ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOOKS

THE ORIGINS OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES

Brian Houghton Hodgson was a nineteenth-century administrator and scholar who lived in Nepal, where he was the British Resident from 1820 until 1843. After this he worked as an independent scholar in Darjeeling until 1858. During his time in the Himalayas Hodgson, with extraordinary dedication, laid the foundations for the study of the eastern Himalayan region, writing about many aspects of life and culture. He was among the first westerners to take an interest in Buddhism, both writing about it and collecting manuscripts. He is perhaps best known for his work as an ornithologist and zoologist, writing around 130 papers and commissioning from Nepalese artists a unique series of drawings of birds and mammals. He also wrote about and recorded details of the buildings and architecture of the Kathmandu valley and wrote a series of ethnographic and linguistic papers on Nepal and the Himalayan region. Hodgson donated his collection of writings, specimens and drawings to libraries and museums in Europe, much of which still needs detailed examination.

This book critically examines Hodgson's life and achievement, within the context of his contribution to scholarship. It consists of contributions from leading historians of Nepal and South Asia and from specialists in Buddhist studies, art history, linguistics, zoology and ethnography. Many of the drawings photographed for this book have not previously been published.

David M. Waterhouse is a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was British Council Director in Nepal from 1972 to 1977.

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES / HIMALAYAN STUDIES / BUDDHISM

Cover image: General Bhim Sen's house in the hills © Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection

2 Park Square, Milton Park
Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
270 Madison Ave
New York NY 10016
www.routledgecurzon.com
Printed in Great Britain

ISBN 0-415-31215-9

RoutledgeCurzon

THE ORIGINS OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES
edited by David M. Waterhouse

RoutledgeCurzon

I.Kern

THE ORIGINS OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES

Brian Houghton Hodgson in Nepal and Darjeeling 1820–1858

edited by David M. Waterhouse

67 E.T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872.
68 A. Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion*, London: Routledge, 1988.
69 W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1868.
70 On the earlier notion of statistics, see P. Pels, 'From Texts to Bodies: Brian Houghton Hodgson and the Emergence of Ethnology in India', in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, J. van Bremen and A. Shimizu (eds), Richmond: Curzon, 1999, p. 68.
71 H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London: W.H. Allen, 1880, vol. I, p. 167 ff.; see also P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912, p. 31.
72 S. Lévi, *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905, vol. I, p. 139.
73 In his monograph on customary law in Nepal, Leonhard writes: 'Unter all den Werken der älteren Periode ragen die Schriften von Brian Houghton Hodgson hervor.' Adam Leonhard, *Sitte und Recht in Nepal*, Stuttgart, Enke, 1934, p. 17.
74 E. Vansittart, 'Tribes, Clans and Castes of Nepal', *JASB*, 1894, vol. 63; E. Vansittart, *The Goorkhas*, New Delhi: Ariana Publishing House, 1980 (1890).
75 C.J. Morris, *Handbooks for the Indian Army: Gurkhas*, Delhi: Government of India, 1933; W.B. Northey and C.J. Morris, *The Gurkhas: Their Manners, Customs and Country*, London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1928, p. 153, praises Hodgson as 'a man to whom, perhaps more than anybody, our knowledge of early Nepal is due'.
76 F. Tuker, *Gorkha: The Story of the Gurkha of Nepal*, London: Constable, 1957.
77 For example, B. Pignède, *Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal*, Paris: La Haye, Mouton, 1966; McDougal, *The Kulunge Rai*.
78 For example, in his sections on the Magar and the Gurung, the Chepang, the Dhimal and Bodo (Bista, *The People of Nepal*.).
79 R. Gautam and A. Thapa-Magar, *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal*, 2 vols, Delhi: Book Faith India, 1994, is a non-academic book for the tourist market and does not give any bibliographical references. But it is clear that data provided by Hodgson, after passing through various channels, is reproduced here, along with some features of his style.
80 A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal: A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854*, Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979, p. 164, 168; A. Michaels, 'The Pandit as Legal Adviser: rajaguru, rajapurohita and dharmadhikarin', in *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, A. Michaels (ed.), Delhi: Manohar, 2001, p. 69.
81 Gaenszle, *Origins and Migrations*, pp. 10–11.
82 Peter Pels argues that Hodgson's ethnography moved 'from texts to bodies' in the course of his academic career (see Pels, 'From Texts to Bodies'). However, I find this a bit misleading, since Hodgson's main interest continued to be a linguistic one. Though it is true that the Prichardian theories became more influential in the second phase of his work, and so Hodgson does take more interest in physical features, for him these were clearly less interesting than the language.
83 T. Trautmann, 'The Revolution in Ethnological Time', *Man* (N.S.), 1992, vol. 27, pp. 379–397.
84 This particular expression is in fact the one used by Louis Dumont in order to characterize the tribes of India (see his famous 'For a Sociology of India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1957, vol. 1, p. 8). Though different in their outlook, both authors stress a historical marginalization of contemporary tribes.
85 Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, p. 31.
86 A rough and uncritical translation was published by Iman Singh Chemjong, *Kiratmundhum: Kirat ko ved*, Camparan: Rajendra Ram, 1961.
87 B.H. Hodgson, 'Preeminence of the Vernaculars; or, The Anglicists Answered: Being Four Letters on the Education of the People of India', in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, section XIV.

11

HODGSON'S TIBETO-BURMAN AND TIBETO-BURMAN TODAY

George van Driem

Brian Houghton Hodgson was a champion and influential propagator of the Turanian theory. This theory was conceived by Friedrich Max Müller, the famous German Indologist who came to England in 1846, married an English woman and settled in Oxford. Although popular in the British Isles, the Turanian theory was not well-received elsewhere, and Müller himself abandoned the idea before his death in 1900. During Hodgson's lifetime there were three competing theories about the genetic relationship of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and northeastern India, to which Hodgson devoted so many studies. These were the Tibeto-Burman, Turanian and Indo-Chinese theories, and all three terms are found in Hodgson's linguistic essays. Familiarity with these three theories is crucial to an understanding of the conceptual framework within which Hodgson viewed language relationships and speculated about prehistory. Hodgson's work on language and ethnology cannot be divorced from thinking about race and language in his time and, in particular, from the distinction between the two made by Müller.

Turanian

Müller presented the Turanian theory in his first public paper, a lecture he delivered at the age of twenty-three in June 1847 at Oxford. In this first presentation, he had not yet coined the term 'Turanian', but he was already using the term 'Arian' as synonymous with 'Indo-Germanic'. Müller advocated the replacement of the accepted names Indo-Germanic and Indo-European by his term 'Arian' in recognition of the shared linguistic affinity of Indo-European language communities in Europe with the *Árya* 'Aryans', the name by which the ancient Indo-Iranian peoples designated themselves. The Turanian theory of linguistic relationship divided all languages of Eurasia into just three language families, i.e. the Afroasiatic or 'Semitic', the Indo-European or 'Arian', and the rest, collectively called 'Turanian', ostensibly 'named after the descendants of Tur'. Strictly speaking Müller adopted the name of the family from

the Persian term *tūrānī* 'Turkoman' and from *Tūrān*, the Persian name for Transoxiana, particularly Turkmenistan.

Müller mooted an ancient relationship between the linguistically pre-Indo-Aryan peoples of India with the peoples of Africa, pointing out that the aboriginal tribes of the Subcontinent 'preserve together with their rude language and savage manners the uncouth type of their negro origin'. In this respect they contrasted with the 'many highly distinguished families in India' who, though ultimately likewise of 'Súdra origin', had historically been assimilated and civilized by the conquering bearers of the Aryan *Hochkultur* to the Subcontinent, with whom the ancestors of modern Indians had intermarried.[1] Müller stressed the Aryan brotherhood which united Hindu civilization and its British rulers through the affinity of their languages. His stirring rhetoric was intended as a rallying call to his British audience to show interest and respect for the Sanskrit language and for Hindu culture, which many British scholars and colonial administrators held in low esteem, if not contempt.

In fact, twenty-five years earlier, in 1823, controversy had broken out in British India about the merit of Sanskrit learning. This dispute later came to a head in the form of Macaulay's highly influential 'Minute on Indian Education' of 2 February 1835, which breathed disdain for Hindu culture and Sanskrit learning:

> It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. . . . The question before us now is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy from true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.[2]

The controversy was resolved by Lord Bentinck's resolution of 7 March 1835, in which it was decreed that, whilst no institutions of native learning would be abolished, 'the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone'. Moreover, no government funds would thereafter be employed 'on the printing of Oriental works'.[3] Like Müller,

however, Hodgson advocated education in the vernacular tongues, even though he felt that it would be appropriate that people in the Civil Service speak English.

Even in this first talk, Müller manifestly held a nuanced view. Language and race are correlated, but he appreciated that they were not correlated perfectly, nor did he equate the two. Yet many of Müller's contemporaries were accustomed to equating language and race in a simplistic fashion, as many of his listeners and readers would continue to do after they came to be charmed by the Aryan idea which he propagated. For the rest of his life, Müller seized every opportunity in his writings and public lectures to clear up the misunderstanding and combat the simplifications. Müller argued at great length and with passion against the absurd confusion of language and race in a simplistic model whereby Aryan languages were originally spoken by races with dolichocephalic skulls, Semitic languages by mesocephalic peoples and all 'Turanian' languages by brachycephalic races. Later he would also hammer these points home to audiences back in his native Germany.[4] Towards the end of his life, Müller spoke prophetically when he said:

> Who, then, would dare at present to lift up a skull and say this skull must have spoken an Aryan language, or lift up a language and say this language must have been spoken by a dolichocephalic skull? Yet, though no serious student would any longer listen to such arguments, it takes a long time before theories that were maintained for a time by serious students, and were then surrendered by them, can be completely eradicated.[5]

The Aryan *Leitmotiv* was born in Müller's first public lecture, which made a big splash in British scholarly circles. In this talk, Müller quoted Brian Hodgson on Sanskrit with approval:

> it would be difficult to characterise this language better than in the words of Brian Hodgson, who was so long resident in Nepal, 'that it is a speech, capable of giving soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of metaphysics.[6]

It is little wonder that Hodgson would be receptive to Müller's ideas. It would be far-fetched to describe their professional relationship as a mutual admiration society, but it is fair to say that the esteem and deference were reciprocated.

Müller was more than just kind to Hodgson, even about the latter's use of the term 'Tamulian' in two different, sometimes conflicting senses, one racial and the other linguistic. In a chapter entitled 'On the Turanian character of the Tamulic languages', Müller acknowledged Hodgson to be 'our highest living authority and best informant on the ethnology and phonology of the native races of India'.[7] In his discussion on 'the Arian settlers and aboriginal races of India', Müller attempted to drive home his nuanced view of linguistic

ancestry and racial lineages as distinct but often correlated phenomena. Müller drew heavily on Hodgson's work in identifying the 'aboriginal' element in Indian populations and languages. Hodgson used the term 'Tamulian', Müller observed, not only in an ethnological sense 'as the general term for all non-Arian races', but also linguistically to refer to all pre-Aryan languages of the subcontinent. Müller proposed the term 'Tamulic' for 'Tamulian' in the latter sense, and argued that all Tamulic languages were manifestly of Turanian linguistic stock.

Müller carefully distinguished between 'phonological' race in the sense of a language stock with traceable linguistic ancestors and modern linguistic descendants and 'ethnological' race in the physical or genetic sense:

> Ethnological race and phonological race are not commensurate, except in ante-historical times, or perhaps at the very dawn of history. With the migrations of tribes, their wars, their colonies, their conquests and alliances, . . . it is impossible to imagine that race and language should continue to run parallel. The physiologist should pursue his own science unconcerned about language. Let him see how far the skulls, or the hair, or the colour, or the skin of different tribes admit of classification; but to the sound of their words his ear should be as deaf as the ornithologist's to the notes of caged birds. . . . His system must not be altered to suit another system. There is a better solution both for his difficulties and for those of the phonologist than mutual compromise. The phonologist should collect his evidence, arrange his classes, divide and combine, as if no Blumenbach had ever looked at skulls, as if no Camper had measured facial angles, as if no Owen had examined the basis of the cranium. His evidence is the evidence of language, and nothing else; this he must follow, even though it be in the teeth of history, physical or political. Would he scruple to call the language of England Teutonic, and class it with the Low German dialects because the physiologist could tell him that the skull, the bodily habitat of such a language, is of a Celtic type, or because the genealogist can prove that the arms of the family conversing in this idiom are of Norman origin?[8]

In the context of South Asia, Müller pointed out that most of the racial ancestors of the Bengalis must have been of pre-Indo-Aryan ethnic stock, whereas their linguistic ancestors were undeniably Indo-Aryan, as unambiguously evinced by their language. The simple equation of Turanian language with Turanian race, and Indo-European languages with Aryan race, Müller argued, 'has led to much confusion and useless discussion'.[9] Müller had added a nuance to Hodgson's linguistic and ethnological observations and the latter's use of terms such as 'Tamulian' without ruffling so much as a feather.

Müller defined Turanian as comprising 'all languages in Asia and Europe not included under the Arian or Semitic families, with the exception of the

Chinese and its dialects'.[10] By consequence, the Turanian theory lumped together in a single all-encompassing linguistic stock numerous language families as disparate and far-flung as Altaic, Uralic, Yenisseian, Daic, Dravidian, Austroasiatic, and language isolates such as Basque and Ainu, as well as the various Palaeosiberian and Caucasian language phyla. Brian Hodgson came under the spell of the Turanian theory through Müller's enchanting writings. The Royal Asiatic Society archives in London even preserve a notice issued to Hodgson on 24 December 1855 from the Asiatic Society of Bengal Library, urging him to return an overdue book, namely Müller's 1854 *Languages of the Seat of War*, one of the first books in which the Turanian theory is expounded in detail.

Problematic was the independent status assigned to the Sinitic languages, primarily because Müller was fundamentally ignorant about Chinese. Turanian was virtually all-encompassing, yet Chinese remained the odd man out:

> The third group of languages, for we can hardly call it a family, comprises most of the remaining languages of Asia, and counts among its principal members the Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Finnic, together with the languages of Siam, the Malay islands, Tibet and southern India. Lastly, the Chinese language stands by itself, as monosyllabic, the only remnant of the earliest formation of human speech.[11]

Elsewhere I have discussed the typological or 'physiological' hierarchy of language structural types prevalent in Hodgson's time.[12] Chinese had astonished Wilhelm von Humboldt with its 'scheinbare Abwesenheit aller Grammatik' in the sense that grammatical relations are primarily expressed 'durch Stellung'.[13] Subsequently, Chinese continued to represent a conundrum to language 'physiologists' throughout Europe like chevalier Bunsen, who believed that a hierarchy represented 'an uninterrupted chain of development' in 'the evolutions of the idea in time', leading from primitive or 'inorganic' languages to 'organic or formative' languages.[14] Bunsen referred to 'that wreck of the primitive language, that great monument of inorganic structure, the *Chinese*', which represents 'the most ancient of the ante-diluvian or ante-Noachian monuments of speech'.[15] Because Bunsen held that 'Chinese itself is the wreck of that primitive idiom from which all the organic (or Noachian) languages have physically descended, each representing a phasis of development', he inferred that Chinese must be most closely related to 'the least developed Turanian' tongues.[16]

The separate treatment meted out to Chinese was an important feature of the Turanian theory and a major step backward with respect to earlier scholarship. As we shall see, this ignorance about the genetic affinities of Sinitic also characterized the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory, but not the older, more well-informed Tibeto-Burman theory. Hodgson's conception of 'Tibeto-Burman' was therefore quite distinct from the Tibeto-Burman theory

proper. Rather Hodgson's 'Tibeto-Burman' was a nebulous concept of language relationship from the perspective of what could be gleaned from the southern flank of the Himalayas. Hodgson's 'Tibeto-Burman' was a poorly defined cluster within the relatively undifferentiated mass of Turanian, clouded by uncertainty regarding the genetic affinity of Sinitic.

Wilhelm Schott[17] and other contemporary scholars criticized the inadequate empirical foundation of the two competing grandiose monophyletic views of all Asian languages, i.e. Turanian and Indo-Chinese. In fact, in a wonderfully worded letter to Hodgson kept at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, Schott expressed his scepticism about Turanian, but there is no evidence that Hodgson ever abandoned the Turanian theory before his death in 1894. Müller outlived Hodgson, and in his memoirs, Müller, who already no longer entertained his Turanian model, bemoaned the fact that it had remained fashionable to criticize this theory encompassing all 'allophylian, that is, non-Aryan and non-Semitic' languages 'as if it had been published last year'.[18]

Yet the Turanian idea was to outlive both Hodgson and Müller. In secondary literature, Turanian lingered on for some time after Müller's death in 1900, and various instances are to be found in later writings. For example, Joseph Longford wrote that 'the languages of both Korea and Japan are of the same Turanian family, as closely allied as are the Dutch and German or the Italian and Spanish languages'.[19] Even though Turanian soon passed into oblivion in linguistic circles, the Turanian idea has continued to flourish under various guises in Hungary, where it still lives on in queer quarters.

In 1910, a full decade after Müller's death, the *Turán Társaság* 'Turanian Society' was founded in order to study the history and culture of the Hungarians and other 'Turanian' peoples. This conservative and somewhat secretive association still operates today and reveres the Hungarian Jesuit János Sajnovics (1733–1785). Sajnovics went to northern Norway to conduct astronomical observations north of the Arctic Circle and discovered that he could understand the Lapps. His interest was piqued, and his subsequent inquiries culminated in a lecture delivered at Copenhagen and published at Trnava in 1770 entitled *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* 'a demonstration that the languages of the Hungarians and the Lapps are the same'.

The Uralic linguistic stock had actually been recognized and identified forty years earlier by the Swedish officer Phillip Johann von Strahlenberg,[20] and the Uralic family had already been presaged even earlier, in the many observations made by Nicolaes Witsen.[21] Yet neither Phillip von Strahlenberg nor Nicolaes Witsen were Hungarian, so neither of them made likely candidates for a Hungarian cultural hero. Moreover, Müller himself had traced back the origins of his Turanian idea to the pioneering work of Sajnovics on Uralic, though 'Finno-Ugric' or Uralic was merely one ingredient in Müller's Turanian.[22] For Hungarians the Turanian idea and the genetic affinity of their language continue to be a contentious topic, sometimes with political overtones, e.g. Marácz.[23]

Meanwhile, the term 'Turanian' or 'Turanic' has unexpectedly resurfaced as a label for neolithic and chalcolithic cultures as well as prehistoric biomes in Turkmenistan and surrounding portions of Central Asia. However, archaeologists and palaeobotanists expressly do not use the term in an ethnic or linguistic sense, and archaeologist Maurizio Tosi has aptly pointed out that the use of the term in anything but a strict archaeological sense would represent an 'ethno-linguistical contradiction'.[24]

Indo-Chinese

Another theory of genetic relationship of which Hodgson was evidently aware was Indo-Chinese. In fact, the term 'Indo-Chinese' occurs in Hodgson's writings just as surely as does 'Turanian', although he does not appear to use the terms interchangeably. In view of the pioneering state of the art at the time it is quite conceivable, upon reading Hodgson's many essays on linguistic topics, that Hodgson was just covering all bases, as it were, by showing familiarity with all competing theories regarding the genetic subgroupings of languages and peoples. The Indo-Chinese theory was very much like Turanian from the outset in being an all-encompassing view of all 'allophylian' languages of Eurasia. Unlike Turanian, however, Indo-Chinese has changed its shape many times in the course of its chequered history and still survives today under the guise of 'Sino-Tibetan'. The reason that it has continued to metamorphose is that each successive version of the theory has been shown to be false, including its current incarnation, Sino-Tibetan.

This view of languages originated with the Scottish physician and poet John Leyden.[25] Leyden was born in 1775 and took a medical degree at St Andrews. Then an influential friend of the family arranged a writership for him in India. In preparation he studied Oriental languages for several months in London. Leyden reached Madras in 1803, where he took up the post of Assistant Surgeon and took charge of Madras General Hospital. He travelled extensively in southern India, and in September 1805 sailed from Quilon (Kollam) for Penang. He returned to India in 1806 to settle in Calcutta.

During his peregrinations he studied and tried his hand at all the languages he met on the way. In a letter to Lt. Col. Richardson, Leyden lamented the fact that, whereas quite a number of Frenchmen and Dutchmen in the East were conversant in Thai, he seemed to be the only Briton[26] to have attempted to gain some familiarity with the language:

> I had an opportunity of studying Siamese but could not help feeling indignant that their [*sic*] should not be a single Britain [*sic*] acquainted with that language. Indeed my Dear Colonel I cannot think such facts honourable to the British nation.[27]

On 2 January 1807, Leyden submitted his *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, Literature, History and Antiquities of the Indo-Chinese Nations* to

Sir George Hilaro Barlow, the Governor General of India, but withdrew his application on the seventeenth of the same month. The reasons for the withdrawal of Leyden's proposal are unknown, whether personal or connected to the worsening situation in war-torn Europe and the European colonial possessions in Asia.

Leyden's work on 'Indo-Persic' lacked the profundity and erudition of the great Sanskrit scholar Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), but his work on 'Indo-Chinese' was published in *Asiatic Researches* in 1808. After the submission of his plans Leyden was elected a member of the Asiatic Society and became Professor of Hindustani at Calcutta College. Subsequently, he was also appointed judge of the twenty-four *parganās* of Calcutta. In early 1809, he became Commissioner of the Court of Requests in Calcutta, and in late 1810 was appointed Assay Master of the Mint at Calcutta.

Because of his talent as a polyglot, he was asked in 1811 to accompany the Governor General of British India, Lord Minto, to Java as a Malay interpreter during the British campaign to seize the Dutch East Indies. In 1806 the Dutch Republic had been occupied by Napoleon, who had put his brother Louis on the throne of what consequently became the Kingdom of Holland, and by 9 July 1810 the Netherlands were annexed by France. The British fleet and 10,000 troops entered the harbour of Batavia on 4 August 1811, with John Leyden on board. Yet Leyden died just a few weeks after landfall, less than a fortnight before his thirty-sixth birthday. The circumstances of Leyden's death are recounted in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in the following words:

> When the expedition halted for some days at Malacca, Leyden journeyed inland, scrutinising 'original Malays' and visiting sulphurous hot wells. Java was reached on 4 Aug., and as there was no opposition at Batavia a leisurely possession was effected. Leyden's literary zeal took him into an unventilated native library; fever supervened, and he died at Cornelis, after three day's illness, 28 Aug 1811.[28]

On 18 September, three weeks after Leyden's death, the Governor General, Jan Willem Janssens, signed the capitulation at Toentang which unconditionally surrendered the Dutch East Indies to Britain. So, for five years, the Dutch colonies in the Orient passed into the hands of the East India Company. On behalf of the Company, Thomas Stanford Bingley Raffles acted as custodian of the Dutch East Indies in the capacity of Lieutenant Governor until 10 March 1816, after which he was succeeded by John Fendall. After the defeat of Napoleon the British handed back the Dutch East Indies in a gentlemanly fashion and, on 19 August 1816, Baron Godert Alexander Gerard Philip van der Capellen took over as Governor General on behalf of King Willem I of the Netherlands.

Leyden's 'Indo-Chinese' encompassed Mon, which he called 'the *Moan* or language of Pegu', Balinese, Malay, Burmese, 'the Tai or *Siamese*' and 'the Law, or language of Laos', and Vietnamese or 'the *Anam* language of Cochin Chinese'. These 'Indo-Chinese' languages of the Asian continent shared a more

immediate genetic affinity with Chinese in Leyden's conception, but Indo-Chinese also explicitly included 'the inhabitants of the Eastern isles who are not immeadiately [*sic*] derived from the Chinese nations'.[29] In fact, Indo-Chinese encompassed all the languages spoken by 'the inhabitants of the regions which lie between India and China, and the greater part of the islanders in the eastern sea', which although 'dissimilar', according to Leyden, 'exhibit the same mixed origin'.[30]

After Leyden's death, the Indo-Chinese idea began to lead a life of its own. In 1837, the American missionary and linguist Nathan Brown used the term 'Indo-Chinese' to designate all the languages of eastern Eurasia. The fact that Brown's Indo-Chinese even included Korean and Japanese illustrates the appeal and dogged longevity of undifferentiated views in the face of more informed opinions. Engelbert Kæmpfer, the physician attached to the Dutch mission at the imperial court at Edo, had already pointed out in 1729 that Japanese was genetically unrelated to Chinese and had suggested that the Turkic languages might be the closest linguistic relatives of Japanese. In 1832, Philipp Franz Balthazar von Siebold had concluded on the basis of comparative linguistic data that the Japanese language was related to the Altaic or 'Tatar' languages and that within this family Japanese showed the greatest genetic affinity with Manchu. Later versions of Indo-Chinese excluded Japanese and Korean.

The Austroasiatic languages were recognized as constituting a separate language family by the American Baptist missionary Francis Mason in 1854, when he saw evidence for a specific genetic relationship between Mon and the Munda language Kol. This newly recognized language family was known as Mon-Khmer-Kolarian for over half a century until Wilhelm Schmidt renamed it Austroasiatic in 1906. After Austroasiatic had been removed from Indo-Chinese, German scholars such as Emile Forchhammer[31] and Ernst Kuhn[32] continued to refer to what was left of the pseudophylum by the name 'indochinesisch', and the same practice was generally observed in the Anglo-Saxon literature, e.g. Konow.[33] However, a few British scholars used the term 'Indo-Chinese' in precisely the opposite sense, to designate the very Austroasiatic or 'Mon-Khmer-Kolarian' genetic family of languages which had been extracted from the expansive pseudophlyum, e.g. Sir Richard Temple.[34] Upon reading Hodgson's ruminations about linguistic relationships, it cannot be excluded that Hodgson too might have intended the term 'Indo-Chinese' in a comparable sense, but the idea of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic languages was quite novel in the late 1850s, and Mason's idea only reached a wider audience after it had been accepted by its first real proponent, Sir Arthur Purves Phayre.[35]

After the removal of Altaic, Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages, Indo-Chinese had been whittled down to the original Tibeto-Burman plus Daic. However, in the confused Indo-Chinese conception, the putative language family consisted of a 'Tibeto-Burman' branch (i.e. the original Tibeto-Burman minus Sinitic) and a 'Sino-Daic' branch, e.g. August Conrady,[36] Franz Nikolaus Finck.[37] There was residual uncertainty about the genetic affinity of Vietnamese, particularly amongst French scholars. André-Georges Haudricourt

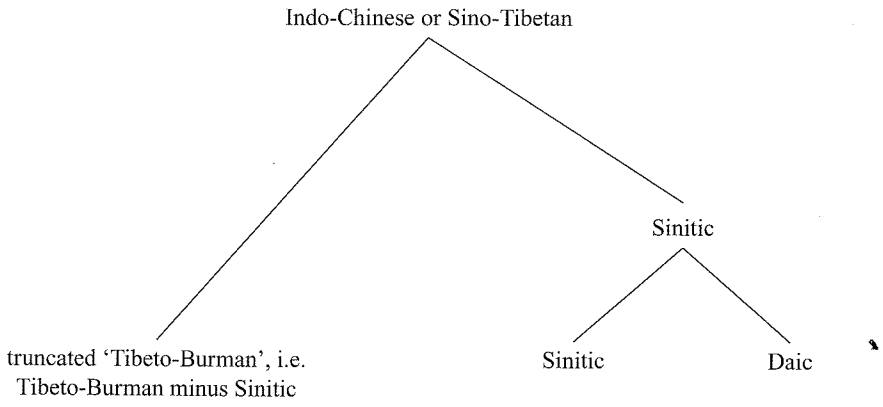

Diagram 1 The Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory: Diac has been excluded since the Second World War.

settled the question in 1954, and Vietnamese has been universally recognized as Austroasiatic ever since.

Indo-Chinese was renamed 'Sino-Tibétain' by Jean Przyluski in 1924, and the name entered the English language in 1931 as 'Sino-Tibetan' when Przyluski and the British scholar Gordon Hannington Luce wrote an etymological note on the 'Sino-Tibetan' root for the numeral 'hundred'. A defining feature of the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory, very much at variance with Klaproth's original Tibeto-Burman theory, which we shall turn to in the next section, was that Chinese was not seen as a part of Tibeto-Burman, whilst Daic was seen as the closest relative of Chinese. In the United States, Alfred Kroeber and Robert Shafer adopted the new term 'Sino-Tibetan' for Indo-Chinese. Chinese scholars similarly adopted the term *Hàn-Zàng* 'Sino-Tibetan', the contours of which are still the same as that of Conrady's 'Indo-Chinese' and Przyluski's antiquated 'Sino-Tibetan'.

Robert Shafer soon realized that Daic did not belong in the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan family and in 1938 'prepared a list of words showing the lack of precise phonetic and semantic correspondence' between Daic and other Indo-Chinese languages. Armed with this list Shafer travelled to France before the outbreak of the Second World War 'to convince Maspero that Daic was not Sino-Tibetan'.[38] Instead, Henri Maspero managed to convince Shafer to retain Daic within Sino-Tibetan.

When Paul Benedict moved to Berkeley in 1938 to join Kroeber's Sino-Tibetan Philology project, he likewise traded in the name Indo-Chinese for 'Sino-Tibetan'. Over a century after Klaproth had identified Daic as a linguistic stock distinct from Tibeto-Burman (including Chinese), Benedict too in 1942 ousted Daic from 'Sino-Tibetan', but he remained more resolute about this measure than Shafer. The removal of Sinitic from the 'Sino-Daic' branch of

'Sino-Tibetan' resulted in a tree model characterized by the retention of the heuristic artefact that Chinese was a separate trunk of the language family. In fact, this is now the sole remaining feature which defines Sino-Tibetan as a putative language family and distinguishes it from the Tibeto-Burman theory. For a brief spate in the 1970s, Sino-Tibetan even consisted of a Chinese branch and a Tibeto-Karen construct, which in turn was divided into a Karen branch and an even more mutilated 'Tibeto-Burman'.[39]

The tacit but always untested assumption of Sino-Tibetanists has been that all 'Tibeto-Burman' languages share unitary developments not found in Chinese and Karen. Anachronistically, great significance has continued to be ascribed to superficial criteria such as word order. Though Karen was later put back into truncated 'Tibeto-Burman', adherents of Sino-Tibetan have continued to assume the existence of as yet undemonstrated common innovations shared by all Tibeto-Burman languages other than Sinitic. In 1968, Jim Matisoff adopted the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis from his mentor Paul Benedict and has ever since been propagating this paradigm at Berkeley, where, appropriately, street merchants on Telegraph Avenue sell T-shirts exhorting Berkeley linguistics students to 'Subvert the Dominant Paradigm'.

Tibeto-Burman

The Tibeto-Burman theory is older than the Turanian and at least as old as the Indo-Chinese. Inklings of a Tibeto-Burman language family were gleaned in the eighteenth century, when western scholars observed that Tibetan was genetically related to Burmese. However, the precise contours of the Tibeto-Burman language family were first defined in Paris in 1823 by the German scholar Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, the same man who first coined the term 'Indogermanisch'. In his *Asia Polyglotta*, Klaproth defined Tibeto-Burman as the language family which comprised Burmese, Tibetan and Chinese and all languages which could be demonstrated to be genetically related to these three. He explicitly excluded Thai (i.e. Daic) as well as Vietnamese and Mon (i.e. Austroasiatic) because the comparison of lexical roots in the core vocabulary indicated that these languages were representatives of other distinct language phyla.

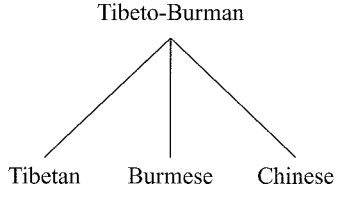

Diagram 2 One of the language families identified by Klaproth in his polyphyletic view of Asian linguistic stocks.[40]

In Klaproth's polyphyletic view, Tibeto-Burman was just a single language family within the complex ethnolinguistic patchwork of Asia which both enticed and baffled early scholars. The first trait shared by Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists, who both espoused a grandiose monophyletic view of all 'allophylian' Eurasian languages, was their ignorance about the genetic affiliation of the Sinitic languages and their bewilderment by the typology of Chinese. This seduced them into treating Chinese as something altogether distinct from Tibeto-Burman, with the result that the 'Tibeto-Burman' of Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists was not the original Tibeto-Burman shown in Diagram 2, but a truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' from which Chinese had been excised. The second trait which characterized those who espoused the Turanian or Indo-Chinese models was that this truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' soon became an ingredient in their far grander designs of linguistic relationship intended to subsume all languages spoken by what was impressionistically called the 'Mongoloid race'.

Hodgson's admiration of Müller's Turanian view and his familiarity with the Indo-Chinese idea led him too to entertain the idea of a truncated 'Tibeto-Burman', which was at variance with Klaproth's language family. In his 'Sketch of Buddhism from Bauddha writings of Nepaul', Hodgson makes deprecatory reference to Klaproth and his ally Abel Rémusat, saying that their appreciation of Buddhism was restricted by 'their limited sources of information'.[41] In this passage, Hodgson was referring either to Klaproth's 'Leben des Budd'a nach mongolische Nachricht' [*sic*], included in his *Asia Polyglotta* in 1823, or to the French translation thereof which appeared in 1824 in the *Journal Asiatique*. Hodgson must have been familiar with *Asia Polyglotta* and its polyphyletic view of Eurasian languages. Hodgson also makes sporadic reference to Klaproth's other work, e.g. Hodgson.[42] Klaproth's understanding of Buddhism may very well have lacked the profundity of Hodgson's, but the emphasis of *Asia Polyglotta* manifestly lay on languages, for first and foremost Klaproth was a linguist.

Julius Heinrich von Klaproth was born on 11 October 1783 in Berlin and died 28 August 1835 in Paris. As a young man he travelled to China in the years 1805 to 1806 and again in 1806 to 1807. He was widely read and mastered a good number of Oriental tongues. He edited the *Asiatisches Magazin* in Weimar and became a foreign associate of the Société Asiatique after its founding in 1821 in Paris. He was the first to observe that the root for 'birch', a phytonym which Sanskrit shares with other Indo-European languages, was important to an understanding of the population prehistory of the subcontinent:

> Il est digne de remarque que le bouleau s'appelle en sanscrit भूर्ज *bhourtchtcha*, et que ce mot dérive de la même racine que l'allemand *birke,* l'anglais *birch* et le russe, берeза (bereza), tandis que les noms des autres arbres de l'Inde ne se retrouvent pas dans les langues indo-germaniques de l'Europe. La raison en est, vraisemblablement, que les nations indo-germaniques venaient du nord, quand elles entrèrent dans l'Inde, où elles apportèrent la langue qui a servi de base au

> sanscrit, et qui a repoussé de la presqu'ile, les idiomes de la même origine que le malabar et le télinga, que ces nations, dis-je, ne trouvèrent pas dans leur nouvelle patrie les arbres qu'elles avaient connu dans l'ancienne, à l'exception du bouleau, qui croît sur le versant méridional de l'*Himâlaya*.[43]

This idea was later seized upon by the Swiss linguist Adolphe Pictet, who coined the term 'linguistic palaeontology' in his 1859 study *Les origines indo-européennes ou les aryas primitifs: Essai de paléontologie linquistique.*

As far as I have been able to trace, Klaproth was also the first to state clearly that the Formosan languages were members of the Austronesian family, genetically related to Malay and Malagasy.[44] Klaproth carefully scrutinized the lexical and grammatical data available at the time, and, following the precedents set by Nicolaes Witsen and Phillip von Strahlenberg, he was the first to be able to present an informed and comprehensive polyphyletic view of Asian languages and language families. In order to reconcile this polyphyletic view with his religious beliefs, he devised a table of correspondence between Hindu and Biblical chronology, dated 'die grosse Ausbreitung des Indo-Germanischen Völkerstammes' to a prehistoric period 'vielleicht schon vor der Noah'ischen Fluth',[45] and likewise interpreted most of the great language diversity which he observed in Eurasia as the debris of antediluvian dispersals, thus antedating the confusion of tongues ensuing upon the collapse of the Tower of Babel.

Klaproth identified and distinguished twenty-three main Asian linguistic stocks, which he knew did not yet represent an exhaustive inventory. Yet he argued for a smaller number of phyla because he recognized the genetic affinity between certain of these stocks and the distinct nature of others.[46] For example, he recognized that the Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages collectively formed a family of related languages, although, unlike Philipp von Siebold, Klaproth still considered Korean and Japanese to be distinct Asian phyla. Similarly, he treated the language stocks of northeastern Eurasia each as a distinct phylum, e.g. Yukaghir, Koryak, Kamchadal, and the languages of the 'Polar-Amerikaner in Asien'. However, his biblical chronology and acceptance of the historicity of Hindu and other traditions as garbled local versions of the history recounted by the Holy Writ led him to vague notions about 'les peuplades tubétaines' in antiquity.[47]

Klaproth was the first to identify a family of languages comprising Chinese, the Burmese language of 'Awa', the language of the 'Tübeter' and related tongues, but specifically excluding Siamese, the Vietnamese language of Annam, the 'Moan' language of the 'Peguer' and so forth. Later German proponents of the Tibeto-Burman theory had precocious intuitions about Chinese historical grammar. Scholars such as Carl Richard Lepsius[48] and Wilhelm Grube[49] mooted reflexes of Tibeto-Burman historical morphology in Chinese. Lepsius even recognized that the tones of Chinese had arisen from the loss of older syllable-final segments and the loss of distinctions between older syllable-initial

segments. If Müller had been familiar with the comparative work on Chinese conducted by some of his former compatriots back on the Continent, his Turanian theory might not have accorded a separate status to Sinitic, and his and Hodgson's conception of 'Tibeto-Burman' might have been better informed and closer to Klaproth's original Tibeto-Burman family, the model to which modern scholarship has returned today.

Indeed, Klaproth's view of a polyglot Asian continent as home to many distinct language phyla was not universally well-received. In January 1825, in a letter to Baron Paul Schilling von Canstadt, for instance, August Wilhelm von Schlegel described his distaste for the polyphyletic view of Asia presented by Klaproth,[50] whereas Schlegel evidently found John Leyden's undifferentiated 'Indo-Chinese' view of Asian languages to be more palatable.[51] To scholars in Europe, the two most important language families were what was known in the nineteenth century variously as Indo-European, Indo-Germanic or Aryan, and the Semitic family, later known as Hamito-Semitic and most recently as Afroasiatic. It did not come naturally to everyone to view the many distinct linguistic stocks of Asia as language families on an equal footing with Indo-European and Afroasiatic.

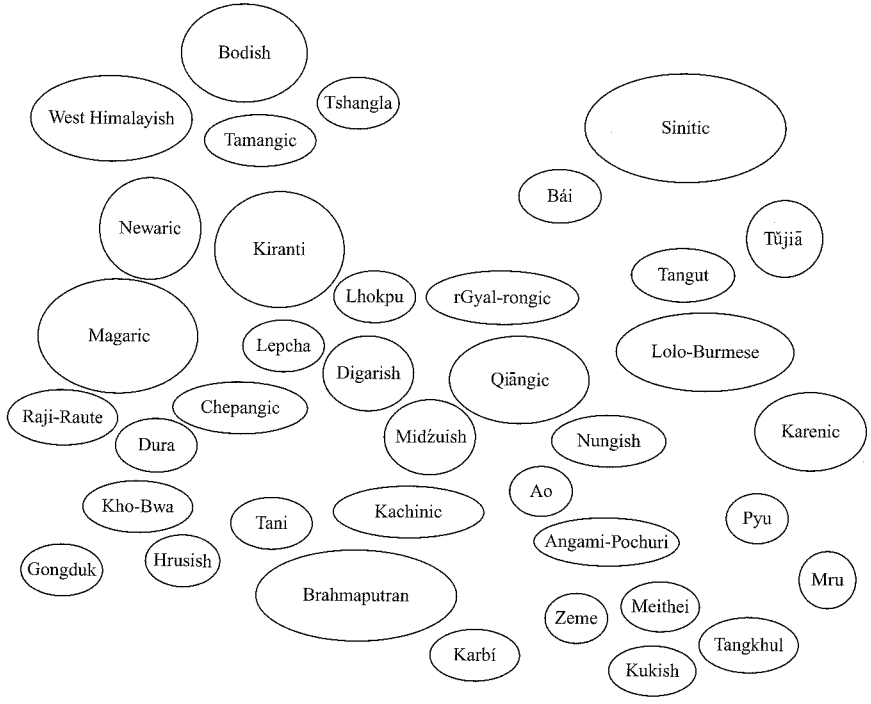

Diagram 3 This patch of leaves on the forest floor has fallen from a single tree, which we know as Tibeto-Burman.[52]

Relating to Diagram 3, we cannot see the branches of the tree, but we are beginning to see the shadows they cast between the leaves on the forest floor. This schematic geographical representation provides an informed but agnostic picture of Tibeto-Burman subgroups. The extended version of the Brahmaputran hypothesis includes Kachinic, but for the sake of argument this diagram depicts the short variant of Brahmaputran, namely excluding Kachinic. Kachinic comprises the Sak languages and the Jinghpaw dialects. Likewise, Tangut is separately depicted, although Tangut is likely to be part of Qiāngic. Digarish is Northern Mishmi, and Midźuish is Southern Mishmi, i.e. the Kaman cluster. Bái is listed as a distinct group, whereas it may form a constituent of Sinitic, albeit one heavily influenced by Lolo-Burmese. Tǔjiā is a heavily sinicized Tibeto-Burman language of indeterminate phylogenetic propinquity spoken by about three million people in an area which straddles the provinces of Sìchuān, Húběi, Húnán and Guìzhōu. The Sino-Bodic hypothesis encompasses at least the groups called Sinitic, Kiranti, Bodish, West Himalayish, rGyal-rongic, Tamangic, Tshangla and Lhokpu and possibly Lepcha. Other hypotheses, such as the inclusion of Chepang and perhaps Dura and Raji-Raute within Magaric, are discussed in my handbook.[53]

Personalities also played a role, and even the even-keeled Wilhelm von Humboldt made reference to the 'Ätzigkeit' of the brilliant Klaproth.[54] Moreover, between 1826 and 1829, the Société Asiatique in Paris was torn by feuding between the group comprising Julius von Klaproth, Abel Rémusat, Eugène Burnouf and Julius von Mohl versus the 'fleuristes' or 'philologues-poètes', led by the acrimonious Silvestre de Sacy. The lines of animosities drawn in this conflict emanated far beyond Paris. Indeed, the professional perceptions of many a scholar of Oriental languages were shaped by the constellation of likes and dislikes which existed between the linguists of the day as much as they were by substantive arguments, and arguably this is to some extent still the case in Tibeto-Burman linguistics today. However, in the nineteenth century personality conflicts also had the effect of exacerbating unstated but deeply rooted Eurocentric preconceptions and so buttressing monophyletic models, such as Turanian and Indo-Chinese, which lumped together as many languages of Eurasia as possible. Meanwhile, standard works on the languages of the Indian subcontinent treated Tibeto-Burman as an accepted, uncontroversial language family, e.g. Hunter[55] and Grierson[56] recognized Tibeto-Burman as one of the 'great stocks' of South Asia alongside Indo-European, Dravidian and Austroasiatic or 'Kolarian'.[57]

The history of science is the story of scholars living comfortably for years, and sometimes for centuries, with a paradigm or theoretical model which a new generation discovers to be false. Such a paradigm shift occurred in the 1990s when the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan paradigm was replaced by the original Tibeto-Burman theory of Julius von Klaproth. Three developments converged to yield insights heralding a return to the Tibeto-Burman language family, i.e. (1) a better understanding of Old Chinese, (2) improved insights into the genetic position of Sinitic and an appreciation of its Tibeto-Burman

character, and (3) the exhaustive identification of all the Tibeto-Burman subgroups.

The first development involved the production of better reconstructions of Old Chinese. Major advances in the historical phonology of Chinese were accompanied by new insights into Chinese historical morphology. New insights on the genetic position of Chinese vindicated Klaproth's and Lepsius' views. By the 1990s the Tibeto-Burman character of Sinitic had been amply demonstrated, and no uniquely shared innovations had been adduced which could define truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' as a separate coherent taxon that would exclude Chinese and be coordinate with Proto-Sinitic. The new face of Old Chinese was of a language with a decidedly Tibeto-Burman countenance and more closely allied with certain groups like Bodic and Kiranti. In fact, Old Chinese was seen to be less eccentric from the mainstream Tibeto-Burman point of view than, say, Gongduk or Toto. A second development is that isoglosses possibly representing lexical innovations as well as uniquely shared morphological innovations in Brahmaputran appear to indicate that a more primary bifurcation in the language family is between subgroups such as Brahmaputran and the rest of the Tibeto-Burman family whilst other lexical and grammatical features show that Sinitic is a member of a sub-branch known as Sino-Bodic.

The third development which has heralded a return to the original Tibeto-Burman theory is the exhaustive charting of Tibeto-Burman subgroups. Only recently have all the languages and language groups of the Tibeto-Burman language family been identified with the discovery in Bhutan in the 1990s of the last hitherto unreported Tibeto-Burman languages, namely Black Mountain and Gongduk. In addition to the identification of all basic subgroups, new members of already recognized subgroups have been discovered and rediscovered in Tibet, southwestern China, northeastern India and Nepal. In 1999, in an enclave around the shores of lake Ba-gsum or Brag-gsum in northern Koṅ-po rGya-mdaḥ in Tibet, French scholar Nicolas Tournadre identified the language Bag-skad [bɐ̯kɛʔ], spoken by an estimated 3,000 speakers and previously erroneously classified as a Tibetan dialect. Tournadre reports that this tongue is related to Dzala and other East Bodish languages of Bhutan. Similarly, Barām or 'Bhráhmú', a Tibeto-Burman language reported by Hodgson in the mid-nineteenth century, but thought since to have gone extinct, was rediscovered in Gorkhā district in central Nepal in the 1990s.

The basic outline of the Tibeto-Burman family is shown in Diagram 3. The model does not have the shape of a family tree, but this is not to claim that there is no *Stammbaum*. Rather, the patch of leaves is a fitting metaphor for the current state of our knowledge. The various empirically indefensible family trees have been replaced by a patch of leaves on the forest floor which are known to have fallen from the same tree. Not only is the branching pattern of the tree not within view, the constituent language subgroups of the family have only finally exhaustively been identified within the past decade. We cannot lift our heads to look at the tree because we cannot look directly into

the past, but in a careful study of the leaves strewn on the forest floor we may be able to discern the shadows of the branches of the tree. At present, we do not know the higher-order branching, but we have every reason to believe that these branches are there.

This more candid but at the same time more comprehensive view of the language family confronts scholars with the immediate need to search for and identify the evidence which could support empirically defensible higher-order subgroups within Tibeto-Burman, analogous to Italo-Celtic and Balto-Slavic in the Indo-European language family. The patch of fallen leaves on the forest floor provides a working framework of greater utility than a false tree, such as the empirically unsupported Sino-Tibetan model. The metaphor of the patch of leaves on the forest floor leaves us unencumbered by the false doctrines of the Indo-Chinese paradigm, heuristic artefacts which have survived chiefly as nothing more than truths by assertion. The burden of proof now lies squarely on the shoulders of the Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists who propagate truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' as a valid taxon to adduce evidence for their taxonomical constructs.

Hodgson as a Tibeto-Burmanist

Many languages that Hodgson documented are now gone for ever. Hodgson was able to study nearly one third of all Tibeto-Burman subgroups, as identified in Diagram 3. Yet Hodgson's studies were not limited to Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, he provided the most complete account to date of Kusunda, an important language isolate of the Himalayas, now extinct. Even Reinhard[58] and Reinhard and Toba[59] were unable to provide a more complete account. Most languages for which Hodgson collected word lists are now either extinct or endangered with imminent extinction. Even Barām, which had until recently been presumed extinct, would not have been relocated in the 1990s if it were not for Hodgson, who first reported the existence of this language under the name 'Bhráhmú' and recorded roughly where it was spoken. In short, the obsolescence of the Turanian paradigm in no way diminishes the value of Hodgson's contribution to Tibeto-Burman linguistics. In fact, the current state of the art in Tibeto-Burman linguistic phylogeny is to a great extent the result of the enduring importance of Hodgson's language documentation. Müller was right to state his debt to Hodgson for the analyzed data which he required to contemplate language stocks, linguistic prehistory and the peopling of the subcontinent. Linguists today are still indebted to Hodgson for this reason.

Hodgson was thorough and conscientious about the linguistic facts. His description of Bahing is exemplary. None who have ventured to work on Bahing since have even come close to the detail of his account. Even Michailovsky[60] was unable to improve upon it. Twelve years ago, I devoted a study to Hodgson's exhaustive treatment of the intransitive, reflexive and transitive conjugations of the Bahing verb.[61] No Kiranti biactantial verbal

agreement system has ever been attested showing as many different inflected forms as Bahing. The rigour of Hodgson's description renders the Bahing conjugational system readily analyzable within a modern morphological conceptual framework.

Not unlike other Kiranti languages, the Bahing verb contains so-called copy morphemes. In Bahing, these suffixes are anticipatory copy morphemes which occur before the tense slot and mirror overt morphemes which occur posterior to the tense slot in the same suffixal string. Hodgson was very much aware of such morphophonological regularities in the exceedingly complex verbal agreement patterns of the languages which he studied, and he even qualified the Bahing anticipatory copy morphemes as 'devious' because they are found to occur only before the Bahing tense morpheme <-ta> in the preterite of verbs with open stems.

One matter worth pursuing amongst the manuscripts carefully preserved in the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society is Hodgson's original linguistic field notes and the various drafts and manuscripts of his articles. In particular, it would be useful to compare his original notes with subsequent published versions. Not only is it conceivable that a typesetter might have failed to faithfully reproduce diacritics which were meaningless to him, a copy editor might conceivably have regularized the use of diacritics in places where this might have seemed 'appropriate'. A word of warning is in place to whomever undertakes to study Hodgson's field notes. His field notes look jumbled and scrawled. He crowds much onto a single page as if paper were in short supply. In fact, I found that his field notes looked very much like my own. My impression, therefore, is that there may be many hidden notational systems, concealed to outsiders, but not to Hodgson who would upon subsequent perusal have recognized the cues and remembered what he was thinking at the time he noted down the forms he collected.

The use of diacritics and, in particular, the acute accent in Hodgson's materials is a curious and linguistically important topic. Evidently, he did not use the accent in the way the macron is used in modern indological transcription, to distinguish vowel quality, say, between the Nepali hrasva *a* and the dīrgha *ā*. For example, the name of a twenty-eight-year-old man called पते *Pate*, whose body Hodgson meticulously inspected for the purposes of a brief statement on the physical anthropology of the Hayu tribe, is transcribed as 'Páte'.[62] This transcription seems to indicate that the acute accent represents what a speaker of a stress-timed language such as English might be inclined to hear as 'stress', even in languages having only prosodic but no phonological stress.

Stress phenomena, including pitch accent and so-called weak stress, have been reported in a number of Kiranti languages. Likewise, Hodgson often used the acute accent in Bahing, for example, on the root stem of verbs, where Kiranti languages with stress generally tend to exhibit stress. Yet, the distribution of accents in Hodgson's data, whether they denote stress or tonal phenomena, is more complex and has yet to be analyzed. Finally, in addition to forms which might have been unfaithfully reproduced in the published

versions of Hodgson's notes, there is some likelihood that some of Hodgson's valuable data were overlooked altogether and never published at all. A meticulous and patient review of all of Hodgson's linguistic notes and drafts could enhance the value of Hodgson's already colossal and enduring contribution to linguistics.

Notes

1 Friedrich Max Müller, 'On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India', *Report of the Seventeenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Oxford in June 1847*, 1848, 17, pp. 319–350, especially p. 348.
2 Henry Sharp, *Selections from the Educational Records, Bureau of Education, India, Part 1: 1781–1839*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1920, pp. 110–111.
3 Ibid., pp. 130–131.
4 Friedrich Max Müller, *Über die Resultate der Sprachwissenschaft, Vorlesung gehalten in der Kaiserlichen Universitæt zu Strassburg am XXIII. Mai MDCCCLXXII*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1872.
5 Friedrich Max Müller, *Physical Religion: The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1890*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1891, p. 238.
6 Müller, 'On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India', 17, pp. 319–350, especially p. 320.
7 Friedrich Max Müller, 'The Last Results of the Researches Respecting the Non-Iranian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia and Europe, or the Turanian Family of Languages', in Christian Charles Josias Bunsen (ed.), *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History Applied to Language and Religion* (2 vols), London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854, vol. I, pp. 263–486, p. 343.
8 Ibid., pp. 349–350.
9 Ibid., pp. 350–351.
10 Friedrich Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic, Arian, and Turanian* (frontispiece title: Max Müller's Survey of Languages; 2nd edition), London: Williams and Norgate Müller, 1855, p. 86.
11 Friedrich Max Müller, 'Lecture on the Vedas or the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, Delivered at the Philosophical Institution, Leeds, March 1865', in *Chips from a German Workshop* (4 vols), London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1867 [1865], vol. I, pp. 1–61, p. 22.
12 George van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region Containing an Introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language* (2 vols), Leiden: Brill, 2001, especially pp. 126–135.
13 Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwickelung des Menschengeschlechts*, Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1836 (posthumous).
14 Bunsen, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, p. 99.
15 Ibid., pp. 119, 120–121.
16 Ibid., pp. 99, 119.
17 Wilhelm Schott, 'Über die sogenanten indo-chinesischen Sprachen insonderheit das Siamische', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1856,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1856, pp. 161–179.

18 Friedrich Max Müller, *My Autobiography: A Fragment*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1901 (posthumous), p. 155.
19 Joseph H. Longford, *The Story of Korea*, London: Fisher Unwin, 1911, p. 30.
20 Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europea und Asia, in so weit das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, in einer Historisch-Geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neueren Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekannten Nachrichten vorgestellet, nebst einer noch niemahls and Licht gegebenen* Tabula Polyglotta *von zwei und dreyßiglei Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen* Vocabulario, Stockholm: In Verlegung des Autoris, 1730.
21 Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte Bondig Ontwerp van eenige dier Landen en Volken, welke voormaels bekent zijn geweest, beneffens verscheide tot noch toe onbekende, en meest nooit voorheen beschreven Tartersche en Nabuurige Gewesten, Landstreeken, Steden, Rivieren, en Plaetzen, in de Noorder en Oostelykste Gedeelten van Asia en Europa* (2 vols), Amsterdam: François Halma, 1692, second impression, 1705.
22 Müller, 'The Last Results of the Researches Respecting the Non-Iranian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia and Europe, pp. 270–271.
23 László Károly Marácz, *Hongaarse kentering: Een politieke beschouwing over Midden-Europa*, Nieuwegein: Uitgeverij Aspekt, 1995.
24 Maurizio Tosi, 'The Archaeological Evidence for Protostate Structures in Eastern Iran and Central Asia at the End of the 3rd Millennium BC', in J. Deshayes (ed.), *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: Leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques (Paris, 22–24 mars 1976)*, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977, pp. 67–78.
25 Collections of Leyden's poetry have been published posthumously by Morton (1819) and Seshadri (1912). I thank Thomas Trautmann, Director of the Institute for the Humanities at the University of Michigan, for putting me on the track of Leyden's manuscripts at the British Library and otherwise assisting me in pursuing my interest in John Leyden, an interest which Tom and I share. I also thank Donald Lopez, likewise of the University of Michigan, for sharing thoughts and references on Julius von Klaproth, although Don and I may not share the same view of the man.
26 Note, however, that Francis Buchanan had included short word lists of Khamti, Shan and Thai in his comparative vocabulary of languages of the Burmese empire (1798).
27 John Casper Leyden, *Letter to Lt. Col. Richardson with Plans of Research into the Languages and Literature of India, and Detailing the Writer's Own History and Competence for the Task*, (36-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS. 26,565), *c.*1806, p. 34.
28 Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XXXIII. Leighton–Lluelyn*, London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1893, p. 216. Another source upon which I drew previously for *Languages of the Himalayas* specified the place and date of Leyden's death as Molenvliet on 29 August 1811. However, Molenvliet and Meester Cornelis lie on opposite sides of the once affluent neighbourhood of Weltevreden, and it seems improbable that Leyden would have died twice and at two different locations in Batavia.
29 John Casper Leyden, *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, Literature and History of the Indo Chinese Nations*, (11-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS 26,565), *c.*1806, p. 1.
30 John Casper Leyden, *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, literature, History and Antiquities of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, (69-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS 26,564; later published with changes as Leyden (1808)), *c.*1806, p. 1.

31 Emile Forchhammer, 'Indo-Chinese languages', *Indian Antiquary*, 1882, XI: pp. 177–189.
32 Ernst Kuhn, 'Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens,' (Sitzung vom 2 März 1889), *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (München)*, Philosophisch-philologische Classe, 1889, II, pp. 189–236.
33 George Abraham Grierson (ed.), *Linguistic Survey of India*, (Tibeto-Burman Family: Tibetan Dialects, the Himalayan Dialects and the North Assam Group), Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1909, III (I), p. 1.
34 Richard Carnac Temple, *Census of India, 1901, Vol. III: The Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Report on the Census*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1903.
35 Arthur Purves Phayre, 'On the History of the Burmah Race', *JASB*, 1864, XXXIII (I): pp. 1–36, and 'On the History of Pegu', *JASB*, 1873, XLII (I): pp. 23–57.
36 August Conrady, *Eine indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung und ihr Zusammenhang mit den Tonaccenten: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Grammatik der indochinesischen Sprachen, insonderheit des Tibetischen, Barmanischen, Siamesischen und Chinesischen*, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1896.
37 Nikolaus Finck, *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909.
38 Robert Shafer 'Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages', *Word, Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, 1955, 11: pp. 94–111, especially pp. 97–98.
39 Paul King Benedict, *Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972; and 'Sino-Tibetan: Another Look', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1976, 96 (2): pp. 167–197.
40 Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris: A. Schubart, 1823.
41 Brian Houghton Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepál and Tibet, Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of Those Countries*, London: Trübner & Company, 1874, I, p. 36.
42 Hodgson, *Essays*, II, pp. 26, 72, 73.
43 Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, 'Réponse à quelques passages de la préface du roman chinois intitulé: Hao khieou tchhouan, traduit par M.J.F. Davis', *Journal Asiatique*, 1830, V, pp. 112–113.
44 von Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 380.
45 Ibid., p. 43.
46 von Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*; *Asia Polyglotta: Sprachatlas*, Paris: A. Schubart, 1823; and *Asia Polyglotta* (zweite Auflage), Paris: Verlag von Heideloff & Campe, 1831.
47 Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie depuis la monarchie de Cyrus jusqu'à nos jours, accompagnés de recherches historiques et ethnographiques sur cette partie du monde*, (2 vols), Paris: Schubart, 1826.
48 Carl Richard Lepsius, 'Über die Umschrift und Lautverhältnisse einiger hinterasiatischer Sprachen, namentlich der Chinesischen und der Tibetischen', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1860*, 1869, pp. 449–496.
49 Wilhelm Grube, *Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des Chinesischen*, Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1881.
50 Josef Körner (ed.), *Briefe von und an August Wilhelm Schlegel*, (2 vols), Zürich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1930, I, p. 631.
51 August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Réflexions sur l'étude des langues asiatiques adressées à Sir James Mackintosh, suivie d'une lettre à M. Horace Hayman Wilson*, Bonn: Weber, 1832, p. 21.
52 Jackson Sun (Sūn Tiānxīn) of the Academia Sinica argues that Guìqióng, spoken in west-central Sìchuān (cf. van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas*, p. 498), may represent a separate subgroup in its own right, whereas Sūn Hóngkāi of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences suspects that Guìqióng is a Qiāngic language heavily

influenced lexically and phonologically by its Lolo-Burmese neighbours. Conversely, Sūn Hóngkāi believes that Báimǎ, spoken in central northern Sìchuān, is a separate Tibeto-Burman subgroup in its own right, which has previously been misidentified as a Tibetan dialect, whereas Jackson Sun believes that Báimǎ can be demonstrated to be a Tibetan dialect. Sūn and Sūn agree, however, that the solutions to the controversy will only come through the detailed analysis and documentation of both languages. Only linguistic fieldwork in the tradition of Brian Houghton Hodgson, therefore, can determine whether or not the number of leaves which have fallen to the mossy forest floor from the Tibeto-Burman tree is greater than depicted in Diagram 3.

53 van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas*, p. 498.
54 Hartmut Walravens, *Julius Klaproth (1783–1835): Leben und Werk*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1999.
55 William Wilson Hunter, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*, London: Trübner and Company, 1868, and *The Indian Empire: Its History, People and Products*, London: Trübner and Company, 1882.
56 Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*.
57 Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 79.
58 Johan G. Reinhard, 'Aperçu sur les Kusuṇḍâ, peuple chasseur du Népal', *Objets et Mondes, Revue du Musée de l'Homme*, 1969, IX (1): pp. 89–106.
59 Johan G. Reinhard and Tim Toba (i.e. Toba Sueyoshi), *A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis and Vocabulary of the Kusunda Language*, Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics (31-page typescript, Reinhard and Toba), 1970.
60 Boyd Michailovsky, 'Notes on the Kiranti Verb (East Nepal)', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 1975, II (2): pp. 183–218.
61 George van Driem, 'Bahing and the Proto-Kiranti Verb', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1991, LIV (2): pp. 336–356.
62 Brian Houghton Hodgson. 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Broken Tribes of Nepál', (inc. 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Kiranti Language', and 'On the Kiránti Tribe of the Central Himalaya'), *JASB*, XXVII: pp. 393–456, especially pp. 443–446.

12

HODGSON'S LEGACY

David Waterhouse

Elsewhere in this book evaluations are made of the importance of Hodgson's life and work. To complete the exercise I identify what Hodgson left behind – the tangible products of his labours. In this chapter I try to locate the present whereabouts of the materials, manuscripts, papers and specimens that Hodgson wrote, collected and donated, including his unpublished works. These are widespread – both in Europe and South Asia.

Hodgson's papers and collections were first listed in Hunter's biography, published in 1896.[1] In the course of four appendices he gives details of all of Hodgson's published works and of the manuscripts, specimens and drawings that he was able to identify. Hunter also identifies the various institutions to which they were presented together, in some instances, with brief descriptions. The list, however, is not complete (for example the architectural drawings currently in the Royal Asiatic Society and the Musée Guimet are not mentioned). Moreover items given to various institutions by his widow after Hodgson's death are not included. Neither are Hodgson's official correspondence as Resident, or family and other letters. However, Hudson's catalogue of Hodgson's published papers is comprehensive, though there are occasional inaccuracies. I give an amended version, in chronological order, in the bibliography to this volume. On the zoological side the list of new genera and species of mammals, first described by Hodgson, has been revised in the light of more recent classifications.[2]

Collections in Europe

The Oriental and India Office department of the British Library has the largest and most significant collection of Hodgson's papers and manuscripts. Between 1838 and 1845 Hodgson deposited in the Company's library thirty important Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts and the complete Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur. The Sanskrit Manuscripts are catalogued by F.W. Thomas in *Catalogue of Sanskrit (and Prakrit) Materials in the India Office Library, vol. 2*, edited by A.B. Keith, Oxford, 1935. The Tibetan material is listed in P. Denwood, *Catalogue of Tibetan mss. and Block-prints Outside the Stein Collection in the India Office Library*, London, 1975. This collection was added to with