June 1929).

³ In 1937, the annual subscription was fl. 6 for ordinary members and Rs 6 for Indian members. Patrons would be expected to contribute fl. 25. Payment of fl. 100 (or fl. 500 for patrons) entitled one to life-membership of the Society. Just to get an idea in today's situation: fl. 6.00 in 1937 equals € 74.39 in 2023, while fl. 100 in 1937 equals € 1,239.76 in 2023 (www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/visualisaties/prijzen-toen-en-nu). Clearly, the 2024 contribution of the Society (€ 30) is more than fair!

⁴ Trained specialists connected to the Institute gave courses on archaeology, art history, cultural history and "living languages" of their area of expertise in South or Southeast Asia, with a clear focus on Indonesia and India. The Institute also offered training courses in languages, law and cultural history for those aiming for a career as a civil servant in the Dutch East Indies.

⁵ Vogel used the older name "Gravenstein" in his speeches, public announcements about the Kern Institute and the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology*.

fl. 400 (Dutch guilders) the Institute could purchase books for its library. Vogel felt disappointed, though, about the lack of interest for these courses in "living Eastern languages." "Not only was the demand far below what was on offer […] but in government circles and the business world the offer was only moderately rated."

The embedding into the university's set up went smoothly though. The University Library deposited those books and journals from its holdings that were considered relevant to the Institute's mission in the Kern Institute's library. Scholars, mostly from abroad, sent generous gifts of published materials to stock the shelves. Occasionally, the University Library would release funds to help the Institute buy manuscripts in India. In this way, and even with limited means, the Institute acquired a research and teaching profile that rapidly moved beyond the strict boundaries of "archaeology" and its kindred disciplines. Vogel's efforts also received royal approvement, as in 1930 H.M. Queen Wilhelmina became the Society's patroness. She would remain so until her abdication in 1948. There is no evidence in the archives that her guardianship entitled the Institute to some form of "royal" grants for its work.

KERN INSTITUTE "GRAVENSTEIN", LEYDEN, HOLLAND HE AIM OF THE INSTITUTE (which has been named after the great Dutch orientalist, Dr. Kern) is to promote the study of Indian archæology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities, not only of India proper, but also of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilisation, as well as the study of the ancient history of these countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics. The Kern Institute, which is now established in one of Leyden's historical buildings, is in possession of a library and of collections of photographs, slides, casts of sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions and other materials connected with these studies. Students from abroad, who wish to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered, will be cordially welcome. Those, who are in sympathy with the objects of the Kern Institute, are invited to give their support by becoming members. The annual subscription is 5 guilders for ordinary members and 25 guilders for patrons. The payment of 100 guilders (or 500 guilders for patrons) will entitle one to life-membership. THE ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY of INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY IS SUPPLIED FREE TO MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE REGULARLY Applications and enquiries should be sent To the Honorary Secretary, The Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland. Membership fees for England: 10 s., patrons: £ 2 10 s., life-members: £ 9. Membership fees for India: Rs. 6, patrons: Rs. 30, life-members: Rs. 120. Membership fees for the U.S.A.: § 2.50, patrons: § 12, life-members: § 50.

Figure 5.2. Advertisement announcing the establishment of the Kern Institute and the Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology, "supplied free to members of the Institute regularly."

⁶ "Minder verblijdend was, dat niet alleen de vraag verre beneden het aanbod bleef (dat was voorloopig althans niet anders te verwachten), maar dat in regeerings- en zakenkringen het aanbod maar matige waardering vond" (Vogel 1935, 11).

Starting up the ABIA

The ABIA did not expand its profile in a similar manner as the Institute did. It always remained close to its core mission (see above), even though gradually it had to give up covering the publications on the archaeology and arts of "adjoining territories" such as Iran, China and Japan. Up to volume 21, the printed books preserved their distinctive layout, first thought out in 1927, and their "ABIA-style" for arranging and presenting the bibliographic data.

Even though the idea of an *ABIA*-like bibliography came from F.D.K. Bosch, arranging for the annual compilation of such a reference tool must have suited professor Vogel perfectly. In his academic work, he steered clear of filling in lacunae and unclear data with daring theories and hypotheses, as Bosch explained later (1959). Solid-natured, Vogel only wished to rely "on irrefutable facts, so as to ensure that every stone in the building of science that he would contribute would settle seamlessly in its place, accurately in a row, and a firm basis for future researchers to build on." Good bibliographers do exactly that: they establish and sort bibliographic facts in a predetermined, preferably standardized format. Lacunae, if present, need to be filled, but only with reliable details. An almost tedious fastidiousness for punctuality will characterize a bibliographer's approach to his/her work. Vogel meant to try and keep up with the rapidly increasing swell of publications in the field, so the format of an annual must have had a strong appeal.

Frankly, starting up a bibliographic project in a library that had just begun to build its holdings, by a society that had just sprung to life and had no financial backbone to speak of, was a bold step indeed. To give the *ABIA* the format of an *annual* periodical was not only bold, but asking for trouble, as it put the editors into overdrive from day one. It required tracing relevant publications, collating bibliographic specifics, annotating these, editing the compiled data and bringing the book to the press, all within the time span of approximately twelve months, after which the cycle would start again without interruption. And Vogel set his standards high: the *ABIA* needed to cover "all books and articles dealing with Indian archaeology in its widest sense," in a time when "Indian archaeology is a science on the rise. The number of specialist periodicals, in particular in the Indian empire, has increased enormously and is still increasing alarmingly. A beacon in this rising tide was required." Quite wisely, the *ABIA* editors "thought it proper to abstain from offering any criticisms and to maintain a strict neutrality," which is a sound bibliographic principle indeed.

While looking back on the issue of seven *ABIA* volumes in April 1935, Vogel acknowledged that "the bibliography brings in members, journals, books and subsidies. It is – to use a slightly hackneyed metaphor – the cork that keeps the Kern Institute afloat." It had proven to be a "precious idea" (*kostelijk denkbeeld*). He could not know that keeping the cork afloat would nearly sink the ship.

Right from the start the going was rough, so much is clear from the Society's annual report for 1927-1928. Even for the compilation of *ABIA* 1, the work had been "seriously impeded owing to insufficiency of funds, and in consequence, of trained assistance. The preparatory work proved to be much more

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⁷ "Welnu, van dit laatste heeft Vogels goed-Hollands degelijke aard steeds een onoverwinnelijke afkeer gehad. Op onweerlegbare feiten kwam het bij hem aan en met die feiten wenste hij slechts rekening te houden, opdat elke steen in het bouwwerk der wetenschap die hij zou aandragen onwrikbaar zou komen te liggen op zijn plaats, nauwkeurig in de rij, een vaste grondslag vormend waarop de na hem komende onderzoekers met vol vertrouwen verder zouden kunnen bouwen" (Bosch 1959, 355).

⁸ "Want de Indische archaeologie is een wetenschap in opkomst. Het aantal vaktijdschriften, vooral in het Indische keizerrijk, is geweldig toegenomen en neemt nog steeds onrustbarend toe. Een baken in deze wassende zee was noodig" (Vogel 1935, 13).

⁹ Vogel in the introduction to ABIA 1 (1928), vii.

 $^{^{10}}$ "De Bibliographie helpt ons aan leden, aan tijdschriften, aan boeken en aan subsidies. Het is - om een eenigszins afgezaagd beeld te gebruiken - de kurk, waarop het Instituut Kern drijft" (Vogel 1935, 13).

extensive than foreseen, and it was only with the help of a temporary assistant, K.L. Fábri, that the first volume could be compiled within a reasonable time span" (Vogel 1928, 6). As a Hungarian student, he had come to Leiden to study Sanskrit, which his salary for the *ABIA* work enabled him to do. Charles Fábri would remain the major bibliographer for the project until the end of 1933.¹¹

The ABIA introductions and reviews

Each *ABIA* volume came with an "introduction" offering a selection of short reports on recent or ongoing excavations, extracts of site reports, notes on new discoveries, images of sculptures or inscriptions, etc., across the geographic range that the bibliography aimed to cover. At first these short essays were mostly excerpts of publications that had been received by the library, but Vogel soon found scholars in his wide network willing to send in their own contributions for inclusion in the next *ABIA*. Quite understandably, this added another layer of correspondence and editing on top of the already hefty load that the *ABIA* presented to its compilers, at a time that international communication channels in academia were limited to writing and sending letters, waiting for replies and compiling typewritten reports and manuscripts.

In the boxes hauled along during all seven moves of the Society were several rusty, ancient-looking files with ornate 1930s labels. These held assorted incoming letters and postcards with correspondence on the *ABIA*, mostly from its early phase. Occasionally, these had been archived together with duplicates of Vogel's replies. We can only imagine how a continuous influx of such correspondence about the *ABIA* laid claim on his scarce time and that of any assistants (figure 5.3).

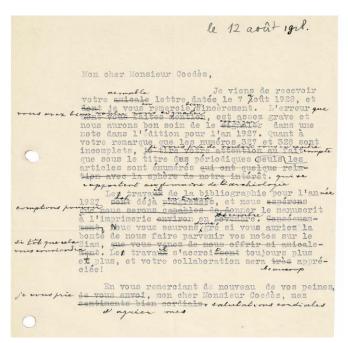


Figure 5.3. Draft of a letter by J.Ph. Vogel to George Coedès, 12 August 1928, about rectifications required in ABIA 2. Typically, the typed letter mentions that ABIA 2 will go to the press in November, while in handwriting this has been changed to December.

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¹¹ Vogel also refers to the student A.J. Bernet Kempers, who during the summer holidays prepared a catalogue for the off-prints and started cataloguing photographs relating to Indian monuments, the last task together with his fellow student Theo Galestin. Bernet Kempers would later become professor in Indonesian archaeology and ancient history and Indian cultural history at the University of Jakarta (1940-1942, 1946-1953) and director of the Archaeological Survey of the Dutch East Indies / *Dinas Purbakala Indonesia* (1947-1953). Theo Galestin occupied university chairs in the art history, archaeology and ancient history of South and Southeast Asia in Amsterdam and Leiden. In my first year as a student at the Kern Institute, he introduced us in his own, captivating way to the narrative art of the Borobudur. He retired in 1977.

There were requests from scholars, universities, libraries and museums abroad to send *ABIA* volumes. Many institutes suggested an exchange of their own publications for the *ABIA*,¹² which Vogel gladly accepted, but it led to a continuous inflow of reminders, for instance when copies got misdelivered or back issues were ordered. Scholars would send their publications or off-prints and request their inclusion in the next volume (figure 5.4)¹³ or, even bolder, free copies of the *ABIA* in return. Others complained to Vogel about the omission of specific articles from their hand in the bibliography and insisted on repair in the next volume.

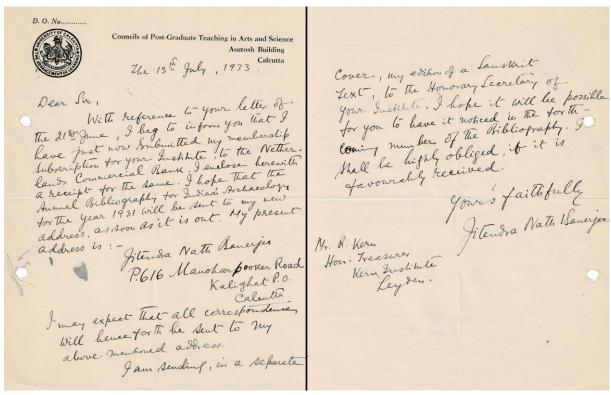


Figure 5.4. Letter by Jitendra Nath Banerjea to J.Ph. Vogel, 13 July 1933, informing of his new membership, requesting a quick delivery of the next *ABIA* and hoping for a favourable receipt of his edition of a Sanskrit text.

To generate some income, Vogel quite successfully offered space for advertisements in the *ABIA*, which in its own way required a regular to and fro of letters and proofs. The Institute also arranged for its own advertisements in academic journals to bring the *ABIA* to the attention of scholars. Thus, an announcement in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (figure 5.5) advertised the latest volume (*ABIA* 7), indicating that the bibliography not only provided a full list of all articles and books dealing

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¹² Among the correspondence is a letter (dated 28 May 1937) from the honorary director of the Adyar Library in Madras, G. Srinivasa Murti, who proposed to exchange their new *The Adyar Library Bulletin* for the *ABIA*. He had already posted the first two volumes by book-post. Curiously, a hand-written annotation, probably by Vogel, notes that a postcard was sent back on 28 June, with a thank you for sending volume I/1-2. As Vogel states: "*Over ruil niet gerept*" (no mention of exchange). The use of the Dutch verb "*reppen*" suggests that Vogel was reluctant to enter into an exchange agreement with the Adyar Library.

¹³ In his letter to professor Vogel of 13 July 1933, the renowned scholar Jitendra Nath Banerjea, of Calcutta University, informed him of a change of address and requested the sending of the next *ABIA* as soon as it was out. He also mentioned sending "my edition of a Sanskrit text. I hope it will be possible for you to have it noticed in the forthcoming number of the Bibliography. I shall be highly obliged, if it is favourably received." (figure 5.4). Banerjea is referring to his translation of the iconographic text entitled *Pratimālakṣaṇam*, which was preserved in manuscript form in Nepal. *ABIA* 7, entry 240, carries a generous annotation for this important publication.

with Indian, Ceylonese, "Further Indian" and Indonesian archaeology, art, history, epigraphy and numismatics, but also offered brief contents with every entry and extracts of review of books. It mentioned the coverage of 146 periodicals. The list of names of contributors for the introduction is impressive as leading archaeologists, art historians and numismatists brought fresh news from the field.

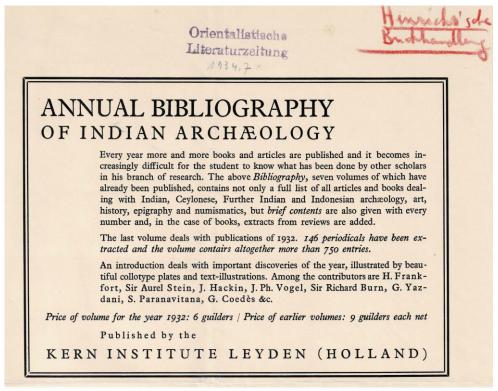


Figure 5.5. Advertising the ABIA in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 7 (1934).

Just to give a clear impression of why Vogel found these contributions so valuable for the *ABIA*, let us look at the details behind the names for *ABIA* 7 mentioned in the advertisement:

- The Dutch archaeologist Henri Frankfort reported on astonishing remains of the Indus civilization.
- The Hungarian archaeologist Mark Aurel Stein reported on a tour in "southern Persia," and the finds of Chalcolithic pottery at the site of Bampur.
- Joseph Hackin reported on his explorations at the caves near the large Buddhas of Bamiyan.
- Jean Philippe Vogel brought news of newly discovered inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya and discussed recent publications on inscriptions from Udayagiri, Nagarjunakonda and Mathura.
- The British numismatist Richard Burn reviewed new publications on coins from the early historic period up to the time of the Bahmanīs in the early modern period.
- Charles Fàbri followed up on excavations at Paharpur in Bengal.
- Ghulam Yazdani was in the middle of preparing his monumental series on the Buddhist caves at Ajanta.
- The Sri Lankan epigraphist and archaeologist, Senarath Paranavitana, reported on inscriptions discovered by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
- The archaeologist George Coedès reported on research in Indo-China, ranging from prehistoric menhirs and grave goods, via Chinese monuments in Annam, to inscriptions and excavated remains at the Phnom Bakeng hill crowned by a ninth-century temple dedicated to Śiva.
- A.J. Bernet Kempers discussed the freshly published final volume of a series on the temple of Angkor Vat in Cambodia.

• A.N.J. Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop dealt with megalithic remains uncovered in southern Sumatra.

Such contributed articles in the ABIA volumes were highly appreciated by reviewers such as Jarl Charpentier (in subsequent issues of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society starting in 1929), and the larger share of similar reviews were devoted to exactly that section of the ABIA books. This is quite understandable as academic journals in its field may often have been hard to access, so an extra news channel from a trustworthy source was more than welcome. Of course, there was always due mention of the bibliographic section, indicating how "very full" it was and "excellently fitted to facilitate future researches in this field" (Charpentier 1929, 151), but this part of the ABIA, labour-intensive as it was, did not generate the same level of excitement.

The editors compiled a summary of extracts from letters and reviews of "happy customers" to be sent out to prospective buyers or with requests for financial support. 14 This was no idle boast, as every ABIA met with wide approval among scholars in the field. The readership was impressively wide-ranged, in particular across the border, and included many leading academics active as archaeologists, employed at universities or holding curatorial positions at museums. To quote from the quotes:

- John Marshall found the bibliography a real godsend and earnestly hoped that nothing would happen to interfere with its production. Charles Oldham, editor of the Indian Antiquary, found that the importance to scholars and students of a scientifically prepared bibliography of this character could not easily be exaggerated. It fulfilled a long-felt desire (Indian Art and Letters). The archaeologist Daya Ram Sahni, director of the ASI, found that the bibliography "supplies a real need and is proving immensely useful."
- Sylvain Lévi in Paris found it a wonderful treasury of information on the actual state of affairs, while George Coedès congratulated the Institute with this magnificent publication. René Grousset wrote, also on behalf of Joseph Hackin and curators at the Musée Guimet, that the bibliography rendered priceless services. One would open it impatiently to find out the latest (Jean Buhot in Revue des Arts Asiatiques 1929). The orientalist Gabriel Ferrand (1930), one of the editors of the Journal Asiatique, found the ABIA a first-rate tool and was impressed by its perfection.
- Charles Lanman at Harvard appreciated "the dignified appearance and solid substance of this Herculean undertaking." Understanding the burden, he wished the editors abounding health and strength for its further continuance. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston agreed that it was a "splendid production."

It is quite evident that scholars appreciated how the editors managed to keep up the high standards that they had set with the first volumes. To quote William Cohn, editor of the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift in 1931: "[...] what was promised, has been kept brilliant, even better than before; a tool for the study of Oriental intellectual life, the importance of which cannot be overappreciated."15 Scholars in the field were well aware how difficult it was to produce and finance the ABIA volumes. Robert Heine-Geldern

¹⁴ Vogel mentions a similar "kleine Auswahl dieser Besprechungen" (a small selection of these reviews) in his letter of 8 June 1929 to William Cohn of the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst. He offered members of that society a discount of 50% for ABIA 2 if the society would buy fifty copies for that purpose. In a streak of Dutch mercantile stinginess, he added that "Natürlich gilt dieser Preis nicht für Bd. 1926" (Of course this price does not apply to volume 1926).

¹⁵ "[...] was man versprochen had, hat man glänzend erhalten, ja übertroffen [...] es handelt sich hier um ein Hilfsmittel beim Studium östlichen Geisteslebens, dessen Bedeutung gar nicht zu hoch eingeschätzt werden kann."

wrote: "That this exceedingly valuable publication can be brought out, in spite of all difficulties, will fill all those interested in Indian archaeology and its adjoining disciplines with joy and satisfaction."16

The high praise for the ABIA as a reference tool may at first glance seem overdone, but just imagine having to carry out research in a world without the Internet, without online library catalogues, without Internet Archive, JSTOR and the South Asia Archive, without EPSCO and similar journal platforms, without easily accessible homepages of an immense scala of journals offering archives of their issues, without online collections from museums opening up with only a few clicks. All these changes came about in the last several decades. Previously, one had to tour along libraries (or request time-consuming interlibrary loans) in order to check card indexes arranged by author/editor names. Journals had to be browsed by going to the shelves. Preferably then, one would first check a dedicated bibliography in order to find out where to start and what to search for!

ABIA during the Great Depression and World War II

Reviewers quite consistently expressed their hope that the Kern Institute would manage to keep up the good work in what were difficult times for everybody. As it happened, the rise of the Kern Institute and the ABIA largely coincided with "the Great Depression" of the 1930s, the largest economic crisis of the twentieth century. The Society's annual reports and the forewords to the ABIA volumes from this period also show how the crisis affected the work badly.

At the 18th International Congress of Orientalists, held at Leiden in September 1931, the participants in the "Indian section," from far and wide, met at the Gravensteen. There, they accepted a motion expressing their appreciation for the activities of the Kern Institute. But time was not on Vogel's side, as shortly after, in 1931, the world-wide economic crisis set in, which made the monetary value of the English pound sterling and the Indian rupee plummet. The carefully built up "hinterland" of contributing members and private companies and societies giving voluntary donations and subsidies was soon engulfed by a fog of financial uncertainty, while the Society largely relied on that income to run the Institute and the bibliography. The Ministry of Education reduced its subsidy, and so did the Government of the Dutch East Indies. Due to the devaluation of the pound sterling, the monetary support by the British-Indian government also dwindled considerably. "Such gaping holes in the dike are not easily closed," so Vogel observed in his anniversary speech.¹⁷

Surprisingly, the ABIA actually proved to be the Institute's lifeline. The Society appealed to persons and institutions for help in ensuring that this publication kept going, and important VIPs stepped in. Princess Juliana, the Rockefeller Foundation in New York and the N.M. Wadia Trust in Mumbai put some money in the till, as did the Oriental Society of the Netherlands (Oosters Genootschap) and the Oriental Institute (Oosters Instituut), both based in Leiden. An appeal to the princes of India resulted in several annual subsidies for publishing the ABIA, 18 and even Sir Kaiser Shumsher of Nepal, an honorary member of the Society, offered monetary support.

Nevertheless, in 1933 the board had to lay off two employees: the full-time staff member Charles Fábri and Hermann Goetz, both involved in compiling the ABIA. Fábri luckily found new employment at the Archaeological Survey of India, while private funding helped keep Goetz at work for the bibliography. For an "extremely modest salary," the board also managed to bring A.J. Bernet Kempers on board.

¹⁶ "Dass diese so überaus wertvolle Veröffentlichung […] allen Schwierigkeiten zum Trotz weiter erscheinen kann, wird all jene, die an indischer Archaeologie und ihren Nachbarwissenschaften interessiert sind, mit Freude und Genugtuung erfüllen" (Heine-Geldern 1936, 143).

¹⁷ "Zulke wijd-gapende gaten in den dijk zijn niet gemakkelijk te stoppen" (Vogel 1935, 18).

¹⁸ The title page of ABIA 10, out in 1937, provides an impressive list of rulers of several Indian states that had offered financial support for the publication.

Sometimes offering a seat on the editorial board of the *ABIA* would sway a potential benefactor or help the latter to release a subsidy locally and bring in new subscribers. Thus, with D.R. Bhandarkar as the intermediary, the senior historian Bimala Churan Law in Calcutta, after officially joining the editorial board, could "be induced [...] to give a subsidy of at least one thousand guilders for the preparation and publication of the Bibliography." In a follow-up sent to Bhandarkar, Law guaranteed ("in spite of heavy calls on my purse") to contribute Rs 1600 in two instalments for the first year, and Rs 500 for the next four years. Vogel conveyed his heartfelt thanks to Bhandarkar and Law, as he had just received news from the Government of the Dutch East Indies that its annual subsidy would be reduced sharply (from fl. 2,000 originally to fl. 500 in 1934). "The support offered by Dr. Law more than compensates this loss" and it would "now be possible to bring out the next issue [*ABIA* 8] without any serious curtailments in size and substance."

On reviewing ABIA 8 in 1935, Jarl Charpentier acknowledged that these were hard times for an undertaking such as that of the Leiden bibliography, but standards had been maintained. He hoped that "those Governments and those trustees of private funds who are able to support professor Vogel's great undertaking will consider it an honourable duty to prevent such a publication of this wide scope and high importance having to grapple with depressing and quite unnecessary financial difficulties" (1935, 373). Likewise, George Coedès found the punctuality with which the ABIA was brought out, even in the circumstances of that time, perhaps its best quality (Vogel may have frowned a little while digesting that comment).²²

The financial worries for Vogel and his fellow board members were indeed depressing, as is also clear from the 1937-1938 annual report. Vogel looked back on "a year of disappointment and adversity" ("een jaar van teleurstelling en tegensproed", p. 3). An appeal for financial support for the Institute, sent out by the Board of Assistance (*Raad van Bijstand*), had fallen on barren ground and could be considered a fiasco, although the Society managed to make ends meet with extra gifts from members trying to ease the pain of a failed attempt at "crowd-funding." Next to such updates on the money situation, annual reports always specified important gifts of books or archival materials such as correspondence, and even of ancient coins, by Hermann Goetz. Vogel's coin cabinet, still with the Society, contains both replicas and originals, undoubtedly partly from that gift (figure 4.10).²³

Changes in staff must have affected the flow of the bibliographic work that was on such a tight time leash. It had struck Vogel that each new *ABIA* tended to be published later in the running year than the preceding volume. Time and again, the goal to complete the work within the year (and so catch up a bit) proved to be out of reach because of "the most unexpected impediments." A.J. Bernet Kempers and Hermann Goetz left the Netherlands in 1936, but the new conservator, H.E. Buiskool, completed *ABIA* 10 and next compiled *ABIA* 11 within ten months! We may wonder to what extent the honourable and learned members of the editorial board may have been helping out in the gathering of bibliographic data, but they certainly guaranteed an influx of contributions for the introductory section of the *ABIA* books.

²² "La ponctualité avec laquelle apparaît chaque année la bibliographie de l'Institut Kern et peut-être, dans les conjonctures actuelles, la plus précieuse qualité de cette publication […]" (1935, 335).

¹⁹ Letter of D.R. Bhandarkar to J.Ph. Vogel, 4 April 1934. He pointed out that Dr. Law could also help prepare any part of the bibliography, as he had a first-rate library and a number of MA assistants.

²⁰ In the 1930s, the Indian rupee was pegged to the British pound sterling, with £ 1 equalling Rs 13 (www.quora.com).

²¹ Letter from J.Ph. Vogel to D.R. Bhandarkar, 14 July 1934.

²³ It even held a few genuine Gupta gold coins next to electrotypes from the British Museum, as an inventory from the 1970s shows. Unfortunately, the genuine coins, which were easily identifiable by the small tags beneath them, had disappeared from the "Gupta" tray by the time that I took up my research on Gupta gold currency.

Unfortunately, due to the persistent lack of funds, the Kern Institute did not have the financial means to keep their most efficient bibliographer on board. Its financial capacity only offered room to pay a monthly salary of fl. 100 without any prospect of a raise or a pension. So Buiskool found a new job in lexicology, to be eventually succeeded by Dr. A.J. Goedheer.

Not by coincidence, several of the contributing authors mentioned in the aforementioned advertisement for *ABIA* 7, agreed to sit on the editorial board and would thus safeguard that part of the project.²⁴ In the annual report of 1938-1939 we also find a list of honorary correspondents, who undoubtedly, one way or another, tried to keep both the Kern Institute and its bibliography up and running.

Financial worries kept knocking on the door. While the curators of Leiden University offered the Institute the option of a new home in the old Academic Hospital on the 1e Binnenvestgracht 33, the board took its time to decide on this move, as it objected to having to pay an annual amount for renting the space, while at the same time the Institute was expected to run a reading room for the university's students in Indology. In the end, it decided to move house in 1938, as the old Gravensteen, originally a prison dating back to the thirteenth century, had proven to be often damp and cold, and it did not offer sufficient space for the expanding library and other research materials. Moving cost money, so the chairman wrote, and indeed it claimed another slice from the already minimal budget of the privately run Institute, "a teaching institute of only moderate name and fame in the Netherlands, but as research institute renowned far outside our borders" (1938, 13). This renown was mostly due to the *ABIA* as the Institute's messenger, as Vogel admitted.

The report for 1938-1939 mentions the rumours about a looming war and, as J.R.A. Loman wrote in his 1969 retrospective, "new thunderclouds loomed up in the sky of the ABIA," shortly after professor Vogel's 1939 retirement as chairman of the Kern Institute and chief editor of the *ABIA*. There were even rumours going around that his stepping down might mean the end for the bibliography. ²⁶

In their foreword to *ABIA* 13, out in 1940, the new editors in charge, F.D.K. Bosch, N.J. Krom and J.H. Kramers, expressed the hope that the political circumstances would not endanger the regular appearance and distribution of the bibliography. "For archaeology can thrive only in an atmosphere of peace, where no hatred and envy exist between the people, but, on the contrary, a strong need is felt to understand and appreciate what each civilization has contributed of its own to the common heritage of mankind" (1940, viii).

Their hopes proved idle. During the war all communication channels necessary to feed the bibliographers with data were cut. *ABIA* 14, covering publications from 1939, could still be published, but no similar compilation could be prepared for 1940 or the subsequent years of World War II. Even after the war was over, it proved extremely difficult to reestablish pre-war contacts, as many old supporters of the *ABIA* and the Kern Institute had passed away and institutional contacts had been severed. The regular exchange of publications, on which the *ABIA* network had heavily relied, had collapsed. On top of that, with India's independence, many of its princes lost their kingdoms and, shorn of their privileges, they were no longer in a position to subsidize the *ABIA* project.

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²⁴ ABIA 10, for instance, lists ten members of the editorial board and eleven honorary editors.

²⁵ "Als onderwijsinstelling geniet het Instituut Kern een matige bekendheid in Nederland, als instelling van wetenschappelijk onderzoek is het ver buiten onze grenzen bekend."

²⁶ From a letter of a member of Ex Oriente Lux, the Near-eastern-Egyptian Society (signed by R. Forbes) to professor Vogel, dated 23 June 1939: "Het deed mij zeer veel genoegen om uit Uw brief te mogen lezen, dat de verschillende geruchten over het Annual Bibliography geen waarheid bevatten en deze waardevolle publicatie met gerustheid zijn verdere tocht zal ondernemen" (I was very pleased to learn from your letter that the various rumours about the Annual Bibliography are not true and that this valuable publication will safely continue on its further journey).

ABIA's survival strategies

World War II forced the Kern Institute to finally let go of the "annual" format for the *ABIA*. Henceforth, it would mostly bring out volumes that would cover three years of publication each, in a sincere attempt to let the gap between the bibliography and its coverage not get too wide. Nine years went by until finally, in 1950, a hefty *ABIA* 15 saw the light of day. In his foreword, Bosch indicated that the best way forward for the team had been to collate data for publications from 1940-1947 and hope that these would give a "fairly adequate impression of the archaeological activities in the period under review."

The introduction came with a nice array of essays, both from *ABIA* veterans and new contributors. They were as varied as before, from Indus valley painted pottery (by C. Kern) and excavations at Ahicchatra, Arikamedu and Peshawar (by J.H. Kramers) to the archaeology and arts of Bikaner (by Hermann Goetz). The eminent historian A.S. Altekar submitted a survey of numismatic finds, mostly based on information gleaned from the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. Senarath Paranavitana reported on reliquary inscriptions from Anuradhapura, while George Coedès surveyed the activities of the *École française d'Extrême Orient* during WW II. Louis Malleret reported on his pioneering work at the site of Oc-èo, in what is now Vietnam, linking it to the kingdom of Funan. A.J. Bernet Kempers, finally, reported on Java, where Candi Jawi was being "reconstructed" and Candi Plaosan excavated.

The editors had worked hard to enable the presentation of *ABIA* 15 at the meeting that marked the 25th anniversary of the Kern Institute, on 4 April 1950. These were still difficult times in the Netherlands, which "did not allow for an exuberant celebration," so the meeting was intentionally kept sober. The programme for the day lists a retrospective of the Institute's fortunes since 1925 (by Bosch), an overview of achievements in Indian archaeology in the same period (with projected illustrations), the presentation of *ABIA* 15, fresh from the press, and a small exhibition in the reading room at the Binnenvestgracht of important publications on Indian archaeology since 1925. The board could also announce that H.M. Queen Juliana had accepted the role of patroness of the Institute, thus following in the footsteps of her mother.²⁷

In spite of this royal benediction, could things get any worse? Yes, they could, and yes, they did, so we learn from a communication. Early 1955, the statutory duration of the *Vereniging Instituut Kern* had been extended up to 31 July 1984.²⁸ The Society could have celebrated the Institute's sixth lustrum in 1955, but found "no reason whatsoever" to do so, as the circumstances were far from encouraging.²⁹ Even though the Institute had acquired a sound reputation abroad and scholars came down to Leiden to use the collections for their research, the interest within the Netherlands was appallingly low. That is why the board had great concerns about the future of the Society. The costs of running the Institute were constantly rising, so it was increasingly difficult to have sufficient budget left to hire well-trained staff and keep up the library and collections. It felt like a continuous and forced attempt to continue the work with insufficiently trained personnel and insufficient means.³⁰

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²⁷ "Hoewel de tijdsomstandigheden geen feestbetoon toelaten, heeft het Bestuur gemeend het feit van het 25-jarig bestaan van het Instituut niet geheel onopgemerkt te mogen voorbijgaan" (from the invitation sent out on 18 March by the board).

²⁸ New statues were submitted, as published in the *Nederlandse Staatscourant* of 21 April 1955, no. 77, together with internal rules.

²⁹ "In 1955 kon het Instituut Kern zijn zesde lustrum herdenken, zij het dat de vereniging geen enkele reden had dit feit met enige luister te vieren, daar de omstandigheden waarin de vereniging verkeert, wel verre van bemoedigend zijn" (Bosch and Pott, Annual report for 1955, typescript).

³⁰ "Het gehele beleid is in wezen niet anders dan een voortdurend en krampachtig pogen de werkzaamheden voort te zetten met onvolledig opgeleide werkkrachten en onvoldoende middelen [...]" (Bosch and Pott, Annual report for 1955, typescript).

In its strife for survival, the board chose to focus its activities and obligations on "Indian archaeology." The courses in eastern languages were stopped, and collections of books in the field of Indonesian languages and literature considered not relevant for the study of archaeology, were transferred to the office of professor E.M. Uhlenbeck. The board also set up separate reading rooms for modern Indian languages and literatures and Buddhology, the curating of which was delegated to the respective professors in those fields. The Institute would coordinate the administration of loans of all books and journals, even when, in 1955, there was neither a librarian nor a bibliographer on board.

This precarious staffing situation is symptomatic of the way the bibliographic work at the Institute had been organized from the very start. *ABIA* work required a fair knowledge of "Indian" archaeology or another specialization focused on the material heritage of South or Southeast Asia, precision, hard work and an aptitude to catch the essence of a publication. Those that qualified would, at the same time, have to be content in an underpaid and probably underrated job with poor prospects of betterment. Before 1960, the work was mostly carried out by PhD students and young PhD graduates eager to belong to the institutional family, devoted to its noble cause (in a field in which they had specialized) and feeling obliged to chip in. Payment was always poor, with no prospect of improvement. This stood in sharp contrast to the task of annotating, which, as also acknowledged by successive boards, required at least a reasonable acquaintance with the topics. Identifying academically trained persons to do *ABIA* work was one step, but keeping them involved over the years proved near impossible. As Vogel had already observed in his ten-year celebration speech in 1935: "There is a good chance that, in case a more lucrative opportunity presents itself in an entirely different area, they will jump to this chance for improvement of fortune. For science this would be a loss" (1935, 21). And we have seen this loss for the *ABIA* happen time and again.

It is obvious how precariously feeble the basis for a survival both of the bibliography and its Institute had become. P.H. Pott, the secretary of the board, had been an important driving force behind the compilation of *ABIA* 15 and 16 by overseeing the work and guiding the manuscripts through the press. After accepting the post of director of the National Museum of Ethnology (now Wereldmuseum) in 1955, Pott's new tasks left him hardly any time for the *ABIA*. The honorary president of the Institute, professor Vogel, likewise was no longer able to help out due to his advanced age. In the second half of the 1950s, the board relied heavily on the help of two student-assistants, A.P. Kelder and K.W. Lim, to compile data for the next *ABIA*. But, as also indicated by J.R.A. Loman in his retrospect of forty years of *ABIA* (1969), the full load of making an *ABIA* volume (identifying publications, writing summaries and bringing it to the press) could not be done side by side with a graduate study.

Nevertheless, three years later, in 1958, *ABIA* 16 was complete, "a massive volume, the proportions of which could seriously endanger the usefulness of the work." Within the board, Bosch and Pott had divided the tasks: Bosch prepared many annotations, while Pott, in spite of his busy work schedule, did the final editing and coordinated the printing with Brill. In his foreword, Bosch explained that *ABIA* 16 had been delayed due to a lack of funds at a time when the cost of printing had risen exorbitantly. He also mentioned the lack of sufficient manpower to carry out the bibliographic work on "the ever-swelling flood of publications to be digested."

³¹ Loman called it "a mere pittance" (1969, 10).

³² "Men kan zeggen, dat bedoelde geleerden er met een laag maandgeld toch nog beter aan toe zijn dan andere gestudeerden, die niets verdienen. Dit geef ik gaarne toe – iets is meer dan niets –, maar de kans is groot dat, indien zich voor hen een meer lucratieve mogelijkheid mocht openen op een geheel ander terrein, zij die gelegenheid tot lotsverbetering zullen te baat nemen. Voor de wetenschap zou dit een verlies zijn" (Vogel 1935, 21).

³³ Personally, I have never had a problem handling this hefty book.

Bosch signalled another, quite serious impediment to the work, one that would only grow worse over time: periodicals in exchange were not received or only after many reminders, new societies and institutes were founded or closed down without a notification to the Kern Institute and cooperation was often slow or unwilling. Urgent requests to authors to send copies of articles, published in every ABIA, had only little effect.³⁴ The ABIA learned too late (if at all) about felicitation and commemoration volumes, which had become quite fashionable in India in the 1950s, whereas their content was often "highly varied and occasionally very important" and should not be missing from the bibliography. The editors tried to do some repairs by collecting data during a short visit to the India Office Library in London, but such working conditions were time-consuming, costly and hardly conducive to a satisfactory coverage.³⁵ Understandably then, Bosch complained that "a great deal of valuable time and energy was wasted" in this way (p. vi), while "persons engaged in this branch of studies are entitled to demand that their most important work of reference should be up-to-date" (p. vii).

ABIA reduces its subject coverage

Bosch next outlined the various options to improve the frequency of the bibliography. It had been suggested to the board to leave out the summaries of the contents of books and articles, and to restrict the entries to a simple mention of the titles. Although the board acknowledged that this would speed up the work considerably, it decided against it, as such a course "would seriously impair the usefulness of the Bibliography."36

The editors instead dealt with the steadily increasing number of publications by refocusing the ABIA coverage. The bibliographers had found it more and more difficult to draw a line between Indian archaeology proper (the actual focus) and adjoining fields, such as prehistory (apparently considered to fall beyond the focus), anthropology and sociology. How to draw a line between ancient art (in focus) and modern art (not in focus)? How to distinguish between publications by scholars (in focus) and by interested laymen (not in focus)? What did "Indian" mean geographically and chronologically (in ABIA terms of 1958)? And should the ABIA consider archaeological objects created on Indian soil during the period of "Muhammedan" supremacy to be "Indian" as well (p. vii)?

Clearly, the board stepped on thin ice here, but skating they went already in ABIA 16, out in 1958. The choice to leave out Mesopotamia was entirely justified, and restricting the coverage of Iran only to where it had relevance for India was even true to the original purpose of that section. For the Far East, the ABIA would henceforth focus on publications falling within the Indian sphere, which basically was part of the original set up anyway.

Throwing out "Muhammadan architecture and numismatics," basically for being not sufficiently "Indian," however, may have left readers specializing in Islamic heritage of the region flabbergasted. That the bibliographers decided to retain a section on "Moghul painting" because of its links to Rajput arts shows how skipping the Islam-oriented heritage of the subcontinent and Indonesia was neither feasible nor academically sound. When browsing through the ABIA volumes for the 1950s and 1960s (volumes 16-21), it is as if the Islamic heritage of the subcontinent, be it in built form, fine arts, epigraphs or coins, never existed. I consider this one of the worst possible editorial choices that the editors ever made for the bibliography, and find it astonishing that none of the honorary editors stepped in. I had expected that reviewers would come down hard on the editors for making this choice, but there is no

³⁴ On our restarting the *ABIA* in 1997, we had the exact same experience.

³⁵ History repeated itself, as I made the exact same trip to the India Office library for the exact same ABIA purposes on its restart in 1997.

³⁶ Bosch referred to Sylvain Lévi stating that he valued the summaries in the ABIA so highly because they informed him not only of the books and articles which he felt obliged to read, but also, especially, of those publications that he could leave unread with an easy conscience (p. vii).

whisper of protest on paper in the reviews of *ABIA* 16 that I could trace online.³⁷ Maybe the relief that, after a long wait, a new *ABIA* was finally out (and a bulky one at that) pushed out any objections against the new "focus"?

Without condoning the editors' decision, one way to understand it is by considering how close the Institute was to total collapse, or – as the saying goes – "desperate times call for desperate measures." If the Society wished to keep the *ABIA* afloat, it needed, once and for all, to ensure the survival of the Institute itself by securing the money to run it. Publishing was getting more and more expensive and the income from memberships was decreasing alarmingly. Acquiring subsidies demanded much time and effort, but came with an uncertain outcome. So, the only option left was to cut down annual fixed costs, such as rent for the Institute's home, salaries of personnel for the bibliography, the library and reading room, housekeeping and insurances.

Sharing the load of ABIA and the Institute

Bosch and Pott next took a major step, one that deeply affected the Society, the fate of the *ABIA* and the expertise centre that after 1960 became known as the Kern Institute of Indology at Leiden University. The board explained to the curators of the university that its privately run academic Institute, of international renown, was going through tough times.³⁸ The Institute had served the university loyally for 35 years by organizing courses for students, building and running a library open to all students and researchers, and bringing together primary research sources for the study of Indian archaeology, art and history, such as photographs and rubbings. These collections were even "inseparably linked to the Rijksuniversiteit at Leiden," also in case the Institute could not continue its activities.³⁹ The Institute, so they explained, increasingly leaned on governmental subsidies to make ends meet, mostly for paying the salary of its single academic staff member, J.R.A. Loman, who was preparing *ABIA* 17. However, the Institute could not guarantee him future employment or arrange for the provision of a pension. As for the Institute's valuable library, it could only be made accessible to "outside" users with the help of student-assistants, which meant that it had to be closed when these students attended classes.

To solve all this, Bosch and Pott suggested a new construction based on a two-way division: on the one hand the *Vereniging Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute Society), adhering to its goals under the supervision of a chairman and board; on the other hand a university institute in a material sense, similar to any other academic institute at Leiden University, but led by the professor for archaeology and early history of Southeast Asia. The Society would place her collections in the material institute (thus transferring the responsibility of accessibility and care for the collections to the university "behind" the Institute) but there would be no change of ownership. The Society would try to expand its collections where possible and the university would be free to add its collections of related items to those of the Society located at the Binnenvestgracht at the time (figure 5.6).

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³⁷ Admittedly, such reviews may exist, but I did not come across these so far.

³⁸ Letter to College van Curatoren, dated 23 April 1959 (Bosch and Pott 1959a).

³⁹ Article 12 of the statutes states: "Bij ontbinding der vereniging zullen haar verzamelingen worden overgedragen aan één of meer wetenschappelijke Rijksinstellingen, te Leiden gevestigd" (In case of a dissolution of the Society, her collections will be transferred to one or more academic national institutions, located in Leiden).



Figure 5.6. On his visit to the Kern Institute on 25 January 1958, the Indian ambassador, John A. Thivy, here flanked by Prof. Pott (left) and Prof. Bosch, offered 400 Sanskrit books to the library of the Society at the Binnenvestgracht (photo by A. van Vliet), courtesy Beeldbank Historisch Oud Leiden, # 007269.

This university institute would require an academically trained staff member to make the *ABIA* and an administrative assistant to oversee the reading room and carry out administrative tasks. These employees of the university would work under the supervision of the director. The Society would focus on publishing the results of the bibliographer's work, viz. the *ABIA*. The board astutely pointed out that this new arrangement would enable the university to expand the original goal of its Institute and, for instance, create working spaces for specialists in Indian languages.

In its reply of 2 December 1959, the curators of the university agreed to all that had been suggested, requiring that the room formerly reserved for professor Bosch (who had retired in 1957) would become that of professor Theo Galestin, while Vogel's room at the Institute would be used by professor Frans Kuiper (as was already the case). The reading room in which the books and collections of the Society were placed would remain in use for that purpose, but it would also have to accommodate staff members for the archaeology of South and Southeast Asia and Sanskrit. The university was prepared to appoint Loman, who since 1958 had been employed at the Institute as its librarian and *ABIA* bibliographer, on an academic position. Apparently, it also involved assisting professor Galestin. The faculty further agreed to employ a typist who would oversee the reading room and assist the professor in his curatorial tasks.

Two final conditions, relevant for our continuing story about the collections that have moved along with the Society ever since, was that the Society would remain based in Leiden and open up her collections as if they were purely university collections. The board of the Society was happy (read "ecstatic!") to accept the new arrangement, under the proviso that for accessing collections of a confidential nature (such as letters of Orientalists) permission from the director would be required (Bosch and Pott 1959b).

ABIA loses the "introduction"

With newly found gusto, Bosch and Pott made it their priority to bring out *ABIA* 17 (covering 1954-1957) as soon as possible. They stuck to the restriction in bibliographic coverage laid down for *ABIA* 16,

but took yet another drastic step that would change the nature of the *ABIA* henceforth. To prevent any further delay, the editors had decided to discontinue the inclusion of the introductory essays and plates. With quite some understatement, they admitted that it meant losing "some readable information in addition to the data of the bibliography proper," but they had had no choice, as the prospected authors did not find the time in their busy schedules to submit a contribution.

Intriguingly, the Society's "annual" report for 1961 and 1962 states that leaving out the introductory survey had been done at the insistence of the authorities in India. Although Bosch did not clarify the matter further, we may conjecture that the Government of India, which co-subsidized the bibliography, was eager to see the results of its investment rather than wait much longer. The editors also stuck to their decision to leave out entries on "Muhammadan" arts and architecture, epigraphy and coins. The bibliographer at that time, J.R.A. Loman, in hindsight estimated that these omissions had had only a limited effect on the time necessary to write "the huge mass of summaries" (1969, 11).

A letter that Loman sent to the board of the Kern Institute on 17 November 1959, shortly before the "Big Divide," sheds some light on the working conditions for an *ABIA* bibliographer and the role of the editorial board. He indicated that the work on *ABIA* 17 was nearly completed, but he had missed the opportunity to share his insights and wishes regarding the bibliographic work with the editors. Apparently, the board did not involve him in their discussions and decisions regarding the *ABIA*, which Loman clearly resented, as *he* was confronted on a daily basis with the difficulties of the job. True (so he wrote), Pott had made every effort to teach him the ropes on how to deal with "these difficult and often stubborn materials." However, once trained, Loman had been expected to carry out the work independently. "It is certainly easier for a bird to learn how to fly than for an ABIA bibliographer to learn how to manage all the tasks necessary for the proper completion of the work." Loman pleaded for "consultations" of the board and himself, as these would contribute to improving the process and would reflect positively on the bibliography. He acknowledged that closing the gap was a priority, but indicated that he needed assistance in the work rather than be the sole person responsible for compiling the *ABIA*. For "in practice, the responsibility for the bibliography rests with the board of the Institute, while the full load of the real labour rests on the shoulders of the compiler. And a heavy load it is!" "42"

More catching up to do

Even after nearly four decades of bringing out the *ABIA*, the editors still kept the ideal of an annual *ABIA* alive, both in their plans and in projections phrased in editorial forewords. It is as if they remained willingly blind to the realities of bibliographic praxis, but actually they were not. They began their foreword to *ABIA* 20 (out in 1966) with an apologetic ascertainment that the compilation of a bibliography "always remains a painstaking task which requires not only much attention and patience, but also a considerable space of time to be spent in collecting the bibliographic data from the widely dispersed quarters where they are openly accessible or hidden in obscurity" (Bosch and Pott 1966, v). That is why they had been "forced" again to bring out a combined volume (for 1962 and 1963), but still had good hopes to clear off the arrears with a couple of more such combined books.

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⁴⁰ "Wel moet worden opgemerkt, dat op aandringen van de autoriteiten in India werd besloten de gebruikelijke inleidende overzichten te laten vervallen" (combined annual report for 1961-1962).

⁴¹ "Maar het is stellig voor een vogel gemakkelijker te leren vliegen dan voor een bibliograaf van de "Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology" alle taken te leren beheersen, die voor een goede tot-stand-koming van dit werk nodig zijn" (letter to the board of the Kern Institute, 17 November 1959).

⁴² "Want in de praktijk is het thans zo, dat, terwijl het bestuur van het Instituut Kern de verantwoordelijkheid van het werk bezit, op de samensteller ervan de gehele last van de eigenlijke arbeid rust. En dit is een zware last" (letter to the board of the Kern Institute, 17 November 1959).

Neil Sedaka already sang that "breaking up is hard to do," but "catching up" likewise proved hard to do. Closing the gap was so much on the mind of the editors, that relatively great haste was put behind bringing out *ABIA* 18, 19 and 20. Professor Bosch, almost eighty years of age now, suffered from bad health and could no longer contribute. The driving forces behind bringing out the three volumes (covering 1958-1963) between 1964 and 1966 were the librarian bibliographer Loman and professor Pott who, in spite of his work at Museum Volkenkunde, saw the books through the Brill press. His directorship, however, left him less and less time for *ABIA* matters, which meant that the bibliographer in the library had to carry out most of the work with only limited guidance or support from the editorial board.

Financial worries knocked on the door as well. Besides the inadequate funding secured within the Netherlands, support from abroad came solely from the Government of Ceylon. The money situation again became so dire that further publication of the *ABIA* might be in jeopardy, so the editors tell us, as "a complete lack of financial support will ultimately result in a decision to stop this activity, however unwilling the Editorial Board would be to do so" (1966, v).

Both the *ABIA* and the Society were caught in this downward spiral while facing the loss of their leading and stimulating figureheads. Professor Bosch passed away in 1967 and membership dwindled as never before. Activities became sparse and so did the meetings. Gradually, the Society sank into a deep sleep. And while, under the umbrella of the university, the Kern Institute of Indology expanded and thrived, its silent sister, the Kern Institute Society, became near invisible in the 1970s.

It did not help that bibliographic work, even when it involves annotating, is generally considered secondary rather than "true" academic work. So even when early in the 1960s money for the position of a bibliographer became available, the faculty insisted that the candidate, as an academic bibliographer, would carry out research next to the bibliographic work (Loman 1969, 14). Loman retired in 1971 or 1972, shortly before the publication of *ABIA* 21. In the 1960s he had been a close witness to the *ABIA*'s downfall. The frustration already evident in his 1959 letter to the board is still quite clear in his 1969 retrospective:

Because the compiling of the bibliographical material and especially the summarizing of hundreds of thousands of articles is so time-consuming, it must be feared that this demanding work will be a serious impediment to the full development of the capacities of any young scholar in the field of Indian archaeology. Besides, the present author knows from his own experience that the compilation of innumerable articles covering an immense field of study, only a part of which the compiler has himself mastered, becomes a soul-killing routine in the course of time. This is inevitably detrimental to the quality of the summaries, and consequently to the work as a whole; it may even endanger the compiler's devotion to the study of Indology. In my opinion, the chance of finding a co-worker of the Kern Institute willing to take upon himself this uninspiring work for a long series of years and able to do it with the same devotion and painstaking care all time, must be considered fabulously small (1969, 15-16).

Loman also repeated his earlier call for guidance for the bibliographers doing the hard work; a successor, "even if such a unique person were to be found," would need professional supervision in order to succeed in this line of work. First and foremost, however, the Kern Institute needed to renew and strengthen its contacts with archaeologists, archaeological societies and university departments in Asia in order to keep the data stream alive.

Loman suggested to reduce the *ABIA*'s range to Indian archaeology proper, in order to bring the contents in line with the title and reduce the work load. In his opinion, it would not lead to a considerable loss of value "since the bibliographical entries of most of the sections that would be dropped are in any

case very incomplete" (p. 19). This honest assessment of the *ABIA*'s real range stood in sharp contrast to the ideal of completeness with which professor Vogel had started the series in 1928.

After Loman's retirement, the board apparently encountered limited enthusiasm for *ABIA*'s bibliographic work, as had been predicted. In his foreword to volume 21, Pott complained that he lacked the time for editorial work, while "the number of scholars who are able and willing to cooperate in the compiling and editing of the bibliography has diminished to such an extent, that it becomes almost impossible to continue this work, and to publish the volumes within a reasonable term."

ABIA loses the annotations

Luckily, in 1973 the Faculty of Arts appointed the archaeologist Inez During Caspers for the *ABIA*, be it only in a half-time position. She rebuilt contacts to acquire published materials for the Institute and the bibliography. In the meantime, her student-assistant Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer collected the necessary bibliographical details for the next *ABIA*. A similar arrangement was still in place when I myself joined the Kern Institute as a first-year student in 1975. Like in the old days, student-assistants did the nitty-gritty data digging for *ABIA* 22 and 23, employed in small, part-time jobs financed by the faculty, while others, such as myself, worked on the photographs of the Institute. Willem Vogelsang remembers it as a pleasant work environment with plenty of opportunity for "socializing."⁴³

As before, both the editors and compilers must have looked for the most efficient way to accelerate closing the gap between the *ABIA* and its coverage, and skipping the annotations came into focus. It seems to me that Inez During Caspers was no keen supporter of annotating, as she would rather spend her working time on research and teaching rather than editing a bibliography.⁴⁴ Probably around 1974 or 1975, the editors (Pott and During Caspers) agreed that the next *ABIA* would no longer contain annotations.⁴⁵ In his foreword ("introduction") to *ABIA* 22, published in 1982, Pott explained as much, in rather cumbersome phrases.⁴⁶ Years before, in October 1976, its manuscript had been delivered to Pott (so tradition has it) as he was expected to see it through the press. But the Society, as so often before, had no money for printing and the absence of annotations meant that the chances of securing a subsidy were next to nil.⁴⁷ Luckily, the student-assistants had continued their work on collecting bibliographic data all the same. Both Dirk Kolff, as the newly appointed curator for the collections, and professor Michael Witzel, as the chair of the department (*vakgroep*), took steps to support During Caspers and professor Pott in bringing out *ABIA* 22 and 23.

One such drastic step, unavoidable so it seems, was to engage a simpler and cheaper printing process offered by D. Reidel in Dordrecht, instead of the "traditional techniques" (Pott's words) used by Brill.

⁴³ The students and graduates helping out were Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, Max Sparreboom, Willem Vogelsang, Emiel Kuijper, Giselle de Vries and Arthur de Vries-Robbé.

⁴⁴ This assessment is not mere speculation, but based on the impressions of several of her student-assistants and my own recollection of spending time with her as one of her students between 1975 and 1978.

⁴⁵ I have reconstructed the tribulations around the last two *ABIA* volumes on the basis of some pertinent documents and talks with persons involved, but it remains somewhat speculative.

⁴⁶ The editors could not continue the *ABIA* activities along the old lines; therefore, two important decisions had been taken. First, the preparation of the bibliography should no longer be considered as a primary task of highly specialized archaeologists. The second decision then had to be (Pott's words) to leave out the short abstracts of the subject-matter as well as the cross-references. In this day and age, an *ABIA* bibliographer needs no longer be a highly specialized archaeologist. However, following that principle, we can no longer expect the *ABIA* to still contain (specialist) annotations (Pott 1982, v).

⁴⁷ In his foreword to *ABIA* 22, Pott revealed his expectation that leaving out the annotations would lighten the burden of the compilers, but instead, it had proven to be a "demotivating agent," so he admitted. Possibly he was trying to explain why, even with During Caspars since 1976 engaged full-time at the Kern Institute and expected to spend ca. 1.5 days per week on the *ABIA*, there was no evident acceleration in the publishing process.

It also made the last two volumes look different from before: they are smaller in size and in layout more of a listing than the previous, annotated works were. *ABIA* 23, out in 1984, even no longer carries a foreword, just a simple acknowledgment of who did the work. Two small references to the Society survived: one with Pott's name, listed in the editorial board as the "Honorary Secretary of the Kern Institute," and the other in the standard call for copies of publications, opposite the title page. Pott was indeed the last remaining board member of the Kern Institute Society, which had no active, visible presence left other than its collections (detailed in the previous chapter) housed in the university's "Indological institute," known worldwide as the "Kern Institute." By now, this had been transformed locally into the faculty's *Bibliotheek Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute Library) and the adjoining department for Indian and Tibetan studies. The library offered access to its various collections owned either by the Society or by the university, just as before.

ABIA lost and recovered

There is little doubt that the *ABIA* lost most of its glory and fame since 1960, when the Society and the Kern Institute had been placed into separate tracks. In the 1970s, scholars and art historians at an advanced age would still hold the bibliography in great esteem, but for the new generation, the *ABIA* was less practical than the editors had hoped for and soon it became a dignified tool of the past.

By the mid-1970s, when I started my study at the Kern Institute, my teachers for archaeology and art history would hardly ever refer me to the *ABIA* to trace relevant literature, although it sat on the shelves in the reading room. This underuse of the bibliography was not so much due to the backlog of coverage, but more to the absence, from *ABIA* 1 onwards, of proper indices. The earliest compilers had started the bibliography with only an author index in place. Possibly Vogel had chosen to leave geographic or subject indices out to save time, which he indeed did not have in his excruciating annual publishing cycle. The formatting of the *ABIA* in subsequent years had remained quite conservative; there were few changes in its set-up, except for the draconic measures for the worse discussed above. The recurring lack of money, staff and continuous pressure to prepare the next volume may also have seriously hampered the making of a consolidated index for existing *ABIA* books at a later stage. As a result, any topic-focused search involved working one's way through every volume on the shelf. So, the use of the *ABIA* books proved cumbersome and not very efficient.

As chance would have it, the publication of *ABIA* 23 in 1984 happened only two years before the Kern Institute Society, the silent sister, would step into the light again – with the help of its indefatigable honorary editor, professor Pott, and Johannes Bronkhorst – as the *Vereniging Vrienden van het Instituut Kern* (Society of Friends of the Kern Institute) (see also Heilijgers 2000, 11). In the newly drafted statutes, the "publication of bibliographies" is mentioned as one of the ways in which the renewed Society intended to support Indological studies in their widest sense. However, in the same year that the Society was resurrected, its most recent editor, Inez During Caspers, had shifted home to the newly created Faculty of Archaeology. This meant that she was no longer obliged to serve as the editor for the

Our erstwhile bibliographic giant would nevertheless be put on its feet again by 1997, with new financiers and an updated format that included (quite ahead of most similar bibliographies) an online version at www.abia.net and a small international network of compilers. The editors reintroduced the

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⁴⁸ In a recurring cycle of dissolving old institutes and creating new ones, somewhere between 1975 and 1979, the Faculty of Arts (now: Humanities) replaced the agreed-upon set-up of 1960 (with a director in charge of the Kern Institute) by a new organizational arrangement. It assigned to a senior staff member of the department of Indology the role and responsibilities of a curator (*beheerder*) of the collections (overseen by a curator-general at the faculty) operating next to the head of the department (overseen by the faculty) as well.

coverage of the Islamic heritage and brought back annotations, but also enabled key-word indexed searching in the *ABIA*. Closing the gap would remain a desideratum.

This is all stuff for another story indeed, one filled with hopes and expectations, solid bibliographic work and hefty printed books to show for it, but also unavoidably about money worries and a continued struggle to survive in a digital world that would, more and more, develop straight routes towards online texts rather than rely on an intermediary medium such as a bibliography.

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6.

The scientific work of Jean Philippe Vogel

Dory Heilijgers

"It was as an archaeologist that he first engaged with Indian culture, and he remained an archaeologist even after the turning point in his life, marked by his departure from India [...] This meant that he continued to pursue the line of archaeological studies he had begun in India [...]" (Bosch 1959, 355)¹

Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958) was a renowned Sanskritist, epigraphist and archaeologist with an impressive career. Trained originally as a Sanskritist, his work with the Archaeological Survey of India significantly broadened his academic focus so as to include studies in Indian art and archaeology. This field of research was entirely new to him and he fully embraced it. Vogel himself (1939, 10) stated "In my interest, this young field of science [archaeology] occupies a prominent position." And he calls Indian archaeology "my real field of study."

Vogel's work from the period 1902-1927 is documented in an annotated bibliography by A.J. Bernet Kempers, entitled "Rétrospective: l'œuvre de J.Ph. Vogel." The translations from Sanskrit into Dutch are not included in it. A second bibliography (exhaustive at the time of publication), "The writings of dr. J.Ph. Vogel: compiled and annotated" by K.W. Lim, appeared two years after Vogel's death in 1960. This bibliography lists 335 works. These two bibliographies were the basis for the online bibliography on the website *Dutch studies on South Asia, Tibet and classical Southeast Asia*, which mentions 359 publications. Of these works, approximately 113 are in the fields of art and archaeology, around 50 are focused on history and about 38 concern Sanskrit and inscriptions.

However, numbers alone do not do justice to Vogel's work. The diversity of subjects is considerable. On the one hand, he has monumental and internationally acclaimed works to his name – such as *Indian serpent-lore*. On the other hand, he also wrote an introduction to Buddhism in Dutch for lay readers. In Vogel's time, a deep specialization in a particular sub-field was less common than it is today.

The following overview⁶ does not present his work chronologically, as such an order can be derived from the three bibliographies mentioned above. Nor is it organized according to four obvious periods: Vogel's time in Amsterdam (1895-1899), his years in India (1900-1913), his professorship at Leiden University (1914-1939) and his final years as an emeritus professor (1939-1958). Vogel's work is presented thematically, organized into the following fields, though a chronological order could not be entirely abandoned: 1) promotion of Indological studies; 2) Sanskrit and Prakrit language and literature;

¹ The original Dutch is: "Het was als archeoloog dat hij de Indische cultuur tegemoet was getreden en archeoloog is hij gebleven, ook na de cesuur in zijn leven samenvallend met zijn vertrek uit India [...] Dit hield in dat hij [...] de lijn van zijn in India aangevangen archeologische studiën verder heeft doorgetrokken [...]"

² "[...] in mijn belangstelling staat dit jonge vak van wetenschap vooraan [...] mijn eigenlijk studiegebied, [...]" ³ Bibliographie Bouddhique III (1933-34): 1-18.

⁴ The Journal of Oriental Research Madras 1957-1958 (1960): 17-47. The term "annotated" does not refer to added substantive information but to the English translation of Dutch titles.

⁵ www.dutchstudies-satsea.nl/deelnemers/vogel-jean-philippe.

⁶ Reviews, obituaries, works on Indonesia and articles on some isolated topics are not included in this survey of Vogel's work.

3) Indian archaeology; 4) Indian art history and iconography; 5) Indian history and epigraphy; 6) the snake and the goose; and 7) concluding remarks.

Both Vogel himself and his pupil, F.D.K. Bosch, describe him as an archaeologist through and through. However, the question remains as to how well this qualification truly fits him, because it seems to me that another field of study receives just as much attention from Vogel, namely epigraphy, and with it, the study of Sanskrit. After all, when Vogel had the opportunity to take up the chair of Sanskrit, he did not hesitate and returned to the Netherlands. We will revisit this question in the concluding section.

1. Promotion of Indological studies

Vogel's enthusiasm and passion for the Sanskrit language with its inspiring and fascinating literary and religious writings, as well as for the rich Indian cultural heritage, fuelled his desire to share this dedication with others. He strongly wished to promote the study of India in all its aspects. This desire became evident in lectures at Dutch institutions, not only at the academic level but also extending to the general public. In doing so, he made a significant contribution to the field of Indology, in a manner quite distinct from his colleagues at, for instance, the Utrecht University. In short, his commitment was exceptional.

In his speech titled "De beoefening der Oud-Indische litteratuur in Nederland" (The study of Old Indian literature in the Netherlands), delivered upon his appointment as a private lecturer in Indian literary history in Amsterdam in 1898, Vogel reviews the early Dutch individuals interested in Indian culture. These include seventeenth- and eighteenth-century missionaries such as Rogerius, Baldaeus and Valentijn, as well as the traveller Jacob Haafner (see section 5.5). It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the study of Sanskrit began, with P.A.S. van Limburg Brouwer among the pioneers. Hendrik Kern was subsequently the first to translate a Sanskrit text into Dutch.

Vogel actively sought publicity by writing newspaper articles, particularly for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, and by giving lectures. In 1899, he delivered a lecture on "De vrouw in de Oud-Indische littaratuur" (The woman in ancient Indian literature)⁷ for the *Vereeniging Thugater*, the first women's professional association of teachers. He discussed the disadvantaged position of women in many respects according to the Indian legal codes and cited examples from Indian literature. In "Leven en werken" (Life and work), a monthly magazine for girls and women,⁸ he introduced his readers to Western interpretations of Indian philosophy. In *Belang en recht* (Importance and Justice) (the Journal of the Association for the Improvement of the Social and Legal Status of Women in the Netherlands),⁹ he discusses the forms of marriage, referring to several female figures from ancient Indian literature.

Vogel would continue to dedicate himself to the promotion of Indological studies until the end of his life. This commitment strongly characterizes him. The founding of the *Vereniging Instituut Kern* (Kern Institute Society) on 1 December 1924 and, subsequently, the opening of the Kern Institute on 4 April 1925 (see Chapter 1 by Sanne Doctor-Mersch), as well as the publication of the *ABIA* (see Chapter 5 by Ellen Raven), are proof of this. He kept interested people informed about the state of affairs regarding Indology in Leiden by publishing reports: the annual reports of the Kern Institute, ¹⁰ "De arbeid van het Instituut Kern: 1925-1935" (The work of the Kern Institute: 1925-1935), ¹¹ "The Kern Institute,

⁷ Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië NS 1,3 (1899): 227-336.

⁸ Maandblad voor meisjes en vrouwen vol. 7, issue 3 (March 1922).

⁹ The subtitle in Dutch: Orgaan van de Vereeniging tot Verbetering van den Maatschappelijken en den Rechtstoestand der Vrouw in Nederland.

¹⁰ On the years 1925-1927, 1927-1928, 1929-1930, 1930-1933, 1937-1938, 1938-1939 and 1940-1941, the last report being included in the Yearbook 1941 of the Oriental Institute of Leiden.

¹¹ Speech delivered by the chairman, professor Dr. J.Ph. Vogel, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Kern Institute on 4 April 1935.

Leiden"¹² in 1945, together with H.T. Damsté, *Biennial Report 1927-1929* (1929), "L'Institut Kern"¹³ in 1931, and finally, in 1948, "Het Instituut Kern" (The Kern Institute).¹⁴

In 1911, Vogel participated in the Conference of Orientalists held in Simla to promote Oriental studies and to emphasize the importance of museums and archaeology. His contributions, as well as those of other scholars like Mark Aurel Stein, Hara Prasad Shastri and D.B. Spooner, advocate the organisation of conferences in India itself and present an outline of a general program for excavation.¹⁵

2. Sanskrit and Prakrit language and literature

Vogel was trained as a Sanskritist. Two and a half years after his doctoral examination in Sanskrit, Vogel took his PhD under C.C. Uhlenbeck with a Dutch translation of Śūdraka's *Mrcchakaţikā* (fifth century) entitled: *Het leemen wagentje: Indisch tooneelspel uit het Sanskṛt en Prākṛt in het Nederlandsch vertaald* (The little clay-cart: Indian theatre play translated from Sanskṛt and Prākṛt into Dutch) (1897). Vogel considered a Dutch translation highly desirable because the Netherlands lagged behind its neighbouring countries – there were already four French and five German translations! – in making known such an outstanding literary work, "so excellent through characterization and lively action, through poetic beauty and loftiness of ideas." Where possible, Vogel has retained the original Sanskrit metre in the translation. Bosch (1959, 349) praises Vogel's "ability to render Sanskrit prose and poetry into Dutch that is as elegant as it is true to the original meaning." The *Mṛcchakaṭikā* has been performed on stage several times, for example on 14 January 1939 by the Residentie Tooneel in the royal theatre in The Hague, and on 29 October 1963 by the Nieuwe Komedie in the city theatre in Haarlem.

With a view to accessibility for a wider audience, it was very common at that time to translate classical literary works into one's own national language. Between 1898 and 1900 Vogel translated five stories from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, the 25 stories told by a corpse spirit, in Dutch which were published in *Elsevier's geïllustreerd maandschrift* (Elsevier's illustrated monthly magazine) under the title "Indische sproken" (Indian tales) each with a separate subtitle. In 1917, he produced a Dutch translation of *Sāvitrī* and some thirty years later, in 1946, he translated a second play, the *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhadatta, titled *De zegelring van Râksjasa door Wisjākhadatta: Indisch tooneelspel uit het Sanskrit en Prākrit in het Nederlandsch vertaald* (The seal-ring of Râksjasa by Wisjākhadatta: Indian

¹² Indian Art and Letters NS 19,2 (1945): 66-67.

¹³ Arendonk 1931, 16-20.

¹⁴ Schrieke 1948, 270-273.

¹⁵ Vogel 1911, 66-72, 99-115, 117-118, 125-130, 131-135, 137-145.

¹⁶ "zóó voortreffelijk door karakterteekening en levendige handeling, door poëtische schoonheid en hoogheid van denkbeelden." (1897, ix).

¹⁷ "bekwaamheid tot het overbrengen van Sanskriet proza en poëzie in even sierlijk als de betekenis zuiver weergevend Nederlands."

¹⁸ The first Sanskrit work translated entirely into Dutch was Kālidāsa's drama Śakuntalā, translated by Hendrik Kern in 1861. Vogel wrote a positive review in the student magazine *Minerva* on 25 November 1922 about the performance (by female students in Amsterdam) of this drama in Kern's translation. Other examples include *Mālavikāgnimitra*, also a drama by Kālidāsa, translated into Dutch by J. van der Vliet. In 1917, Willem Caland (Utrecht) translated the *Gopālakelicandrikā* with the title *Een onbekend Indisch tooneelstuk: (Gopālakelicandrikā)* (An unknown Indian play: (Gopālakelicandrikā)), Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

¹⁹ "Van het Brachmanenmeisje en haar drie minnaars" (On the Brahmin girl and her three lovers), *EGM* vol. 8 (1898): 402-411; "Van den koningszoon en den mantrizoon" (On the king's son and the minister's son), *EGM* vol. 9 (1899): 32-45; "Van de koningsdochter en haar vier minnaars" (On the king's daughter and her four lovers), *EGM* vol. 9 (1899): 172-176; "Van den twist tusschen papegaai en ekster" (On the dispute between parrot and magpie), *EGM* vol. 9 (1899): 54-63; and "Van de koningsweduwe en hare dochter" (On the king's widow and her daughter), *EGM* vol. 10 (1900): 52-64.

theatre play translated from Sanskrit and Prākrit into Dutch). As early as 1900, while camping in Kashmir, Vogel had already decided to translate exactly this play into Dutch as well.

In the field of philology, Vogel studied the meaning of several Sanskrit words. His most well-known work in this area is his Dutch study of 1930 "Het Sanskrit woord tejas (= gloed, vuur) in de beteekenis van magische kracht" (The Sanskrit word tejas (= "glow," "fire") in the sense of magical power). The primary meaning of *tejas* is "sharpness," and, by extension, it signifies "glow," "heat" or "fire." It represents the magical power inherently possessed by certain beings or objects. Bearers of *tejas* include gods, the king, a Brahmin or the Buddha. Their essence is *tejas*. In its visible form, *tejas* appears as light or radiant fire. Even images of gods are carriers of *tejas*. Vogel himself considers his article to be a preliminary and incomplete study.

A 1903 study titled "Sanskṛt pratolī – Hindī paulī"²¹ examines the term *pratolī*. J.K. de Cock's (1899) observation that *pratolī* refers not to a main street but to a gatehouse was adopted by Vogel as a hypothesis, based on the Hindi derivative *paulī*. In a later article, "The Sanskrit Pratoli and its New-Indian derivatives" (1906),²² Vogel elaborates on this theory by analysing several Sanskrit and New Indo-Aryan textual passages. Dating from 1906 is his article "Sanskrit *kīrti*";²³ *kīrti* means "fame" or "glory," but in inscriptions it can also signify "a glorious work."

In 1957, Vogel published "Errors in Sanskrit dictionaries." In this article, Vogel discusses four incorrect interpretations of Sanskrit words: 1) a *haṃsa* is not a swan or flamingo but a goose, since only rows of geese appear as decorative element in Indian art (see section 6); 2) a *makara* is a crocodile (see section 4.4); 3) *pratolī* is a gatehouse (see above); 4) *cāṭa*, which is not "Betrüger" or "cheat," but refers to a subordinate official, specifically the "head of a *pargaṇā* or subdivision of a district," which meaning is based on copperplate inscriptions.

Vogel wrote one such study of a Pāli word in "The sign of the spread hand or 'five-finger token' (Pañcaṅgulika) in Pali literature" (1919).²⁵ The word *pañcaṅgulika* does not refer to "the space of the five finger-breadths," but rather to the imprint of a hand with spread fingers after it has been dipped in a liquid, often used to ward off misfortune or the evil eye.

Among the New Indo-Aryan languages, Vogel was familiar with at least Hindi and Panjabi. In 1948, *De zeven lotusbloemen* (The seven lotus flowers) appeared, being a translation from the Hindi *Sapt Saroj*, a collection of short stories by Premchand. It was the very first Dutch translation of literature in a New-Indo-Aryan language. From Panjabi, Vogel translated poems of oral traditions in "Historical rhymes and proverbs of the Panjab" (1912). Vogel intended to translate more poems from Panjabi for the *JPHS* and eventually compile them into a volume, but this plan was not realized.

With the intention to increase his knowledge of Sanskrit and to learn spoken Sanskrit from Benares' pandits, Vogel went to India in 1899 for a one-year stay. However, he met Mark Aurel Stein, and that meeting changed everything. It marked the beginning of a lifelong friendship and a change in Vogel's career.

3. Indian archaeology

In August 1900, while Vogel was working on his Sanskrit studies in Kashmir, he was recommended by Aurel Stein to become the superintendent of the Circle of Panjab, Baluchistan and Ajmer for the

²⁰ MKAW, Afd. Letterkunde, vol. 70, serie B, no. 4. Amsterdam.

²¹ Böhtlingk 1903, 235-237.

²² JRAS 38 (1906): 539-551.

²³ BTLV 59 (1906): 344-348.

²⁴ BSOAS 20 (1957): 561-567.

²⁵ VMKAW 5,4 (1919): 218-235.

²⁶ JPHS 1,2 (1912): 167-172.

Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). It seems likely that Vogel did not have to deliberate long before eagerly accepting this opportunity. However, it is curious why Aurel Stein nominated him, given Vogel's seemingly limited archaeological expertise. Vogel himself remarked on this appointment, saying "although I had never studied any archaeology before." It is possible that Vogel's knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit was the decisive factor, as this expertise is crucial for reading and interpreting inscriptions. And indeed, reading inscriptions would turn out to be one of Vogel's special research areas.

Vogel's work for the Archaeological Survey of the Panjab Circle was based in Lahore (in present-day Pakistan). The task of the Archaeological Service and its Circles was to protect cultural heritage through archaeological research, excavations, conservation of ancient monuments and documentation. This work resulted in numerous publications by Vogel, most notably the *Annual progress reports of the Archaeological Survey, Panjab Circle*. These reports provide detailed accounts of the activities undertaken by Vogel and his team, which included draftsmen, administrative staff and a specialist in Persian and Arabic. They offer thorough descriptions of monument inspections, recommendations for necessary conservation and guidelines for restoration.

3.1. Excavations

In the service of the ASI as a superintendent, Vogel was responsible for the excavations within his Circle. In the reports of his excavations, he repeatedly refers to Alexander Cunningham as the one who had initiated excavations at many sites but never completed them. Cunningham did only what he deemed necessary and was neither particularly systematic nor scientific in his approach. Vogel states about Cunningham in *Antiquities of Chamba State*, part 1 (1911, i): "Here, as elsewhere, the great pioneer of Indian archaeology only demarcated the field, leaving to others its further exploration." But despite this criticism, Vogel admired Cunningham's work.

When John H. Marshall became director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1902, he introduced a new scientific method of soil investigation. This method emphasized closer attention to stratigraphy, as the soil layers offer important clues about human activity and are essential for establishing chronological sequences.

Vogel became acquainted with this method during his participation in Marshall's excavations at Chārsada, a site located between Peshawar and Mardan, approximately 400 km northwest of Lahore. In "Excavations at Chārsada in the Frontier Province" (1904), published by Marshall and Vogel, a report on these excavations and lists of finds from the Buddhist period can be found. Vogel was then able to apply the knowledge he had gained to all his future excavations. Further excavations in Chārsada were carried out in 1958 by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. He states on page 9: "Reference has been made to Marshall's inconclusive work in 1903 – the enterprise, be it emphasized, of a brilliant but wholly inexperienced and untrained young man in the days [...]"

On 25 June 1903, the Archaeological Survey of India decided to merge the Circles of the Panjab and the United Provinces (renamed in 1950 as Uttar Pradesh). To Vogel's great delight, this merger meant that Mathurā and other sites in Uttar Pradesh became part of his working area. Mathurā was of particular interest to Vogel due to the numerous Buddhist sculptures in red sandstone discovered in and around the city. In two articles, "The Mathurā school of sculpture" of 1909, and its continuation in 1914,³¹ Vogel made pioneering and valuable contributions to the study and interpretation of the Mathurā

²⁷ "hoewel ik nooit te voren eenigerlei archaeologie had bestudeerd." "Afscheidsrede 'Aan mijn oud-leerlingen'" (Farewell speech 'To my former students'), 1939, 10.

²⁸ For the years 1901/1902-1911/1912; published in 1901-1912.

²⁹ Annual Report ASI 1902-1903 (1904): 141-184.

³⁰ Wheeler, 1962.

³¹ Resp. Annual Report ASI 1906-1907 (1909): 137-160, and Annual Report ASI 1909-1910 (1914): 63-79.

style of sculpture. The Mathurā sculptures often depict Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and show a clear resemblance to the Graeco-Buddhist style of Gandhāra (Peshawar). Regarding the relationship between the Mathurā and the Gandhāra style, Vogel explains the two theories that existed. The first theory was proposed by V.A. Smith and A. Grünwedel, who argued that the sculptures of Mathurā directly incorporated Hellenistic elements without the intermediary influence of Gandhāra art. Smith referred to this style as Indo-Hellenic. The second theory, put forward by A. Foucher, suggested that the Mathurā sculptures acquired Hellenistic influence through the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Vogel agreed with Foucher and emphasized that the Mathurā school of sculpture is fundamentally of Indian origin. He stated that "the character of the Mathurā school is that of a direct descendant of the ancient art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, developed under the influence of the Graeco-Buddhist school of the North-West" (1914, 77).³² Despite the mediocrity (in Vogel's opinion) of most sculptures, this school represents an important phase in Indian art, serving as a precursor to the Gupta art.

The flourishing period of the Mathurā school of sculpture coincided with the reign of the Kuṣāṇas, and its development was greatly supported by royal patronage. In "Études de sculpture bouddhique," published in 1908 and its sequel in 1909³³ (based on sculptures from the Lahore and Mathurā museums), Vogel provides examples of Buddhist sculptures that confirm the influence of Gandhāra on the art of Mathurā. Vogel's monograph *La sculpture de Mathurā* would later be published in 1930 (see section 4.2).

Vogel was also responsible for the archaeological excavations in Mathurā and nearby villages such as Māṭ, Mora, Gaṇeshrā, Jaisinghpura and Kaṭra. These excavations were conducted under the vigilant supervision of Radha Krishna, a Brahmin from Mathurā, who had long been assisting Vogel during excavations. In 1912, he discovered in Māṭ a life-sized stone statue, headless and armless, but adorned with a flared coat and heavy boots. The Brāhmī inscription on the statue identified it as Kāniṣka. This statue of Kāniṣka showed little influence of classical art. At that time, it was the first statue found in India representing a historical figure. Vogel published two articles in 1913 about this significant discovery: "A statue of King Kāniṣka" and "Een beeld van koning Kaniṣka den Kuṣāṇ (A statue of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka). A second discovered statue is a colossal Kāniṣka, measuring 6 feet 10 inches in height, seated in a European style, with an inscription in Brāhmī characters. For various reasons, Vogel believed that the reign of Kāniṣka marks the decline of Graeco-Buddhist art.

A year later, in 1915, Vogel published his next article titled "Explorations at Mathurā," in which he describes the excavations in Māṭ. He presents his findings and concludes on page 126: "A study of the Mathurā school of sculpture has led me to the conclusion that the great flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must have preceded the reign of the great Kushāṇa rulers, Kānishka and his successors."

Other excavations were conducted in Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, a Buddhist archaeological site in Uttar Pradesh that is also sacred to Hindus and Jains. The site consists of the remains of an ancient city, Śrāvastī, featuring defensive walls with numerous gates, along with monuments such as temples, two brick *stūpas* and a colossal Bodhisattva. About a quarter of a mile to the southwest lie the remains of a Buddhist monastery, known as Jetavana. Following on the earlier excavations by A. Cunningham (in 1863 and 1876) and W. Hoey (in 1875-1876 and 1884-1885), further excavations under Vogel's supervision began on 3 February 1907, with a workforce of 640 men, and continued until the end of

³² "The Mathurā school of sculpture, continued" *Annual Report ASI* 1909-1910 (1914): 63-79.

³³ BEFEO 8,3/4 (1908): 487-500 and BEFEO 9,3 (1909): 523-532.

³⁴ JPHS 2,1 (1913): 39-49.

³⁵ VMKAW 4,12 (1913): 272-307.

³⁶ Annual Report ASI 1911-1912 (1915): 120-133.

April. After a preliminary note in 1908 titled "The site of Śrāvastī," Vogel published a detailed article "Excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh" in 1911, which provides an in-depth description and a map of the site. It also features a comprehensive inventory of the discovered objects, including pots, terracottas and more.

Cunningham identified the ancient city of Śrāvastī with Mahēṭh and the monastery of Jetavana with Sahēṭh. This identification was contested by V.A. Smith based on the routes taken by Chinese pilgrims, but it was now confirmed by Vogel in his 1908 article "The site of Śrāvastī" through the discovery of an inscribed fragment in the Lucknow Museum. The main conclusions concern the identification of Sahēṭh with Jetavana and Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī. Subsequent excavations conducted by K.K. Sinha in 1959 focused on the "older layers" (a reference to stratigraphy), dating back to the Iron Age, and on the finds, particularly pottery and terracotta figures and objects.³⁹ Sinha mentions the excavations by Vogel as being "the most extensive and the results obtained were of great value to the scholars" (1959, 3).

Kasiā is a Buddhist site, also located in Uttar Pradesh, approximately 40 km east of Gorakhpur, near Kushinagar. The site contains multiple *stūpas*, temples of the dying Buddha and monasteries. Vogel supervised the excavations conducted over three consecutive winters from 1904-1905, 1905-1906 and 1906-1907, and provided a detailed account of these in his reports "Note on Excavations at Kasiā," "Excavations at Kasiā" and "Excavations at Kasiā." Cunningham had identified Kasiā with Kushinagar, the place of the Buddha's death (*parinirvāṇa*), which was contested by V.A. Smith. Neither Vogel's excavations nor the later excavations at Kasiā, conducted by Pandit Hirananda from January to mid-April 1911, provided conclusive evidence to confirm the identification of Kasiā as Kushinagar. However, inscribed seals were found with reference to the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. In his works "Some seals from Kasia" (1907)⁴⁴ and the much later "Seals of Buddhist monasteries in ancient India" (1950), Vogel describes inscribed seals found at Kasiā, dating from approximately 400-900. These seals refer to the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. However, they only confirm Cunningham's hypothesis if the seals indeed originated from Kasiā itself and were not brought from elsewhere. Other discoveries at the site include terracottas, metal vessels and inscribed clay objects.

A fourth location in Uttar Pradesh is Bhītargāon, where Vogel studied and described a brick temple in "The temple of Bhītargāon" (1912).⁴⁶

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a Buddhist site on the Kistna or Krishna River in the Madras Presidency (now Andhra Pradesh),⁴⁷ was discovered in 1926, when Vogel had already been back in the Netherlands for over a decade. Under the leadership of A.H. Longhurst, English archaeologists conducted excavations from 1927 to 1931. During these excavations, the remains of a *stūpa* were found, with five pillars on

³⁸ Annual Report ASI 1907-1908 (1911): 81-131: pages 81-117 concern Mahēṭh written by Vogel, pages 117-130 concern Sahēṭh and are written by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni; the conclusions at pages 130-131 are Vogel's. In Annual Report ASI 1910-1911 (publ. 1914): 1-24, the first article by Marshall is found on the excavations in Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh.

³⁷ JRAS 40 (1908): 971-975.

³⁹ Sinha 1967.

⁴⁰ Annual Report ASI 1904-1905 (1908): 43-58.

⁴¹ Annual Report ASI 1905-1906 (1909): 61-85.

⁴² Annual Report ASI 1906-1907 (1909): 44-67.

⁴³ Smit 1896. A proof copy of this publication, corrected by Vogel, is available in Leiden University Libraries, Vogel Archives, Or.26.821, no. 95.

⁴⁴ JRAS 39 (1907): 365-366.

⁴⁵ JRAS Ceylon NS 1 (= centenary volume 1845-1945) 1950: 27-32.

⁴⁶ Annual Report ASI 1908-1909 (1912): 5-21.

⁴⁷ Since the construction of the Nagarjuna Sagar Dam between 1955 and 1967, the site has been submerged underwater.

each side. Seventeen of these twenty pillars have Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmī script, dating to approximately the third century and belonging to the Ikṣvāku dynasty. These inscriptions were edited and translated by Vogel in "Prakrit inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa" (1933) and "Additional Prakrit inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa" (1934).⁴⁸ Vogel made these editions using estampages that were sent to him. Other findings by Longhurst included sculptures that had not previously been traced in Indian Buddhist art (i.e., not before 1927-1930). Photographs of three basreliefs were sent to Vogel and identified by him as referring to the stories of "The Man in the well," "The Conversion of Nanda" and episodes from the Śrīkinnarī-jātaka (1937) (figure 6.1).⁴⁹



Figure 6.1. Drawing by A.H. Longhurst in a letter to J.Ph. Vogel, 24 June 1952, in which he expresses his wish that Vogel write a book on "the goose" and an article on the "Brahminy or the Pariah Kite," i.e. the black or brahmin kite.

Other studies related to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa include a lecture delivered to the Oriental Society in Leiden in 1927, titled "De titel talavara in Sanskrit en Prakrit inscripties" (The title *talavara* in Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions). Vogel explains that *talavara* appears in South Indian Prakrit inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa but is unknown in Sanskrit and, therefore, seems to have been borrowed from a Dravidian language. Two years later, in 1929, Vogel gave a second lecture at the Oriental Society on the progress of the excavations, titled "Opgravingen te Nāgārjunikoṇḍa" (Excavations in

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⁴⁸ Resp. in *Epigraphia Indica* 20 (1929-1930) [1933]: 1-37 and 21 (1931-1932) [1934]: 61-71.

⁴⁹ "The man in the well and some other subjects illustrated at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa." *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1937): 109-121.

⁵⁰ Abstract of a paper read at the fifth congress of Het Oostersch Genootschap, 1927, Leiden. *Verslag van het vijfde congres, gehouden te Leiden op 20, 21 en 22 april 1927*, pp. 32-33.

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa).⁵¹ He also wrote four short notes in his introductions to issues of the *ABIA*: "Inscriptions of the southern Ikshvāku dynasty,"⁵² "Further discoveries on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,"⁵³ "Excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa"⁵⁴ and "Unidentified sculptures from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa."⁵⁵

Under the general title "Archaeological news in notes," Vogel made some more references to ongoing excavations and archaeological finds in the introductions to *ABIA* 9, 10, 12 and 14, and once, in *ABIA* 8, with the title "Archaeological researches in India during the year 1932-33." In 1940, an article titled "Note on an ivory statuette from Pompei" was published, describing a beautiful, sensual female figure, which is referred to as "a typical product of ancient Indian art." The woman is naked, adorned with numerous pieces of jewellery, and is accompanied by two female attendants. Vogel disagrees with the discoverer's interpretation that the woman represents Lakṣmī, arguing that she is not a goddess but rather a woman attending to her toilette. The statuette dates to the first century or earlier.

3.2. Conservation and monument preservation

At the general meeting of the Indian Society (*Indisch Genootschap*) in The Hague on 14 November 1916, Vogel delivered a lecture titled "Monumentenzorg in Britsch-Indië." Five years later, in 1921, the English translation "The preservation of ancient monuments in India" was presented. In this comprehensive article, Vogel provides a history of monument preservation in India, which is very much linked to the history of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).

The Survey was founded in 1861 by Alexander Cunningham, an expert in ancient geography who identified many ancient sites, but he was not tasked with the maintenance of ancient monuments. He reported instances of looting, vandalism and the repurposing of Muslim buildings for entirely different uses – examples of which Vogel observed in Lahore. To improve the poorly functioning ASI, measures were taken by Viceroys Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon. In 1889, the latter made a passionate appeal to the Asiatic Society, asserting that archaeological research and the preservation of ancient monuments were governmental duties owed to India. The results of the archaeological research and preservation efforts were now documented in the *Annual reports* of the ASI and the *Annual progress reports* of the individual Circles.

In 1915, the resolution "Indian Archaeological Policy 1915" and the "Ancient Monuments Act" were adopted. Instructions were established for inspections in collaboration with a civil engineer for advice, and for any subsequent actions by the Public Works Department. The principle was "prevention of decay" and "preservation before repair." Vogel emphasized authenticity, meaning the original must be preserved as much as possible. Parts of an ancient monument should only be replaced with new material if this was absolutely necessary. These instructions applied to areas under British administration, while the $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}s$ of princely states were responsible for their own regions.

In the year 1916, a brief three-page article titled "Monumentenzorg in Nederlandsch-Indië" (Monument preservation in the Dutch East Indies) was published, in which Vogel expresses his outrage at the indifference with which cultural heritage is treated in the Dutch colonies. There is a predominant

⁵¹ Abstract of a paper read at the sixth congress of Het Oostersch Genootschap, 3, 4 en 5 april 1929, Leiden. *Verslag van het zesde congres*, 1929, p. 37-38.

⁵² *ABIA* 1 (1928): 14-16.

⁵³ *ABIA* 2 (1929): 11-14.

⁵⁴ *ABIA* 5 (1932): 1-6.

⁵⁵ *ABIA* 6 (1933): 14-16.

⁵⁶ ABIA 8 (1933): 6-9; ABIA 9 (1936): 6-10; ABIA 10 (1937): 4-8; ABIA 12 (1939): 13-19; ABIA 14 (1941): 1-6.

⁵⁷ *ABIA* 13 (1938) [1940]: 1-5.

⁵⁸ Indisch Genootschap: algemeene vergadering van 14 November 1916: 27-54.

⁵⁹ Journal of the East India Association NS 12,1 (1921): 32-69; also published in Asiatic Review 17: 78-115.

⁶⁰ Later amendments by the Government of India in 1958.

focus on commerce. Vogel advocates for monument preservation, arguing that it is a governmental duty that has been grossly neglected in the colonies. With the establishment of the Commission for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura and the activities of J.L.A. Brandes and N.J. Krom, this situation improved significantly.

3.3. Museums

A separate category of work involved creating catalogues of museum collections. Vogel compiled three catalogues and wrote the foreword for a fourth one. In collaboration with R. Froude Tucker and his assistant, who handled the Persian and Arabic documents, Vogel prepared the *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta 1908). Approximately half of this catalogue consists of inscriptions with translations. The 1913 reprint includes many additions to the catalogue section, but the inscriptions were left out. In 1909, Vogel also published the *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā* (*Chambā State, Panjāb*) (Calcutta, reprint Chandigarh 2005). This catalogue is organized by inscriptions on stone or metal, pictures, etc.

The third catalogue describes the holdings of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā. Despite his admiration for the work of his predecessors in Mathura, including A. Cunningham and F.S. Growse, Vogel criticized the unsystematic and illogical manner in which they had distributed archaeological findings among museums, often without indicating the find spots. In March 1905, Vogel began organizing the administration and documentation of the sculptures and other artifacts in the Mathurā Museum, incorporating the acquisitions from recent excavations. This highly important work resulted in his Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (Allahabad 1910, reprint 1971). Due to the lack of sufficient data, classification by find spot, religion or chronology was impossible. Therefore, Vogel categorized the objects into three groups: images, bas-reliefs and architectural sculptures – a classification he would use frequently. The catalogue also includes a list of inscriptions. According to J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1947, 235), "The care with which the various exhibits in this collection have been described has made this book a volume still indispensable for the detailed study of the Mathurā school of sculpture." She provides a confirming and supplementary explanation of several Mathurā sculptures discussed by Vogel. In 1914, Vogel wrote the preface and introduction to D.R. Sahni's Catalogue of the museum of archaeology at Sārnāth.⁶¹ The establishment of the museum in Sārnāth, a Buddhist site, was an initiative by Marshall. When Marshall took an extended leave in 1910-1911, Vogel became responsible for arranging the sculptures in the museum and compiling the catalogue.

In his contribution to the Simla Conference of Orientalists in 1911 (see section 1), Vogel also pays attention to museums. He provides an overview of the museums in India (pp. 99-115) and makes a somewhat questionable or provocative proposal regarding their access. For he observed that as long as museums are completely free, too many people from the lower classes tend to visit a museum. A large visitors number is less desirable among members of the higher classes, who feel disturbed while conducting research in the museum.

Vogel provides a description of some pieces of art in the collections of various museums. Thus, in "Een belangrijke aanwinst van het Museum van Aziatische Kunst" (A significant acquisition of the Museum of Asian Art) (1955),⁶² Vogel describes a third-century stone sculpture in the possession of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. It is a fragment of a small octagonal Buddhist pillar, belonging to the Andhra school. The exact site of discovery is unknown, but it is unlikely to be from Amarāvatī or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The pillar is adorned with a frieze featuring a garland carried by three pot-bellied, dwarf-like figures (yakṣas). This motif of dwarfs bearing garlands was ultimately borrowed from the garland-decorated Greek/Roman sarcophagi, via the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra.

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⁶¹ Calcutta, pp. i-ii, 1-27.

⁶² Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 3,3 (1955): 51-58.

At the end of this article, Vogel adds: "It would be of great importance for our museums and for archaeological research if the resources could be found to equip a Dutch expedition for excavations in India and Pakistan."

4. Indian art history and iconography

The beginning of Vogel's work as superintendent for the Panjab Circle marked his first encounter with Islamic, Buddhist (Gandhāra) and Hindu (Panjab hill states) art and monuments.

4.1. Islamic art

Vogel was responsible for overseeing Islamic monuments in the vicinity of Lahore, as well as in Delhi and the regions of Panjab and Baluchistan.

After Agra and Delhi, Lahore served as the third capital of the Great Mughals, particularly during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. These Mughals constructed the Lahore fort in the first half of the seventeenth century. Vogel wrote about its history in "Historical notes on the Lahore fort" and about its architect in two articles from 1914-1915. The first, titled "The master-builder of the Lahore palace," examines two Persian inscriptions, each mentioning a different name for the architect: Abdu-l-Karīm and Ma'mūr Khān (a title meaning "the architect-Khān"). These names appear to refer to the same person. The second article, "A famous Delhi inscription," offers additional details about this architect. A third article, "The Shalimar Bagh of Lahore 1712," deals with Joan Josua Ketelaar's visit to the Shalimar Gardens (1914).

In 1920, Vogel published his monograph *Tile-mosaics of the Lahore fort*, a significant and major work. It is the result of painstaking reproduction work of one of the fort's distinctive features. These are the 116 panels of tile mosaics adorning the surrounding wall on the north and part of the west side. These mosaics portray scenes featuring both people and animals, along with abstract designs. Because of their "far-advanced decay and unique nature," Vogel began reproducing these panels in 1902. He first selected eighty panels, and from these panels — with their images — draftsmen created tracings (overdrawn sketches), followed by drawings on a reduced scale and reproductions. This entire process took five years. The results were initially published in five issues of *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, volume 14 (1911). Later, in 1920, with minor adjustments and including the three separate articles on the history and the architect of the fort (mentioned above), the work was published as a monograph (reprint 1972). Since 1982, the Lahore fort has been listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site and ongoing restoration work using modern techniques continues to this day.

From the *Annual progress reports of the Panjab Circle* we learn that Vogel inspected and documented many other Islamic monuments. Three of these he mentioned in the following articles: "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad," "Tombs at Hinidān in Las Bela" and "The Qil'a-i-kuhna Masjid at Delhi."

Vogel's concern for Islamic monuments stopped here because Islamic art did not really interest him. At the merger of the Archaeological Circles of the Panjab and the United Provinces (decided on 25 June 1903), it was also determined that Vogel would focus on Buddhist and Hindu antiquities, while another

⁶³ JPHS 1,1 (1911): 38-55.

⁶⁴ JPHS 3 (1914-1915): 67-69.

⁶⁵ JPHS 2,2 (1914): 170-171.

⁶⁶ At the same time, several buildings of the fort, including the Moti Masjid, were restored under the supervision of John Marshall.

⁶⁷ The Journal of Indian Art and Industry 10, no. 85 (1904): 37-41.

⁶⁸ Annual Report ASI 1902-1903 (1904): 213-217.

⁶⁹ Annual Report ASI 1902-1903 (1904): 77-79.

supervisor would be responsible for the Islamic buildings. Vogel was pleased with this arrangement and he received a new assistant named Hīrānanda Śāstrī. 70

4.2. Buddhist art

Vogel's introduction to Buddhist art occurred at an early stage and involved the Graeco-Buddhist art and monuments of Gandhāra. In the spring of 1901, he visited the Peshawar region (present-day Pakistan) which is part of ancient Gandhāra and, as Vogel notes, "archaeologically probably the most important part of my province" (*Annual Report of AS, Panjab Circle* 1901, 7). The region is renowned for its Graeco-Buddhist art, which is Buddhist art with Greek influences from the first three centuries CE. The themes, except for decorative motifs, are always derived from the life of the Buddha, but the style is influenced by Hellenistic art.⁷¹ In his article "Supposed nativity" (1914),⁷² Vogel criticizes Fergusson for identifying some Gandhāra sculptures with scenes from the life of Christ. The leading expert on Graeco-Buddhist art was A. Foucher, and in 1906 Vogel wrote a highly favourable review of Foucher's *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* (Paris 1905).⁷³

The Lahore Museum houses a vast collection of Gandhāra sculptures. Vogel describes two of these sculptures in: 1) "Note sur une statue du Gandhāra conservée au Musée de Lahore,"⁷⁴ on a nearly lifesize statue previously designated as "un roi sur son trône" by Cunningham and Smith, among others, but identified by Vogel as Kubera, the god of wealth and king of the *yakṣas*; 2) "A Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in the Lahore Museum,"⁷⁵ on a sculpture Vogel acquired for the museum himself. This piece is part of a bas-relief depicting events from the Buddha's life, specifically showing the birth of the Buddha's horse and its caretaker. Vogel believes that "the splendid collection of Gandhāra sculptures, which forms the main treasure of the Lahore Museum, is not as appreciated as it deserves" (p. 135) due to inadequate or entirely lacking descriptions in a catalogue.

There are few Gandhāra sculptures with inscriptions. Vogel knew of fourteen of them which he described in 1906 in "Inscribed Gandhāra sculptures." Only three of these are dated. Vogel informs us that the Buddha image first appeared in Gandhāra art, providing us with a means to date an object. From there, the image of the Buddha was introduced to Mathurā and pilgrimage sites such as Benares, Śrāvatī and Amarāvatī. The invention of the Buddha image occurred before Kāniṣka, but the date of Kāniṣka is also uncertain (see section 5.3). Bas-reliefs often depict scenes from the life of the Buddha. A unique case, where not the Buddha himself but one of his disciples is shown, was described by Vogel in 1905 in "Le parinirvāṇa d'Ānanda d'après un bas-relief gréco-bouddhique." The bas-relief is from Sikri and is located in the Lahore Museum.

Mathurā was a centre of Buddhist art and culture, and many sculptural remains with inscriptions have been found in Mathurā and its surroundings. In the region of Mathurā, the influence of Gandhāran art is clearly noticeable. Vogel emphasized these points time and again.

⁷⁰ The Vogel archives at the Special Collection department of the Leiden University Library hold many letters from Hīrānanda Śāstrī, among others a really touching letter of complaint, because Śāstrī had not heard from Vogel for a long time. The idea that he may have been forgotten troubled him greatly.

⁷¹ It seems to me that the theme of the 1942 article "Het paard van Troje in Indië" (The Trojan horse in India), *Hermeneus* 14,10: 211-212, forms an exception to this rule. It is a short notice on a Graeco-Buddhist relief from the Peshawar region, which depicts the story of the Trojan Horse, a tale unknown from Buddhist literature.

⁷² JPHS 2,2 (1914): 171-172.

⁷³ Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 7 (1906): 533-552.

⁷⁴ BEFEO 3,2 (1903): 149-163.

⁷⁵ JPHS 1,2 (1912): 135-141.

⁷⁶ Annual Report ASI 1903-1904 (1906): 244-260.

⁷⁷ BEFEO 5 (1905): 417-418.

At the request of the chief-editor of *Ars Asiatica*, Vogel wrote the monograph *La sculpture de Mathurā* (Paris-Brussels, *Ars Asiatica* 15), which is a beautifully and grandly executed publication from 1930. It is primarily a historical and iconographical study. Vogel, following on the historical introduction, discusses the architecture of *stūpas*, monasteries, temples, the statues of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, vase bearers and bas-reliefs, as well as decorative motifs. Vogel reiterates that the sculpture of Mathurā is fundamentally Indian in nature. The book is richly illustrated with plates. It is worth noting that Vogel barely addresses the numerous inscriptions from Mathurā in this monograph. In his preface, he informs us that the number of inscribed sculptures from Mathurā is considerable and they are often dated. He compares this to the sculptures from Gandhāra, where only fourteen (see above) or nineteen (as he mentions now) inscribed sculptures have been found. Vogel seems to apologize for not including a list of the Mathurā inscribed sculptures, because, he says, it is impossible to provide a complete one. Moreover, the dates used in the inscriptions follow the era of the Kuṣāṇa kings who were the patrons of the Mathurā art. It is, however, unclear when that era starts (see section 5.3).

There are two more articles on Mathurā. In 1939, "The North-West Frontier and Hellenic civilization: Taxila and Mathurā" was published, followed in 1942 by "Een reliëf van de Mathurāschool verworven door het Rijksmuseum van Volkenkunde te Leiden" (A relief from the Mathurāschool acquired by the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden). This article provides details about the acquisition, describes the two standing figures on the relief, interprets the two-line inscription and dates the piece to the first or second century based on the early Kuṣāṇa period Brāhmī script.

Vogel studied Buddhist sculptures in various publications. In a 1906 article, titled "Buddhist sculptures from Benares," he describes a collection of 21 sculptures from Benares that were presented to the Lucknow Museum in 1903. Most of these sculptures are inscribed and dated. Vogel provides an iconographic description of the sculptures, along with an edition and translation of the inscriptions. In "Note on a Buddhist sculpture from Kandy, Ceylon" (1915), Vogel describes a sculpture in the possession of Lord Carmichael. The sculpture likely originated from Bodh Gayā (1000-1200) and was brought to Sri Lanka by a pilgrim. The sculpture depicts eight scenes from the life of the Buddha.

In his 1954 article "The past Buddhas and Kāśyapa in Indian art and epigraphy," Vogel mentions the eight Buddhas: the six past Buddhas and Śākyamuni as the present and Maitreya as the future Buddha. It is an archaeological and epigraphical study with a focus on Kāśyapa (Kassapa), the immediate predecessor of Śākyamuni Buddha, for example in Mathurā and Ajanta. Vogel also wrote a general introduction to Buddhist art for Dutch lay readers, *De Buddhistische kunst van Voor-Indië* (The Buddhist art in India) (Amsterdam 1932), with a more extensive English version titled *Buddhist art in India, Ceylon and Java*," which was translated by A.J. Barnouw (Oxford 1936).

4.3. Hindu art

Although Vogel seems to have been charmed by Hindu art in the hill states, particularly in Chambā, Kulu and Kangra, he wrote only a few articles on the subject. In the summer of 1902, Vogel began his explorations in Chambā, which continued until 1908. He carried on the work that Cunningham had initiated in 1839. Vogel begins his 1910 article "Archaeology (of Chamba State)" by noting that

⁷⁸ In Cumming 1939, 136-152.

⁷⁹ Cultureel Indië 4 (1942): 237-240. The Rijksmuseum van Volkenkunde is now called the Wereldmuseum Leiden.

⁸⁰ Annual Report ASI 1903-1904: 212-226.

⁸¹ Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal NS 11 (1915) [1916]: 297-303.

⁸² Schubert / Schneider 1954, 808-816.

⁸³ Published in the series De Weg der Menschheid. Monografieën gewijd aan Kunst, Geschiedenis en Religie 13.

⁸⁴ Punjab State Gazetteer, vol. 22A: Chamba State, Lahore 1904: 1-6.

primarily Hindu antiquities have been found in Chambā. The oldest Hindu remains are four inscribed brass images of Gaṇeśa, Lakṣaṇa, Nandin and Śakti from the early eighth century. These are housed in temples adorned with refined woodcarving. Cunningham had already documented three copperplate grants, but according to Vogel, there must be hundreds more. Next, Vogel discusses five Viṣṇu temples, three Śiva temples and three Devī temples, also mentioning a few inscriptions. Most of these temples are śikhara temples, spired temples characterized by their towering, pyramid-like structures. Another article, "Archaeology of Chamba" (1908), so deals with temples, (fountain and platform) inscriptions and copperplates. These two articles contain an overwhelming and vast, though somewhat chaotic, wealth of information about Hindu temples, traditional and village gods and goddesses (deotā), and inscriptions, of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta religious traditions. A third, much later article, from 1946, is titled "Hill temples of the Western Himalayas" and includes temples and deities of other states as well, such as Hiḍimbā Devī in Kulu.

The 1914 article "The temple of Mahādeva at Bajaurā, Kuļū," presents an interesting discussion regarding whether or not to proceed with restoration. In Bajaurā, a town in the Kulu State adjacent to Kangra, stood a stone *śikhara* temple dedicated to Śiva. This temple was on the verge of collapse, possibly due to the earthquake of 4 April 1905. According to Longhurst (1909), urgent restoration was necessary. However, Vogel argued that this was not possible because the Śiva temple was frequently visited by many local residents. They reached a compromise by carrying out minimal restoration. In the article, Vogel also provides a description of the temple.

The second article on Kulu is "Note on the Nirmaṇḍ mask inscriptions." (1923)⁸⁸ Nirmaṇḍ is a village in Kulu district. Masks are used as portable representations of the village deity during the annual festival in Kulu. The Nirmaṇḍ mask has two inscriptions, one in Nāgarī and the other in Śārada script. The inscriptions were deciphered independently by two scholars. Following the date, there is a stanza in *anuṣṭubh* meter. Vogel proposes emendations, which are based on the "intended" sense. The text includes two appendices: a hymn in praise of the Nirmaṇḍ temple and an article by Harcourt on a Nirmaṇḍ festival.

Copies of two articles were found in Vogel's archives, which are not included in Lim's bibliography. Neither their source nor their date is mentioned. The first article, titled "Notes on ancient brick temples in the Cawnpur and Fatehpur districts," describes the temples of Bhitargaon (the oldest, possibly from the fourth or fifth century), Parauli, Rār and Simbhua in the Cawnpur (modern-day Kanpur) district, as well as the temples of Tinduli, Bahua, Kurari and Thithaura in the Fatehpur district. Except for the Bhitargaon temple, these are *śikhara* temples with carved brickwork. The second article, "Notes on Hindu temples at Brindaban (Muttra district)," describes the temples of Govind Dev, Jugal Kishor, Gopi Nath, Radha-Ballabh and Madan Mohan.

A final article to be discussed here is "Triloknath" from 1902. *Triloknāth* is a *tīrtha* located on the Chenab River in the western Himalayas, and its deity is worshipped by both Buddhists and Hindus, being the Bodhisattva Avalokeśvara for Buddhists and Śiva for Hindus.

4.4. Iconography

Most of Vogel's descriptions of various buildings and objects are iconographic; however, we will still highlight a few here.

⁸⁵ Extract from Chamba Gazetteer 1908(?): 41-57.

⁸⁶ Indian Art and Letters 20,1 (1946):26-36.

⁸⁷ Annual Report ASI 1909-1910 (1914): 18-24.

⁸⁸ *AO* 1 (1923): 230-237.

⁸⁹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 71,1 (1902): 35-41.

In 1910-1911 Vogel visited the Hindu temple complex in Māmallapuram with the five rock-cut temples from the Pallava period. The architectural aspects of the complex were documented by Fergusson, while iconographic descriptions had, until then, relied on local traditions and explanations, which were not always reliable. This prompted Vogel to publish "Iconographical notes on 'The seven pagodas'" in 1914.⁹⁰ In this article, he analyses, among other things, a sculpture of the goddess Durgā on the back wall of the cella in the Draupadī temple. To Durgā's right, a kneeling figure grasps its hair, seemingly preparing to cut it off with a sword. In a 1931 study, "The head-offering to the goddess in Pallava sculpture," Vogel corrected this interpretation: the figure is not merely cutting its hair but is about to sever its own head to offer it to the goddess. This motif appears in both art and literature, for example in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

A third article on this temple complex was published in 1932 with the title "A reminiscence of classical art in the sculptures of Māmallapuram (Māvalipuram)." In this article, Vogel discusses a sculpture from Māmallapuram depicting Balarāma in close contact with an attendant. Such an intimate portrayal is uncommon in Indian sculpture and evokes the image of a "drunken Dionysus supported by a satyr." This leads Vogel to suggest a connection between India and the Roman and Greek worlds. The cross-cultural influence is also evident in a *stūpa* from Nāgārjunikonda.

In 1927, Vogel's article "The sculptures and paintings: iconographical description" on the Bagh Caves in Madhya Pradesh was published. The nine rock-cut caves, dating from the third century BCE to the fifteenth century CE, illustrate the appearance and gradual evolution of the Buddha image. The earlier caves feature a shrine with a $st\bar{u}pa$, which is progressively replaced by life-size images of Buddhas flanked by Bodhisattvas along the walls. The mural paintings depict male and female figures, such as musicians and horsemen. Vogel provides an iconographic description of these statues and paintings. He also notes the $n\bar{a}gas$ and $yak\bar{s}as$, which are positioned outside the caves and thus are exposed to the elements, resulting in poorer preservation. Vogel further discusses the various minor deities and makaras depicted inside the caves.

Other iconographic studies include the 1925 work "Gaṅgā et Yamunā dans l'iconographie brahmanique"⁹⁴ and the 1934 article "Note on a stone image of Agni, the god of fire, in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes."⁹⁵ The latter is a description of a rare eleventh-century sculpture of Agni, found near Kauśāmbī

Vogel conducts a study on the *makara*, an ornamental motif. In the article, "De makara in de Voor-Indische beeldhouwkunst" (The makara in Indian sculpture) (1924), 96 and its French version "Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde" (1930) 1 that is slightly more detailed, Vogel traces the origin and development, or transformation, of the *makara*. He refers to earlier studies by J.L.A. Brandes ("Eene fraaie variatie van het olifant-visch of makara-ornament" (A beautiful variation of the elephant-fish or makara ornament)) 48 and Henry Cousens, both of whom suggest that the *makara*, as depicted on the gates of the Bharhut *stūpa* (150 BCE), marks the starting point. Vogel, however, argues that the first depictions of a *makara* were found in the Lomas Rishi rock-cut cave, dating back to around 250 BCE, where two crocodiles are depicted with great realism. A hundred years later, in Bharhut, *makaras* are

⁹⁰ Annual Report ASI 1910-1911 (1914): 49-62.

⁹¹ BSOS 6,2 (1931): 539-543 with Tamil translation, Kalaimagal 1932.

⁹² Grousset 1932, 2: 525-530.

⁹³ Marshall / Binyon 1927, 27-63.

⁹⁴ Études Asiatiques 2 (1925): 385-402.

⁹⁵ The Indian Antiquary 62 (1934): 228-232.

⁹⁶ Nederlandsch-Indië Oud & Nieuw 8,9 (1924): 263-276.

⁹⁷ *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 6 (1929-1930): 133-147.

⁹⁸ *Notulen BG* 39 (bijlage VI): 109-119.

depicted on the brackets supporting the ends of the architrave of a *toraṇa*. The crocodile is now partially coiled. Next, the *makara* appears in Mathurā sculptures, where it has a fish tail and an upward-curving snout. In Amarāvatī (influenced by Gandhāra art via Mathurā), a garland emerges from the *makara*'s gaping jaws. In Māmallapuram, the *makara* ornament is portrayed as a fish-like monster. Vogel concludes that the oldest form of the *makara* is a crocodile, which evolves into a crocodile-like fish and ultimately into a water monster, with tusks, horns, a trunk and a decorative tail. As Vogel explained in 1957 (see section 2), a *makara* is neither a dolphin nor a shark.

Other motifs in Indian art and literature described by Vogel include the *vyālaka* and śālabhañjikā which are depicted on the brackets supporting the projecting ends of an architrave or other architectural elements such as a colonnade. In his article "The vyālaka in Indian art" (1948),⁹⁹ Vogel explains that a *vyālaka* is best described as a lion, which, like the *makara*, undergoes a transformation. Lion-brackets, or leographs, are very common. In "The Woman and tree, or Śālabhañjikā, in Indian literature and art" (1929),¹⁰⁰ Vogel explains that the "woman-and-tree motif," śālabhañjikā, literally the "śāla-plucker," is an indigenous element of art inspired by a folk festival. We have already seen the motif of severing one's own head mentioned above.

5. Indian history and epigraphy

Determining the age of a historical object is a challenge that Vogel frequently faced. Tools for dating include epigraphy, palaeography and iconography. When an inscription provides a date, it is essential to identify the era being used. The most common systems are the Vikrama era (starting in 57 BCE), the Saka era (in 78 CE) and the Gupta era (around 320 CE).

5.1. Epigraphy

Epigraphy, one of the auxiliary sciences of history, was a favoured field of study for Vogel. The Indian inscriptions he worked with were written in Sanskrit and/or Prakrit, making proficiency in these languages essential. This was even cited as a possible reason why Aurel Stein recommended Vogel for the position of superintendent of the Panjab Circle of the ASI (see section 3). Vogel authored several works entirely focused on inscriptions, such as *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part 1 (see below), but also contributed articles where a brief one- or two-word inscription was mentioned in an inconspicuous place. Inscriptions were a significant source for his research on the hill states.

Reading inscriptions requires not only knowledge of the language of the inscription but also palaeographic expertise. Most of the inscriptions Vogel dealt with were written in Kharoṣṭhī, a script from the Gandhāra region, as well as in Brāhmī and Śārada scripts. According to Vogel, the evolution of the various scripts from northern India is as follows: Brāhmī > Western Gupta > Kuṭila > Śārada > Devāśesha > Ṭākarī (Chhabra 1957, 3). Several inscriptions studied by Vogel have already been mentioned before because they should not be separated from their context, such as, for instance, the Nirmaṇḍ mask inscription. Below, some standalone epigraphical studies are examined.

Vogel focused on the rich epigraphic material found in Chambā. In "Inscriptions of Chambā State" (1904), ¹⁰¹ Vogel presented inscriptions on copper and stone for the first time, providing the text and translation of four inscribed images (see also section 4.3) and five copperplate inscriptions. The study of these inscriptions led to significant geographical and historical conclusions. Later, all of these were included in his subsequent work *Antiquities of Chamba State*.

⁹⁹ Buck 1948, 298-304.

¹⁰⁰ AO 7 (1929): 201-231.

¹⁰¹ Annual Report ASI 1902-1903 (1904): 239-271.

The Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I: Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadan Period, ¹⁰² published in 1911, is a masterly work that, according to its reviewer J. Hutchison, ¹⁰³ is based on very systematic, meticulous and precise research. It is an invaluable source for the study of the local history of Chambā and other states in the western hills. Chambā was an isolated state, which meant that, unlike other hill states, it remained free from Muslim and Sikh domination. This isolation resulted in political stability and a climate in which much archaeological material and inscriptions have been preserved. Consequently, Chambā is better documented than any other hill state. For his monograph, Vogel selected 50 pre-Muhammadan inscriptions from a total of approximately 130, in various scripts (such as Gupta, Śāradā and others) and languages. These inscriptions are categorized according to the objects on which they were found, including rocks, images, slabs and copperplates. The Śārada inscriptions are significant from a palaeographic perspective because they provide insights into the development of the Śārada script, tracing its evolution from its origins in the Western Gupta script up to the Muslim period, when it transitioned into scripts like Gurmukhī, Ṭākarī and others. The final chapter of the book contains the text of the inscriptions, accompanied by translations.

The research for this publication was conducted with the active and deeply involved cooperation of the then $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ of Chambā, Bhuri Singh. He founded the museum that bears his name and Vogel created a catalogue (see section 3.3) of its collection that was published in 1909 (reprinted in 2005).

Vogel began work on part II: *Medieval and later inscriptions*, immediately after completing part I in 1911. However, due to certain circumstances (perhaps his return to the Netherlands), he was unable to finish this part. The work was taken over by B.Ch. Chhabra, with whom Vogel maintained close contact. Probably on Vogel's instructions, Chhabra visited the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chambā in 1938 and came across Vogel's 300-page manuscript for part II. This manuscript dealt exclusively with the copperplate charters. These were complete or partial transcripts, explanatory notes and sometimes translations. The Bhuri Singh Museum sent impressions of many copperplates to Chhabra in New Delhi. Based on Vogel's material and the sent impressions, Chhabra began his work in 1939. After some delay, part II was published in 1957. This volume consists of 82 copperplate inscriptions in Devanāgarī and Devāśesha (a later development of the Śārada script) characters and about 21 stone inscriptions, all dating from the early fourteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

Vogel conducted epigraphical studies in other hill states as well, particularly in Kangra and Kulu. He visited Kangra for the first time in May-June 1901. In his 1903 article, titled "Two Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī rock inscriptions in the Kangra valley," he informs us about the two oldest rock inscriptions of Kangra. The first is the Kanhiāra rock inscription which was found and read by E.C. Bayley in 1854. Bayley dated the inscription to the first century CE, but Vogel assigned it to the second or third century. The second rock inscription was discovered by Vogel in Dādh at the foot of Paṭḥyār Hill and dated by him in the third century. In "Inscribed brass statuette from Fatehpur (Kāṅgṛā)" (1908), 105 Vogel explains an inscribed copper Buddha statuette and provides the text and translation of the inscription. After the devastating earthquake of 4 April 1905, he revisited Kangra again in November of that year. He documented the damage and provided an overview in "Ancient monuments of Kangra ruined in the earthquake" (1909), 106 illustrated with photos taken before and after the earthquake. No inscriptions were damaged, but the temples suffered significant destruction.

In 1909, while visiting Madhya Pradesh, Vogel examined the Garuḍa pillar in Besnagar (present-day Vidisha). It was inscribed, as Cunningham had suspected and Marshall had confirmed. In the article

¹⁰² Calcutta (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 36).

¹⁰³ JPHS 2 (1913-1914): 75-80.

¹⁰⁴ Epigraphia Indica 7 (no.16) (1902-1903): 116-119.

¹⁰⁵ Annual Report ASI (1908): 107-109.

¹⁰⁶ Annual Report ASI (1909): 10-27.

"The Garuḍa pillar of Bēsnagar," Vogel provided the text and translation of the inscription. The inscription states that the pillar was erected by Heliodoros, a resident of Taxila and ambassador of King Antialkidas. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu, a follower of the Bhagavata tradition. For many of his descriptions, Vogel often relied on earlier accounts, such as those by Cunningham and Marshall. In the case of Besnagar, the focus was on the inscription itself.

A second example where a Greek individual is identified by an inscription is discussed in the article "Theodor the Meridarch." A steatite casket, intended for a relic of the Buddha, bears an inscription informing us that the relic was placed by someone with a Greek background and title. His name was Theodoros, a district officer (*meridarch*), and clearly a follower of Buddhism. At the moment of discovery, the casket was used as a money box by a merchant in the Swat Valley.

In Shorkot, a city in the present-day Pakistan Panjab, located approximately 250 km southwest of Lahore, copper and iron utensils were discovered in 1906. One of these, a chaudron, bore an inscription. Vogel wrote an article on Shorkot, titled "Shorkot: the ancient Śibipura," in 1912, and ten years later, in 1922, its inscription was examined in "Shorkot inscription of the Year 83." According to this inscription, which is likely to be dated to the year 83 of the Gupta era (402-403 CE), the town's name was Śibipura, city of the Śibi tribes. The inscription is dedicated to the Buddhist community of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

Other epigraphical studies include: "Armenian inscriptions in Balūchīstān" (1904),¹¹¹ which concerns two stone inscriptions from the seventeenth century; "A copperplate grant of Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷḷū" (1906),¹¹² where Vogel identifies Bahādur Siṅgh as the *rājā* of Kuḷḷū in the sixteenth century; "Epigraphical discoveries at Sārnāth" (1906),¹¹³ in which Vogel discusses the discovery of several inscriptions during the excavations by F.O. Oertel in 1904-1905 (including three inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar, a fragmentary inscription from Aśvaghoṣa's reign and inscriptions from the third year of Kāniṣka); "Epigraphical discoveries in India" (1934),¹¹⁴ concerning Aśoka rock inscriptions discovered in 1929, as well as new inscriptions from Khāravela, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Mathurā; "A famous Delhi inscription" (1914);¹¹⁵ and "Facts and fancies about the iron pillar of Old-Delhi" (1925),¹¹⁶ in which Vogel summarizes many fanciful stories from early travellers and examines the Sanskrit inscription in characters of the eastern Gupta type, which inscription honours Viṣṇu and originates from Magadha.

At the request of B.Ch. Chhabra, Vogel prepared an edition and translation of five Prakrit inscriptions found at Ghaṇṭasāla, a Buddhist site in the Krishna/Kistna district of Andhra Pradesh. Chhabra had made estampages in 1945 and sent them to Vogel. The result was published in "Prakrit Inscriptions from Ghaṇṭasāla" (1956).¹¹⁷

Finally, in contrast to the exclusion of Indonesian studies in this survey, I nonetheless mention the important study "The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Java" (1925).¹¹⁸ Vogel analyses four rock inscriptions from West Java eulogizing Pūrṇavarman, dating from the mid-fifth century. These are the

¹⁰⁷ Annual Report ASI (1912): 126-129.

¹⁰⁸ JPHS 3,2 (1915): 151-152.

¹⁰⁹ JPHS 1,2 (1912): 174-175.

¹¹⁰ Epigraphia Indica 16 (1921-1922): 15-17.

¹¹¹ Annual Report ASI 1902-1903: 272-274.

¹¹² Annual Report ASI 1903-1904: 261-269.

¹¹³ Epigraphia Indica 8,17 (1905-1906): 166-179.

¹¹⁴ ABIA 1932 7: 18-23

¹¹⁵ JPHS 3,1 (1914): 67-69.

¹¹⁶ JPHS 9,1 (1925): 71-91.

¹¹⁷ Epigraphia Indica 27,1 (1947-1948) [1956]: 1-4.

¹¹⁸ Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië I, Batavia, pp. 15-35.

earliest evidence of Hindu settlement. According to Kern, Pūrṇavarman was a legendary figure, while Vogel considered him to be a historical person.

5.2. Historical geography and topography

After an article from 1899¹¹⁹ on the trade routes connecting India with East Asia (either through Bactria or over the Himalayas), Vogel wrote two brief studies in 1907. The first, titled "Babor; Babbāpura," deals with the identification of Babor and Babbāpura based on epigraphical evidence from a Śāradā inscription. The second study, "Veṭhadīpa; Viṣṇudvīpa," explores the identification of these two localities, possibly also linked to Kasiā, based on the discovery of a seal-die. In 1908, Vogel published a brief note on "Kasūr" near Lahore, reporting no trace of the twelve altars which Alexander the Great allegedly erected there.

In later years, Vogel wrote several articles on Ptolemy, the Greek astrologer and geographer, and the identification of the geographical names he mentioned. These include "Two notes on the Ancient Geography of India" (1929)¹²³ and five short notes titled "Notes on Ptolemy," which focus on identifying Ēragassa, Salakēnoi, Apokopa, Arouaia and trade routes. ¹²⁴ He also authored "Ujjhān-Ujjihāna-Ozoana" (1955), ¹²⁵ Ujjhān being a village in Cawnpore, called Ujjihāna in the Rāmāyaṇa and Ozoana by Ptolemy. Ptolemy possessed "an astonishing topographical knowledge," which he obtained from Greek merchants who travelled to India. The identification of the mentioned names is partly based on epigraphic evidence.

5.3. Kuṣāṇa dynasty

The discovery of the two statues of Kāniṣka (see section 3.1) provoked Vogel to reflect on the Kuṣāṇa empire, a vast empire of Indo-Scythian nomads from Central Asia who invaded India, reaching as far as the Ganges Plain. The four Kuṣāṇa kings were Kāniṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, with the empire reaching its heyday under Kāniṣka, the first king. East of Peshawar, Kāniṣka, a patron of Buddhism, built a large *stūpa* and monastery. Inside the *stūpa*, he placed a bronze casket containing a crystal vial with bone fragments, the alleged relics of the Buddha. In his 1910 article "Het heiligdom van koning Kaniṣjka" (The sanctuary of king Kaniṣjka), 126 Vogel recounts the discovery of this casket by Spooner during excavations in 1907-1909. The casket features an image of Kāniṣka wearing a flared coat, heavy boots and a tall cap, depicted in the Graeco-Buddhist Gandhāra style that was already in decline when the casket was made. Two of the four short Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the casket mention the name Kāniṣka. The relics were eventually gifted to Burma (now Myanmar).

The successor to Kāniṣka, Vāsiṣka, remained unknown and overlooked for a long time, but his existence was demonstrated by J.F. Fleet in 1903 through two inscriptions from Sānchī and Mathurā. Vogel confirmed the existence of this second Kuṣāṇa king in his 1910 work "Der Brahmanische Opferpfosten von Isapur" and again in his 1914 article "The sacrificial posts of Īsāpur." In Īsāpur, a site near Mathurā, Pandit Radha Krishna discovered two stone pillars in the Jamunā River that had

¹¹⁹ "Gegevens betreffende eene handelsverbinding tusschen Indië en China over Tibet gedurende de oudheid" (Information regarding a trade connection between India and China through Tibet during ancient times). *BTLV* 50 (1899): 87-95.

¹²⁰ JRAS 39 (1907): 403-406.

¹²¹ JRAS 39 (1907): 1049-1053.

¹²² JRAS 40: 534-536.

¹²³ JRAS 61 (1929): 113-116.

¹²⁴ BSOAS 12,1 (1947): 122-123; BSOAS 13,1 (1949): 146-153; BSOAS 14 (1952): 80-86.

¹²⁵ JRAS 87 (1955): 25-28.

¹²⁶ "The sanctuary of King Kanisjka." *De Gids* 74,2 (1910): 481-491.

¹²⁷ Orientalisches Archiv 1 (1910-1911): 86-87.

¹²⁸ Annual Report ASI 1914, 40-48.

served as sacrificial posts $(y\bar{u}pa)$. One of the pillars is inscribed in pure Sanskrit, making it the oldest inscription in pure Sanskrit found up to that time. Vogel provides the text and translation of the inscription, which names Vāsiṣka. Vogel devoted two articles to this evidence of a fourth Kuṣāṇa king: "Vāsiṣka, the Kuṣāṇa" $(1910)^{129}$ and "The Kushāṇ king Vāsishka" (1912).

The inscriptions mention years according to the Kāniṣka era, ¹³¹ but the beginning of this era is still unknown. Opinions vary, with some suggesting a start date of 78 CE (the Śaka era) and others proposing 127 CE. Vogel hoped that further excavations would uncover inscriptions providing more information on the date and chronology of the Kuṣāṇas, but no definitive answer has been obtained. In 1960 a conference¹³² was held addressing the dating of Kaniṣka, and more recent discussions are found in Bracey (2017). ¹³³ Today, a date in the early second century is also proposed by scholars such as Harry Falk and Richard Salomon. The problem remains unsolved.

5.4. The Panjab Hill States

These states, which had already aroused Vogel's interest in 1901, were princely states located on the southern side of the western Himalayas, in the region between the Satluj and Indus Rivers. The mountain ranges of the Himalayas and the rivers formed their natural original boundaries. They were part of British India's Panjab Province and are now within the states of Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Jammu-Kashmir.

A major project Vogel undertook in the field of history was a comprehensive study of the Panjab Hill States, conducted in collaboration with J. Hutchison. Between 1914 and 1929, the authors published twenty separate articles on these hill states in issues 3-9 of the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, and in 1933 these articles were combined into the two-volume work *History of the Panjab Hill States*. ¹³⁴ This compilation (with a map in part 2) makes the material as a whole much more accessible. The order of the hill states has been slightly adjusted, and hill states that had not been previously mentioned have been included. ¹³⁵ Additionally, the data for some states have been updated to cover the intervening period between the publication in the *JPHS* and the monograph. For each state, the geographical location is provided, usually in relation to one of the five rivers in the region, ¹³⁶ as well as the historical background, the data and activities of the ruling monarchs, their impact on the state and the numerous conflicts that occurred among them.

Vogel and Hutchison used the following sources: 1) the *Rājataranginī*; 2) the *vaṃśāvalīs* of the states in Sanskrit verse, which include long lists of successive kings and chronicles in various vernaculars; 3) travellers' accounts, including those of Xuánzàng, Muslim and European travellers; and 4) epigraphical records on rocks, slabs, images and copperplates. The oldest inscriptions are the rock inscriptions of Kangra State, inscribed in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters (1903, see section 5.1), but most inscriptions come from Chambā. The division of labour between Vogel and Hutchison is not

¹²⁹ JRAS 42 (1910): 1311-1314.

¹³⁰ JPHS 1,2 (1912): 173-174.

¹³¹ In the inscriptions of Kāniṣka, the years 3-11 and 18 are mentioned; in the inscriptions of Vāsiṣka, the years 24 and 28; in Haviṣka, the years 33 to 60; and in Vāsudeva, the years 74 to 98.

¹³² Basham 1968.

¹³³ Bracey 2017.

¹³⁴ Lahore: Government Printing, 1933; reprint 2009

¹³⁵ The hill states are Kangra (and its offshoots Guler, Jaswan, Siba and Datapur), Nurpur, Chamba, Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Lahul, Spiti, Kutlehr, Bangahal, Bilaspur, Jammu (and offshoots Mankot, Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Samba, Bhau and Bhoti), Chanehni, Bandralta, Basohli, Bhadrawah, Bhadu, Kashtwar, Rajauri, Punch, Bhimber and Kharikhariyali.

¹³⁶ These are the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej Rivers, all of which are either tributaries of the Indus or of each other.

specified, but it is likely that Vogel's contribution involved the interpretation of the inscriptions. Also included in the introduction of this two-volume work are three articles on the titles ($r\bar{a}n\bar{a}$, $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}naka$, $th\bar{a}kur$, etc.) of the Rajput rulers of these states, ¹³⁷ as well as two general studies on the states. ¹³⁸

In addition to this monumental and significant work, Vogel wrote more articles about separate hill states, especially Kangra and Chambā. In 1926, Vogel published an article titled "Places of interest and archaeology of Kangra proper," in which sixteen localities, including Dharmsala, are described in terms of their geographical location, population and other aspects. In 1947 followed "Portrait painting in Kangra and Chambā." Both Sansār Chand and Rāj Singh, the *rājās* of Kangra and Chambā respectively in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were patrons of the arts and also had their own collections of pictures.

5.5. The Dutch in India

One of the themes that captured Vogel's interest and inspired him to pursue further research was found in the accounts of Dutch travellers and merchants who journeyed to India and Sri Lanka between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, many of whom settled there. His first article in this area, and one of his earliest works, was published in 1900 under the title "Jacob Haafner: schets uit de laatste jaren der Oost-Indische Compagnie" (Jacob Haafner: sketch from the final years of the [Dutch] East India Company). In this work, Vogel recounts the life story of Jacob Haafner (1755-1809), who resided on the east coast of India in places such as Chinsura, Nagapattinam, Sadras and Tranquebar. Haafner has recently been extensively studied by two Dutch scholars.

In his 1932 article, "Nederlandsche documenten betreffende de geschiedenis van Voor-Indië in de 17de en 18de eeuw" (Dutch documents on the history of India in the 17th and 18th century), ¹⁴³ Vogel emphasizes the significance of these documents for the history of India. After a brief discussion of the *Remonstrantie* (treatise) by Francisco Pelsaert (published in English translation by W.H. Moreland in 1925), he draws attention to a particularly important category of sources: the journals of envoys of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) who visited Indian rulers to secure *firmāns*, "letters of favour" that outlined trade privileges. Vogel specifically mentions the embassies of Dirk van Adrichem (1629-?) and Joan Josua Ketelaar (1659-1718).

Dirk van Adrichem is mentioned in Vogel's brief note from 1933, "François Bernier's 'Minute'." Bernier (1620-1688), a French physician and traveller, stayed in India from 1658 to 1670 and knew Dirk van Adrichem, who was the chief of the Dutch factory in Surat from 1662 to 1665. When Vogel wrote this note, the journal of Adrichem's 1662 embassy to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb was held in the National Archives at The Hague but had not yet been published. This would occur eight years later, in

¹³⁷ "The Rāṇās of the Panjāb hills," *JRAS* 40 (1908): 536-541; together with J. Hutchison, "The Ranas and Thakurs of the western hills," *JPHS* 3,1 (1914): 45-66 and "Royal titles in the Panjab hills," *JPUHS* 4,1 (no. 7) (1935): 44-50. They provide the various titles of the rulers, such as *thākur/thakkura*, "Lord", *rāṇā* (of Rājput origin) and *dāmara*.

¹³⁸ J.Ph. Vogel & J. Hutchison, "The history of the western hills," *JPHS* 3,1 (1914): 38-45; and Vogel & J. Hutchison, "The Panjab hill states," *JPHS* 3,2 (1915): 86-126.

¹³⁹ Punjab District Gazetteers, vol. 8, part A: Kangra district, 1924-1925, Lahore, ch. 4, pp. 487-509.

¹⁴⁰ Artibus Asiae 10,3 (1947): 200-215.

¹⁴¹ De Indische Gids 22 (1900): 383-407.

¹⁴² Moor & Van der Velde. 1992-1997.

¹⁴³ MKAW afd. lett. 74,4: 41-62.

¹⁴⁴ JRAS 65 (1933): 411.

1941, when it was published in Dutch by A.J. Bernet Kempers. Vogel reviewed the book in 1947. In 2016, a new edition was published by H.W. van Santen.

Ketelaar (1659-1718), in particular, received Vogel's attention. Ketelaar was born in Elbing (Germany) and joined the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam in 1682. He arrived in Surat in 1683 and rose through the ranks from clerk to director. As the head of the factory in Surat, he led the embassy to the Mughal ruler Bahādur Shah to obtain the necessary document, the *firmān*. In the aforementioned 1932 publication "Nederlandse documenten [...]", Vogel extensively discusses his life and the journal of Ketelaar's embassy to the Mughal emperor: the journey from Surat to Lahore, the reception by the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shah on 3 January 1712, the emperor's death on 28 February, the intrigues regarding his succession, the successor Jahāndār Shāh's departure to Delhi with his court and army, and Ketelaar's embassy and arrival in Delhi on 24 June. Ultimately, the *firmān* was obtained on 30 August and the embassy departed on 9 October, traveling via Mathura, Agra, etc. back to Surat. On 29 January 1713, however, Ketelaar heard in Baroda that Emperor Jahāndār Shāh had died, which meant that the *firmān* was no longer valid.

The journal was recorded in eighteenth-century Dutch by Ernst Coenraad Graaf, head clerk of the embassy, and a copy of his original is available at the National Archives in The Hague. The original itself was preserved in Company's headquarters at Batavia. Vogel believed that Ketelaar's journal deserved to be fully published in its original Dutch, given its significance for the history of the Mughal empire in India. As early as 1911, Vogel received a copy of Ketelaar's journal from the National Archives while he was still in Lahore. At the request of the Linschoten Society, the publisher of Dutch historical travel accounts, he prepared an edition that was published in 1937 under the title *Journaal van J.J. Ketelaar's hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore 1711-1713* (Journal of J.J. Ketelaar's court journey to the Great Mughal in Lahore 1711-1713) (The Hague, 1937). The extensive introduction (pp. 1-128) is very detailed and provides a wealth of information, including the route Ketelaar took during both the outward and return journeys via Agra (pp. 34-94). François Valentijn (1666-1727), a contemporary of Ketelaar, had included part of Ketelaar's journal in his *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and new East-Indies), Volume IV, in the section "Levens der Groote Mogols" (Lives of the Great Mughals), pp. 280-302.

The English translation of Ketelaar's journal was published by Vogel in 1929 under the title *Embassy* of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. ¹⁴⁷ In the preface to this translation, Vogel does not mention the translator's name, but Lim (1960, 33) identifies her as Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed. Vogel points out that the translator used the text from Valentijn until May 1712, and from that date onward, she used the copy held in the National Archives at The Hague.

Ketelaar is also famous for being the first person to compile a grammar and vocabulary list for Hindustānī and Persian, which is titled: *Instructie off onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, als mede vergeleijkinge, der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewighten mitsgaders beduijdingh eeniger Moorse namen etc.* [...]. ¹⁴⁸ This Dutch original, of which only one handwritten copy is known, is preserved in the National Archives, but was never published. While Vogel was working on Ketelaar's court journey, he was made aware of this manuscript

¹⁴⁵ Journaal van Dircq van Adrichem 's hofreis naar den Groot-Mogol Aurangzeb 1662, edited, 's-Gravenhage (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging 45).

¹⁴⁶ In de series Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging nr. 41.

¹⁴⁷ JPHS 10,1 (1929): 1-94.

¹⁴⁸ The English translation by Tej K. Bhatia and K. Machida (2008) is as follows: *Instruction or teaching of the Hindustānī and Persian languages, including their declension and conjugation also comparison of the Hindustānī with the Dutch measure and weights and the meaning of some Moorish names etc.* [...].

by an archivist. Already in 1743 the manuscript was translated into Latin by David Millius, a professor at Utrecht, which translation was published.

Vogel wrote two articles on Ketelaar as the author of the grammar: "The author of the first grammar of Hindustani" (1933), ¹⁴⁹ and a shorter version titled "Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the first Hindūstānī grammar" (1936). ¹⁵⁰

In "De eerste 'grammatica' van het Hindoestansch" (The first 'grammar' of Hindustānī) (1941),¹⁵¹ Vogel delves deeper into the grammar itself. He discussed previous studies of Ketelaar's work by scholars such as G. Grierson, S.K. Chatterji and others, who had only access to Millius' Latin translation. Hindustānī (or Urdu, Western Hindi) served as the lingua franca in northern and parts of southern India from the thirteenth century onwards. Many merchants could speak and understand Hindustānī, but not write it. Vogel asserts that Ketelaar and his deputy, Isaac van der Hoeve, primarily acquired their knowledge of spoken Hindustānī in Agra and Lucknow, where it was spoken in a pure form. According to other scholars, for example Chatterji (1933, 194ff.) and much later Bhatia (1987, 11ff.), the Hindustānī of the grammar was not very pure, being based on the variant spoken in the bazaars of Bombay and Surat. According to Bodewitz (1994-1995, 126) "Ketelaar's Hindustani is neither pure Hindi nor Bazar Hindi. It reflects the language spoken by the Muslims [...] Ketelaar consistently used the term Moorish [...]" In 2008, a three-volume work featuring images of Ketelaar's text was published by Tej K. Bhatia and Kazuhiko Machida, while in 2018 the grammar was further investigated by Anna Pytlowany.

In 1938, Vogel published "A Hollander's description of Baroda about 1625 A.D.," about Wollebrandt Geleynssen de Jongh (1594-1674), chief of the trading post at Gamron in Iran. Fourteen years later, in 1952, Vogel wrote the article "Abbé Carré en de Nederlanders in India (1672-1673)" (Abbé Carré and the Dutch in India (1672-1673)), about the journey of the French priest Barthélemy Carré from Surat to Santhome (a district in Chennai) and back, as well as his encounters with the Dutch in those places. The article underlines the privileged position of the Dutch in Golkonda.

In his 1954 publication "The contribution of the University of Leiden to oriental research," ¹⁵⁴ Vogel again mentions Dirk van Adrichem and states: "We may assume that Van Adrichem possessed a perfect command of this language enabling him to converse with the highest dignity of the realm" (p. 17). After a reference to Ketelaar, we hear for the first time about Herbert de Jager (1636-1694), who studied theology in Leiden before pursuing oriental languages. He studied Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit in Coromandel from 1670 to 1680. He was also a talented draftsman (pp. 18-20).

Vogel concludes his 1932 article "Nederlandse documenten [...]" (see above) by expressing the hope that Dutch historians will make documents from the Dutch East India Company era accessible through annotated editions. He continues (p. 62): "What I would wish above all is a comprehensive work dedicated to the Dutch in the India of the Great Mughals. Something beautiful could be made of that." Indeed, several Dutch scholars have since published works on the Dutch in India and on the Dutch East India Company. Vogel was familiar with the work of some, such as Heert Terpstra. In 1947, Vogel wrote a review in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* on Terpstra's *De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië*

¹⁴⁹ In: *Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurīśaṃkara Hīrācaṃda Ojhā ke sammāna meṃ samarpita bhāratīya anuśīlana-grantha* (G.H. Ojha memorial volume), Prayag 1933, part 4, pp. 30-36.

¹⁵⁰ BSOS 8,2/3 (Indian and Iranian studies, presented to Sir George Grierson): 817-822.

¹⁵¹ MKNAW, afd. Letterkunde, NR, vol. 4, no. 15, pp. 643-674.

¹⁵² Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda, 1936-1937, Supplement, pp. 41-46.

¹⁵³ Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden, vol. 6, The Hague-Antwerpen, pp. 225-235.

¹⁵⁴ A lecture delivered to the Royal India and Pakistan Society on Thursday, 23 June 1949; also published in *Art and Letters* 23 (1949): 45-59, and probably in *Britain and Holland* 2,1 (1950): 1-8 and 23-24, which was not available to me.

¹⁵⁵ Dutch original in Vogel 1932, 62 "Wat ik bovenal zou wenschen is een groot werk gewijd aan de Hollanders in het Indië der Groot-Mogols. Daarvan zou iets moois zijn te maken."

(The Dutch in India). ¹⁵⁶ I believe Vogel's wish, as expressed above, has been more than fulfilled by the publication of the impressive work *Dutch sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825*, a three-volume series published between 2001 and 2015 by Jos Gommans, Lennart Bes and Gijs Kruijtzer, covering both unpublished documents and published works.

6. The snake and the goose

Last, but by no means least, I would like to mention two impressive monographs that have much in common, as they are primarily based on literary research and stand somewhat apart from the rest of Vogel's studies. These works do not involve inscriptions but rather focus on philological studies. Their respective subjects are the snake and the goose, two animals of special significance, which are both commonly depicted in art.

First and foremost, in 1926 Vogel's monograph *Indian serpent-lore or the Nāgas in Hindu legend* and art was published, 157 and it is arguably his most well-known work. This book offers a thorough analysis and exhaustive literary investigation into the role of the $n\bar{a}gas$ – mythological serpent-like beings with supernatural attributes – as they appear in mythology, religious rituals and artistic expressions. The worship of $n\bar{a}gas$ holds a prominent place in Indian culture, literature and art, stretching from ancient times to the modern era and covering Hindu, Buddhist and Jain traditions. The $n\bar{a}gas$ are depicted as highly accessible and approachable beings, enjoying widespread popularity.

During his first visit to the Kulu hill state in 1901, Vogel encountered the phenomenon of snake worship. Fascinated by this ritual, he studied it in Indian art and Sanskrit texts. This research led to the publication of "Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā" (1912)¹⁵⁸ and "Serpent-worship in ancient and modern India" (1924).¹⁵⁹ These articles served as the foundation for his well-known monograph mentioned above (1926). The work was reviewed as "an admirably prepared and almost exhaustive account of its subject" by Coomaraswamy (1929, 190) and as "old but most worthwhile" by Dimock (1962, 311). The extensive introduction addresses various speculations about the origin of the serpent cult in India, for instance whether it is Aryan or non-Aryan. Vogel also discusses the views of Ferguson (1868), Oldenberg, Kern and others. According to Vogel himself, it is such a complex phenomenon that no definitive and unambiguous explanation can be given.

The significant role of serpents in religious traditions is reflected in art. There are three basic iconographic types: 1) the form of a usually multi-headed serpent as seen in Buddhist monuments such as those at Sāñchī and Bhārhut; 2) the form of a human being with a serpent hood in the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra; 3) the form where the upper part is human and the lower half consists of a snake's coils. The third type (also known as the mermaid type) is rare in Indo-Buddhist art but common in Brahmanical sculptures.

So much for the extensive introduction. The multifaceted role of the serpent is illustrated in the following chapters through legends about $n\bar{a}gas$ found in both Hindu and Buddhist texts, the epics, contact with the Buddha, $J\bar{a}takas$, fables and fairy-tales, the $R\bar{a}jatarangin\bar{\iota}$ and the $N\bar{\iota}lamata$ (Kashmir texts). The index presents a highly impressive list of subentries under the lemma $n\bar{a}ga$.

Although much of the monograph focuses on $n\bar{a}gas$ in the Hindu Sanskrit tradition, and the subtitle refers to Hindu legend and art, two chapters actually deal with Buddhist texts.

The second monograph is Vogel's book *The goose in Indian literature and art*, which was published by F.D.K. Bosch, P.H. Pott and A.H.N. Verwey in 1962, five years after Vogel's death. This volume is

¹⁵⁶ Amsterdam: Van Kampen.

¹⁵⁷ London: Arthur Probsthain; reprint in 1972, published as paperback in 2010. On *nāgas*, see also Vogel archives Or.26.821, file 27.

¹⁵⁸ Annual Report ASI 1908-1909 (1912): 159-163.

¹⁵⁹ Acta Orientalia 2 (1924): 279-312.

based on literary research of epic, Buddhist and narrative literature, and involves art historical studies as well. The book includes an introduction, which is a revised version of Vogel's 1953 article, "The goose (Sanskrit *haṃsa*) in Indian literature and art." Vogel demonstrates that the *haṃsa*, often translated as "swan" or "flamingo," is actually the Indian goose. This migratory bird flies from India to Tibet in the spring and returns to India in the autumn.

In the Vogel archives at Leiden University Library, there is a substantial amount of correspondence regarding the *hamsa*. Vogel made inquiries in both the Netherlands and India, consulting numerous experts. Notably, his discussions with Longhurst were extensive, as well as those with V. Raghavan, W. Norman Brown and B.Ch. Chhabra.

7. Concluding remarks

Jean Philippe Vogel was an authority in the field of Indian archaeological, iconographic, epigraphic and literary-historical studies. His work is comprehensive, diverse and deeply inspired by his admiration for Indian culture.

Vogel's publications are between sixty and over a hundred years old. In the meantime, many newer works have emerged in the fields of Indian archaeology and epigraphy, leading to the question whether Vogel's work can be considered "outdated," and if so, to what extent. These are questions I cannot answer, as this overview does not include a comparison with modern studies or an examination of any critiques. The aim of this article is to gain a more detailed understanding of Vogel's work beyond just the titles. However, it is almost certain that some of Vogel's interpretations or perspectives on certain issues have been superseded by new findings, for example based on further excavations or the discovery of new inscriptions. Even so, any interpretation that is later disproved still holds significance, as it contributed to the progression of knowledge.

This overview of Vogel's entire body of work makes it clear that he is primarily interested in Buddhist studies and art history, while his studies on Hindu and Islamic subjects are relatively limited, and Jain subjects are not addressed at all. Archaeological sites, sculptures and art historical and religious studies, etc., selected by Vogel as subjects for his publications are Buddhist sites, Buddhist sculptures and Buddhist art historical and religious surveys. As far as I know, this preference is entirely personal and was not a requirement for his appointment at the ASI. I do not know how the preference for Buddhism originated. Of course, there are exceptions, like his studies on hill state temples, Mahābalipuram and the Brahmanical sacrificial pillars of Īsāpur.

Vogel's admiration for Indian culture and art forms did not mean he was content with speculation based on weak assumptions. He sought certainty and "irrefutable facts," as Bosch (1959, 355f.) observed. Vogel found this certainty in epigraphy and iconography. The interpretation of Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions, along with his philological expertise in textual analysis, provided him with the facts he sought. Thus, his knowledge of Sanskrit was really indispensable. It indeed seems plausible that Vogel's outstanding knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit was the reason he was nominated for the position at the ASI, as I suggested in the introduction.

Although the establishment of scientific research has not changed, the way it is conducted certainly has. New technological advancements in communication, word processing, search engines and other tools that Vogel did not have access to, have significantly transformed the practice of scientific research. Therefore, there is even more admiration for all that he accomplished, such as "days of trekking along the rocky mountain paths of the Himalayas" (Bosch 1959, 1).

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¹⁶⁰ Art and Letters: the Journal of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society 27,1 (1953), 17-24. A lecture held at the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society in London in 1952.

I conclude with the words of Aurel Stein when he learned that Vogel was retiring. He wrote in a letter dated 5 February 1939: "I always admired the way in which you managed to produce so much of valuable research work amidst your devoted attention to the claims of your University and the Kern Institute."

Abbreviations

ABIA Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology

AO Acta Orientalia

ASI Archaeological Survey of India

BEFEO Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient

BSO(A)S Bulletin of the school of Oriental (and African) Studies

BTLV Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

EA Etudes Asiatique / Asiatische Studien

JPHS Journal of the Panjab Historical Society

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

MK(N)AW Mededeelingen der Koninklijke (Nederlandsche) Akademie van Wetenschappen VMKAW Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen

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7.

Jean Philippe Vogel's letters to Nityanand Shastri

Peter C. Bisschop

The collection of Jean Philippe Vogel's archives now held at Leiden University Libraries includes a folder with letters addressed to Vogel written in Sanskrit.¹ These letters, from several Indian and Kashmiri pandits, are a treasure trove for the study of Sanskrit letter writing at the beginning of the twentieth century and attest to a period of lively intercultural exchange.² Pandits with whom Vogel corresponded in Sanskrit include Sahaja Bhatta, Uday Candra, Tulsi Ram Sharma, Mukunda Ram Shastri, Nityanand Shastri and Tailanga Ram Shastri.

Many of the letters in the collection are from Nityanand Shastri, a Kashmiri pandit whom Vogel met in Kashmir in the summer of 1900 (figure 7.1).³ Vogel was brought into contact with Nityanand by Mark Aurel Stein, the famous Hungarian explorer of Central Asia, who advised him to read Sanskrit with him. Nityanand was a traditionally trained pandit who was in contact with many Western Indologists at the time, who went to him for study and advice. After a spell as a young Sanskrit teacher at a government school in Srinagar, he was later appointed professor of Sanskrit at Sri Pratap College in 1916.⁴ His most remarkable output, published posthumously only a few years ago, is a Sanskrit translation of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (*Dān Kvikṣoṭaḥ*).⁵



Figure 7.1. Pandit Nityanand Shastri, 1910.

¹ Vogel archives, no. Or.26.821. Folder 33: "brieven en aantekeningen in Sanskrit c. 1905."

² See Bisschop forthcoming, where I discuss two sample letters by Shastri and Vogel in more detail in the light of the Sanskrit epistolary tradition.

³ In total, Leiden University Libraries holds fourteen letters to Vogel by Nityanand, the majority of which stem from the first decade of the twentieth century, the period when Vogel was stationed in India (1899-1912).

⁴ For more on Nityanand Shastri and other Kashmirian pandits, see Pandita 2002.

⁵ Dimitrov 2019. See the introduction for a fascinating account of the circumstances of this extraordinary enterprise.

Last year I was able to acquire digital photographs of Vogel's own letters to Nityanand Shastri from his grandson, S.N. Pandita.⁶ With the exception of a handful of letters written in English, most of Vogel's letters to Nityanand are written in Sanskrit, in Devanāgarī script. I plan to publish an edition, translation and study of both sides of the correspondence. For this occasion, I have transcribed and translated Vogel's side of the correspondence. A full study with explanatory notes will have to follow later. Not all the letters are dated; I show them here in what I consider to be the most likely chronological order.⁷ Following the collection of Sanskrit letters, I present Vogel's English letters to Nityanand. Finally, I include a transcript of Vogel's original draft of one of the Sanskrit letters sent to Nityanand; this draft was kept by Vogel and is now in the Leiden collection.

For the sake of easier comprehension of the lengthy Sanskrit compounds, I have added hyphens inside the compounds, without however dissolving the sandhi. Round brackets indicate characters difficult to read; plus signs indicate additions made by Vogel; square backets indicate deletions by Vogel. The abbreviation "ac" in the notes stands for *ante correctionem* and "pc" for *post correctionem*. Accidental errors in Vogel's writing are marked with "NB," followed by the presumed intended reading, preceded by "for." Double dashes (--) indicate that a character is illegible. The layout of the letters is reproduced in the transcription and translation as much as possible. The spelling of Sanskrit names and terms in the translation has been normalized, with no use of diacritics.

Sanskrit Letters

1. 4 August 1900, from Srinagar:8

śrīnagare 4/8/1900

paṇḍita-nityānanda-śāstrī prathamaṃ ḍāktar-staina-sāhibena mama darśanāya preṣitaḥ paścād mamaiva saṃskṛta-pāṭhārtham āhūta ekaṃ māsaṃ yāvat prāyaśaḥ pratidinaṃ mat-samīpam āgato 'sti pāṭhanena ca vinayena ca parisaṃtoṣo mayy utpannaḥ

dāktar ja.pa.vogel

Srinagar, 4 August 1900

Pandit Nityanand Shastri was first sent to see me by Dr. Stein Sahib. Afterwards, I invited him to teach me Sanskrit, and for a month he has come to me almost every day. I have been highly pleased with his teaching and humility.

2. 3 February 1901, from Lahore:⁹

om śrīśah prasīdatu |

.

⁶ I would like to thank S.N. Pandita for sharing images of these letters with me, as well as for his advice on several aspects of the correspondence and the friendship between Vogel and his grandfather.

⁷ See the notes to the undated letters for relevant details on the possible time and place of writing.

⁸ Image 6916. This is not a letter addressed to Nityanand as such, but a brief recommendation letter for him. See also the English letter addressed to "Off Director General Archaeology with India" dated 31 July 1900 (i.e., four days before this one) included below in the English section.

⁹ Images 6912-6913.

śrīnagarasya rājakīya-pāṭhaśālopādhyāyam aneka-śāstra-pāra-gataṃ sva-priya-vayasyam anvarthataḥ¹⁰ śrī-nityānanda iti sugṛhīta-nāmadheyaṃ paṇḍitavaraṃ prati svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ nivedanam idaṃ preṣayati ḍākṭar-vogel-sāhib holanda-deśīyaḥ |

bhavato viṇaya-maitra-mahācihnaṃ¹¹ "kṛstamasakārṭ" yad ucyate śubha-pattraṃ holanda-deśaṃ prati preritaṃ punar bahūn udadhīn unnatāṃś ca girīn laṅghayitvā gata-saptāhne gṛha-kapota iva mama haste nilīno 'sti |

kaśmīra-deśād dhi nirgata-mātrasya me pāñcanada-viṣaya-bhogapatinā "ārkheolojikal sarveyar iti¹² ya aṅgala-bhāṣāyām abhidhīyata adhikāro datta āsit

tat-kāraṇāt svalpam eva kālaṃ yuropa-deśe nivāsaṃ kṛtvā sarvāṃś ca bāndhavāṃ sakhīṃś ca haulandikāṃ śāstra-niṣṇātaṃ mahāpaṇḍitāṃ¹³ viśeṣato mama videśa-vṛttānta-kathābhir modayitvā bhūyo mahānāvi praviśya bhārata-varṣaṃ pratyāvṛtto ˈsmi | gata-varṣānte lavapure prāpto nave cādhikāre sthāpito bahūni kāryāṇy anusthātum arhāmi | sarvāni hi pāñcanadasya jīrṇāni mandira-prāsāda-durga-stūpa-stambhādīni dṛṣṭavyāni nivarṇitavyāni ca | tad-vaśāt śāstra-paṭhanāya bho kaṣṭam atyalpo 'vakāma avaśiṣyate |

yadi tu varşo gato bhavişyati deva-prasādāt punaḥ kaśmīra-deśaṃ deśa-ratnam adhigamya padmasaras-tāre¹⁴ nirantara-pāda(pa)-chāyā-śītale 'tiramaṇīya upavane bhavatā pāṭhaka-kāvyāni pāṭhitaḥ¹⁵ paramaṃ sukham anubhaviṣyāmīti yat satyaṃ mamāśā vartate | śubham astu ||

lavapurāt 3.2.1901

Om. May the Lord be pleased.

Dr. Vogel Sahib from Holland sends this message preceded by blessings to the best of pandits, who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand (Constant Delight), who is a teacher at the royal school of Srinagar, a master of all the scriptures, my dear friend.

The nice letter called "Christmas Card," a great sign of your courtesy and friendship, sent to the land of Holland, after crossing many oceans and lofty mountains, has reached my hand last week, like a homing pigeon.

At the time of my departure from the land of Kashmir, I was given the office of what in English language is called "Archaeological Surveyor," by the governor of the region of Punjab.

For this reason, having spent only a short time in Europe entertaining all my relatives, friends and the great scholars of Holland learned in the scriptures with stories of my adventures abroad, I again boarded a great ship and returned to Bharata Varsha (India). At the end of last year, I arrived in Lahore, where I was appointed to my new position, and now have many duties to perform. For all the ancient temples, palaces, forts, stupas and pillars of Punjab, etc. must be seen and described. Consequently, alas, very little opportunity remains for the study of the scriptures.

After a year, however, by God's grace I hope to return to the land of Kashmir, the supreme land, and experience the highest pleasure while listening to your recitations of poems in the very beautiful garden, cool in the uninterrupted shade of trees, on the bank of the lotus lake. This truly is my hope. May it be well.

From Lahore, 3 February 1901

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¹⁰ svapriyavayasyam anvarthataḥ: pc; priyavayasyanvarthataḥ: ac.

¹¹ -mahācihnam: pc; -mahīcihnam: ac. NB: vinaya- for vinaya-.

¹² Vogel does not add closing quotation marks here but lets Sanskrit *iti* do the job.

¹³ I presume Vogel intended: haulandikān śāstra-niṣṇātān mahāpaṇḍitān.

¹⁴ NB: for -*tīre*. There are more problems in this part of the text.

¹⁵ pāṭhitaḥ: pc; pāṭhayan: ac.

3. Undated (end of 1902, from Lahore?):16

```
oṃ |
śrīśāradā jayatu |
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śrīmac-chrīnagarasya vidvaj-jana-tilaka-bhūta agaṇya-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛta-mūrtiḥ suhṛj-jana-hṛdaya-nityānanda-kārī śrī-nityānanda-śāstri-nāma paṇḍita-variṣṭho svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ ḍākṭar-vogel-sāhiba-preṣitaṃ nivedanam idam ākarṇayatu |

bhavac-chubha-pattra-prāpti-samayāt prabhṛti māsa-catuṣṭayaṃ gatam adyāpi mayā kimścit prativacanaṃ na dattam iti kāraṇād mahatī¹⁷ mad-manasi¹⁸ vartate lajjā | kiṃ bahunā | adhikāra-kārya-bāhulyam eva tad vilambana-hetu na tu vātsalya-svalpatā |

gata-grīṣma-rtu-māsa-dvayaṃ parvata-rāja-cintāmaṇi-bhūtāyāṃ śrī-campāpuryāṃ nivāsaḥ kṛtaḥ | tatra deśe ca bahūni sanātanāni saṃskṛta-lipi-viśeṣālaṃkṛtāni prācīna-bhūpati-nāma-śāsanāśrayāṇi tāmra-paṭṭakāni dṛṣṭāni yāni mudrālaya-vaśena prāduṣkartuṃ vyavasito 'smi | api tādṛśāni śāsana-pattrāni kaśmīra-deśe 'pi vidyanta iti mama kutūhalo vartate ||

campā-nagarād lavapuraṃ praṇivṛtyāsmadīya-mitrottam(ā)¹⁹-kāla-maraṇa-vṛttānta-śravaṇenātimahān mad-hṛdaye samutpāditaḥ śokaḥ | satyenaivāsmādṛśānāṃ manda-bhāgyānāṃ bhāgadheyaṃ paṅkaja-dala-patita-salila-bindur iva cañcalam ucyate | tasya tu mahātmano lokāntara-gatasyāpi saujanya-vinayādi-guṇa-viśeṣa-smṛtiḥ sakhi-jana-mānaseṣu sadaivāvaśikṣyate ||

yad bhavatas parameśvara-prasādāt satatāroga-kuśala-dīrghāyuṣtvaṃ syād iti mama param vartate prārthanā ||

śubham astu ||

Om.

Victory to the goddess Shri Sharada.

Let the best of pandits, Shri Nityanand Shastri – who is an ornament among the savants of glorious Srinagar, whose appearance is adorned with countless qualities, who brings constant delight to the hearts of his friends – listen to this message preceded by blessings sent by Dr. Vogel Sahib:

Since the time I received your kind letter, four months have passed, and I have still not given any reply. For this reason, I feel great shame in my heart. What more is there to say? It is only the abundance of duties of my office that has caused this delay, but not shortage of affection. I spent two months of the past summer in the glorious city of Chamba, the crest-gem of the king of mountains (Himalaya). And in that region, I saw many ancient copper plates, adorned with specific scripts in Sanskrit, bearing the edicts and names of former kings, which I am determined to bring to light with the help of the printing-press. I am eager to know whether such plates with edicts are also found in the land of Kashmir.

After my return from the city of Chamba to Lahore, I was struck with immense grief in my heart at the news of the untimely death of our best friend. Truly, the fate of unfortunate beings like us is said to be transient like a drop of water fallen on a lotus petal. However, the memory of the special virtues like kindness, modesty, etc. of that great soul, who has gone to the other world, will always remain in the hearts of his friends.

¹⁶ Images 6904-6903 (reversed). The death referred to in this letter most likely is that of the Canadian Indologist Alfred William Stratton, who died 23 August 1902. From 1899 until his early death he was principal of Oriental College in Lahore. For a draft of this letter in the Leiden collections, see the letter reproduced at the end of this chapter.

¹⁷ mahatī: pc; mahātī: ac.

¹⁸ NB: for manmanasi.

¹⁹ The long $-\bar{a}$ ending is not visible due to damage.

My highest prayer is that you may always enjoy health, happiness and a long life by the grace of the Supreme Lord.

May it be well.

4. Undated (June 1903, from Chamba?):²⁰

śrīśaḥ prasīdatu

śrīnagarī-cūḍāmaṇi-bhūtam aneka-śāstra-rasa-tṛpta-mānasaṃ kāśmīra-dvija-vidvaj-janālaṃkāra-viśeṣaṃ sva-priyatara-vayasyaṃ paṇḍita-varaṃ śrī-nityānanda-śāstrīty anvartha-sugṛhīta-nāmadheyaṃ ḍākṭar-vogel holanda-deśīya āśirvāda-puraḥsaram idaṃ nivedayati ||

asmin saṃvatsare yad bhavatā śrīnagarād mat-pārśvaṃ preṣitaṃ śubha-pattra-trayaṃ tasya hy adyāpi prativacanaṃ mayā na kṛtam | navīnādhikārāśrayaṃ²¹ kārya-bāhulyam eva tasya mat-pramādasya kāraṇām āsīt | tad bharṣayatu bhavān | adya hi prativacana-preṣaṇasya vilambanaṃ na bhavet |

kaśmīra-deśaṃ punar draṣṭuṃ paramā mama vartate āśā | sāṃprataṃ tu sva-tantro nāsmi | ataḥ kasmiṃs samaye tatra gamanaṃ bhaviṣyati tad adyaiva na vadituṃ śakyate | avaśyataṃ tu yadi daivaṃ prasannaṃ syāt tatra gamiṣyāmi | atiramaṇīyaṃ hi me pratibhāti himālayācalasya pradhāna-bhūṣaṇaṃ śrī-mūrtti-bhūtaṃ śrīnagaram | bhavantaṃm api²² draṣṭum utkaṇṭhito 'smi | anyac ca | prāk pāñcanadasya balūcīsthānasya ca prācīna-mandirānāṃ mamādhikāro datta āsīt | adya-prabhṛti tu kaśmīra-deśa rāja-sthāne 'pi tad eva kāryaṃ karaṇīyam ity ādiṣṭo 'smi | tad-anantaraṃ yad bhavāṃ punar api kuśala-pattrena mama hṛdayaṃ prasannī-kuryāt tad eva prārthayāmi |

śubham astu ||

May the Lord be pleased.

Dr. Vogel from Holland, informs the following preceded by blessings to the best of pandits, who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand Shastri, his dearest friend, the crest-jewel of the city of Srinagar, whose mind is satisfied by the essence of numerous scriptures, the distinguished ornament of the twice-born of Kashmir:

I have still not replied to the three kind letters that you have sent me from Srinagar this year. The reason for my oversight has been the abundance of duties that come with my new office. May you please forgive it. Today, however, there shall be no delay in sending a response.

My highest hope remains to see the land of Kashmir again. At present, however, I am not a free man. Hence, it is not possible to say right now at which moment I might go there. But if fate should be kind, I will go there. For I find Srinagar, the pre-eminent ornament of the Himalaya Mountain, exceptionally beautiful. I am also eager to see you. And there is more. Earlier, the superintendence of the ancient temples in the Punjab and Baluchistan was assigned to me. From today onwards, I have been instructed to carry out the same office in the kingdom of Kashmir as well. Next, I request that you please my heart again with a friendly letter.

May it be well.

²⁰ Images 6900-6901. In June 1903 the former Panjab and the United Provinces Circles were amalgated and renamed Northern Circle. During this month Vogel was researching inscriptions in Chamba. Cf. Theuns de Boer 2008: 180.

²¹ -kārāśrayam: pc; -kārośrayam: ac.

²² NB: for *bhavantam api*.

5. Undated (1903-1904):²³

aneka-śāstra-sāgara-pāra-gataṃ nirmala-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛta-mūrtiṃ śrīnagara-stha-vidvaj-jana-tilaka-bhūtaṃ paṇḍita-śrī-nityānanda-śāstriṇaṃ prati ḍākṭar-vāgālayaḥ svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ nivedanam idaṃ preṣayati ||

atha varṣa eko 'tigato 'sti yataḥ prabhṛti mūrtimatīva śrīḥ śrīnagarī mayā dṛṣṭā | kadā kaśmīra-deśasya kaśmīra-deśīyānāṃś ca viśiṣṭa-paṇḍita-varānāṃ darśanena punar anugṛhīto bhaveyam iti mama (mana)si kautūhalaṃ vartate | sa(rṣapā) bhavatā -- -- vṛttāṃta-vyavahāraḥ pattra-bhāgena nacirād (nive)dayitavyaḥ ||

anyac ca | amerika-deśād (bho.) mīsis-stretan-preṣitaḥ śubha-lekho ma(d)-hasta āgato 'sti | (ta)smin iyaṃ prārthanā vartate | yāni yāni ḍākṭar-stretan-mahāśayena likhitāni sva-mitta-śiṣyādīnāṃ²⁴ pārśve pattrāṇi vartante teṣāṃ teṣāṃ pratibimbāni (copy)²⁵ mamaiva pārśvaṃ preṣayitavyānīti | bhavato ḍākṭar-stretan- sāhiba-vareṇa saha dṛḍhaṃ mitratvaṃm āsīd²⁶ iti jñāyate | tasmād mīsis-stretan-prārthanā-prāmāṇyād eva kartavyam | yāni cic chrī-mukunda-rāma-

Dr. Vagalaya²⁷ sends this message preceded by blessings to pandit Shri Nityanand Shastri, who has mastered the ocean of numerous scriptures, whose appearance is adorned with pure qualities, and who is an ornament of the savants residing in Srinagar.

Now, one year has passed since I saw Srinagar, which is as it were the embodiment of fortune. When will I once again be blessed with the sight of the land of Kashmir and the distinguished scholars from the land of Kashmir? Such is the longing in my heart. I have a great desire to be informed by you about the current events and dealings through a letter soon.

Something else. A kind letter sent by Mrs. Stratton from America has reached my hand. In it, there is the following request: Whatever copies of letters written by the honourable Dr. Stratton sent to his friends, pupils and others there are, please send them to me. It is known that you had a strong friendship with Dr. Stratton Sahib. Therefore, please do so, because of the genuineness of Mrs. Stratton's request. Whatever [letters] Shri Mukunda Rama [...]

6. <u>Undated, from Chamba (1902-1908)</u>:²⁸

śrīśaḥ prasīdatu

kāśmīra-deśa-stha-vidvaj-jana-tilaka-bhūta-sakala-śāstra-pāra-gata-samasta-śubha-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛta-śrīnagara-śrī-vardhana-śrī-nityānanda-śāstrīti yathārtha-nāma paṇḍita-variṣṭhaṃ holanda-deśīyo vāgālaya-saṃjño jñānārthī svasti-vādena²⁹ vandayitvā vijñāpayati ||

²⁷ vāgālaya (abode of speech): Sanskrit nickname for Vogel.

²³ Image 6905. Parts of this letter are damaged and illegible; the second part of the letter is missing. In the preface to Stratton's collected letters from India (Stratton 1908), Stratton's widow, Anna Booth Stratton, mentions that she started collecting and editing her husband's letters after the meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1903, at the suggestion of Maurice Bloomfield and Charles Lanman. In a letter dated 20 October 1904, Nityanand mentions sending Vogel copies of the letters. So, I suppose this letter dates from around 1903-1904.

²⁴ NB: for *svamitra*-.

²⁵ Inserted by Vogel in English between brackets.

²⁶ NB: for *mitratvam āsīd*.

²⁸ Images 6898-6899. Between 1902 and 1908 Vogel spent multiple summer months in Chamba to explore the antiquities and inscriptions there. The inscriptions were published in two heavy volumes years apart (Vogel 1911 and 1957).

²⁹ svasti-: pc; svāsti-: ac.

asti girīśa-bhūṣaṇa-bhūtaś campā-nāmātīva-ramaṇīyaḥ pradeśaḥ | tatra kasmiṃścic cāmuṇḍādevī-prāsāda-prasādine sthāne prācīnas toyādhāro vartate | atijīrņa-śilā-paṭṭa-likhita-śāradā-lipyaksara-śobhanālankāra-vrtta-viśesa-viśesitātyanta-ramya-praśastis tatraiva vidyate pratibimbaṃś ca devanāgarī-lipi-likhitāṃ caiva chāyāṃ bhavataḥ samīpaṃ preṣayāmi | kim arthaṃ | pāṇḍita-vareṇa saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-kuśalatayā yad yad asyāṃ praśastyāṃ śilāpaṭṭa-bhaṅgād vinaṣṭaṃ syāt tat tat saṃbhāvitavyaṃ likhitavyaṃś ceti mama paramāśā vartate | suṣṭhu hi kenacid uktaṃ hanumān abdhim atarad duskaram kim mahātmanām | anyāpi me hrdaya iyam āśā paramāsti śīghram eva mitra-vāriṣṭhānanendu-darśanena locana-kumudam me vikasvaram bhaved iti śubham ||

May the Lord be pleased.

The student from the land of Holland, known as Vagalaya, pays his respects with a blessing and informs the best of pandits, who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand Shastri, the increaser of the fortune of Srinagar, who is an ornament among the savants of the land of Kashmir, who has mastered all the scriptures, and is adorned with all auspicious qualities.

There is an exceptionally beautiful region called Chamba, which is an ornament of the lord of mountains (Himalaya). In that place, at a particular spot which is blessed with a temple of the goddess Camunda, there is an ancient water tank. At that place, there is a remarkably beautiful eulogistic inscription distinguished with special splendid figures of speech and verse in Sharada script written on a very old stone slab. I am sending you a copy and a transcript of it written in Devanagari script. For what reason? My utmost hope is that you, the best of pandits, because of your expertise in the Sanskrit language will be able to reconstruct and transcribe any part in this eulogistic inscription that is lost because of damage of the stone slab. Indeed, it has been well said by someone, "Hanuman crossed the ocean. What is impossible for great souls?" And the other hope in my heart is that very soon my eyes like lotuses will open and blossom at the sight of the moon-like face of my best of friends. May it be well.

7. Undated, from Simla (Summer 1907):³⁰

śrīśah prasīdatu ||

samasta-śāstrārtha-svī-karaṇa-kāraṇa-yaśaḥ-praśasti-candrikā-dūrīkṛtāvidyā-niśāndhakāraḥ sakalavimala-guna-ratnāvalī-vibhūsita-mūrtih kaśmīra-deśīya-praśasta-vidvat-sabhā-tilaka-bhūtah śrīnagara-śrī-vardhano mitra-jana-nityānanda-kārī śrī-nityānanda-śāstrī nāma paṇḍita-variṣṭhah svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ vāgālaya-preṣitaṃ nivedanam idam ākarṇayatu ||

bhavat-kuśala-samācārāviskarana-kara-kamalālamkrta-śubha-patram prāpya mama manasi mahatī prītih samutpannah | athavā bhavad-grha-dahana-vitta-nāśa-vṛttāntam śrutvā suduḥkhito 'smi | āścaryaṃ viṣama-kṛtānta-khalena kim arthaṃ śānta-śīleṣu tādṛśaḥ krodho vihitaḥ | athavā paṇḍitasya pāṇḍityam eva kośaḥ |

aham manda-bhāgyatayā māsa-trayam yāvac caṇḍa-rogenākrānta āsam | adyāpi śarīre daurbalyam vartate svādhikāra-kāryāni tu bhūyah kartum śaknomi | itah param saptāhasyāntare *māraśāla-(*Marshall)*supuņya*(Spooner)*nāmnī* man-mitrau śimla-nagarāt kaśmīra-deśam

³⁰ Images 6910-6911. A letter of Nityanand dated 31 May 1907 reports the burning down of his house, so this letter must be a response to it. In April of that year Vogel was hospitalized in Lucknow for a liver disorder and afterwards nursed for three months in Simla (Theuns-de Boer 2008: 181). This appears to be alluded to in the letter, suggesting that it dates to the late summer of 1907. I thank S.N. Pandita for his help with the dating of Nityanand's own letter which adopts a combination of the Georgian calendar and Vikrama Samvat.

pratiprasthātu³¹ vyavasitau smaḥ | mārtaṇḍādi-praśasta-devālaya-darśanaṃ katum³² icchataḥ | ahaṃ tu daurbalya-vaśān na gamiṣyāmi | na jñāyate kasmin samaye vidhi-prasādāt kaśmīra-deśasya bhavan-mukha-candrasya ca darśanaṃ kuryām iti | bhavatas tu sarvathā kuśalaṃ bhavet ity āśaṃse || śubham astu ||

May the Lord be pleased.

May the best of pandits, Shri Nityanand Shastri – who removes the darkness of the night of ignorance with the moonlight of his fame and glory which are based on his mastery of the meanings of all the scriptures, whose appearance is adorned with the string of pearls that are all his pure virtues, who is the ornament among the assembly of the celebrated savants in the land of Kashmir, who increases the glory of Srinagar, and who brings constant delight to his friends – listen to this message preceded by blessings sent by Vagalaya.

When I received your kind letter adorned with your lotus-hand bringing news of your well-being, it produced great joy in my heart. However, upon hearing the report of the destruction of your property by the burning of your house, I am deeply grieved. It is baffling why such anger is imposed upon those of peaceful disposition by cruel and wicked fate. Or rather, the true treasure of a scholar is his learning.

By ill fortune I have been afflicted with a fierce illness for three months. Even now, my body is still weak, but I am again able to carry out the duties of my office. Soon, within a week, my two friends Marashala (Marshall) and Supunya (Spooner) have decided to set out for the land of Kashmir from Simla city. They want to go and see the famous temples like Martanda. But because of my weakness, I will not be able to go. I do not know when, by the grace of fate, I may see Kashmir and your moon-like face. However, I hope that you stay well in every respect.

May it be well.

8. Undated, from Simla (Summer 1910):³³

śrīśaḥ prasīdatu |

aneka-śāstra-pāra-prāpti-kīrti-jyotsnā-bhāsita-sarvāśaḥ samasta-guṇa-ratnāvalyālaṅkṛta-mānasaḥ kaśmīra-deśīya-vidvaj-jana-cintāmaṇiḥ śrīmad-yathārtha-nityānanda iti sugṛhīta-nāmadheyaḥ pāṇḍita-variṣṭhaḥ svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ holanda-deśīya-vāgālaya-nāmno vidyārthino nivedanam avadhārayatu ||

śāradākṣarālaṅkṛta-pañcāṅga-pattra-sahitaṃ bhavac-chubha-kara-kamala-śobhita-lekham avalokya mama mahān harṣaḥ samutpannaḥ | tat-preṣanād atīva-kṛtajño ʾsmi | tādṛśasyaiva pañcāṅga-pattrasya mamāpekṣāsīt | anyad api mama prārthanaṃ vatate³⁴ | yadi kasyacid dāridrya-pīḍita-brāhmaṇasya gṛhe gopatha-brāhmaṇa-nāma-hasta-likhita-prācīna-pustakaṃ syāt tadā mamārthaṃ tat pustakaṃ gṛhaṇīyam | ahaṃ hi tasmai daridrāya dvijottamāya dakṣinām avaśyam eva dāsyāmi | yadi burja-pattra-nirmita-pustakaṃ milituṃ śaknoti tarhi viśeṣa-śobhanaṃ syāt | kāṣṭhamaya-karaṇḍa-gataṃ tat pustakaṃ "ṭāka"dvārā simala-nagaraṃ preṣayitavyam | iti śubham ||

³¹ NB: for *pratiprasthātum*.

³² NB: for *kartum*.

³³ Images 6919-6920. In a letter dated 3 May 1910 Nityanand mentions sending the *pañcāṅga* (ritual calendar). From 1 May 1910 Vogel worked as deputy director of the Archaeological Survey, based in Simla.

³⁴ *vatate*: pc; *vateta*: ac. Obviously Vogel meant to write *vartate*.

May the Lord be pleased.

May the best of pandits – who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand Shastri, possessed of fortune, who shines all around with the light of the fame of his mastery of many scriptures, whose mind is adorned with a string of pearls of all virtues, and who is the wish-fulfilling gem among the savants of the land of Kashmir – accept the message preceded by blessings from his student named Vagalaya from the land of Holland.

Upon seeing your letter beautified by your splendid lotus-hand, accompanied by a ritual calendar decorated with Sharada letters, I experienced great joy. I am extremely grateful for your sending it. I had been hoping for such a ritual calendar. I have another request as well. If any poor and wretched brahmin should have an old hand-written manuscript of the Gopatha Brahmana, then please acquire the manuscript for me. I will certainly give the poor excellent twice-born man money. It would be especially good if it is possible to acquire a birch-bark manuscript. Please send the manuscript in a wooden box by tonga to the city of Simla. May it be well.

9. Undated (1910-1912?):35

śrīśaḥ prasīdatu ||

aum svasti || śrīgaṇādhipataye namaḥ ||

aneka-śāstra-pāra-gata-sakala-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛta-mūrtiḥ kāśmīra-deśīya-vidvaj-jana-tilaka-bhūtaḥ śrīnagara-śrī-vardhana-yathārtha-śrī-nityānanda-śāstrīti sugṛhīta-nāmadheya-paṇḍita-variṣṭho holanda-deśīyasya vāgālayākhyasya vidyārthinaḥ svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ lekham imaṃ svīkarotu ||

kim artham dīrgha-kālam eva priya-vayasya śrī-paṇḍita-nityānanda-śāstriṇo nityānanda-vardhanaḥ kuśala-nivedana-śubha-lekho na prāptaḥ | kiṃ tatra-bhavato bahu-kārya-vaśān mama smaraṇāvakāśo na bhavet | athavā [śāntaṃ pāpam]³⁶ paṇḍita-varasya vyādhy-ākrāntasya lekhanāśaktatā syād iti bahuśaś cintayato mama hṛdaya-vidāraṇaḥ saṃdeha āsīt ||

atha varṣārambha-puṇya-dine bhavat-kauśalyādi-nivedanaṃ śubha-pattraṃ mūrtimantīva caiva maitra-phalāni phala-varāṇi prāpya parama-harṣa-harṣita-hṛdaya āsam | prativacana-preṣaṇe tu rājyādhikārādi-bahu-kārya-vaśāt kim api vilambanaṃ jātam | [kiṃ bahunā]³⁷ śīghram eva priya-vayasya punar-darśanaṃ bhaved iti mama paramāśā vartate | iti śubham ||

May the Lord be pleased.

Om. (May there be) well-being. Homage to Ganesha.

May the best of pandits – who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand Shastri, the increaser of the fortune of Srinagar, whose appearance is adorned with all qualities and who has mastered numerous scriptures, who is an ornament among the savants of the land of Kashmir – accept this letter preceded by blessings from his student named Vagalaya from the land of Holland.

Why has a kind letter telling of the well-being of my dear friend, pandit Nityanand Shastri, the increaser of constant delight, not arrived for such a long time? Is it due to your many duties that you have no occasion to remember me? Or is it that the best of pandits is not able to write because he is afflicted by illness? As I was worrying a lot like this, I experienced a constant doubt that tore my heart.

Then, on an auspicious day at the start of the year, when I received your kind letter informing me of your well-being etc. like the fruits of friendship, which are the best of fruits, embodied, my heart was

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³⁵ Images 6914-6915. I suppose the "duties for the kingdom" refer to Vogel's position as deputy director of the Archaeological Survey, which he occupied from 1910-1912.

³⁶ Placed between round brackets by Vogel.

³⁷ Placed between round brackets by Vogel.

overjoyed with joy. However, the many duties related to my office for the kingdom etc., have led to some delay in sending a reply. My highest hope is that I may soon see my dear friend again. May it be well.

10. 20 June 1921, from Leiden:³⁸

laidana-nagarāt 20-6-1921

aneka-vyākaraṇālaṃkārādi-śāstra-sāgara-pāraga-gamana-saṃskṛtaḥ saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-jñāna-niṣṇāta-buddhir buddhimaj-jana-suhṛt suhṛj-jana-pūjanārha-guṇo 'gaṇita-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛta-mūrtiḥ kāśmīra-deśīya-paṇḍita-cūḍāmaṇi-bhūto yathārthābhidhāna-śrī-nityānandaśāstrīti-sugṛhīta-nāmadheya-paṇḍita-variṣṭhaḥ svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ svasakhyā ḍākṭar je. pī. ec. vogala-nāmnā preṣitaṃ lekham imaṃ svīkarotutarām ||

bahava eva varṣā atītāḥ santi yataḥ prabhṛti bhavad-darśanenānugṛhīto 'smi | suṣṭhu khalv idam ucyate |

yathā kāṣṭhaṃ ca kāṣṭhaṃ +ca+ sameyātāṃ mahodadhau | sametya ca vyapeyātāṃ tadvad bhūta-samāgamaḥ ||

na tu yāvaj jīvam amūni kāśmīra-deśe phulla--śobhita-sarasas tīra udyāna-pāda-parāji-chāyāyāṃ bhavatā saha kāvya-nāṭakādy-adhyayanātiramaṇīyāni dināni vismariṣyāmi | kadāpi bhāgadheyātiśayād bhārata-vaṣaṃ³³ puṇya-deśaṃ bhārata-vaṣe ca himagiri-mekhalaṃ kāśmīra-maṇḍalaṃ kīśmāra-viṣaye⁴ ca śrī-devī+kula+nivāsaṃ śrī-nagaraṃ tatra ca nityānanda-kāri suhṛttama-śrī-nityānanda-bhadra-mukhaṃ punar api paśyeyam | iti dine dine cintayitvā mama paramāśā vartate | kiṃ bahunā | vidhātrā vidheyam ||

śīghram eva śubha-pattra-preṣaṇena mām anughṛṇātu bhavān || bhavatah kuśalaisī

J. Ph. Vogel

(Address: University Leiden. Holland)

From the city of Leiden 20-6-1921

Let the best of pandits – who stands true to the meaning of his name, Shri Nityanand Shastri, who is refined in reaching complete mastery of the ocean of multiple scriptures, starting with grammar and poetics, whose mind is deeply versed in the knowledge of the Sanskrit language, who is the friend of learned men, whose qualities are worthy of worship by his friends, whose appearance is adorned by innumerable qualities, and who is the crest-jewel of pandits from the land of Kashmir – please very much accept this letter preceded by blessings sent by his friend, Dr. J.Ph. Vogel.

Many years have gone by since I was blessed by your sight. It has been well said, indeed:

"Just as two pieces of wood may come together in the great ocean, and after coming together separate again, so is the meeting of living beings."⁴¹

But, as long as I live, I shall not forget those most delightful days of studying poetry, drama, etc. with you in the shade of the rows of trees in the garden at the bank of the lake beautified by the blossoming lotuses in the land of Kashmir. One day, through an excess of good fortune, I may again see the beautiful country of Bharata Varsha, and in Bharata Varsha the region of Kashmir, which is encircled

³⁸ Images 6907-6908.

³⁹ NB: for *bhāratavarṣam*.

⁴⁰ NB: for *kāśmīraviṣaye*. For a detailed study of this letter and Nityanand's response on 21 August 1921, see Bisschop forthcoming.

⁴¹ This traditional verse may have been cited from *Hitopadeśa* 4.74. The same verse also appears in *Mahābhārata* 12.28.36 (variant: *vyatīyātāṃ*) and *Mahābhārata* 12.168.15.

by the Mountain of Snow (Himalaya), and in the land of Kashmir Srinagar, which is the abode of the family of the venerable goddess, ⁴² and there the auspicious face of the venerable Nityananda Shastri, the best of friends, who brings constant delight. Thinking thus, each day, my highest hope remains. What is the use of more words? It is ordained by the Creator.

May you please favour me by sending a kind letter.
Wishing for your well-being.

J.Ph. Vogel

न तु यान ल्लीनममूनि का स्मीर देने कुल्ल-कमल मोभिल सर्मस्तीर उद्यान याद्य राजि-क्रायायंत भवता सह का स्थलाटका ट्ययना अने क स्थाकर एग जंका राटिकास्त्र सागर-पार्गमनसंस्कृतः संस्कृतभाषात्ताननिष्णात -मुद्धि मुंद्रिम अन सुदृत् सुहुअन पूजनाईगुरी न्यपि भाग्धेयातिषयाद्वार्तनषं प्राय-आणितम् राम्मा रामलंकतम् तिः काण्मा रवेलाय-देगं भारतवर्षं च हिमागिरिमेखलं काच्यी रमाइलं की क्यारनिषयं च श्रीदेवीनिवासं पारितच्डामरिष्मते यथाकाभिधान-मी-निल्लान-ट्रणस्त्रीनि-सुगृद्दीलमामधेय पारित- श्रीनगरं तत्र च निल्लान-ट्रकारि सुद्धतम-विष् : स्वास्तिवाद्युर: सरं स्वमान्या स्त्रीतित्यानन्द्रभद्रमु वं पुनरापि पश्यम्। उान्टर् ने. पी. एव. नागल नामा प्रितं लेखिमं इति दिने दिने विलाखिला मम परमाणा स्नीकरोत्तराम ॥ वर्तते । किं बहुना । विधात्रा विधेयम् ॥ बहुब १व नवां अतीता: सनि यत: गाध्यमन स्भवन त्रम्यान सामन्याहात प्रभृति भवद्रभनेनान् गृहीतो अस्म । मुषु मिलि सम्यते। अनतः कुमलेबा

J. Ph. Vogel

(Astress: University
Folland यथा का छंच का छं समयाना महादधी। समत्य च न्यपेयातां तद्दुत्तसमाग्मः ॥

Figure 7.2. Sanskrit letter by J.Ph. Vogel to Nityanand Shastri, 20 June 1921 (front and back).

11. 1 October 1924, from Leiden:⁴³

[left side:] To Paṇḍit Nityānandaśāstrī Professor of Sanskrit

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⁴² As Dragomir Dimitrov has suggested to me (email correspondence, 14 October 2024), this might refer to the residents of Srinagar. Alternatively, Vogel may have intended *devīkula* to mean "goddess temple" (compare *devakula* "temple"). The reference is to Śāradā Devī, the goddess of learning and tutelary deity of the land of Kashmir.

⁴³ Images 6908-6909. Curiously enough a second copy of the same letter, with very minor differences, exists in the collection (images 6917-6918). On both letters, somebody else (presumably Nityanand) has written notes in a curved Devanāgarī script.

S.P. College Srinagar Leiden, Holland Noordeindsplein 4a Oct. 1st, 1924

om svasti ||

sakala-śāstra-pāra-gataṃ sarva-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhūṣita-manaskaṃ kāśmīra-deśīya-vidvaj-jana-mukuṭa-bhūtaṃ śrīnagara-tilakaṃ paṇḍita-variṣṭhaṃ yathārtha-nāmakaṃ śrī-nityānanda-śāstrīti sugṛhīta-nāmadheyam namaskrtya hollanda-deśa-stho dākṭar-vogal pattram idaṃ sānurodhaṃ preṣayati |

dīrgha-kālād bhavataḥ sakāśād atra śubha-patraṃ⁴⁴ nāgatam | yad bhavato manasi śarīre ca sarvataḥ kuśalaṃ vartata iti me paramāśā ||

gata-māse kāśmīra-deśīya-paṇḍita-dvayena prakāśitaṃ lavapure ca mudritaṃ nīlamata-purāṇaṃ nāma pustakaṃ mayā paṭhitam⁴⁵ | atra viṣaye mama vastu-traye saṃdeho vartate 'yaṃ bhavān śāstra-jñāna-śastreṇa chettum arhati ||

nīlamate śl. 760-803 irāmañjarī-pūjā-varṇanaṃ vidyate | atha praṣṭum icchāmi | irāmañjarī-pūjā kāśmīra-deśa adyāpi kriyate | irāpuṣpaṃ kāśmīra-bhāṣāyāṃ hindi-bhāṣāyām aṅgrezī-bhāṣāyāṃ ca kim ucyate | kena ca nāmnā sāmprataṃ prasiddham asti⁴⁶ ||

nīlamate śl. 1226-1128 kaśmīra-stha-lokapālānāṃ catvāri nāmāny ucyante | bindusaraḥ śrīmāḍaka uttaramānasa elāpattraś ca kasmin sthāne vidyante | adya teṣāṃ lokapāla-nāgānāṃ kīdṛśāni nāmāni bhavanti ||

nīlamate śl. 867 dhanada iti khyātaḥ parvata ucyate | atha dhanada-parvataḥ kutra vidyate | tasya cādyatanaṃ nāma kiṃ bhavati ||

yadi bhavān saujanya-vaśād⁴⁷ asya pattrasyottaram preṣitum icched atīvānugṛhīto bhaveyam | bhavān hi mama gurur mitram ca mato 'sti ||

kiṃ bahunā | parameśvaraḥ prasīdatu bhavate ca sarvāṇi puṇyāni prayacchatu || śubham astu

Om. May it be well.

Having bowed to Shri Nityanand Shastri – who stands true to the meaning of his name, who has mastered all the scriptures, whose mind is adorned with all virtues, who is the crown jewel of the savants from the land of Kashmir, an ornament of Srinagar, and the best of pandits – Dr. Vogel who is resident in Holland sends this letter which comes with a request:

For a long time, no kind letter has arrived here from you. My highest hope is that you are well in mind and body, in all respects.

In the past month, I have been reading the book called Nilamata Purana, published by two pandits from the land of Kashmir and printed in Lahore. In this regard, I have the following doubt concerning three things, which you should be able to cut with the weapon that is the knowledge of scriptures.

In verses 760-803 of the Nilamata, a description of the worship of Iramanjari is found. Now, I wish to ask: Is the worship of Iramanjari still performed in the land of Kashmir today? What is the name of the Ira flower in Kashmiri, Hindi and English? And by what name is it known at present?

⁴⁴ In the second version Vogel spells this as *śubhapattram*.

⁴⁵ In the second version Vogel indicates that *gatamose* (sic!) should be placed after *pustakaṃ*. Furthermore, he inserts *ca* after *lavapure*, after having omitted it earlier.

⁴⁶ In the second version Vogel omits this last sentence.

⁴⁷ In the second version Vogel writes *maitravaśād* "out of friendliness."

In verses 1226-1128 of the Nilamata, four names of the local guardians in Kashmir are mentioned. In which place are Bindusara, Srimadaka, Uttaramanasa and Elapattra found? What are the names of these local guardian serpents today?

In verse 867 of the Nilamata, a mountain called Dhanada is mentioned. Now, where is this Dhanada Mountain located? And what is its current name?

If you, out of kindness, would want to send a reply to this letter, I would be greatly obliged. You indeed are considered as my teacher and friend.

What more is there to say? May the Supreme Lord be pleased and grant you all good things. May it be well.

English Letters

1. 31 July 1900, from Srinagar:⁴⁸

[on the side:] Off Director General Archaeology with India.

Śrīnagar. July 31st 1900.

During my stay at Srinagar in the summer of the year 1900 I read some specimens of the dramatic & Kávya litterature with the assistance of Pt. Nityánanda Śástri, recommended to me by Dr. Aurel Stein, Principal of the Madrasah College at Calcutta & better than any one else acquainted with the learned chiefs of Kashmir.

I declare very satisfied with the vivid & agreeable way of reading & explaining Sanskrit followed by Pt. Nityánanda whom I found well versed in the branch of litterature mentioned. I may add that his pronounciation of the sacred language appeared to me much correcter & less affected by vernacular influence than of most Kashmirian Pandits I had the pleasure to meet at Śrinagar.

In other respects also, as in the acquirement of manuscripts I found the Pt's help very useful & in any way I can strongly recommend him to any European Colleague who might visit the capital of Kashmir.

> Dr. J.Ph. Vogel Priv.Doc. Amsterdam University

2. 24 August 1905, from Kilar (Chamba):49

Kilar (Chamba) 24-8-05

My dear Pandit-ji!

I am sending you an impression and Nagarī transcript of an inscription which I found at Devi-ri-Kothi in Chamba State. The inscription must have been written on two stones, but one of them has disappeared so that half of the prasasti (prasasti)⁵⁰ is lost. This explains why the impression which I am sending commences with verse 10.

In this part of the inscription also many letters are missing or broken, but it will be possible to a certain extent to restore them. I would ask you to try how much you can restore of the missing portions. You will see that the inscription is the record of the construction of a tank by a lady called Balhā, the mother of a Rānā Nāgapāla. You need not return the impression to me.

⁴⁸ Images 6932-6933.

⁴⁹ Images 6929-6930.

⁵⁰ The same word in Devanāgarī has been repeated between brackets by Vogel.

Yours sincerely J Ph Vogel

(Address: Chamba.)

3. 28 March 1910, from Lahore:⁵¹

Lahore 28-3-10

My dear Pandit Nityanand,

I am sending you enclosed an impression of a Śāradā inscription on the image of Kālī Devi at Markula in Chamba State.

I should be very much obliged if you could help me to a Nāgarī transcript and English translation of it. The language is not pure Sanskrit, but some of the words appear to be vernacular bhāshā perhaps Kashmiri.

I hope you will kindly return the impression to me when sending me a reply.

Please remember me very kindly to my old friend Pandit Mukunda Rām Shastri and believe me.

Yours sincerely

J Ph Vogel

4. 27 August 1932, from Leiden:⁵²

Leiden, the 27<u>th</u> August 1932 Noordeindsplein 4a

My dear Pandit Nityananda,

It is many years since I had the pleasure of exchanging letters with you. But although you have not heard from me for such a long time, you may be sure that I have not forgotten you. I hope that you are keeping good health.

May I venture to trouble you with a request on behalf of one of my pupils, Mr. K. de Vreese, who is writing his doctor's thesis and has selected the Nīlamata-purāṇa for his subject. You know no doubt the printed edition of this work brought out by Pandits R.L. Kanjilal and J. Zadoo (Lahore 1924).

Mr. K. de Vreese who is preparing a new edition and translation of the Nīlamata-purāṇa, is very anxious to consult some of the manuscripts mentioned in the Preface of the Lahore edition. In particular:

B.53 Old Śāradā manuscript belonging to Pandit Srikantha Rajanaka

C. Modern Śāradā manuscript belonging to your very good self

We shall feel very much obliged by your kindly agreeing to send us the two manuscripts on loan for a few months. They may be sent to my address.

In case there is any objection to the manuscripts being sent out of Kashmir, I would request for you to be good enough to have an +accurate+ copy of each of them made either in Nāgarī or Śāradā by a reliable Pandit. I shall be very glad to meet the expense.

Hoping that you will kindly comply with my request and with best thanks in anticipation.

Yours very sincerely J Ph Vogel

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⁵¹ Images 6927-6928.

⁵² Images 6936-6937.

⁵³ Vogel starts listing with "B."

P.S. May I add a personal request. I still retain your photograph which you gave me in the summer of the year 1900. That is thirty-two years ago! I should be very glad to have your portrait showing your present appearance.

5. 13 November 1932, from Leiden:⁵⁴

Leiden, 13th November 1932 Noordeindsplein 4a

My dear Pandit Nityananda,

Please accept my best thanks for your kind letter dated the 15th Oct and for your promise to send me either an old manuscript of the Nīlamatapurāṇa if precurable, on loan, or a reliable copy of such a manuscript for the use of my pupil, mr. de Vreese. I am sorry to hear that the manuscript belonging to the late Raja Ram Shastri is not available at present owing to a dispute among his sons.

The manuscript belonging to Sir Aurel Stein to which you refer in your letter has been deposited by the owner in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. As it is said to be the best of the Nīlamata existing, Mr. de Vreese has been allowed to utilize it for his new edition.

I am very pleased indeed to learn from your letter that you are quite well with the members of your family. Have you any grown-up sons who continue the family tradition by devoting themselves to the study of the Śāstras? I am looking forward to your photograph which you kindly promise to send me.

Last summer I had the pleasure of meeting a former pupil of yours, a young Dogra Brāhmaṇ called Mr. Gauri Shankar who is taking his doctor's degree at Oxford.

With kindest greetings Yours very sincerely J Ph Vogel

6. 20 December 1932, from Leiden:⁵⁵

[envelope:]

To Pandit Nityānanda Sāstrī Professor of Sanskrit Kashmir State Br. India

Prof. Dr. J.Ph. Vogel Noordeindsplein 4a Leiden Holland

> Leiden, 20th December 1932 Noordeindsplein 4a

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⁵⁴ Images 6925-6926.

⁵⁵ Images 6923-6924.

My dear Pandit Nityananda

Please accept my last thanks for your kind letter of 16th November and for the copy (Śāradā manuscript) of the Nīlamatapurāṇa kindly acquired by you for the sake of my pupil, mr. K de Vreese. We are greatly obliged to you for the trouble taken in this matter.

I am sending you enclosed a cheque for Rs. 28 – in payment of the price of the manuscript and of additional charges incurred by you for postage, commission, etc

Your previous letter, too, was duly received. Very many thanks!

I wonder whether I shall ever have the pleasures of revisiting Kashmir and meeting you again. It does not seem to be very likely that this will ever happen. Next month I hope to reach the age of sixty-two years. According to the rules prevailing in this country a University Professor has to resign at the age of seventy. Then I shall have the leisure to make a tour in India, but shall I have the strength? Possibly my pupil, Mr. K. de Vreese will be able to pay a visit to Kashmir and profit from your learning as I did.

With kindest greetings and renewed thanks

Yours very sincerely J Ph Vogel



Figure 7.3. Envelope of English letter by J.Ph. Vogel to Nityanand Shastri, 20 December 1932.

7. <u>5 March 1933, from Leiden:</u>⁵⁶

Leiden, 5<u>th</u> March 1933 Noordeindsplein 4a

My dear Pandit Nityananda,

Very many thanks for your kind letter dated 27th January and for the accompanying photographs of your good self. I am glad to state that you are looking vigorous and healthy. What you tell me about your family interests me very much. Your sons will no doubt do honour to their father. One of them, I

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⁵⁶ Images 6934-6944.

am glad to see, follows in his father's footsteps and devotes himself to the study of Sanskrit. But I presume the other two know also the sacred language.

Last summer I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Gauri Shankar of Jammu who is, if I am not mistaken, a former pupil of yours. He is now working for his doctor degree at Oxford.

My pupil, Mr. K. de Vreese is making steady progress with his edition of the $N\bar{\imath}$ lamata, but his educational duties take up much of his time and, besides, he is not enjoying a very robust health. I do hope that some time he may have the privilege of visiting the Happy Valley and availing himself of your guidance.

With kindest greetings Yours very sincerely J Ph Vogel

Draft of a Sanskrit Letter

Leiden University Libraries holds one Sanskrit letter written by Vogel (Or. 26.811, box 18, file 54a, no. 76), which is a draft of the third letter printed above. It gives a good insight into his attempt at formulation and composition. In the draft Vogel does not use Devanāgarī script. It has been written in Roman script and includes hyphenation to separate the individual members of the compounds.

<...> indicates that Vogel intended to omit something written earlier.

+...+ indicates additions/corrections by Vogel.

çrī-çāradā jayatu.

çrīnagara-stha-vidvaj-jana-tilakabhūta agaṇya-gaṇa-guṇālaṅkṛta-mūrtiḥ suḥṛj-jana-hṛdaya-nityānanda-kārī çrī-nityānandaçāstri-<naro>+nāma paṇḍitavaristho+ ḍāktar-vogel-sāhibena preṣitaṃ svastivāda-puraḥsaraṃ nivedanam idaṃ <çṛṇotutarām>+ākarṇayatu+.

<çrīmac>+bhavac+chubhapattra-prāpti-samayāt prabhṛti⁵⁷ māsacatuṣṭayaṃ gatam adhyāpi mayā kiṃçcid prativacanam na dattam iti mahatī manasi vartate lajjā. kim bahunā. adhikāra-kāryabāhulyam eva na tu vilambakāraṇam

vātsalya-+svalpatā+<kṣudratvam tasya vilambasya kāraṇam>

gatagrīṣmartumāsadvayam parvata+rāja+cintāmaṇi-bhūtāyāṃ +çrī+campāpuryām +mayā+nivāsah kṛtaḥ

tatrāpi bahūni sanātanāni tāmra<paṭṭakāni>+pattrāni+ prācīna<rāja>+bhūpatiçāsana+nāmaṅkitāni drstāni. <etaṅçcācirād> yāni mudrālaya-vaçena prādurkartum vyavasito 'smi.

Api tādṛçāni çāsana-pattrāni Kaçmīra-deçe 'pi vidyanta iti mama +manasi+ sandeho <'sti>+vartate+ <bhavate>+yadi santi+ tu tad avaçyam jñātam syāt.

Campā-<purāt>+nagarāt Lavapuram+ praṇivṛtya asmadmitro+ttamā+ +akāla+maraṇavṛttānta-çravaṇena mahān mad<..>-hṛdaye samutpāditaḥ çokaḥ satyenaiva asmādṛçānām mandabhāgyānam bhāgadheyam paṅkajadalapatita-salilabinduriva cancalam ucyate

tasya +mahātmanaḥ lokāntaragatasyāpi+ saujanyādiguṇasmṛtis tu sakhijanamānaseṣu sadaivāva<c>+s+ikṣyate <alpāyus>

yad bhavatas parameçvaraprasādāt +sakalā+<a>rogakuçaladīrghāyus tvaṃ syād iti mama paramā vartate prārthanā

iti cubham

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⁵⁷ prabhṛti: pc; prabhṛtya: ac.

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Lennart Bes is historian and Indologist. At the Institute for History of Leiden University he teaches Asian and colonial history, focusing on India and Dutch colonial sources. His publications concern south India's political culture and the Dutch East India Company archives. These include *The heirs of Vijayanagara: court politics in early modern south India* (2022) and the three-volume archival guide, *Dutch sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825*. He is also editor-in-chief of the series *Colonial and global history through Dutch sources*.

Peter C. Bisschop is professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Cultures of South Asia at Leiden University. His main publications bear on the history of Śaivism and include *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa* (2006), *Universal Śaivism* (2018), *The Vārāṇasīmāhātmya of the Bhairavaprādurbhāva* (2021), *A Śaiva utopia* (2021), *Primary sources and Asian pasts* (2021) and three volumes of the critical edition of the *Skandapurāṇa* (2014, 2018, 2021). He is the general editor of the *Indo-Iranian Journal* and *Gonda Indological Studies*.

Alied de Cock studied chemistry at Leiden University and got her master's degree in economy at the University of Amsterdam, specializing in IT management in large companies. She worked as management consultant for various companies between 1972 and 2019. Meanwhile she has been studying linguistics, including Sanskrit, at Leiden University. She is a member of the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute since 2002 and has been sitting on the Society's board as secretary/treasurer from 2008 to 2016 and from 2022 until the present.

Sanne Dokter-Mersch is a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at Leiden University. She is specialized in Sanskrit, Purāṇa literature, classical Hinduism, in particular early Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, Sanskrit manuscripts and mythological narratives. Her current research revolves around the composition, development, transmission and intertextuality of Purāṇas. Focussing mainly on the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, she combines textual criticism with narratology in order to better understand this type of literature and its agents.

Dory Heiligers studied Sanskrit and took her PhD at Utrecht University on texts from the Kubjikā tradition. Next, she was appointed librarian for the Utrecht Indological Institute. After the merger of the Indological departments of Leiden and Utrecht, she continued as librarian at the Kern Institute until 2010. Since then, she has been researching the goddess Kubjikā and the origins of her name. Further, she is the editor of the website "Dutch studies on South Asia, Tibet and classical Southeast Asia" (www.dutchstudies-satsea.nl).

Ellen M. Raven enrolled as a student in Indology at the Kern Institute in 1975 and got her PhD at Leiden University in 1991. She was an assistant librarian at the Kern Institute Library and subsequently coordinating editor for the *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* from 1997 until the present. Raven lectured in South Asian arts and material culture at Leiden University from 2002 until her retirement in 2021. The focus in her research and publications is on the artistic gold coinage of the Gupta dynasty of North India. Raven has been a "frequent flyer' in the VVIK board since its revival in 1986.

Gerda Theuns-de Boer studied art, archaeology and material culture of South and Southeast Asia at Utrecht University. She specialized in early photography. She headed the project *Conservation and digital accessibility of the Kern Institute photographic collections* (1998-2010) and was guest curator of the Isidore van Kinsbergen exhibition in Huis Marseille, Amsterdam (2005), the Jean Philippe Vogel exhibition in The National Museum of India, Delhi (2008) and "First Frames, in the Footsteps of early Explorers" at Leh (2012). She is editor of the *Art & Archaeology Index for South and Southeast Asia*.