

Go Forth and Wander:
Mapping a Buddhist Hindi Public in the Writings of Anand Kausalyayan,
Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun

By
Padma Dorje Maitland

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
South and Southeast Asian Studies
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Alexander von Rospatt, Chair
Professor Penelope Edwards
Professor Rahul Parson
Professor Sugata Ray

Summer 2021

Copyright © Padma D. Maitland

Abstract

Go Forth and Wander:
Mapping a Buddhist Hindi Public in the Writings of Anand Kausalyayan,
Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun

by

Padma Dorje Maitland

Doctor of Philosophy in South and Southeast Asian Studies

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Alexander von Rospatt, Chair

Through a focus on the lives and works of three Hindi authors and intrepid travelers—Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun—this dissertation investigates the emergence of “the wanderer” as a cultural hero in India during the twentieth century as part of efforts to define modern Buddhism for Hindi audiences. Beginning with a study of each author’s involvement in Buddhist revival efforts in India, it follows their careers and peregrinations across South Asia and around the world, exploring how each one contributed to the construction of a unique image of the wanderer through their writings and own lived example. Considering the image of the wanderer in the lives and works of these three authors, from its appearance in Buddhist tracts during the 1930s and ‘40s through later figurations of travelers in Hindi travel literature of the 1960s and ‘70s, this dissertation goes on to explore how the act of wandering came to be understood as a model for social, political, and religious reform and development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	
<i>Note on Translations and Transliteration</i>	
Introduction: “Go Ye, O Bhikkhus, and Wander Forth”	1
The United Buddhist World	7
Modern Messengers	16
<i>Dharmadūt to Dharm-dūt</i>	28
Buddhism Round-the-World	33
Overview and Organization	37
Chapter 1: A Monk’s Letters: Anand Kausalyayan and India’s Buddhist Hindi Public	45
<i>Bhikṣu ke Patra</i>	49
Accounts of a Hindi Public	70
Thrice Born	74
Chapter 2: Thus Wanderlust: Rahul Sankrityayan’s <i>Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra</i>	82
Early Flights	88
A Treatise for the Wanderer	98
The Art of Wandering	109
A Taste for Travel	114
Chapter 3: Yātrī Nagarjun: The Radical Monk	119
A Buddhist Education	123
<i>Ṭiharī se Nelang</i>	127
Between a Struggle and a Journey	150
Conclusion: The Buddhist Wanderer in Hindi Travel Literature	153
Traveling the Nation	156
Unity and Self-Discovery	160
Expanding Cultural Knowledge Through Travel	162
Literature as Experience	166
Travel as Social Commentary	170
<i>Bhikṣu, Ghumakkaṛ, Yātrī</i>	175
Bibliography	178

Acknowledgements

That I was able to complete a dissertation which centers on works in Hindi is a testament to the kindness and dedication of my many teachers and mentors. Such a task would have seemed insurmountable when I started my first summer intensive with Sneha Desai, and even more so as I embarked on first and second year Hindi with Lila Huettemann. Both introduced me to the beauty and complexity of Hindi that was then nurtured by summer programs at the American Institute of Indian Studies' Hindi Language program in Jaipur, led by the incomparable "Swami-ji." Rahul Parson, then still a graduate student at Berkeley, augmented my classroom lessons with extra sessions that kept me from giving up before I really started. Usha Jain deserves a special note of thanks for the years spent building my confidence and ability with Hindi through courses and independent studies. I'll always remember the frustration I felt when confronted by a page of text I didn't understand and the delight I experienced as it slowly made sense through her careful and kind instruction. My classmate, Shishir, surely also deserves a note of gratitude for the hours he spent reading texts with me and arranging viewing parties for the movies we were assigned each week. It was working with Vasudha Paramasivan that I began, for the first time, to engage works in Hindi as part of my research. There was a period when I was her sole student and we would translate texts together for hours, line by line. A certain helplessness would flood over me as I encountered yet another line I didn't understand, but Paramasivan taught me to trust myself and to celebrate the ways a word, idea, sentence, or text would open up, revealing itself slowly through the work of close readings and translations. While in India as a Fulbright-Nehru Scholar, I came to meet Murtaza Gandhi, then a researcher at the Gandhi Ashram in Ahmedabad. Since then he has kindly read selected texts with me over the phone, spending many morning and evening hours discussing what we were reading and offering invaluable research assistance. In India and Berkeley, I was able to meet with Vasudha Dalmia to discuss my dissertation. Her work has been so influential on my own and I am grateful for the meetings we had at the IIC café in Delhi. Those conversations continue to guide me in my research, reminding me that this work is about more than my own knowledge. Instead, it is, to the best of my abilities, offered as a contribution to the field.

This project is not just about Hindi. In fact, the focus on Hindi came much later, after several years of studying at Berkeley. I began as a PhD student in the Department of Architecture, studying the modern history of Buddhist sites in India and their development as part of various nationalist movements. My studies were funded through the generous support of a Foreign Language and Area Studies Grant. Administered through the Institute for South Asian Studies, support from that grant changed the course of my studies. First, it meant I could not give up on Hindi, so I continued on. It also meant that I registered for area study courses. The first class I took was a methods course led by Jeffrey Hadler. His classrooms always sparkled with ideas, energy, and with the stories of the academics whose books we were reading. His personal accounts made the authors seem real and approachable. Benedict Anderson, for example, was no longer some abstract thinker. He was someone's advisor or friend. Knowing this made such works even more meaningful. It also taught me to look for the author's voice in a work until you can hear it as you are reading along. I can still hear Hadler's voice in my head as I read his work or as I write my own. In addition to introducing me to a world of ideas, materials, and concepts, his methods course also made me feel welcome in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, which was only made more real when invited to participate in the semi-annual graduate student departmental research symposium in the spring.

I soon began taking courses with Penny Edwards on modern Buddhism in Southeast Asia. Her courses opened up still more horizons of materials and ideas I wanted to continue study and explore. I also appreciated the mix of creativity and rigor Edwards challenged us to take on in our work, and the dedication to thinking about archival materials in the context of larger matrices of materials, networks, and people. It was during this time that I began exploring the option of pursuing a second PhD at Berkeley in South and Southeast Asian Studies. Much to my surprise, the department accepted my proposal and I was admitted as a student. Words cannot adequately describe how grateful I am to have been able to study in such an incredible department with such amazing advisors and colleagues.

Alexander von Rospatt has done more than guide my research, he has inspired my course of study and continues to shape my research through insightful comments and feedback. Over the years, he has shared numerous references and texts; introduced me to professors and colleagues who have had a profound impact on my work; welcomed me into discussion sessions and workshops in the Department of Buddhist Studies, which greatly expanded and deepened my research; and, made sure I had support throughout my studies, always encouraging me to take my time to do the best job I could rather than rush through to the finish line. I am grateful for the many hours spent in his office talking through papers, proposals, and applications.

Another one of my homes on campus was the Department of Art History, thanks especially to Sugata Ray. He has mentored me through both my dissertations. As with my other advisors, I'm not sure I will ever know the full extent of the ways he has helped support me during the course of my research and studies. His classes were always exciting salons of ideas as we discussed essays, works of arts, and challenging concepts. He also has a way of connecting historical and theoretical ideas to current events and practices that always make research seem more relevant and meaningful. I am especially thankful for helping me feel confident in the world of museums and art history.

Rahul Parson has appeared twice in the course of my education. I am struck by the symmetry, and even kismet, behind the fact that he was my Hindi tutor during the early years of my graduate studies, returning later to be my dissertation advisor. He joined my committee at the perfect time, offering discerning commentary on my work and engaging a more literary discussion of the Hindi travel accounts discussed throughout. Our conversations enlivened my research, opening lines of inquiry I hope to continue to explore in the years to come.

There are many more people who deserve thanks for their support and encouragement, many more than I could possibly mention here. A few though require special thanks. Thank you Trent, Chenxing, Janet, and Kashi, for always reading my work and making time to talk about our research. Thank you also for traveling together and going on writing retreats that made writing that more enjoyable. Thank you Funie who, along with Chenxing, makes up what I consider to be the unstoppable 3TP. Thank you Cheryl for helping me cross the finish line. And thank you Megan, Anurag, Sohini, Katie, Shivani, Priya, Emma, Sophia, Bayardo, Nick, Sandeep, Gina, Clay, Kristen, Arathi, Siddhartha, Toni, Nicole, Kären, CC, and Sasha. A special thank you to my parents: to my father, for always encouraging me to share what I find exciting and meaningful; to my mother, who read every single page I wrote and who always take the time to listen to the ideas I am struggling to put down on paper and for her unfailing moral support; and to David for thinking through my research and reflecting on the process of completing a PhD. Thank you all for the love and support along the way.

Finally this project would not have been possible without the support of an American Institute for Indian Studies (AIIS) Junior Fellowship and Fulbright Nehru Student Award, both

of which made it possible to conduct several years of research in India, along with a Critical Language Enhancement Award. I am thankful also for the generous support from a Magistretti Block Grant, Saraswati Dalmia Graduate Student Support Fund, and Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships. The gift of time to study and write is invaluable. Thank you for making that possible for me. Thank you also to the Institute of South Asian Studies at Berkeley and the Graduate Division for their help in realizing this project.

I hope in some small way this project can be an example of what is possible even when it's not something that comes naturally or when it's something you find challenging. For some, language study is easy. For others, it is a struggle. Though I fall into the latter category, I marvel at what it means to see the world through another language. I discovered early on that a visual memory disability I experienced as a kid while learning how to read English was also an issue for me when learning how to read Hindi. But second language acquisition rarely seems to account for such things. Again, it was only thanks to the kindness of friends, family, and teachers that I was able to see this project through. And I am grateful I did. While I am sure I made some errors along the way, I discovered so much through this wandering process. I hope it will be of some benefit to others.

Note on Translations and Transliteration

Unless otherwise noted, translations throughout this dissertation are my own. I am indebted though to the numerous people who read and discussed each text with me over the years. Longer passages are given in Devanagari. Names and Hindi, Sanskrit, and Pali terms that are common in English, are given without diacritical marks, unless diacritics are necessary for the argument. For short passages, phrases, and references drawn from Hindi, transliterations follow R. S. McGregor's *Outline of Hindi Grammar* (1977) with some consistency. In some areas, a clear distinction is made between Hindi, Sanskrit, and Pali readings of a term, as with *dharmadūt*, which I present variously as *dharmadūta*, *dharmadūt*, *dharmdūt*, or *dharm-dūt*. While subtle, such shifts trace the history outlined in this dissertation as the authors I discuss sought to formalize Hindi standards around Buddhist terms for Hindi audiences. When citing secondary sources, the author's choices of transliteration have been maintained.

धर्मदूत—



भगवान बुद्ध का चित्र
चित्रकार—प्रो० निकलस रोरिक

“Go Ye, O Bhikkhus, and Wander Forth”

“Go ye, O Bhikkhus, and wander forth for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. Proclaim, O Bhikkhus, the Doctrine glorious, preach ye a life of holiness, perfect and pure.”

—Mahāvagga, Vinaya Piṭaka, as quoted in *The Maha Bodhi*

In many ways, Buddhism might be considered a religion of travelers.¹ The Buddha famously left home in search of new truths and modeled a peripatetic lifestyle, urging his followers to do the same.² Early representations of the Buddha include an empty throne, a wheel, and the impressions of the Buddha’s footprints or *buddhapada*, all of which speak to the idea of the Buddha’s legacy as one of movement and journeys taken.³ The spread of Buddhism and its impact on the visual and material cultures beyond South Asia only reaffirms a reading of Buddhism as deeply embedded in histories of travel. During the nineteenth century, the close association between travel and Buddhism took on new associations as advances in transportation and communication, linked to the spread of colonialism and the influence of Christian missions around the world, informed social, political, and religious reform movements. As part of such trends, travel became a lens through which to rethink modern networks and the significance of Buddhism in South Asia. By the turn of the twentieth century, travel provided both a literal and metaphorical model for social and political emancipation, especially as it related to burgeoning nationalisms. These dynamic conditions influenced how Buddhism was framed for Hindi audiences, identifying the wanderer as someone whose travels could reinforce perceptions of India as the center of an international Buddhist community or *śāsana*.

The quote that begins this chapter, sometimes referred to as the Buddhist commission, is a call to travel, to “wander forth” and “preach.” Taken from the Mārakathā section of the Mahāvagga, it is part of the Vinaya Piṭaka, the first of three “baskets” of the Pali Tipiṭaka. In the quote, the call to wander suggests a link between travel and the formation of a dispersed Buddhist community. The exact nature of the quote and its message for Buddhists, however, is highly contested. Since at least the 1830s, the passage has undergone a series of translations,

¹ See Daniel Veidlinger, “On the Road: The Appeal of Buddhism to Travelers,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 17, no. 2 (2016): 439–452.

² Buddhist relics offer another set of references through which to think about the link between Buddhism and travel. See John S. Strong and Stephen Teiser, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton University Press, 2004).

³ Dietrich Seckel and Andreas Leisinger, “Before and Beyond the Image: Aniconic Symbolism in Buddhist Art,” *Artibus Asiae, Supplementum* 45 (2004): 3–107; David Ake Sensabaugh, “Footprints of the Buddha,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Recent Acquisitions (2017): 84–89.

each augmenting and reframing the moral imperative of the passage for future Buddhists.⁴ In her study on Buddhist missions and globalization, Lisa Learman highlights historical misprisions of Buddhism according to “Anglo-American Protestant preconceptions and purposes.”⁵ In her analysis, Learman draws on the work of Johnathan Walters and Steven Kemper to think specifically about how new classifications of Buddhist messengers or travelers as wanderers and missionaries emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁶ As Learman writes of Walter’s work, how one translates the Pali term *cārikam*, appearing above as “wander forth,” carries with it implications for how we understand the nature and ambitions of Buddhist practice. Learman continues, “According to Walters *carikam* [sic] means ‘moving about’ or ‘journey.’ He translates it as ‘wanderings,’ arguing that [T. W.] Rhys-Davids’s earlier translation of *carikam* [sic] as ‘mission’ wrongly presupposed a category of ‘mission.’”⁷ In his translation of the passage, Walters emphasizes wandering as the primary instruction of the Buddha, offering the following version of the opening line: “Wander about on wanderings, monks.”⁸ The double emphasis on the act of wandering reinforces a reading of the Buddha’s council to roam and travel as the primary benefit for others. Reading the passage as quoted at the start of this chapter again with this in mind, we might see “Go ye ... and wander forth” as a similar prompt to “wander about on wanderings,” heightening the imperative around travel as the basis for “the welfare of the many.”

Whether or not proselytization is a *defining* characteristic of Theravada Buddhism is beside the point here. Rather, this dissertation explores how wandering emerged as a defining feature of modern Buddhism in India, especially for Hindi reading publics. The heavy emphasis on travel in works from the period suggests that it was less about the role of wandering in Buddhist discourses, and more about the way travel positioned Buddhism within nationalist discourses pertaining to modernization in India. This was especially true in works in Hindi, many of which were written by well-known travel writers at the time. Wandering and travel, in other words, began to take on a host of connotations and references related to how, in very broad terms, India’s history and culture were being rethought in modern times. This was amplified by the impact of new modes of transportation and communication that provided the spaces within which to context multiple visions of modernity.⁹ In both fictional and non-fictional accounts, trains, cars, telegrams, and the letters became a way of imagining changing social relationships

⁴ Jonathan S. Walters, “Missions: Buddhist Missions,” *Encyclopedia of Religions*, (2005). Available online at: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/missions-buddhist-missions>, accessed August 15, 2019.

⁵ Linda Learman, ed., *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization* (University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 1.

⁶ Jonathan S. Walters, *Rethinking Buddhist Missions* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1992).

⁷ Learman, *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization*, 5.

⁸ In Pali the line reads “*caratha, bhikkhave, cārikam*.” (saṃ. ni. 1.141 mārasaṃyuttepi). As the anthropologist Steven Kemper writes about Walters’s work in a footnote of his essay on Anagaraka Dharmapala, “Walters makes his case for a nonmissiologial reading of the “Buddha’s Great Commission” by arguing that the string of datives (“for the sake of...”) modify not the primary command, “wander,” but the secondary command, “Let not two of you go the same way,” and by concluding that the Pali is ambiguous (219n. 37). That ambiguity allows the missiologial reading but does not warrant assuming that early Buddhists heard the ‘Commission’ in the same way.” Steven Kemper, “Dharmapala’s *Dharmaduta* and the Buddhist Ethnoscape,” in *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization*, ed. Linda Learman (University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 45.

⁹ Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, writes about this in *Imperial Technology and ‘Native’ Agency: A Social History of Railways in Colonial India, 1850–1920* (Taylor & Francis, 2018). Chapter 3, which considers train carriages as “contested social spaces,” is particularly relevant.

and evolving notions of India.¹⁰ The spaces of modern transportation and communication became arenas in which to contend with social and political issues. As Aparajita Mukhopadhyaya writes, the train car became a preeminent site for considering changing social relationships related to “class, caste, [and] religious affiliation.”¹¹ Under British rule until 1947, discourses on travel also had to contend with issues of empire, which both framed or bounded Indian travel narratives, while also leading to new, more unbounded discussions of both modern and premodern forms of travel. All of these issues and considerations were reflected in Hindi travel accounts at the time, and new works on Buddhism.

The dynamic changes in transportation and methods of communication also allowed for the global dissemination of print publications. These publications famously helped reify the “imagined communities” of nations, as well as fostering what Leela Gandhi writes about as “affective communities.”¹² The *Maha Bodhi*, the official journal of the Maha Bodhi Society, played a central role in cultivating an international community based on an understanding of India as a “Buddhist holy land.” Importantly, the journal featured the quote that started this chapter, their version of the Buddhist commission, on the cover of every issue since its founding in 1892. Often featured alongside images of the Maha Bodhi Temple and opinion pieces alerting Buddhists around the world to the poor condition of the main temple at Bodh Gaya, the quote gestures towards the potential of wandering to address the fraught condition of Bodh Gaya as a symbol of Buddhism in the world and methods for fostering an international Buddhist community through a call to travel to India.

The close link between travel narratives and the excavation of Buddhist sites in India furthered a belief in the power of travel to drive discovery and development.¹³ The translation of travel accounts like those of Faxian and Xuanzang—two well-known Chinese travelers who visited “the western kingdom,” what is today India, in the fifth and seventh centuries respectively—prompted a renewed interest in the historic sites of Buddhism in India.¹⁴ They also established a precedent for the historical value of travel accounts for future generations. The translation of Xuanzang’s *Buddhist Records of the Western World*,¹⁵ for example, guided Alexander Cunningham’s archaeological survey of the subcontinent, leading to the formation of the Archaeological Survey of India and the publication of *The Ancient Geography of India*, a modern account of India’s historic Buddhist landscape.¹⁶ New archaeological discoveries in turn

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, “Letters, Secrecy, and the Information Age: The Trajectory of Historiography in Southeast Asia,” 9th Frank. H. Golay Lecture, October 25, 2012.

¹¹ Mukhopadhyay, *Imperial Technology and ‘Native’ Agency*, 108.

¹² Gandhi’s work suggests a way of thinking about travel as part of anti-imperialist strategies through the notion of “traveling out” rather than “traveling in” as the basis for building transnational or inter-cultural connections. Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities* (New York: Duke University Press, 2006). Gandhi’s work expands and nuances the idea of nationalism as “imagined communities” famously developed by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*. Raymond Williams engages the notion of the “paranational” through his reading of complex networks and connections that impact global, modern culture. See: Jim McGuigan, ed., *Raymond Williams: A Short Counter Revolution: Towards 2000, Revisited* (Sage, 2015); and Elizabeth Eldridge and John Eldridge, *Raymond Williams: Making Connections* (Routledge, 2005).

¹³ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (Columbia University Press, 2004).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34–35.

¹⁵ This was the title given by Samuel Beal in his 1884 translation of the text.

¹⁶ Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India: The Buddhist Period, including the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang* (Trubner and Co.: 1871).

inspired people from around the world to visit India and to see those sites for themselves. Publications like Edwin Arnold's *India Revisited* helped perpetuate a narrative around encounters with Buddhist sites as part of travelogues, building upon the global success of his earlier poetic work, *The Light of Asia*. Arnold's work famously motivated Anagarika Dharmapala to visit Bodh Gaya in 1891, where he made it his life's mission to revive the Maha Bodhi Temple as a Buddhist pilgrimage site, perpetuating a belief in the potential for wandering and travels to animate Buddhism around the world.¹⁷

In 1891, Dharmapala founded the Maha Bodhi Society with Hikkaduve Sumangala as president of the society, and Colonel Olcott serving as its director and chief advisor.¹⁸ Dharmapala served as the society's general secretary until his passing in 1933. His decision to establish the society in Colombo gestures towards the ways in which Bodh Gaya and other Buddhist sites in India were being imagined as part of a much broader Buddhist geography, one that encompassed both the historical traces of Buddhism across Asia and growing Buddhist communities in other parts of the world. Anne Blackburn has described this as a geography of *śāsana*, an imagined landscape connected by historical and religious bonds.¹⁹ A tradition of wandering was key to imagining the spread and development of a global Buddhist geography of *śāsana*. In India, this extended geographic imagination was increasingly linked to nationalist visions of the subcontinent as a "divine geo-body," and wanderers as its historical agents.²⁰

This dissertation is interested in how the figure of the wanderer became a particular paradigm through which to think about the "reform, revival, and resistance" of Buddhism in India.²¹ As Thomas Borchert highlights in his review of Blackburn's text, the scholarship on Dharmapala has eclipsed many other influential Buddhist leaders at the time, including Hikkaduve, who is the focus of Blackburn's work.²² The authors discussed throughout this dissertation similarly flatten their protagonists at times, emphasizing their roles as archetypes.²³ Their works similarly blur distinctions between genres to present the wanderer as a more abstract type: someone whose wanderings serve as an animating cultural, political, and religious force. Because travel writing tends to draw from multiple genres, it is well suited to such explorations, further allowing authors to describe their movements and encounters across multiple, often competing, cultural zones, what Mary Pratt describes as "contact zones."²⁴ A central question of this project is how the navigation of multiple "contact zones" in published travel accounts helped articulate particular stances towards modernization in India. More specifically, how do they

¹⁷ Alan Trevithick, *The Revival of Buddhist Pilgrimage at Bodh Gaya (1811–1949): Anagarika Dharmapala and the Mahabodhi Temple* (Motilal Banarsidass Publisher, 2006); Frederick M. Asher, *Bodh Gaya: Monumental Legacy* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁸ David Geary, *The Rebirth of Bodh Gaya: Buddhism and the Making of a World Heritage Site* (University of Washington Press, 2017).

¹⁹ Anne Blackburn writes about this as a "geography of *śāsana*." Referring to the monk Hikkaduve's perception of Lanka, she writes, "Hikkaduvē conceived of Lankā as both a piece of land colonized by Britain and as a piece of land encompassed and defined by a much vaster geography." *Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 133.

²⁰ Sumathi Ramaswamy, "The Goddess and the Nation: Subterfuges of Antiquity, the Cunning of Modernity," in *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*, ed. Gavin Flood (Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 551–68.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² As Thomas Borchert writes, "the more polarizing, radical and slightly later figure of Anagarika Dharmapala ... fits well within the paradigms of reform, revival, and resistance." Review of *Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka*, by Anne Blackburn, *Journal of Religion* 92, no. 2 (April 2012): 314.

²³ Marta Figlerowicz, *Flat Protagonists: A Theory of Novel Character* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

²⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 2007).

engage Buddhism as part of debates over the role of history and tradition in India, navigating social, political, and religious reform movements through new works written for Hindi audiences.

Dharmapala provides a well-known example of a modern Buddhist traveler at the time. Through his life and travels, Dharmapala perpetuated an image of himself as a wandering hero whose peregrinations were linked to the success of Buddhism in India and around the world. The Maha Bodhi Society furthered that mission through publications, programs, and the construction of a global network of Buddhist communities and sites that were attended to by traveling representatives or Buddhist messengers (*dharmadūt*). At the core of their mission was an effort to reaffirm India as the center of a new international Buddhist community. This significantly impacted how Buddhism was presented to Indian audiences, especially in those leading authors and figures who Diwan Chand Ahir writes about as *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*; these were progressive writers and religious leaders who engaged Buddhism as part of social reform efforts and as a model for cultural revival.

Buddhists across Asia have, for centuries, found ways to imagine and reaffirm India as a holy land.²⁵ However, it was only recently that there was a renewed emphasis on physical travel to the subcontinent in order to encounter firsthand the material remains of Buddhism in the region. This was accompanied by an increase in the global circulation of texts on Buddhism, which similarly emphasized a new empirically and historically validated Buddhism. Himanshu Prabha Ray has written about the international attention garnered by archaeological discoveries as the basis for a “return” of Buddhism to India, referencing the dissemination of reports on the unearthing of relics in publications such as the *Bombay Gazetteer*, *The Times of India*, the *Pioneer*, and *The New York Daily Tribune*.²⁶ Such accounts inspired Buddhists from other parts of Asia to travel to the subcontinent in order to visit those places for themselves as a way of encountering the “‘materialized’ religion of Buddha in the world.”²⁷ In some cases, travelers published accounts of their journeys as a model for future pilgrims. For example, on hearing of the discovery of Buddhist relics and sites in India, P. C. Jinavaravansa, a prince from Thailand (then Siam) who was ordained as a Buddhist monk in Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), traveled to India in 1897 in order to visit the sites he had read about in press accounts.²⁸ During his trip, he began assembling a travel guide for future pilgrims, complete with references to guest houses, places to eat, and details about the important sites he visited. In a letter from 1889 to W. C. Peppe, Jinavaravansa explains that his visit to India was motivated by a desire to publish an account in “Siamese on the Buddhist Holy Land” for others to follow. As he writes,

I have also explained to you my object in making a pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrines of India, viz., the publication of a book in Siamese on the Buddhist Holy Land, a guide to the pilgrims, from a personal experience of such a tour to those places sacred to the Buddhists for the use of pilgrims, in order to advance the cause of Buddhism and to

²⁵ For a compelling account of how Tibetans nurtured an idea of India as a Buddhist holy land and its impact on the modern development of India’s Buddhist sites, see: Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (University of Chicago Press, 2008).

²⁶ Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Return of the Buddha: Ancient Symbols for a New Nation* (Routledge India, 2014), 101, 102, 107.

²⁷ Memorandum, National Archives 1898. Foreign Dept., External A, April 1899 (8?) Nos 92–117.

²⁸ For an expanded discussion of P. C. Jinavaravansa’s activities in Sri Lanka, see: Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*.

awaken interest in Siam in the works of exploration and conservation of ancient monuments that are sacred to the Buddhists, which will be the means of bringing them into more intimate relations among the different Buddhist nations, such an aim being considered the true cause of humanity that will promote happiness among them.²⁹

Jinavaravansa's explanation for why he was writing a travel account mirrors the quote from the Mahāvagga that began this chapter, expanding on the notion of traveling for others in light of recent archaeological finds and expeditions. Travel accounts, guidebooks, and other works based on personal travel were increasingly understood as essential to the discovery and maintenance of Buddhist sites. They offered a model of how travel could benefit others, incorporating new textual and material evidence into the modern practice of Buddhism.³⁰

In lieu of more traditional models of authority, travel itself became an index of expertise and command over Buddhism. This trend brought together three important shifts in how Buddhism was understood and framed at the time: First, there was a new understanding of the Buddha as a historical figure who wandered. Second, the materials unearthed through archaeological surveys provided a material record of the life and travels of the Buddha and Buddhist wanderers after him. They also helped trace the spread of Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent abroad. Third, the importance of textual study facilitated by new forms of transportation and communication encouraged authors to write travel accounts as a means of knowledge production.³¹ The dislocation of typical forms of Buddhist authority amplified the importance of travel and travel accounts as empirical evidence. They also offered a model for attending to an increasingly de-centralized Buddhist community.

This dissertation explores how new conceptions of an expanded transnational geography, helped valorize a notion of the wanderer as a figure able to unite and connect disparate communities in the region. More specifically, it looks at how an image of the wanderer as a Buddhist archetype came to have particular significance in India, impacting a group of young Buddhist intellectuals and travelers who would write about Buddhism and wandering in Hindi. That group of peripatetic Buddhist monks is the focus of this dissertation and its major players are covered in more detail in subsequent chapters. Before considering their work in more detail, I begin with a discussion of the Maha Bodhi Society's English-language journal, the *Maha Bodhi*, before considering the translation of key ideas around wandering and travel in its Hindi-language journal, *Dharmadūt*, as a way to consider how Buddhism was framed in Hindi discourses during the twentieth century. The journal also provided an important forum for the three authors who are the focus of this dissertation: Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun. While each would develop their own unique approach to travel and Buddhism in their written works, they were all formally engaged with the Maha Bodhi in the 1930s, taking active roles as *dharmadūt*, or dharma messengers, by translating texts and ideas into publications for Hindi audiences. As I will discuss below, their involvement with the Maha Bodhi Society and their role

²⁹ Memorandum, National Archives 1898. Foreign Dept., External A, April 1899 (8?) No. 99.

³⁰ Sankrityayan makes a similar point in his work *Ghummakar Śāstra*, which I explore in more detail in Chapter 2.

³¹ As Judith Snodgrass writes, "If one of the ruptures marking the modernity of Buddhism is the reduction of the Buddha to the merely human Gotama, then a second is the dissemination of knowledge of his teachings through modern modes of communication, most notably in this case, publicly available and readily accessible texts." "Discourse, authority, demand: the politics of early English publications on Buddhism," in *TransBuddhism: Transmission, Translation, Transformation*, ed. Nalini Bhushan, Jay L. Garfield, and Abraham Zablocki (University of Massachusetts Press, 2009): 22.

as Buddhist representatives played a vital role in framing travel and Buddhism for Hindi audiences as a model of social and political reform.

The United Buddhist World

A survey of the *Maha Bodhi* journal provides a useful index of how travel narratives were used at the turn of the twentieth century to foster national and international affinities to India as the land of the Buddha. The Maha Bodhi Society and its founder Anagarika Dharmapala drew on larger contemporary trends to frame the revival of Buddhism in India through narratives of wandering and missionary activities. The mission of the Maha Bodhi Society was to raise awareness about the condition of Buddhist sites in India, especially the Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, promoting it as the site of the Buddha's enlightenment.³² It also participated in "missionary" activities, sending Buddhist representatives around the world to raise funds and introduce new audiences to Buddhism. The society brought monks to India from Burma and Sri Lanka in order to establish a greater Buddhist presence there.³³ Navigating these multiple registers, the society promoted the revival of Buddhist sites in India through tours, publications, and legal action, increasing the visibility of Buddhism in India and forging an international Buddhist community emotionally invested in the condition of the Maha Bodhi Temple. They referred to this new community as "the United Buddhist World."

In 1892, Anagarika Dharmapala founded *The Maha Bodhi and the United Buddhist World* (typically shortened to *Maha Bodhi*), the journal of the Maha Bodhi Society. It became an important forum for cultivating global interest in the condition of Buddhism in India and Bodh Gaya as a center of Buddhist pilgrimage—a "Buddhist Mecca."³⁴ A closer examination of the quote that opens this chapter, taken from the cover of *The Maha Bodhi*,³⁵ sheds some light on the unique ways in which the Maha Bodhi Society framed travel as the basis for a Buddhist revival in India. Most notably, a key line from the Pali original is missing.³⁶ An alternative translation of the same section of the Mahāvagga reads:

Wander, monks, for the benefit and happiness of many, out of sympathy for the world, for the welfare, benefit, and happiness of human beings and devas. *Don't any two of you go the same way.* Teach the Dhamma fine in the beginning, fine in the middle, fine in the end. Expound the holy life both in its particulars and in its essence, entirely complete, surpassingly pure.³⁷

³² While Bodh Gaya is popularly understood as major Buddhist pilgrimage site, and even the center of the Buddhist world, this was not always the case. See David Geary, Matthew R. Sayers, and Abhishek Singh Amar, eds., *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on a Contested Buddhist Site: Bodh Gaya Jataka* (Routledge, 2012). There been many examples of how various monuments, statues, or material remains have been used to posit various centers to shifting Buddhist imaginaries throughout history. See, for example, Melody Rod-Ari, "Thailand: The Symbolic Center of the Theravada Buddhist World," *Explorations* 9 (Spring 2009): 55–64.

³³ Alan Trevithick, *The Revival of Buddhist Pilgrimage at Bodh Gaya (1811–1949)*.

³⁴ Meant in a comparativist sense, this was a common colonial trope applied to a variety of sites across Asia.

³⁵ The format of the journal's title changes over time and between issues. For consistency, I will refer to it simply as *Maha Bodhi* or *The Maha Bodhi*.

³⁶ I am grateful to Trent Walker for making this point clear to me.

³⁷ Translation of this Pali by Ven. Khematto Bhikkhu, "Mārakathā: 'Line by Line' The Discussion of Māra" (2017), Mv I 8 PTS: Mv I 1.11. Available online:

http://zugangzureinsicht.org/html/tipitaka/vin/mv/mv01/mv.01.08.khem_enpi.html, accessed August 2, 2019. Emphasis added.

While there are clear differences between this translation and the version promoted by the Maha Bodhi Society, suggesting different interests and emphasis, the omission of the line “Don’t any two of you go the same way” makes the statement more ambiguous. If the original quote is imagined as the basis for the spread of Buddhism across Asia through the wanderings of the Buddha’s disciples, the quote as presented by *The Maha Bodhi* leaves open the possibility of reading it as a call to return. With each issue, the journal navigates between a call to build an international Buddhist community through international travel—to travel out—and a call to travel to India as a Buddhist holy land—to return. In later issues, advertisements by companies such as the Indian Railways promote special “pilgrimage packages,” inviting Buddhists to visit India’s famous Buddhist pilgrimage sites.

Through a diverse collection of essays, poems, images, and articles, *The Maha Bodhi* linked the global success of Buddhism to its modern conditions in India. Travel became a central trope for imagining how such revitalization might occur. In a short write-up on the activities of the Maha Bodhi Society in 1921, the editors of the journal included the following:

The time is most auspicious to preach the Dhamma to the people of India. The only obstacle that we have to overcome is the indifference and the abnormal selfishness of the Bhikkus [*sic*] and the lay Buddhists. When India had Buddhism, her sons went all over Asia and civilized the Siamese, Burmese, Japanese, and gave a spiritual literature to the Chinese. Today India has no Buddhism, and gratitude demands that living Buddhists should help to revive Buddhism once more in the holy land of the Buddhas.³⁸

By the 1920s, the missionizing efforts of the Maha Bodhi Society were increasingly focused on cultivating a Buddhist community in India. The language of the above quote mimics colonialist discourses at the time, linking “civilization” and the Society’s “civilizing missions” to the identification and maintenance of cultural heritage sites in India.³⁹ As Sraman Mukherjee writes in his study of the uses and perceptions of Buddhist material relics in India, this marks an important shift away from Buddhist relics and archaeological finds in India as material ruins, and towards their existence as religious sites. As the Maha Bodhi Society’s mission drifted away from a close association with the archaeological survey to the building of new religious centers at prominent Buddhist pilgrimage sites, they also attracted new patrons. The same 1921 issue of the journal quoted above laments the perceived lack of generosity of “Asian Buddhists,”⁴⁰ which the journal had courted for decades, while lauding the generosity of figures like Mrs. Foster, one of the major donors of the Maha Bodhi Society based in Honolulu, who is credited with giving “50,000 USD.... in Victory Bonds” for the society’s “missionary fund,”⁴¹ as well as the Maharaja of Baroda, the ruler of one of India’s many so-called “princely states.”⁴² Within the journal there are repeated requests for funds and subscription fees, especially from Buddhist

³⁸ “The Work of the Maha-Bodhi Society,” *Maha-Bodhi* 29, no. 5 (May 1921): 152.

³⁹ Michael Falser, “Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations,” in *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission*, ed. Michael Falser (Springer, 2015), 1–32.

⁴⁰ Douglas F. Ober, *Reinventing Buddhism: Conversations and Encounters in Modern India, 1839–1956* (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2016).

⁴¹ “The Work of the Maha-Bodhi Society,” 152.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 150–151.

communities in countries where Buddhism was still actively practiced. The journal claims that such countries owed it to India to help restore Buddhism there.⁴³

By the 1920s, *Maha Bodhi*'s call for the revival of Buddhism in India was framed as more than just an index of Buddhism's condition in Asia. In the years between the two world wars, contributions to the journal put forward the idea that the spread of Buddhism suggested the potential for world peace and independence. Irene Taylor's poem "The Dharma Round the World," printed in the August 1921 issue of *Maha Bodhi*, presents the spread of Buddhism as the revival of "faith." The final stanza of the poem reads:

Rise men of Buddhist faith
And from sloth's bondage flee,
The Master's voice again is heard,
Calling to you and me,
'Haste, preach the Doctrine in the West,
With standards all unfurled.
And let your watchword be henceforth.
The Dhamma round the world.'⁴⁴

The poem echoes the sentiments of the epigraph from the Mahāvagga quoted at the start of the chapter, signaling a Buddhist revival in India as an awakening, a shedding off of "sloth" towards more direct engagement with the world. While it offers a fairly typical, Protestant reading of Buddhism as passive and inactive, it goes on to call for a return to an originary missionizing drive, which the author imagines to be part of the Buddha's message, as the basis for the reanimation Buddhism in India and "round the world." The final lines of Taylor's poem are noteworthy for how they suggest Buddhism might "unfurl" into the world again, bringing Buddhism to "the West" through, or as part of, its revival in India. The preceding stanzas of the poem emphasize Buddhism as a peaceful mission, contrasting it against the perceived violence of other religious traditions, specifically Christianity and Islam.⁴⁵ Following the First World War, Taylor's poem signals a global interest in finding new pacifist religions. Buddhism came to be celebrated as a religion that was peaceful and which spread on the merits of its passivizing message.

The notion of Buddhism as a pacificizing force that was nonetheless able to travel and spread across large parts of the world, would become increasingly important in modern discussions of Buddhism in India. In connection with discourses on travel, such an approach guided both popular and scholarly interests in mapping the cultural legacy of India abroad. In

⁴³ In "History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism," Stephen C. Berkwitz writes about how texts like the *Mahāvamsa* use history to create a sense of gratitude as a form of emotional education. His essay raises questions about what emotions the *Mahāvagga* inspires, especially regarding India's cultural traditions and past. Stephen C. Berkwitz, "History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71, no. 3 (2003): 579–604.

⁴⁴ Irene Taylor, "The Dharma Round the World," *Maha Bodhi* 29, no. 8 (August 8, 1921): 265–266.

⁴⁵ This idea of Buddhism as an antidote to "western materialism" and war is not new. It is well discussed in such works as: Donald S. Lopez Jr, *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, how European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

1926, Kalidas Nag, a prominent editor of *Maha Bodhi*, published *Greater India*. By 1948, as more countries in South and Southeast Asia gained independence following the end of the Second World War, the journal continued to advocate for travel and Buddhism, not only as a source of “universal Well-being,”⁴⁶ but also as part of social reform and political movements within newly formed nation-states.

The sense of Buddhism “round the world” described in Taylor’s poem above is an image of movement, of an international Buddhist community traveling *around* the world, much in the ways the Buddha’s teachings are imagined as “turnings.”⁴⁷ The *dharma wheel* or *cakra* is a central motif of Buddhism and a regular reference in *The Maha Bodhi*, which sought to position itself as a modern *turning* through the broad dissemination of the Buddha’s teaching through new publications. At the time, the image of the *cakra* was increasingly read as a symbol of both religious and political sovereignty. Consider Thomas William Rhys Davids’s presentation on “the first discourse” of the Buddha in *Buddhism: A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha*. In his discussion of the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, which he translates as the “Sūtra of the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness,” Rhys Davids writes,

This expression is usually translated “Turning the wheel of the Law,” which, while retaining the Buddhist figure of speech, fails to represent the idea the figure was meant to convey; the rendering in the text gives up the figure in order to retain the underling meaning. The “*cakra*” (Pāli *cakka*) is no ordinary wheel; it is the sign of dominion; and a “*cakravarti*” is “he who makes the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over the world”—a universal monarch.⁴⁸

Rhys Davids continues, explaining the term *pravartanā* as a “setting in motion onwards”; the commencement of an action which is to continue. He offers an expanded translation of *Dhammacakkappavattana* as, “To set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness”; but, as he continues, “this would sound more grandiloquent to us than the original words can have done in the ears of Buddhists.”⁴⁹ Rhys Davids’ discussion alludes to the historical use of such *cakra* or wheel motifs in early polities around the world. Notably similar designs are found in Archamenid art from the eight and ninth centuries BCE and then by the emperor Ashoka in the third century BCE. as a symbol of his “Buddhist empire” that extended across much of South Asia.⁵⁰ Rather than challenge the importance of travelling in Buddhism, studies like those of Rhys Davids’ quoted above reinforce an interpretation of Buddhist sovereignty as a form of forward motion, either through the advancement of new doctrines or the delineation of ideological and political boundaries.

⁴⁶ In its April issue, the journal featured the Buddhist mission from the Mahavagga on its front page with a poem by Rabindranath Tagore below titled, “Lord Buddha the Peaceful.” Towards the end of the poem, Tagore writes, “Bring, in thy compassionate hands, the trumpet of universal Well-being.” *Maha-Bodhi* 56, no. 4 (April 1948): 59.

⁴⁷ Thierry Zéphir, “Chakra: Quintessential Symbol of the Buddha’s Law,” in *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, ed. John Guy (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2014), 192–194.

⁴⁸ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), 45.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mohammad Hosseini, “Similar Designs and Symbols in Indo-Achamenid Art.” *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 5, no. 6 (2015): 153–170. For a longer discussion of the Ashokan *cakra* in Indian political art and imagination, see Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Return of the Buddha*.



Figure 1: Front piece, T. W. Rhys David's *Buddhism: A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha*, 1912

The idea of setting something in motion is further connected to narratives of the Buddha as a historical figure. Rhys Davids' work typifies such an approach, pairing philosophical discussions of Buddhism with a discussion of the life and legacy of the Buddha as a historical figure who lived and died in India. Latent in Rhys Davids' argument is a notion of the Buddha's teachings as a form of sovereign and religious expansion—of missionizing—and of the individual figures who helped spread the Buddha's teachings through their travels.⁵¹ The frontispiece of Rhys Davids' *Buddhism* is "A Map to Illustrate Buddhism," with large swaths of light and dark brown color tint covering most of Asia, from as far north as current-day Kazakhstan and Afghanistan, across Mongolia, the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia, to China, Japan, and Korea. Sections tinted a dark orange indicate "the present extent of Buddhism." Those areas colored with a light orange, which includes India, Sumatra, and Java, represent "the former extent of Buddhism." A box in the bottom left-hand corner of the map, entirely tinted in a light brown, offers a detail of an area in the north east of the Indian subcontinent, and is identified as "The Holy Land of the Buddhists." The area is further identified as Magadha, the ancient empire that was founded in what is today the modern state of Bihar and its surrounding area. The map presents a vast geographic territory, in some cases aligning to national boundaries, but more often than not eliding political boundaries in order to emphasize those places where Buddhism is still extant and those areas where it is not. It is similar to maps published in the front of Bibles at the time, reinforcing an idea of India's Buddhist "holy land" as comparable to the holy lands of Christianity or Islam, and advocating for a new geographic understanding of the Buddhist world.⁵²

⁵¹ Caroline Foley Rhys Davids advanced a similar idea in her work *Wayfarer's Words*, specifically through an image of the Buddha as a wanderer, a topic I address in more detail in Chapter 2.

⁵² For a discussion of the role of maps in charting the geographic and cultural spaces of various nation-states, see: Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii

The Mahāvagga was a crucial text through which to understand Buddhism's impress across Asia. Believed to offer an account of the moments after the Buddha's enlightenment or liberation, the text is a cornerstone of the Vinaya section of the Pali canon. It outlines some of the defining rules that govern the monastic traditions of Theravada Buddhism, as well as a narrative around its origins in Bodh Gaya. The text also raises questions about wandering and missionary monks as the basis for the development and spread of the Buddha's teachings across Asia. In other words, the Mahāvagga suggests that wandering can be approached as a historical practice that can be traced through a longer history of Buddhism and its spread across Asia, as well as a model for its future growth, revival and connection. It further presents wandering a possible model for individual and collective emancipation, and of wandering as the basis for sharing one's insight with others. T. W. Rhys Davids' and Hermann Oldenberg's English translation of the Mahāvagga, for example, stresses wandering as the impetus for the Buddha's call to teach and share his insight with others.⁵³ The text was published the same year they founded the Pali Text Society in 1881, ten years before the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society, marking an ambitious plan to study and translate the major works of the Tipiṭaka, or three baskets of the Pali canon, into English.⁵⁴ By the 1920s, the Maha Bodhi Society would further these efforts by offering opportunities for Indian scholars to study Pali in Sri Lanka with the hope that they who could then introduce Indian audiences to Buddhism through new works written in "Indian vernaculars."⁵⁵

Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's translation of the "Buddhist commission" is markedly similar in style and language to the version that would eventually appear on the cover of the *Maha Bodhi*, though their translation includes the admonition: "Let not two of you go the same way."⁵⁶ However, an extended footnote accompanies that line, questioning whether or not the call should be considered as a "general rule," or rather a teaching specifically tailored towards the earliest Buddhist disciples.⁵⁷ Their translation also emphasizes the parallels between the

Press, 1997.) In later chapters, I will consider travel as part of an ethnographic interest outlining various "ethno-spatial" geographies, an idea Thongchai explores in, "The Others Within: Travel and ethno-spatial differentiation of Siamese Subjects 1885–1910." *Civility and Savagery: Social identity in Tai States*, ed. Andrew Turton (Curzon Press, 2000): 38–62.

⁵³ T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, trans., *Vinaya Texts: Part I* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1881), 112–113.

⁵⁴ For more on the Pali Text Society, see: Judith Snodgrass, "Defining Modern Buddhism: Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids and the Pali Text Society," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 186–202.

⁵⁵ "The Work of the Maha-Bodhi Society," 151.

⁵⁶ Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's translation reads as follows: "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine. And I will go also, O Bhikkhus, to Uruvelā, to Senānigama, in order to preach the doctrine." Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, 112–113.

⁵⁷ The footnote reads: "This cannot be understood as a general rule, for it is repeated nowhere where precepts for wandering Bhikkhus are given, and, on the contrary, numerous instances occur in the Sacred Texts in which two or more Bhikkhus are mentioned as wandering together, without any expression of disapproval being added. The precept given here evidently is intended to refer only to the earliest period in the spread of the new doctrine; just as in chap. 12 a form of upasampadā is introduced by Buddha which was regarded as inadmissible in later times." Ibid.

Buddha's advice for his disciples to wander and a similar call to roam by Brahmā Sahampati to the Buddha following the latter's "emancipation," a period Rhys Davids and Oldenberg explain as the period before "preaching to the world the truth he has acquired."⁵⁸ After seven days of contemplation, Brahmā Sahampati approaches the Buddha and urges him to share his insight with others. He frames his request as a call to wander. As the translation reads: "Arise, O hero; O victorious One! Wander through the world, O leader of the pilgrim band, who thyself art free from debt. May the Blessed One preach the doctrine; there will be people who understand it!"⁵⁹ Note how similar this request is to the Buddhist commission. Here, though, it is applied to a request for the Buddha to spread his message, suggesting that wandering is a basic and important moral obligation linked to Buddhist "emancipation." The echoing of a call to wander, issued first to the Buddha after his enlightenment and then to the Buddha's followers after their own liberation, reinforces a reading of wandering as connected to the moral imperatives of Buddhism. In other words, it presents both a metaphor for one's individual path towards liberation and a dictum that liberation requires the promulgation of Buddhism in the world through the act of wandering. Reading the life story of the Buddha as both an idealized and historical model of Buddhism's development and spread across Asia—what John Strong has called a "bio-blueprint"⁶⁰—stresses wandering as an embodied practice related to the moral and intellectual spread of Buddhism in the world.⁶¹

Wandering is a recurring sub-theme of early accounts of the Buddha's life in English. A biographical sketch of the Buddha in English appears in Robert Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (1853), followed by the publication of Barthelemy Saint Hilaire's *The Buddha and His Religion* (1860), and Rhys Davids' *Buddhism: A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama the Buddha* (1878). As mentioned above, Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (1879), which draws on Hardy's work, was particularly influential.⁶² While some of these authors were skeptical of the historical validity of such accounts, they continued to valorize the importance of narrating the life of the Buddha and his travels as part his legacy.

The Buddha's life story offered a convenient foil for the religion's historical development and spread. As Judith Snodgrass comments on the early appearance of the Buddha's life story in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, even when European scholars did not accept the accuracy of biographies of the Buddha, they continued to appreciate it as "a framework on which to hang the causal observations of travelers and the fragmentary information of early translations ... a base against which cross-cultural comparisons could be made that would reveal the essence of the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 74–75.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁶⁰ John S. Strong, *The Buddha: A Beginner's Guide* (Oneworld Publications, 2001), 15.

⁶¹ A series of publications, beginning with E.M. Bowden's *The Essence of Buddhism* (1922), have sought to distill Buddhism to a few key axioms. As Bowden writes in his "Compiler's Proem" to the text, "In this compilation no attempt has been made to present a general view of Buddhism as a religious or philosophical system. The aim has rather been to turn Buddhism to account as a moral force by bringing together a selection of its beautiful sentiments, and lofty maxims, and particularly including some of those which inculcate mercy to the lower animals." Edwin Arnold, *Buddhism & Hinduism Premium Collection* (e-artnow, 2015). Kindle Edition.

⁶² Patrick Jory contextualizes the broad impact of Edwin Arnold's work *The Light of Asia* in "Thai and Western Buddhist Scholarship in the Age of Colonialism: King Chulalongkorn Redefines the Jatakas," *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 3 (2002): 891–918.

religion.”⁶³ Travel narratives served as the historical basis for the “cross-cultural comparisons.” Linked to accounts of the life story of the Buddha as a model for others, it further suggested the possibility of seeing travel as fundamental to the maintenance and practice of Buddhism.

By the start of the twentieth century, wandering was increasingly understood as a unique and defining feature of Buddhism. In his version of *The Essence of Buddhism*, P. Lakshmi Narasu writes about Buddhism’s “missionary impulse.”⁶⁴ He emphasizes the Buddha’s peripatetic message as a distinguishing feature of Buddhism. As he writes,

The missionary impulse of Buddhism is a product *sui generis*. It is wholly foreign to Brahmanism; the Brahman loves and lives a lonely supercilious life. On the other hand the Buddhist cannot do without propagating his faith. The psychology of Buddhism leads to those universal relations between man and man which are summed up in the idea of brotherhood. And it is this universal idea which produces the universal feeling termed the missionary motive. Of all gifts the gift of the Dharma is the greatest.⁶⁵

Like many colonial accounts at the time, Narasu sought to differentiate Buddhism from Brahmanism and other Indic religions. As proof of such differences, Narasu draws from the Mahāvagga, omitting any adage about not traveling the same direction. Instead, he offers the following rendition:

Go ye, O bhikshus, for the benefit of the many, for the welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, and glorious in the end, in the spirit as well as in the letter. There are beings whose eyes are scarcely covered with dust but if the doctrine is not preached to them they cannot attain salvation. Proclaim to them a life of holiness. They will understand the doctrine and accept it.⁶⁶

The version of the Buddha’s commission presented by Narasu is similar to the others presented above, especially Rhys Davids and Oldenberg’s 1881 translation of the Mahāvagga. There are a few elisions and changes that are notable, such as the removal of the instruction not to travel in a single direction, as well as a more direct call to “wander.” By the 1920s, however, the peripatetic nature of Buddhism would be incorporated into a rising Hindu nationalism and related readings of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism as branches of a single *sanātana* tradition.

The phrasing of Narasu’s translation of the Buddha’s commission deserves further attention because of the ways in which it reflects an evolving effort to frame Buddhism for an Indian audience. Consider for example the use of “many” and “mankind” in the quote above. Rather than repeat “the many,” as other translations do, Narasu modifies the line, replacing the second “many” with “mankind.” He also removes any mentions of gods or devas, which are

⁶³ Judith Snodgrass’s observations are based on the appraisal of Hardy’s work by H. H. Wilson, then director of the Royal Asiatic Society, who, as she writes, “was not convinced of the historical reality of the Buddha.” Snodgrass, “Discourse, Authority, Demand,” 23.

⁶⁴ Wandering appears repeatedly in Davids and Oldenberg’s translation of the *Mahavagga*, helping to establish some of the unique ways in which wandering was imagined as part of Buddhism’s legacy in India and abroad. Early in the text, they introduce the idea of pre-Buddhist wanderings through the figure of the “Paribbājikā,” which they define as a non-Buddhist “wandering logicians.” Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, 1:41.

⁶⁵ P. Lakshmi Narasu, *The Essence of Buddhism* (Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 1907), 33.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 33–34.

often included in the commission. This new phrasing shifts the emphasis of the commission, implying a more secular reading of Buddhism than is suggested in other versions. The choice of phrasing “in spirit and in the letter” similarly marks a textual bias related to a growing trend at the time to see Buddhist texts as the most authentic guide to Buddha’s message. Finally, the translation’s use of “glorious,” rather than the more common “fine” or “good” reinforces a reading of Buddhism as a triumphant religion; a philosophical tradition that goes out and subsumes, not physically, but morally, socially, and intellectually. Narasu’s phrasing calls to mind the grand histories of Buddhist empires that were emerging at this time, the notion of the Buddha as *cakravaratin*, and especially the history of the emperor Ashoka, who unified the Mauryan Empire in the third century BCE.⁶⁷ Taken together, these shifts indicate a growing interest in understanding Buddhism for India, one that drew from textual and material evidence to craft a narrative around Buddhism as an antidote to social ills and an aid toward political independence, modernization, and emancipation.

As with other accounts, Narasu’s work stresses the importance of finding sympathetic audiences for Buddhism; listeners who will understand and appreciate the Buddha’s teachings. This is a recurring theme of the *Mahāvagga*, which follows various calls to wander with the council that there will be those interested and able to understand the Buddha’s teachings. As writers began to imagine Indian audiences interested in Buddhism, the notion of an engaged or appropriate audience gained greater attention. Turning his attention to modern Indians, Narasu’s book, which played a defining role in articulating modern approaches to Buddhism in India,⁶⁸ was premised on the idea that Buddhism would appeal to “thoughtful Indians, who no longer find any charm in Rama or Rahim, Krishna or Christ, Kali or Lakshmi, Māri or Mary.” Narasu continues, “As the true *swade[sh]i* spirit takes firmer root and grows, the immortal name of Sākyamuni, which now lurks in the garbled story of the Buddhāvātār, is sure to rise above the surface of oblivion, and shine in all its eternal glory and grandeur.”⁶⁹ In contrast to others at the time who were beginning to frame Buddhism as part of a more expanded notion of Indic religions as “the Ārya Dharma” (discussed below), Narasu’s work sought to distinguish Buddhism from all other religions in India, including Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. One way to do that was through an emphasis on a missionary impulse as “*sui generis*” to Buddhism, or a wandering spirit that, according to Narasu, could be harnessed as part of a “swadeshi spirit.” In other words, qualities of the Buddha and of Buddhism, specifically its call to wander, were understood to be *sui generis* to certain aspects of Indian culture. Such works reinforced popular conceptions that the revival of Buddhism through travel could serve as a model for the growth, development, and independence of India.

Over time, the idea of wandering as a central Buddhist practice linked to the expression of Indic culture abroad was picked up and amplified, especially as part of an interest in Greater India.⁷⁰ Such histories adopted overtly colonialist discourses, tracing the influence of Indian

⁶⁷ Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (Oxford University Press, 1997). First published in 1973.

⁶⁸ Gary M. Tartakov, ed., *Dalit Art and Visual Imagery* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Gitanjali Surendran, “‘The Indian Discovery of Buddhism’: Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890–1956,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 219–235.

⁶⁹ Narasu, *The Essence of Buddhism*, viii.

⁷⁰ Susan Bayly, “Imagining ‘Greater India’: French and Indian visions of colonialism in the Indic mode,” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004): 703–744.

culture abroad and imagining parts of Southeast Asia as “Hindu colonies.”⁷¹ In an address given during the Vaishak Day celebration at the Maha Bodhi Temple in Kolkata, S. C. Mookerjee stressed a process of “recreating” and “regenerating a newer India,” suggesting that Buddhism had been kept safe abroad and now needed to return to its homeland. The speech was printed in *The Maha Bodhi* as follows:

Then the only course left for India was to send her treasures—her Buddhistic culture and lore (for she had nothing else to boast of) away from her own chest into the keeping of friendly and sympathetic neighbouring nations... On this day of all days let us also silently contemplate the memory of all [India’s] worthy sons who have left foot-prints behind them on the sands of time to enable us to follow them in the great course of recreating, regenerating a newer India.⁷²

The image of footprints in the sand was a recurring image at the time, alluding to the dust that covered the archaeological records of India’s impress across Asia, but also the enduring neglect and ignorance of Indians around the region’s Buddhist past. Dust provided a metaphor for the spread and decline of Buddhism as both a material and intellectual form of sedimentation.⁷³ Removing the dust offers a double metaphor, one focused on the reclamation of a Buddhist geography in India through the excavation of Buddhist sites and the other as a kind of intellectual or cultural dissemination. In such metaphorical readings, Buddhism is often likened to a “light,” while wandering is depicted as a force able to excavate and unsettle any dust—a reanimation of the dharmic wheel through peregrination. Seeking to undo the kind of cultural and historical sedimentation of Bodh Gaya, travelers began visiting India in an effort to revive it as a Buddhist holy land. A leading figure of this trend was Anagarika Dharmapala, who provided an important modern image of the wanderer as a religious revivalist and social reformer. I turn now to Dharmapala’s life and the ways in which he helped establish the modern *dharmadūt*, or dharma-messenger, as a central figure in the modern Buddhist movements of India.

Modern Messengers

In many ways, Anagarika Dharmapala was exemplary of a new kind of religious reformer at the turn of the twentieth century. Born Don David Hewavitarne, Dharmapala’s chosen name reflects his effort to position himself as a kind of Buddhist crusader—*anagarika* means “homeless” and *dharmapala* means “dharma protector.”⁷⁴ Acting as a “homeless protector of the dharma,”

⁷¹ Bayly writes in a footnote: “As of 1934 the Society’s publications included two periodicals and several monographs, including Phanindranath Bose’s *Indian Colony of Siam* (1927) and *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia* (1927); R. C. Majumdar’s *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol. 1 *Champa* (1927); and P. K. Mukherji’s *Indian literature in China and the Far East* (1931).” *Ibid.*, 714. Less attention has been given to the Hindi publications on the topic, which included *Viśāl-Bhārat Sampādak* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1928–1931).

⁷² S. C. Mookerjee, “Vaisak Festival, Chaitya Vihara, Calcutta. “*Maha Bodhi*, 24, no. 7: 243.

⁷³ Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (Rutgers University Press, 2002). David Shulman has traced the multiple occurrences of dust in South Asian literature. “The Inner Life: A Bottom-Up View of South Asia,” (Avenali Lecture, UC Berkeley, Feb. 18, 2016).

⁷⁴ There have been several compelling studies of Dharmapala’s life. I draw heavily here from Steven Kemper’s latest work, *Rescued from Nation*, as well as Anne Blackburn’s *Locations of Buddhism*. The overview of his life and engagement with Bodh Gaya that I present here is given with the aim of demonstrating how a modern imaginary of a modern wandering monk, *dharmadūt*, was popularized around the condition of Buddhism in India as an index for its global condition.

Dharmapala assumed the role of a *dharmadūt*, or a messenger of the Dharma, advocating for the restoration of Bodh Gaya as a Buddhist pilgrimage site while traveling the world spreading the Buddha's message.⁷⁵ Influenced by Henry Olcott, Dharmapala's approach to acting as a *dharmadūt* carried with it a host of missionary impulses, including the institutional apparatus and publications that supported his efforts.

The tension between the local and translocal, the national and the international, was a key aspect of debates around Buddhism in India. Dharmapala's activities in India suggest the two-fold mission of his travels and work to spread the Buddha *śāsana* around the world and to reaffirm India as the land of the Buddha. The Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya was caught between, colonial, local, and interregional interests. Dharmapala's efforts to revitalize the temple as a modern Buddhist pilgrimage site therefore engaged national debates over religious heritage and conservation in India, as well as international debates over Buddhism as part of universalist discourses at the time.

The status of Bodh Gaya was further linked to Dharmapala's own understanding of himself as an "imperial subject," which Steven Kemper argues emboldened him to make greater claims on Bodh Gaya.⁷⁶ Dharmapala's adoption of the role of "world renouncer" reflects his historical understanding of Buddhism's rise and fall in India within these new terms, and the importance of the wanderer as a historical driver of religious development and revival. Cultivating a sense of himself as a religious messenger, Dharmapala helped emphasize the potential of the image of the wanderer to engage multiple personal and collective narratives. It could speak to the religious image of the Buddha and his followers as travelers in search of truth. It could also offer a historical model for the travels of people, ideas, and materials from South Asia and around the world. It could even speak to the more personal and biographical aspects of Dharmapala's life, referencing the world travels that shaped his own life and the extensive community he sought to foster through his work and publications.

While Dharmapala has garnered much attention for his role in modeling a modern version of a religious renunciate, others at the time were similarly invested in rethinking Buddhist practices and Buddhist networks. Blackburn's study of Hikkaduve, for example, discussed in more detail below, calls into question the quasi-hagiographical tradition around Dharmapala. Ann Blackburn writes of Gananath Obeyesekere's discussion of Dharmapala and the figure of the *dharmadūt* as a kind of symbol of the time:

Exploring the function of the figure of the Anagārika Dharmapāla as a symbol, Obeyesekere observed that 'his significance for contemporary Buddhists is however not as a person but as a symbol of (a) a Sinhalese Buddhist rejuvenated Ceylon (b) an asceticism directed towards this-worldly activity. His transformation is much like the

⁷⁵ Among his many international tours and speaking engagements, Dharmapala famously participated in the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. For details about the proceedings see: J. H. Barrows, ed., *The World's Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, vol. 2 (Parliament Publishing Company, 1893). For a longer discussion of how the parliament's role in a universalist framing of "world religions" at the time, and Dharmapala's role in defining Buddhism in more international terms, see: George D. Bond, "Anagarika Dharmapala and the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions," *Vidyodaya Journal of Social Science* 6, no. 1 & 2 (1992): 19–26.

⁷⁶ Gitanjali Surendran's dissertation, "'The Indian Discovery of Buddhism,'" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013) emphasizes how the legal bearing of the Budh-Gaya Temple Case, filed in 1895, led to the issue being picked up as part of nationalist debates over Indian culture and heritage.

transformation of Lincoln, the individual, into the symbolic Lincoln. The anagarika symbol is a product of the times.⁷⁷

A lay practitioner with long hair and flowing robes, Dharmapala was an unusual model of a Buddhist representative. His travels, though, were part of a growing trend of religious representatives traversing the globe to attend religious parliaments, summits, programs, and tours.⁷⁸ In 1893, Dharmapala attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, after which he visited Japan and India on his way back to Sri Lanka.⁷⁹ In some ways, it was his very travels, as much as his relationship to India and Bodh Gaya, that confirmed his status as a global model of a Buddhist representative.

In his study of Dharmapala's role as a Buddhist messenger—*dharmadūt*—Kemper draws on Arjun Appadurai's theory of an ethnoscape as a "landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugee exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree."⁸⁰ I would add to this that the particular ethnoscape of Buddhism in India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was characterized by a fluctuating sense of history embodying the layered accounts of different times and communities that impacted its modern development.⁸¹ His efforts amplified concurrent discourses around the importance of India's Buddhist history and its influence across much of Asia.⁸² In his writings, Dharmapala makes clear how he imagined himself as overcoming not just religious or cultural issues, but historical ruptures as well. As Dharmapala writes in his introduction to Narasu's *Essence of Buddhism*:

The home of Buddhism—the Majjhima Desa—since the tenth century AC has been made desolate. No yellow robed Bhikkhus and white-robed Upasakas are there to greet the weary pilgrim from foreign lands as in the days of Fa Hian [*sic*], Huen Chang [*sic*], and Itsing [*sic*]. After 700 years a new race from the West has conquered India, and thanks to the antiquarian researches of European scholars, they have made it possible for Indians to

⁷⁷ Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*, 198.

⁷⁸ See for example: Alicia Turner, Laurence Cox, and Brian Bocking, *The Irish Buddhist: The Forgotten Monk who Faced Down the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2020). It was not just Buddhists who were traveling at the time. Buddhist missionary efforts in the same period, especially the Maha Bodhi Society, were influenced by Christian missionaries and the transnational reach of organizations like the Theosophical Society: Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube, eds., *Theosophy Across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2020).

⁷⁹ See: Richard Hughes Seager, ed., *Dawn of Religious Pluralism: Voices from the World's Parliament of Religions, 1893* (Open Court, 1993).

⁸⁰ Kemper, quoting Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 33.

⁸¹ David Geary writes about Bodh Gaya as a "heterotopia" in "Destination Enlightenment: Branding Buddhism and Spiritual Tourism in Bodhgaya, Bihar," *Anthropology Today* 24, no. 3 (2008): 11–14.

⁸² In her study of Dharmapala's contributions to various "Asianisms" of the twentieth century, Maria Moritz signals the close affinity between Dharmapala's work and the rhetoric of the Bengali Renaissance. As she writes, "Following the ideology of a Golden Age present in Bengali revivalist as well as theosophical circles, Dharmapala presented the idea that Asia had been united and civilized under Buddhism during King Aśoka's reign (268–232 BC)." Maria Moritz, "'The Empire of Righteousness': Anagarika Dharmapala and His Vision of Buddhist Asianism (c. 1900)," in *Asianisms: Regionalist Interactions and Asian Integration*, ed. Marc Frey and Nicola Spakowski (NUS Press, 2016), 19–48.

again appreciate the ancient Aryan inheritance which was preached to their forefathers under the name of Dhamma.⁸³

Tracing a longer history of decay and rebirth, Dharmapala frames the revival of Buddhism in the language of conquest and travel. The modern appreciation of Buddhism, according to him, was dominated by the research efforts of “colonial antiquarians.” The past he imagined, however, was populated by a vibrant Buddhist community of monks, lay practitioners, and travelers. Travel became a model for reanimating Buddhist sites in India as part of an international Buddhist ethnoscape. In emphasizing Bodh Gaya as the center of a particular Buddhist ethnoscape, Dharmapala advocated for journeying back to India, locating the success of Buddhism in the travels of its adherents.

Moving between India, Sri Lanka, Japan, and Europe, Dharmapala’s travels became part of his image as a Buddhist missionary. As Kemper writes, Dharmapala saw himself as an “antimissionary missionary,”⁸⁴ seeking to convert communities to Buddhism primarily by making it present in various lands through his travels, new institutions, and publications. The personal and soteriological link Dharmapala fostered between himself and the Maha Bodhi Temple is evident from his first visit to India. Following in the footsteps of Edwin Arnold, when Dharmapala arrived at the Maha Bodhi temple he was startled by its condition and the overwhelming presence of Hindu rituals.⁸⁵ As Kemper relates, sitting below the Bodhi Tree, the same spot where the Buddha was supposed to have sat, vowing not to rise before he achieved enlightenment, Dharmapala took on the restoration of the Maha Bodhi Temple as his own liberation project.⁸⁶

[Dharmapala] did not so much invent a new Buddhist role for laymen as adapt an overdetermined South Asian role to his own life circumstances. Trying to recover Bodh Gaya he acted not as a nationalist, universalizer, pious layman, or social reformer. He imitated the life of the Buddha, who vowed not to leave the *padmasana* (the place where he sat as he attained nirvana) until he achieved enlightenment. Dharmapala’s vow promised that he would not leave the spot until he had returned it to Buddhist control. His vow had social implications, to be sure, but the place where he made it and the way it resonated with the Buddha’s own vow indicates his motivation to become a Buddha. Paying attention to his sense of himself as a world renouncer avoids using him for the sake of either the nation or Protestant Buddhism. It avoids dividing his life into irreconcilable parts, nationalist at home and universalist abroad. It avoids teleology. What allowed him to move easily and often between contexts was that he was a world renouncer at home and abroad, keeping distance from the roles he embodied in both places.

⁸³ Anagarika Dharmapala’s introduction to P. Lakshmi Narasu’s *Essence of Buddhism* (Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 1907), xii.

⁸⁴ Steven Kemper uses this idea in “Dharmapala’s Dharmaduta and the Buddhist Ethnoscape,” 25, citing the work of Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Francis Gombrich who write about Henry Olcott as an “antimissionary missionary” in *Buddhism Transformed* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1990), 204.

⁸⁵ *Budh-Gaya Temple Case: H. Dharmapala versus Jaipul Gir and Others* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co, 1895), 1.

⁸⁶ Steven Kemper writes poignantly about this, drawing comparisons between the Buddha’s vow not to rise from his seat in Bodh Gaya until he achieved enlightenment and Dharmapala’s vow at the same site not to rest until he had returned the site to Buddhist control. *Rescued from Nation*, 51.

Kemper's emphasis on the more personal, and even idiosyncratic, motivations that drove much of Dharmapala's life and work offers an important reminder of how experiences shape individual aspirations, efforts, and commitments. It also points to a trend toward thinking of one's personal life as a historical force or driver modeled on the example of the Buddha. A core argument of this dissertation is that modern understandings of the Buddha as a historical figure that could be emulated led to a trend amongst Buddhists to see themselves as following in his footsteps. In other words, there was a sense or a feeling that one's life could have major social, political, and religious impact as a model for others. We can see this exemplified in Kemper's description of Dharmapala's life above, where his soteriological ambitions are merged with national and even universalist plans for Bodhi Gaya. Travel and travel narratives came to provide one avenue for thinking about personal and collective ambitions as linked; accounts of individual journeys invited a broader community to share in a set of experiences as a model, guide, and source of inspiration.

Travel, liberation, and discovery were linked in colonial accounts of Buddhist sites in India. Janice Leoshko gestures towards their connection in *Sacred Traces*. Her work focuses on the ways in which the colonial interest in the Buddha as a historical figure and in sites associated with his life—a sacred Buddhist geography of India—obscured a thorough examination of Buddhist artistic developments in the region. However, Leoshko's study also offers a compelling discussion of how modern travel was increasingly understood as a model for personal and cultural "liberation." This is most clearly outlined in her discussion of Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim*. Focusing on the arrival of a Tibetan Lama who comes to India to see the sites of the Buddha for himself, she comments on how the book begins with him going in "search of a spatial place and ends when his search is completed, which results in his enlightenment."⁸⁷ The peregrinations of the Tibetan Lama and Kim imaginatively embody the movement of people and ideas in the region and their modern significance in museums, records, and new literary works. But it is the twist and turns of Kim's education that perhaps best exemplifies the challenges of going in search of liberation in modern times. As Leoshko's work makes clear, the excavation and discovery of archaeological sites became part of a cultural discourse around personal and cultural discovery; a form of liberation that mirrored or was likened to the liberatory goals of Buddhist practice. The driving force of both liberations in such accounts is travel, charting a course between cultural development and personal development.

Returning to the work of Anne Blackburn, in *Locations of Buddhism*, Leoshko juxtaposes Dharmapala—who she writes about as "an adventurer," pairing him with his mentor Henry Olcott⁸⁸—against his contemporary in Hikkaduwa, who similarly navigated a dynamic and changing Buddhist cultural landscape. In Blackburn's account, Hikkaduwa is more embedded in ongoing monastic and religious traditions in Sri Lanka, rather than completely reforming Buddhism in light of the radical shifts in governance, education, and social conditions brought on by colonialism in the region. Blackburn encourages us to approach a history of modern Buddhism in the region as evolving in a period "emphatically marked" by colonialism, but not necessarily ruptured by its onslaught.⁸⁹ At least in Sri Lanka, she argues, it is possible to see how

⁸⁷ Janice Leoshko, *Sacred Traces: British Explorations of Buddhism in South Asia* (Ashgate 2003), 30.

⁸⁸ Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton University Press, 1988).

⁸⁹ "We can choose to examine spheres of intellectual and social activity in a historical context *emphatically marked* by the presence of colonial rule instead of looking into intellectual and social *responses* to Buddhism." Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*, 201.

more traditional or enduring practices persisted. Blackburn's work makes clear, however, that the Buddhists in the region had to navigate a complex set of new and shifting social, political, and religious relationships. Blackburn writes about these as a form of "locative pluralisms" in which modern Buddhist figures like Hikkaduve and Dharmapala navigate competing interests and registers, drawing from European tracts when it suited their interest, and more localized models of Buddhist studies and associations when possible. As Blackburn continues, "Rather than assuming a single dominant affiliation or 'identity' as the hermeneutical key to social action, it is more revealing to assume that the persons we study exemplify locative pluralism, acting simultaneously in relation to plural and shifting *collectives of belonging* to which they feel a sense of responsibility and emotional investment."⁹⁰ What emerges is a sense of each figure's struggle to navigate multiple registers in "the spirit of affiliation" rather than difference. Within such a framework, travel takes on new significance. In the context of the locative pluralisms of modern Buddhism in and around South and Southeast Asia, travel became an important and necessary basis for building transnational connections across "a geography of the Buddhist *śāsana*." Tellingly, Blackburn's work is full of images of movement and travel, "by new forms of transportation and communication (especially the steamship, the railway, and the telegraph)"⁹¹ all of which changed the ways Buddhists and Buddhist communities were able to communicate and connect.

The history of Buddhism in India distinguished it from the conditions of Buddhism in Sri Lanka at the time. Unlike Sri Lanka, there was no extant modern Buddhist community with a strong presence in India. This presented the opportunity to think about Buddhist revival in India as a model for a global turn towards Buddhism, linked to notions of world peace and independence. The new actors who emerged were figures like Dharmapala, who took advantage of the reach and facility of modern forms of travel and communication to develop new networks and avenues for fostering a global Buddhist community. Travel was fundamental to this. It afforded Buddhists the chance to affirm their own authority through their journeys to other places, especially to Sri Lanka where they were ordained as Buddhist monks and studied the Pali canon. Such travels and opportunities led Indian nationalists to think about wandering and Buddhism as linked to certain traditions, customs, and practices and as endemic to the region.

Blackburn's notion of "locative pluralism" and Appadurai's "ethnoscape," employed by Kemper in his study of Dharmapala and the modern figure of the *dharmadūt*, are instructive in considering the wanderer as an emerging archetype from the period. Taken together, they speak to the diffuse network of Buddhist sites, all of which helped legitimize or challenge social, political, and religious claims to authority, especially at key Buddhist sites such as Bodh Gaya. They also address the increasing number of eclectic visitors to such sites and the impact that had on developing cultural and religious landscapes. The figure of the wanderer is uniquely positioned to mediate those two emerging landscapes, embodying the mobile condition of those visiting Buddhist places, and linking disparate Buddhist sites into a dynamic network.

Travel was not only advocated as part of a Buddhist revival, it was also linked to rhetoric related to the modern development of Indian culture at the time. There were other, non-Buddhist, travelers who helped affirm travel as a prominent ideological cultural motif at the turn of the

⁹⁰ Ibid., 210.

⁹¹ Ibid., 204.

twentieth century.⁹² Rabindranath Tagore, the well-known poet, artist, and educator, professed a certain nationalist universalism related to modern conceptions of Buddhism in India and wandering. Travel is a persistent motif of Tagore's, appearing in poems, travel accounts, letters, drawings, and paintings. His works describe experiences he had during his own travels, as well as exploring themes of cultural exchange and unity.⁹³ As mentioned above, he wrote about Buddhism in the context of world peace, and it is through the twin impulse of non-violent cultural exchange and expansion linked to a certain "Tagorean universalism" that I want to consider wandering as a central motif of modern Buddhism in India.

Sugata Bose and Ira Pande write about Tagorean universalism as bringing together a strong sense of India's cultural heritage and its connection to different parts of the world. A leading figure of the time, Tagore helped craft a broader cultural sensibility related to efforts to define India as both ancient and modern. Tagore's travels and writings reaffirmed the importance of wandering as part of his universalist approaches to India. As Bose and Pande write, "The Swadeshi (own country) cultural milieu of early twentieth-century India, despite its interest in rejuvenating indigenous traditions, was not wholly inward-looking; its protagonists were curious about innovations in different parts of the globe and felt comfortable within ever-widening concentric circles of Bengali patriotism, Indian nationalism, and Asian universalism."⁹⁴ Tagore's poems served as records of his travel, sharing his sense of awe and discovery with his readers. They record his itinerary from Java, Japan, Iraq, Russia, France, and Thailand, to name but a few, and are often titled simply with the name of a country or destination and, occasionally, a date: "Borobudur," "Siam," "Baghdad 24 May 1932." As Alain de Botton writes, a list of names is often enough to conjure memories of an entire journey. In Tagore's work, they chart the historic spread of India across a vast geographic territory that would increasingly come to be known as "Greater India."⁹⁵

The pan-Asian, universal "sense" conveyed in Tagore's writings is often imagined as a "creative process" likened to music and dance.⁹⁶ Tagore's accounts and poems are laced with references to flutes, dances, and other artistic exchanges as a metaphor for how cultures come together in service of a unifying creative or spiritual urge. I stress these references here, because many of the same images—of flutes, music, and dance—appear in the work of other authors I discuss throughout this dissertation, especially that of Rahul Sankrityayan. In adopting the role of a world traveler as part of his persona as a creative protagonist, Tagore provided a model for a notion of travelers as "historical agents" who navigated "Southeast Asian negotiations with Indian cultural forms and products."⁹⁷ The recurring metaphors of light, music, dance, and travel

⁹² Daniel Majchrowicz, *Travel, Travel Writing and the "Means to Victory" in Modern South Asia* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015).

⁹³ Margaret Ann Richardson, "Journeying Through Inner and Outer Worlds: The Significance of Travel Across the Works of Rabindranath Tagore," *Studies in Travel Writing* 23, no. 4 (2019): 358–377.

⁹⁴ Sugata Bose and Ira Pande, "Tagorean Universalism and Cosmopolitanism," *India International Center Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (Summer 2011): 2–17.

⁹⁵ According to Sugata Bose, it was Tagore's travels that inspired the founding of the Greater India society, established by his followers "on the eve of his voyage to Java." *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 245.

⁹⁶ Bose and Pande, "Tagorean Universalism and Cosmopolitanism," 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

were picked up by later authors, and described as the basis for an expanded cultural or moral geography capable of rivaling the extent and drive of colonialism.⁹⁸

As inclusive as Tagore's universalism might appear, in their study of his work, Bose and Pande also point to the exclusionary nature of his universalism, one that defined an Indian universalism by excluding a growing "Muslim universalism." Buddhism's place in such matters is noteworthy and deserving of a longer discussion. It brought an air of cosmopolitanism to a rising Hindu nationalism at the time. It also helped solidify cultural and racial sensibilities around Indian identity and culture. Such strong nationalist approaches to Buddhism often conflicted with more ecumenical efforts to see Buddhism as inherently peaceful and inclusive. These efforts were felt in literary discourses as well. Hindi authors advocated for an increasingly Sanskritized Hindi, written in Devanagari, as a national language.⁹⁹ Presented as an encompassing language that could overcome regional and cultural barriers, efforts around Hindi sought to build out the Hindi canon through new works, including those on travel and Buddhism.

The Maha Bodhi began to pick up on Buddhism as the basis for a new nationalist aesthetic around India, incorporating Tagore's universalism to revive Bodh Gaya as a symbol of India's own cultural regeneration. In 1922, for example, the journal published an article titled "The Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha-Gaya and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore." The article begins with a quote from Tagore that stresses the importance of the Bodhi Tree as a symbol of Buddhism and "freedom and justice," arguing that "all Hindus who are true to their own ideals" will be interested in the maintenance of Bodh Gaya as a Buddhist site.¹⁰⁰ Taking Tagore's quote as a starting point, the essay presents a history of Buddhism's fall in India and the modern history of Bodh Gaya. The unauthored essay continues,

After nearly 700 years the Maha Bodhi Society is now making an effort to revive the lost religion in Bengal and Magadha, but prejudice suggested by ignorance of historic truths is an obstacle which hinders process which prevents the Society from accomplishing its object. The millions of Muhammadans that are to be found today in India are the descendants of the millions of Buddhist converts to Islam. The theory that Buddhism was absorbed into Hinduism has no truth.¹⁰¹

The article professes a historical perspective in which India's cultural decline was linked to the denigration of Buddhism in the region as a consequence of Muslim invasions, followed by the onslaught of European colonialism. Through an invocation of Tagore as a leading intellectual figure, the essay then goes on to offer a model of national growth and independence through efforts to resolve debates over the condition of Bodh Gaya as a singularly important site for

⁹⁸ Japan's role as an rising military and cultural force during World War II had a large impact in India and across Asia. It also led to a period of intense exchanges between Indian and Japanese Buddhists. See: Richard M. Jaffe, "Seeking Śākyamuni: Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30, no. 1 (Winter, 2004): 65–96.

⁹⁹ Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bhāratendu Hariśchandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras*. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁰ "The Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha-Gaya and Dr. Rabindranth Tagore," *Maha Bodhi* 30, no. 1 (January, 1922): 3.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

Buddhists.¹⁰² This idea would later be picked up by Hindi authors such as Rahul Sankrityayan, who proposed that a lack of wanderlust itself might be the basis of cultural decline, while an interest in travel offered a potential cure. The modern “rediscovery” of Bodh Gaya, *The Maha Bodhi* continues, occurred when “a wandering fakir of the Giri sect visited the place and having found that it was deserted squatted there,” prompting over a century of debates over who had the right to control and manage the site. Interestingly, the essay suggested that debates over the management of Bodh Gaya were analogous to contemporary debates over the custodianship of Mecca. Likening the Bodh Tree to the Kaaba, the article asserted that Buddhists should demand the return of Bodh Gaya to Buddhist control, much in the way that “Indian Muhammadans are agitating and praying the British Government to restore Mecca to the Sultan.”¹⁰³ The return suggested by the article is one of repatriation, of returning the Bodhi Tree to the stewardship of Buddhist polities under the new governance of colonial rule. The article further suggests that such acts of return will usher in a new sense of liberation and progress in India, and a turn towards Buddhism amongst Indians.

Modern approaches to Buddhism in India frame it as proto-modernist and counter-missionizing force. In 1921, *The Maha Bodhi* featured an article originally published in *Literary Digest* titled, “Buddhism’s Forward Movement,” in which the authors alert readers to the possibility of an impending “missionary struggle” in which Buddhist missionaries will attempt to convert people faster than Christian missionaries. The essay’s claim is that Christianity arrests “the progress of the world.” The authors, who are unnamed, liken Buddhism to Darwinism and “the growth of modern science and diffusion of knowledge.”¹⁰⁴ The geographic sense of the essay imagines a vast territory connected by Buddhism, distinguishing it from other parts of the region. The “agents” of Christianity, the essay continues, are its missionaries, who serve not only the church, but all colonial institutions. The essay is remarkably harsh in its critique of Christian missionary influences, suggesting that Buddhists should organize to develop similar and competing missionary activities:

The missionary is practically the agent of the diplomat, the politician, the capitalist, and the exploiting adventurous trader. The Buddhists should not delay to adopt ways and means to stop the filibustering tactics of the paid missionaries, who are paid fat salaries to preach an antiquated Semitic barbarism, rejected by the forbears of modern Asiatics.¹⁰⁵

In response, the essay urges Buddhists to organize and support their own missionary organizations, such as the Young Men’s Buddhist Association (YMBA).¹⁰⁶

In 1926, the Maha Bodhi Society established a center in London. That same year, they founded a new journal, *The British Buddhist*. These Buddhist missions were often tended to by Buddhist monks, or *dharmadūt*, trained at the Vidyalandara Pirivena in Sri Lanka. Rahul Sankrityayan and Anand Kausalyayan, the focus of the next two chapters, for example, traveled

¹⁰² Kemper offers a compelling discussion of the debates over the condition between Swami Vivekananda and Anagarika Dharmapala in *Rescued from Nation*.

¹⁰³ “The Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha-Gaya and Dr. Rabindranth Tagore,” 6.

¹⁰⁴ “Buddhism’s Forward Movement,” *Maha Bodhi* 29, no. 4 (1921): 114–117.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁰⁶ Donald K. Swearer, “Lay Buddhism and the Buddhist Revival in Ceylon,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 38, no. 3 (1970): 255–275. K. D. Bhutia, “Local Agency in Global Movements: Negotiating Forms of Buddhist Cosmopolitanism in the Young Men’s Buddhist Associations of Darjeeling and Kalimpong,” *Journal of Transcultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (2016): 121–148.

to Europe in the 1930s as representatives of the Maha Bodhi Society, organizing exhibitions and meeting with various Buddhist communities in England, France, and Germany. They would publish accounts of their trips in the society's journals, as well as in publications like *Yātrā ke Panne* (Travel Pages). In 1933, *The Maha Bodhi* featured an article titled "Monk's Mission in London: To Convert Britain to Buddhism," a one-page interview with Rahul Sankrityayan about his efforts in Europe. When the interviewer asks him, "Do you seriously hope to convert Britain to Buddhism?" Sankrityayan is quoted as responding, "Buddhism is a complementary religion... We do not seek to force it upon everyone. We have no violent methods. Buddhism can free the world, because it frees the individual from the self. It is the only way. If Europe were Buddhist there would be no danger of war, and the struggle which goes on in our industrial system would cease. Is that not something."¹⁰⁷ Sankrityayan's response echoes popular perceptions at the time that Buddhism was a missionary religion that could, through non-violent methods, bring peace and independence to the world. Rather than converting people to Buddhism through coercive means, representatives of the Maha Bodhi Society like Sankrityayan proposed a model of making Buddhism present in the world, embodying it in their actions, writing, and travels.¹⁰⁸ Over time, they would shift their efforts to India, where they hoped to develop a modern Buddhist community.

During the 1920s, the Maha Bodhi Society and its members began to approach India as a site for its missionary work. This was signaled by a turn towards Indian vernacular language. Articles began featuring quotes from the Pali Tipiṭika in Devanagari script. Slowly, the journal also began including a growing list of publications on Buddhism in Hindi, as well as a host of other languages such as Bengali, Tibetan, and Sanskrit. The authors that featured most prominently in these lists were Rahul Sankrityayan and Anand Kausalyayan, who were actively involved with the Maha Bodhi Society. This shift in the direction and focus of travel narratives presented within *The Maha Bodhi* corresponded with an interest in "Greater India" and the inclusion of articles by figures like Kalidas Nag and Sraman Mookerjee. Nag, like many of his contemporaries, was interested in understanding the historical spread of Buddhism as part of a burgeoning notion of "Greater India." Such histories offered an imperial vision of a large "Indic" cultural geography as a counterforce to colonial incursions in the subcontinent, what Sylvain Lévi called "*l'Inde transgangétique*."¹⁰⁹ Modern histories of Buddhism in India are deeply imbricated in discourses of Greater India, informing a narrative of a pre-modern territory united, if not by imperial rule as was the case under the Emperor Ashoka, then by moral and cultural sensibilities. These moral geographies were imagined to be the basis for a latent modernism and cosmopolitanism perpetuated by the peregrination of wanderers, and particularly Buddhists.

In his study of modern Buddhist revival efforts in India, Douglas Ober charts the complex and surprising ways in which organizations like the Maha Bodhi Society benefited from an interest in Buddhism within an expanded notion of the Ārya Dharma, especially in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. As he explains, families like the Birlas, who were industrialists and major funders of Mahatma Gandhi and the Hindu nationalist movement, credited Buddhism with a notion of

¹⁰⁷ "Monk's Mission in London: To Convert Britain to Buddhism," *Maha Bodhi* 41, no. 1 & 2 (January and February, 1933): 6.

¹⁰⁸ Steven Kemper raises a similar argument about the power of making Buddhism present as a basis for an "antimissionary missionary" Buddhism. Kemper, "Dharmapala's *Dharmaduta*."

¹⁰⁹ "This was an approach that delighted many Calcutta polemicists, since it defined the 'Indic' in a way that subsumed virtually the whole of Buddhist and Hindu-Buddhist east and southeast Asia into the purview of Indian civilisational studies." Bayly, "Imagining Greater India," 718.

ahimsā or non-violence.¹¹⁰ The Hindu Mahasabha similarly lent its support to the efforts of the Society, calling a special joint meeting to address the condition of the Maha Bodhi Temple and propose a new management committee composed of Hindu and Buddhist representatives.¹¹¹ The proposition was eventually tabled, only to be picked up again soon after India gained independence in 1947. Such cooperation around the condition and maintenance of Buddhism in India points to a notable moment in India's recent past when Hindu and Buddhist revival movements coalesced. Travel presented an intellectual and practical conceit for navigating these multiple registers, as well as thinking about the historical reanimation of Buddhist practices in the region without a strict adherence to any one religious tradition or lineage.

As the Maha Bodhi Society's mission changed from a singular interest in the Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya to the revival of Buddhism in India, so did the kinds of images and articles it featured in each issue. Soon the iconic image of the Maha Bodhi Temple, which was a standard feature of its cover, was replaced with images of projects built and managed by the Maha Bodhi Society in India, along with highlights on civic projects and institutions run by the organization.¹¹² This was accompanied by a shift in the kind of travel accounts presented in the pages of the journal. While earlier editions focused on work and discoveries in India, by the 1920s there was a new emphasis on historical and modern journeys abroad, especially by Indian monks and explorers eager to find evidence of early Buddhism from India in other parts of Asia. The writings of Rahul Sankrityayan are exemplary of this trend, especially his accounts of his travels to Tibet to recover lost or unknown Sanskrit manuscripts in the libraries of Tibetan monasteries. These works contributed to a growing appreciation of Buddhism's rich literary, artistic, and cultural legacy across Asia, and its potential as part of an emerging vision of India as an independent nation.

Travel presented an intellectual and practical conceit for the reanimation of Buddhism as part of a national reimagining of India. Wandering, like the concept of *ahimsā* (non-violence) or renunciation, could be religiously and culturally grounded, but also universal and pan-Asian. In other words, if early narratives around travel focused on the recreation and regeneration of the Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, by the 1920s, travel and Buddhism were being reframed as the basis for the recreation and regeneration of India as an emerging nation. During this period, a group of Indian radicals, or reformers, turned towards Buddhism, leaving behind the Ārya Samaj to explore other avenues of religious, cultural, and social reform. They would come to write and think about themselves as wanderers—religious adherents engaged with the world through their movement, sharing their discoveries through accounts of their travels. The most notable of these were Rahul Sankrityayan, Anand Kausalyayan, and Nagarjun. Rahul Sankrityayan was the first to join the Maha Bodhi Society. He later convinced Anand Kausalyayan and Nagarjun to join as well, encouraging them to study at the Vidyānāth Pirivena in Sri Lanka.¹¹³ While all three made unique contributions to the early dissemination of Buddhism in India, they are also notable for their contributions to Hindi literature. Soon after taking up monk's robes, they began working

¹¹⁰ Ober, *Reinventing Buddhism*, 216.

¹¹¹ *Proceedings of the All India Hindu Mahasabha Buddha Gaya Temple Committee which Met at Gaya on the 8th, & 9th, July, 1935* (pp 20–22). Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

¹¹² More work needs to be done on the impact of Kalidas Nag, Sylvain Lévi, and Tagore on Buddhism. See, for example, Kalida Nag, *Discovery of Asia* (Institute of Asian African Relations, 1957): 9–13.

¹¹³ Diwan Chand Ahir, *Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India* (Sri Satguru Publications, 1989).

to make Buddhism available in Hindi, producing some of the first Hindi translations of the Pali Tipiṭika and writing numerous books on Buddhism in Hindi.

Sankrityayan, Anand Kausalyayan, and Nagarjun were at the vanguard of the Maha Bodhi's efforts to publish new works in Hindi. This was part of a trend to engage vernacular languages to establish emerging national Buddhism across South and Southeast Asia.¹¹⁴ Language was a way to retake authority. A knowledge of Pali was used to challenge the authority of European scholars based on new textual expertise and study, which traveling scholars then used to write new works in their local vernaculars.¹¹⁵ Buddhist centers outside of India in places like Sri Lanka became important sites for establishing an intellectual pedigree for Buddhist revivalists in India. All of the Buddhist figures discussed in this dissertation studied in Sri Lanka for some time at the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena, often serving as language instructors and eventually becoming *tipiṭakācārya*, experts in the three baskets of the Pali canon.¹¹⁶ Their education in Sri Lanka built on a historical understanding of Sri Lanka as a repository of Buddhist practice and study, maintained and developed through successive generations of Buddhist missions and travel. It thus challenged colonial authority by locating historical and cultural expertise in institutions like the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena. It also led to a growing reliance on new forms of transportation and communication as a means for staying in touch and sharing their works with readers in India.¹¹⁷

By 1938, the epigraph from the Mahāvagga featured at the start of each issue of *The Maha Bodhi* began appearing in Devanagari as well as in English. This was accompanied by a shift in the kind of authors featured in each issue. There were still essays by authors from around the world, but there were also noticeably more articles by monks and authors from India and Sri Lanka. A series by an unidentified “wayfarer” started to appear around this time, situating modern Buddhism in India within ongoing global historical and political developments, and paving the way for “the wanderer” as a new religious and social ideal.¹¹⁸ Over time, a new image of the united Buddhist community emerged in the Maha Bodhi Society's publications, a Buddhist world, or *bauddh-jagat*, that included India. The growing importance of communities in India for the society's mission led to the establishment of a new journal titled *Dharmadūt*.

¹¹⁴ Questions about the vernacularization of Buddhism and the delineation of nationalist forms of Buddhism were taking place across Asia. See for example: Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860–1930* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007); Sarah LeVine and David N. Gellner, *Rebuilding Buddhism: The Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Justin Thomas McDaniel, *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magical Monk: Practicing Buddhism in Modern Thailand* (Columbia University Press, 2011); Erik Braun, *The Birth of Insight: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw* (University of Chicago Press, 2013). Alicia Turner, *Saving Buddhism: The Impermanence of Religion in Colonial Burma* (University of Hawaii Press, 2014).

¹¹⁵ *Bodhi* 14, no. 5 (May 1921): 170.

¹¹⁶ Blackburn writes of her Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena: “Contemporary historians of Lankan monasticism and education date the formal beginnings of Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena to 1875, under the combined leadership of Ratmalānē Dhamāloka and his student Ratmalānā Dharmārāma. However, as even Ratanaśāra (1965) admits, the early history of Vidyālaṅkāra is somewhat obscure, given the absence of early documents comparable to those of Vidyodaya Vidyādhāra Sabhāva.” *Locations of Buddhism*, 96.

¹¹⁷ Kemper, “Dharmapala's Dharmaduta and the Buddhist Ethnoscape.”

¹¹⁸ *Maha Bodhi* 46, no. 2 & 3 (Feb and March, 1938): 124–126.

Dharmadūt to Dharm-dūt

The Hindi language journal of the Sarnath branch of the Maha Bodhi Society, *Dharmadūt*, was established in 1935. Like *The Maha Bodhi* journal, the Buddha's commission from the Mahāvagga was prominently featured on its opening pages. In *Dharmadūt*, however, it appears first in Pali, written in Devanagari, and then in Hindi.¹¹⁹

चरथ भिक्खवे चारिकं बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय लोकानुकम्पाय अत्थाय हिताय सुखाय
देवमनुस्सानं। देसेथ भिक्खवे धम्मं आदि कल्याणं मज्जे कल्याणं परियोसान कल्याणं सात्थं सब्यञ्जनं
केवलपरिपुण्णं परिसुद्धं ब्रह्मचरियं पकासेथ। महावग्ग (विनय-पिटक)

‘भिक्षुओ !’ सर्व साधारण के हित के लिए, लोगों को सुख पहुंचाने के लिए, उन पर दया करने के लिए
तथा देवताओं और मनुष्यों का उपकार करने के लिए घूमो। भिक्षुओ ! आरम्भ, मध्य और अंत — सभी
अवस्थाओं में कल्याणकारक धर्म का उसके शब्दों और भावों सहित उपदेश करके, सर्वांश में परिपूर्ण
परिशुद्ध ब्रह्मचर्यका प्रकाश करो।¹²⁰

The Hindi version echoes many features of the English version of the same epigraph as it appeared on the cover of *The Maha Bodhi*. It is in the phrasing and choice of words for the Hindi version, however, that we begin to see how the editors of *Dharmadūt* attempted to frame Buddhism for Hindi audiences through their translations. Consider, for example, the Hindi version above: The use of “*bhikṣuo*” as a command at the start recalls the call to travel and the phrasing of the English version, “Go ye, O Bhikkhu.” The similitude to the English version from *The Maha Bodhi* continues, following their translation of “wander forth for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men.” The use of “*ghumna*” for “wander,” sets an important precedent for the use of *ghumna* in later treatises on travel, discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, and points to the trend at the time to see the Buddha and his followers as wanderers—people who roamed freely without set destinations—rather than travelers, whose aim was to travel from one destination to another.¹²¹

More pressing here, is the choice of translation for “the many.” In the above quote, *sarvasādhāraṇa* and *log* are used for the phrase “*bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya*”—a common adage in multiple religious traditions discussed in more detail below, which translates roughly as “for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many.”¹²² The choice of these terms reflects an effort to imagine the contours of “the many” for the specific social and cultural conditions of

¹¹⁹ In some issues, the commission only appears in Pali, as is the case in the May issue of *Dharmadūt* from 1935. Later editions routinely carry the two versions together.

¹²⁰ *Dharmadūt* (June, 1935): 17. The Hindi roughly follows the English version of the Buddhist commission presented at the start of this chapter. Specific difference will be addressed in the following paragraphs.

¹²¹ Lisa N. Trivedi, “Visually Mapping the ‘Nation’: Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920–1930,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 1 (2003): 11–41.

¹²² This phrase has a long and complex history. See:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahujana_sukhaya_bahujana_hitaya_cha

India. *Sarvasādhāraṇ* carries with it a strong sense of “the common man” or “people at large.”¹²³ We should consider the choice to present the Buddha’s commission in Hindi as part of an effort to think about a broader Hindi public, engaging with Hindi as a national language—imagined as a language of the people—and efforts to frame Buddhism as a religion for that same public.¹²⁴ How the editors of *Dharmadūt* imagined that broader community they were publishing for is important because it reflects the specific ways in which Buddhism was being read and interpreted in Hindi.

While the choice of key terms indicates an effort to imagine a specific multitude—understood as a public with different social, economic, and cultural levels—the struggle to find the right terms is evident in the appearance of an alternative translation of the Buddha’s commission in subsequent issues of *Dharmadūt*. In the Vaishak issue of May 1949, edited by Bhikshu Dharmarakshit, a new Hindi translation of the Buddha’s commission appears:

भिक्षुओ ! बहुजन के हित के लिये, बहुजन के सुख के लिये, लोकपर दया करने के लिये, देवताओं और मनुष्यों के प्रयोजन के लिये, हित के लिये, सुख के लिये विचरण करो। भिक्षुओ ! आरम्भ, मध्य और अन्त—सभी अवस्थाओं में कल्याणकारक धर्म का, उसके शब्दों और भावों सहित उपदेश करके, सर्वेश में परिपूर्ण परिशुद्ध ब्रह्मचर्य का प्रकाश करो।¹²⁵

While retaining the structure of the earlier version, in this version, *sarvasādhāraṇ* and *log* have been replaced with *bahujan* and *lok*. In many ways, this translation draws more directly from the use of *bahujana* and *loka* in the Pali version, simply expanding and simplifying *bahujanahitāya* and *bahujanasukhāya* for Hindi readers as *bahujan ke hit ke liye* and *bahujan ke sukh ke liye*. The shift, however, speaks to a change in the contours of the public the journal sought to reach.

It is hard to read the term *bahujan* today, especially in the context of Buddhism, and not think about issues of caste in India. It carries a strong association with the Dalit movement, and efforts around Buddhism as an avenue for the eradication of caste in India. *Bahujan* means “the many” or “the masses.” By the 1940s, there was an increased understanding of the masses of India, the *bahujan*, as the “downtrodden” or self-identified members of Indian society who adopted the collective moniker of Dalit.¹²⁶ There are some striking parallels between the formalization of Buddhism as an antidote to caste, especially under the leadership of B. R. Ambedkar, and the journal *Dharmadūt*. In 1935, the same year *Dharmadūt* was first published, Ambedkar vowed not to die a Hindu, setting a course for his conversion to Buddhism along with several hundred thousand ex-untouchables or Dalits.¹²⁷ A similar progression takes place in *Dharmadūt* as charted in the transition from *sarvasādhāraṇ* and *log* as a reference to “the many,” to *bahujan* and *lok*.

If earlier issues of *Dharmadūt* participated in a growing effort to see Buddhism as a basis for India’s liberation, following India’s independence and partition, the journal turned its

¹²³ “*Sādhāraṇ log. Janatā. Ām log, jo sab men pāyā jāta ho. Ām. Sāmāny.*” Dāsa, *Hindī Śabdasāgara*, 5012.6476 *Lok* offers a more colloquial and nondescript indication of plurality, suggesting something more akin to “folk” or “the public.” See: R.S. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, (Oxford University Press, 1993): 901.

¹²⁴ Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920–1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹²⁵ *Dharmadūt* 14, no. 2 (May, 1949): 17.

¹²⁶ Das, *Hindī Śabdasāgara*, 3425.

¹²⁷ Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition* (Verso Books, 2014).

attention more squarely to issues of caste. In the same 1949 issue discussed above, there is an interview with Ambedkar in which he discusses his interest in converting to Buddhism and why he feels Buddhism is best suited for him and the larger Dalit community. In the interview, Ambedkar explains why he opted not to convert to Islam or Christianity, explaining that Buddhism has ideological, historical, and political advantages for Dalits. He also suggests a link between Buddhism and issues of caste along racial and religious lines.¹²⁸ Wandering became part of such discourses as well, offering a model for breaking caste and cultural divisions while still being grounded in cultural and religious sensibilities. As we will see later, wanderers came to be imagined as part of an affective community, linked by their travels. Groups come together and break apart, but remain bound by certain ideals and principles linked to their status as wanderers.¹²⁹ In the following chapters, I explore the life and work of three Hindi authors, all invested in Buddhism, wandering, and Hindi. Each one's unique approach to how best to express Buddhism in Hindi guided their language and literary output. What unites them all is an emphasis on wandering as fundamental to Buddhism, and of vital importance to Hindi audiences.

Printed on the opening page of the 1949 issue of *Dharmadūt* celebrating Vaishakh Day, just below the Buddha's commission in Pali and Hindi, is an essay by Rahul Sankrityayan titled “*Tathāgat kī jay!*”—Victory to the Tathagata!¹³⁰ It begins with a discussion of the day as the celebration of when “the world's most exalted man took birth and attained *nirvana*. ” Sankrityayan then turns his attention to the significance and need for Buddhism in India today. As he writes:

वैशाख-पूर्णिमा का पुनीत दिवस आज फिर हमारे सामने आया। इसी दिन संसार के सबसे श्रेष्ठपुरुष ने जन्म और निवारण प्राप्त किया था। इस दिन किसी देवता के प्रसाद से नहीं, अपने परिश्रम और तपस्या से उस तत्त्वज्ञान को प्राप्त किया था, उस पथ का आविष्कार किया था, जिसने पिछले दाई हजार वर्षों में पृथ्वी के करोड़-करोड़ आदमियों को शान्ति और सुख का मार्ग बतलाया। यह सुख और शान्ति मुट्ठीभर आदमियों के लिये नहीं थी, वह पथ ‘बहुजनहिताय—बहुजनसुखाय’ था।

The sacred day of *vaiśakh-pūrnimā* has once again come before us today. On this day, the world's most exceptional human being (*śreṣṭhpuṛṣ*) was born and achieved nirvana. On this day, not because of the blessing (*prasād*) of some deity, but because of his own hard work and penance, he achieved that insight (*tatvajñān*) and revealed (*āviṣkāṛ*) the path which for the past 2,500 years has shown peace and happiness to billions of people. This happiness and peace were not only for a hand full of people, this path was “*bahujanhitāya – bahujansukhāya*” (for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many).¹³¹

¹²⁸ A good overview of the complex ways race and caste are approached in Ambedkar's work is provided in *Annihilation of Caste*, ed. S. Anand (Verso 2016), 237n45.

¹²⁹ I discuss this topic in more detail through the work of Rahul Sankrityayan in Chapter 2.

¹³⁰ There seems to be a curious reading here of “victory,”—*jayī*— as the one “thus gone,” that powerfully prefigures the popularity of “*Jay Bhim*” in celebration of Ambedkar. Swapna Bhattacharya, “Political Implication of Resurgent Buddhism in India with Special Reference to the Eastern Region,” in *Political Roles of Religious Communities in India*, eds. Jayanta Kumar Ray and Arpita Basu Roy (Stockholm: Institute for Security & Development Policy, 2008), 83.

¹³¹ Rahul Sankrityayan, “*Tathāgat kī jay!*,” *Dharmadūt*, 14, no. 2 (May 1949): 17.

Sankrityayan's essay frames the notion of Buddhism benefitting the many—drawn from texts like the *Mahavagga*—and celebrates them in more specifically nationalist terms. He writes about the Buddha as a great liberator of man, but also a national hero. As he writes,

...वह पुरुष हमारा अपना था, वह सर्वश्रेष्ठ भारत-पुत्र था।

...that man was one of our own, he was the best son of India.

Sankrityayan similarly frames “the many” as the masses of India, describing them as *deś ka bahujaṇ*, “the masses of the country,” or even, “the masses of India.” In explaining how the Buddha presented a “road for peace and happiness,” Sankrityayan offers an abbreviated version of the maxim “*bahujaṇahitāya—bahujaṇasukhāya*,” which appears in the Pali version of the Buddha's commission printed on the same page. As Sankrityayan explains, “This joy and peace is not just for a handful of people, this path is “for the welfare and benefit of the many.” The Buddha, he explains, did not just speak for the *bahujaṇ*, he worked for them, placing their suffering before us.¹³² In turning towards a discussion of a more specifically national public, and the historical and social specificity of Buddhism for and in India, Sankrityayan begins to qualify the kinds of communities and publics he sees Buddhism as helping. Or rather, he formulates an argument around its pressing modern significance, stressing the irony around the endurance of caste in the land where the Buddha was born and was liberated, and within a nation that recently gained independence, emphasizing the importance of action in addressing social, political, and religious inequities.

Missing from Sankrityayan's essay *Tathāgat kī jay!* is any direct mention of traveling, a noticeable fact given the author's strong emphasis on travel throughout his life. However, the essay's title alludes to the metaphor of the Buddha's path or *mārg* as one that leads towards liberation and victory. The essay is filled with metaphors and references that suggest the process of liberation is one of movement; of coming, going, and taking residence as phases of social emancipation, prefiguring his work on travel as a metaphor for cultural and moral development. As Sankrityayan continues, “India lost its independence the moment it forgot the Buddha, “this great revealer of the way, *mahan mārg-darśhak*.” As he writes, India's independence was a partial liberation. With independence, India set itself back on a road towards a more enlightened or social and cultural liberation. However, he continues, India's progress is impeded by its continued neglect of Buddhism:

आज हमारे देश में स्वतंत्रता देवी ने फिर आकर वास कर लिया, फिर बुद्ध हमसे कब तक विस्मृत रहेंगे?

The goddess of independence has once again come to our country and settled here, how much longer will we remain oblivious to the Buddha.¹³³

Such accounts raise the specter of Mughal and colonial rule in India suggesting a link between India's independence, an urge or desire to travel, and Buddhism. He goes on to relate the same conditions related to a disregard for the conditions of the downtrodden—*paddalit*—and the oppressed—*upatpīdit*—who, he continues,

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

आज अपने पैरों पर खड़ा रहने लगा है...आज वो मुक्त वातावरण में साँस लेना चाहता।

Now they have begun standing on their own two feet...now they want to breath in the air of freedom.¹³⁴

The emphasis on *pad* or foot as a basis for social oppression and liberation continues in the next few lines, gesturing towards a sense of mobility—social, political, and religious—for the oppressed and downtrodden who have improved legal and political status after independence and are “standing on their own two feet.”¹³⁵ It both grounds Sankrityayan’s discussion in India, and suggests the potential for future mobility and development. Following Sankrityayan’s logic, rather than remaining underfoot, all of India may soon be ready to walk, to travel, to wander.

Dharmadūt served as a public forum in which to experiment with and explore how to present Buddhism to Hindi audiences. It further offered a reading of Buddhism as an antidote to social and religious ills. Changes in the choice of a word or in phrasing—*sarvasādhāraṇ* to *bahujan*, or *log* to *lok*—reflect shifting ideologies around an Indian public in Hindi. These are not always major shifts. In some cases, they are small elisions, the addition of a hyphen or space, changing the rhythm of *sarvasādhāraṇ* to *sarv-sādhāraṇ*, or *dharmadūt* to *dharm-dūt*. In other cases, they are larger ideological shifts that reflect changing notions of India’s Buddhist public. These shifts reflect an ongoing effort to calibrate the language around Buddhism; the minor and major linguistic and literary shifts marking similar minor and major transformations in how Buddhism was imagined for Hindi audiences.



Figure 2: Top piece from *Dhamadūt* – “Bauddh Jagat,” (Buddhist World)

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Gail Omvedt, *Buddhism in India: Challenging Brahmanism and Caste* (Sage Publications India, 2003).



Figure 3: Cover *Dharmadūt*, 1949

Buddhism Round-the-World

If one takes a broader perspective of the same 1949 Vaishak issue of *Dharmadūt* discussed above, it presents a surprisingly cohesive visual and thematic overview of Buddhism as an emancipatory religion. The cover, included above, features a mural by the Japanese artist Kosetsu Nosu. Painted on the interior walls of the Mulagandhakuti Vihar in Sarnath, the mural depicts the Buddha's defeat of Mara's troops. The Buddha sits below the Bodhi Tree, his right hand reaching down in *bhumisparśa mudra*, or earth touching gesture. Around the Buddha are Mara's army and daughters tempting him with their youth and beauty. The Buddha is shown with his eyes open, looking out straight in front of him. Below the Buddha is a door. It is one of the doors of the *vihara*, but in this image, it anchors the photo, playing against the strong graphic of the journal's name, *Dharmadūt*, written in a flowing cursive with no horizontal top-line connecting the syllables. A bold and clear *dharma* sits behind the title, mirroring the circle of the Buddha's halo below. It is an image of victory, but also of movement. The metaphor of movement and progress as a path or way continues throughout the issue, featured in essays such as "The Middle Way" or *madyam-mārg*, and "The Path to World Peace," *jagat-shānti ka mārg*.

The images throughout the issue build on a notion of liberation, progress, and tradition. Beginning with the cover of the Buddha's victory over Mara's troops, *mār-vijay*, it presents a narrative arch of the Buddha's life and its enduring legacy through the material remains of stone sculptures and architectural remnants. The first image is of a Gandharan statue, depicting the Buddha at the height of his austerities before accepting the alms of Sujata and making his way to the Bodhi Tree. The next image is of the *vajrāsana*, the spot where the Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment. The spot is marked by a large stone slab attributed to the emperor Ashoka, elevated on a decorated pedestal with the Maha Bodhi Temple behind it. On the right of the image is the Bodhi Tree. The captions reads:

बुद्धगया का बोधिवृक्ष, जिसके नीचे भगवान् ने बुद्धत्व प्राप्त किया।

Bodh Gaya's Bodhi Tree, below which the lord achieved Buddhahood.

A few pages later, there is an image of the capital of a broken Ashokan column identified as being in “*sankass nagar*,” present day Sankisa Basantapura, followed by another image of a mural from the Mulagandhakuti Vihar. The final image of the Buddha is at the moment of his *parinirvāṇa*.



भगवान् बुद्ध के महापरिनिर्वाण की अवस्था का—गारनाथ के मूलगन्ध कुटी-विहार का एक भित्ति चित्र

Figure 4: “Bhagavan ke Buddh Mahāparinirvāṇ kī Avasthā kā,” *Dhamadūt*, 1949
Mural by Kosetsu Nosu in the Mulagandhakuti Vihar, Sarnath

In this final image, the Buddha is shown laying on his right side with his right hand on his head. He is surrounded by monks and laypeople, their heads lowered in sadness. The Buddha's halo is echoed by a large white bulbous shape in the background. It is, perhaps, an allusion to the stupas or monuments that will be built to commemorate the Buddha. But it is also surprisingly orb-like, like a moon rising in the distance, or a hillside.

Taken together, the images presented throughout the 1949 issue of *Dhamadūt* offer an overview of many of the major features of the Buddha's life story, from the moments before the Buddha's enlightenment to his *parinirvāṇa*. It also tells the story of Buddhism's history in India, from early efforts to depict and memorialize the Buddha in the Gandharan and Mauryan empires, to the current remnants of these human endeavors—both the Buddha's and those who followed him—in the landscape of India. Read against the articles in the issue, these images present Buddhism as a record of Indian civilization and culture, indexing the spread and growth of a

philosophy which, the journal argues, spread for the benefit and happiness of the masses: *bahujan ke hit ke liye* and *bahujan ke sukh ke liye*. The call to wander that begins this and every issue of *Dharmadūt* sets the stage for thinking about wandering as fundamental to Buddhism's ability to reach broader audiences. It further presents Buddhism as an embodied practice, one that is written into the landscape and traditions of India and which can inspire social and political change.



Figure 5: *The Maha Bodhi*, 1944; *Dharmadūt*, 1950

While there are many overlaps between the content and approach to Buddhism featured in *The Maha Bodhi* and *Dharmadūt*, there are certain differences between them, specifically related to how they imagine their audience and mission. *The Maha Bodhi* is grounded in a vision of disseminating Buddhism to a global audience, uniting them through a discussion of the status and condition of Buddhism in India. In contrast, *Dharmadūt* is invested in the same international Buddhist community, but focused on introducing Buddhism to Hindi audiences; to missionize India.

The different interests of both journals are evident in a set of cover designs from the 1940s and 50s. Following the construction of the Mulagandhakuti Vihar in Sarnath, completed in 1931, and the establishment of the society's headquarters there, both journals began featuring images of the newly constructed vihar on their covers. In some cases, it was a photograph of the temple, but more often, it was an image of the temple's side elevation juxtaposed against an image of the Maha Bodhi Temple. Both journals featured this design element over the course of several issues, alluding to reanimation of Buddhist pilgrimage sites in India and proliferation of new Buddhist centers dedicated celebrating and disseminating Buddhism. The role of such publication in the dissemination of Buddha's message, or turning the wheel of dharma, was

further signaled through the prominent display of a *dharmacakra* as a graphic element in both cover designs, along with a world map. The placement and quality of the architectural elements in each design, as well as the placement of the *dharmacarka* in relationship to their respective maps of the world, speaks to the different missions of both journals and how they sought to present Buddhism to their audiences.

Consider, for example, the 1944 cover design of *The Maha Bodhi*. The Mulagandhakuti Vihar and Maha Bodhi Society sit on a large green band running across the page, identifying the volume as “the journal of the Maha Bodhi Society.” The two temples are dark and graphic. However, there is sufficient detailing to suggest their three-dimensionality and physical properties. The Maha Bodhi Temple, featured on the right, is slightly taller than the Mulgandhakuti Vihar. Between the two temples, framed by their spires, is a large circle. Inside the circle is a map of the world, seen from a vantage above Europe. A *dharmacakra* sits at the top of the circle, roughly above the North Pole, emitting rays of light. While clearly identifiable as a *dharmacakra*, the wheel is more graphic than other representations. Rather than alluding to the *dharmacakra* associated with the emperor Ashoka, a much more common reference, the wheel reads almost like a gear, recalling the symbol of the Rotary International. The title of the journal is written in large bold lettering above the map, suspended above a grid, much in the way the globe and wheel sit above and beyond the plane of the temples featured below them.

On first glance, the cover of *Dharmadūt* from 1950 seems to follow a similar set of design principles to that of the *The Maha Bodhi*’s, discussed above. An image of the Mulagandhakuti Vihar sits on the left across from an image of the Maha Bodhi Temple. Between them there is a map of the world with a large *dharmacakra* imposed onto it. The *dharmacakra* on the cover of *Dharmadūt*, however, is not emitting any rays. Its placement in relationship to the map of the world is also quite distinct from its placement on the cover of *The Maha Bodhi*. Rather than centered above the globe, the *dharmacakra* is centered on India. The map is also not circular. It is elongated on the sides. Rather than rays of light, along the edges of the globe where the circle of the other cover would have been, there are a set of thin emanating lines, transforming the image of the globe into an eye with the *cakra* serving as the iris. The circular form of the *cakra* is mirrored by the *sandakada pahana*—“moon-stone”—on the bottom of the page, a common feature on Buddhist temples and monuments in Sri Lanka. This references Sri Lanka geographically, but also serves as an invitation to enter into this new *baudh jagat*, or “Buddhist world.” If we read the *sandakada pahana* as an invitation to enter, then the two temples on the cover of *Dharmadūt* read as gates, offering a window that looks out onto a global understanding of Buddhism in India. Rather than stark and darkened images of the temples, as was the case on the cover of *The Maha Bodhi*, the Mulagandhakuti Vihar on the *Dharmadūt* cover is a simple line drawing. It is also tilted slightly, its main entrance aligning with the *sandakada pahana* and emphasizing the short stairways that lead into the new temple as if enjoining readers to visit.¹³⁶ In contrast, the Maha Bodhi Temple on the other side of the cover is highly ornamented and its scale more diminutive. It also does not align with the bottom graphic of the cover, causing it to read more like a small model of the stupa rather than an image of the stupa itself. Appearing almost like a graphic stamp, the image recalls the small pilgrimage souvenirs that continue to serve as popular mementos and record of pilgrimage to that site.¹³⁷ On

¹³⁶ For the power of a slight tilt in an image, see Christopher Pinney, *‘Photos of the Gods’: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India* (Reaktion Books, 2004).

¹³⁷ John Guy, “The Mahābodhi Temple: Pilgrim Souvenirs of Buddhist India,” *Burlington Magazine* (1991): 356–367.

the cover of *Dharmadūt*, the rigid grid of *The Maha Bodhi* cover is replaced with a stylized line drawing of clouds framed as an architectural feature with the journal's title suspended in the middle of it. The cover of *Dharmadūt* references multiple artisanal traditions that facilitated the development of Buddhist culture and practice across the region. Their placement on the cover mirrors their geographic placement, with references to Sri Lankan architectural forms at the bottom of the page, and forms drawn from Tibet and Nepal highlighted on the top of page. These "artistic" traditions bound the *dharmacakra* at the center of the page, focusing on India and the modern dissemination of Buddhism through the journal in the land of its origin. In other words, the cover celebrates Buddhist tradition from and in India, charting its historical movement across South Asia as part of its reemergence in India and on the global stage. It further invites readers to "enter" into the new Buddhist mission of the Maha Bodhi Society in India, welcoming them into the virtual halls of the Mulagandhakuti Vihar and the pages of *Dharmadūt*.

These two cover designs highlight the kind of philosophical and intellectual shifts that were occurring during the twentieth century in an effort to introduce Buddhism to modern Indian audiences in Hindi. They speak to enduring concerns over heritage and development, as well as Buddhism's place in the world as an index of India's potential for modern development. The group of religious and social reformers who helped produce *Dharmadūt* took up wandering as the basis for presenting Buddhism for Indian audiences. Over time, they each forged their own approach to wandering as a basic element of Buddhist practice and tradition, developing their readings of the Buddha's mission to wander for the welfare and the benefit of the many. In the following chapters, I explore the life and work of three Hindi authors, all invested in Buddhism, wandering, and Hindi. Each one's approach to how best to express Buddhism in Hindi guided their language and literary output. What unites them all is an emphasis on wandering as fundamental to Buddhism.

Overview and Organization

This dissertation grew out of an observation that modern approaches to Buddhism in India underwent a process of formalization and institutionalization similar to that of Hindi literature during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The two histories come together in the prolific writing of three authors: Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun. Each chose to write about their lives and experiences in Hindi as travel accounts. At the most basic level, the project seeks to address how travel narratives became a fertile arena in which to define and augment discourses around Buddhism and Hindi as the basis for cultural identity. It begins with a focus on travel as a recurring motif of modern approaches to Buddhism in the subcontinent and proceeds to explore the evolution of travel and Buddhism as related ideas in each author's work, concluding with a discussion of travel accounts within debates over the categorization of Hindi literature.

All three figures turned towards Buddhism early in their lives. They worked together in Sarnath and Varanasi; lived, taught, and studied in Sri Lanka; and engaged with social and political movements upon their return to India. Writing about Buddhism and travel for a burgeoning Hindi public, their lives eventually moved in different directions. Kausalyayan remained a Buddhist monk, returning to India where he became involved with the Ambedkarian or Dalit Buddhist movement. Sankrityayan emigrated to Leningrad (present day St. Petersburg) before returning to India and joining the Marxist movement of India. Nagarjun worked with Sankrityayan in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as active members of the All India Kisan Sabha or Peasant Movement. Returning from Sri Lanka, Nagarjun's work reflects a turn towards

regionalism and a greater effort to write literature “for the people,” gaining Nagarjun the name “Janakavi,” or The People’s Poet. Grounded in their early engagements with Buddhism, the distinct image of a cultural wanderer produced through the works of these three authors is informed by an understanding of travel as a catalyst for social change and personal development. Related to Buddhist modernism in India, the wanderer they advocate for is not an abstract ideal. Rather, it is a cultural ideal which they emulate and promote in their travel accounts.

Discovery and travel—two primary aspects of wandering according to the authors discussed here—were not just the purview of historians, religious seekers, and eccentric authors. They were part of a *zeitgeist* at the turn of the twentieth century. Picked up by great Indian nationalists like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, travel accounts became one way of imagining India’s independence. Texts such as *Third Class in Indian Railways* (1917) and *Discovery of India* (1946) sought to evoke feelings of nationalism through the “discovery” of their own country. Whether it was the world as seen by Gandhi from a third-class rail carriage or the survey of India by Nehru while campaigning for the Congress party, a narrative of moving through, and coming upon, helped forge a unified image of the region and its people.

In his appraisal of modern travel literature of South Asia, Daniel Majchrowicz argues that travel writing is uniquely positioned to present a teleological vision of India’s victory—both in the past and the future. As Majchrowicz writes, “The rise in travel accounts of ‘one’s own’ country came about just as the idea of India as a single nation was beginning to crystallize. It is no coincidence, of course, that the leading figure of Indian nationalism, Jawaharlal Nehru, would come to style the account of his own journeys across the country as a *Discovery of India* (1946).”¹³⁸ I would add to this that travel in India helped produce a certain image of the wanderer related to burgeoning notions of the image of the nation as a divine geo-body; a new cultural icon able to navigate the sacred and political spaces of India.¹³⁹ Travel also became a particular literary motif through which to think about personal and collective forms of liberation.

Buddhism played an important role in constructing an idea of travel for the nation. It features prominently in the works of Gandhi and Nehru and is evident as a consistent theme in early efforts to rethink Indian cultural and tradition for modern times. In addition to Gandhi and Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, and many other notable artists, activists, and writers engaged with Buddhism and Buddhist themes, incorporating them into a multivalent image of India. By the 1950s, Buddhist art and imagery had become part of new nationalist and state projects as a way to inject a sense of India’s history and global connections and to create a sense of the nation as a religious commons.¹⁴⁰ A recurring subject of the multiple figurations of Buddhism to emerge during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the Buddha as someone who traveled extensively, urging his followers to do the same.

I became aware of the research materials that are the basis of this study while working on my first dissertation, titled “Buddhism and the Making of Modern India.” Completed as part of a degree in architectural history, that dissertation attends to the development of modern Buddhist art and architecture of India as a result of the intersection of Buddhism and various nationalist movements over the course of the twentieth century. The project argues that Buddhism was more than an incidental aspect of India’s modern development. Instead, it was central to crafting key

¹³⁸ Daniel Joseph Majchrowicz, “Travel Writing and the Means to Victory” in *Modern South Asia* (PhD. diss., Harvard University, 201), 276-277.

¹³⁹ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* (Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ This is an idea I pursue in my other dissertation, Padma D. Maitland “Buddhism and the Making of Modern India.”

narratives around Indian modernity and national identity. Art and architecture that drew inspiration from Buddhist precedents became important indexes of that process, defining a longer history of Buddhism in the region and generating spaces in which to imagine and realize new social, political, and religious conceptions of India as an emerging nation-state. It soon became clear that art and architecture were only part of a much larger cultural imaginary or *imaginaire* around Buddhism in India.¹⁴¹ By that I mean, the ways in which the history of Buddhism in India helped furnish perceptions of India's past as a model for its future. As discussed above, a history of Buddhism in and from India furnish important social and cultural references for a shared or collective set of ethics, values, and traditions. But what does a living Buddhist tradition in India look like and how does it find expression in the Hindi literary imagination? Posed differently: What does it mean to be a modern Buddhist monk in India and how was that translated into new works of literary expression? Without a robust framework of Buddhist monasteries and institutions, those who became Buddhist monks in India around the turn of the twentieth century had to define their own networks and set of historical and literary references. As I discuss throughout this dissertation, references beyond a more traditional Buddhist canon became intertwined in a broader appraisal of Buddhism for Hindi audiences. Travel became a prominent metaphor in such discourses, providing both the means for discovering important references, and as a model for the continuation of Buddhist practice in South Asia.

During the first part of the twentieth century, modern Buddhism and Hindi literature came to be deeply embedded in the same emerging discourses around alternative frameworks for defining modern notions of individuality, community, and cultural sensibilities related to India's independence movement and burgeoning nationalism. To understand their relationship better required new methodologies and training beyond the scope of a dissertation in architecture. I began an intensive study of Hindi and Hindi literature in order to understand the critical intervention being made by several Hindi authors as part of my studies in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies. It was during this process that I began reading his *Ghummakar Śāstra*. As I discuss below, Sankrityayan's work proposed a model of travel as a continual process of becoming. His pivotal role in modern Buddhist movements in India and status as a prominent author of Hindi travel accounts also revealed a wealth of materials and connections to consider. Through his work, I was introduced to the life and works of Kausalyayan and Nagarjun as two more figures whose publications reflect the coeval development of Hindi travel writing and modern Buddhism in India. Considered collectively, the works of Sankrityayan, Kausalyayan, and Nagarjun unfold, so to speak, the embedded social and cultural imaginaries around modern Buddhism in India, especially related to the production of a Hindi Buddhist public.

¹⁴¹ For more on the historical development of social and cultural imaginaries, see: Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (London: Duke University Press, 2004). I would like to suggest, though, a way of reading social and cultural imaginaries as an index of place — deeply embedded in notions of the past — in relationship to the concept of “worlding” as a more temporal process of becoming linked to conceptions of a given culture at a particular moment in time. Martin Heidegger developed the idea of “worlding” in his text *Being and Time*, first published in 1927. My own approach to the subject has been guided by Pheng Cheah's discussion of Heidegger's notion of “worlding” through Hannah Arendt's critique of his work in a chapter titled, “Worlding and Unworlding: Worldliness, Narrative and ‘Literature’ in Phenomenology and Deconstruction,” in *What is a World?: On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016): 94-188.

Given the prevalence of Buddhism in public discourses across India, it is surprising that there has been almost no study of Buddhism in Hindi.¹⁴² It has, to some degree, remained entrenched in discourses around landscapes and archeology; the stuff of museums, not language. And yet, Buddhism does in fact appear in multiple forms within modern Hindi works. Under closer examination, because of the history of debates over Hindi's role as a national language, works in Hindi provide particularly fertile ground for thinking about how travel and Buddhism participated in the production of new nationalist identities. As Francesca Orsini and Vasudha Dalmia have shown, efforts to standardize Hindi as a new national language, a *rāṣṭrabāṣā*, helped generate public discourses around language and national identity, but often in divisive terms—Hindi verses Urdu, Hindu verses Muslim. How does Buddhism figure in Hindi literature? What new identities does it suggest? Does it similarly fall along exclusionary lines? Or, building off of the more universal and pan-Asian discourse it took on in other arenas, is Buddhism able to present alternative publics and forms of identity?

Travel and Buddhism occupy surprisingly similar, liminal, spaces within a modern history of India. While notable protagonists in the nationalization of Hindi such as Bharatendu Harishchandra may not have engaged explicitly with Buddhism, they did experiment with travel, discussing it in much the same way that their contemporaries wrote about Buddhism.¹⁴³ Such similitudes allow for a robust discussion of themes common to travel and Buddhism in the production of the figure of the wanderer as someone able to navigate social and regional divisions. In other words, since the early explorations in Hindi travel narratives parallel early exploration of Buddhism in India, it is possible to read them in conversation. Descriptions of both experiment with questions of narration and discovery to rethink identity and culture in a way that proposes new, more inclusive, visions of Indian nationalism.

While one could embark on a study of Buddhism and travel in India in other languages, a focus on works in Hindi is important for two reasons: First, it provides a window onto a relatively unstudied aspect of modern Indian history, namely the emergence of a discourse around Buddhism for Hindi speaking audiences, what I will discuss as the production of a Hindi Buddhist public. When Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun began writing, Hindi was being imagined as a unifying language for the country, a kind of *lingua franca* able to unite the different communities and cultures of India into a coherent and unified nation. That Buddhism was imagined much in the same way, as a kind of religious *lingua franca* that could cut across religious divides is precisely the point,¹⁴⁴ and what makes a study of Buddhism and Hindi in light of each other so important and necessary. Second, a focus on the works of these three authors in Hindi helps contextualize Buddhism and travel as part of an effort to expand the Hindi canon. More than just a literary exercise, in all three cases, expanding the Hindi corpus is analogous to broadening the intellectual and social outlook of Hindi readers. Writing in Hindi on travel and Buddhism broadens the social and cultural horizons of India.

¹⁴² Notable exceptions include Douglas F. Ober's "Reinventing Buddhism: Conversations and Encounters in Modern India, 1839-1956," (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2016) and his more recent essay "Translating the Buddha: Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia and Its Indian Publics," *Humanities* 10 (1): 3; Gitanjali Surendran, "'The Indian Discovery of Buddhism': Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890-1956"; and Shobna Nijhawan, "Journeying in the Vernacular: Pilgrimage, Tourism and Nationalism in Hindi Travelogues," *Nation, Nationalism, and the Public Sphere: Religious Politics in India*, ed. Avishek Ray and Ishita Banerjee-Dube (New Delhi: SAGE, 2020).

¹⁴³ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 324-325.

¹⁴⁴ Christophe Jaffrelot, *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

An account of travel and Buddhism in Hindi alludes to the production of the wanderer as part of what Vasudha Dalmia terms, the “nationalization of tradition.” It also speaks to the creation of a particular social imaginaire around the wanderer as constitutive of a broader *hindī jagat*, or Hindi world. Thanks to the work of the three authors whose lives and works I address in the following chapters, a specific vision of Buddhism and travel emerged in Hindi during the 1920s and 30s, crystallizing by the 1950s, only to fracture in the proceeding decades as a response to new regionalisms and a fresh understanding of Hindi literature within changing political and literary contexts. By the late 1970s the early vision of Hindi as a national language gave way to a more provincial sense of the language, suggesting alternative discourses around the production of the wanderer as a peculiar subjectivity for Hindi audiences. Buddhism and travel underwent similar transformations during this period, becoming absorbed into alternative visions of globalization in light of major cultural diasporas, the greater ease of travel, and new channels of wealth and information.

Bringing two cultural and intellectual histories together, this dissertation makes three intellectual contributions: First, it identifies and historicizes a Hindi Buddhist public in India. Second, it offers a much needed survey of Hindi travel literature. While there has been some recent studies of Hindi travel literature in Hindi, very few have been produced in English, and fewer still have situated Hindi travel literature within an international discourse around travel and the production of new local and trans-local subjectivities. This work attempts to broaden the context of Hindi literature, reading its development in light of the global growth of Buddhism as an intellectual motif in India. It also attempts to make works that were previously only available in Hindi accessible to English audiences through extensive translations and close readings. Third, this project describes the emergence of an Indian “wanderer” as a cultural hero that embodies a cultural ethos for the twentieth century. In the wanderer, modern understandings of travel and Buddhism come together, providing an important critique of colonial and post colonial narratives of India and new models of social emancipation and liberation.

Conceptually, the project traces an arch from a more explicit emphasis on Buddhism in the earlier chapters to a greater interest in travel as a model for social reform and collective development. This follows the evolution of the authors’ works as well. With the exception of Kausalyayan, who remained a Buddhist monk throughout his life, the work of the authors discussed in this dissertation follow the trajectories of their lives. Sankrityayan and Nagarjun left their monk’s robes behind to become political activists and revolutionaries, moving away from an interest in Buddhism towards a more overt dedication to Marxist ideologies. This marks a concurrent shift in the geographic focus of each author as well, away from Sri Lanka as a locus of Buddhist authority towards India and Tibet. At the center of the various travels of Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun, especially during the 1930s and 40s, which is the focus of this dissertation, is an area extending across much of north India. Popularly known as the “Hindi belt,” the same region maps on to the same geographic territories covered by the Buddhist empires of India. Sarnath and Allahabad are particularly common reference points within their accounts, often marking the beginning of their travels to other parts of India. Sarnath was becoming at the time a major center of Buddhist activities at the time and Allahabad was already well known as a prominent site for Hindi publishing. The movement to and from both Sarnath and Allahabad during those decades marks the nexus of the history this dissertation covers: the mapping of a Hindi Buddhist public. It is the movement away from these centers, recounted in the written works discussed in this dissertation, that charts each author’s efforts to expand the Hindi cultural field through their travel literature.

Chapter 1 focuses on Anand Kausalyayan and a set of letters he wrote between 1935 and 1938. Titled *Bhikṣu ke Patra (A Monk's Letters)*, they were first published in *Dharmadūt* and then as an edited volume in 1940. Throughout the letters, Kausalyayan draws from his own life experience as a way to introduce key Buddhist concepts to Hindi audiences. The emphasis in the letters on travel as a basic element of Buddhism highlights Kausalyayan's conception of himself as a *dharmadūt*, or Buddhist messenger. Attending to a contemporaneous trend by monks in Cambodia and Thailand to write new hagiographies modeled on the life of the Buddha, Kausalyayan's epistolary travel accounts, titled *cārika* or journey, can be read as a form of religious autobiography based on a new historical understanding of the Buddha as a historical wanderer whose life could be emulated and followed. Kausalyayan's choice to present Buddhism through epistolary travel accounts that trace Buddhist networks across South Asia helped define the contours of a Buddhist Hindi public in India imagined in his writings. The chapter concludes with a consideration of Kausalyayan's efforts to promote Hindi as a national language and his involvement with the Dalit Buddhist movement in India following the mass conversion to Buddhism that B.R. Ambedkar led in 1956.

Chapter 2 attends to Rahul Sankrityayan's *Ghumakkar Śāstra (A Treatise for the Wanderer, 1948)*, which presents a theory of wandering for the modern Indian. Drawing from *śāstra* traditions, pre-modern travel narratives, pilgrimage accounts, and colonial surveys, Sankrityayan's text creates a discourse for the "wandering self" as an antidote to cultural and moral decline, theorizing a model of wandering for the nation based on the history of Buddhism in the subcontinent. It also theorizes an indigenous history of travel and travel writing populated by historically and religiously important wanderers, most notably the Buddha. At the heart of Sankrityayan's work is the *ghumakkar*—wanderer—a figure possessed by wanderlust or a wandering curiosity—*ghumakkar jijnāsā*. The chapter addresses the ways in which Sankrityayan's work navigates issues of nationalism and independence. Rather than a bounded or fixed regional identity, his work explores culture and civilization as fluid and dynamic. Much in the way that travelers are impacted through their peregrinations, Sankrityayan argues that culture is also wandering. In a chapter of *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, titled "*Śilp aur Kalā*" (Craft and Art) Sankrityayan proposes an aesthetics of wandering, a certain taste for travel and discovery, that can be carried, like a melody or tune. Considering the unique "flavor" or *ras* of wandering for Hindi audiences, Sankrityayan encourages readers to develop their own approach to wandering as the basis for cultural progress and social reform.

Following the trajectory of Sankrityayan's own life, which moves from Buddhism to Marxism, in Chapter 3, I discuss the work of Nagarjun. Born Vaidyanath Mishra, and often writing under the pen name "Yātrī," or traveler, Nagarjun traveled and worked with Sankrityayan and Kausalyayan, first as a monk, and then, in the 1940s, as part of the All India Kisan Sabha (Peasant Movement). A prolific author and poet, Nagarjun's biography describes the life of a traveler, moving through various social arenas and political movements much in the way his pen moved through various genres and languages. Widely acknowledged for his role in the "regionalization" of Hindi literature, Nagarjun's works attempt to capture the feelings of a particular moment by fusing individual narratives with observations on social and historical changes. In works that both praise and critique India as a cultural ideal, Nagarjun formalizes an image of the traveler as a social critic and provocateur reacting to the uneven experiences of modernization in the region. The chapter considers a short travel account titled "*Tiharī se Nelang*" as an example of Nagarjun's travel writing. Published in 1946 in the Hindi journal *Pārijāt*, the account covers the first leg of a journey Nagarjun began with Sankrityayan in 1943.

It reflects Nagarjun's unique style and satirical wit. Drawing on Raymond Williams' "structures of feeling" and James Cambell's notions of "traveling cultures," I attempt to understand how Nagarjun's writing centers personal voices as reflective of historical shifts in the region, a metric of changing social, political, and literary conditions. I end the chapter by briefly considering Nagarjun's work in conversation with the autobiographies of two of his mentors, Rahul Sankrityayan and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, as a way to understand his written accounts as embodying a search for histories and models of social reform and radical dissent.

While this dissertation begins with a focus on the wanderer as part of the entrance of Buddhism into India's public sphere, the conclusion looks at the role of travel accounts in forming a vision of the wanderer as part of the expansion and standardization of the Hindi canon. Beginning with early travel accounts of Bharatendu Harishchandra in *Saraswatī*, and leading up to contemporary "travelogues," the final section examines the role of the wanderer as a motif of the *yātrā vṛtant* (travel account) movement. As a movement formalized following the independence of India, Hindi travel literature engages questions of mobility throughout the subcontinent in conversation with burgeoning ideas of Indian nationalism. I pay particular attention in the conclusion to the link that is created between travel, religion, and language, addressing representative works of the genre, especially by those authors associated with Buddhist revival missions in India. I end by considering how the figure of the wanderer emerged as a historical agent within the travel accounts of the authors discussed in this dissertation and the ideological differences implied by *bhikṣu*, *ghumakkaṛ*, and *yātrī*—monk, wanderer, and traveler—as three related, yet distinct, designations applied in the works of the three authors who are the focus of this study.



Figure 6: Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan, *Buddhism in North India*, Plate XVII.

A Monk's Letters: Anand Kausalyayan and India's Buddhist Hindi Public

In photographs, Anand Kausalyayan appears as a slender and stern Buddhist monk. His head is shaven and he wears saffron-orange robes. Large black framed spectacles dominate his face, framing piercing and querying eyes. His image, in many ways, presents an important icon of a modern Buddhist monk in India, a model for what Buddhism in India might look like and how it might be practiced. While not the first modern Buddhist monk of India, Kausalyayan was an early “Indian Bhikkhu,” a term D. C. Ahir uses to describe the first “sons of the soil” to take on monk's robes and “devote their lives to the cause of the Dhamma.”¹⁴⁵ Born in 1905 and passing away in 1988, a study of Kausalyayan's life and work presents a unique overview of the development of Buddhism in India over the course of the twentieth century, charting the contours of modern Buddhism in India from its early growth as part of the Hindu nationalist movement to later efforts to rethink issues of caste through a turn to Buddhism by members of the Dalit community.

According to Ahir, Kausalyayan was the first modern Buddhist monk from Punjab. His path to becoming a Buddhist monk, however, was not a straight one. In his early years he sought to explore alternative approaches to social, political, and religious reform. Those experiences influenced his later approach to Buddhism. It also imbued in him an interest in and dedication to travel as part of one's service to India. As Ahir recounts in *Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, Kausalyayan was born in the small town of Sohana in Punjab province, near present day Chandigarh, and given the name Harnamdas. He went on to receive his BA at the age of 19 from the National College of Lahore, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai.¹⁴⁶ He left home soon after and it was during this period that he met Rahul Sankrityayan.¹⁴⁷ Through Sankrityayan, Kausalyayan (then Harnamdas), became involved with the Arya Samaj, the Hindu reform movement founded by Dayanand Saraswati in 1875.¹⁴⁸ The Arya Samaj was one of a number of Hindu reform movements at the time, and would have a defining influence on later Hindu nationalist movements. In addition to its refutation of idol worship and caste reform, the Arya Samaj also advocated for a stronger missionizing force as both a civic and religious duty, creating temples and institutions across India to train its members.¹⁴⁹ Changing his name to Brahmachari Vishvanath, Kausalyayan served for a number of years as an Arya Samaji Parivarajik, or

¹⁴⁵ D. C. Ahir, *Buddhism in India: Status Growth and Development* (Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2017), 83.

¹⁴⁶ D. C. Ahir, *Buddhism in North India* (Delhi: Classics India Publications, 1989), 66.

¹⁴⁷ As Ahir writes, “While wandering hither and thither in search of inner peace, Harnamdas per chance met Rahul Sankrityayan (then known as Sadhu Ramodardas) at Meerut towards the end of 1926.” *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India* (Sri Satguru Publications, 1989), 82.

¹⁴⁸ See: K. C. Yadav, ed., *The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati* (South Asia Books, 2010); Scott, J. Barton, “Unsaintly Virtue: Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Modern Hindu Hagiography,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 7, no. 3 (2014): 371–391; Madalsa Ujjwal, “Political Ideas of Swami Dayanand Saraswati,” *Indian Journal of Political Science* 69, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec., 2008): 965–974.

¹⁴⁹ Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York: Columbia University Press), 22.

wandering missionary of the Arya Samaj. His education, though, quickly distinguished him from the other renunciates. As Ahir continues,

Unlike the majority of the sadhus in those days, [Kausalyayan] was well educated, and was fond of reading books. One book which he always carried with him was “Hero and Hero Worship.” He used to read this book whenever he could find time. On seeing this, some people used to remark in wonder, “look, a thin and lean young Sadhu is reading an English book.”¹⁵⁰

In 1927, Kausalyayan left the Arya Samaj, following Sankrityayan to Sri Lanka, where he studied Pali. One year later he took up monk’s robes, taking the new name Anand Kausalyayan after his ordination by the Venerable L. Dhammananda at the Vidyalankara Pirivena. In 1932, at the request of the Maha Bodhi Society who had sponsored his trip, Kausalyayan went to Europe, staying in London before traveling to Liverpool, Paris, and Berlin.¹⁵¹ He returned to Sri Lanka in 1934, returning to India with Sankrityayan and Jagdish Kashyap in 1936. Thereafter, Kausalyayan spent several years in Sarnath, editing the Hindi journal of the Maha Bodhi Society *Dharmadūt*, discussed in the previous chapter. This period of his life was marked by his engagement with Buddhism as part of syncretic religious reform movements, both nationally and internationally. One through-line of Kausalyayan’s life and work is travel and his dedication to publishing new works in Hindi.

While not his mother tongue, Kausalyayan wrote extensively in Hindi, introducing Hindi audiences to Buddhism through essays, books, letters, and translations. Early in his career, he worked with Rahul Sankrityayan and Jagdish Kashyap to produce some of the first versions of the Pali Tripitika in the Nagari script. He then proceeded to write and translate numerous texts on Buddhism in Hindi, including: *Buddh Vacan* (The Words of the Buddha), *Bhikṣu Ke Patra* (A Monk’s Letters), *Buddh aur Unke Anuchar* (The Buddha and His Followers), *Bauddh Dharam: Ek Buddhivādī Adhayan* (appearing in English as *An Intelligent Man’s Guide to Buddhism*), *Tathāgat kā Śāśwat Sandeś* (Tathagata’s Eternal Message), *Bhagawān Buddh kā Dharam* (Lord Buddha and His Message), and *Bhagavadgītā tathā Dhammapad* (Bhagavadgita and the Dhammapada). He also translated several volumes of the *Jātakas*, as well as the first Hindi translation of B. R. Ambedkar’s *The Buddha and His Dhamma*.¹⁵² The majority of these works introduce Hindi audiences to core Buddhist tenants in clear and simple language, situating them in terms of current political and social contexts and explaining their enduring relevance for Indian society. One of his most well-known works, *Bauddh Dharam: Ek Buddhivādī Adhayan*, is indicative of the ways in which Kausalyayan sought to posit Buddhism as a “thinking man’s religion,”¹⁵³ presenting Buddhism in straightforward dictums and instructions that related to the everyday lives of his readers.

Kausalyayan’s commitment to Hindi led him to take a leading role in the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti in Wardah, an organization established by the Indian Congress to promote Hindi

¹⁵⁰ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, 82. “Hero and Hero Worship” seems to be a reference to Thomas Carlyle’s *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, based on a series of lectures Carlyle gave in 1840 and first published in 1841.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 83.

¹⁵² Ahir, *Buddhism in India*, 172–173.

¹⁵³ Penny Edwards, “The Tyranny of Proximity: Power and Mobility in Colonial Cambodia, 1863–1954,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2006): 422–423.

as a national language. He served as its General Secretary for ten years, from 1941 to 1951.¹⁵⁴ During this same period, Kausalyayan continued to be engaged in Buddhist networks, traveling extensively in India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Japan, and China, and even serving as the head of the Hindi department at the Vidyalankara Pirivena in Sri Lanka.¹⁵⁵ His public role as an advocate for Hindi as a national language brings together two important histories: First, the development of modern Buddhism in India, and second, efforts to promote Hindi as a national language through new literary works that expanded its literary corpus and readership. These two aspects of Kausalyayan's work developed in tandem and were united by his attention to travel as a religious and social practice. The production of new works in Hindi helped formalize literary and cultural traditions around the emerging national language. They also introduced Hindi audiences to key Buddhist concepts and practices, encouraging greater public discourse around Buddhism and a sense of a Buddhist community in the region through new journals and publications.

By the 1950s, Kausalyayan had become increasingly engaged with Ambedkar and efforts related to the Dalit Buddhist movement. At the time of the mass conversion to Buddhism led by Ambedkar in Nagpur in 1956, Kausalyayan was in China as part of a government delegation sent there for the 2500th Buddha Jayanti Celebration. Kausalyayan returned to India around the time of Ambedkar's passing that same year, leading a second mass conversion to Buddhism following the cremation of Ambedkar's body in Dadar Chowpatty, Mumbai (then Bombay). Ambedkar's *The Buddha and His Dhamma* was published the following year, and Kausalyayan took it upon himself to translate the work to Hindi, finishing his translation while staying at a Buddhist temple in Bangkok.¹⁵⁶ Kausalyayan went on to be an important figure in the *Navayana* or "new path" tradition in India. Over several decades, he led several large-scale conversions to Buddhism, in addition to offering seminars and lectures on Buddhism, publishing new works, and establishing a small monk's residence at the site of Ambedkar's conversion known as Dīkṣa Bhūmi. In 1982, Kausalyayan left Dīkṣa Bhūmi to establish a small center outside of Nagpur called Buddha Bhumi.

In this chapter, I focus on a set of epistolary travel accounts first published as a series in *Dharmadūt* and then as an edited collection titled *Bhikṣu ke Patra (A Monk's Letters)*. The letters were designed to introduce readers to key Buddhist concepts and practices and are emblematic of Kausalyayan's manner of presenting Buddhist ideas in an accessible format amidst quotidian details about his daily life and travels. What is surprising about the letters is their emphasis on travel as a key aspect of Buddhism. Three out of the eighteen letters are dedicated to accounts of trips Kausalyayan took, more than any other topic in the collection. A close reading of those three letters helps explain how and why travel and travel writing are a central theme of Kausalyayan's work. Presenting himself as the paragon of a modern *dharmadūt*, or Buddhist messenger, Kausalyayan's emphasis on travel maps the spaces and networks of modern Buddhism in India, commenting on the social conditions he encountered and presenting key Buddhist values and moral codes along the way. The figure of the traveling monk has a particularly important role in Kausalyayan's works, tracing connections between different intellectual, religious, and social networks, as well as serving as an enduring model for the continuity of Buddhism in modern India.

Kausalyayan's choice of epistolary writing invites readers to imagine themselves as part

¹⁵⁴ Proceedings of the All India Hindu Mahasabha Buddha Gaya Temple Committee which Met at Gaya on the 8th, & 9th, July, 1935 (pp 20–22). Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

¹⁵⁵ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, 85.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 86.

of a greater Buddhist community—a Buddhist Hindi public—using travel as a means for bridging his personal narratives with more collective experiences. The interplay between the local and the foreign, home and abroad, is an important characteristic of epistolary travel accounts and carried into the relationship between author and reader. Letters inherently reference a notion of home through their form and through the pretense of sharing news from one location with a recipient in another. As Clare Brant argues in her discussion of epistolary travel accounts, even accounts of travels abroad serve as commentaries on the conditions of “home.” The traveler of such letters serves as a commentator, critiquing where they come from by surveying the conditions of the places they encounter during their travels. As Brant continues:

The traveler is one of the most diverse characters imaginable and one whose diversity should be protected from simplification. Such diversity makes it hard to relate travel letters to other forms of letter writing, even though many can be seen as extensions of familiar letters, simply written on the road rather than at home. One way to alter taxonomy, even the useful taxonomy of character, is to propose travel letters as a form of letters of argument in that they advance certain criteria as a basis for understanding the world. Observation, information and opinion in travel letters operate like arguments.¹⁵⁷

While the focus of Brant’s research is fictitious travel accounts popular in the eighteenth century, her observations are applicable to Kausalyayan’s epistolary travel accounts as well. In his letters, Kausalyayan comments on the conditions of Buddhism in India, first through a comparison with the modern conditions of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, and subsequently through an account of a longer journey in India. The “observations, information, and opinion[s]” he presents in his letter “operate like an argument” for why Buddhism should be relevant to his Hindi readers.

Kausalyayan’s letters engage the dialectic relationship between a “here” and a “there” that is embodied in the form of letters to present a moral vision of Buddhist monkhood in a way that is applicable to a broader Hindi reading public. Kausalyayan’s accounts are compelling because their form models his practice of moving, situating him between India and Sri Lanka, as well as modern and traditional practices, much in the way epistolary accounts move between places and registers. Travel figuratively and literarily connects both these conditions, weaving through Kausalyayan’s various experiences. It also speaks to the dissemination of news through letters and publications, allowing Kausalyayan to comment on the conditions in India through his descriptions of various landscapes both at home and abroad. Within his written works, travel appears as both a narrative element, often describing Kausalyayan’s movement to various countries and regions, as well as a forum for discussing moral and social issues that arise during interactions along the way. While other travel accounts from the period are typified by a sense of “discovery,” Kausalyayan’s travel accounts are unique in that they attempt to describe continuities and connections in the face of modern developments. In other words, Kausalyayan expands on the idea that wandering is a traditional element of Buddhist practice, as discussed in the previous chapter, situating Buddhism at the intersection of various “contact zones.”¹⁵⁸ This is

¹⁵⁷ Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 245. For more on the development of letter writing standards and their link to the construction of empire, see: Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁵⁸ The notion of “contact zones” is drawn from Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 2007).

most clearly demonstrated by his choice to include letters from his travels in Sri Lanka and India. Doing so allows for a comparative model in which the conditions of Sri Lanka are compared against those in India, and Kausalyayan's experiences can be measured against those of his readers. Through a set of epistolary accounts, Kausalyayan's individual experiences reflect collective relationships, inviting readers to share in his encounters and mapping of intellectual and geographic terrains.

In order to understand how Kausalyayan used epistolary travel accounts to introduce Hindi audiences to salient features of Buddhism, it is useful to explore his letters through four different historical lenses. First, the image of a wandering monk as depicted in Kausalyayan's letters and its relationship to analogous representations in the hagiographies of traveling monks in Southeast Asia. Second, travel accounts as a means for commenting on social and religious issues in India, and subsequently, Buddhism's ability to address them. Third, and related to the second point, letter writing and travel accounts as modern practices through which Kausalyayan situates his work in relationship to a dispersed Buddhist public. And fourth, the standardization and promotion of Hindi as a national language reflected in Kausalyayan's choice to publish his various excursions as epistolary travel accounts. Travel accounts engender moments of contact between different cultural, religious, economic or social arenas. In Kausalyayan's works, such encounters are the basis for promoting Buddhist principles. Part of the argument I am making here is that, in describing such encounters, Kausalyayan is also impacting a broader Hindi literary imaginaire by introducing Buddhist references through literary and linguistic references, as well as geographic, cultural, and literary allusions. The impact of Buddhist traditions and literary works on modern Hindi literature is often overshadowed by the dominant impact of Hindu nationalism. This dissertation seeks to address that, beginning with Kausalyayan's efforts in the 1930s to introduce Hindi audience to basic Buddhist principles through a set of letters.

Bhikṣu ke Patra

"Dear Yogendra," writes Kausalyayan at the start of each of the eighteen letters included in *Bhikṣu ke Patra*. Yogendra is described in the introduction as an engaged and open-minded "gentleman" who is curious to learn about Buddhism.¹⁵⁹ The term he uses is *mahānubhāv*, meaning "a great noble or liberal minded person," whose intelligence Kausalyayan contrasts with the "idle curiosity" of others.¹⁶⁰ As Douglas Ober explains though in his discussion of the journal *Dharmdūt*, "Yogendra," the recipient of each of Kausalyayan's letters, is presented as a model for "a recent Hindu convert to Buddhism." Their correspondence enacts an intimate exchange between mentor and disciple through which "Kausalyayan clarifies Yogendra's doubts about Buddhism and provides his own confessional account of why any 'rational, intelligent man' could see the immutable flaws and problems in Hinduism and other religions."¹⁶¹ Kausalyayan tells us in his introduction that we might consider him as a fictionalized figure, his characterization of the recipient of each letter is an important clue to the kind of audiences Kausalyayan imagines reading his letters and the way he sought to frame Buddhism as a more

¹⁵⁹ Anand Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra* (Dārāgang: Chātrahitakāri Pustakamālā, 1940), 2.

¹⁶⁰ Mahendra Caturvedi, *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary* (Delhi: National Publishing House, 1970), 586. While the term means "gentlemen" in this case, it is worth noting the connection of the term to the Mahānubhāv Sect, suggesting some interesting lines of discussion around issues of asceticism, caste, and place. See: Anne Feldhaus, *The Religious System of the Mahānubhāva Sect: The Mahānubhāva Sūtrapāṭha* (Delhi: Manohar, 1983).

¹⁶¹ Ober, "Reinventing Buddhism," 249.

rational and intellectual religion.

The letters contained in the edited collection cover a range of topics, including Buddhist literature (letter 1), astrology (letter 3), non-violence and vegetarianism (letter 7), whether or not Buddhists believe in God (letter 8), caste (letter 9), and causationism (letters 16 and 17).¹⁶² Such questions were common in Buddhist publications at the time, defining the contours of modern Buddhism in India in contradistinction to other religious traditions and reform efforts. The most striking aspect of Kausalyayan's travel letters is their emphasis on wandering. As mentioned above, three out of the eighteen letters describe trips Kausalyayan took. Letter 10 describes a weeklong journey Kausalyayan made in Sri Lanka, while letters 14 and 15 describe a longer expedition Kausalyayan took with Rahul Sankrityayan across northern India, starting in Sarnath and ending in Khoksar.

Even letters not specifically dedicated to travel accounts record Kausalyayan's movement through the notation of dates and locations. In many cases, a personal note at the beginning and end of each letter further carries with it a sense of movement, charting Kausalyayan's travels by marking where one letter was sent and another received. Consider the movement implied by the start of Kausalyayan first epistolary travel account: "Having arrived in Merīgaur Hajirī (PN) your letter had to wait for me for several days. I was not there. I returned just yesterday from a journey."¹⁶³ The stagnancy of the letter—the letter is made to wait—plays against the movement of Kausalyayan, who was out on a "journey" or *cārika*. This same dynamism is sustained across the accounts and charted against the relative stasis of his correspondent and the scenes through which Kausalyayan moves along the way.

The term Kausalyayan uses for his journeys is *cārika*, a markedly Buddhist term drawn from Pali sources and closely linked to the life story of the Buddha. In his glossary of Pali terms, Kausalyayan defines it as *yātrā*, or trip. In the quotes below, I translate it variously as trip, journey, excursion, or expedition. The term *cārika* further carries a sense of personal history or behavior in the world, appearing in such phrases as *cārikam carita*, which is often translated as "to wander."¹⁶⁴ The second part of that phrase, *carita*, is defined variously as life, behavior, wandered, roamed, and gone.¹⁶⁵ Texts like the *Buddhacarita*, composed by Aśvaghoṣa in the second century, move between an account of the Buddha's life and a guide for others to follow. Modern biographies and hagiographies in South and Southeast Asia drew from this tradition to present personal accounts as a form of social and religious critique. Accounts of one's life became a way to imagine a moral guide for others, either through exemplary actions or through a self-conscious reflection on their struggles with their own personal valor in the midst of changing circumstances. Kausalyayan's letters similarly present a set of moral positions through his own navigation of the people and environments he encounters.

In his study of the hagiographies of wandering monks, Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah argues that the life story of the Buddha was the preeminent model for hagiographies of wandering forest monks, serving to not only structure such works, but also as a guide for their function as instructive texts; models for Buddhist practice and devotion. Travels in particular become an opportunity to reflect on various moral codes in a variety of circumstances. As Tambiah explains

¹⁶² Anand Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra* (Darangang: Chātrhitkarī Pustakmālā, 1940); 2. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Kausalyayan's *Bhikṣu ke Patra* are from the edited collection, rather than the serialized versions originally published in *Dharmadūt*.

¹⁶³ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 65.

¹⁶⁴ I am indebted to Trent Walker for his help on this point.

¹⁶⁵ "Carita," Wisdom Library, last modified March 12, 2021, <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/carita>.

in his discussion of Buddhist biographies,

The Buddhist notion of ‘biography’ is conveyed by words like *carita*, *caritam*, and *avadāna*. The biography of the Buddha, fragmentary in the canonical Pāli literature, but elaborated and mythologized in subsequent times by all Buddhist schools, is an integral part of the dogma and doctrine referred to as the *Dhamma*. The *Vinaya* rules are stated in the context of events that took place during the Buddha’s itinerant teaching mission in the company of disciples.¹⁶⁶

Tambiah goes on to discuss how the example of the Buddha’s biography impacted modern Buddhist hagiographies, providing a crucial framework for describing the basic contours of a religious life. The focus of Tambiah’s work is the hagiographies of wandering forest monks in Thailand, specifically Maha Bua’s biography of Ajan Man, which he suggests is marked by certain key features that are taken up in similar accounts, including the monk’s engagement with animals and the religious epiphanies he has while wandering. Embedded in such accounts is a critique of established religious structures, emphasizing the moral and religious principles of each figure as a form of commentary on their social and cultural contexts. In other words, in addition to drawing parallels between the individual and the Buddha through conventional features of hagiographies, they also highlight dynamic changes in the world around them, challenging the localization of religious power and authority in urban monasteries and royal patrons. An account of one’s travel, or *cārikaṃ carita*, transforms individual peregrinations into something that can be shared with others.¹⁶⁷

Drawing from a larger set of texts, Kampala Tiyavanich argues that there is no common paradigm underlying the biographies of forest monks in Thailand. Instead she identifies a multitude of styles and narratives. Following on the work of Tiyavanich, we might think more broadly about how such accounts function as individual, rather than standardized, attempts to describe novel approaches to Buddhist practice. Rather than being paradigmatic of the Buddha’s life story, each biography or account serves to situate a specific monk in relationship to key doctrinal and institutional structures.¹⁶⁸ As Tiyavanich writes about the forest monk Ajan Butda, “Throughout his years of wandering Ajan Butda was often invited to villagers’ houses to perform Buddhist ceremonies and give sermons. One day, as he was approaching a village, a man ran up to him and asked the monk, ‘Which is your wat [monastery]?’ Ajan Butda replied, ‘Wat Song Kha [Two Legs Monastery]. Wherever my two legs stand, that is my wat.’”¹⁶⁹ Ajan Butda’s response emphasizes his autonomy and mobility, alluding to both his legs as if they are the two pillars of “wisdom and compassion.”¹⁷⁰ It also signals a highly decentralized model of Buddhist practice, one that is socially engaged and critical of institutional practices and instead vested in

¹⁶⁶ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 113.

¹⁶⁷ In his article “History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism,” Stephen C. Berkwitz offers a compelling analysis of how Buddhist histories (*vamsas*) engage with emotions as the basis for encouraging a feeling of gratitude or, as he writes, “to orient the emotional lives of devotees towards the past and to give rise to moral communities in the present.” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71, no. 3 (Sept. 2003): 579–604.

¹⁶⁸ Kamala Tiyavanich, *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth-Century Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1997), 11.

¹⁶⁹ Kamala Tiyavanich, *In the Cool Shade of Compassion* (Shambhala Publications, Kindle Edition, 2018), 62.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

individual experiences and moral conduct. The decentering of religious observance in such accounts is coupled with a greater attention to quotidian interactions. Consider for example Tiyanich's description of forest monks in Thailand, "Their Buddhism found expression in the acts of daily life: walking for days in the wilderness; meeting with villagers who were sometimes supportive, sometimes suspicious; spending the nights in an umbrella tent beneath a tree, in a crude shelter, or in a cave; and contending with all sorts of mental and physical challenges."¹⁷¹ These same monks were celebrated for the austerity of their conduct, "...eating only one meal per day, sleeping outdoors in a forest or a cemetery, and being content with the very fewest possessions."¹⁷² As discussed below, Kausalyayan's accounts proceed similarly, situating his moral authority in his person as he moves through the world, depicting one image of a modern Buddhist monk as a morally and socially engaged figure.

Kausalyayan does not directly reference Thai hagiographies or the accounts of other wandering monks in his letters. However, the affinities between his accounts and those of his contemporaries in other parts of South and Southeast Asia emphasize how his writings participated in a trend to rethink Buddhist principles in modern times through a return to the practice of wandering as a core Buddhist tenant and an enduring model of a Buddhist adherent. Moving between key centers of Buddhist study in Sri Lanka and India, without affirming those as the only institutions of Buddhist education and practice, Kausalyayan brings his discipline with him as he travels.

His work also follows a concurrent trend to emphasize travel as part of new English publications of Buddhist texts and colonial accounts of India. In 1936, for example, the same year as Kausalyayan's first epistolary account, E. H. Johnston's translation of *The Buddhacharita or Acts of the Buddha* was published in Lahore. Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids' *Wayfarer's Words*, discussed in more detail in the next chapter, was published in London in 1940. Both emphasize a reading of the Buddha's life as a set of moral dictums demonstrated through his encounters while wandering. Colonial fiction and non-fiction works similarly presented travel as a trope through which to articulate conceptual and physical conceptions of place. Consider the role of various modes of travel in Edwin Arnold's *India Revisited* or E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*, from steam ships to lorries and bicycles, each mode of conveyance engenders a specific relationship to a given locale. Their journeys through the Suez Canal *en route* to India occupy considerable space in both works, narrating the passage as a particular turning point from one set of modern and geopolitical conditions to another. From this vantage, they share their insights and opinions of the lands they pass through and visit.¹⁷³ In comparison, it is noteworthy that Kausalyayan does not dwell on the major legs of his journey by modern forms of transportation, including by ship. In fact, he often glosses over them, lingering instead on the slower passages, especially those parts of his journeys he covers on foot.

Modes of travel in Kausalyayan's accounts index his negotiation with the changing religious and social conditions in the region. Speed, in particular, signals the impact of modernization.¹⁷⁴ Kausalyayan's emphasis on walking suggests a more traditionalist approach to

¹⁷¹ Tiyanich, *Forest Recollections*, 2.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷³ Emily A. Haddad, "Digging to India: Modernity, Imperialism, and the Suez Canal." *Victorian Studies* 47, no. 3 (2005): 363–96.

¹⁷⁴ This idea of "speed" as an index of modernity is explored in other works of fiction at the time such as E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*, first published in 1924. Andrew Rutherford, ed. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of A Passage to India: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970); Judith Scherer Herz, *A*

Buddhism, one grounded in an idea of connection and exchange. It affords him the chance to meet with others along the road, to enjoy the scenery, and to delight in his travels. In comparison, haste or rapid transportation consistently inhibits Kausalyayan's ability for meaningful interactions. In some cases, it is the smell of petrol or the cramped conditions of trains or motor lorries that keeps him from enjoying his travels. At other times, Kausalyayan simply yearns to proceed on foot. As Kausalyayan writes, "Having travelled so much over the past two or three years by train, car, bus, ship—yes, even by aircraft—I had been aching for some time to have the experience of walking by foot."¹⁷⁵ The moments in Kausalyayan's letters that come closest to describing transformative religious experiences are marked by expressions of joy and satisfaction. Such moments of joy, *ānand*, are especially important throughout the letters as they index the conditions Kausalyayan feels are important for Buddhist practice. We can apply Kausalyayan's appraisal of different forms of travel to his approach to Buddhism itself. He does that through a valorization of walking as a framework for presenting his own moral qualities as a traveling monk.

Despite his distaste for modern forms of travel, Kausalyayan is, in his own way, quite modern. He is often grouped with other Buddhist revivalists or Buddhist reformers such as Anagarika Dharmapala, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Jagdish Kashyap. And in fact, his approach to Buddhism is characteristic of many of the features that Heinz Bechert attributes to "Buddhist modernism," a term Bechert coined to discuss new forms of Buddhism as they emerged in South and Southeast Asia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁷⁶ Largely spurred by colonial influences, new global connections were made possible through modern transportation, as well as social and cultural reformations afoot in the region, Buddhist modernism refers to reform and revivalist efforts and organizations that developed around readings of Buddhist teachings as a modern intellectual and socially engaged philosophy.¹⁷⁷ Reading his predilection for walking in conversation with his commitment to being a Buddhist monk gives some indication of how Kausalyayan seeks to frame Buddhism for modern audiences.

Drawing on the work of Vasudha Dalmia, I would like to suggest that Kausalyayan's accounts offer a traditionalist model of Buddhism. As Dalmia explains,

"traditionalist" as against "revivalist" [emphasizes] the *sanātānatā* or constancy of tradition, rather than any breach with some original, more pristine past, which the more radical reform movements claimed to fill. The past invoked by the traditionalist was accessible by texts, ritual, social practice and institutions, some of them going farther back in time while others were no older than the late eighteenth century.¹⁷⁸

Both Dalmia and Bechert's work situate moral authority and religious continuity outside of governmental control. In other words, they circumvent the influence of colonial institutional authority by locating modernity in the continuity of more localized practices and institutions. Kausalyayan's writings take this one step further, locating moral and religious authority in the

Passage to India: Nation and Narration (Twayne Publishers, 1993); Hunt Hawkins, "Forster's Critique of Imperialism in 'A Passage to India'." *South Atlantic Review* 48, no. 1 (1983): 54–65.

¹⁷⁵ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 65.

¹⁷⁶ Heinz Bechert, "Sangha, State, Society, Nation": Persistence of Traditions in "Post-Traditional" Buddhist Societies." *Daedalus* (1973): 85–95.

¹⁷⁷ In her dissertation on the modern history of Buddhism Gitanjali Surendra suggests Buddhist Modernism in India is an effort to rethink Buddhism as a liberation-theology.

¹⁷⁸ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 7. Italics added.

individual embodied in the ambulatory practices of an individual monk. The ingenuity of his approach is that it still allows him to forge institutional connections, without abdicating his autonomy. Furthermore, it allows for the continuity of Buddhist traditions in the region despite a perceived lack of institutional continuity in the region. Legacies of travel and wandering, both in India and abroad, are framed as the locus for a Buddhist tradition that can be carried and embodied in each of us.

Discourses of mobility chart idiosyncratic approaches to Buddhism across South and Southeast Asia. They do so by providing a counternarrative to colonialist narratives that posit a condition of cultural “stasis” in the region. As Penny Edwards writes in her study of discourses around mobility in Cambodia, “Th[e] mirage of an immobile population accentuated the notion of colonizers as liberators capable of bringing their charges out of a feudal past and into an imperial present.”¹⁷⁹ Through a focus on Khmer and the “promotion of a national language (*piessaa-jiet*),” Edward’s work links new narratives of mobility with literary and cultural reform efforts, especially related to the production of literary and religious canons.¹⁸⁰ The strong affinity between the emphasis on mobility of Nath and That, and Hindi authors in India such as Kausalyayan, points to a larger trend at the time to draw inspiration from “modernity’s promise,” emphasizing the new connotations of travel and wandering in modern Buddhism.¹⁸¹ The continuity of Buddhist tradition in Cambodia, however, meant that Buddhism carried somewhat different associations than it did in places like Cambodia where the work of figures like Nath and That had to contend with current practices. However, like the work of Nath and That, Kausalyayan critiques many aspects of popular Hinduism, especially in the mountains of northern India. By attacking it as “irrational” and “ritualistic,” he joined a trend across Asia to cast Hinduism as a scapegoat and advocate for Buddhism as a more “rational” or “scientific” religion.¹⁸² As I will discuss more below, Kausalyayan uses his travel accounts as a way to highlight social and moral aspects of Buddhism, both in India and abroad. Moving between different historical and cultural registers, Kausalyayan’s works reflect pan-Asian modernist discourses around Buddhism as a moral force linked to modernization and nationalization. His travel accounts embody this approach, drawing from his own life experiences as part of a broader effort to promote a Buddhist public in India. Hindi proved to be the consistent bridge between the multiple registers of his work, defining a body of literature that sought to introduce Buddhism to modern readers in India.

The objects Kausalyayan carries with him as he travels gesture towards his connection to a transnational Buddhist community. Setting off from the Vidyalankara Pirivena, he begins his account as follows: “I did not have anything except a cloth bundle over my shoulder and an umbrella made in Burma to protect me from the sun and the rain.”¹⁸³ The “Burmese umbrella” appears several times in Kausalyayan accounts, from the tropical meanderings of his time in Sri Lanka, to later adventures in the Himalayas when he uses it to pull himself out of the snow. It is an identifiable symbol of his monkhood, and his status as a wandering monk in particular. Kausalyayan’s emphasis on the umbrella’s “Burmese-ness”—it is not just a Burmese umbrella,

¹⁷⁹ Edwards, “The Tyranny of Proximity,” 422–423.

¹⁸⁰ Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 95.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

but a *burmī kī banī chatrī*—further serves to formally distinguish it from other umbrellas, associating Kausalyayan with monastic communities and traditions across South and Southeast Asia.¹⁸⁴ The umbrella is an apt metaphor for how Kausalyayan frames his autonomy and individual authority. Because it is Burmese, it references his connection to monastic communities across South and Southeast Asia. It also provides an individual, mobile shelter, a form of support and connection he can carry with him and which is all his own. With his Burmese umbrella in hand and a bundle over his shoulder, Kausalyayan continues his journey in Sri Lanka. Walking along the road, he soon encounters a blacksmith who recognizes him from a talk he gave at Imbulagoḍ Vihar several years earlier. As Kausalyayan recounts,

चलता-चलता तीन-चार मील निकल गया। देखा, एक आदमी दबे-पाँव पीछे आ रहा है। मैं रुका तो वह बड़ी विनम्रता पूर्वक पूछने लगा कि आप कहाँ जहे हैं ? मैंने कहा 'कडवत'। आप का विहार? मैंने कहाँ 'विद्या-लङ्कार परिवेण'। इसी प्रकार के अनेक प्रश्न पूछकर उसने यह मालुम कर लिया कि मैं सिंहल देशीय भिक्षु नहीं हूँ। कुछ दूर आगे चलकर पूछने लगा—'क्या आप कभी हमारे इम्बुलगोड के विहार में धर्मोपदेशार्थ गये हैं?' मैंने कहा—'हाँ लेकिन उसे तो तीन चार वर्ष हो गये।' उसने कहा—'मैं आप को शुरू में ही पहचान गया था, लेकिन पूछते हुए डर रहा था।'

Continuing along, I walked another three or four miles. Then I saw a man quietly coming from behind. I stopped and he began to ask rather politely where I was going? I said, "Kadawat." Your vihar? "Vidya-Lankar Pariven," I said. In this manner, he asked many other questions after which he came to understand that I was not a Sinhalese monk. Having gone a little further, he began to ask—"Have you ever been to our Imbulagoḍ Vihar to give a sermon?" I said—"Yes, but three or four years ago." He replied—"I recognized you right away, but I was nervous to ask."¹⁸⁵

Through the letters, encounters usually occur *en route*. "Continuing on," as he writes, creates a refrain that carries through his letters, adding to the persistent mobility of the text. It also situates Kausalyayan's "foreignness." Kausalyayan is both known and unknown, recognizable and unfamiliar. His connection with institutions such as Vidyalankara Pirivena and Imbulagoḍ Vihar further define contours of Kausalyayan's foreignness, situating Kausalyayan within a transnational association of Buddhist thinkers and monks, while still embedding him in his immediate context by virtue of his status as a monk.¹⁸⁶ Kausalyayan's liminal status between India and Sri Lanka—his ability to move between the two of them—further defines the critical vantage his text adopts by positioning him as a wandering Buddhist monk.

Continuing along the road, the remainder of Kausalyayan's interactions with the

¹⁸⁴ There is much more to say of such umbrellas. They can be a powerful symbol of monkhood in South and Southeast Asia. A consideration of umbrellas and monks opens up a host of interesting avenues of inquiry. Consider for example the 1942 "Umbrella War" of Cambodia discussed in Penny Edwards, "Making a Religion of the Nation and its Language: The French Protectorate (1863–1954) and the Dhammakāy." in *History, Buddhism, and New Religion Movements in Cambodia*, ed. J. Marston and E. Guthrie (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 63–86.

¹⁸⁵ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 66–67.

¹⁸⁶ Kausalyayan's association with Vidyalankara Pirivena associates him with a modern and transnational Buddhist community, especially Buddhist revivalists from India. See: Prabhakar Machwe, *Rahul Sankrityayan: Hindi Writer* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1998) and Torkel Brekke, *Makers of Modern Indian Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

blacksmith comment on key social and religious issues in India through a discussion of the conditions in Sri Lanka. As he writes,

मैंने उसकी—उसके घर की—अवस्था पूछई, और रास्ते चलते जहाँ-तहाँ जो थोड़ा बात कर सकता था, करता आया। कड़वत की दुकानें आईं, तो वह कहने लगा कि कृपया थोड़ी चाय पी लीजिये। भारत होता तो सबसे पहला प्रश्न होता कि दुकान किसकी है—हिन्दू की या मुसलमान की? यहाँ तो प्रश्न की गुंजाइश नहीं। बौद्धों के साथ-साथ मुसलमानों की भी दुकानें हैं। जिस दुकान पर चीजें अच्छी दिखाई दें, उसी पर जा डटो। लेकिन मुझे प्यास नहीं थी। मैंने कहा, इस समय आवश्यकता नहीं। वह आग्रह करने लगा कि कुछ चाय चीनी साथ बाँध लें। मैंने कहा—‘आवश्यकता-होती तो अवश्य स्वीकार कर लेता, लेकिन अवश्यकत ही नहीं। उस लोहार का वह आग्रह कितना मीठा था और कितना धर्म-पूर्ण!! अमीरों के बड़े-बड़े निमन्त्रणों में यह माधुर्य कहाँ!!!

I asked about him—about his home—and those little things that can be discussed while going here or there along the road. Coming to the stores of Kadawat, he began to invite me to have some tea. If it was India, the first question about any shop would be whether it is a Hindu or a Muslim one. Here there was no such issue. Buddhists shops sit just beside Muslim ones. You just go to whichever shop carries the best things. But I wasn’t thirsty. I said that it was not necessary this time. He began to insist that I should take some tea with sugar to go. ‘If there is a need, then I shall certainly agree and take something, but there isn’t a need,’ I told him. How sweet and how full of devotion were the insistences of that blacksmith!! When do you ever find such sincerity in the pretentious invitations of the rich!!!¹⁸⁷

The clarification at the beginning of the above quote—“home” for “him”—emphasizes the deep connection between the blacksmith and notions of place. It also emphasizes Kausalyayan’s relative “homelessness.” The differences between the two men, however, are overcome by a common experience of traveling and a discussion of “those little things that can be discussed while going here or there along the road.”¹⁸⁸ This openness is carried into the description of the city of Kadawat and a discussion of the differences between India and Sri Lanka.¹⁸⁹

Hospitality is a recurring theme in Kausalyayan’s letters, especially his first travel account from Sri Lanka. As in the example above, it signals a certain openness and generosity that overcomes strict religious divisions much in the way the experience of traveling together seems capable of overcoming differences. The exchange following the blacksmith’s simple insistence that Kausalyayan should drink some tea presents the opportunity for Kausalyayan to reaffirm his strict moral observances while also valorizing the blacksmith’s sincerity and the lack of religious divides in the small town. The two are brought into conversation through the conditions of the two men traveling together. Despite his openness or eagerness to engage with the blacksmith, Kausalyayan’s description never entirely escapes the pejorative. The man Kausalyayan encounters is quickly identified as a blacksmith, a *lohār*, an interesting decision given Kausalyayan’s repeated dismissal of caste throughout the letters, and Kausalyayan’s strict

¹⁸⁷ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 67.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ History tells a different story. See, for example: Tessa J. Bartholomeusz, *In Defense of Dharma: Just-War Ideology in Buddhist Sri Lanka* (Routledge, 2005).

adherence to “need” in accepting food both on the road and at various monasteries he visits along the way.

Kausalyayan’s letters introduce his readers to key Buddhist principles through the comparison of one region to another. In other words, his comments on the different environments, conditions, and interactions he experiences in Sri Lanka present readers with a vision of what Kausalyayan feels are the most salient features of Buddhism for India. Travel and wandering provide the pretext for such encounters, but such movement also gestures to the kind of intellectual position Kausalyayan valorizes in Buddhism and hopes his readers will adopt: open, hospitable, disciplined, and rational.

If encounters on the road are moments of cultural comparison and commentary, the moments between each encounter are generally spaces of joy in his text. Consider for example the following description from his first letter from March 21, 1936:

बीच-बीच में जब कुछ देर के लिये कोई मोटर या बस नहीं आती, और पेट्रोल कइ दुर्गन्ध के स्थान में झूमते हुए नारियलों कइ स्वच्छ हवा मिलती, तो मन बाग-बाग हो जाता। किनारे पर जगह-जगह नारियल के पत्तों कइ गरइबों की झोपड़ियाँ; बीच-बीच में सम्पन्न लोगों के अधुनिक ढङ्ग के मकान और दुकानें!

In the gaps between the cars and buses coming by, when the stench of petrol was replaced with the clean air of swaying coconut trees, the mind would roam free. On the side of the road were huts made from the leaves of coconut trees for the poor; in between them were the houses and stores of the rich, built according to the modern fashion!¹⁹⁰

Taking place in the interstitial spaces of the scene, Kausalyayan sets up a dialogic condition in his letter in which the mental openness he experiences walking is likened to the condition of “huts made from the leaves of coconut trees for the poor.” In the above quote, Kausalyayan “roam[s] free” in the spaces between things—*bīc-bīc men*. The passage is written in such a way that the mental openness of the moment is echoed in the relative conditions of the houses of the poor, built from the leaves of the coconut trees swaying over his head. The rush of cars and buses, on the other hand, are likened the “the houses and stores of the rich, distasteful and “built according to the modern fashion.” The positive mental experience of one moment is akin to the “natural” and less developed conditions of the less developed parts of the island.¹⁹¹ More importantly, Kausalyayan’s *dharmadūt* is portrayed as more sympathetic and aligned with the poor and downtrodden.

The monasteries he visits and stays in are another arena in which Kausalyayan highlights qualities he feels are most salient to building a welcoming Buddhist community. Throughout his journey in Sri Lanka, Kausalyayan paints a rather romantic vision of the monastic communities he visits along the way. However, even while meeting monastics he continues to offer social and religious critiques of those he encounters, especially related to issues of caste.

कडवत के विहार में पहुँचा, तो वहाँ के स्थविर भिक्षु कहीं जाने के लिये बाहर खड़े थे। मुझे देखकर रुक गये और साथ अन्दर लिवा ले गये। आतिथ्य करना नैवासिक (विहार में रहने वाले) भिक्षु का धर्म है,

¹⁹⁰ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 66.

¹⁹¹ For an expanded reading of this metaphor in Buddhist art and architecture, see: Kazi Ashraf, *The Hermit's Hut: Architecture and Asceticism in India*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

और फिर जब भिक्षु परिचित हो तो क्या कहना? एक रात इस विहार में रहा। चारिका की पहली रात थी। खूब अच्छी लगी। एक और आगन्तुक भिक्षु आये थे। बात-चीत में पूछने लगे कि भिक्षु बनने से पहले आप किस जाति के थे? मैंने कहा—बौद्ध-धर्म तो जाति-वाद को नहीं मानता न? सुबह उठा तो उन्हें कहने सुना ‘बड़ा पक्का भिक्षु है।’

When I arrived at the Kadawat vihar, a Buddhist monk from there was standing outside on his way to heading somewhere. Seeing me, he stopped and brought me inside. To practice hospitality is a *dharma* of *naivāsik* (those who live in a vihar) monks, and what more can be said when a monk is an acquaintance. I stayed one night in that vihar. It was the first night of my trip. I felt extremely happy. One other visiting monk had come. During our conversation, he asked, “Before becoming a monk, what caste were you?” I said—“Buddhism doesn’t accept casteism, isn’t that right?” Waking up in the morning he could be heard saying, “Such a proper monk.”

Like the letter that sat waiting for Kausalyayan to return from his journey at the start of his letter, in this scene a monk stands waiting for Kausalyayan before setting out himself on his way somewhere. He pauses, though, to help Kausalyayan. The relative progressivism of Kausalyayan continues to drive his encounters with the monks in the *vihar* as their hospitality gives way to a discussion of pervasive casteism. Kausalyayan’s false modesty can be read in several ways, but regardless of its accuracy, it pervades the text in a way that helps present an idealized image of the modern Buddhist monk or *dharmadūt* as someone who refuses to acknowledge enduring caste divisions as part of his moral and religious commitments.

Caste pervades almost every aspect of Kausalyayan’s journeys. It is a trend across the writings discussed throughout this dissertation. During the second part of the 1930s, when Kausalyayan was writing and publishing his letters, the issue of caste was increasingly prominent. It was being fought on multiple fronts, including in religious and social reforms. As Douglas Ober has written, Buddhism’s close association with Hindu reform efforts during this period grew out of a concern over caste and a fear that members of the lowest castes or so-called “untouchables” might convert to Buddhism to avoid being part of the caste system.¹⁹² While that would eventually come to pass, during the period that Kausalyayan was authoring his letters, Buddhism was being explored as part of Hindu philosophy more broadly defined as the Arya Dharma. In his assessment of this historical moment, Trevor Ling pits the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi against those of B. R. Ambedkar. While one advocated for a religious reform while still preserving “caste institutions and the four-fold categories of caste,” the other sought to abolish caste entirely.¹⁹³ In his accounts, Kausalyayan makes it clear that while casteism continues even in Buddhist communities, there is a broader understanding that Buddhism is inherently anti-caste, or at least valorizes those who oppose enduring casteism. This is a somewhat novel position to take, but one which is congruent with Kausalyayan’s reading of Buddhism as an antidote to issues of class and caste in India. His descriptions of the conditions in Sri Lanka—where Buddhists and Muslims can have tea together in the same shop—further reifies

¹⁹² Douglas Fairchild Ober, “Reinventing Buddhism.”

¹⁹³ Trevor Ling, *Buddhist Revival in India: Aspects of the Sociology of Buddhism* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 8.

Buddhism's ability to transcend social divisions in a way that is distinct from how it is being upheld in India.

In the remainder of his account from Sri Lanka, Kausalyayan describes his experience in a monastery he has never visited before. Once again, he experiences a warm welcome, which Kausalyayan stresses is an obligation of Buddhist monastics.¹⁹⁴ However, it is clear that his time at this monastery is much more uncomfortable than at monasteries where he knew some of the monks. On several occasions, Kausalyayan feels he has to explain himself to the monk who greets him. This is especially true when the monk insists that Kausalyayan eat something: "With a lot of difficulty," Kausalyayan writes, "I had to explain to him that I had already had a morning meal and I had no need of anything before the midday meal."¹⁹⁵ Kausalyayan continues to be dissatisfied with the condition of the final monastery he visits during his trip in Sri Lanka until finally he falls while taking a bath, hurting his hand and leg. His leg injury is so bad that he has to go to the hospital, shortening his trip by foot. Having abandoned his original plans, Kausalyayan quickly concludes the letter, writing "Due to the kindness of people on the road, both known and unknown, I reached Kandy on time, but because the trip had to be by bus I will not write anything about it in this letter."¹⁹⁶ By the time he finishes his letter, though, he is "ready to continue his journey."

A year passes before Kausalyayan writes another letter to Yogendra describing one of his journeys. It is 1937 and summer is approaching. He begins his account in Sarnath. By the 1930s, Sarnath was the site of the newly built headquarters of the Maha Bodhi Society in India, marking a shift away from Bodhi Gaya as the sole focus of the society's mission in India, and signaling an interest in the revival of an expanded network of Buddhist sites.¹⁹⁷ Its proximity to Varanasi meant that it also participated in a trend to reimagine the political and religious centers of India. The centrality of Sarnath to Kausalyayan's work during this period of his life is made clear in his first travel letter based in India. He begins by explaining how it had been almost two years since he had traveled away from Sarnath in the summer—an important clue for a man who usually valorizes travel and wandering. Instead, he had remained there for work, enduring the summer heat. As he writes, "I spent the summers of '35 and '36 in Sarnath. At the start of '36 I was in Sri Lanka. But as luck would have it, when the typical summer days had come to Sarnath this year."¹⁹⁸ The lines are quite colloquial and markedly not Sanskritized. They also reference his previous trip to Sri Lanka, described in his first travel account, creating a sense of continuity between the letters.

In his introduction to the published collection of his letters, Kausalyayan writes that his travel accounts were "included because they introduce the real condition of Buddhist countries." His decision to include a discussion of India is therefore surprising, suggesting that he would like his readers to understand India as a Buddhist country. This is a bold claim, especially amidst growing efforts in Hindi to affirm India as a Hindu nation and a general sense that Buddhism had not been a living tradition in the subcontinent for over a thousand years.¹⁹⁹ As discussed earlier, Kausalyayan's decision to describe a journey across northern India also allows for a comparative

¹⁹⁴ See, for example, *The Buddhist Monastic Code II: The Khandhaka Rules Translated and Explained by Thānissaro Bhikkhu* (Geoffrey DeGraff) (Valley Center: Metta Forest Monastery, 2001).

¹⁹⁵ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 71.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 71–72.

¹⁹⁷ Sraman Mukherjee, "From Sites and Museums to Temples: Relics, Ruins and New Buddhist Viharas in Colonial India." *Archive Series 5*, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, January 2014.

¹⁹⁸ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 94–95.

¹⁹⁹ Ahir, *Buddhism in Northern India*.

discussion of Buddhism in the region, localizing Buddhist authority in himself as a traveling monk, his companions, and the various Buddhist centers and scholars they visit along the way.

Kausalyayan's writings identify moments of cultural and religious continuity in the region. Travel, or the practice of wandering, especially by foot, offers one such contiguous practice. Kausalyayan's letters, however, do not suggest that Buddhism in India is vibrant or institutionalized in the same way it is in Sri Lanka. Rather his letters make clear the extents and limits of Buddhism in India, describing pockets of Buddhism with no centralizing or overarching religious institution. Kausalyayan's choice to describe India's modern Buddhist havens and networks in Hindi is noteworthy, however. It links Kausalyayan's efforts to a longer history of engaging with Hindi in order to expand and define cultural, religious, and political boundaries through new types of literary works. It also helps map Buddhism against the geographical spaces of North India. If his account from Sri Lanka offered a comparative lens through which to think about Kausalyayan as a Buddhist ambassador, his subsequent travel letters present the role of such wandering monks in reviving Buddhism in India. The letters also gesture towards Kausalyayan's involvement with the production of new works on Buddhism for Hindi audiences.

Having left Sarnath in the morning, Kausalyayan and his traveling companion meet Rahul Sankrityayan and two other men. They travel together to Allahabad, the first stop on Kausalyayan's journey, and a well-known center for Hindi publishing.²⁰⁰ All of the travelers have some publications underway. Kausalyayan takes the time to describe them and their various states of production:

२ मई को इलाहाबाद ला० जर्नल प्रेस में काम था। खुदक-निकाय (पालइ) की १२ पुस्तकें एक साथ नागरी अक्षरों में छप रही हैं। भाई जगदीश काश्यप के 'मिलिन्द प्रश्न' को हिन्दी अनुवाद छप रहा है। राहुल जी की 'पुरातत्त्व-निबन्धावलि' का प्रिन्ट आर्डर दिया जाने वाला है। बौद्धन्याय-दर्शन की संस्कृत की कई पुस्तकें छप रही हैं। और हाँ, मैंने भी एक छोटी सी पुस्तिका तैयार की है 'बुद्ध-वचन'। इन्हीं सब से सम्बन्ध में प्रेसवालों को आवश्यक बातें कहनी सुननी थीं। दिन में सब कार्य समाप्त करके ५ बजे की गाड़इ से दिल्ली के लिये रवाना हुये।

On May 2nd, we had some work at L. Journal Press. Twelve volumes of the *Khudak-nikāy* (Pālī) were being printed in the Nagari script. Brother Jagdīsh Kāshyap's Hindi translations of "*Milind Prashn*" is also being printed. The print order for Rahul's "*Collected Essays on Archaeology (Purātattva-Nibanddhāvali)*" is just about ready to be placed. Several volumes of the Sanskrit version of *Bauddhanyāy-Darshan* are being printed. And yes, I have also prepared a smallish book, "*Buddh-Vacan*." We had to discuss all the necessary matters related to these publications with the printers. Having finished everything, we set out on the five o'clock train for Delhi.²⁰¹

Kausalyayan's discussion makes clear that, in addition to publishing works that fostered a close association between Hindi and Hinduism, Allahabad was also an active center for the publishing of new works on Buddhism in Hindi.²⁰² This paragraph is a wonderful snapshot into Buddhist

²⁰⁰ Akshaya Mukul, *Gita Press and the Making of Hindu India* (Harper Collins, 2015); Monika Freier, "Cultivating Emotions: The Gita Press and its Agenda of Social and Spiritual Reform," *South Asian History and Culture* 3, no. 3 (2012): 397–413.

²⁰¹ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 95–96.

²⁰² Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007).

publishing at the time, highlighting many of the key authors and the works they were publishing in that period. Jagdish Kashyap, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Anand Kausalyayan all worked together, connected through their training in the Vidyalankara Pirivena and working together to translate texts from Pali into Hindi.

In many ways, Kausalyayan's letters mark the intersection of his interest in Buddhism and Hindi, formalizing them through direct references to the routes and communities that define a broader Buddhist community or public, a moral and cultural landscape that I discuss below as a Buddhist Hindi public. Over time, the broader Hindi literary sphere observed some of these influences in a way that is often overshadowed by the impact of Hindu reform and revivalist efforts on Hindi. Francesca Orsini outlines the production of a "Hindi public" in India in *The Hindi Public Sphere*. Drawing on the work of Jurgen Habermas and Nancy Fraser, Orsini charts how the publication of new works in Hindi fostered public discourse that embodied key aspects of Habermas' theories, while also differing from the production of a modern literary publics in Europe.²⁰³ In Orsini's account, the Hindi public sphere is complicated by a third space—the customary, a space beyond the simple public and private binary that Habermas posits in his work on literary publics in Europe—for critical discourse. Kausalyayan's travel accounts occupy the space of the customary, bridging ideas of public and private as part of a critique of hegemonic Hindu values and nationalist discourses, but also through the use of multiple customary practices: the habits of hospitality by monks in monasteries, taking leave from an abbot, and even the conventions of letter writing—date, name, location, salutation. While unified by a sense of "All India," the Hindi public sphere that he develops in his text complicate an easy reading of Hindi as the language of an emerging Hindu nation. Buddhist publications such as Kausalyayan's expand the general Hindi reading public by fostering a sense of a Buddhist Hindi public.²⁰⁴

Throughout the letters, Kausalyayan also explores traveling, especially by foot, as a space between the public and private. It is as much a space for his thoughts to roam and for him to experience the joy of travel as it is the space of his encounters with other travelers. Through a discussion of travel, Kausalyayan addresses disparities between traditional and modern approaches to leading a moral life, a model of Buddhism aligned with changes in society and culture, while grounded in certain traditional continuities. Walking valorizes multiple types of experiences and encounters, both in the way in which it comments on modern conditions, and in which it emulates the Buddha himself as a peripatetic hero who wandered on foot. Kausalyayan's dedication to walking, coupled with his knowledge of different modes of modern transportation, allows him to present an image of himself as a modern wandering monk. It also fosters a medial zone within which to think of the formation of a Hindi Buddhist public as a counter to a more hegemonic Hindu public. It is a model of someone grounded in tradition, but also adept at navigating the complexities of the modern world; one who is embedded in social and religious systems in India and Sri Lanka, but also autonomous enough from both to comment on the conditions he perceives to pervade both. In other words, travel becomes an index of Kausalyayan's encounters with the changing contours of modern Buddhism and India.

Hindi publications on Buddhism suggest a more syncretic or cosmopolitan history to India's national language and related literary canon. Travel similarly suggests a way of re-narrativizing personal and collective relationships to the landscape of India, suggesting broader

²⁰³ Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920–1940*, 9.

²⁰⁴ Vasudha Dalmia has powerfully outlined the ways in which national identity was produced through the development of Hindi as a national language in *The Nationalization of Hindu Tradition*.

global connections linked to Buddhism spread across Asia. This is especially true of Kausalyayan's work. Rather than a single community, Kausalyayan's writings outline a network of active Buddhist communities separated by vast distances across much of North India and even around the world, but connected through letters, publications, and figures such as himself who move between them. At the core of his work, Kausalyayan posits that travel is a fundamental component of Buddhism, embedded in the life story of the Buddha, and imparted as one of his teachings to his followers. Seeking to be a modern-day ambassador of Buddhism in India, Kausalyayan incorporated travel into his life and, as a result, into his writings.

Kausalyayan's translation of *Buddh-Vacan* (The Word of the Buddha), mentioned in the longer quote above, is remarkable for the ways in which it continues his emphasis on making Buddhism accessible and modern. The text is composed of a selection of quotes taken from the Pali Tripiṭaka compiled by Mahāsthavir Gyānatilok, who, according to Kausalyayan, was born in Germany but who spent around forty years living in Sri Lanka.²⁰⁵ In 1938, Kausalyayan published an essay in English in *The Maha Bodhi* under the title "A.B.C. of Buddhism," based loosely on his Hindi introduction to the *Buddh-Vacan*, which he wrote while in Allahabad on January 27, 1936.²⁰⁶ There are differences between the two versions, specifically the way in which the Hindi publication stresses certain historical and cultural issues such as the carved edicts of the emperor Ashoka or issues like caste and alcoholism, and Kausalyayan's emphasis on the uniqueness of the Buddha's teachings. The Hindi version also outlines Kausalyayan's process for the production of *Buddh-Vacan* in Hindi, drawing from multiple versions and translations, and consulting with Jagdish Kashyap to produce the final version. His Hindi introduction also provides an index of all the texts the work is drawn from, which include the *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *Dīrgh Nikāya*, *Dhammapada*, *Aguttar Nikāya*, *Itivuttaka*, and the *Udāna*. This list of references is important because it helps provide a pedigree for Buddhist literature in Hindi, expanding the set of literary references beyond those that typically define the Hindi canon. In his introduction, Kausalyayan even goes so far as to indicate how the well-known Sanskrit play by Kālidāsa, *Shakuntala*, would appear in various languages including Pali, Māgadhi, and Prakrit, arguing that there is a relative familiarity between the different languages that makes them all equally viable for informing new works in Nāgāri. In other words, through his introduction, Kausalyayan makes an argument for the broader literary and linguistic basis for Hindi as a national language beyond Sanskrit, which tended to dominate Hindi discourses.

There were ongoing debates about the origins of Pali and the literary basis for Buddhism. Kausalyayan's approach to Pali is similar to the one developed by Anagarika Dharmapala in *The Arya Dharma of Sakya Muni, Guatama Buddhar: Or the Ethics of Self Discipline*. In a chapter titled "The Common Language of Ancient India," Dharmapala writes about the origins of Pali,

The Blessed One wished that the language used to convey the message of the Buddha should be the language of the people, and not Sanskrit. Why dogmatise and mislead ignorant people in the West. Madadhi, Suraseni, Paisachi, Maharasthri, Prākṛit were the dialects spoken by the people at the time, and the Blessed One beautified the vernacular by inventing expressions and terms to expound His wonderful Doctrine of the Bodhi pakkhiya Dhamma. Pāli may be called the middle language which was used by the

²⁰⁵ Anand Kausalyayan, *Buddha-Vacan* (Allahabad: Chātr-hitakārī Pustakamālā, c. 1936), 12.

²⁰⁶ Ananda Kausalyayan, "A.B.C. of Buddhism," *Maha-Bodhi* 46, no. 2 & 3 (Feb and March, 1938): 76–87.

Blessed One to expound the Doctrine of the Middle Path.²⁰⁷

Both Kausalyayan's Hindi introduction to *Buddh-Vacan* and the related English essay "A.B.C. of Buddhism" stress the relationship that exists between language and culture. Kausalyayan makes a case for Pali as the closest or most authentic language for what Kausalyayan writes about as *Buddha-gyan*—which he translates as "Buddhist-thought"—urging Hindi readers to learn as much Pali as they can. Here, knowledge of the Buddha is equated with a certain way of knowing in Buddhism, linked to literary and linguistic traditions. In other words, such an approach fosters a link between the embedded cultural and religious context of a word as an index of certain cultural and regional thoughts and knowledge patterns. Kausalyayan goes on to write that literatures develop in order to address the evolving questions and concerns that arise at specific times and in specific place.²⁰⁸ As he writes in a short English article titled, "A.B.C. of Buddhism,"

All literatures may be taken as reflections of some specific thoughts, some attempts to answer certain questions. What questions does the Buddha-thought as reflected in the Tripitaka raise and answer? Followers of other religions naturally expect Buddhism to deal with those very questions with which their own religions deal. Buddha-thought does deal with some of those questions and does not deal with others. What are the questions which the Buddhist-thought answers and what are not?²⁰⁹

Kausalyayan elaborates on the kinds of questions he believes drive "Buddhist-thought" in *Buddh-Vacan*. As Kausalyayan explains in his introduction, the Buddha's teachings, transmitted through centuries of a rich body of literature in multiple countries, are grounded in a core set of simple questions. As he writes,

प्रश्न जितना सरल है, उससे अधिक व्यापक है। प्रश्न है, 'क्या हम दुःखी हैं?' बुद्ध का उत्तर है, 'हाँ'। क्या इस दुःख से छूट सकते हैं? बुद्ध का उत्तर है, 'हाँ'।

The simpler the question, the more comprehensive (*vyāpak*) it is. The question is, "Are we suffering?" The Buddha responded, "Yes." Is it possible to be released from this suffering? The Buddha's answer is, "Yes."²¹⁰

The term Kausalyayan uses for "comprehensive" is *vyāpak*, which also implies being "pervasive" or "widespread."²¹¹ This is connected to efforts to make Buddhist teachings accessible through clear language and basic questions. In translating Buddhism for modern audiences, Kausalyayan sought to present the Buddha's teachings as comprehensible and accessible to as diverse an audience as possible. His efforts to present terms and ideas through examples and language that will be easily appreciated by his readers means that his works also

²⁰⁷ Anagarika Dharmapala, *The Arya Dharma of Sakya Muni, Gautama Buddha: Or, The Ethics of Self Discipline* (Calcutta: The Mahabodhi Society, 1917. Reprint edition, University of Michigan Library), 151.

²⁰⁸ "Buddha-thought" is the phrase Kausalyayan uses for *Buddha-gyan* in his English essay "A.B.C. of Buddhism."

²⁰⁹ Kausalyayan, "A.B.C. of Buddhism," 78.

²¹⁰ Kausalyayan, *Buddh-Vacan* (Allahabad: Chātr-hitakārī Pustakamālā, c. 1936), 5.

²¹¹ Caturvedi, *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary*, 730. Accessed online July 19, 2019.

expand the Hindi lexicon through the indexing of key terms and ideas drawn from Pali and Buddhist texts. In *Buddh-Vacan*, for example, Kausalyayan provides readers with a glossary of terms such as: *arhat*, *tathāgath*, and *ārya-satya*. Instead of literal translations, Kausalyayan explains his terms in the context of his reader's modern conditions. For example, drawing on the famous analogy of Buddhist liberation, *mokṣa*, as the extinguishing of a lamp, Kausalyayan describes the same concept through the idea of an electrical switch.²¹² This might be read as the continuation of a commentarial tradition. Like those traditions, Kausalyayan is expanding the set of linguistic and intellectual associations his readers have for key Buddhist ideas and teachings.

Travel is one of the most prevalent metaphors Kausalyayan uses to make Buddhism accessible to Hindi audiences. It has the added advantage that it has the capacity to provide cultural context through descriptions of the various places and encounters he has along his way. In other words, it allows for a more direct argument around culture and place. We see many of the themes outlined in his introduction to *Buddh-Vacan* in his travel accounts as well. These include encounters with the historical legacy of Buddhism in India through archaeological evidence; the importance of language and Pali for understanding Buddhism and as an alternative to Sanskrit; and his direct engagement with pervasive issues of caste and alcoholism. In Kausalyayan's accounts, the kinds of sites he describes and the types of experiences he has at each location are also important, charting the affiliations between different Buddhist centers, all of which informed Kausalyayan's approach to Buddhism as a universal religion with a deep history and relevance to India.

From Allahabad, Kausalyayan and his traveling companions head to New Delhi where they meet with Prof. Sudhākar. In an aside, Kausalyayan remarks to Yogendra that, "You may not have heard of the professor, but you will certainly know about his book 'Psychology' (*Manovigyan*). It is probably the best book on 'Psychology' in Hindi." The link to psychology might seem abrupt, but it was common in Buddhist discourses at the time, especially in publications related to the Maha Bodhi Society, where discussions of psychology were used in essays and publications designed to introduce readers to basic Buddhist ideas. Such an approach also gestures towards the deep link imagined in publications like Kausalyayan's between language, psychology, and history. Discussion of Hindi books on psychology also situate modern discourses and language within a longer tradition in the region. Reading certain literary and linguistic approaches as indicative of enduring cultural and religious traditions—such as caste or the rejection of caste—Kausalyayan's work advocates for a literary and cultural grounding in Buddhism as the basis for a modern psychological tradition of India.²¹³

The next part of Kausalyayan's account describes the institutions and organizations Kausalyayan and his traveling companions visit during their trip. From Delhi, Kausalyayan and Sankrityayan travel to Lahore, where Sankrityayan was scheduled to give a "talk in Lājpat-Rai Bhavan on behalf of the Society of the Rejection of Caste." Details about publications and speaking engagements within the letter are interspersed with brief descriptions of the details of the trip itself. There is, in fact, very little description of actual towns or places. When there is, it is often to describe the condition of passengers on trains or the unpleasant experience of traveling by motor lorry. In some cases, Kausalyayan will also comment on development in the region. In the next section of his account, for example, Kausalyayan describes the recent addition

²¹² Kausalyayan, *Buddha-Vacan*, 9.

²¹³ This is also picked up on ideas around Buddhist psychology in Dharmapala's *The Arya Dharma of Sakya Muni, Gautama Buddha*, 78–84.

of a new rail line up to Yogendra Nagar or the city of Yogendra.²¹⁴ He remembers visiting that site twelve years earlier when there was no train beyond Paṭhānkot. Kausalyayan seems unimpressed with the new train to Yogendra Nagar, however. In one of his harshest critiques of railway travel, he writes, “only once we had been loaded onto the train with the help of a coolie did I realize that there is no difference between men and cargo on the train.”²¹⁵ Expressing an intense dissatisfaction particularly with how people are loaded onto the coaches, he likens this experience to that of Hindu pilgrims on their way to Allahabad for the Kumbh Mela. The only difference, he writes, is that “in our case, people and luggage were both stuffed tightly together.”²¹⁶ Trains and other forms of modern transportation revolutionized pilgrimage practices in India.²¹⁷ Kausalyayan’s arguments seem to be that they also impacted the experience of pilgrimage or travel, making it harder for people to have the social and individual experiences that make such journeys worthwhile. While potentially a social critique, Kausalyayan’s descriptions of travel also reveal his appreciation of wandering as an aestheticized practice, one that is not simply about the ease or speed of arrival, but rather about the journey itself. This is linked to the quality of experiences certain types of travel engender for Kausalyayan. Disappointed by the new train line to Yogendra, Kausalyayan once again cuts his description short: “Well” he writes, “we arrived in the city of Yogendra.” And with that, he continues on with his description.²¹⁸

In the final section of his first travel letter from India—*cārikā 1*—Kausalyayan describes his group’s sojourn at the institute of Nicholas Roerich, the well-known Tibetologist from Russia who established the Himalayan Research Institute known as Urusvati with his wife Helena Roerich. Nicholas Roerich was also a celebrated painter.²¹⁹ They lived at the institute with their two sons. Kausalyayan is clearly impressed by the institute and the Roerich family. He spends a considerable amount of time recounting their accomplishments, commenting on their command of different languages, their artistic achievements, and their deep devotion to Buddhism. Kausalyayan’s description also suggests a deep affinity with the family, going so far as to add a special note about a painting he received from a representative of the Roerich family’s institute in Paris.²²⁰

The Himalayan Research Institute is one of the few places in Kausalyayan’s accounts where he wants to stay longer rather than continue traveling. As he writes:

²¹⁴ This seems to be a pun. The city Kausalyayan is discussing is presumably Jogindar Nagar.

²¹⁵ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 96.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

²¹⁷ Sagar Singh, “Slow Travel and Indian Culture: Philosophical and Practical Aspects,” in *Slow Tourism: Experiences and Mobilities*, ed. Simone Fullagar, Kevin Markwell, and Erica Wilson (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2012), 214–226.

²¹⁸ The use of “well,” *khair*, is a notable feature of Kausalyayan’s accounts. It is also noticeable in the travel accounts of Bharatendu Harishchandra, perhaps because it suggests a more colloquial or conversational tone.

²¹⁹ Nicholas Roerich wrote his own travel account published in 1929 as *Altai-Himalaya*. See: Nicholas Roerich, *Altai Himalaya* (New York: Nicholas Roerich Museum, 2017). For a discussion of Roerich’s work, see John McCannon, “By the Shores of White Waters: The Altai and its Place in the Spiritual Geopolitics of Nicholas Roerich,” *Sibirica* 2, no. 2 (2002): 166–189; John McCannon, “In Search of Primeval Russia: Stylistic Evolution in the Landscapes of Nicholas Roerich, 1897–1914,” *Ecumene* 7, no. 3 (2000): 271–297; Anita Stasulane, *Theosophy and Culture: Nicholas Roerich* (Gregorian Biblical BookShop, 2005).

²²⁰ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 99.

हिमालय-खोज-संस्था एक ऐसी जगह है जहाँ से हिलने को आदमी का जी नहीं चाहता। देवदार की शीतल छाया में शान्ति पूर्वक बैठ कर अध्ययन और मनन करने की ऐसी सुविधा बहुत कम जगहों पर है। समय समय पर यहाँ के विभिन्न-देशों से प्रसिद्ध रिसर्च स्कालर आते हैं और अपने विषयों में—कोई पुरातत्त्व-विषयक, कोई वनस्पति-विषयक, खोज का कार्य करते हैं। ‘उरुसवति’ नामक वार्षिक पत्रिका में, जिसके कुल तीन या चार ही अङ्क निकले हैं यहाँ के कार्य का विस्तार छपता रहता है।

The Himalayan Research Institute is the kind of place that people never want to leave. In the cool shade of the pine trees, you can sit with a sense of peace. There are very few places that are as conducive to study and meditation.²²¹ From time to time, famous research scholars from different countries come to do research in their various fields—some study archaeology, others botany. Details about their works is printed in their annual publication titled “Urusvati,” which comes out in a total of three or four parts.²²²

Kausalyayan’s fondness for the incredible “natural beauty,” or *prākṛtik saundarya*, of the area around the institute is similar to the sense of joy and openness he experienced on the open road in other letters.²²³ In the above scene, the natural beauty of the surroundings and the sincerity of devotion and commitment to intellectual and artistic pursuits only further reinforces how special the institute is for Kausalyayan.

Despite his desire to linger, Kausalyayan does not stay at the Himalayan Research Institute long. Instead, he and his fellow travelers continue their journey. By this point, Kausalyayan has already traced a host of institutions across much of northern India. Through his travel accounts, Kausalyayan is able to map out and identify these institutions, providing an overview of the types of centers scattered across the region, the bastions of modern Buddhism in India: Sarnath, Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore, and now the Kullu Valley. Each place is linked to a specific type of activity and Buddhist community, from education and publishing to society meetings on caste and research.

The account of the next leg of Kausalyayan’s journey is covered in a subsequent letter—*cārikā* 2—written in 1937. The account is a departure from the earlier letters because it is not punctuated by encounters with familiar communities or centers welcoming the travelers. The one exception is a brief encounter Sankrityayan has with a monk he recognizes from Tibet. In Kaṭrain, their motor lorry has to stop and collect the mail, as well as to allow cars to pass on a narrow road. While waiting, Sankrityayan spots a monk he knows from Tibet and calls him over. They engage in a few minutes of conversation, “first in Hindi then in Tibetan.”²²⁴ This brief encounter is followed by a one night’s stay at Thakur Manglachand, which Kausalyayan praises for the natural beauty surrounding it. From that point forward, the group continues by foot. It is clear that they are moving into unfamiliar territory. This is emphasized through the repeated use of the phrase, *kinare-kinare*, literally edge or the bank, as they continue on the precarious “bank of the Beas river.” In the unfamiliar territory, the group’s erudition is juxtaposed with the beliefs and practices of villagers in the area. The first such encounter is with a local oracle in a nearby temple who is well known for his rituals during which he is possessed by a god—“*vahan ek ādmī ke sir par devtā āta tā*.”²²⁵ During their visit, Sankrityayan attempts to confuse the man with his questions. Kausalyayan seems delighted by Sankrityayan’s success in confounding the medium with such questions as, “When will the Byas River run backwards?,” once again emphasizing the rationality of the group as compared to the ritualistic and superstitious nature of the local oracle.

²²¹ Ibid., 100.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid., 99.

²²⁴ It is very plausible that this monk was Gendun Chopel. See Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Madman's Middle Way: Reflections on Reality of the Tibetan Monk Gendun Chopel* (University of Chicago Press, 2008).

²²⁵ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 102.

When the group is later invited by a *sanyasi*, or renunciate, to visit his hut and drink some tea, Kausalyayan quickly dismisses the invitation, simply writing, “We didn’t stay.” The abruptness of Kausalyayan’s comment is a noticeable departure from his polite refusals for tea and food in Sri Lanka. In that earlier account, invitations were opportunities for Kausalyayan to celebrate the kindness of rural or poor individuals. In his account from the Himalayas, however, an invitation from a local *sanyasi* leads him to lament the general condition of village life, including the prevalence of certain religious beliefs and alcoholism. As he writes,

उस दिन मैंने अपनी डायरी में लिखा—

‘रोग,—दरिद्रता,—मिथ्याविश्वास—यही ग्रामोण—जीवन है। जिससे कुछ आशा हो उसके सामने गिड़गिड़ाना, जिससे कुछ आशा न हो उसकी ओर आंख उठाकर भी न देखना; यही इधर के लोगों की जीवन फिलासफी है।’

That day I wrote in my diary—

“Disease,—poverty,—false beliefs—this is village life. Groveling in front of things that give hope, and not even raising their eyes to things that don’t give hope; that is the philosophy of the people who live here.”²²⁶

His choice of the word “philosophy,” transliterated simply as “*philāsaphī*,” feels tongue-in-cheek, as if lambasting the condition of the people he is meeting in these rural areas. It is not a hopeful image of village life in India, and it is unclear what is to be gained from their interaction with these communities, except, perhaps, to offer his readers an image of these pervasive conditions. Read in comparison to the romantic visions of similarly rural scenes in Sri Lanka, Kausalyayan’s work lambasts “village life” in the Himalayas. The disparity harkens to Orientalist travelogues which similarly tended to romanticize or disparage foreign landscapes.²²⁷

Soon, Kausalyayan finds himself beyond the villages and alone in the mountains. At that moment, Kausalyayan experiences “the true joy of travel for the first time.” As he writes,

आगे एक दूकान पर से एक कुली का इन्तजाम कर व्यास के किनारे-किनारे चले। यात्रा का ठीक आनन्द मुझे आज पहली बार आया। न मोटर-लारी की जल्दबाजी न पेट्रोल की बद बू। आगे-आगे हमारे तीन कुली थे और पीछे हम तीनों। थोड़ी बूँदा-बाँदी शुरू हुई—मैंने अपना बर्मी छाता खोला। ठण्डी ठण्डी हवा चल रही थी—वैसे ही आराम से जैसे हम लोग। चीड़ और देवदार के वृक्षों के कारण चारों ओर सौन्दर्य बरस रहा था। आगे थोड़ी चढ़ाई शुरू हुई लेकिन कल आनेवाली चढ़ाईका ख्याल कर इसे कोई ‘चढ़ाई’ नहीं मानता था। ठाकुर मङ्गलचन्द जगह जगह बताते चलते थे कि यहाँ इतने आदमी पत्थर से दबकर मरे और यहाँ बर्फ से। उनकी यह बातें इस प्रदेश के बारे में जानकारी बढ़ानेवाली होने पर भी मुझे रङ्ग में भङ्ग मालूम देती थीं।

Arranging for a *coolie* in a store up ahead, we continued along the banks of the Byas. I felt the true joy of travel for the first time today. There was neither the rush of the motor-lorry nor the bad smell of petrol. Our three *coolies* were up ahead with us three in the rear. It began to drizzle slightly—I opened my Burmese umbrella. A cool breeze was blowing—just as relaxed as us. The pine and fir trees enhanced the beauty all around.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

²²⁷ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994).

Ahead it started to get steeper, but compared with what was to come tomorrow, this couldn't really be called a "climb." Thakur Mangalchand kept telling us about one or the other place, "Here many men died by being buried in stones, here by snow...." Even though this conversation of his was meant to increase our knowledge of this place, it just spoiled the mood.²²⁸

There is a real sense of delight in the first few lines of the above quote. It is as close as Kausalyayan comes to breaking into song. Given how much of Kausalyayan's work is invested in defining moral guidelines for social issues, and travel in particular, moments such as this one, when he expresses a certain delight, are key. They are what compel him to travel and mark seminal moments in his texts. They also perpetuate a sense of the importance of travel for personal and social betterment, whether it is through the appraisal of rural communities and the need for social and religious reform, or through the more personal experiences it affords Kausalyayan for a moment of relaxation and delight.

After a momentary sense of joy, the trek soon becomes arduous. The path begins to ascend quickly and Sankrityayan, weakened by several illnesses, is unable to continue without assistance from the others. Kausalyayan assists him in a couple of places, but soon Kausalyayan gets separated from the others and is on his own in the snowy pass. It is cold and his legs are going numb. Fearing that he might develop frost bite, he pushes on. The Burmese umbrella is essential to his success,

एक जगह पाँव और मेरी बर्मी छतरी दोनों बर्फ में धँस गए। निकलने के लिये जोर लगाना पड़ा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि मेरे साथ छतरी न होती और मैं आकेला घँसा होता तो निकलना उतना आसान न था। कुछ दूर और चलने पर—दो चार बार लुढ़कने पर—बर्फ कम होती दिखाई दी।

In one spot, both my feet and my Burmese umbrella both sunk into the snow. It took quite some strength to pull them out. I understood that if I didn't have an umbrella with me and if I sunk by myself, it would not be that easy to pull myself out. After some distance and walking—and pulling myself out four times—the snow began to lessen.²²⁹

On the one hand, this can be read as a simple account of what happened. But, like Kausalyayan's use of travel as a metaphor for culture and development in the region, I suggest we read the Burmese umbrella as a symbol of the utility of Kausalyayan's monkhood in different circumstances. As mentioned earlier, certain objects within the text are symbols of Kausalyayan's social and religious status. This is especially true of the Burmese umbrella, which makes an important return in his final travel account. By this point, Kausalyayan has carried the umbrella with him all the way from Sri Lanka, to Sarnath, and into the mountains. It is one of only a few objects in his possession and it proves to be surprisingly useful, both in moments of joy and in hardship. He first opens it as it starts to rain—at the height of his delight in his journey. The second time it appears in the letter is in the above quote, when he uses it to pull himself out of a heavy snowbank. His rather emphatic underscoring of the Burmese-ness of the umbrella adds levity to the scene: despite being designed for tropical climates, the umbrella proves useful in the snow as well. Using a powerful image of Buddhism, Kausalyayan turns it

²²⁸ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 103.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

upside down—quite literally—to pull himself out of a precarious situation.

With much effort, Kausalyayan eventually makes it to Kullu. There he reunites with the coolies who had been ahead of him. However, Sankrityayan is nowhere to be found. Eventually Mangalchand's servant goes back to fetch Sankrityayan who, surprisingly, arrives from the opposite direction as everyone else. Reunited, the group spends the night in a *dak bungalow*. Dak bungalows are famous colonial institutions built to host traveling administrators, surveyors, doctors, and postmen. Despite their name—*dak* is often translated as “post”—it is not necessarily associated with the postal system. However, as an institution, dak bungalows speak to the diffuse network of colonial rule in India, which included the railway system, postal system, and an extensive company of surveyors, collectors, and other officials. Originally built for government officials, anyone could stay at a dak bungalow provided there was enough space. They were important posts for wanderers to spend the night as they made their way across India. Even after India's independence in 1947, the dak bungalow continued to serve as a rest house for traveling government officials and wayfarers across the region.²³⁰ The mention of the dak bungalow in Kausalyayan's account references a robust tradition of colonial travel accounts from the Himalayas, especially the writing of Rudyard Kipling who often writes of dak bungalows as haunted sites where anything is possible. As Kipling writes, “nothing is too wild, grotesque, or horrible to happen in a dak bungalow.”²³¹ It is surprising how many of the elements of Kausalyayan's letters match elements of Kipling's stories, such as “My Own True Ghost Story” (1888) or *Plain Tale from the Hills* (1888), both of which include coolies, trains, and of course, dak bungalows as sites of mysterious encounters. In Kausalyayan's letters, however, the dak bungalow is surprisingly mundane, simply a place to spend the night.

What is remarkable about Kausalyayan's account is how it repopulates the typical scenes of colonial travel narratives, like those of Kipling, with a group of Indian travelers, including two Buddhist monks. Just in the way he occupies certain modern forms of transportation and conveyances such as motor-lorries and the train—even if begrudgingly—his writings re-narrativize the experience of similar landscapes, this time animated by a pair of wandering monks and their traveling companions, including a dog named Dumbo. Does this somehow reframe the experience of coolies, expeditions, and dak bungalows that were hallmarks of colonial accounts of India? Or does it simply indicate how modern Buddhism in India developed through many of the networks that facilitated the study and control of the region by the British?

Kausalyayan ends his letter at the dak bungalow in Kullu, writing, “In a ticket worth one *anna*, perhaps I cannot send more of a description than this.”²³² Kausalyayan's final line returns

²³⁰ As Lieut. Col. J. K. Stanford, wrote in 1961, “‘Dak’ is, I believe, in Urdu, a word with two meanings—(a) stage on a road, as in stage-coach, and (b) post, as a postman usually ran or walked a stage and then was relieved by another man. In my day Dakwala was a postman or a Government messenger who brought letters. Dak-bungalow was the word, lasting from Kipling's to my time, for the Government bungalows put up for travellers along the main roads and principal district roads. Government officials had the first use of them and other people could only use them, and had to pay a fee, if they were not needed by officials.” Lieut.-Col. JK Stanford, “Dak Bungalows,” *ORG* 1 (1961), http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_bungalows.htm, accessed July 10, 2019.

²³¹ “A severe course of dak-bungalows has this disadvantage—it breeds infinite credulity. If a man said to a confirmed dak-bungalow-haunter:—‘There is a corpse in the next room, and there's a mad girl in the next but one, and the woman and man on that camel have just eloped from a place sixty miles away,’ the hearer would not disbelieve because he would know that nothing is too wild, grotesque, or horrible to happen in a dak-bungalow.” Rudyard Kipling, “My Own True Ghost Story (first published in *The Week's News* on 25 February 1888), <https://americanliterature.com/author/rudyard-kipling/short-story/my-own-true-ghost-story>, accessed June 10, 2019

²³² Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 108.

his readers' attention to the postal system and practicalities that make his letters possible. In translating his experiences for Hindi audiences, Kausalyayan is working to share a set of adventures that he feels are important for his readers, experiences made possible by new forms of communication and new forms of travel. In her discussion of epistolary writing in Indian languages—"bhasas"—Nandini Bhattacharya situates the "novelty" and "modernity" of the genre within the "reform and expansion of the postal system."²³³ As Bhattacharya discusses, the new ease of writing and sending letters participated in several global civilizing missions: One was in Victorian England, where new manuals such as Thomas Cooke's *The Universal Letter Writer* (1788) gave new guidelines for proper letter-writing etiquette. Another took place in colonized territories such as India, where letter writing became a way of "changing modes of social behavior inscribed through such letters."²³⁴ In Kausalyayan's work, the logistics of writing and sending letters is routine and described as rather mundane. They serve to frame the letters, but never seem to be a point of consternation or delight. Instead, the mechanics of letters frame the sustained consideration of his own travels as a process through which to comment on and engage the world.

Epistolary writing depends on the movement between interiority and exteriority; between the more private personal space where it is written and its postage out into the world. This is apparent in Kausalyayan's letters, where the intimate space they form is linked to the exterior apparatuses of modernity in India, such as the postal system, rail system, or network of dak bungalows. The result is a sense of a modern Buddhist community in India, one intertwined with India's modern development but also linked to timeless traditions, and animated by a group of wandering monks. It is an account that is both localized, but also trans-local, modern yet traditional, connecting Buddhist communities in India to those in Sri Lanka and abroad. Moving between those various communities is Kausalyayan, a paragon of the wandering monk, who shares his accounts with his readers through his letters.²³⁵

Accounts of a Hindi Public

The publication of Kausalyayan's letters in the earliest issues of *Dharmadūt* reflects a unique historical moment when efforts around the standardization of Hindi as a national language, Buddhist revival efforts in the region, and travel all came together. As part of concurrent efforts to develop Hindi as a national language with a robust literary history, Kausalyayan's efforts expanded the scope and historical basis for Hindi literature. New translations of Buddhist texts from Pali offered one way to expand the Hindi canon. The authorship of works in new genres, like his epistolary travel accounts, was another. Kausalyayan's travel accounts reflect a complex navigation of dominant literary modes in Hindi and efforts to carve out new historical, cultural,

²³³ Bhattacharya, "Re-reading Rabindranath Tagore's 'Streffer Patraa,'" in *Tagore's Ideas of the New Woman: The Making and Unmaking of Female Subjectivity*, ed. Chandrava Chakravarty and Sneha Kar Chaudhuri (Delhi: Sage Publications, 2017), 88–89.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

²³⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). In her work, Bhattacharya further emphasizes a turn towards the "dialogic" at the time, noting such texts as *Rentala Venkata Subba Rao's* Kamala's Letters to Her Husband, the column in *Gruhalakshmi* entitled *Saarada Lekhalu* (Letters from Sarada), and Kodignina Gowramma's work anthologized as *Jeevanapreethi: Kodagina Gowramma bareda ella katthe galu*—Love of Life: A complete collection of stories written by Kodigina Gowramma.), and of course the works of Rabindranath Tagore, especially his "Streer Patra" which is the focus of her essay, "Re-reading Rabindranath Tagore's 'Streer Patra,'" 92.

religious, and literary allusions through references to Buddhist traditions and moral guidelines. Through a discussion of travel, Kausalyayan addresses disparities between traditional and modern approaches to leading a moral life; a model of Buddhism aligned with changes in society and culture, while grounded in certain traditional continuities.

A focus on travel writing was not unique to Kausalyayan, or to approaches to modern Buddhism in India. Instead, it was part of national efforts to expand the Hindi canon through the production of new works of literature. Travel literature in particular was explored as a genre through which to experiment with authorial voices vested in the discovery, or rediscovery, of India's past through direct encounters with its different landscapes.²³⁶ One of the first Hindi authors to explore travel writing was Bharatendu Harishchandra, the prolific author from Varanasi (then Banares) whose work was pivotal in the shaping of Hindi as a national language. As Vasudha Dalmia writes in *The Nationalization of Hindu Tradition*, "Before Hariśchandra, there was practically no model for this kind of personal report of traveling in Hindi."²³⁷ Interestingly, Harishchandra also wrote his accounts as a series of epistolary travel accounts, publishing them in *Kavivachandsuddhā* (KVS) and later *Hariśchandrachandrikā* (HC) between 1871 and 1879.

Kausalyayan's accounts mirror many of the elements found in Harishchandra's, tracing similar geographic areas, experiences, and encounters. The major difference between the two sets of letters, however, is the religious landscapes they seek to define and, related to that, the persona that informs each author's voice and portrayal of themselves. Harishchandra's accounts focus on discovering the well-known Hindu pilgrimage sites of India, while Kausalyayan's work seeks to define the modern Buddhist landscape of India. This distinction impacts the style, voice, and content of each set of letters, and just as importantly, the kinds of audiences each writer imagines for their work. A comparison of Kausalyayan's travel letters to a set of epistolary travel accounts by Harishchandra reveals some of the unique characteristics of Kausalyayan's letters, as well as how they participated in a longer history of travel accounts written in Hindi. It also elucidates some of the ways in which Kausalyayan's letters promoted a vision of himself as a wandering Buddhist monk.

A major goal of Hindi travel writing before India's independence in 1947 was to use it to define an indelible link between Hindi audiences and India as a Hindu landscape. Travel accounts were a way to reclaim the territory of the region, re-narrating personal and communal connections to the land itself. As Dalmia puts it, in Harishchandra's letters, "the points of departure and destination are holy places, off the beaten track of the pilgrim. They are being rediscovered, though their presence in religious literature is well-attested. But their rediscovery is not an act of piety alone, for the perspective is wide-angled even if it is focused on the religious."²³⁸ Kausalyayan's letters similarly take a wide-angled perspective, especially in Sri Lanka, where he begins his trip in a monastery and travels to Kandy (the city famous for the temple housing a tooth relic of the Buddha), commenting on the social and cultural issues he encounters along the way. Kausalyayan's accounts, however, are not destination driven. In India, he begins in Sarnath, the site of the Buddha's first sermon, setting out on a trip to Kelang, but like the account of his trip in Sri Lanka, he ends his description before arriving at his final destination.

²³⁶ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.

²³⁷ Ibid., 323.

²³⁸ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 325

In Kausalyayan's as with Harishchandra's letters, there is also a sense of openness through approaching unknown sites, however, rather than Hindu places of pilgrimage, his letters are punctuated with sites of Buddhist activity—research institutions, society halls, and publishing hubs, each of which is actively engaged in promoting Buddhism as a catalyst for personal and social development. Rather than the celebration of India's historical or mythical Hindu landscape, Kausalyayan's accounts highlight Buddhist encounters and more individualistic appreciation of its landscape. The few mentions of Hindu pilgrimage or religious adherents are usually derisive, as is the case when he describes his encounter with the oracle in the mountains, or when he compares the cramped conditions of his train heading to “Yogendra Nagar” to those of trains filled with pilgrims heading to the Kumbh Mela. Kausalyayan's third *cārika* account, is somewhat different, however. Similarly, when he moves through the more reified territory associated with Hindu pilgrimage, beginning in Kullu and proceeding to Kelāng, the tone of his letters shifts. It is no longer romantic and interested. Instead, it is skeptical and derisive, mimicking the more disparaging tones of colonial travelogues. Once he is alone in the harsh environment of the Himalayas, he finds some respite, making it over the mountain pass at the end of the final letter through his own determination and ingenuity, and the aid of his Burmese umbrella.

A conceit of Harishchandra's accounts is that through his travels he discovers his national Hindu identity. Kausalyayan's letters similarly re-narrate the terrain of India, but rather than highlighting a sense of self through direct experiences of Hindu pilgrimage space, they seem to celebrate the importance of travel and mobility as fundamental to his Buddhist identity. Any religious authority in the text is located, not in the landscape, but rather in Kausalyayan's ability to adapt and navigate multiple arenas. His religious authority is defined by this ability, drawn from Buddhist precedents in his actions and words while traveling. Related to this, Kausalyayan's letters do not celebrate any religious development as a monk. Kausalyayan's identity as a Buddhist monk feels fully formed before his travels and the letters simply recount moments that reinforce his role as a wandering monk and the attending set of social, cultural, and religious values he carries with him.

Despite their different approaches, the landscapes Harishchandra and Kausalyayan describe in their accounts are similar. Traveling to Haridwar, Lucknow, Ayodhya, and Janakpur, to name but a few of the more prominent stops along his journey, Harishchandra's collected accounts traverse much of northern India, from Calcutta to Bombay. His journeys, mostly by train, showcase the new ease of travel afforded by the modern form of transportation. Kausalyayan covers an equally large geographic area, traveling across much of northern India, from Sarnath to Lahore and up into the Kullu Valley. Importantly, the area both authors describe in their accounts map roughly onto a part of India known as “the Hindi Belt,” charting key sites and experiences onto a cultural and linguistic territory that, by the 1930s, was coming to be increasingly understood as having a rich Buddhist past and which served as the cradle for so-called “Greater India,” discussed in more detail in the next chapter.²³⁹ It was also undergoing intense social and political change, especially around issues of caste.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ For more on Greater India, see Susan Bayly, “Imagining ‘Greater India’: French and Indian Visions of Colonialism in the Indic Mode,” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (July 2004): 703–744.

²⁴⁰ Christopher Jaffrelot identifies two defining anti-caste approaches to develop in North India during the 1920s and 40s. As he writes. “Historically, in North India two kinds of approaches have prevailed among those who attempted to dislodge the upper-caste, urban establishment from its positions of power. The first one concentrated on their

There is a personal dimension to Kausalyayan's accounts from North India as well. Born in the Punjab, trained in Sri Lanka, and working in Sarnath, his travels chart out a space roughly analogous to his own life story. Writing many years later, Ahir picks upon the link between the personal dimensions of Kausalyayan's life and the legacy of Buddhism in the region, charting the history of Buddhism in places like Delhi from the life of the Buddha up to the present, through the life and writings of Buddhist revivalists like Kausalyayan.²⁴¹ Such reterritorialization relates to the persona each author develops in their work. For both Harishchandra and Kausalyayan, how they imagine and present themselves to their readers informs the way they experience and perceive the landscapes they move through. It further relates to the modes of travel they emphasize in their travel accounts. Writing under the moniker "Yātrī" or "Traveler," Harishchandra presents himself as "a *Banārasī nāgarika* ... an urbane Hindu gentleman, not aristocrat, yet aristocratic, by no means middle-class, in spite of best intentions, yet addressing the middle class."²⁴² The middle class he was writing for consisted of his fellow "countrymen," or *deśvali*, who are invited to participate in his encounters with India's landscapes.²⁴³ Kausalyayan writes under his own name to an imagined "Yogendra." Kausalyayan's letters present the author as an erudite Buddhist monk, wandering through various landscapes and comfortably engaging with people of different social classes and castes. The reader is less explicitly defined, but at various points throughout, Kausalyayan gestures towards his reader's knowledge and interest in current publications on Buddhism, psychology, and other related fields.

The different types of readership implied by both sets of letters is further signaled in the salutations each author uses at the start and end of their letters. The salutations Harishchandra uses at the end of each of his letters chart an evolving relationship between him and his audience related to a more encompassing vision of India made possible through his travels. Earlier letters are signed simply, "*āp ka mitrā*" or "your friend." In his letter describing a trip to Jabbalapur from 1872, however, Harishchandra signs his letter triumphantly with "*ek madhyadeś*," "one middle country." Such salutations make clear Harishchandra's goal of defining a unified cultural sphere through the publications of new works such as his letters. What is striking about Kausalyayan's letters is not the evolving characteristics of the salutations he uses, but rather their regularity. His letters maintain a standard format, always beginning with "*Priya Yogendra*" and ending with "*tumhara*." The correspondence between the two men takes place over years, and there is an ongoing dialogue, which is a key component of Kausalyayan's ambition to feed the curiosity of a broader Hindi public.

mobilization as peasants (*kisans*). It was initiated by members of cultivating castes such as Chhotu Ram (a Jat) in Punjab between the 1920s and the 1940s ... and Swami Sahajanand (a Bhumihar) who became a leading figure of the Bihar Kisan Sabha in the 1930s. The second one relied more on caste identities and was primarily articulated by socialist leaders such as Rammanahor Lohia, who regarded caste as the main obstacle towards an egalitarian society." Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt," *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 1 (2000): 86–108.

²⁴¹ Ahir, *Buddhism in Northern India*.

²⁴² Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 325.

²⁴³ "Th[e] personal note ... begins with an announcement of the intention of making the facts of this journey known to his *deśvāle*, his countrymen. The traveling gentleman views the discomfort and discourtesy he encounters with much distaste, though he finds a much lighter tone to convey it, in fact the language itself acquires an increasingly colloquial tone, nearer the spoken idiom." *Ibid.*, 324.

One strength of Harishchandra's letters is their ability to link the author's experiences to developments in language. It is as if he finds his voice through his various expeditions. While Harishchandra's earlier travel accounts are more technical or logistical, engaging with the modern apparatuses of travel—everything from the discomfort of travel to the logistics of buying tickets—later accounts offer a more reflexive or “curious” eye of the wanderer.²⁴⁴ This is reflected in the changing registers of each account. As he moves further into the landscape and rural spaces of India, his writing becomes increasingly poetic and caught up in recalling literary fragments, before finding his own voice. For example, in his account of a journey to Haridvar, Harishchandra begins with a description of the colonial cantonment of Roorkee, and the fascination of the mill there, before moving out into more open terrains where the author offers a “forced description of birds and trees.”²⁴⁵ From there he continues to travel out, “off the beaten track of the pilgrim.” The climax of his accounts, according to Dalmia, is the moment when “the literary associations dotting the whole account make the poet burst into song himself.”²⁴⁶ This seems to be the point that all of Harishchandra's travel accounts are building towards. It is more than an author being moved by inspiration; it is a moment when the author's encounters with India are married to his own self-discovery. In other words, the author finds his own voice at the very moment that he discovers India. As Dalmia continues: “If Hariśchandra had inscribed *svatva nij bhārat gahai*, may Bhārat come into its own, into the motto used as the superscript in his *Kavivachansudhā*, it surely subsumed the wish that Bhārat may become one's own, that, for all its heterogeneity, it may be culturally apprehensible.”²⁴⁷

Kausalyayan's accounts are less impassioned, but similarly engaged with making Buddhism discernible in and for India. Rather than charting the territory of Buddhism in region, his accounts reference the reforms and networks he seeks to develop through his own publications. What better way to highlight the dramatic transformation of experience and culture than through travel itself? Kausalyayan's predilection towards walking serves as a demonstration of his desire to continue certain traditions in the face of pressing modern conveniences and the significance of certain core practices and principles in a rapidly changing world. It also suggests his interest in a more engaged and embedded form of Buddhism, one that pauses to talk with blacksmiths and fellow travelers walking along the road. The ability to return to walking and journeying is reflective of an ability to return to core Buddhist practices in modern times; a chance to reconnect with enduring Buddhist traditions and the insights they offer.

Thrice Born

भिक्षु भी ‘द्विजों’ की तरह द्विजन्मा होता है। उसका दूसरा जन्म होता है प्रवज्या या उपसम्पदा के समय।

Like those who are ‘twice born,’ monks are also born twice. Their second birth is when they become an ascetic or renunciate.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 323–324.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 323.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 328.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 68. The term Kausalyayan uses is *dvijon*.

Kausalyayan was not just “twice born,” he was “thrice born.” Coming of age in a moment when nationalist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai were exploring new institutional models for education and government, and organizations like the Arya Samaj were becoming an important presence in the Punjab and across India, the various stages of Kausalyayan’s life can be read as an extended travelogue. From Hanmardas to Brahmachari Vishvanath to Anand Kausalyayan, each destination, affiliation, and journey marks a personal transformation related to the historical and social developments taking place around him. His relationship to Buddhism in the second part of his life marks a significant break from his earlier lives, setting him on a path he would continue for the rest of his life. Even as a Buddhist monk, however, Kausalyayan’s life charts the evolving trajectory of social and religious debates around Buddhism in India. In her work on the subject, Himanshu Prabha Ray posits three distinct phases to the Buddhist revival of India in the twentieth century, each of which Kausalyayan was engaged with and participated in through written works, travel, and public events. As Ray writes, “For Gandhi, Buddhism was a cohesive force—dharma; for Nehru, it was a catalyst for change a progressive force; and for Ambedkar, it was the path to a caste-less society.”²⁴⁹ In broad strokes, before India’s independence in 1947, Buddhism was imagined as part of a rising Hindu nationalism.²⁵⁰ Between the 1920s and ‘40s, Buddhism was reimagined as part of the Arya Dharma, a much more expanded understanding of Hinduism that framed Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism into a single philosophical and cultural tradition.²⁵¹ After 1947, Buddhism became less indexical of a Hindu nationalism, instead became part of key international policies and alliances under the first Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru.²⁵² The year 1956 marks another important break in the history of modern Buddhism in India. That year the Indian government hosted large scale public celebrations across India to celebrate the 2500 anniversary of the Buddha’s birth, liberation, and *mahāparanirvāṇa*, or Buddha Jayanti. That same year, B. R. Ambedkar, the great Dalit activist and author of the Indian constitution, led a mass conversion converting several hundred thousand Dalits to Buddhism. Ambedkar’s conversion effectively established a new school of Buddhist thought known as Dalit Buddhism or Navayana Buddhism discussed in more detail above. This new school of Buddhist thought was decidedly anti-Brahmanical. Moving between these different periods, Kausalyayan maintained a surprisingly consistent approach to Buddhism.

While he did not take a new name, Kausalyayan’s involvement with the Navayana Buddhist community or Dalit Buddhist Movement following Ambedkar’s death does reference an important shift in his life away from his engagement with the Maha Bodhi Society and towards working with Dalit Buddhist communities in Maharashtra. The shift follows the strong anti-caste rhetoric of his earlier works. As discussed above, Kausalyayan’s *Bhikṣu ke Patra* is filled with examples and doctrinal refutations of caste. His accounts from his travels to Sri Lanka suggest how he carried those ideas into his peregrinations, even in the face of persistent caste anxieties at home and abroad.

²⁴⁹ Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Return of the Buddha*, 213.

²⁵⁰ Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 22.

²⁵¹ Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj* (Arya Samaj, 1954); Dhanpati Pandey, *The Arya Samaj and Indian Nationalism, 1875–1920* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972); Norman G. Barrier, “The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894–1908,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 3 (1967): 363–379.

²⁵² Douglas Fairchild Ober, “From Buddha Bones to Bo Trees: Nehruvian India, Buddhism, and the Poetics of Power, 1947–1956,” *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (2019): 1312–1350.

Written in 1936 and 1937, it is worth considering the historical context of Kausalyayan's letters especially as they related to questions of caste and identity in India. In 1935, Ambedkar vowed not to die a Hindu and began his search for a new religion. That same year, the Bodh Gaya Temple Committee and Hindu Mahasabha collaborated to propose a joint resolution on the best way to handle the management of the Maha Bodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya. It was penned by the future president of India Rajendra Prasad, indicating the importance of Buddhism for the Hindi nationalist movement. One year later, in 1936, Ambedkar began organizing a series of town hall meetings with members of the Mahar community, inviting fellow members of his caste to explore Buddhism as a potential new religion for their community.²⁵³ Three years later, in 1939, the first modern Buddhist *vihār* of New Delhi was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi.²⁵⁴ Managed by the Maha Bodhi Society and inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, the temple was sponsored by the Birlas, the well-known industrialist family and a major supporter of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.²⁵⁵ Situated on the grounds of the Lakshminaryan Mandir, a modern Hindu temple constructed as the training grounds for Hindu citizens, the Buddhist vihar in New Delhi was just one of a number of religious structures funded by the Birla family throughout the 1930s at Buddhist pilgrimage sites across India.²⁵⁶ The temple is noteworthy for several reasons. First because it is not located by any discernable Buddhist pilgrimage site, but instead within the auspices of the new capital city of India. Second, because it reflects a concerted effort to bring Buddhism into the fold of a more syncretic Hinduism and vision of India as a Hindu nation.²⁵⁷

In *Yadi Bābā na Hote*, ("If Baba hadn't been there") Kausalyayan writes about a meeting he witnesses at the Buddha Vihar in New Delhi between Seth Yugal Kishor Birla, who sponsored the construction of the temple, and B. R. Ambedkar. As Kausalyayan recounts,

फिर एक दिनकी बात है कि नई दिल्लीके प्रसिद्ध विरला-मन्दिरके साथवाले बुद्ध-मन्दिरमें 'दान-वीर' सेठ युगल किशोर बिरला और डा. आम्बेडकर पास-पास खड़े थे। मैं भी वहीं था। सेठ युगल किशोर बिरलाने कहा—

'देखिये भारतके सबसे बड़े महापुरुषके लिये हमने यह मन्दिर बनवाया है।'

मैं सोच ही रहा था कि डा. आम्बेडकर कहेंगे कि बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। लेकिन मेरे कानोंको विश्वास न हुआ, जब मैंने सुना कि डाक्टर आम्बेडकर कह रहे थे—'क्या खाक किया है, भारतके सबसे बड़े महापुरुषके लिये यह जरा-सी कोठड़ी, और न काल्पनिक देवइ-देवताओंके लिये इतना बड़ा मन्दिर!'

Then one day an incident took place in the Buddhist temple next to the famous Birla Mandir in Delhi as the 'munificent' Seth Yugal Kishor Birla and Dr. Ambedkar were standing next to each other. I was there too. Seth Yugal Kishor Birla said—

"Look, for the greatest man of India we have made this temple."

²⁵³ Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *Conversion as Emancipation* (New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2004), 37.

²⁵⁴ Ahir writes of this vihar, "The history of this *Vihāra* is the history of the revival of Buddhism in the Capital." Ahir, *Buddhism in North India*, 55.

²⁵⁵ Medha M. Kudaisya, *The Life and Times of G.D. Birla* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁵⁶ Ober, "Reinventing Buddhism," 234.

²⁵⁷ See Padma D. Maitland, "Buddhism and the Making of Modern India." PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2018.

I was thinking that Dr. Ambedkar would say it was such a great achievement. But I did not believe my ears when I heard what Dr. Ambedkar was saying—“What rubbish, for the greatest man of India, you have built this small shed, and for those imaginary gods and goddesses such a huge temple.”²⁵⁸

According to Kausalyayan, his early meetings with Ambedkar had a profound impact on him, reframing his approach to Buddhism during the second part of his life. In the same section of the text, just before describing the meeting described before, Kausalyayan narrates a previous encounter he had with Ambedkar during which they were discussing various depictions of the Buddha. Kausalyayan offered that the most beautiful representation of the Buddha is the Sarnath Buddha, which is a seated Buddha with his hands in the *dharmacakra pravartan mudrā*. Hearing about the statue, Ambedkar responded that he would prefer an image of the Buddha that appeared to always be walking “for the welfare of others”—(*lok-kalyāṇarth*).²⁵⁹ Ambedkar’s statement echoes the sentiment expressed in the Buddhist Mission printed in Pali and in Hindi on the cover of each issue of *Dharmadūt*, and the notion of wandering as a practice that was essential to Buddhism’s ability to be of benefit for others.²⁶⁰



Figure 7: left: Sarnath Buddha, c. 5th century, Tevaprapas Makklay, 2013; Wikimedia Commons
right: Walking Buddha, Naglok, author, August 2017

If a set of images could capture Kausalyayan’s development, it would be these images: the stone image of the Buddha at Sarnath, famous for its intricacy, humanity, and elegance, and

²⁵⁸ Anand Kausalyayan, *Yadi Bābā Na Hote* (Dīkṣā Bhūmi: Bhikṣu Nivās Prakāśan, 1968), 119.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 118.

²⁶⁰ I discuss this point in more detail in the introduction.

and the modern image of a walking Buddha as an icon of engaged Buddhism in the world. Rather than a break, we might see these two images as expressing the slow growth and refinement of an idea in Kausalyayan's life and work; a single path, so to speak. Like his contemporaries who sought alternative intellectual and religious traditions that could speak to the dynamic social and political conditions around them, Kausalyayan developed a habit of wandering early in his life. He carried this into his Buddhist training, and later written works. Works such as *Bhikṣu ke Patra* only further that idea, presenting wandering as something that can be of benefit to others by virtue of the connections and encounters engendered through travel. Not only does it allow the wandering monk to meet with and share his ideas with those he meets along the road, it also becomes the basis for texts that promote Buddhist ideas and foster community.

The evolution of the Dalit Buddhist movement from earlier revivalist efforts in India similarly took place over several decades. During the interwar period when Ambedkar first announced his plans to leave Hinduism in 1935, the Maha Bodhi Society fully endorsed his efforts. In 1950, Ambedkar published "The Buddha and the Future of His Religion" in a special Vaishak version of *The Maha Bodhi*.²⁶¹ After that the journal celebrated Ambedkar's upcoming conversion as a mark of Buddhism's final return to India—it would now have a living community and tradition, a fitting culmination to the 2,500 Buddha Jayanti Celebrations that were taking place across South Asia that year. It soon became clear, however, that the Maha Bodhi Society would not have an active role in Ambedkar's turn to Buddhism and that Ambedkar imagined it as the start of a new tradition rather than a continuation of existing ones. By the 1950s, India had gained independence and the role of Buddhism was a liberating force from colonial rule towards a path for emancipation from the enduring caste-ism in India. Soon after Ambedkar's conversion, *The Maha Bodhi* started publishing detractions against Ambedkar's new approach to Buddhism, and specifically his book *The Buddha and His Dhamma*.²⁶² Kausalyayan would eventually leave the Maha Bodhi Society, going on to support the new Buddhist tradition established by Ambedkar. Kausalyayan's legacy, however, is unique. While typically a lay Buddhist tradition—Ambedkar was never a monk and did not establish a new monastic lineage—Kausalyayan established a monk's residence at the site of Ambedkar's conversion ground and developed a small monastic community to support the broader Dalit Buddhist community.

In their introduction to the recent critical edition of *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, Aakash Singh Rathor and Ajay Verma argue that the text has been marginalized or disregarded as a religious or even philosophical text because of Ambedkar's strong anti-Brahmanical approach to Buddhism—clearly evidenced in the twenty-one vows Ambedkar writes for his conversion to Buddhism. As Rathor and Verma continue, the text seemingly blurs the distinction between social, political, and religious forms of liberation. This ambiguity is best evidenced through the multiple registers Ambedkar gives to the term "enlightenment" or "awakening" throughout *The Buddha and His Dhamma*. As Rathor and Verma write, "Ambedkar's [*The Buddha and His Dhamma*] often substitutes 'enlightenment' in the sense related to *nibbana* (as a

²⁶¹ B. R. Ambedkar, "The Buddha and the Future of His Religion," *Maha Bodhi* 58, Vaishaka Issue (1950). For more on this see, Aditya Behl, "The Buddhist Renaissance in Modern India: Dr B.R. Ambedkar and the Untouchables," *India International Centre Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1990): 83–99.

²⁶² Christopher S. Queen, and Sallie B. King, eds., *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia* (New York: SUNY Press, 1996), 47.

self-conscious liberation) by enlightenment in the sense related to *Aufklärung* or *eclairissement* (as a civic achievement of liberty, equality, fraternity.”²⁶³ A certain ambiguity between religious and civic enlightenment was characteristic of modern approaches to Buddhism at the time, however, and popularized in the writings of figures like Kausalyayan who, as Ahir writes of him, were drawn to Buddhism because of its “intellectual freedom” and “depth of social commitment.”²⁶⁴ That ambiguity was captured in the image of the monk described in both Ambedkar and Kausalyayan’s work. Consider for example the image of the *bhikṣu* as described in Ambedkar’s introduction to *The Buddha and His Dhamma*:

What was the object of the Buddha in creating the Bhikkhu? Was the object to create a perfect man? Or was his object to create a social servant devoting his life to service of the people and being their friend, guide, and philosopher? This is a very real question. On it depends the future of Buddhism. If the Bhikkhu is only a perfect man he is of no use to the propagation of Buddhism, because though a perfect man he is selfish. If, on the other hand, he is a social servant, he may prove to be the hope of Buddhism.²⁶⁵

The type of monk Ambedkar is describing in these lines is surprisingly close to the image of a wandering monk Kausalyayan describes in his own works and which is presented in his letters discussed above. It is an image of a monk in the world, socially engaged, a guide of sorts who works towards the betterment of society through his actions and travels.

In his study of Ambedkar’s legacy, Christopher Queen writes that “Ambedkar’s presentation is a new ‘orientation, but not a distortion’ of Buddhism, and that the central doctrines of the tradition are still present.”²⁶⁶ This “new orientation” is what prompted people to begin thinking about Ambedkarian Buddhism or Dalit Buddhism as Navayana Buddhism, literarily New Vehicle Buddhism. And while it seems legitimate to characterize it as a new tradition starting with Ambedkar, there are certain continuities that connect it to earlier efforts to frame Buddhism for India.²⁶⁷ Wandering or travel as social and religious acts that pervade the Buddha’s life and teachings are one such conceptual continuity. Ambedkar himself picked up on the thread of travel as a model for social and religious engagement, incorporating it into the penultimate chapter of *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, titled “The Wanderer’s Last Journey.”²⁶⁸ This chapter describes the days leading up to the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa* and can be read as a guide to the Buddha’s legacy in the world. As Ambedkar writes, “It is not that after the appointment of the missionaries the Lord sat at one place. He too continued to be his own missionary.”²⁶⁹ The use of the term “missionary” signals the modern context of Ambedkar’s reading of the Buddha’s final days. Kausalyayan translates “missionaries” as *dharmadūt*, or

²⁶³ Aakash Singh Rathore and Ajay Verma, introduction to *The Buddha and His Dhamma: A Critical Edition*, by B. R. Ambedkar (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxiii.

²⁶⁴ Ahir, *Buddhism in North India*, 66.

²⁶⁵ B. R. Ambedkar, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, xxxi.

²⁶⁶ Christopher S. Queen, “Dr. Ambedkar and the Hermeneutics of Buddhist Liberation,” in *Engaged Buddhism*, 46.

²⁶⁷ It is possible, for example, to trace Buddhism’s development as a “liberation theology,” an idea captivantly developed by Gitanjali Surendran in her dissertation, “‘The Indian Discovery of Buddhism’: Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890–1956,” (PhD. diss., Harvard University, 2013).

²⁶⁸ In his translation, Kausalyayan titles the section *mahān privrājaka kī antim cārikā*.

²⁶⁹ Ambedkar, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, 274. Rathor and Verma Ambedkar’s source for this section of the text was *Buddhavamsa*.

dharma messengers, conjuring a modern notion of a *dharmadūt* that draws as much from Buddhist reform movements in Thailand and Sri Lanka as it does from Hindu reform movements in India. However, like Ambedkar's texts, Kausalyayan's work seeks to affirm that the image of the wandering monk, or missionary monks, was first established by the Buddha himself in his life and in his teachings.

What follows in Ambedkar's *The Buddha and His Dhamma* is an overview of the Buddha's travels "over the whole of northern India" and his various experiences across it. As Ambedkar emphasizes, "These distances, the Lord walked on foot. He did not even use a bullock-cart."²⁷⁰ This leads Ambedkar to outline the various types of audiences the Buddha encountered along the way, from those not able to understand any of the Buddha's teachings, to those able to comprehend everything. Kausalyayan's account presents an image of himself as following in the Buddha's footsteps, journeying "from place to place, sometimes from village to village, resolving the doubts and difficulties of those who were willing to accept his message, controverting the arguments of those who were his opponents, and preaching his gospel to those who, like children, came to him for guidance."²⁷¹ While taken from Ambedkar's *Buddha and His Dhamma*, this quote could easily describe the experiences and interactions Kausalyayan describes himself as having while traveling in *Bhikṣ ke Patra*.

That Kausalyayan imagined himself as a modern messenger of the Buddha is clear in his letters. It is also implied through the name he took at the time of his ordination: Anand, the name of the Buddha's close attendant and disciple. Ananda features prominently in Ambedkar's account of the Buddha's final months before his *parinirvāṇa*, as does the Buddha's son Rahula. That two of the most prolific Hindi authors to write about Buddhism in the twentieth century should take those names upon becoming monks signals the importance of the final chapter of the Buddha's life for thinking about their purpose and ambitions around Buddhism. Charged with bringing Buddhism "back" to India, *Anand[a]* Kausalyayan and *Rahul[a]* Sankrityayan took names that reference the moment of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, and adopted an order to travel and missionize as his final teaching.

The framing of wandering as a Buddhist practice became endemic of Kausalyayan's approach to modern Buddhism. His letters reveal a desire to reflect on the reform and modernization of Buddhism through a discussion of travel, approaching walking as a model for a traditionalist approach to Buddhist revival in the region. The emphasis on traveling offers a model for religious practice that connects his engagement with various Buddhist movements, from his early connections with the Maha Bodhi Society to his later role in the Navayana Buddhist movement. Kausalyayan's interest in and dedication to travel was strengthened by his affiliation with Rahul Sankrityayan, who is the focus of the next chapter. While Sankrityayan approached travel as a way of connecting with India's past, and consequently Buddhism, Kausalyayan's work presents travel as a more embedded facet of Buddhist doctrine. In other words, Kausalyayan valorized wandering as one way of connecting to and promoting core Buddhist principles. In translating that idea for Hindi audiences, Kausalyayan was also able to introduce his readers to the image of the wandering monk, connecting places both near and far, and working to make enduring social and cultural changes.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 274.

²⁷¹ Ibid.



Figure 8: Mahāpanḍit Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan (1948), *Rāhul-Vāṅmay*

Thus Wanderlust: Rahul Sankrityayan's *Ghumakṣa Śāstra*

“Tall, stately, and handsome, he resembles the Great Founder of his Order, except that he has not got the blue eyes of the Buddha.”²⁷² This unusual description of Rahul Sankrityayan, Hindi author and consummate wanderer, was written by the historian K.P. Jayaswal in the 1930s. It highlights a couple of noteworthy features about the public perception of Buddhism in India at the time: that the Buddha was understood as a historical figure and that his example could be emulated. Jayaswal's panegyric goes on to place Sankrityayan in a lineage that includes the Buddha, Christ, and even Darwin, emphasizing another development in the appreciation of Buddhism: that it was increasingly contextualized in humanistic (universal) approaches to religion. What is most remarkable about Sankrityayan, and what likens him to other historical luminaries, according to Jayaswal, is that he was a “discoverer.”

The notion of discovery in Jayaswal's appraisal of Sankrityayan suggests both a process of looking towards the past and towards the future.²⁷³ It is an idea embedded in a certain approach to Indian history, tracing the records of great empires and ancient philosophies, while also discerning new avenues for growth and expansion. This is made more poignant in the context of Jayaswal's other writings—such as *Hindu Polity* (1924)—which aim to study premodern Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain polities as models for modern governance.²⁷⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century, religious traditions and India's “rich heritage” were being mined for alternative models of modernization; tradition here is understood as the basis for a “cultural renaissance.”²⁷⁵

²⁷² K.P. Jayaswal, “The Discoverer,” *Rahul Smṛti*, ed. Rāmsharaṇ Śarmā and Puśpamālā Jain (New Delhi: People's Publishing House Ltd., 1988), 420.

²⁷³ There is a rich body of literature attending to a optimism for the future as being located in traditions of the past. Walter Benjamin, for example, writes *die Hoffnung im Vergangenen* as a certain del for finding “hope in the past.” See Peter Szondi and Harvey Mendelsohn. “Hope in the Past: on Walter Benjamin.” *Critical Inquiry* 4, no. 3 (1978): 491-506. Anthony Smith identifies a similar trend in the work of Eric Hobsbawm, which suggests “Nationalism ‘is a substitute for lost dreams’, a reaction to disappointment of larger hopes and aspirations.” *Nationalism and Modernism* (Routledge, 2013), 124.

²⁷⁴ The interplay between “historicism” and the “political” is explored in Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

²⁷⁵ Vasudha Dalmia offers an instructive discussion of the terms “traditionalist,” “revivalist,” and “renaissance” in here introduction to *The Nationalization of Hindu Tradition*. As she writes of “renaissance,” building off of the joint condemnation of superstitions by both traditionalists and revivalists during the nineteenth and twentieth century, “The term renaissance has been accepted widely for this process of modernization. It came into use in the nineteenth century itself and was certainly a part of the perception of those who contributed most vitally to the process...Nationalist historiography has tended to make uncritical use of the term. If, on the one hand, the British colonial period has been condemned as one of relentless exploitation, on the other it has been eulogized as the era of ‘the great cultural renaissance in India in the 19th century which transformed her from the Medieval to the Modern Age’,” (9). For a more focused discussion of the “Bengal Renaissance,” see: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University

In many ways, Sankrityayan's life and work embody the very notions of a cultural discovery Jayaswal glorified: Born into a Brahman household in Uttar Pradesh in 1893 as Kadernath Pandey, Sankrityayan ran away from home as a teenager in order to study Sanskrit in Varanasi. As D.C. Ahir writes of Sankrityayan's time in Varanasi,

[Sankrityayan] lived in the ashram of Chakrapani Brahmachari and started learning Sanskrit. There he tried to get the blessings of some gods and goddesses by undergoing difficult siddhis and namajap. But when for eight days no god or goddess gave him "darshan" he felt so much disappointed and distressed that he consumed some poisonous fruit which nearly killed him.²⁷⁶

Sankrityayan suggests this was a decisive moment in his life. Disillusioned by the "blind faith" of those in the ashram, Sankrityayan left Varanasi, eventually taking initiation by a Vaishnava Mahant in Parasa, becoming a *sannyāsī* and changing his name to Ram Udar Das. As Ahir continues, "...the 'hunger' of knowledge and 'lust' of travel prompted the rebellious Kadar, now Sadhu Ramodardas, to leave Parasa...Hence, once again, in July 1913, he took to the road."²⁷⁷ After several more years of traveling, Sankrityayan eventually went to Agra where he "joined Ārya Musāfir Vidyālaya in January 1915," eventually changing his name to Kedernath Vidyarthi.²⁷⁸ While traveling as an Ārya Samājī Parivārajik, or wandering missionary discussed in the previous chapter, Sankrityayan's exposure and interest to Buddhism grew and he sought out people who could teach him about Buddhism. As he recounts, "Since at that time there were no Hindi books on Buddhism, the only way to know Buddha Dhamma was to meet and talk to someone who may be knowing these teachings."²⁷⁹ And so, while in Lucknow, he met with Bhadant Bodhananda Mahasthavir in Lucknow in 1917, who he credits as confirming his own interest in Buddhism, largely because of its anti-casteism.²⁸⁰ It was only in the 1920s, however, that Sankrityayan was able to further explore his interest in Buddhism, first by traveling to the major Buddhist pilgrimage sites—including Lumbini, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, and Kushinagar—and then traveling to Nepal in 1923 after a period of six months in jail for his part in the Non-Cooperation Movement. Returning from Nepal, he spent another two years in jail in Hazaribagh "for a political speech [he gave] in Nepal wherein he compared the role of 'blood' in freedom struggle to that of 'Chandan' in Puja."²⁸¹ In 1926, shortly after being released from jail for the second time, Sankrityayan traveled to Ladakh before heading to Sri Lanka where he accepted a position teaching Sanskrit at the Vidyālanakara Pirivena in Ceylon.

of California Press, 1969); Anindita Ghosh. "Revisiting the 'Bengal Renaissance': Literary Bengali and Low-Life Print in Colonial Calcutta." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2002): 4329-4338; Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Colonial Context of the Bengal Renaissance: a Note On Early Railway—Thinking in Bengal." *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 11, no. 1 (1974): 92-106; Rupert Richard Arrowsmith, "'An Indian Renaissance' and the rise of global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910-11," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 152, No. 1285, Art in Britain (April 2010), 228.

²⁷⁶ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, 68. Ahir's description is drawn from Sankrityayan's *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*, which recounts how he practiced intense austerities for several days in Varanasi. When nothing happened, he decided to quit ritual and went in search of other traditions. For a longer account of Rahul Sankrityayan's time in Varanasi see: "Kāshī men," *Soch Vicār* (July 2013): 49-56.

²⁷⁷ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, 68-69.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 69.

²⁷⁹ Sankrityayan, as quoted by Ahir. Ibid., 70.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 70-71.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 72.

Sankrityayan describes his life in Sri Lanka as filled by research and learning, but also internal conflict. In a particularly vivid passage of *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (My Life Journey), in a chapter titled “*paryaṣṇ, paryaṭan* (1927-1928), “Research, Tourism (1927-1928),” Sankrityayan describes his struggles navigating two opposing ideologies: those of his youth, which he describes as *āryasāmājik* and *janm-jāt vicar*, and those of Buddhism. He describes himself as grappling to see if he could reconcile the two, often spending the evening walking on between two sets of train tracks trying to see if he could accept “God” (*iśvar*) and “Buddha” (*buddh*). The image of two train tracks with one rushing towards Sankrityayan, is almost too literal to believe. It embodies the tension Sankrityayan felt between the rushing onslaught of these opposing ideologies in his mind. As he writes, over time the influences of his earlier ideas gave way to new ones. Rather than cite the merits of Buddhism in making his decision, he refers to his abiding commitment to truth and discovery. As he writes,

किन्तु मैंने हमेशा बुद्धि को अपना पथप्रदर्शक बनाया था, और कुछ ही समय बाद उन काल्पनिक भ्रान्तियों और भीतियों का ख्याल आने से अपने भोलेपन पर हँसी आने लगी।

But I have always made wisdom (*buddhi*) my guide (*path-pradarśak*), and before long, I found my imaginary delusions (*kālpnik bhrāntiyan*) amusing and I laughed at my gullability (*bhūtiyan ka khyāl*).²⁸²

Sankrityayan’s description makes much of the similitude between “Buddha” and “buddhi,” developed over the course of the chapter. His account implies that in choosing “intelligence” or “wisdom,” *buddhi*, as his guide, Sankrityayan was also making a choice to follow the Buddha, who Sankrityayan respected as a rationalist who advocated for “independent wisdom,” *svatantra buddhi*.²⁸³ But, as Sankrityayan goes on to recount, it was more than just Buddhism that he was being introduced to at the moment. He concludes his description of his embrace of Buddhism with:

अब मुझे डार्विन के विकासवाद की सच्चाई मालूम होने लगी, अब मार्क्सवाद की सच्चाई हृदय और मस्तिष्क में पेवस्ता जान पड़ने लगी।

Now I began to understand the truth (*saccārī*) of Darwin’s theory of evolution (*vikāsvād*), now the truth of Marxism (*mārksvād*) began to seep into my heart (*hṛday*) and mind (*mastiṣk*).²⁸⁴

Despite his embrace of Buddhism in the 1920s, Sankrityayan did not formally take monk’s robes until several years later. After traveling extensively through Tibet and returning to Sri Lanka in 1930, he took his ordination from Venerable L. Dhammananda, adopting a new name: Rahul Sankrityayan.²⁸⁵ It is worth noting that Jayaswal’s appraisal of Sankrityayan as a “discoverer”,

²⁸² Rahul Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (2), 19.

²⁸³ Ibid., 19.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. 19.

²⁸⁵ Sankrityayan describes his ordination, which he refers to as his, “*pravrajya*,” in a chapter titled ““*Lankā men dūsarī bār*.” It includes a rather banal explanation for his choice of name “Rahul,” recounting how he did not expect

which began this chapter, was published the same year Sankrityayan took monk's vows, suggesting that Sankrityayan's approach to cultural discovery preceded his interest in Buddhism.²⁸⁶

Said to have known over thirty languages, Sankrityayan wrote extensively in Hindi, using the accounts of his travels as the basis for social and religious criticism, new histories, and philosophical ruminations. His life and works present an image of someone always on the move and in search of new things, experiences and stories as varied as the personas he adopted. In her study of Sankrityayan's autobiographical writings, Alaka Atreya Chudal queries the trend to study Sankrityayan as constantly evolving and changing. Addressing Abhijit Bhattacharya's work, in which he approaches the various phases of Sankrityayan's life through the metaphor of a "journey" with distinct *parāv* or intellectual and physical "campgrounds" along the way, Chudal argues that it is possible to identify a single pathway through Sankrityayan's various activities: his persistent nationalism.²⁸⁷ As Chudal relates, Sankrityayan's work performs a conceptual and physical quest for a "cultural primordialism" as the basis for modern culture and practices in India.²⁸⁸ Chudal's work further embeds Sankrityayan's nationalism in his dedication to Hindi literature. Both, she suggests, can be understood as "*premāspad*," or labors of love.²⁸⁹

The question of love and nationalism, points to a larger issue of defining a certain affinity for culture and place in conversation with the larger institutional structures that define political institutions and state. In her study "Nationalism and the Imagination," Gayatri Spivak asks how a certain "love" of place or of language "become the nation thing." Nationalism, she argues, also emerges from more "private" and personal spheres than a more general reading of "nationalism" as a "condition and effect of the public sphere" might allow.²⁹⁰ If we take Sankrityayan's accounts of his own life story as a starting point, his affiliations move between multiple registers, often marked by a change in name, language, and religious affiliations. While it is possible to read a recurring interest in nationalism within Sankrityayan's work, a sole focus on Sankrityayan's nationalism occludes the persistence of wandering as a major motif throughout Sankrityayan's life and work.²⁹¹

In addition to his autobiographical works, Sankrityayan wrote numerous travel accounts—*yātrā vṛtant*—for which he is widely celebrated. His contributions to travel literature, in fact, have garnered him special attention in surveys of the Hindi canon and a place in literary and history textbooks across India.²⁹² The travel accounts Sankrityayan is most well-known for

to choose a new name, but when he was asked to during the ceremony, he chose "Rahul" because of its similarity to the "Ra" of "Ramodar," which was the name he was using at the time. *Ibid.*, 76-79.

²⁸⁶ For more on this, see Rameshwar Mishra, "Assessing the Travels of Rahul Sāṅkrīyāyan," *Journeys: Indian Travel Writing*, ed. Somdatta Mandal (New Delhi: Creative Books, 2013), 90.

²⁸⁷ Atreya Chudal, *A Freethinking Cultural Nationalist* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 27.

²⁸⁸ In making this point, Chudal draws on the work of Virendra Singh (1995: 1-2) who discusses Sankrityayan as a *navjāgrāṅkāl* (renaissance) personality. *Ibid.*, 9. For a consideration of "cultural primordialism" see Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979).

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁹⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Nationalism and the Imagination," *Lectora*, 15: 79-80.

²⁹¹ Bharati Puri, "Traveller on the Silk Road: Rites and Routes of Passage in Rahul Sankrityayan's Himalayan wanderlust," *China Report* 47, no. 1 (2011): 37-58; Alessandra Consolaro, "The Errant Philosopher: Rāhul Sāṅkrīyāyan's Art of Wandering," *Communication & Culture Online / Komunikacija i Kultura*, (2013): 15-28.

²⁹² As Sisir Kumar Das writes, "It was possible for a scholar of the eminence of Rahul Sankrityayan to create almost a new genre of historical writings that exploited travelogues as one of the major devices of narrative. He introduced

are his journeys to Tibet, which resulted in numerous publications, exhibitions, and a large collection of texts that he donated to the Patna Museum and Bihar Research Society.²⁹³ Perhaps the question is not whether Sankrityayan was a nationalist or not, but rather what kind of nationalist he was. To address that question, it is useful to consider wandering and Buddhism as related projects in Sankrityayan's published works.

If we take "culture" as the starting point for a certain approach to the nation or nationalism, we might see an interplay between the individual and collective in the works of all the authors discussed in this dissertation. Anand Kausalyayan's letters, discussed in the last chapter, for example, present a model of a more liminal space between varying public and private dimensions of nationalism, drawing on the work of Francesca Orsini, through the notion of the customary.²⁹⁴ Sankrityayan's writings, especially his autobiographical accounts and travel accounts, present a model of history and culture that is both individualistic and future looking, while also collective and grounded in an "invented tradition" based on historical precedents. The figure of the wanderer becomes a particularly central motif of his work, recuperating historical figures such as the Buddha as great Indian wanderers, and suggesting a model for cultivating cultural development in India through a renewed interest in wandering or wanderlust.²⁹⁵ In his exploration of "culture" as a "global concept," Andrew Sartori considers the different valences of "culture" and "civilization" through "two German words, *Kultur* and *Bildung*."²⁹⁶ As Sartori continues, such a division quickly gives way to "a simple juxtaposition of part (the spiritual, intellectual, and moral dimensions of human development) to whole (the total process of social development)." Such a division, he writes, would "be the first step to making a more radical claim about the autonomous activity of the human subject within or against the objective historical processes of civilizational development..."²⁹⁷ Sankrityayan's figure of the wanderer moves between these two registers, engaging ideas of culture and civilization through a model for self-determination as the basis for intellectual and cultural development. His dedication to Hindi further suggests an interest in expanding the imagination of a Hindi public through new publications and the continuation of wandering as an embodied practice.

Sankrityayan's autobiographical accounts are structured as travel accounts, bringing together his love of Hindi and of the nation in new literary works that emphasize travel accounts and travel writing as an emerging genre within the Hindi Canon.²⁹⁸ It further emphasizes the link that was imagined at the time between a history of travel and India's Buddhist past. The unique

a trend conspicuous by a happy blending of rigorous historical research and also imaginative power filling the voids of history." *A History of Indian Literature: 1911-1956* (Sahitya Akademi, 2006), 100.

²⁹³ *Exhibition on Rahul Sankrityayana's Antiquity Collection (from Patna Museum, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (new Delhi), 2018; Frank Bandurski, Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rahula Sankrityayana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte (Göttinger Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).*

²⁹⁴ Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*; Benedict Anderson, "Letters, Secrecy, and the Information Age: The Trajectory of Historiography in Southeast Asia."

²⁹⁵ "'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past." Eric Hobsbaw, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbaw and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

²⁹⁶ Andrew Sartori, "The Resonance of 'Culture': Framing a Problem in Global Concept-History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2005): 676-677.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 679.

²⁹⁸ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.

pathways and communities of Sankrityayan's life produced a very particular image of the wanderer in his published work, linked to his approach to Buddhism as a philosophical tradition and an image of the Buddha as a wanderer that he helped forge for Hindi audiences. Steven Kemper's reading of Anagarika Dharmapala's life through Stanley Cavell's notion of "the returned familiar" is instructive here, offering a framework for understanding Sankrityayan's biography and works, as well as his understanding of Buddhism. Much in the way that Sankrityayan presented himself as someone changed and enriched through his travels, he presented Buddhism as a philosophy that was changed by its historical spread throughout Asia, effectively "traveling," only to "return" to India, modified, yet familiar.²⁹⁹

At stake here is the ability to read the multiple experiences of charismatic reformers like Sankrityayan and his fellow Buddhist travelers—Anand Kausalyayan and Nagarjun—all of whom moved through and encountered multiple publics bringing their experiences into new approaches to modern Buddhism in India. In some ways their life stories and written accounts also serve as examples of the "locative pluralism" Blackburn describes in her study of modern Buddhism in Sri Lanka.³⁰⁰ If the "returned familiar" offers one model for imagining the return of Buddhism to India in the twentieth century, then Blackburn's notion of "locative pluralism" offers a framework for how the Buddhist revivalists who are the focus of this dissertation imagined their extended communities—religious, literary, national, and otherwise. Drawing on the work of Francesca Orsini, discussed in more detail below, I will explore Sankrityayan's theories of wandering as a model of aesthetic education—*saṃskāra*—and a related sense of community founded on those cultivated sensibilities—*saṅgaṭhan*. Sankrityayan's interest in "discovery" is vital to his approach to the wanderer, as it brings together his theories of education and cultural sensibilities, through a practice that both recuperates India's past, while also imagining its future. *Ghumakkar Śāstra* attempts to formalize this approach in a guide for the would-be-wanderer.

Saṃskār might be loosely translated as an impression or "forming the person" or one's "nature."³⁰¹ The term is most often associated with ceremony and ritual, implying a process of refinement or improvement, especially related to form and expression. In the context of Sankrityayan's writing, it applies more to the formation of certain cultural and ideological affinities, suggesting a model for cultural refinement through education and the development of certain tastes. *Saṅgaṭhan* here means a sense of community cultivated through shared cultural and religious associations and training.³⁰² The two are presented as both intellectual and embodied practices, conceptualized through the metaphor of wandering. We might imagine a direct relationship between the cultivation of certain tastes and the related production of a community linked through those cultural affinities. *Ghumakkar Śāstra* attempts to bring those two together—*saṃskār* and *saṅgaṭhan*—through a focus on and cultivation of wandering as a cultural and ideological practice. The result is a modern image of the wanderer as a literary, religious, and ideological motif that runs through Sankrityayan's work.

Building off of earlier associations with Buddhism, Sankrityayan frames the wanderer as a model for social change, especially related to the eradication of caste. As he repeatedly

²⁹⁹ Steven Kemper, *Rescued from the Nation: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Buddhist World* (University of Chicago Press, 2015), 35.

³⁰⁰ Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*, 209-10.

³⁰¹ R.S. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 970. Mahendra Caturvedi, *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary* (Delhi: National Publishing House, 1970), 766.

³⁰² "Organized state or condition; an organization," *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 962; *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary*, 758.

explains, his choice to write a treatise on wandering arose from a belief that wandering is the “best thing for the most.” In the introduction, I addressed how the Buddhist Mission, which appeared on the first page of every issue of *The Maha Bodhi*, helped establish a link between travel and Buddhism as that which can benefit “the many.” In Chapter 1, I considered how Anand Kausalyayan wrote about a Hindi Buddhist public in India through a recounting of his travels through Sri Lanka and the Indian Subcontinent. His work idealized the monk as a traveler and Buddhism as a paragon for social betterment. In this chapter, I explore how Sankrityayan constructs an image of the wanderer as an agent of historical change. Rather than the monk as a model of social and religious progress, Sankrityayan focuses on the wanderer—*ghumakkar*—as a timeless figure possessed by wanderlust—*ghumakkar jijnāsā*—and committed to an ethos of wandering or wandering religion—*ghumakkar dharm*. Focusing on Sankrityayan’s fashioning of himself as a wanderer, this chapter examines Sankrityayan’s shift away from Buddhism as a model of social, religious, and political reform, towards wandering itself as the basis for intellectual and cultural development.

I begin the chapter by addressing Sankrityayan’s earlier engagements with travel as part of his education and upbringing. From there I consider his role as a *dharmadūt* for the Mahabodhi Society, during which he regularly corresponded with Anand Kausalyayan (discussed in the previous chapter). The letters they wrote to each other between 1932 and 1933, were later published in Sankrityayan’s *Yātrā ke Panne* (Travel Pages), a title which evokes the sense of seeing both sides of the pages, understood here as part of the journey. After considering Sankrityayan’s use of letter writing, I explore how Sankrityayan defines both a literary and historical tradition of wandering in *Ghumakkar Śāstra*. Throughout the text, he engages with history as the basis for defining a new *saṃskāra* based on a tradition of wandering with a long history in the region. The result is a manual for training a new generation of Hindi readers who might take up wandering as an embodied and intellectual practice of curiosity and discovery, a cultural model for modern India. Cleverly, wandering offers a model for recovering histories and traditions that Sankrityayan valorizes, notably the legacy of Buddhism from and in India, making them accessible to Hindi audiences in a way that they would not have been previously. It further suggests a model for the continuation of “premodern” cultural traditions and practice in modern times. I conclude the chapter by considering the “art of travel” as presented by Sankrityayan, and how he presents it as a bridge between “high” and low forms of “art,” especially music, through a discussion of arts and crafts. His discussion of wandering as an artful mediator, highlights a parallel interest in the potential of language to express and connect different communities, speaking to the interplay between the vernacular and cosmopolitan that runs through Sankrityayan’s collected works. Much like wandering, Sankrityayan imagines Hindi as a language able to move through and connect various communities; a melody that can inspire, mediate, and revitalize.

Early Flights

The unique pathways and communities of Sankrityayan’s life helped produce a particular image of the wanderer in his published works. It is a figure related to the ideals of a burgeoning “selfhood” of India as a nation. As Chudal explains, Sankrityayan’s work developed a close link between his self-presentation and his efforts to discern an “Indian cultural identity” as a more general search for “Indian selfhood.”³⁰³ His autobiographical account *Merī Jīvan Yātrā—My Life Journey*—is exemplary of this trend, combining autobiographical and travel accounts, both of

³⁰³ Chudal, *A Freethinking Cultural Nationalist*, 14.

which are made more significant by the ways in which they intersect with India's nationalist movements.³⁰⁴

The affective or emotional valences for appreciating and discerning "India" through autobiographical travel accounts relates to similar efforts by other prominent figures at the time, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and Jawaharlal Nehru, all of whom sought to "discover" India through their travels. Each related their discoveries through their various publications, emphasizing a link between the act of travel and the insights it afforded them into their own personal and cultural identity. Despite their differences, each author's writings narrativize accounts of personal insights gained through their travels. For Mahatma Gandhi, it was his accounts of travels across India in third-class, alluding to his interest in social and cultural reform as part of India's drive for the country's independence. Tagore, as mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, developed a more universalist and humanistic approach based on his experiences discerning remnants of India's influence abroad in Indonesia, Burma, and other countries across Asia. Nehru's *Discovery of India* reflects on his personal encounters with India's past as part of a simultaneous discovery of the "spirit of India" in the soil of the subcontinent and the hearts of its people.³⁰⁵ In many ways, each of these approaches engages travel as a motif through which to comment on existing educational and institutional structures, defining new educational and moral paradigms through their encounters and discoveries. Furthermore, they locate Indian cultural identity within different settings, from the collective experience of India's masses, to the cultural expressions of India traced in the art, literature, and cultural expression abroad; and in the hearts of its people and its land. Sankrityayan seems to have picked up on the trend to engage with travel as the basis for individual and collective discovery, using his own travel accounts as a way to imagine his identity, and as part of a larger project to the "discovery" of lost histories and legacies of India. {*recurring tradition...*}

The identification of early cultural heroes, or models for emulation, was another way of defining "Indian cultural identity." As Chudal writes,

Indians, in search of a collective self-identity, cast their glances back on the glories of history, religious doctrine and myth, and literary narratives, hoping to find symbolic ideas or icons representative of a common culture. Among Hindus, this was only bound to increase dissatisfaction with the Muslim invasion of India. Their cultural heroes came out of the Vedas, the epics (most prominently the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, portraying respectively Rama and Krishna), and other sacred texts, including the more clearly historical texts cent[er]ing on the human figure of the Buddha.³⁰⁶

Sankrityayan attended to the Buddha's role as a historical wanderer and Buddhism as a tradition grounded in a practice of wandering. He was also careful to include reflections on Islamic and

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 7.

³⁰⁵ Chapter 3 of Nehru's work is titled "The Quest." It focuses on his slow discovery and realization of India as a unified imaginary, connected by a longer history, understood as a narrative tradition passed from one generation to next. As he writes, "To a somewhat bare intellectual understanding was added an emotional appreciation, and gradually a sense of reality began to creep into my mental picture of India, and the land of my forefathers became peopled with living beings, who laughed and wept, loved and suffered; and among them were men who seemed to know life and understand it, and out of their wisdom they built a structure which gave India a cultural stability which lasted for thousands of years." Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, (Gurgaon: Penguin Books, 2004), 43.

³⁰⁶ Chudal, *A Freethinking Cultural Nationalist*, 13.

Sikh saints in his published works. However, Sankrityayan repeatedly emphasizes the Buddha as exemplary and one of the first wanderers from the region. Even as Sankrityayan abandoned Buddhism in favor of Marxism, his appreciation of the Buddha as both a national hero and model for future wanderers remained constant throughout his life.³⁰⁷

In his written works, Sankrityayan discusses wandering as a practice that drives intellectual, economic, and social progress. In personal accounts, such as *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*, his life is presented as a series of journeys, expeditions, flights, and trips that mark pivotal moments in his personal development.³⁰⁸ Travel and stories serve as important addenda to his childhood education, which consisted of a general education in Urdu and Sanskrit. He begins the chapter titled “*Pahilī Yātrā*,” or “First Trip,” as follows:

पढ़नेका काम मेरे लिये बिलकुल मुश्किल न था। वस्तुतः ४ मासकी पढ़ाईके लिये मेरे बारह मास यों ही बराबाद किये जा रहे थे।

Studying was never difficult for me. Indeed, for what would have been four months of study for me, I would have to waste a whole twelve months.³⁰⁹

Sankrityayan’s maternal grandfather, *nānā*, however, provided a rich and multifaceted education, laced with geographical details from his travels as an orderly, stories, and gossip. For Sankrityayan, travel is also linked to traditions of storytelling. For example, Sankrityayan quickly transitions from the above lines to a discussion of the stories his maternal grandfather, or Nana, used to tell him while he was a child. He describes his Nana’s stories as an almost timeless narrative, one that has been ongoing between generations and throughout the course of Sankrityayan’s life.³¹⁰ As he writes:

जैसे निद्रित या मूर्छित अवस्था से बात का ताँता शुरू हो, और आदमी को मालूम न हो कि बात कब शुरू हुई, उसी तरह मेरे भी होश सँभालने से पहिले से वह कथाएँ होती चली आ रही थीं, और कब से मैंने नाना की कथाएँ सुननी शुरू कीं, इसका मुझे पना नहीं।

Just as when a series of ideas emerge from a state of sleep or unconsciousness and one does not know when they started, in just the same way, the story had been ongoing from before my conscious memory, and I don’t know since when I have been listening to Nana’s stories.³¹¹

The career Sankrityayan’s grandfather had as an orderly in the army afforded him some unique experiences. In Sankrityayan’s words, they “added spice to his stories.”³¹² They also gave his

³⁰⁷ As discussed in pervious chapters, Sankrityayan wrote about the Buddha as, “...that man was one of our own, he was the best son of India.” Rahul Sankrityayan, “*tathāgat kī jay*,” *Dharmadūt* (1949): 17. See the introduction 1 for a longer discussion of this quote.

³⁰⁸ We might see echoes in Sankrityayan’s autobiographies of the various flights of Buddha, especially his flight from his childhood home and upbringing to go in search of liberation.

³⁰⁹ Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (1), 24.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

grandfather an unusual appreciation of the region. Sankrityayan credits his Nana's stories as his first introduction to geography. As he writes,

भारत के भूगोल को पढ़ने का मुझे पीछे मौका मिला, किन्तु कामठी-अकोला-बुलडाना-औरंगाबाद-बम्बई-शिमला ही नहीं, कोचीनबन्दर और कौन-कौन पचासों नाम मैं सुन चुका था। सब मुझे याद थे। वस्तुतः भूगोल पढ़ने में नाना की ये ही कथाएँ दिलचस्पी पैदा करने का कारण हुईं। इन कथाओं में जहाँ व्यक्तियों, भिन्न-भिन्न प्रान्तों और उनकी भाषाओं का जिक्र आता, वहाँ भूमि के प्राकृतिक स्वरूप का भी जिक्र होता।

I had a chance to study the geography of India later, however, I had already heard the names of not just Kāmthī-Akolā-Buldānā-Aurangābād-Bombāi-Shimlā, but also Kochīnabandar and some fifty other names. I remembered them all. In fact, it was Nana's stories that gave rise to an interest in studying geography. In those stories, where there was a discussion of people, their various providences and languages, there was also mention of their natural landscape.³¹³

Accounts of various cultures, languages, and people, coupled with a broader historical and geographic sense, are hallmarks of Sankrityayan's travel accounts. In *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, discussed in more detail below, Sankrityayan picks up on such themes, emphasizing that what makes travel culturally relevant is the geographic sense it affords, along with the possibility of providing accounts of foreign lands, people, and cultures. In other words, travel accounts inspire future travelers and provide the knowledge and information that would make travel easier and more meaningful for future generations. Sankrityayan takes the well-practiced cultural historicism—"first in the West, then elsewhere,"³¹⁴—and reframes it as "first India, then elsewhere," using his own travels as a guide to inspire others to do the same

It is not so much the accuracy of a story that Sankrityayan valorizes as what such stories inspire: a curiosity in the world. In order to give a sense of the kinds of stories he heard growing up, Sankrityayan describes a favorite story his grandfather used to tell him about the caves of Ajanta and Elora:

एलौरा और अजन्ता की गुहामूर्तियों के बारे में उनका कहना था—रामजी वनवास को जायेंगे यह खयाल कर विश्वकर्मा ने पहाड़ काटकर ये महल बनाये, कि इनमें देवता लोग वास करेंगे, और रामजी को वनवास में कष्ट न होगा; किन्तु महल बनाकर जब तक विश्वकर्मा ब्रह्मा को खबर देने गये, तब तक राक्षसों ने आकर उन महलों में डेरा डाल दिया। लौटकर विश्वकर्मा ने देखा, उन्हें बहुत क्रोध आया; और शाप दिया—जाओ तुम सब पत्थर हो जाओ। नाना की परम्परा के अनुसार अजन्ता-एलौरा की गुहामूर्तियाँ वही पथराये राक्षस हैं। वे बड़ी गम्भीरता से भौंहों को तानकर नानी से कहते—‘जो राक्षस जहाँ जैसे रहा, वह वैसा ही वहाँ पत्थर हो गया। शराब पीनेवाले की वोतल वैसी ही हाथ और मुँह में लगी रही। नाचनेवाले वैसे ही नाचते रहे। सोने-बैठनेवाले वैसे ही सोये-बैठे रहे। आज भी देखने से मालूम होता है, अभी उठकर बोल देंगे।’ नानी प्रोत्साहन दे कहतीं—‘क्या जाने शाप छूट जाये, तो वे फिर जिन्दा हो जावें।’

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 6.

About Elora and Ajanta's cave statues, he said—After Ram-ji made the decision to go on a jungle retreat, Vishvakarma cut into the mountain and made these palaces so that the gods could reside in them and Rama-ji would not be disturbed on his retreat. However, having made the palaces, as soon as Vishvakarma went to give the news to Brahma, the *rākṣas* came and set up camp in them. Seeing this on his return, Vishvakarma was furious and issued a curse—‘Go, or you will all turn to stone.’ According to Nana's version³¹⁵ the cave statues of Ajanta and Elora are those very *rākṣas* turned to stone. Raising his big serious eyebrows, he would say to Nani—‘Those *rākṣas*, wherever and however they had been, just like that they were turned to stone. The glass of those drinking wine stayed just as it was, in their hand and touching their lips. Dancers stayed as if dancing. Those sleeping or sitting continued sleeping and sitting. Looking at them even today, it appears as if they could just get up and start speaking.’³¹⁶ Nani [maternal grandmother], to encourage him, would say—‘Who knows if the curse will be lifted, and then they will come to life again.’³¹⁷

Such accounts celebrate the ways in which storytelling brings people together. It also complicates modern histories of sites like Ajanta.³¹⁸ Famously “discovered” in 1819 by John Smith, an army officer in the Madras Regiment of the British Army, who visited the caves of Ajanta while on a tiger hunt, the caves of Ajanta came to be a symbol of India's longer cultural history, inspiring a “cultural renaissance,” especially in Calcutta (present day Kolkata) where artists such as Abinindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose drew from the murals of Ajanta to develop a new nationalist aesthetic.³¹⁹ Sankrityayan would have been very familiar with the history and influence of the caves of Ajanta amongst the intellectual elite of Calcutta, especially among the members of the Mahabodhi Society. He would have also seen how the caves of Ajanta inspired the design and construction of the Mahabodhi Society's *vihars*, including the Dharmarajika Chetiya Vihara in Calcutta, inaugurated in 1920, and a set of murals painted by the Japanese artist Kosetsu Nosu in the Mulagandhikuti Vihar, in Sarnath, the inauguration of which Sankrityayan attended in 1931.³²⁰ In Sankrityayan's rendition, Ajanta is not discovered by a colonial officer, but through the stories of an Indian orderly, describing an alternative vision of how that site was brought into people's homes across India and introduced into public discourse.

Sankrityayan's work weaves together memory, history, and geography in a way that suggests longer cultural narratives. Stories imply discrete examples, while narratives suggest much longer “temporal horizons of action.”³²¹ We see the interplay between these two at work as Sankrityayan's individual stories become expressions of cultural practices around wandering and

³¹⁵ Dasa, Syamasundara. *Hindi Sabdasagara*. Navina samskarana, (Kasi: Nagari Pracarini Sabha, 1965-1975), 2819.

³¹⁶ I took a lot of liberty with this line, but it seems more accurate than a literal translation.

³¹⁷ Nani has a very clear voice here. Sankrityayan, *Meri Jivan Yātrā*, 25.

³¹⁸ For an extended account of colonial encounters with the caves of Ajanta and their impact on historical perceptions of Buddhism in India and abroad, see: Richard Cohen, *Beyond Enlightenment: Buddhism, Religion, Modernity* (Routledge, 2006).

³¹⁹ See, for example: Mukul Dey, *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta & Bagh* (Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1925). Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³²⁰ Sraman Mukherjee, “From Sites and Museums to Temples: Relics, Ruins and New Buddhist Viharas in Colonial India,” Archive Series 5 (Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, January 2014).

³²¹ For more on “horizons of action,” see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

discovery. One consequence of his approach is the potential for a single site to hold multiple stories, while the longer narrative of a place, or one might add a nation, is defined by the longer courses of multiple stories throughout history. Storytellers, like wanderers, have the capacity to excite the imagination of listeners and readers and through that suggest new avenues for discovery and development.

Sankrityayan also celebrates how storytellers bring people together. To return to his “First Trip,” recounted in *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*, Sankrityayan focuses on another storyteller from his childhood: Jayasirī Pāṭak, also known as Jaisirī.³²² Sankrityayan focuses on Jaisirī’s charisma and charm as he commands an audience despite being blind in one eye (*kāne*):

थे तो वह [जैसिरी] काने, और ऐसे आदमी को जरा-सी बात में भी काना कहकर ताना मारना लोगों को आसान मालूम होता है, किन्तु जैसिरी के बारे में वैसा कहते मैंने किसी को नहीं सुना। घुटने तक की साफ धोती, देह पर या शिर में बँधा एक वैसा ही साफ अँगोछा, पैर में बाधा-खड़ाई, हाथ में बाँस का छाता या डंडा लिये उनकी पतली, किन्तु स्वस्थ सबल मूर्ति अब भी मरे सामने है।

It happened that [Jaisirī] was blind, and in addition to calling a blind man blind, people often know how to easily make fun of such men, but I never heard anyone say such things about Jaisirī. Clean shaven and in a clean *dhotī*, with a small cloth tied around his body or head, *vādā-kharāun* (wooden sandals) on his feet, he carried a bamboo umbrella or stick in his hand. Even now I can see his thin yet healthy figure before me.³²³

A shepherd, Jaisiri could recall many stories, including the Ramayana.³²⁴ As a result, he was often surrounded by a group of young cow-herders. Sankrityayan longed to be among them. His grandfather had other ambitions for him, however. Sankrityayan’s career prospects are contrasted to those of Jaisirī who is hampered by his position in society. As Sankrityayan writes of Jaisirī,

उस समय इस असाधारण प्रतिभाके धनी किन्तु अवसर से वंचित व्यक्तिको, एक मनोरंजक आदमीके तौरपर जानता था, किन्तु अवसर मिलनेपर वह क्या बनता, इसका खयाल कर अफसोस तो दुनिया देख लेनेपर होने लगा।

At that time, rich with an unusual genius (*asādhāraṇ pratibhā*) but deprived of opportunity as a person, he was known as an entertaining man. With the right opportunity, however, what might he have become. After taking this perspective, the world begins to regret it.³²⁵

Sankrityayan continues his account with a discussion of his own *janeū* or sacred-cord ritual, emphasizing the presumed caste difference between himself and Jaisirī.

³²² A footnote in the text directs readers to Sankrityayan’s short story “Jaisirī.”

³²³ Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*, 25.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

In her discussion of a Hindi public sphere, Orsini highlights the importance of narrative traditions in defining a sense of community. History, in particular, became a lens through which to imagine and define an emerging sense of India as a nation through the production of new works in different genres. Instead of an idea of *sāhitya*, Orsini focuses on the cultivation of culture and tradition through the idea of *saṃskāra*. As she writes,

The expression ‘literary saṃskāra’, current in Hindi, suggests a taste, an inclination *and* its source, i.e. whether it is inherited from one’s family, local tradition and tastes, or is acquired through education and contact with the outer world and with literary trends; the expression suggests a taste which settles upon other tastes according to one’s individual experiences of life.³²⁶

In Sankrityayan's work, wandering describes both “an inclination *and* its source.” In addition to inspiring new published works and aesthetic inclination, discussed more below, wandering also animates a process of discovering lost historical records that inform the production of new works and practices.

Writing about one of Sankrityayan’s contemporaries, Vrindavanlal Varma, Francesca Orsini goes on to describe a tension between the “truth” of familial accounts and the “truth” of historical text.³²⁷ Varma eventually reconciles these two “truths” through the discovery of a set of letters written by a lawyer that legitimized his grandmother's claims, leading Varma to not just *use* historical sources, but to begin actively *searching* for them. Sankrityayan's life and work follow a similar pattern of *using* and then *searching* for historical accounts on which to base his work. Whether it is the geographic knowledge contained in his Nana’s stories, or his own adventures, Sankrityayan presents his life as a process of discovery and engagement. Sankrityayan’s expeditions to Tibet are, perhaps, the most famous example of the kinds of cultural discovery made possible through his wandering. Between 1929 and 1938 Sankrityayan made four major trips to Tibet in search of lost texts and historical traces of early Buddhism from India. He published accounts of his trips in numerous publications. He also brought back materials from his trips, placing them in institutions in India, such as the 22 mule-loads of manuscripts, art, and other objects, to the Bihar Research Society in Patna.³²⁸

Sankrityayan published accounts of his travels, drawn on notes from his diaries, and encouraged other travelers and would be wanderers to do the same. In some cases, like Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan would simply publish letters he wrote to friends and supporters, advocating that such personal references and notes could also be historical records. Vasudha Dalmia stresses the importance of such eclectic publications as “a measure of the polyvocality of public opinion,” expanding the scope of the “literary activity of the public sphere” beyond the more narrow focus on “explicitly literary context” that underpins the work of Benedict Anderson.³²⁹ The multitude and eclecticism of Sankrityayan’s published works, from travel accounts to histories, dictionaries and essays, suggests a link between how he understood the practice of wandering as a roaming and curious mind, and the constitution of an expanded literary imaginaire through the publications of new works that draw from his experiences and finds.

³²⁶ Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*, 43-44.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 217.

³²⁸ Bharati, “Traveller on the Silk Road.”

³²⁹ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 19.

Personal letters played an important role in the collected works of many Hindi authors during the first part of the twentieth century. Like wanderers, letters share experiences of different places and experiences with whoever reads them. In addition to furnishing important historical records, they also had a direct link to published travel accounts. As discussed in the previous chapter, many of the earliest travel accounts in Hindi were published as letters and in the collected works of well-known Hindi authors, providing the bulk of a given author's published travel accounts. Letters in many ways embody the very things Sankrityayan appreciates about wandering, namely their ability to provide a personal account and record as well as an index of disparate communities. Amongst the texts discussed in this dissertation, letters repeatedly appear as important records of travels. In Chapter 1, for example, I discuss a set of letters Anand Kausalyayan wrote to one "Yogendra." Sankrityayan appears in one of those letters, traveling with Kausalyayan across northern India. Sankrityayan published his own set of letters between Kausalyayan and himself. Written over the course of the 1930s, the letters became an important part of *Yātrā ke Panne*. While the bulk of the text is composed of extended travel accounts of some of Sankrityayan's journeys, first to Tibet and then across northern India, the middle section of the text consists entirely of a set of letters he wrote to Kausalyayan. His first letter is from 1932, in Paris, where Sankrityayan was involved with organizing an exhibition of paintings and other objects that he brought from Tibet in an exhibition at the Musée Guimet. The final letter is written from Prayāg (Allahabad) in 1933.³³⁰ Despite the brevity and banality of some of the letters, Sankrityayan's choice to include all of them in *Yātrā ke Panne* speaks to his desire to record his travels as inspiration and as historical records.

The historical importance of Sankrityayan's travels indexes the global network he cultivated through his journeys and publications. Much in the way that Kausalyayan's *Bhikṣu ke Patra* described a network of people interested in Buddhism—a Buddhist Hindi Public—Sankrityayan's letters describe a community of scholars and students interested in India, Tibet, and Buddhism. These also become part of the literary *saṃskāra* imagined in and around Sankrityayan's published works. In Paris, for example, Sankrityayan describes meeting with Sylvain Lévi, the well-known Indologist at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, well known for his contributions to studies of Greater India.³³¹ Histories of "Greater India" were important to Sankrityayan's work as they informed his understanding of the extensive travels of early wanderers from the Indian subcontinent. In Germany, Sankrityayan engaged with figures such as Hermann Oldenberg³³² before traveling back to Sri Lanka. These experiences, as much as his training in Sri Lanka or as an Ārya Samajist, influenced his approach to Buddhism for Hindi audiences, situating his works on travel as broader cultural narratives which, through accounts of his life and those of other travelers, were presented as opportunities for historical discovery and development.

Sankrityayan met many notable intellectuals in Europe while serving as a Buddhist ambassador or *dharmadūt* for the Mahabodhi Society and Vidyalankara Pirivena. While he does make mention of stops and lectures at various Buddhist missions, it is clear that his interests are in other things: he is eager to meet academics, visit libraries, conduct research, curate exhibitions, and talk with students. The letters he writes during these travels become the basis for

³³⁰ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Yātrā ke Panne* (Dehra Dun: Sāhitya Sadan, 1952), 211-212.

³³¹ Ibid., 130.

³³² Hermann Oldenberg, *His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*, translated by William Hoey (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1882).

later publications. In numerous letters, Sankrityayan repeatedly requests Kausalyayan, who was then based in London, for funds. In some letters, Sankrityayan is noticeably frantic, urging Kausalyayan to send him funds as quickly as possible so that he can continue on his travels or undertake one or the other enterprise. He also requests other necessities, including books, articles, and even a typewriter.³³³ In addition to their content, the speed and regularity of the letters is remarkable. Sankrityayan often wrote a letter every day and was often surprised when a few days would pass without a reply from Kausalyayan. The choice to publish these letters, even ones that only contain a request for funds or some books, indicates an interest in recording his travels and experiences as completely as possible, and to publish them for Hindi readers.

A recurring theme of Sankrityayan's letters to Kausalyayan is his intense desire to visit Russia. He tried numerous times to obtain a visa, often requesting extra funds in case he was able to make a lastminute trip there. In the end, he was unable to visit Russia during that trip because winter had started. Instead, he returned to India via Sri Lanka. Sankrityayan eventually made it to Leningrad, teaching at the University of Leningrad from 1937-38 and 1947-48.³³⁴ Once there, he gave up his monk's robes, taking on the life of a lay scholar and marrying Ellena Narvertovna Kozerovskaya. During his return to India in 1938, Sankrityayan became involved with the Kisan Sabha Movement. For his political speeches and role in organizing demonstrations, or *satyagraha*, in Amavari and Motihari, Sankrityayan was jailed two more times.³³⁵ Sankrityayan returned to India from Leningrad the second time after India's independence in 1947, eventually taking up residence in Musoorie, where he helped establish some of the first Tibetan settlements after the Cultural Revolution, and later marrying Kamala Periar and settling in Darjeeling.³³⁶

Sankrityayan's time in Leningrad marks a pivotal moment in his writing, reflecting his move away from Buddhism as a central ideology towards Marxism as a guiding light.³³⁷ Marxism, like Buddhism, provided an ideological framework for reimagining Indian society. In Sankrityayan's work, both are united by an underlying interest in the eradication of class divisions and its potential application for issues of caste prejudices. According to Douglas Ober, many Buddhist scholars at the time, including Dharmananda Kosambhi, felt that Buddhism embodied certain ideological precursors to Marxist thought. Sankrityayan searched for parallels between the two, but ultimately concluded that, while Buddhism had many important qualities, it did not adequately address the social and economic issues beyond the confines of the Buddhist *sangha* or monastic order. As Ober writes,

Like Juzan in China or Seno'o in Japan, [Sankrityayan] began to argue that if Buddhism could be 'purified' of its link to landed classes and returned to its 'primitive' or

³³³ Sankrityayan, *Yātrā ke Panne*, 137.

³³⁴ Prabhakar Machwe, *Rahul Sankrityayan* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1998), 25.

³³⁵ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*, 76.

³³⁶ Kamala Sankrityayan met Sankrityayan while typing up his papers. She was an accomplished scholar and author in her own right, publishing several notable works.

³³⁷ Sankrityayan often spoke of the various phases of his life as a guiding "light," notably referring to the period of his life when he was engaged with the Arya Samaj (1915-1922) as "the period of New Light." *Ibid.*, 15 For a longer description of Sankrityayan's time in Russia see: Rahul Sankrityayan, *Rūs men Paccīs Mās Yātrā* (Ālokaprakāśan, 1952); and, Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival*, 76.

‘original’ state of atheistic humanism’ (*nāstik mānaviyatā*), it could once again act as a dynamic and progress force in human evolution.³³⁸

Across Asia, Buddhist revivalists and reformers were searching for a way that Buddhism could be adapted to address many contemporary social and political issues.³³⁹ As Gitanjali Surendran writes in her study of modern Buddhist revival efforts in India, “...discussions on Buddhism in the first four decades of the twentieth century in India were essentially discussions of Indian modernity.”³⁴⁰ At stake is a question of what modernity might look like in India, and how processes of modernization could impact Indian society. As Surendran continues, “Sankrityayan [found] kinship between Buddhism and socialism on the grounds that both look to achieve the maximum good for the maximum number.”³⁴¹ In the introduction, I discussed how Sankrityayan incorporated these ideas into his translation and interpretation of the Buddha’s mission. Building on that, I explore below how Sankrityayan imagined wandering as “that which is most beneficial” and how accounts of his own life’s journey served as a model for others to follow.

Debates over the merits of Marxism were also prevalent in Hindi publications at the time. Returning to Orsini’s work on the subject, she documents the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Peasant Movement in Avadh in 1919-21 in shaping this new literary consciousness. As Orsini writes,

After the Russian Revolution a radically different vision of society appeared on the Hindi horizon and gained some currency (and some opprobrium) in the public sphere. The vision could also be expressed in terms of *saṅgaṭhan*, for the call to *saṅgaṭhan* had also expressed a yearning to accommodate the ‘neglected sections’ (*upekṣit aṅg*) of society, peasants, workers, untouchables, and women. If radical social reformers had always demanded that social justice be included in the new vision of the nation-to-be, socialism provided a new theoretical framework. In this respect, while the Non-Cooperation was a turning point in the political imagination of Hindi intellectuals, the Russian Revolution and the 1919-21 peasant movement in Avadh were, to different degrees, turning points for their social imagination.³⁴²

Sankrityayan’s engagement with various political and social movements, including the Kīśān Sabhā Movement, the Ārya Samāj, and Buddhist revivalist efforts, impacted his approach to wandering and the “neglected sections” of Indian society. We see this reflected in the image of the wanderer Sankrityayan writes more formally about in his *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra* and his classification of different types of wanderers based on how they approach questions of caste. For him, the best wanderers, those of the highest order, are disinterested in caste. His unorthodox framing of caste as part of traditions of wandering is one way that he comments on Indic religious traditions more generally, proposing a more universal or enlightened philosophical tradition. He writes about that tradition as a *ghumakkaṛ dharm*, a wandering religion, or ethos of wandering. In *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, to which I now turn, Sankrityayan discusses wandering as a

³³⁸ Douglas Ober, “Socialism, Russia, and India’s Revolutionary Dharma,” *Buddhism in the Global Eye: Beyond East and West*, edited by John S. Harding, Victor Sōgen Hori, and Alexander Soucy (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 81.

³³⁹ Queen and King, eds. *Engaged Buddhism*.

³⁴⁰ Surendran, “‘The Indian Discovery of Buddhism’: Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890-1956,” 147.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 234.

tradition and as a driver of social progress. The aim of the text is a manual for future wanderers as historical agents of change and discoverers.

A Treatise for the Wanderer

Published in 1948, *Ghumakkar Śāstra* advocates for wandering as a moral imperative. Distinguishing between travel, understood as directed or purposive movement and wandering as a more open-ended practice of curiosity and discovery, the text offers a guide for the would-be wanderer. It also marks a significant shift in Sankrityayan's life, away from Buddhism and towards wandering as the basis for personal and communal development.

The text is self-consciously a *śāstra*. This is made clear in the title and opening lines of the first chapter, which encourages readers to approach the text much in the way they might read other religious or philosophical manuals. Among recent studies of the text, there is little consistency about how to translate the title, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, into English. In *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, Nandini Das and Tim Youngs translate it as “The Science of Wandering,” crediting Sankrityayan with “single-handedly being responsible for elevating the Hindi travelogue to a literary form.”³⁴³ Others have proposed more elaborated translations that highlight specific historical and cultural aspects of the text. These include Avishek Ray's “A Treatise on Vagabondage” and Bharati Puri's “Treatise on Travelling/wandering/nomadism,” both of which reflect a certain ambivalence for how readers should understand the term *ghumakkar*, especially in the context of a *śāstra*. I have chosen to translate the title as “*A Treatise for the Wanderer*” emphasizing the text's interest in the figure of the wanderer and the act of wandering.

In addition to playing with conventions around wandering as a cultural tradition and ethos, *Ghumakkar Śāstra* engages with literary conventions and standards, especially Sanskrit śāstric conventions. Chapter 1, for example, titled “*Athāto Ghumakkar-Jijñāsā*,” which I translate as “Thus Wanderlust,” begins as follows,

संस्कृत से ग्रंथ को शुरू करने के लिए पाठकों को रोष नहीं होना चाहिए। आखिर हम शास्त्र लिखने जा रहे हैं, फिर शास्त्र की परिपाटी को तो मानना ही पड़ेगा। शास्त्रों में जिज्ञासा ऐसी चीज़ के लिए होनी बतलाई गई है, जो कि श्रेष्ठ तथा व्यक्ति और समाज सबके लिए परम हितकारी हो।

The reader should not be upset by the use of Sanskrit at the beginning of the text. After all, we are writing a treatise, so it is necessary that we accept the traditions of a treatise (*śāstra*). In a treatise, it is customary to encourage a curiosity for those things that are the best and most beneficial for people and society.³⁴⁴

“*Athāto*” is a common epitaph at the beginning of Sanskrit Śāstras, and Sankrityayan imagines his readers might find it off-putting. It calls to mind the lines from the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*: “*Athāto brahma jijñāsā*,” replacing “Brahman” as the focus of inquiry with “*ghumakkar*.”

³⁴³ Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, Kindle Edition), 173.

³⁴⁴ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra* (Allahabad: Kitāb Mahl, 1978, first published 1948), 1. On the copyright page of the 4th issue, the publisher offers a parenthetical to the title, perhaps as a suggested translation—“(Travel by Rahul Sankrityayan).”

Pairing it with “*ghumakkar*,” meaning to roam or wander, and “*jijñāsā*,” meaning a desire to know or curiosity, draws attention to the unique qualities of the text.³⁴⁵ How can wandering, an act of non-directed travel, be worthy of a treatise? And what does it mean to discuss a roaming curiosity in a scientific or systematic way? At times, Sankrityayan’s approach reads like an earnest guide for the would be wanderers, while at other times it seems like a satirical take on textual traditions, playing with conventions as a way to comment on the “truth claims” of such texts. The need to qualify his opening, and to be didactic, also points to the status of Hindi at the time. Through a discussion of the standards and customs around a treatise, Sankrityayan quickly guides readers to the text’s central thesis: that wandering is an embodied expression of curiosity and that curiosity is the driving force of all religious, philosophical, and scientific treatises. As Sankrityayan further writes, wandering is “treatise-ready,”³⁴⁶ because “[t]he greatest religious heroes of the world were travelers.” Chief among them was the Buddha who, “was not just a traveler himself, but right from the start...said to his students “*carath bhikkhave cārik*”—”Monks! Travel.”³⁴⁷

Ghumakkar Śāstra presents an indigenous history of travel and travel writing populated by historically and religiously important wanderers. To support his claims, Sankrityayan draws from a variety of sources, including *safarnāmā*, *tīrthyātrā*, hagiographies and colonial surveys, presenting a rich panoply of sources and characters from different cultures and periods. According to Sankrityayan, Mahavir and Mohamad, Marco Polo and Charles Darwin, were all great wanderers.³⁴⁸ Whether revered as saints or scientists, artists or scholars, each one is celebrated for being, in their own way, a wanderer. What connects them is a common desire to travel, to move beyond the known and familiar and dive into the unknown as the basis for both material and moral (spiritual) progress.³⁴⁹ Sankrityayan compares his treatise on wandering to earlier treatises, most notably the writings of Vyas, the legendary author of the Mahabharata. As Sankrityayan explains,

व्यास ने अपने शास्त्र में ब्रह्म को सर्वश्रेष्ठ मानकर उसे जिज्ञासा का विषय बनाया। व्यास-शिष्य जैमिनि ने धर्म को श्रेष्ठ माना। पुराने ऋषियों से मतभेद रखना हमारे लिए पाप की वस्तु नहीं है, आखिर छ शास्त्रों के रचयिता छ आस्तिक ऋषियों में भी आधों ने ब्रह्म को धत्ता बता दिया है।

Vyas, in his treatise, accepted Brahma as supreme and made him the subject of inquiry. Vyas’s student Jaimini took religion to be the ultimate. It is not a sin for us to keep some deference towards the old sages, after all, of the authors of six treatises, half of the six devoted rishis spoke of the adoration of Brahma.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁵ *Jijñāsā*: “desire to know: curiosity; inquisitiveness. 2. enquiry, investigation” *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 243.

³⁴⁶ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 4.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ “The greatest religious heroes of the world were travelers. Among religious teachers, in conduct and thought, wisdom and logic, and compassion, the best was Buddha, the traveler king.” *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁴⁹ Rahul Sankrityayan, “Buddhist Dialectics,” *Buddhism: The Marxist Approach* (Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1970), 1-8.

³⁵⁰ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 1. For an example of such an opening, see: *Brahmasūtra: Śāṅkarabhāṣya-Ratnaprabhā Bhāṣānuvāda*, ed. Yativara Śrībholebābā. (Delhi: Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśana, 1998), 1.1.1.

It is not that Sankrityayan believes Brahma and wandering to be the same, or even entirely comparable. Rather, his claim is that a treatise is an expression of what an author thinks is most valuable and beneficial, *hitakārī*. As Sankrityayan continues,

मेरी समझ मंय दुनिया की सर्वश्रेष्ठ वस्तु है घुमक्कड़ी। घुमक्कड़ से बढ़कर व्यक्ति और समाज का कोई हितकारी नहीं हो सकता।

In my understanding, the best thing in the world is wandering (*ghumakkarī*). There can be nothing more beneficial (*hitakārī*) for man or society than to wander.³⁵¹

It is worth noticing Sankrityayan's unusual use of *ghumakkarī*—translated here as “wandering”—a variation of *ghumakkar*, defined as someone who wanders or who is in the practice of wandering, such as a monk, renunciate, or vagabond. Unlike *ghumakkar*, *ghumakkarī*, denotes a drive to wander or the practice of wandering, modified or Sanskritized much in the way that *hitakār*, “doing service or kindness; benevolent,” is modified in the next line to become *hitakārī*. Throughout the text, *ghumakkarī* is used to denote “wandering,” but more precisely as a practice or impetus to roam, travel, and wander.

In his study of Sankrityayan's *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, Avishek Ray considers the work within the broader historical context at the time, translating *ghumakkar* in such a way that it situates the work within debates over vagrancy in India during the 1940s. Translating “*ghumakkar*” as “vagabondage,” Ray discusses Sankrityayan's work as an earnest, yet pointed, commentary on persistent anxiety around vagrancy at the time, praising “what the colonial legislature strictly forbids.” And, as Ray continues, in so doing, “retrieves the ‘structure of feeling’ associated with vagabondage in ‘pre-modern’ India...”³⁵² Pointing to a number of Vagrancy Acts from the period—including “The Bombay Prevent of Beggary Act, XXXIII of 1945 [which] defines the ‘beggar’ as: ‘A person without means of subsistence and *wandering* about...’”³⁵³ Ray's choice of the term “vagabondage” situates Sankrityayan's work within a new constellation of references, making associations and a reading of “*ghumakkarī*” or “vagrancy” in multiple registers. Drawing on the work of Raymond Williams, the “structures of feeling” that Ray writes about in Sankrityayan's text, refer to colonial appraisals of “vagrancy” as “beggary” and “vagabond” as “refugee,” as well as alternative sets of associations related to traditions of wandering in India, which are the focus of Sankrityayan's text. It also highlights the struggle within the text to navigate “the politics of exclusion and inclusion” through a reading of the multiple valences of “vagabondage.”³⁵⁴ As Ray continues, Sankrityayan's *Ghumakkar Śāstra* emphasizes, “The ‘residual’ in the ‘structures of feeling’ towards vagabondage as a ‘pre-modern’ cultural practice of defiance re-surfaced...”³⁵⁵ In other words, Sankrityayan's works lessen the associations between wandering and vagrancy—including beggary, displacement, and homelessness—by emphasizing positive aspects of wandering as both embedded in longer traditions of wandering—*sannyāsīs* and *sadhus*—as well as more modern explorers and

³⁵¹ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 1.

³⁵² Avishek Ray, “The Resurrection of the Vagabond: Identity Politics in Sankrityayan's ‘Ghumakkar Sastra’.” *Indian Literature* 58, no. 2 (280 (2014): 163.

³⁵³ Ibid., 167.

³⁵⁴ Ray writes about the 1940s as, “possibly the most turbulent era in India's History.” Ibid., 166.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 167.

scientists, such as Vasco De Maga and Darwin. The temporal and conceptual divisions Ray points to within Sankrityayan's texts are related to his effort to locate a tradition of wandering in India that predates both European and Mughal influences in India.³⁵⁶ Within Sankrityayan's work, Buddhism offers an ideal example of such a tradition. He further abstracts his reading of Buddhism, both historically and intellectually, by approaching it as one example of a wandering ethos (religion)—*ghumakkar dharm*—a religious or philosophical tradition grounded in a peripatetic practice and, importantly, an intellectual tradition based on individual curiosity and inquiry. Buddhism's influence across Asia, further bolsters Sankrityayan's claims that travel leads to cultural and ideological expansion and influence. It is notable that Ray does not acknowledge the text's unusual focus on Buddhism and the Buddha as a potentially mediating force within Sankrityayan's work. Much in the way that the text explores wandering as both a traditional and modern practice, Buddhism is framed as a tradition that is both universal and still expressible in ways that are uniquely Indian.

Throughout *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, wandering or an ethos of wandering is presented as something that moves through and connects multiple traditions. Building on his discussion of Vyas' work, Sankrityayan claims that wandering is not a foreign practice. Nor is it unique to India. Instead, it is a universal act fundamental to the earliest human development. As he writes,

प्राकृतिक आदिम मनुष्ये परम घुमक्कड़ था। खेती, बागबानी तथा घर-द्वार से मुक्त वह आकाश के पक्षियों की भाँति पृथ्वी पर सदा विचरण करता था, जाड़े में यदि इस जगह था तो गर्मियों में वहाँ से दो सौ कोस दूर।

Natural (*prākṛtik*), primitive man was an ultimate wanderer. Free from farming, gardening, house and home, like the birds of the sky always landing on new ground, if he was in one place in the winter, then in summer he would be two hundred *kos* away from there.³⁵⁷

In their translation of the same passage, Nandini Das and Tim Youngs take a more general approach, focusing less on early “man” as a wanderer, and more on early “humans” as “nomadic.”³⁵⁸ They go on, though, to situate *Ghumakkar Śāstra* within Sankrityayan's other works, specifically his early publication *Volgā se Gangā* (From the Volga to the Ganga), which they write, “offers a fictional and unorthodox account of the migration of Central Asians into the subcontinent, reading 8,000 years of history as a process of travel.”³⁵⁹ Sankrityayan often wrote about wandering as a force that drives progress and evolution in relationship to geographic exploration and cultural expansion. He explores this theme in *Ghumakkar Śāstra* considering how travel and conquest has guided human development. As he writes,

घुमक्कड़ क्यों दुनिया की सर्वश्रेष्ठ विभूति है? इसीलिए कि उसीने आज की दुनिया को बनाया है। यदि आदिम-पुरुष एक जगह नदी या तालाब के किनारे गर्म मुल्क में पड़े रहते, तो वह दुनिया को आगे नहीं

³⁵⁶ Jaffrelot, *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India*.

³⁵⁷ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 1.

³⁵⁸ “Primitive, natural humans were supremely nomadic. Free of agriculture, gardening or housekeeping, they roamed around the earth like birds in the sky. If they were here in winter, they would be two hundred *kros* away in the summer.” Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, 173.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

ले जा सकते थे। आदमी की घुमक्कड़ी ने बहुत बार खून की नदियाँ बहाई हैं, इसमें संदेह नहीं, और घुमक्कड़ों से हम हर्गिज नहीं चाहेंगे कि वह खून के रास्ते को पकड़ें, किंतु अगर घुमक्कड़ों के काफिले न आते-जाते, तो सुस्त मानव-जातियाँ सो जातीं और पशु से ऊपर नहीं उठ पातीं।

Why is travel the best endeavor in the world? It is because it alone made the world of today. If early man had stayed on the edge of a river or a lake in a hot country, then there would have been no advancement from that world. The travels of man have many times caused rivers of blood to flow, there is no doubt about this, and we definitely do not want to take that bloody road for travel. But, if the convoy of travelers did not come and go, then a dim human species would have lulled and never advanced beyond the animals.³⁶⁰

Sankrityayan's approach to wandering parallels discourses around an *Ārya Dharma* that emerged in India in the first half of the twentieth century—one that incorporated both ethnic and racial overtones, as well as notions of a more expansive religious ideal or “noble” doctrine that encompasses Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist traditions as *sanātana dharma* defined by common practices of renunciation and wandering.³⁶¹ According to Orsini, this ideal “provided not only a source of pride (‘we were once the best’) but also a grid for comparison with the present.”³⁶² Buddhism played an important, if often understudied, role in defining the *Ārya Dharma* as a Hinduism for the nation. Hindu nationalist reformers like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Dayanada Saraswati drew explicitly from Buddhist histories in their framing of Hindu reform practices, especially its long tradition of travelling. In his work *Essentials of Hindutva*, for example, Savarkar writes about the Buddhist Mission as the first attempt to “propagate a universal religion” from the Indian subcontinent.³⁶³ Sankrityayan's presentation of Buddhism in *Ghumakkar Śāstra* as a pre-modern example of a wandering tradition from South Asia similarly draws from a popular understanding of Buddhism as part of a more encompassing religious tradition from India,³⁶⁴ while Buddhist reformers such as Anagarika Dharmapala sought to define Buddhism as a unique tradition with a distinct and “noble” history.³⁶⁵

Sankrityayan incorporated many of these same principles into his writings on wandering, revealing a close relationship between his approach to Buddhism and that of his contemporaries. In fact, Sankrityayan first encountered Buddhism as part of his education as an *Arya Samajist*. This led him to visit the various Buddhist pilgrimage sites in India and eventually to his

³⁶⁰ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 2.

³⁶¹ “Here there was clear propagation of ‘high’ tradition which demarcated itself no longer from the reformists as from the Muslims and Christians and all lower forms of worship. The common reference point for all those who could be assimilated into this high tradition was *Ārya*, *Ārya jāti*, *Āryavarta*. These were encompassing terms, which offered possibilities of cohesion and which claimed historical, territorial and cultural hegemony on the subcontinent.” Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 416..

³⁶² Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 225.

³⁶³ “Buddhism had made the first and yet the greatest attempt to propagate a universal religion. ‘Go, ye Bhikkus, to all the ten directions of the world and preach the law of Righteousness!’ Truly, it was a law of Righteousness.” Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, “Buddhism — A Universal Religion,” Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Essentials of Hindutva* (2019, first published in 1923), 11.

³⁶⁴ This is a topic I take up in my other dissertation: “Buddhism and the Making of Modern India,” University of California, Berkeley, 2018.

³⁶⁵ Dharmapala, *The Ārya Dharma of Sakya Muni, Gautama, Buddha*.

involvement with the Bodh Gaya Management Case and the Maha Bodhi Society.³⁶⁶ While Sankrityayan would eventually leave the Arya Samaj and then the Maha Bodhi Society, throughout his life, his interest in wandering as a unifying practice and intellectual tradition is inflected by a national trend, especially in Hindi publications, to approach Buddhism as part of a unified vision of the Ārya Dharma. However, instead of promoting the Ārya Dharma as a unifying religious ideology, Sankrityayan advocated for a tradition of wandering as a practice that was consistent with the various traditions of the region.

Whether it was Hinduism or Jainism, Sikhism or Islam, all great religious leaders, according to Sankrityayan, were wanderers. Even the great scientific discoveries of the past few centuries, as well as the colonial expansion of European empires, he suggests, are evidence of a wandering-ethos or dedication to travel and discovery. For Sankrityayan, wandering brings together travel and discovery as embodied experience and intellectual attitude. His work offers it as a model for cultural development and expansion. As a part of discourses on education and morality, wandering further suggests an ongoing process of refinement and inquiry, one that he brings into Hindi through the authorship of works that consider his life as a model for others.

By the time Sankrityayan published *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, travel accounts in Hindi and Urdu had become a popular way of imagining non-violent contestations to colonial rule in the region. As Daniel Majchrowicz has shown in his dissertation, “Travel, Travel Writing and the ‘Means to Victory’ in Modern South Asia,” modern travel narratives revolved around ideas of advancement and independence. Describing the travel accounts of Tikoji Holkar II, Maharaja of Indore, Majchrowicz writes,

...Holkar’s decision to travel had little to do with international intrigue, much less pilgrimage, warfare or political alliances. Rather it was motivated, he claimed, by the pursuit of an ideal that would come to permeate an entire genre of South Asian literature: “*safar vasīla-yi zaḥar*”—*travel is the means to victory*...Crucially, the victory referenced here does not only come from the act of travel itself, but from its retelling in the form of a travel account.³⁶⁷

As Majchrowicz elaborates, it was not the success of a mission that was important so much as the ability to recount a journey after it was completed. That was the true value of travel and travel accounts. Sankrityayan’s works similarly explore travel as a metaphor through which to think about individual and collective liberation and self-determination. Related to this, he sees a lacuna in Hindi literature, which he seeks to fill through the publication of *Ghumakkar Śāstra* as a way to introduce Hindi audiences to the value of wandering. As he explains, Hindi audiences were in need of a guide that could reintroduce them to the value and practice of wandering:

घुमक्कड़ के उपयोग की पुस्तकें केवल अंग्रेजी में ही नहीं हैं, जर्मन, रूसी और फ्रेंच में भी ऐसी बहुत-सी पुस्तकें हैं। हमारी हिन्दी तो देश की परतन्त्रता के कारण अभी तक अनाथ थी। किन्तु अब हमारा कर्तव्य

³⁶⁶ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*.

³⁶⁷ Daniel Joseph Majchrowicz, “Travel, Travel Writing and the ‘Means to Victory’ in Modern South Asia,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015), 85.

है कि हिन्दी इस तरह के साहित्य का निर्माण करें। हमारे देशभाई व्यापार या दूसरे सिलसिले में दुनिया के कौन-से छार में नहीं पहुँचे हैं? एशिया और युरोप का कोई स्थान नहीं, जहाँ पर वह न हों।

Books about the utility of travel are not just in English alone, there are numerous such books in German, Russian, and French. Our Hindi, because of our country's dependency is still helpless. However now it is our duty to create this kind of Hindi literature. Which parts of the world did our fellow countrymen (*deshbhāī*) not reach through trade and other business matters? There is nowhere in Asia or Europe that were not.³⁶⁸

The absence of a robust body of Hindi travel literature was a major part of why Sankrityayan believed India forgot its tradition of wandering. *Ghumakkar Śāstra* attempts to fill that void, outlining a longer and more robust tradition of wandering from and within the region, as well as offering a guide that he hopes will inspire a new generation of wanderers. In offering a guide for future wanderers, the text also seeks to present a historical corrective for the future, creating a record of modern travels of wanderers from India. It also aims to create a discourse around wandering as the basis for considering other travel accounts and works of literature.

Some thoughts on the choice of “wanderlust” in translating Sankrityayan’s work: Derived from the German “wander” and “lust,” meaning a love of roaming, especially outdoors, the term “wanderlust” has come to mean a more general delight in travel and mobility, having emerged from the German romantic tradition as a call to return to nature, as well as a period for developing new skills and experience as part of one’s education.³⁶⁹ It was picked up as a popular idea again in the early twentieth century as the *wandervogel* movement. The *wandervogel* movement was a youth movement in Germany related to the construction of a network of youth hostels and bike paths across the country, meant to inspire a younger generation to learn about their country by traveling it. A thorough discussion of these movements and their impact on various nationalist movements in Germany is beyond the scope of this project, but a few brief comparisons reveal some of the key aspects of Sankrityayan’s approach to wandering as part of a new cultural and moral imperative for Hindi audiences. As Simon Schama explains in his work on landscapes and memory, the valorization of wandering German landscapes was related to nationalism and new images of the German national citizen. Similarly, it engendered an effort to describe who should have access to those landscapes.³⁷⁰ By the 1920s there was a related trend in India to re-imagine India as a “divine geo-body,”³⁷¹ known as Bharat Mata,³⁷² and a new, more masculine image of the Indian citizen.³⁷³ This was developed through new works of art, literature, and architecture in projects that helped define intellectual and physical networks across the subcontinent, especially related to travel and pilgrimage. As Kris Manjappa writes in *Age of Entanglement*, German and Indian intellectuals were both interested in finding ways to

³⁶⁸ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 227.

³⁶⁹ Hannah McBride, “Etymology of ‘Wanderlust’,” <https://nowheremag.com/2013/04/etymology-of-wanderlust/>, accessed April 19, 2020.

³⁷⁰ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

³⁷¹ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

³⁷² Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation*.

³⁷³ Sikata Banerjee, *Make Me a Man!: Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012).

describe more “expansive geographic dimensions of culture in a way that sought to regionalize the world.”³⁷⁴ There was, in fact, an active exchange of ideas and writings at the time, and Sankrityayan’s own travels reveal that he spent some time in Germany. While not expressly calling for a return to nature, Sankrityayan’s interest in wandering as a form of historical recuperation and education bears a marked familiarity to the emergence of wandering as a literary motif in German literature after the eighteenth century.³⁷⁵ As Andrew Cusack writes, “the figure of the wanderer” became a way of describing “a particular kind of education, one that prepares him to become a functioning member of a modern society... a trans-historical element(s) that acts to bind distinct periods together.”³⁷⁶ In such works there is a tension between more expansive historical and intellectual practices and a growing desire for more localized cultural expressions linked to the formalization of the nation-state. Through a renewed interest in preserving lost and localized traditions, movements like the *Volksgeschichte* movement and the Greater India Movement developed frameworks for imagining extended cultural territories that could be centered on their respective nations. Discovering and studying lost texts and narrative traditions was one way of reifying and centering these new geographic imaginations.³⁷⁷ There were some unique facets of an interest in travel and discovery in India, especially related to how a traveling ethos, or what Sankrityayan describes as a *ghumakkar dharm*, allowed for a more internationalist framing of Indian culture and identity in a way that would often supersede geographic boundaries. As Manjapra continues, describing discourses around “Greater India,” which describes a cultural terrain that extends well beyond the physical boundaries of India, “New culture and travel went together, and identity was not linked to fixed, bounded territory alone. Greater India, *Mahattvar Bhārat*, as a self-construct and a discursive form was the geocultural expression of anti-Anglocentrism—and even deeper still a protest against the hegemony of a liberal imperial world order centered around northwest European power.”³⁷⁸ Sankrityayan’s notion of *ghumakkar jijñāsā* challenges Eurocentric models of knowledge, positioning the Indian subcontinent as a bastion of knowledge production that then traveled to other parts of the world through a process of imagining traditions of wandering in and from India. As Sankrityayan writes, if India aspires to elevate its status in the world, it needs to revive an interest in wandering—to rediscover *ghumakkar jijñāsā*, a curiosity for wandering. Or, if we read the same phrase as a compound noun, a wandering curiosity.

Sankrityayan’s dedication to travel also offers a model of individuation and collective unity. Much in the way that Sankrityayan imagined wanderers coming together in small groups during their travels, only to separate so that each could go on their own way, *Ghumakkar Śāstra* presents wandering as a tradition that affords its community or sect its own “wanderers,” while still imagining them as being united by a single path of progress and development.³⁷⁹ This echoes

³⁷⁴ Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 191.

³⁷⁵ Andrew Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism*. (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), 9.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁷⁷ “The study of texts could reveal hidden structures in world history, and these hidden structures could be used to center one’s national group in the world.” *Ibid.*, 199.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁷⁹ “The editorial ‘Samāj aur vyakti’ also tried, perhaps for the first time, to define society in relation to the individual and not to collective groups, but it kept shifting between possible definitions of samāj: either as closed, homogeneous sampradāy or as the interdependent ensemble of all individuals, based, at least ideally, upon just economic and gender relations. This semantic indeterminacy reveals the tensions surrounding the general terms of

Caroline Rhys Davids' study of the Buddha as a "wayfarer." In her appraisal of the Buddha's "middle way," Rhys Davids writes about it as a middle ground between self-less love and love for the self. She continues this idea by describing the Buddhist community as "fellow-wayfarers," each on their own path, but in so doing, working for broader social and cultural development. As she writes, "I think that, even for us after all these centuries, there is here an immortal truth. In the common bond of fellow-wayfaring, our chief aim is that of the traveler: to reach his goal."³⁸⁰ This same distinction informs Sankrityayan's approach to wandering as a source of individual and collective emancipation, but also his reading of Buddhism as an "immortal truth." Like Rhys Davids, he locates the truth of Buddhism in its call to wander, rather than its various ideological, cultural, or sectarian traditions.

As "a son of India," the Buddha became a powerful national image of the wanderer. The Buddha's decision to leave his family, his disregard for caste, his rejection of ritual, and emphasis on intellectual and personal engagements with truth are all indications of a *pratām shrenī ghumakkar*, or "first class wanderer." As Sankrityayan continues, when India's stopped travelling, and travelling abroad, it self-provincialized, diminishing its cultural influence abroad. This marks an important distinction in Sankrityayan's work, as well as a critical juncture of this dissertation. While earlier chapters in this dissertation, focused on Buddhism, here, following Sankrityayan, I transition to consider "travel" and "wandering" as independent and distinct "traditions" within the work of the authors discussed. *Ghumakkar Śāstra* marks a similar transition. Published shortly after India's independence and his own turn towards Marxism, it signals a trend to consider travel as its own tradition coursing through new works of Hindi literature. Buddhism embodies much of the "wandering" perspective that Sankrityayan praises, and as such continues to appear through his works, and those considered in the remaining chapters. However, rather than being the primary motivation behind travel for the benefit of others, as was the case with Kausalyayan, in *Ghumakkar Śāstra* and other works, Sankrityayan began exploring wandering as a more universal cultural practice with its own tradition, and prospects for material and moral progress. As he writes,

हाँ, मैं इसे भूलना ही कहूँगा, क्योंकि किसी समय भारत और चीन ने बड़े-बड़े नामी घुमक्कड़ पैदा किए। वे भारतीय घुमक्कड़ ही थे, जिन्होंने दक्षिण-पूर्व में लंका, बर्मा, मलाया, यवद्वीप, स्याम, कंबोज, चंपा, बोर्नियो और सेलीबीज ही नहीं, फिलिपाईन तक का धावा मारा था और एक समय तो जान पड़ा कि न्यूनजीलैंड और आस्ट्रेलिया भी बृहत्तर भारत का अंग बनने वाले हैं; लेकिन कूप-मंडूकता तेरा सत्यानाश हो! इस देश के बुद्धों ने उपदेश करना शुरू किया कि समुंदर के खारे पानी और हिंदू-धर्म में बड़ा वैर है, उसके छूने मात्र से वह नमक की पुतली की तरह गल जाएगा। इतना बतला देने पर क्या कहने की आवश्यकता है कि समाज के कल्याण के लिए घुमक्कड़-धर्म कितनी आवश्यक चीज है? जिस जाति या देश ने इस धर्म को अपनाया, वह चारों फलों का भागी हुआ और जिसने इसे दुराया, उसके लिए नरक में भी ठिकाना नहीं। आखिर घुमक्कड़-धर्म को भूलने के कारण ही हम सात शताब्दियों तक धक्का खाते रहे, ऐरे-गैरे जो भी आए, हमें चार लात लगाते गये।

the debate, between the Aryan varṇāśrama system and the present heterogeneous reality, the accommodation of jātis within the four-fold order, and the transition from jāti as localized caste and community to jāti-as-nation." Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 227.

³⁸⁰ Caroline Rhys Davids, *Wayfarer's Words*, Vol. 1. (London: Luzac & Co., 1940), 4.

Indeed, I will say that [India] has been forgotten because at one point in time India and China produced some renowned travelers. The Indian travelers alone went not only to Lanka, Burma, Malaysia, Java, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Borneo and Celebes, in the south-east, they also reached as far as the Philippines and at one point it seemed that even New Zealand and Australia were becoming part of Greater India; but provincialism will destroy you! The fools of this country started preaching that the salt water of the ocean was an evil in Hinduism, from their dibble it will dissolve like pillars of salt. Based on what has been said, is it really necessary to say how imperative an ethos of wandering (*ghumakkar dharm*) is for the welfare of society? Those races or countries that adopted this religion, they became shareholders of the four fruits, and those that rejected it, for them there isn't even a spot in hell. In the end by just forgetting an ethos of wandering (*ghumakkar dharm*) we have been set back seven centuries, and any old bloke who comes along gives us four kicks on the way out.³⁸¹

Sankrityayan moves away from Buddhism to focus on an “ethos of wandering,” what he describes as *ghumakkar dharm*; a religion of wandering, or, wandering religion. With wandering as starting point, Sankrityayan reframes the development of Buddhism as a “religion of travel,” and a response to pervasive “provincialism” that had developed at the time.

किया? केवल बुद्ध ने ही अपनी घुमक्कड़ी से प्रेरणा नहीं दी, बल्कि घुमक्कड़ों का इतना जोर बुद्ध से एक दो शताब्दियों पूर्व ही था, जिसके ही कारण बुद्ध जैसे घुमक्कड़-राज इस देश में पैदा हो सके। उस वक्त पुरुष ही नहीं, स्त्रियाँ तक जम्बू-वृत्त की शाखा ले अपनी प्रखर प्रतिभा का जौहर दिखातीं, बाद में कूपमंडूकों को पराजित करती सारे भारत में मुक्त होकर विचरा करती थीं।

The Buddha alone did not inspire his own travels. Indeed, there were such great travelers already one or two centuries before the Buddha because of whom a great king of travel like the Buddha could be born in this country. At that time, it was not just men, even women took the branch of the Jambu tree and showed the fire of their own fierce genius, defeating the provincialists (*kūpamāṇḍūk*) of India to become free in India and wander.³⁸²

The phrase Sankrityayan uses to describe “the provincialists of India” *kūp-maṇḍūk*, literally “frog-in-the-well,” a term he expands elsewhere in the text as *kūp-maṇḍūk-ta* to describe a certain provincialism or “frog-in-the-well-ness.”³⁸³ Like the introduction of the text, which can be read somewhat satirically as a take on śāstra traditions, *kūp-maṇḍūk-ta*, is a rather comical and recurring refrain in *Ghumakkar Śāstra*. It is a common phrase in India and Nepal to describe someone who is quite content never to leave home, as well as a way of deriding priests who are oblivious to the broader world. In Sankrityayan's work it becomes an index of India's decline as a result of it turning inward and away from a tradition of wandering.

³⁸¹ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 3.

³⁸² Ibid., 4.

³⁸³ Ibid., 3.

The other recurring colloquialism in *Ghumakkar Śāstra* is that of the bull and the oil-grinder. “*Telī ke kolhū ke bail*” is an expression that refers to the person behind the work, the people who really do something.³⁸⁴ The bull walks endlessly in circles, going nowhere, which Sankrityayan likens to the scholars and pandits who “go nowhere” but claim to speak from authentic experience. Sankrityayan uses the idiom as a way of cautioning travelers not to have the credit for their work (*kām*) taken by others. As he writes,

आधुनिक काल में घुमक्कड़ों के काम की बात कहने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि लोगों ने घुमक्कड़ों की कृतियों को चुराके उन्हें गला फाड़-फाड़कर अपने नाम से प्रकाशित किया, जिससे दुनिया जानने लगी कि वस्तुतः तेली के कोल्हू के बैल ही दुनिया में सब कुछ करते हैं।

In the modern age, it is necessary to say something about the work of the traveler, because people have stolen the deeds of travelers and gone hoarse publishing it in their own names, from which the world began to know that, literally, the bull of the oil grinder does everything in the world.³⁸⁵

The phrase “work of the traveler” or *ghumakkar ka kām* emphasizes the labor and cultural capital Sankrityayan ascribes to wanderers. In the following sentence, Sankrityayan replaces *ghumakkar ka kām* with *ghumakkar kī kṛtiyon*, or the “deeds of travelers.” *Kṛti*, marked here as a feminine noun, means a deed, composition, or performance.³⁸⁶ As a masculine noun, however, it refers to someone who is creative with “laudable achievements.” Sankrityayan’s vision of the wanderer is similarly both a manner of being in the world—*ghumakkari*—and the figure of the wanderer as someone to be emulated and reified. In other words, part of what he celebrates is how wandering embodies the values and practices he thinks are most important. This is similar to the production of travel accounts as well: the best accounts, he writes, are those written by travelers.³⁸⁷

I turn now to a section of *Ghumakkar Śāstra* on “arts and crafts.” Much in the way *Ghumakkar Śāstra* plays with śāstra conventions, satirizing literary conventions by bringing high and low registers together, his approach to wandering similarly moves between different aesthetic and intellectual registers. In fact, the fluidity of wandering to serve as a bridge between different social, religious, intellectual and cultural registers is, to a large extent, why Sankrityayan feels wandering is such a powerful model for education and development. I conclude by reflecting on the play between the vernacular and cosmopolitan in Sankrityayan’s writing, drawing on Sheldon Pollocks notions of the “cosmopolitan vernacular” and Dipesh Chakrabarty’s notion of a “horizon” as a line between knowing and action to think about how Sankrityayan imagines travel as a process of “worlding” Hindi literature—or, of expanding the *hindī jagat* or worldview.

³⁸⁴ *Glossary of Idioms, English-Hindi: Containing Idioms, Phrases and Proverbial Sayings Under Letters A to Z* (Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1971).

³⁸⁵ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 2.

³⁸⁶ *Kṛti*: “a work (esp. of art or literature), composition, performance; deed. As an adjective or masculine noun, however, *kṛti* means “creative; one who has laudable achievements to his credit, accomplished.” *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary*, 144.

³⁸⁷ The fact that wandering itself can move between multiple registers, describing both a focus of new works of literature and serving as the force behind their production, is essential to why Sankrityayan valorizes the wanderer.

The Art of Wandering

Imagine: A young wanderer is traveling alone in the mountain forests of Kham in Eastern Tibet.³⁸⁸ Along his way, he comes across a band of women collecting twigs and branches. As they move through the forest they sing, their voices sweet like songbirds. Taking out a flute he had tucked away for just such occasions, the wanderer puts the instrument to his lips and tries a few times to imitate the tune, then catches it. Hearing their song played by another, the women begin to come towards the wanderer. No introductions are necessary, “the sweet song and its companions will be drawn together of their own accord, like the *gopī* of Braj to the banks of the Yamuna.”³⁸⁹ The wanderer is not from the region, but he begins to feel familiar, and the barriers of language and culture are overcome by a common tune.

This scene appears in the fifth chapter of Rahul Sankrityayan’s *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra* titled “*Śilp aur Kalā*”—“Craft and Art” In just a few lines, the author describes a scene that is both familiar and foreign, evoking a series of references and similitudes that help the wanderer feel more known by the women he encounters, and the women more relatable to Hindi readers. The meaning is clear: Art has the power to overcome differences.

In his *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, Sankrityayan lays out what he considers to be the fundamentals of the art of wandering—not where one should travel, but how and why. The chapter “Craft and Art” marks an important shift within the text. While earlier chapters focus on the logistics of setting out³⁹⁰—from how to tell your family you are leaving, to how to support yourself while on the road—later chapters address wandering as an art and social catalyst, moving through such topics as love, caste, knowledge, art, and religion.

The chapter does, however, emphasize some practicalities, like the need for an instrument that is easy to carry. A traveler should be smart after all about which instrument to study. Some like the piano or sitar, may be beautiful and refined, but they are hard to carry. Instead, wanderers should take up something like the flute, which Sankrityayan describes as the “queen of instruments.”³⁹¹ Easy to carry and adaptable, a few holes in a hollow rod are enough for anyone to catch most tunes. The mention of the flute begins a rumination on which arts are best suited to wandering. Music, dance, and theatre are some of the best ways to overcome cultural and linguistic barriers, but their “folk” or “indigenous” forms, according to Sankrityayan, have the greatest utility for wanderers.

It is hard to mention the flute in Hindi and not think of Krishna, the beautiful playboy who delights listeners with his music and youthful charm. There is a large body of Braj poetry written about the dalliances of the young lord, traipsing through the landscapes of Vrindavaran and Mathura, attracting the attention of the nearby female cowherds, or *gopī*. And indeed, Sankrityayan is quick to mention Krishna soon after mentioning the instrument:

कृष्ण की वंशी का हम गुणगान सुन चुके हैं, मैं उस तरह के गुणगान के लिए यहाँ तैयार नहीं हूँ। मैं सिर्फ घुमक्कड़ की दृष्टि से उसके महत्वह को बतलाना चाहता हूँ।

³⁸⁸ This section draws heavily from the fifth chapter of *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, “*Śilp aur Kalā*” In an effort to convey some of the tone and feeling of the chapter, I have folded in some of the imagery Sankrityayan uses to open the chapter into my discussion.

³⁸⁹ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, 54.

³⁹⁰ The proceeding chapters of *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra* are: Cultivating Wanderlust (*athāto ghumakkaṛ jijñāsā*), Breaking Bonds (*janjāl toro*), Knowledge and Age (*vidya aur vay*), and Self-Reliance (*svāvalamban*).

³⁹¹ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, 53.

We have already heard of the exalted music of Krishna's flute, but I am not prepared to talk about that type of eloquence here. I want simply to explain its importance from the point of view of a wanderer.³⁹²

The chapter is full of such assertions, drawing comparisons only to refute them; enticing the reader to imagine the wanderer as Krishna, only to challenge such easy associations. Despite his protestations, the scene Sankrityayan describes is saturated with the imagery of Krishna. Through the alluring recreation of familiar imagery in foreign lands, Sankrityayan deconstructs the image of Krishna and the sacred landscape of Braj. He transposes the sentiment of that religious and artistic legacy onto to the wanderer and the environment he moves through. It is a scene *like* that of Krishna and the *gopis*, and yet not that scene.

On closer inspection, Sankrityayan's discussion of the flute and its player is all about similitudes. Later in that same chapter, Hindustani music is made to appear European through its transcription into the western musical scale, and Sanskrit is made more accessible through Roman Script, even if it is more familiar in Devanagari. While a traveler may not look like the people of one area, he may begin to feel as if he is from that part of the world. And even though one language may not easily be translated into another, it is possible to convey some sense of a common tongue through different scripts or music. The wanderer is the driver of these types of exchanges, the social-magician able to gain acceptance into other societies because of the way he is able to catch the tune of a particular culture.

Communicability and accessibility are vital to the wanderer. Perhaps that is part of why Sankrityayan celebrates folk art in his chapter of "Craft and Art."³⁹³ While acknowledging the value and beauty of classical art, Sankrityayan continually returns to indigenous art practices—roughly grouped as *śilp*—as those that wanderers should focus on learning. It is, in part, because he notices a surprising likeness of indigenous art practices around the world. The dances he has seen in Eastern Europe and Tibet remind him of the performances he has seen in rural parts of India, making it easier to join in. More importantly, just in the way Sankrityayan celebrated local story telling traditions, discussed at the start of this chapter, in "Craft and Art" he encourages readers to learn about and value their own traditions rather than European models of classical music and art. Not only will being familiar with their own traditions make it easier for wanderers to connect with different communities at home and abroad, it will also be a way to convey a sense of their homeland, sharing it with those they encounter during their travels.

The wanderer always carries some sense of their homeland. If there is a spirit to India in Sankrityayan's work, perhaps this is it: an ability to carry with or impress the affective geographies of one place onto another. But as in so many of Sankrityayan's works, it is a fraught relationship. He seems unwilling to accept any kind of localized terrain or common references that might be called "Indian." Instead, Sankrityayan insists on the ability of images, like that of Krishna, to cut across space and time, and to find

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ As discussed in the previous chapter, Penny Edwards considers contemporary discourses on the "art of mobility" in Cambodia in "The tyranny of proximity: Power and mobility in colonial Cambodia, 1863–1954." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2006): 421–443.

easy reception in different places. Each image must be Krishna, but not Krishna; India, but not India; familiar yet foreign. The parts of their homeland and culture that wanderers carry with them as they travel—a scent of home, knowledge of folk music, the legends of Krishna—change with each new encounter. Like the parts of his homeland the wanderer carries with him, the wanderer himself is changed, altered by the places he visits and the people he encounters.

Articulating a wandering telos—a *ghumakkar-darśan*—Sankrityayan maintains that wandering can be an important cultural practice while still being divorced from any religious or ideologically fixed trappings. Rather than an aim or destination, to wander is to change and morph, to always become something new and different. In other words, wandering is a continual process of becoming. It is a telos without a teleology. As he writes,

निरुद्देश्य घुमक्कड़ होने का बहुतों को मौका मिलता है। घुमक्कड़-शास्त्र अभी तक लिखा नहीं गया था, इसलिए घुमक्कड़ी का क्या उद्देश्य है, यह कैसे लोगों को पता लगता? अभी तक लोग घुमक्कड़ को साधन मानते थे, और साध्य मानते थे मुक्ति — देव-दर्शन को; लेकिन घुमक्कड़ी केवल साधन नहीं, वह साथ ही साध्य भी है। निरुद्देश्य निकलने वाले घुमक्कड़ आजन्म निरुद्देश्य रह जायँ, खूँटे से बँधे नहीं, तो भी हो सकता है कि पीछे कोई उद्देश्य भी दिखाई पड़ने लगे। सोद्देश्य और निरुद्देश्य जैसी भी घुमक्कड़ी हो, यह सभी कल्याणकारिणी है।

To be an aimless wanderer is an opportunity available to many. *A Treatise for the Wanderer (Ghumakkar Śāstra)* had not been written before, therefore how could people come to understand the purpose of wandering? Until now people have taken wandering as a means, and deliverance (*mukti*) as the end goal (*sādhya*)—of encountering the divine; but wandering is not just the means, it is simultaneously the aim. Even for wanderers who set out aimlessly and stay aimless from the start, not bound to any direction, it is still possible that at some point some purpose will be revealed. Purposive (driven) and aimless, however wandering happens, it is always auspicious.³⁹⁴

Since wandering embodies its own process of discovery and insight, the wanderer needs to be agile and adept. Rather than one approach, he needs to be able to change along the way. This process of adaptation and renewal is what makes wandering meaningful to Sankrityayan, positing a process of cultural development and expansion that is both localized and universal.³⁹⁵ Perhaps that is why the wanderers Sankrityayan describes in his work can sometimes feel nondescript, and why the author usually prefers to refer to himself only obliquely. While wanderers certainly have some inherent qualities, the best wanderers are those who change, never staying in any one place too long. They may join a group or live somewhere for a while, but before too long, they head out for new lands and experiences, driven by their own curiosity.

While the agility of wanderers is part of their continual “otherness,” it is also the basis for their acceptance. In the accounts of his travels to Tibet, for example, Sankrityayan brags that he

³⁹⁴ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, 154.

³⁹⁵ Sartori, “The Resonance of ‘Culture’.”

was only able to cross the border by wearing a disguise. Once inside, he blended in to such an extent that he was given access to materials and areas usually not granted to foreigners. Language is, of course, another powerful tool for becoming part of a foreign culture, but even before Sankrityayan was able to expand his vocabulary, he was able to make himself at home in foreign lands through his charm and wit. According to *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, the best wanderers must similarly be able to ingratiate themselves to their hosts, wherever they may be.

In many ways, Sankrityayan's wanderer is a perpetual foreigner. He is always a little bit strange. But it is his foreignness that makes him a powerful agent for change. As Jacques Derrida discusses, the foreigner—*l'étranger*—"shakes up the threatening dogmatism of the paternal logos: the being that is, and the non-being that is not."³⁹⁶ Foreign because of language, manners, or customs—whatever it may be that signals him as different—once admitted, he begins to change. No longer an "absolute other," he becomes the foreigner, familiar to the degree that he is different.³⁹⁷

In "Traveling Theory," Edward Said writes about a similar process of dissemination, by which an idea moves and circulates, carrying elements of its origin as it moves, but invariably being transformed by its arrival and adoption in new contexts.³⁹⁸ While discussing the ways in which "so-called Eastern ideas about transcendence were imported into Europe during the early nineteenth century, or when certain European ideas about society were translated into traditional Eastern societies during the later nineteenth century," Said argues, "Such movement into a new environment is never unimpeded. It necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin."³⁹⁹ Sankrityayan's discussion of Buddhism celebrates the movement of one set of cultural ideas and traditions outside of India, remarking on their impact in other parts of Asia, while also tracing lines of continuity that result in their being "returned familiar" to India. In *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, Sankrityayan shifts the focus of his inquiry away from Buddhism as a "theory" that traveled, to a discourse on wandering itself as a more universal tradition. While it may find specific expression in different periods, cultures, and institutions, he presents the drive to wander—to move, explore, and discover—as a force that underlies all of humanities greatest achievements, and positing wandering as a civilizing force.⁴⁰⁰ His text does, however, maintain that India has its own unique tradition of wandering, one that predates the impact of colonialism in India, related to its cultural and moral development, as well as its influence in other parts of the world.

In the case of the flute carrying wanderer in Kham mentioned above, the power of a familiar legend of Krishna is made more universal through its enactment elsewhere; a traveler traversing new and inconceivable distances and transcending linguistic and cultural barriers through the melodies of his charisma. The meeting of a wanderer and some women in the woods is, in a sense, "timeless." However, the scene becomes the basis for a cosmopolitanism

³⁹⁶ Jacques Derrida and Anne Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 5.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁹⁸ See also: Homi Bhabha, "Dissemination: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation," *The Locations of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

³⁹⁹ Edward W. Said, "Traveling Theory," *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226–247. Quoted here as it appears in *World Literature in Theory*, edited by David Damrosch (John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014), 115.

⁴⁰⁰ "What [Williams] means, I think, is that once an idea gains currency because it is clearly effective and powerful, there is every likelihood that during its peregrinations it will be reduced, codified, and institutionalized." *Ibid.*, 125.

imaginary, a landscape familiar yet unfamiliar.⁴⁰¹ The tales' ability to be linked to some kind of Indian genus is not evidence of any cultural specificity, but rather the way in which such universal stories become flavored by retellings in different lands. In evoking the image of Krishna-who-is-not-Krishna as a timeless and spaceless figure, Sankrityayan describes the wanderer as someone who appears in multiple forms and guises, from the Buddha and Krishna to Charles Darwin or Vasco da Gama.

Sankrityayan's chapter on "Craft and Art" enjoys a ready correlation between language and music, aesthetics and culture. His discussion of musical instruments moves easily between a rumination on communication without a common tongue and the ability to transcribe one language into another. Each division is superseded by a common affection and method of transposing one script for another, or one mood for another. Wandering brings such equivalences together. In his discussion, Sankrityayan singles out the naysayers of such transferences, contradicting "scholars" (*gunī*), for example, who feel it is impossible to transcribe Indian music into Western musical notation systems. This seems to be a hallmark of the very parochialism Sankrityayan attempts to challenge throughout his treatise on wandering.

Sankrityayan's emphasis on notation systems suggests parallels between the way in which music is noted in one tradition versus another, and the way language is written in one place versus another. Such observations evoke debates over scripts at the time, especially the intense national debates over the use of Devanagari in India.⁴⁰² While each notation system may be unique, Sankrityayan argues that their differences are not insurmountable. A common system—Devanagari, for example, used for a variety of languages, including Sanskrit, Pali, and Hindi—can still allow for cultural exchange and comparison. To bolster his point, Sankrityayan relates how a friend of his, versed in Eastern and Western musical traditions, once showed him how the transcription of Indian music into European musical notation only required a few extra notions to be legible.⁴⁰³

The parallels between language and the movement of culture in Sankrityayan's works, echos Sheldon Pollock's work on the movement of Sanskrit across South and Southeast Asia. he writes, "the practice of cosmopolitanism as literary communication that travels far, indeed, without obstruction from any boundaries at all, and, more important, that thinks of itself as unbounded, unobstructed, unlocated—writing of the great Way, instead of the small Place."⁴⁰⁴ Much in the way Pollock pairs *marga* ("the Way") with *jagat*, ("all that moves with life"),⁴⁰⁵ when describing the Sanskrit cosmopolis, Sankrityayan offers wandering as a practice of worlding Hindi, imagining a model for Hindi literary production that is similarly "unbounded, unobstructed, unlocated."⁴⁰⁶ To take the idea further, rather than specify a universal quality to

⁴⁰¹ As discussed in more detail below, my contention is that Sankrityayan's notion of a *hindī jagat* is comparable to the notion the cosmopolitan, much in the way that Rabindranath Tagore's work is often read as expressing a certain "universalism" or "cosmopolitanism. See: Sugata Bose and Ira Pande. "Tagorean Universalism and Cosmopolitanism." *India International Centre Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (2011): 2-17.

⁴⁰² Christopher R. King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁴⁰³ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, 58.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 599.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 601.

⁴⁰⁶ Pheng Cheah, *What Is a World?: On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

wandering, a feature Pollock again suggests is a mark of Sanskrit cosmopolitanism,⁴⁰⁷ Sankrityayan focuses on creating an unrooted practice, a tradition based on process rather than a clear destination—*darśan* without an aim, a *nāgarika* without a home—but which nevertheless, continues to locate certain cultural idioms and references within the more bounded territory of “home,” or in this case, India; a dialectic of being and becoming.⁴⁰⁸ Said differently, if travel accounts in Hindi offered one model for discovering and defining the nation in geographical, temporal, and political terms, Sankrityayan’s focus on wandering allows for a process of imagining those boundaries as more fluid and dynamic. Taking an interest in wandering as the defining metric, he further suggests that progress—both material and moral—is defined by the extents of any one culture’s travelers: how far they roam, imagine, and search.

A Taste for Travel

What is nationalism without borders? Can there be a nation without a language? Writing about Sankrityayan, K.P. Jayaswal, whose discussion of Sankrityayan opened this chapter, talks about Sankrityayan’s enduring cosmopolitanism: “There is no distinction in [Sankrityayan’s] eyes between India and the world outside, between Indian and non-Indian, he has no false patriotism in many matters.”⁴⁰⁹ If a nation arises from a certain belief in a shared territory and united public, what does it mean to define India from beyond its borders? And since nationalism is intimately related to the print capital that reifies it,⁴¹⁰ can there be such a thing as ex-territorial literature embedded in a certain vernacular? As I attempted to show in the last section, Sankrityayan proposed a model of citizenship that was fluid, while still indexing Indian traditions within expansive landscapes or cultural geography. I conclude by thinking of a *hindī jagat*, or Hindi world, as a reflection of Sankrityayan’s wander as a model for “being-in-the-world”⁴¹¹ related to the cultural and aesthetic dimensions of wandering proposed in *Ghumakkar Śāstra*.

The idea of a *hindī jagat* can be used as a moniker for certain cultural sensibilities, a worldview co-constitutive of the different Hindi audiences that create them. If we take the phrase loosely, we might understand it as both a bounded culture-linguist zone, and an infinitely expansive mode of seeing and understanding the world. Sankrityayan works within this double framework, using wandering to define a cultural and moral geography defined by the movement of wanderers from the Indian subcontinent.⁴¹² Much like his connection to modern Buddhism, Sankrityayan’s engagement with Hindi further impacts his notions of wandering. If vernaculars tend to “reshape the boundaries of [one] cultural

⁴⁰⁷ “The fact that Sanskrit never sought to theorize its own universality is consistent with its entire historical character as a cosmopolitan formation, an alternative form of cosmopolitanism in which ‘here,’ instead of being equated with ‘everywhere,’ is equated with ‘nowhere in particular.’” Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Again Pollock’s discussion seems pertinent here. Where some cultures created *cosmopolises* that reflect their own *cosmopolitanism*, “to transform the *orbis* into their *urbs*, the world into their own city,” “Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History.” 602.

⁴⁰⁹ Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text with Special Commentary on Later Gupta period* (Lahore: Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1934).

⁴¹⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁴¹¹ Drawing on the work of Martin Heidegger, Dipesh Chakrabarty explores this in the second part of *Provincializing Europe*, titled “Histories of Belonging.”

⁴¹² Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

universe by renouncing the larger world for the smaller place,”⁴¹³ Sankrityayan’s work on travel is an interesting example of the inverse: an attempt to inject the larger world into the smaller place of Hindi.

As much as Sankrityayan’s work is about explorations in space, it is also about time, or what Dipesh Chakrabarty writes about as “the temporal horizon of action.”⁴¹⁴ As Chakrabarty continues, such questions of time, especially in post-colonial nations in the twentieth century, also engender questions about when certain social groups will be prepared “to assume the political responsibility of self-government.”⁴¹⁵ This may seem like a large leap from Sankrityayan’s discussion of a more expansive *hindī jagat*, but in imagining all of his readers to be potential wanderers, he is similarly advocating for a broader notion of a socially embedded body politic. Such an approach brings to mind Sankrityayan’s reading of the Buddhist Mission, discussed in the introduction, as a call to wander for the to the masses or *bahujan*. It also emphasizes the rather timeless quality of the wanderer in Sankrityayan’s text. As a general type or metaphor through which to think of both personal and collective progress, Sankrityayan’s wanderer “displaces the historicism that has dominated discussion of the nation as a cultural force.”⁴¹⁶ As Homi Bhabha offers in *The Locations of Culture*, “If, in our travelling theory, we are alive to the *mataphoricity* of the people of imagined communities... then we shall find that the space of the modern nation-people is never simply horizontal.” Instead, he continues, it “moves between cultural formation and social process without a centered logic.”⁴¹⁷ Sankrityayan’s wanderer is similarly “homeless,” moving without a fixed center, and yet firmly part of cultural development and progress.

Above and beyond nation, Sankrityayan advocates for community. His work is full of examples of wanderers from different backgrounds and countries, coming together to form temporary bonds. As he writes, these fleeting periods, best described as a group of wanderers around a fire, the flavor (*ras*) of travel can be overwhelming: “That circle was overflowing with the essence of wandering, there was no feeling of me or mine, nor any kind of worry.”⁴¹⁸ A line is drawn between the essence of wandering as expressed in travel accounts, and the open, cosmopolitan basis for that flavor found amidst gathered wanderers. We might consider cosmopolitanism as a sort of base for the *ras* of travel. Or more simply, there is a dynamic relationship between travel, discovery, and cosmopolitanism, each one informing and supporting the other and imbuing Sankrityayan’s Hindi travel accounts with a certain quality or aesthetic dimension.

A history of Sankrityayan’s work on travel is unique and interesting, in part, because his pioneering work to promote *yātrā vṛtant* literature imagines a more expansive linguistic and aesthetic register in conversation with models of cultural expansion. He does so through a discussion of the “flavor” or “*ras*” of wandering in relationship to poetry. Sankrityayan writes,

⁴¹³ Ibid., 592.

⁴¹⁴ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 8.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Homi Bhabha, *Locations of Culture*, 201.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 202.

⁴¹⁸ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, 99.

घुमक्कड़ी एक रस है, जो काव्य के रस से किसी तरह भी कम नहीं है। कठिन मार्गों को तय करने के बाद नये स्थानों में पहुँचने पर हृदय में जो भावोद्रेक पैदा होता है, वो एक अनुपम चीज है। उसे कविता के रस से हम तुलना कर सकते हैं, और यदि कोई ब्रह्म पर विश्वास रखता हो, तो वह उसे ब्रह्म-रस समझेगा...

Wandering has a *ras* (rasa), which is no less than the *ras* of poetry. After traversing a difficult route to arrive at a new place, that feeling which arises in the heart, is unrivaled. We can compare it to the *ras* of poetry, and if someone believes in Brahma, then they will understand it as brahm-ras...⁴¹⁹

Rasa theory is, roughly speaking, a reading of emotions against different registers of artistic and religious expression, the dominant mood or tenor of a piece of art.⁴²⁰ Without going into too much detail here, different styles and registers are associated with different *rasa* (flavors, tastes, emotions). In Sankrityayan's work, his efforts to develop a new appreciation of wandering through texts like *Ghumakkar Śāstra* is related to a more general trend amongst Hindi authors to write works defined by new and modern *ras*.⁴²¹ The above quote operates much in the same way the opening lines of *Ghumakkar Śāstra* do, cleverly engaging śāstric conventions by the well-known epitaph, “*athāto brahma jijñāsā*,” with a “*athāto ghumakkar jijñāsā*,” now is the time to develop an interest in wandering. In this quote, Sankrityayan attempts to establish a taste of travel as a specific aesthetic and moral register that is needed in Hindi literature.

In her seminal work *The Nationalization of Hindu Tradition*, Vasudha Dalmia discusses how new literary works in Hindi developed to express modern experiences that extant Indian literary forms simply could not encapsulate. Dalmia argues that writers like Bharatendu Harischandra, working in Banares, experimented with literary forms that could express new emotions such as “the comic, the erotic, spectacular,” and, later, as part of a march towards independence, “social reform and patriotism.”⁴²² These sentiments demanded new forms of expression, “...the older forms [of literature] no longer sufficed to express new varieties of subjectivity and experience, to establish new varieties of communication and solidarity and thus needed to be replenished with the newer genres from the West.”⁴²³ New works were therefore published that tried to express a flavor of patriotism; a taste of social reform; the drama of the comic. Sankrityayan's works attempt to capture the joy and fervor of wandering as discovery.

Sankrityayan's works on travel are not presented as part of an entirely new genre. Rather they express a desire to resuscitate imagined traditions of wandering that Sankrityayan suggests have been forgotten in India, or at least declined. Sankrityayan proposes to rebuild a culture of wandering in India by building a literary canon around it, creating language and vocabulary in Hindi on and for travel:

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 31.

⁴²⁰ Pravas Jivan Chaudhury. “The Theory of Rasa.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 11, no. 2 (1952): 147-150.

⁴²¹ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 273.

⁴²² Ibid., 280.

⁴²³ Ibid.

हिन्दी में तो अभी इस तरफ काम नहीं हुआ है। यदि भारत फिर प्राचीन काल की तरह प्रथम श्रेणी के घुमक्कड़ों को पैदा करना चाहता है, तो यह आवश्यक है कि हिन्दी में प्रत्येक देश के सौ-डेढ़ सौ पृष्ठ के परिचय-ग्रन्थ जायँ, जिनमें नक्शे के साथ दो-चार सौ शब्द भी हों।

Work in this direction has not happened in Hindi yet. If Bharat wants to create first-class travelers like those of olden days, then it is necessary to write introductory works of roughly one hundred to one hundred pages about every country in which, together with maps, there will also be two to four hundred words.⁴²⁴

Sankrityayan advises modern writers to scour books from other countries, especially those with some knowledge of foreign territories and terrains, in order to appropriate words and ideas from them for Hindi audiences. This is not purely a way to bring new ideas to India, but to discover those practices which had been lost to India over time and to find cross-cultural modes for expressing the passion of wandering. This is the same process of discovery and publishing that Sankrityayan employed to introduce Hindi audiences to Buddhism throughout his early career.

In the next chapter I turn to the work of Nagarjun, or “Janakavi” (the people’s poet) as he is popularly known. Nagarjun was a close associate of Sankrityayan, traveling and studying with him for many years. They worked for the All India Kisan Sabha together and Nagarjun published several essays on Sankrityayan’s literary work. While he studied and practiced Buddhism, Nagarjun is better known for his poetry and interest in “regionalizing” Hindi. Writing in both Hindi and Mithila, his works received national attention. Rather than focus on one or the other, in the next chapter I attend to both figures to address how the early partnership of travel writing and Buddhism in Hindi began to fracture by the 1950s.

Sankrityayan remained a committed wanderer throughout his life, yet his writings are often defined by a certain idealism. In contrast, Nagarjun’s writings revel in finding ways to express the “real” or “lived conditions” around him. Drawing on Edwards Said’s reading of Raymond Williams’ *The Country and the City*, we might see Nagarjun’s travel writing as a way to “record both the limits and the reactive alternative to dominance.” And much in the way Said comments on the end of “pastoral poetry” in the work of John Clare, “in the very shock of its collision with the actual country experience,”⁴²⁵ Nagarjun’s writings reflect a new wave of realist and regionalist writers that helped redefine how Hindi audiences understood and imagined India.

⁴²⁴ Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkār Śāstra*, 118-119.

⁴²⁵ Said, “Traveling Theory,” 126.

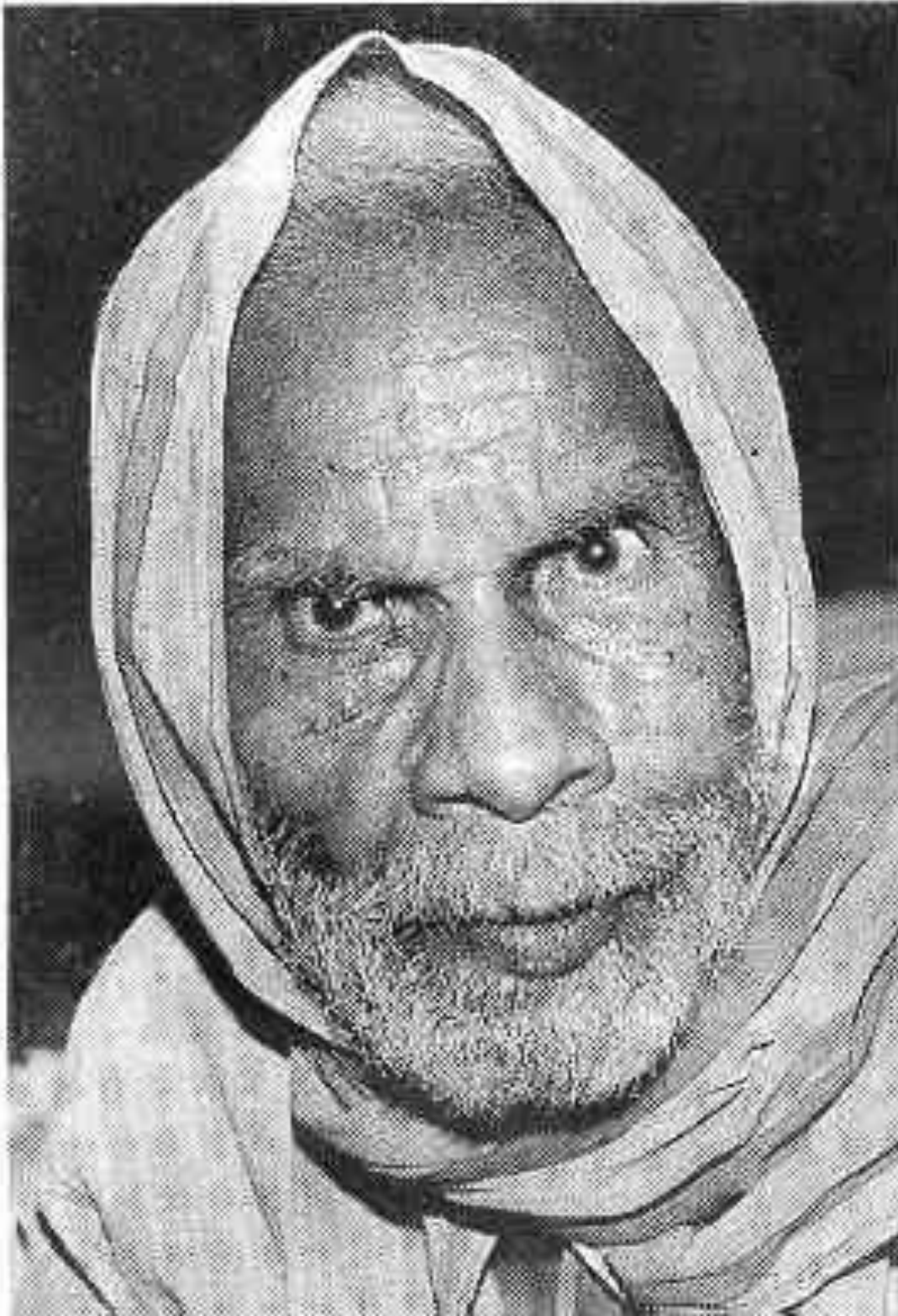


Figure 9: “Janakavi” Nagarjun, *Biblio*, Nov-Dec 1998, 8

Yātrī Nagarjun: The Radical Monk

“There was a report in the newspapers that a Buddhist monk from Sri Lanka was being harassed by the police (*laughs*).”⁴²⁶

— Nagarjun, 1994

The Buddhist monk mentioned above is Nagarjun, the notable author, traveler, and revolutionary. He was not, as the newspaper suggested, from Sri Lanka, but from India. A lean figure, Nagarjun was born in Nanihal in 1911 as Vaidyanath Mishra.⁴²⁷ He wrote in a number of languages, including his mother tongue Maithalī under the penname “Yātrī” or “traveler.” Sometimes referred to as *Janakavi*, “The People’s Poet,” or “*Bābā Nāgārjuna*,” he also wrote extensively in Hindi as Nagarjun, authoring numerous poems, novels, essays, letters, and short stories. A close associate of Rahul Sankrityayan, Nagarjun was also involved with early Buddhist revivalist efforts in India, though his association was somewhat more circumstantial than some of the other authors discussed in this dissertation.⁴²⁸ Nagarjun’s interest in Buddhism took him to Sri Lanka, where he became a monk in 1935. After returning to India, Nagarjun went on to become an active member of the All India Kisan Sabha through his connection with Swami Sahajanand Saraswati (hereafter Sahajanand).⁴²⁹ Nagarjun describes this as a departure from his earlier involvement with Buddhist revival efforts. As he relates in an interview he gave towards the end of his life:

When I came back [from Sri Lanka], Swami Sahjanand [*sic.*] said to me, ‘Sankrityayan would spoil you. He is looking for old bricks and stones. Do you want to go in search of living corpses?’ Consequently I took part in the farmer’s agitation. And was imprisoned

⁴²⁶ Nagarjun, as quoted in an interview with Subhash Chandra Yadav, Raj Mohan Jha, and Pramod Kumar Jha, March 12-13, 1994. Ashutosh Kr. Hah, “Compile All My Poems It would Be My Autobiography: Nagarjun,” *Indian Literature*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (Nov. - Dec. 1999): 200-201.

⁴²⁷ There is some debates as to whether or not Nagarjun was actually born in 1911. See: “The People’ Poet,” *Biblio*, Nov-Dec 1998, 8.

⁴²⁸ Blackburn writes about the complexity and tensions around framing modern Buddhism in Sri Lanka as a Buddhist “revival,” “revivalism,” or “renaissance,” in *Locations of Buddhism*.

⁴²⁹ This decisive moment in Nagarjun’s life did not end his association with Sankrityayan. They continued to travel together and to even work together for the All India Kisan Sabha, along with Swami Sahajanand. For more on the All Indian Kisan Sabha and Swami Sahajanand, see: Swami Sahajānanda Sarasvatī, *Swami Sahajanand and the Peasants of Jharkhand: A View from 1941*. Walter Hauser, ed. (Manohar Publishers, 2005). There have also been several translations of Swami Sahajanand’s autobiography *Merā Jīvan Sangharsh*, including Kailash Chandra Jah and Walter Hauser’s translation *My Life Struggle: A Translation of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati’s Mera Jian Sangharsh* (Manohar, 2016), and Ramchandra Pradhan’s translation, *The Struggle of My Life: Autobiography of Swami Sahajanand* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

in the Hazaribagh Central Jail for a year. Then into Bhagalpur Central Jail for another year.⁴³⁰

In many ways, Nagarjun's life and career moved between an interest in India's past—the “old bricks and stones” mentioned above—and a commitment to revolutionary thought and activism in the present. His dedication to travel and travel writing navigates between these two interests, offering a model for historical discovery and social commentary through observations that comment on the dynamic and changing conditions of the places he visits and the people he encounters.

Often characterized as part of an emerging literary regionalism and the Progressive Writers Movement,⁴³¹ Nagarjun's travel accounts afford a unique vantage into the twin histories of modern Buddhism and Hindi literature in India. While a thorough study of Nagarjun's work as a progressive writer is long overdue, in this chapter, I primarily focus on a single travel account: “*Tihari se Nelang*” (From Tihari (Tehri) to Nelang). Chronicling a trip Nagarjun took with Rahul Sankrityayan in 1943, but published in 1946, the account is one of several published by Nagarjun recounting travels in the region. Other titles include: “*Kailāś kī Ōr*” (Towards Kailash), “*Tho-Ling Mahāvihār*” (The Great Monastery of Tho-Ling), and “*Sindh me Satra Mahīne*” (Seventeen Months in Sindh).⁴³² Published just a few years before Sankrityayan's *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, discussed in the previous chapter, Nagarjun's “*Tihari se Nelang*” explores many of the ideas and themes presented in Sankrityayan's treatise. It also builds on several themes discussed so far in this dissertation, including the joy of travel, wandering as a form of commentary, casteism, religious reform, Buddhist and Hindi literary networks, and travel writing as a way to describe an expanded cultural field. Rather than a systematic appraisal of wandering, the work reveals the “structures of feeling” around travel as a model for social progress and literary development.⁴³³

Raymond Williams developed his theory of “structures of feeling” as a way to describe the expression of emerging social and aesthetic transformations in works of art and literature before they find more formal or codified expression.⁴³⁴ Williams' approach destabilizes the “fixed forms” that define a dominant “world view,” “prevailing ideology,” or “class outlook,” all of which, Williams continues, tend to be written through a recourse to the past. He explores the idea further in *The Country and the City*, analyzing the tension between idyllic visions of the country as a pastoral space embedded in the deep time of history—a bastion of rooted culture to escape to or find peace in—and the city as the location of modernity, progress, and conflict. Taking “English country life” as his point of inquiry, Williams notices that while it is possible to discern its “transformation” over a long period of time, “the change is so extended and so complicated, to say nothing of its important regional variations, that there seems no point at which we can sharply distinguish what it would be convenient to call separate epochs.”⁴³⁵ Still one can discern certain patterns or continuities, in which “old forms, old practices and old ways

⁴³⁰ Nagarjun, as quoted in, “Compile All My Poems It would Be My Autobiography: Nagarjun,” 201.

⁴³¹ Bhisham Sahni, “The Progressive Writers' Movement.” *Indian Literature* 29, no. 6 (116 (1986): 178-183.

⁴³² In his essay on Nagarjun's travel accounts, Shyamshankar Singh, mentions *Kailash Dashakam* (*Kailash Dash*) as one of Nagarjun's works but notes that it is not in Nagarjun's *Rachnavali* and so it may no longer be available. Śyāmsankar Singh, “Hindī Yātrā Sāhitya ko Nāgārjun kā Praday,” vol. 13 (Oct-Dec., 2011): 166.

⁴³³ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 128-135.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 35.

of feeling survived into periods in which the general direction of new development was clear and decisive.”⁴³⁶ The issue, William’s continues, is a “crisis of values” that emerges as a result of a “crisis of perspective.” Nagarjun’s work reflects a similar approach, using his travel account as a way to, in William’s words, signal “reaction[s] to the fact of change” rather than change itself, which “has more real and more interesting social causes.”⁴³⁷

The region of the Himalayas Nagarjun traverses in “*Ṭiharī se Nelang*” is analogous to the “country” described in Williams’ work. In addition to offering an escape from “the city,” popularly referenced in colonial literature as an escape from the summer heat, the Himalayas also engender the possibility of a religious escape or liberation through the transformative potential of pilgrimage and *darśan*. As Nicola Pozza argues in *Wandering Writers in the Himalaya*, for Hindi authors of the twentieth century, including Agyeya, Mohan Rakesh, Nirmal Verma and Krisha Sobti, the Himalayan region is consistently referenced as a “topos for renunciation and liberation.”⁴³⁸ Nagarjun’s work asks, what is liberation in modernity? His account suggests that there is not just one answer to this question. Instead, modernity is experienced unevenly and in multiple ways across the region and often as it manifests as a moment of conflict or destabilization of dominant narratives.

The unique characteristics of travel writing as a genre makes it rich for exploring the connections between literary realism, historical analysis, and personal investigation. It allows Nagarjun to present the region as caught between multiple structures of feeling, registered as the force of the “private sphere” against the “public sphere.” Anecdotes throughout the text articulate the meeting of these different experiences and serve as inspiration for future literary works. As Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt discuss in their study of the anecdote,

the anecdote satisfie[s] the desire for something outside the literary, something that would challenge the boundaries of the literary. It offer[s] access to the everyday, the place where things are actually done, the sphere of practice that even in its more awkward and inept articulations makes claim on the truth that is denied to the most eloquent of literary texts. Or rather the anecdote was a way into the “contact zone,” the charmed space where the *genius literarius* could be conjured into existence.⁴³⁹

In her work on colonial travel accounts, Mary Pratt presents an alternative reading of “contact zones” as referring “to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...”⁴⁴⁰ Both approaches to “contact zones” are at work in Nagarjun’s travel accounts. In fact, his anecdotes often reveal the moment when disparate social and cultural spaces collide. In his study of Nagarjun’s work, Shyamshankar Singh describes such moments as expressive of “entangled” histories, presented for “the curious” reader.⁴⁴¹ Rather than disentangle them, Nagarjun attends to them as expressive of the “structures of feeling” that exist around a place, person, site, or region.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Nicola Pozza, “Wandering Writes in the Himalaya: Contesting Narratives and Renunciation in Modern Hindi Literature,” *Cracow Indological Studies* 17 (2015): 55.

⁴³⁹ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 48.

⁴⁴⁰ Mary Louis Pratt, “Art of the Contact Zone,” *Profession*, (1991): 34.

⁴⁴¹ Singh, “Hindī Yātrā Sāhitya ko Nāgārjun kā Praday,” 166.

There is a double movement in Nagarjun's work. It is not just the landscape changing and caught between routes and passages of history. The traveler Nagarjun is also moving and changed by his trip. It thus amends Williams' declaration that, "The life of country and city is moving and present,"⁴⁴² suggesting instead that, "The life of country and city—and the traveler—is moving and present."⁴⁴³ His work presents the traveler as a "progressive force," commenting on and participating in the rapid changes taking place around him.

"*Ṭihārī se Nelang*" moves between different registers. It is in many ways an unsettled text, held together by the routes of Nagarjun's travels and stops along the way. It twists, meanders, and pauses, pulling the narrator's experiences and the multivalent conditions of the different communities across the landscape into the literary realm of the account itself. In other words, the text measures Nagarjun's modernity against that of the different locals in the region as a way to reveal the transitive conditions of northern India.⁴⁴⁴ Far from being an idealized landscape of sadhus and pilgrims, Nagarjun's account paints a picture of a landscape grappling with the realities of modernity. Furthermore, it reveals the region as having always been in flux, defined by the movement and layered experiences of multiple communities, classes, and realities always on the move. Nagarjun's approach recalls James Clifford's notions of a "travelling culture." Taking the challenges of modern ethnogeography as his starting point, Clifford remarks on the challenges of locating culture by calling into question the fixed nature of objects, institutions, and records, especially during an era defined by movement and exchange.⁴⁴⁵ What if instead, we take travel as culture? This radical proposition seems to be at the very heart of the work of the authors discussed throughout this dissertation, each of whom explore wandering or traveling as vectors through which to think about India's culture and cultural development. Nagarjun's approach develops this in a slightly new direction by tracing the uneven experience of modernity through his travels. To return to Clifford's work, such an approach decenters or displaces traditional loci of cultural authority—towns, temples, villages, and sadhu—reconstituting them as part of a more fluid or dynamic "field."⁴⁴⁶

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of Nagarjun's Buddhist life, mainly his time in Sri Lanka, and how that helped frame a particular image of the modern traveler in his work based on active debates at the time over the role of Buddhist monks in contemporary society. Buddhism augments much of Nagarjun's writing, providing a broader historical context to parts of northern India and offering a more fluid model of cultural production.⁴⁴⁷ His education as a Buddhist monk in Sri Lanka in many ways shaped his notion of what it means to be a socially engaged figure working for the benefit of the general public, whether as a monk or as a layman. Rather than a timeless image of the historical renunciate, Nagarjun's work queries such figures within the social and political realities of a given age and a given region.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 8.

⁴⁴³ This is my own take on Williams' phrase, amended to reflect what I understand to be the underlying argument of Nagarjun's text.

⁴⁴⁴ I take the idea of a "transitive" landscape from Diana Eck's *India: A Sacred Geography*, discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

⁴⁴⁵ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 28.

⁴⁴⁶ "It may help if we view 'the field' as both a methodological ideal and a concrete place of professional activity." Ibid., 30.

⁴⁴⁷ Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the culture of early India* (Brill, 2007); Reginald Stephen Copleston, *Buddhism, Primitive and Present in Magadha and in Ceylon* (Longmans & Green, 1892).

Following a discussion of Nagarjun's Buddhist education in Sri Lanka at the Vidyalnagar Pirivena, I proceed to offer a detailed discussion of "*Tihari se Nelang*," following the account and picking out key moments as a way to explore how Nagarjun's writing centers personal voices as reflexive of historical shifts in the region, a metric of changing social, political, and literary conditions. I end the chapter by considering how Nagarjun's work compares to the writings of some of his mentors, offering a biography of himself and the region as caught between a struggle and a journey. The notion of one's life as a "struggle" or a "journey" is drawn from Sahajanand's *Merā Jīvan Saṅgharṣ* and Sankrityayan's *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*. As mentioned above, both figures were influential in Nagarjun's life. Comparing the different associations of a struggle and a journey as two kinds of movement reveals some of the unique facets of Nagarjun's work. Writing as a traveler *en route* to a final destination, his account invites readers to participate in his movement, traversing and reflecting on the changing conditions of India on the eve of independence.

A Buddhist Education

Born into a Maithil Brahmin household, Nagarjun studied Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit growing up before traveling to Kashi (present day Varanasi) and Calcutta (present day Kolkata), where he continued his studies while working. He recounts of his time in Calcutta:

I like Calcutta because intellectuals there, are very diligent. They are contented even with a low income. Even eminent scholars of Benagali go on foot, wearing ordinary chappals. They have no hang-ups. Contrary to that, the condition prevailing here in Bihar is pathetic. Once a man gets his Ph.D. thesis published he stops studying for good.⁴⁴⁸

From Kolkata, Nagarjun travelled to Sri Lanka, spending "thirty-two months" as a monk before returning to India.⁴⁴⁹ In his own accounts, Nagarjun's engagement with Buddhism appears rather opportunistic. As he explains, it was a way to study and travel abroad:

I wrote to the authorities of the Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, that I wanted to go to Sri Lanka. They called me to Sarnath and said that quite a big amount of money would be required to send me there. Who would bear the expenses? If I fell ill who would ensure my recovery, and so on. Just as Christian missionaries convince you that if you convert to Christianity you would get all kinds of facilities. What they wanted was that I become a Buddhist monk. I thought, it won't be a compromise. So I accepted the offer.⁴⁵⁰

Nagarjun's travels to Sri Lanka took place during a period of ongoing debate over the role of conversion and missionizing in religious reform efforts.⁴⁵¹ As discussed in previous chapters, Hindu reform organizations like the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj stressed travel as one way to confront the impact of Christian missionaries and colonial educational missions. During the

⁴⁴⁸ Obituary written by Pankaj Singh (November 1988): <https://revolutionarydemocracy.org/rdv5n1/nagarjun.htm>, accessed April 3, 2021. Nagarjun As quoted in, "Compile All My Poems It would Be My Autobiography: Nagarjun": 203.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 200.

⁴⁵¹ Gauri Viswanathan, "Religious Conversion and the Politics of Dissent." *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*, ed. Peter van der Veer (New York and London: Routledge, 2014): 89-114.

1920s and 30s, this led to an increased interest in Buddhism as part of more expansive approaches to Hinduism as the Sanātana Dharma or Ārya Dharma, which included Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism and Buddhism. It also traced extensive cultural territories described at the time as “Greater India,” understood as “a supra-local civilizing force.”⁴⁵² In her work on the subject, Susan Bayly explores the “imagined translocalities” embedded in notions of greater India. As Bayly continues, notions of the “Indic” that defined studies of Greater India, were often “shaped and debated in a rapidly changing context involving diverse and often painful interactions between the public and private spaces of the overseas Asian diasporas and those of the colonial metropolises.”⁴⁵³ While focused on an “assertively modernist and ‘scientific’ cast,” she remarks that “even the most novel and innovative of these imaginings tend to echo or recapitulate older forms of translocality, including those of long-distance pilgrimage and devotional networks.”⁴⁵⁴ Nagarjun traces similar translocal networks in his work, but rather than applying them to his reading of regional identities, he reads them against more immediate experiences and expressions.

Nagarjun’s travels to Sri Lanka in the 1930s took place during an important period of Indian history. The historical and cultural links between India and Sri Lanka became increasingly significant as part of nationalist debates both pre- and post-independence.⁴⁵⁵ It was during these years that prominent nationalist figures like Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru traveled to Sri Lanka as part of efforts to build anti-British coalitions and support, in part by celebrating important historical links. During one such trip, Prasad was assisted by Sankrityayan who joined him on parts of his journey.⁴⁵⁶ The role of the Maha Bodhi Society during this moment was equally complex as it had to navigate multiple competing interests. The Society’s early efforts in India are often framed as a more universal Buddhism through a missionizing presence in India and around the world. Such an approach overlooks the complex ways in which the Maha Bodhi Society and its founders navigated their connections to more local communities in Sri Lanka. As Steven Kemper writes about Anagarika Dharmapala, “In the nineteenth century [Buddhism] had been driven to ruin by Christian missionaries and colonial domination, and the religion he struggled for in Sri Lanka was a Buddhism remade politically and economically.”⁴⁵⁷ In his study, Kemper argues that figures like Dharmapala have to be considered within multiple registers, an idea he develops as being “rescued from the nation.” Rather than focus on their work at home or abroad, his study of Dharmapala seeks to put his work in conversation with more localized debates and an increased focus on the more personal motivations that drove Dharmapala in his work. I suggest we consider Nagarjun’s life similarly, attending to the more personal aspects of his work as embedded with concurrent debates over nationalist debates over Hindi literature, a rising Marxism, and Buddhist revival missions within broader social, political reform efforts.

Nagarjun’s Buddhist education, nurtured by the connections fostered by the Maha Bodhi Society between India and Sri Lanka, was also impacted by the political and social discourses of

⁴⁵² Susan Bayly, “Imagining ‘Greater India’: French and Indian Visions of Colonialism in the Indic Mode.” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004): 706.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 707.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 703.

⁴⁵⁵ Richa Bajaj, “Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Nehru to Indira Gandhi.” PhD dissertation, Aligarh Muslim University, 2004; Nehru, Jawaharlal, and Gopal Gandhi. *Nehru and Sri Lanka: A Collection of Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches and Writings Covering Three Decades* (Ratmalana: Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2002).

⁴⁵⁶ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (1.2), 76-79.

⁴⁵⁷ Kemper, *Rescued from the Nation*, 12.

the time. Like his companions, Nagarjun ends up at the Vidyalkara Pirivena. The Vidyalkara Pirivena was an important center for these emerging discourses,⁴⁵⁸ and the base of work and study for Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun. As Douglas Ober writes, the Vidyalkara Pirivena provided “a vibrant atmosphere in which Pali manuscripts, Sanskrit literature, and Orientalist scholarship was circulated alongside the writings of Marx and American freethinkers like Robert Ingersoll.”⁴⁵⁹ Nagarjun carried these ideas back with him to India, incorporating them into his poetry, novels, and travel accounts, as well as his political activism. As Ober continues, “For the ‘people’s poet,’ Kavi Nagarjun (1911-88), who moved to Ceylon to study Pali and don Buddhist robes, one could be both a member of the progressive forces battling zamindāri and tied to the ancient soil, a Buddhist *bhūmiputra*.”⁴⁶⁰ The urge to be a voice for “progressive forces” and a “bhūmiputra” —“a son of the nation”—is a central theme of Nagarjun's work. These themes define his writings and the figure conveyed through his travel accounts. They also characterize his approach to literature as well.

In *The Work of Kings*, H. L. Seneviratne writes about how Buddhist practices and education underwent a dramatic period of reformulation in the 1900s.⁴⁶¹ On the one hand there was a push to define a counternarrative to Christian missionary influences, as well as to reclaim a link between religious histories and practices and national identity. On the other hand, there was a call to engage in more modern studies, including training in English. This resulted in the establishment of new centers of Buddhist education such as the Vidyalkara Pirivena, where Nagarjun studied while in Sri Lanka. It is during this same period that the figure of the Buddhist *bhikṣu* was being reimagined as a progressive agent and inheritor of localized cultural tradition. Walpola Rahula's work *The Heritage of the Bhikkhu* is instructive in how a new image of the modern *bhikṣu* (*bhikkhu*) was conceived of at the time. The work opens with: “Buddhism is based on service to others,” continuing from there to reflect on how Buddhist texts and historical politics offer a model for the modern day *bhikṣu* as socially engaged and in service of their communities.⁴⁶² As Rahula writes, “...the Buddha and the bhikkhus taught such important ideas pertaining to health, sanitation, earning wealth, mutual relationships, well-being of society, and righteous government—all for the good of the people.”⁴⁶³ Rahula grounds his approach in the Buddhist Mission and the Buddha's mandate to “go forth” and wander. As he continues, “The

⁴⁵⁸ Ananda W. P. Guruge, “The Socio-Cultural Background of the Evolution of Vidyodaya and Vidyalkara Universities,” *Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science, and Letters, Silver Jubilee Issue* (Feb. 1984): 351-366; Havanpola Ratanasara, “A Critical Survey of Pirivena Education in Ceylon from 1815 with Special Reference to Vidyodaya and Vidyalkara Pirivena,” (PhD dissertation, University of London 1965).

⁴⁵⁹ Ober, *Reinventing Buddhism*, 299. See also, Rahul Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (2): 1-28, 106-10, 124-28; Anand Kausalyayan, *Bhikṣu ke Patra*, 31-41. On Vidyalkaras, see Seneviratne, *The Work of Kings*, 133-67.

⁴⁶⁰ Ober, *Reinventing Buddhism*, 310, drawing on the work of Asutosh Jha, “Compile all my poems [and] it would be my autobiography: Nagarjun,” 196-206.

⁴⁶¹ There is much more to say on this topic. Other works that cover it include: Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton University Press, 1990); George Doherty Bond, *The Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka: Religious Tradition, Reinterpretation and Response* (Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992); Elizabeth Harris, *Theravada Buddhism and the British Encounter*; Stephen C. Berkwitz, “Resisting the Global in Buddhist Nationalism: Venerable Soma's Discourse of Decline and Reform,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Feb., 2008): 73-106.

⁴⁶² Walpola Rāhula, *The Heritage of the Bhikkhu: The Buddhist Tradition of Service*, translated by K.P.G. Wijayasurendra and revised by the author (New York: Grove/Atlantic, 2003), first published as *Bhikṣuvagē Urumaya* in 1946.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6.

Buddha exhorted his bhikkhu disciples not to settle permanently in one place, but to wander from village to village preaching to the people for their good and for their well-being.”⁴⁶⁴ In other words, wandering was understood to be the basis for Buddhism’s social engagement and service. We see this clearly in Anand Kausalyayan’s letters, discussed in Chapter 1, presenting himself as socially engaged and adaptable as a modern exemplar of a peripatetic Buddhist tradition. Nagarjun’s travels are markedly different, not featuring himself as an ideal model of social engagement and service, rather as a more distanced commentator or “critic” of his environments. One result is that Nagarjun’s accounts are less attuned to the particular figure of the wanderer, and more attentive to the conditions of the landscape as defined by the movement of the author and those who move through, inhabit, and experience them.

Rahula’s interest in wandering and the peripatetic bhikṣu is linked to his call for Buddhist monks to participate in a broader and more modern education. Sankrityayan picks up on this idea in his *Ghumakkaṛ Śāstra*, drawing connections between wandering, curiosity, and discovery. In Sankrityayan’s work, the wanderer is presented as the driver of progress through his or her commitment to curiosity and a wandering ethos. At times his work is highly satirical, using comedy as a form of literary and cultural critique. This should not detract from the very earnest ways in which their works conceive of the wanderer as emerging from a much longer tradition in India and around the world. Sankrityayan’s work in particular articulates a vision of the wanderer as a more universal archetype found across multiple traditions.

Writing for Hindi audiences, Sankrityayan chose to highlight the Buddha as a preeminent wanderer, describing him as the king of wanderers, a *ghumakkaṛ raj*. Like Sankrityayan’s vision of the wanderer, Rahula’s modern bhikṣu bridges the past and the present through wandering as a form of social reform and development. He is historically an agent in service of the general, lay population. Rahula’s articulation of the historical role of the Buddhist bhikṣu was mirrored by a call for institutions to train monks in new ways, grounding them in a thorough understanding of the Buddhist canon—particularly the Pali Tipiṭaka—while also offering them a training in modern languages, the arts, and sciences.⁴⁶⁵ Nagarjun’s work expresses something slightly different: the traveler as a regionally embedded figure who is able to speak about the future through a deeper understanding of the past. Nagarjun’s *yātrī* is unmoored from religious tradition and situated instead within the changing regional and literary sensibilities drawn from his own lived experience. Stylistically, though, Nagarjun employs many of the same tactics and approaches as his companions, especially with his use of wit and satire as a way to engage readers and comment on the places he visits and people he meets. At the heart of Nagarjun’s work is an image of the traveler as someone who writes from their own experiences and understanding, sharing their insights with their readers as a way to advance social, political, and ideological change.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁶⁵ “It was undoubtedly an advantage to the British that the bhikkhus were exclusively devoted to the study of ancient literature, that their outlook was still the old traditional one, that they were totally ignorant of the modern world and its problems—a set of meaningless ancients living in a modern world oblivious of what was happening around them. Leading *theras* and lay Buddhist leaders, lacking vision and wisdom, objected to Buddhist monks studying English or other modern languages and subjects in the area of modern knowledge. Some of these people do not appear to have changed their attitudes even today.” Ibid., 96.

⁴⁶⁶ If the other authors discussed here focus on transformation of Buddhism for a Hindi public, or Buddhism into a more universal ideal of wandering, Nagarjun considers how such historical influences guide the life and language of an author in producing new works of literature as a way to expand the Hindi literary canon and related publics.

Nagarjun's turn to Buddhism proved to be a deciding moment in his life. As he mentioned in the quote above, Buddhism was not "a compromise." Instead, it became part of his history and approach to social and political change, much in the way that it was part of the history of Bihar and of India. It was, in other words, something he carried with him as he traveled, applying it to his reading of different regions. As was customary, he took a new name at the moment of his conversion.⁴⁶⁷ His choice of "Nagarjun" references the famous Buddhist scholar from the second and third century and signals his interest in affirming ties back to Bihar and the legacy of Magadha, and forms of Buddhism beyond Theravada Buddhism. The link to Nagarjun's home state is essential for understanding his approach to Buddhism and situates his work within a host of his contemporaries working in other fields such as architecture and art. These include the architect and urban planner Sris Chandra Chatterjee, whose 1940 work *Magadha* reimagined a modern architecture based on the early precedents of the ancient Buddhist empire. Or Upendra Maharathi who helped revive Bihar's craft traditions as part of an effort to remake the state of Bihar into a modern Magadha. In one of his few essays on Buddhism, "*Buddh Yug kī Ārthik Avasthā*," (Economic Conditions in the Age of Buddha) published in 1936, Nagarjun considers the role of the artisan as part of a study of the "economic conditions" in the time of Buddhist India. Another essay published ten years later, "*Brāhmaṇ: Buddh Yug Men*," (reflects on issues of caste and the status of Brahmins in the "Buddhist age." In both essays Nagarjun reflects on India's Buddhist past to consider the legacy of certain traditions and as the basis for imagining alternative social, political, and economic models.

Buddhism's role in "*Ṭiharī se Nelang*" is somewhat oblique. And yet, it appears as a persistent force within the text, as evidenced through the historical records of Buddhism uncovered throughout the account, as well as Nagarjun's distinctive approach to travel. While influenced by his time studying Buddhism and engagement with Sankrityayan, his writing marks a departure away from Buddhism as a central influence. If Sankrityayan's work, discussed in the previous chapter, emphasizes wandering as expressive of a certain culture ethos, Nagarjun's downplays the importance of wandering, advocating instead for travel as a way of attending to the force of modernity in forming new regional sensibilities.

Ṭiharī se Nelang

In April of 1943, Nagarjun set out from Allahabad with Rahul Sankrityayan. As in the travel account of Kausalyayan's expedition with Sankrityayan in 1939, discussed in Chapter 1, the travelers set off towards the mountains in order to escape the summer heat. Thus begins a journey that is similar in many ways to popular Hindi travel narratives at the time, featuring urbane and erudite narrators as they travel into ever more remote regions of the Himalayas.⁴⁶⁸ Nagarjun published his account of the trip as "*Ṭiharī se Nelang*" in the Hindi journal *Pārijāt* three years after the actual journey.⁴⁶⁹ The account is fast moving and brisk, intertwining personal reflections and experiences.

⁴⁶⁷ "Conversion" is a somewhat contested term, but it is generally accepted in the context of modern Buddhism in India. See: Gyanendra Pandey, "The Time of the Dalit conversion." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2006): 1779–1788.

⁴⁶⁸ Nicola Pozza, "Wandering Writers in the Himalaya."

⁴⁶⁹ There are several critical editions of this account available. The Hindi quotes are taken from *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, ed. Rājeś Jośī (New Delhi: Sāhitya Akādemī, 2004): 227–237. Translations are the authors. All page numbers will be given from this edition. Another edition can be found in *Nāgārjun Racanāvalī*, Vol. 6, ed. Śobhākant (New Delhi: Rājakamal Prakāśan, 2003), 140–149.

In his edited collection of Nagarjun's work, Rajesh Joshi classifies "*Ṭiharī se Nelang*" as a *yātrā samsmaraṇ*, or travel memoir, signaling the more personal dimensions of the account as part of a longer survey of Nagarjun's travels in the region. Major sections of the memoir are also dedicated to descriptions of various townships and cities they visit and travel through along the way. Each stop is accompanied by demographic details, a general survey of religious temples and artifacts, details about lodgings and meals, and accounts of their activities, especially the people they meet and engage with along the way.

Nagarjun has a special affinity for food, especially fish, which goes beyond a simple recollection, making those sections of his accounts some of the most approachable and engaging. Every day and seemingly insignificant moments throughout the text often express the various "contact zones" the travelers move through, highlighting changes in culture, manners, and customs, as well as social divisions, issues of caste, and economic realities. They also present a what Homi Bhabha describes as the "politics as a performativity,"⁴⁷⁰ moving away from ideological fixations to think about the existing conditions of each local. The text's critical perspective is signaled in the opening paragraphs through a reflection on their time in Haridwar. As Nagarjun writes,

हरिद्वार की कोई खास बात याद नहीं है। हाँ, हर की पैड़ी के पास एक बड़े मकान की दीवार पर गेरू-कोयले-पेन्सिल आदि से कुछ नज़में लिखी पड़ी थीं, श्रद्धा-भक्ति और वैराग्य के संबंध में। वहीं राहुलजी ने भी उर्दू की दो प्रसिद्ध कड़ियाँ लिख दी थीं। वे अभी मुझे याद हैं—

तमीरे हैं, खैरात हैं औ' तीरथ-हज भी होते हैं।
यों खून के धब्बे दामन से ये जैसेवाले धोते हैं।

I can't remember anything special from Haridwar. Well, near Har kī Pairī, on the wall of a large house, there were some *nazmen* written in ochre paint-charcoal-pencil, and so forth, about faith, devotion, and renunciation. Rahul-ji also wrote two famous Urdu lines there. I still remember them—

There is construction, charity, and pilgrimage
Rich people use these to wash the stains of blood from their clothes.⁴⁷¹

Written as an offhanded recollection, Sankrityayan's written lines echo and reframe the religious sentiments scrawled on the wall of a large house. They also foreshadow the critical approach that runs through the rest of the account. Much in the way the wall is scrawled with short impressions, dreams and aspiration, "*Ṭiharī se Nelang*" records a set of layered impressions and experiences of the site, overlaid with Sankrityayan and Nagarjun's criticisms and experiences.

From Haridwar, Nagarjun takes the reader to Rishikesh where Sankrityayan and he are interested in the local sadhus and their attendants. He begins with a general assessment of the pilgrimage town. As he writes:

धर्म का बड़ा जोर है। इन दिनों साधु लोग निमुच्छे चेले ज्यादा रखने लगे हैं। भगतिनों और साधिकाओं की तादाद कम नहीं। कोढ़ी इत्तने अधिक हैं कि ऋषीकेश को कोढ़ीकेश कहना अत्यक्ति नहीं होगी।

⁴⁷⁰ Homi Bhabha, *The Locations of Culture*, 21

⁴⁷¹ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 227.

Religion is very influential [here]. Nowadays, *sādhus* are beginning to keep more hanger-ons (*nimucche cele*). And the number of female devotees (*bhagatinon*) and *sādhikās* (*sādhikāon*) isn't small. There were so many lepers that it wouldn't be an exaggeration to call it "Korīkesh" ("Leper-kesh") instead of "Rishikesh."⁴⁷²

In a few short lines, the passage explores the influence of religion in the area, describing successive rings of devotion, adulation, and charity. Nagarjun uses the phrase *nimucche cele*, translated above as "hanger-ons" though it could also be translated as "flunkies," "groupies," or "adulators." The unflattering description frames Nagarjun's comments on the growing number of devout women, or *bhagatin*⁴⁷³—a topic that is a recurring theme throughout the text, and one that I discuss in more detail below—and then, through a joke one might imagine circulating among the travelers, Nagarjun comments on the large population of lepers in Rishikesh.

In each town, Nagarjun and Sankrityayan set out to interview prominent sadhus, querying them on their education, lineages, and the region. In Rishikesh, for example, they go in search of "Nathpanthi Sadhus. As he writes,

वहाँ के नाथपन्थी साधु अपने पूर्व गुरुओं के संबंधों में इतनी जानकारी नहीं रखते, जितनी कि हमें आशा थी। चौरासी सिद्धों के ये उत्तराधिकारी आजकल अपने शिष्यों से व्याकरण और वेदांत की परीक्षाएँ दिलवाकर ही संतोष कर लेते हैं। महंत चढ़ईनाथ के अखाड़े में बाबा पद्मनाथ से बहुत दिनों पर मुलाकात हुई। प्रकांड विद्वान साधु शांतिनाथ की बात उठाई, तो वहाँ किसी ने कहा—‘ऊ त वैराय गया!’

The Nāthpanthī Sadhus there aren't as informed about their past gurus as we hoped. Nowadays, the descendants of the eighty-four *siddhas* satisfy themselves by having their students give exams in grammar and *vedānt*. After many days, we met with Baba Padmnāth in Mahant Caḍhānāth's *akhāḍa*. When the subject of the renowned scholar Sadhu Shāntināth came up, someone interjected: 'He went mad!'⁴⁷⁴

In his typically wry wit, Nagarjun laments the loss of the local Nathpanthi's memory of their own lineage.⁴⁷⁵ The account simultaneously recuperates that history by alluding to the supposed knowledge of that tradition and its lineage held by Sankrityayan and Nagarjun.

Once again, we are reminded that Nagarjun's final destination is not Rishikesh, but rather Tibet, signaling a different set of cultural connections and historical references that impact what he sees and how he makes sense of his encounters for his readers. The mention of the eighty-four *siddhas* in the above quote is a reference to the well-known Mahasiddhas, recalling the historic connections between northern India and Tibet.⁴⁷⁶ As part of a longer study of Buddhism's

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ R.S. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 756.

⁴⁷⁴ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 227.

⁴⁷⁵ Purushottam Agrawal, "The Naths in Hindi Literature," *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Naths*, eds. David N. Lorenzen and Adrián Muñoz (SUNY Press, 2011).

⁴⁷⁶ Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*. (SUNY Press, 1985); Matthew T. Kapstein, "An Inexhaustible Treasury of Verse: The Literary Legacy of the Mahasiddhas." *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas* (New York & Chicago: Rubin Museum of Art & Serindia Publications, 2006): 49–61.

modern revival in India, such details are important because they signal a broader interest in Mahayana Buddhism as part of studies to refashion a modern Buddhism for India. This is often occluded by a focus on modern transmissions from Sri Lanka, Burma, and Nepal, and especially the influence of the Maha Bodhi Society in India. When the modern influence of Tibetan Buddhism in India is acknowledged, as in the work of D.C. Ahir, it is through the growing presence of Tibetan Buddhism in India resulting from the Cultural Revolution and the exodus of Tibetan's into India at the end of the 1950s.⁴⁷⁷ Early publications on Buddhism for Indian audiences, however, reflect an interest in multiple forms of Buddhism, especially as part of a history of transformation as a result of Buddhism's urge for its adherents to wander.

From Rishikesh, Nagarjun and Sankrityayan head toward Tihari (Theri). The journey is captured in a single sentence:

ऊँची-नीची टेढ़ी-मेढ़ी पहाड़ियों की परिक्रमा करती हुई हमारी लारी शाम को टिहरी पहुँची। ऋषीकेश यहाँ से पचास मील पीछे रह गया।

Up and down, back and forth, after circumambulating the mountains, our lorry arrived at night in Tihari, leaving Rishikesh fifty miles behind.⁴⁷⁸

Like in other sections of the account, these two lines also describe the qualities of the text itself as it circles around topics and ideas, moving up and down through the various communities and environments that make up the larger landscape. Nagarjun's use of the phrase—*pahāriyon kī parikramā*, or circumambulation of the mountains—brings to mind the pilgrimage routes around Kailash and other sacred sites, but also applies it to the tedious nature of their lorry ride.⁴⁷⁹ As the travelers enter Tihari, Nagarjun describes the newly founded state capital of Narendar Nagar succinctly: "It is located 4,000 feet above sea level and is beautiful." The line offers little solace after such a long and winding journey. As the group travels further, transportation in the area is increasingly challenging due to a petrol shortage in the area.⁴⁸⁰ Nagarjun relates such details along with the fares they paid in part to gesture towards the expenses of such a trip for any would-be-traveler. As they approach Tihari, Nagarjun's description moves from a survey of the surrounding landscape to the customs and dress of local inhabitants. The language of the section is especially succinct, offering a description without much embellishment, almost as if they are notes drawn from Nagarjun's diary:

⁴⁷⁷ Ahir, *The Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*; Lella Kenadi, *Revival of Buddhism in Modern India: The Role of BR Ambedkar and the Dalai Lama XIV* (Ashish Publishing House, 1995).

⁴⁷⁸ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 228.

⁴⁷⁹ In 1953, Saccidānand Hīrānand Vātsyāyan, better known as "Agyey," published *Are Yāyāvar Rahegā Yād*, the first chapter of which similarly plays with the conventions of epic literature and actual experience of being on a longer journey. Titled "*Paraśurām se Tūrkham: Ek Tāyr kī Ram-Kahānī*," the chapter proceeds to give an account of the trip from the perspective of a car tire. Nagarjun's account is much less inventive, however, it does aim to convey something of the tedium of such trips, and the ways in which his account too circles around ideas and places, revisiting them to see what new discoveries or insights they yield.

⁴⁸⁰ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 227.

आस-पास की घाटियों में उपजाऊ खेत। दूर-दूर तक फैले हुए चीड़ के जंगल। सीधे-सादे लोग। पाजामा, लंबा चोगा, टोपी और कमरबंद—यही है उनका पहनावा। औरतें उनी साड़ी पहनती हैं। कुर्ती और कमरबंद भी रहता है। मुख्य जीविका खेती-बाड़ी और पशु-पालन। मर्द बाहर जाकर फैज में काम करते हैं।

In the surrounding valleys, fertile fields. Spread far and wide, pine forests. Simple folk. *Pājāmā*, *choga*, a hat, or a cummerbund (waistband)—is the dress here. Women wear woolen *saṛīs*. They also wear a *kurtī* (knee length top) and cummerbund. Their main source of livelihood is farming and husbandry. When men leave (*bāhar*), they work for the army.⁴⁸¹

While brief, the above paragraph conveys a wealth of detail. One gets a sense of the city and its relationship to its surrounding area and even the economic realities of its inhabitants as well as their customs. There is also a certain lyricism to the lines captured in the use of compound adjectives—*ās-pās*, *dūr-dūr*—followed by a set of declarative statements, to land on: “*sīde-sade log*”—“simple folk.”

The final line of the above quote takes the reader literally and figuratively outside, *bāhar*, inviting readers to further consider the social and economic context for the small township. Drawing connections between the political, religious, and social imagination of each site, the text continues to move “outside,” presenting a wide-angle perspective of Ṭihārī. As Nagarjun writes,

टिहरी की आबादी मुश्किल से दो हजार होगी। गढ़वाल की पुरानी राजधानी ब्राह्मण, राजपूत और शूद्र सभी की आवास भूमि रही है। दस-पाँच घर मुसलमान भी हैं। शिक्षा का अनुपात बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। भागीरथी गंगा के किनारे होने के कारण गढ़वाली इस शहर को एक तीर्थ का भी महत्त्व देते हैं। स्वामी रामतीर्थ के अंतिम दिन यहीं बीते थे।

The population of Ṭihārī won’t be more than 2,000. In the old capital city of *Garvāl*, *brāhmaṇ*, *rājput*, and *shūdra* each have found their spot (*āvās bhūmi*). There are also five or ten Muslim houses. The rate of education is also behind. Because it is on the banks of the Bhāgīrthī Ganga, Garvālis also consider this city to be an important *tīrth* (pilgrimage site). Swami Rāmīrth spent his last days here.⁴⁸²

Pervasive casteism and religious divisions define the small town. Education is another recurring metric throughout the texts, often measured against pervasive caste issues and expressions of blind faith and devotion.

In Ṭihārī, Nagarjun and Sankrityayan stay in a local Gurudwar where they enjoy a pleasant meal. This is one of the most approachable sections of the text. It is easy to imagine that Nagarjun included them, in part, to make the text relatable. Such descriptions also introduce readers to a network of guest houses, conveyances, and support available to travelers in the region. Most cater in some way to religious communities and pilgrims, while a network of porters, hotels and *dākkhana* support the basic needs of travelers. As Nagarjun recounts,

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 228.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

हम वहाँ गुरुद्वारे में टिके थे। बहुत दिनों से मछली नहीं खाई थी, सो जीभ का अच्छी तरह श्राद्ध किया। भुने हुए चने और चावल, नमक-घी से सने—ऊपर से यदि तली हुई मछलियाँ मिल जाएँ, तो फिर क्या पूछना !

We lodged in a Gurudwar there. We hadn't eaten fish for many days, therefore it really delighted our taste buds. Roasted gram and rice, loaded with salt and ghee—if on top of that there would be a fried fish, what more could you ask for!⁴⁸³

The wanderers stay in Ṭihārī for four days, eating and drinking in a hotel. As Nagarjun continues, “Our work (*kām*) was to sift dust (*khāṅk chānanā*) in the nearby temples, houses, and ruins.”⁴⁸⁴ The phrase, *khāṅk chānanā*, similar to the English idiom, “to beat the air,” carries a sense of futility, much in the way wandering suggests a practice of non-directed movement.⁴⁸⁵ But it is said in a half joking manner. As in the work of Sankrityayan, discussed in the previous chapter, such “work” is presented as an important part of the labor and value of travel, related to its ability to inspire new works of literature and to recuperate lost and forgotten histories. In other words, it enacts a certain cultural discovery.

Always attentive to language, when their “work,” *kām*, does not lead to any notable discoveries, Nagarjun moves onto a discussion of the “wanderings,” of an *avadhūtin* they meet while in Ṭihārī. As Nagarjun relates,

पुरातत्त्व की कोई ऐसी अल्लेखनीय वस्तु नहीं मिली, जिसका जिक्र यहाँ आवश्यक है। हाँ, एक अवधूतिन से अवश्य भेंट हुई थी। वह ब्रजमंडल की थी। चाली पैताली की उम्र। बतलाया—‘दस साल से इन्हीं पहाड़ियों में घूमती हूँ। लोग काफ़ी मान-पूजा करते हैं, एक नाथ थे, जो गुरु और पति दोनों का काम करते थे, अब न रहे...।’

We didn't find any notable archaeological things worth mentioning here. Well, we did get to meet an *avadhūtin*. She was from the *brajamandal*. She was forty or forty-five and told us—‘For ten years I have been wandering these mountains. People do lots of ceremonies and rituals (*mān-pūjā*), there was one *nāth*, who performed the duties of a *guru* and husband, now he is no more...’⁴⁸⁶

Nagarjun's use of the simple marker *hañ*, translated above as “well,” is by this point a common motif of the text. The seemingly casual interjection signals a transition to a more detailed discussion of more memorable aspects of the trip or significant encounters. It also qualifies moments of disappointment when Nagarjun's expectations are not met. In the above quote, it indicates Nagarjun's fascination with the *avadhūtin*. Nagarjun returns to a discussion of the *avadhūtin* later in the account as part of his reflection on their time with Dhananand, the porter they hire to help with their trip.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ “*Chānanā*: to sift dust: to toil to no purpose; to rack the brains vainly; to roam (about or through, की).”

McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 234.

⁴⁸⁶ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 228.

Dhananand receives a lot of attention in the text, providing a useful foil for highlighting several key issues, beginning with the enduring casteism in the region. Dhananand is from a Brāhmaṇ family and this fact proves quite useful during the course of their travels. As Nagarjun writes,

किसी चट्टी छाँह में बैठता, तो लोग उस भारवाही ब्राह्मण से पहले पूछते कि किस जात का है तू? लोटा, बालटी या बर्तन उसे तभी छूने दिया जाता, जब पूरा हुलिया मालूम कर लेते।

Whenever we stopped to sit in the shade of a resting place (*caṭṭī*), people would first ask this brāhmaṇ porter (*bhāravāhī brāhmaṇ*), ‘What’s your caste (*jāt*)?’ He would be allowed to touch the *loṭā*, bucket, or vessel, only when they understood his full story.⁴⁸⁷

Nagarjun captures the manner of such direct questioning, highlighting the intense scrutiny posed to the travelers along the way. No such questions seem to be posed to Nagarjun or Sankrityayan, signaling their own evident caste status. If travel is understood as a metaphor for progress and modernity, pervasive casteism in the account interrupts a sense of community forged through travel. Humor, however, provides an easy avenue for building connection. Humor further connects Dhananand to Nagarjun and Sankrityayan. As Nagarjun writes,

खुद भी बड़ी ही मशखरा था और तिस पर छै – सात रोज़ तक राहुलजी की संगति पाकर वह ‘मँज गया’ – यह उसके अपने शब्द हैं।

He was already very funny and moreover after being in Rahul-ji’s company for six or seven days, he became ‘seasoned’ (*manj gayā*)—those were his words.⁴⁸⁸

This notion of “seasoning” or “becoming seasoned” is an interesting idea within such travel accounts. It is a phrase Sankrityayan often uses in his accounts as well, referring to the details of a trip that “add spice” or “flavor” to an account. Returning to Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt’s discussion of the anecdote, such details are also a way to bring “something outside the literary” into a literary work. This is enacted repeatedly in Nagarjun’s account, as both Sankrityayan and he model and note people’s manners and speech while interacting with them, as if saving them for future works.

In the above quote, Dhananand describes himself as “seasoned” after spending time with the travelers. Nagarjun is careful to emphasize that he is quoting the porter’s own words, sharing a taste of Dhananand’s voice. As an example, Nagarjun recounts a rather ribald exchange between Dhananand and Sankrityayan that references their earlier encounter with the *avadhūtin* mentioned above. As Nagarjun continues,

उमर दल जाने पर भी शादी नहीं हुई थी। उसने राहुलजी से कहा था—‘साल-डेढ़ साल के लिए मैं अवधूत बन जाऊँगा, अपने टिहरी की उसी अवधूतिन से ‘मंत्र’ लूँगा। कैसा रहेगा यह बाबू जी?’

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 228-229.

मेरी ओर आँकें मटकाकर राहुलजी मुसकराने लगे, तो मैंने ही धनानंद को कहा—'वाह! साल ही डेढ़ साल के लिए क्यों?'

'सिद्ध नहीं न बनना है मुझे'—उसने हँसकर जवाब दिया। उसके पीले-पीले से दाँत खुशी से रोशन हो उठे।

Despite his advanced age, [Dhananand] still hadn't married. He told Rahulji—'For a year or a year and a half, I'll become an *avadhūt*. I'll take 'mantra' from that *avadūtin* of Tīharī. What do you think about this Babū-ji?'

Looking at me with a twinkle in his eye, Rahul-ji started to smile, so I said to Dhananand—'Wow! Why only for a year or year and a half?'

'I can't become a *sidh*'—He laughed and answered, happily flashing his yellow teeth.⁴⁸⁹

The crude banter is a far cry from the more chaste letters of Kausalyayan discussed in Chapter 1. However, it is typical of Sankrityayan's accounts, which often celebrate the sexual opportunities of travel. The detail of Dhananand "happily flashing his yellow teeth," though, is distinctive of Nagarjun's work, and only makes the exchange more visceral. Nagarjun often refers to people's teeth in his writings as a window into a character, focusing on them because of the emotional, social, and economic cues they provide about a person.

Nagarjun and Sankrityayan's next stop in "*Tīharī se Nelang*" is Uttarkāśī (Uttarkashi). It is "forty-four miles from Tīharī," with a modest population. Their departure from Tīharī, which occurs one third of the way into the account, ostensibly marks the start of the travel memoir. There is a shift in tone as they enter more remote and uninhabited landscape. Transportation also becomes more difficult as permanent townships give way to transient encampments and nomadic landscapes. Unable to find "a single vehicle," the travelers fashion a "*naravāhan*," or "man-van," before heading on. They travel eleven miles to Kalyan where they stop for a meal and an afternoon rest. After a lunch of "*roṭī* and potato-*tarakārī*," and a rest, the travelers set off again towards Nagun:

डेढ़ पहर दिन रहा तो फिर चले। रास्ता ऐसा मनलगू था कि शाम तक फिर ग्यारह मील। नगुण था इस पड़ाव का नाम। रास्ते में देखा, फ़सल (रबी) कट चुकी है। ख़ाली खेतों की मेंड़ों पर गाय-भैंस चर रही हैं। यहाँ लगा कि गढ़वाल बहुत ही उपजाऊ और बहुत ही सुंदर है। हमारा रास्ता गंगा के किनारे-किनारे ही चल रहा था। चारों ओर ऊँची-ऊँची पहाड़ियाँ थीं – जिन पर खड़े चीड़ों के बड़े-बड़े दरख्त आसमान को चूग रहे थे। बीच-बीच में चरवाहों की सीटियाँ और सिसकारियाँ सुनाई पड़तीं, पहाड़ी गीतों के तराने सुनाई पड़ते।

At 1:30 in the afternoon we set off again. The road was so pleasant (*manalaggū*) that by night fall we had walked eleven miles. The name of that halt (*parāv*) was Nagun. On the way we saw that the crop (*rabi*) had been harvested. On the edges (*mendon*) of the open fields we saw cattle and buffalo grazing. There it felt that Garvāl was very fertile and extremely beautiful. Our path was just along the banks of the Ganga (*gangā ke kināre-kināre hī*). There were tall mountains all around—on which large pine trees pecking at

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 229.

the sky.⁴⁹⁰ In between (*bīc-bīc*), we would hear the whistles (*sītiyan*) and cries (*sisakāriyan*) of shepherds, the rhythmic song of the mountains.⁴⁹¹

As the text becomes more descriptive, we begin to get a sense of Nagarjun's literary sensibilities around travel. After their stop in Kalyan, the road became "pleasant" (*manalaggū*) and the time spent traveling is not as arduous. There is also a sense of being at the "edge" of a more urban and developed region. The language changes accordingly, becoming more poetic and rhythmic. The path along the river—*gaṅgā ke kināre-kināre hī*, itself a recurring motif in such accounts—plays against the rhythm of the large trees—*baḍe-baḍe darakht*—piercing the sky—*āsamān ko cūg rahe the*. In between—*bīc-bīc*—float the whistles and cries of shepherds, "the rhythmic song of the mountains." These are some of the most evocative and beautiful lines of the account, picking up on a familiar rhythm throughout the essay of repeated sounds and echoed melodies.

Even as Nagarjun attempts to highlight the social and cultural realities of the lives of those living the region, he seems moved to celebrate the natural beauty of the area in more poetic language. This shift in tone marks their entrance into a landscape of travelers, and even the town of Naguṇ seems defined by those who visit:

नगुण बहुत छोटी बस्ती है, मुश्किल से सात-आठ घरवासी होंगे। यात्रियों के पड़ाव के ही कारण वे भी बस गए थे। उनमें से तीन तो दुकानदार हैं।

Naguṇ is a very small *bastī* (settlement). It would not have more than 7 or 8 households (*garvāsī*). They had only settled there because it was a stop for travelers (*yātriyon*). Among them, three were shop-owners.⁴⁹²

Like the different cities, townships and villages the travelers visit, the classification of different wanderers is an important aspect of the text. Some are broader categories—*yātriyon*, *avadhūtin*—or attendants and supporters of other's journey—*kulī*, *hāravāhī brāhmaṇ*, *naravāhan*, and even relationships forged in travel—*tīrth-yātrī pati*. The text also describes a number of different kinds of travel, from pilgrimage—*tīrth yātrā*—to tourism abroad,—*videshon kā paryāṭan*. Each describes a specific relationship to the region, often as a measure of authority.

The next traveler to receive a sustained discussion in the account is a judge who is on a religious pilgrimage or *yātrā*, in search of "peace" in the later stages of his life, or *vānaprasth*. The judge's attempts to wander freely are hampered by his wife who has accompanied him out of fear that "her husband might turn into a sadhu," along with his brother, nephew, and servant:

हमें रात्रि निवास के लिए एक मंदिर का बरामदा मिल गया। यहीं बलिया निवासी एक भूतपूर्व जज से मुलाकात हुई। उनके साथ स्त्री, भाई, भतीजा और नौकर वगैरह थे। तीन कुली थे। साधु हो जाने की शंका से श्रीमती जी अनते तीर्थ-यात्री का पीछा कर रही थीं। जज साहेब का मन था, सिर्फ एक नौकर साथ रखकर यात्रा करनी चाहिए। बातचीत के दौरान में उन्होंने कहा था - 'हमारे पूर्वज अपने

⁴⁹⁰ The sense here is of pecking, though a more smooth translation might be "large pine trees piercing the sky." The verb Nagarjun uses is *cugnā*: "(v) to pick; to peck (food with the beak)," R.S. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 322.

⁴⁹¹ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 229.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 229.

वानप्रस्थ जीवन में पत्नी को साथ रखकर भला कौन-सी शांति पाते होंगे, समझ में नहीं आता ! देखिए न, मेरा मन करता है गंगा के किनारे जाकर कुछ देर एकांत में बैठने का, मगर इन्होंने (स्त्री ने) मुझे डेरे में कैद कर रखा है – स्वीटर, मफलर, बनरमुँहा टोपी और मोजे, नीचे-ऊपर कंबल और तिस पर भी कड़ा अनुशासन कि खबरदार, जो थूक फेंकने को भी उठे !...’

इतना कहकर जज साहेब ने पास रखी पीकदान में ज़ोर से थूक फेंका। पत्नी महाशया तब तक उधर रसोइए को कुछ ‘डिक्टेट’ कर रही थीं।

We found a veranda of a temple for our night’s residence (*rātri nivāsī*). We had the good fortune to meet a former judge from Baliyā.⁴⁹³ Along with him was his wife, brother, nephew and servant, etc. He also had three *kulī*. The wife of the judge was suspicious that her husband might turn into a sadhu, that is why she was following her husband on a pilgrimage. The judge was of the opinion that the *yātrā* should be done with only one servant. During our conversations, he said that—‘God knows what kind of peace our ancestors received during the *vānaprasth* period of their life if they kept their wife with them! Look, ya, I just want to go and sit in peace by the banks of the river Ganga, but she has imprisoned me—sweater, muffler, *banarmunghā* hat, down blanket (*niche-ūpar*), on top of that even standing up to spit is forbidden...’

Having said all this, *sāheb* spat forcefully into the spittoon nearby. All the while, his esteemed wife (*patnī mahāśayā*) was over ‘dictating’ to the cook.⁴⁹⁴

The exchange occurs in the liminal space of the verandah. The judge’s frustration is palpable, as is the humor of the final lines which convey a certain futility to his attempts to find some peace as his household follows behind him.

From Nagun, Nagarjun and Sankrityayan travel on to Dūngdā, marking yet another shift in the account that coincides with a literal fork in the road. One path leads to Garasū, the other Jamanotrī. As Nagarjun writes,

सुबह चौदह मील चलकर डूँडा आए। धरासू और जमनोत्री का रास्ता अलग हो गया था। इस चट्टी पर जो यात्री थे, उनमें स्त्रियों की ही संख्या अधिक थी। डूँडा में रोड़ पा लोगों के खाली मकान पड़े हुए थे। वे गर्मी तिब्बती सीमांत के पास बिताते हैं और सर्दी यहाँ बिताते हैं। उनकी खानाबदेशी बस अब यहीं तक सीमित रह गई है।

Having covered 14 miles in the morning, we arrived in Dūngdā. The road to Garasū and Jamanotrī broke off. At the *caṭṭī* (resting place) more than half were women. In Dūngdā, there were empty houses of people of the Rongpā all around. They spend summers near the border of Tibet and the winters here. Their nomadic life (*khānābadeśī*) is between here and there.⁴⁹⁵

Such *caṭṭī*, or resting spots, are another site of social engagement throughout the text. Nagarjun comments on the number of women resting in the area described above. In his description of

⁴⁹³ *Baliyā nivāsī*, plays nicely with *rātri nivāsī* from the previous line.

⁴⁹⁴ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 229–230.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

previous resting areas, he addressed pervasive casteism or the economic realities of the region. In Dūṅgdā we also get our first glimpse of a nomadic landscape defined by the seasonal movement of the Rongpas. The term Nagarjun uses is “*khānābadeśī*,” charting a nomadic lifestyle between the boarder of Tibet and Dūṅgdā.

Once in Uttarkāśī, Dhananand, discussed above, departs. Nagarjun is concerned about their ability to prepare their meals, but, as he continues, “a *pahārī* Brāhmaṇ” makes arrangements for their meals to be prepared with any supplies they bring for their meals.⁴⁹⁶ The travelers spend their first night in Uttarkāśī in a Birla *dharmśala*. Such guest houses were built by the Birla family across India starting in the 1930s. They are part of an expansive network of temples, schools, clock towers, and other religious structures. The travelers would have seen one such tower in Haridwar where they start their account, as well as the Birla funded projects in Sarnath, Bodh Gaya, Kushinagar, Varanasi, New Delhi, and Mumbai, among other places. Taken together, these projects embody a concerted effort by prominent Indian leaders to construct a Hindu nationalist vision of India as a unified political and religious territory, or *ārya bhūmī*.⁴⁹⁷ Sankrityayan has written quite scathingly of the Birla efforts, commenting on the temple the family sponsored in Kushinagar as an attempt to curb the growing number of conversions of lower caste Indians to other religions.⁴⁹⁸

Nagarjun and Sankrityayan only spend one night in the Birla *dharmśala* before moving to a house in the “Punjabi-Sindhī area.”⁴⁹⁹ According to Nagarjun, Uttarkāśī is also the location of the final *dākkhana* (dak bungalow) in the north of India, once again signaling the edge of one cultural field and the beginning of another. As discussed in Chapter 1, *dākkhana* embody historical efforts to define and map the region, offering an administrative network for surveyors, travelers, and government officials.⁵⁰⁰ At this point in the trip, the route forward is less clear. Sankrityayan takes some time to write while Nagarjun studies Tibetan. They also examine a map of the area:

उत्तरकाशी में हम कुल बीस दिन रहे। राहुलजी ने ‘नए भारत के नए नेता’ का अधिकांश भाग यहीं तैयार किया। गँवार नाम का एक उपन्यास भी उन्होंने आरंभ किया था, परंतु चालीस पृष्ठ लिखकर उस रद्दी करार दिया। मैं अपना सारा समय तिब्बती पढ़ने में लगाता था। इसके अलावा पश्चिमी तिब्बत

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ I explore this topic in greater detail in “Buddhism and the Making of Modern India,” PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2018. See also Ober, *Reinventing Buddhism*. For more specific study of the temples funded by the Birla family, see: Marta Kudelska, Dorota Kamińska-Jones, Agnieszka Staszczuk, and Agata Świerżowska. *The Temple Road Towards a Great India: Birla Mandirs as a Strategy for Reconstructing Nation and Tradition* (Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2019).

⁴⁹⁸ “Maybe some knuckleheads (*aundhī khopariyon*) thought that if you threw twenty-five [or] fifty-thousand rupees at the site, you could turn the anti-caste, atheist, self-supporting Buddhists into Hindus.” Sankrityayan speaking about the Birla funded temple in Kushinagar as quoted in Ober, “Reinventing Buddhism,” 214.

⁴⁹⁹ Ahir, *Buddhism in North India and Pakistan*.

⁵⁰⁰ Nagarjun is traveling here through an area of India that had been the focus of considerable attention. See: n.a., *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma, and Ceylon* (London: John Murray, 1901); Thomas W. Webber, *The Forests of Upper India and their Inhabitants* (London: Edward Arnold, 1902); Isabelle Sacareau, “Himalayan Hill Stations from the British Raj to Indian Tourism.” *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 31 (2007): 30-47; Samuel James Caddick, “The Construction of Anglo-Indian Spaces in Middlebrow Works of Raj fiction, 1880-1914,” PhD dissertation, Liverpool John Moores University, 2020.

के मार्गों का सही अंदाज़ पाने के लिए हिमालय के नक्शों की छानबीन करनी ही पड़ती थी। यहाँ पता लगा कि गंगोत्री से थोलीङ् आठ दिन में पहुँचा जा सकता है। लेकिन रास्ता विकट है।

We spent a total of 20 days in Uttarakashi. Rahul-ji completed the majority of ‘Nae Bārat ke nae Neta’ here. *Gangvār* was the name of a novel he also started, but after writing 40 pages, he scrapped it. As for myself, I spent the entire time studying Tibetan. In addition, we had to study a map of the Himalayas in order to figure out the best way to reach Southern Tibet. From this we came to know that we could reach Tho Ling from Gangotri in eight days. But the way was daunting.⁵⁰¹

In *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, Sankrityayan argues that one advantage of wandering is the geographic knowledge gained through travel. Here, we see that in action. Not only do Nagarjun and he study existing maps, at one point during the trip, Sankrityayan spends an entire day preparing a new map for Nagarjun to use on his travels into Tibet. Nagarjun writes about it with some delight, commenting that, “On [the map,] all of Uttarākand’s roads, Kailash, Mansorovar’s circuit, Leh (Ladakh), Spiti, Tho Ling, Gatank and the region of central Tibet were all indicated.”⁵⁰² Once again, Sankrityayan’s knowledge is contrasted with the relative lack of accurate information available about the region. The description also marks the confluence of several assessments of the landscape, bringing together geographic, literary, and personal reflections in his travel account. In a manner that moves between the technical and the personal, Nagarjun samples and responds to the environments he moves through and the people he meets.

Returning to his critique of religious sadhus in the area, Nagarjun includes highlights from interviews they conducted with several well-known sadhus in the area. Taken collectively, they showcase an organized and highly networked group of religious figures whose livelihood depends on their ability to attract pilgrims and tourists. The first sadhu Nagarjun discusses is Tapovan Swami. As Nagarjun recounts:

दक्षिण भारत (शायद मलाबार) के तपोवन स्वामी यहाँ के साधुओं में काफ़ी प्रतिष्ठित कहे जाते हैं। एक दिन हम दोनों उनसे मिलने गए। देखा, संस्कृत और अंग्रेज़ी धड़ल्ले के साथ बोलते हैं। रुचि और सामर्थ्य की थाह पाकर ग्राहकों को माल सप्लाई करने की कला साधु-संतों में भी होती है, यह चतुर संन्यासी इस बात का सबूत था...तपोवन स्वामी के साथ कई और साधु रहते हैं, वेदाणत का अध्ययन-अध्यापन होता ही रहता है। राहुलजी भी ख़ूब हैं, जब तक वहाँ बैठे रहे, स्वामी महाराज की चेष्टा, आकार-इंगित आदि का अध्ययन करते रहे, अपने को ज़ब्त रखा, मानो उपन्यास का मशाला बटोरते रहे।

Coming from Southern India (perhaps Malabar) Tapovan Swami is said to be quite well known amongst the sadhus here. One day we both went to meet him. Look, he fluently spoke Sanskrit and English. Having ascertained the depth of their interest (*ruci*) and competence (*sāmarthy*), the art of supplying goods to customers *grāhakon* also takes place among sadhus and saints, this clever sanyāsī was proof of that...Many other sadhus also stayed with Tapovan Swami, just studying and studying the Vedas (*vedānt*). Rahul-ji is just incredible (*khūb*). All the while was sitting in front of the sadhu, he kept himself

⁵⁰¹ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 230.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*

engaged in observing the sadhu's demeanor and posture, as if collecting spice for a novel.⁵⁰³

Nagarjun explores the theme of the “clever *sanyāsī*” in more detail in *Jamāniyā kā Bābā* (*The Holyman from Jamaniya*), in which the main character excels at leveraging people's faith for his own gain. In their introduction to the English translation of the work, Ram Dayal Muda, Paul Staneslow and Mark Johnson stress that *Jamāniyā kā Bābā* is representative of Nagarjun's contributions to the literary Progressivism to emerge from the formation of the Progressive Writers' Association in 1935. As with his other works, *Jamāniyā kā Bābā*, is oriented towards “a common Indian social problem,” namely the issue of the “false sadhu.”⁵⁰⁴ Nagarjun's work, however, is distinguished by “his portrayal of localized, regional, culture-bound events and characters. The same can be said about the landscape and the language used by the characters.”⁵⁰⁵

Nagarjun proceeds to relate two other interviews, first with Swami Anand and then Pragyanath. Both two sadhus are distinguished for their learning, as well as their extensive travels. As he relates,

दूसरे थे स्वामी आनंद। इंग्लैण्ड, जर्मनी घूमकर अब ग्यारह वर्ष से उत्तरकाशी में रह रहे हैं। स्वामी रामतीर्थ का शिष्यत्व और विदेशों का पर्यटन – आपके जीवन की यहीं दो विशेषताएँ हैं। तीसरे साधु जो मिले, उनका नाम था प्रज्ञानाथ। वह बंगाली और गोरखपंथी थे। उन्हें बंगला में गूढ़-से-गूढ़ विषयों पर लिखते रहने की सनक है। कैलाश-मानसरोवर की प्रदक्षिण कर आए हैं, इसीलिए मार्ग संबंधी सूचना उनसे थोड़ी बहुत अवश्य मिल गई।

The second was Swami Anand. Having wandered (*ghumakkar*) through England and Germany, he had now been living in Uttarkāśī for eleven years. Being a disciple of Swāmi Rāmtīrth's and foreign tours (*videśon kā paryāṭan*)—these are the two special characteristics of his life.

The third sadhu we met, his name was Pragyanath. He was Bengali and Gorakpanthī. He has this eccentricity (*sanak*) of writing in Bengali on the most esoteric subjects. He has done the circumambulation (*pradakṣinā*) of Kailash Mansarovar, so from him we got some information about the route.⁵⁰⁶

Swami Anand's “foreign tours,” *videśon kā paryāṭan*, and Pragyanath's *pradakṣinā*, “circumambulation,” of Kailash Mansarovar, are presented as seminal to their status as sadhus. This echoes Victor Turner's notion of pilgrimage as an act that both elevates and distinguishes a member of a given community. It also reinforces the idea that travel deepens one's regional understanding and knowledge. Both Anand and Pragyanath give Nagarjun and Sankrityayan helpful travel tips, which they follow up with later in the account. Pragyanath, offers some advice on the route, while Anand appears repeatedly throughout the rest of the piece as someone who suggested temples and statues for Sankrityayan and Nagarjun to visit.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 231.

⁵⁰⁴ Nagarjun, *Jamāniyā kā Bābā* (Nayī Dillī: Vāñī Prakāśan, 1968), 9.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 231.

In his study of “Yātrā politics,” Christophe Jaffrelot draws on the work of Victor Turner to consider the kinds of communities, or *communitas*, that informed the use of “travel” and “pilgrimage” as part of Hindu nationalist visions of India. Writing about famous Hindu pilgrimage sites such as Gangotri, Jaffrelot argues that “since holy places are on the periphery of the sacred domain, the routes followed by the faithful enable them to embrace the entire sacred space. It also corroborates Turner’s theory likening these rituals to *communitas*.”⁵⁰⁷ The period Jaffrelot is discussing overlaps with Sankrityayan and Nagarjun’s travels, describing a similar moment when the geography of India was increasingly being defined by religious limits and visions of the nation.⁵⁰⁸ Nagarjun’s account does bring parts of India’s outer limits into the Hindi public sphere. It does so by celebrating its bumpy edges of the region, highlighting colloquialisms, customs, idiosyncratic and entangled histories. Related to this, Nagarjun’s travel route runs transversal to the major pilgrimage routes that Jaffrelot argues were a way to narrativize a cohesive national imaginaire. Nagarjun and Sankrityayan’s trip often traverses, rather than follows, such routes. Furthermore, Nagarjun describes the landscape in such way that all communities and centers are transient fields, changing over time with the movement of materials, objects, new ideas, and people. In moving through and against pilgrimage routes, Nagarjun is able to trace certain historical and cultural patterns, offering a new perspective on them through Sankrityayan and his distinctive perspective as a traveler.

Like Sankrityayan and Kausalyayan, Nagarjun’s wanderings are bounded by his commitment to Hindi. Shyamshankar Singh goes as far as to link Nagarjun’s “wandering spirit” or *ghumakkar man*, with his interest in scripts, specifically Devanagari. Writing about Nagarjun’s travel account “*Sindh men satrah mahīne*” Singh highlights a moment in the text where Nagarjun laments that Urdu, rather than Hindi, is being promoted in government schools.⁵⁰⁹ As Nagarjun writes, “Due to its geographic situation, Sindh province is cut off from the rest of India, and on top of that, Arabic script has made it worse. It stands like a wall between Sindh and India.”⁵¹⁰ Nagarjun goes on to explore the linguistic links between Sindhi, Pali, Prakrit, and Sanskrit. Nagari, he argues, is able to capture more aspects of Sindhi. He goes on to lament that organizations like the Sahitya Sammelan and Nagari Pracharini have paid so little attention to the Sindh region, while acknowledging that the Rashtriya Bhasha Prachar Samiti (Wadera) has begun the work of promoting Hindi, but only “in the past 4-5 years.”⁵¹¹ Travel is presented as a force that bridges such gaps. It overcomes geographic, cultural, religious, and even linguistic barriers. In his position for Devanagari and Hindustani, however, Nagarjun’s wanderings take on a tone of proselytization. In “*Tiharī se Nelang*,” Nagarjun does not make such overt claims about language. Instead, he celebrates certain religious and literary lineages. His own literary associations, especially with Kalidasa, become clearer as Nagarjun moves higher into the Himalayas and is confronted with the grandeur of the natural landscape.

Nagarjun follows his description of Sankrityayan and his interviews with the sadhus above with a return to the natural beauty of the region. As with other authors discussed throughout this dissertation, such moments elicit more poetic descriptions. As they walk along the banks of the river, the “*kal-kal, chal chal*” of the river lulls him into poetic reverie:

⁵⁰⁷ Christopher Jaffrelot, “The Hindu Nationalist Reinterpretation of Pilgrimage in India: The Limits of *Yatra* Politics.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 15, no. 1 (2009); 4.

⁵⁰⁸ Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation*.

⁵⁰⁹ Singh, “Hindī Yātrā Sāhitya ko Nāgārjun kā Praday,” 166.

⁵¹⁰ Nagarjun, “Sindh men satrah mahīne,” *Racanāvalī* 6, edited by Shobha Kant, (Rājakamal Prakāśan, 2003), 122.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

उत्तरकाशी की प्राकृतिक सुषमा बहुत अच्छी है। दूर पहाड़ियों पर देवदार का जंगल अजीब छटा की सृष्टि करता है। जहाँ हम टिके थे, वहाँ से बिलकुल करीब थी गंगा। उसका कल-कल, छल-छह निशा के नीरव क्षणों में भी बधुर और भी स्फूर्तिप्रद बनकर इन कानों में प्रवेश करता। मैं उठकर घार के किनारे आ जाता और पत्थर पर बैठकर गुनगुनाने लगता :

सित दुकूल सम फेनपुंज से प्रावृत तब श्यामल काया
दूर देश से मेरे मन को खींच यहाँ पर ले आया
समा रहे हैं तरी कल-कल ध्वनि में शत-शत मनहर छंद
बैठा हूँ मैं कृष्ण क्षिला पर खोल कान आँख कर बंद।

The natural beauty of Uttarkāśī is magnificent. The Deodar trees on the mountains far away create a beguiling image (*ajīb chaṭā kī sr̥ṣṭi*). The river Ganga was very close to where we were staying. The *kal-kal*, *chal-chal* sweet sound of the river in the tranquility of the night would briskly enter these ears. I got up and came near the bank, and sitting on a rock, began to softly sing (*gunagunāne lagatā*):

Under a white silk cloth, your dark body is covered,
From a far-off country, it drew my mind to this place,
In your *kal-kal* sound, each one of my verses is absorbed,
I am sitting on the Krishna Rock with my ears open and eyes closed.⁵¹²

If there is a celebratory moment in the text, this is it. The author and landscape are in conversation through song. The passage conveys a sense of being pulled towards the banks of the river, as if Nagarjun is compelled by an inner force to “softly sing.” The onomatopoeia of the description, carries the sounds of the river into Nagarjun’s literary imagination, emerging first as a murmur, *gunagunānā*, and then as part of his account.

Nagarjun’s unique style, often grouped with that of Phanishwar Renu as part of a “regionalism” in Hindi literature, “is a direct result of the author’s travels and rich, diverse background in languages.”⁵¹³ “*Ṭihārī se Nelang*” is an account of those very journeys, giving his readers an insight into the experiences that informed later literary works. The account also conveys Nagarjun’s interest in documenting varying perspectives, dialects, literary associations, and landscapes. It is almost as if the account is a set of exploratory sketches grounded in Nagarjun’s experiences that might be picked up in later works. Nagarjun’s most well-known poem, “*Bādlon ko ghirte dekhā*” was written about this very landscape, celebrating the natural beauty of the area as a travelogue.⁵¹⁴ Instead of resting in a single spot,

⁵¹² *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 231. I am indebted to Murtaza Gandhi for his help translating this section.

⁵¹³ “The social problems that Nagarjun deals with are quite familiar to the Hindi reader: incompatible marriage (Visveshwari in his *Naya Pandha*, and Ugni in *Ugratar*); widowhood (Gauri in *Rathinath Ki Chachi*, and Campa in *Kumbhi Pak*); poor farmers and fishermen (Balchanma of *Balchanma*, and Mohan Maji of *Varun ke Bete*); false sadhus (the Baba in *Jamaniya Ka Baba*); and corrupt political leaders (Narpat Naravan Sighn in *Hirak Jayanti*). Nagarjun’s handling of these problems is unique, and this uniqueness stems from his portrayal of localized, regional, culture-bound events and characters. The same can be said about the landscape and the language used by the characters. This is a direct result of the author’s travels and rich, diverse background in languages.” Introduction to *Jamaniyā kā Bābā*, 9.

⁵¹⁴ Singh, “Hindī Yātrā Sāhitya ko Nāgārjun kā Pradey,” 162–169.

it takes the reader through a journey, following the gathering clouds as they circle and move across the natural beauty of the area.

Part of what makes “*Ṭihārī se Nelang*” interesting is that it seems unsure of exactly what mode of appreciation it wants to take. It moves between registers, just as easily as it moves between locales. In “Wandering Writers of the Himalayas,” Nicola Pozza argues that the Himalayas serve as an important literary trope in modern Hindi travel literature, a way to both facilitate a national imagination and to teach readers what it means to be a “good” traveler or tourist. As Pozza continues, there is a marked shift in how Hindi travel accounts address questions of “cultural inheritance” and cultural “contact” pre- and post-Independence India.⁵¹⁵ Drawing on Agyeya’s travel accounts from before 1947 and a collection of Hindi travel stories after Independence, Pozza argues that earlier travel narratives were deeply concerned with the limits of national imagination and the role of those living in the Himalayas as the “*inheritors and living witnesses* of the ancient and authentic Hindu civilization” and “stag[ing] the *contact*, or absence, *between these populations and the outsiders*, especially westerners” while later works often avoided many of these same issues.⁵¹⁶ Drawing on the work of Mary Pratt, we can understand the Himalayas as a particularly potent “contact zone” in Hindi travel accounts.⁵¹⁷ Not only does it reflect long traditions of epic literature and poetic expression, the Himalayas also embody the complex social, cultural, and political tensions of the region. Pozza concludes that, despite differences in the handling of the Himalayas in pre and post-independence literature, there is a common literary “trope” that is consistent throughout all the texts he considers: “the Himalayas seen first and foremost as a lasting, although changing topos for renunciation and liberation.”⁵¹⁸ Here Nagarjun’s work is quite distinct. “*Ṭihārī se Nelang*” does not present the Himalayas as a landscape of renunciation. Instead through an interrogation of the knowledge and manners of those in the region, Nagarjun highlights the challenges and rampant social issues in the area, from economic and social challenges, to the cunning salesmanship of sadhus from across India. This helps distinguish the author as a traveler, in comparison to a tourist or a pilgrim, both of which come to the area with different objectives.

Pozza’s study is informed by the research of Nandini Chandra who argues that new travel narratives published in children’s periodicals between 1920s and 1950s were written “to make disciplined tourists, to orient them towards a love of the country and the rural in tandem with a national reformist agenda.”⁵¹⁹ This begins to suggest ways of seeing Nagarjun’s text in conversation with the other texts considered so far in this dissertation, notably Kausalyayan’s *Bhikṣu ke Patra* and Sankrityayan’s *Ghumakkar Śāstra*. Kausalyayan’s work offers a pedagogic model premised on changing perceptions of Buddhist traditions and monastic communities across South and Southeast Asia for an emerging Buddhist Hindi Public. Sankrityayan, in contrast, moves away from a strict Buddhist framework to consider a historical tradition of wandering as emerging from the region and as a model for development and modernization. In many ways, Nagarjun’s work falls between these two approaches, moving away from an image

⁵¹⁵ A few questions guide Pozza’s study: “How do the writers deal with the nationalist notion of the Himalayan populations being the *inheritors and living witnesses* of the ancient and authentic Hindu civilization? How do they represent the *specificity* of the hill cultures? And how do they depict and “stage” the *contact*, or its absence, *between these populations and the outsiders*, especially westerners?” Pozza, “Wandering Writers in the Himalaya,” 55.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

⁵¹⁸ Pozza, “Wandering Writers in the Himalaya,” 55.

⁵¹⁹ Nandini Chandra, “The Pedagogic Imperative of Travel Writing in the Hindi World: Children’s Periodicals (1920–1950).” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 296.

of the wanderer as a Buddhist monk to instead focus on the figure of the traveler as an author and commentator.

As Nagarjun and Sankrityayan move further north, the boundaries between Tibet and India blur, and the impressions of Tibetan culture become more evident. As Nagarjun writes about one temple they visit:

परशुराम मंदिर के पास एक और मंदिर है। दत्तात्रेय मंदिर। बहुत छोटा होने के कारण हमने इसे छोड़ दिया था परंतु स्वामी आनंद के कहने पर पीछे वहाँ गए। पीतल की त्रिभंगी प्रतिमा, बुद्ध (अवलोकितेश्वर) की। और लोग उसे दत्तोत्रेय कहकर पूज रहे थे! उसकी पाद-पीठिका पर तिब्बती लिपि में लिखा था—‘ल्ह ब्वुन-प न ग रज इ थु व स’ [देव भट्टारक नागराज की (बनाई हुई) मुनि (बुद्ध) प्रतिमा]।

There is another temple near the Parsuram Temple. The Dattātreyā Temple. It was a very small temple so we did not go there but when Swami Anand advised us, we went back there. There was a *tribhaṅgī* brass statue, of Buddha (Avalokiteshvara). And these people here worshiped it saying it was Dattātreyā. On the pedestal of the statue ‘*lha bcun-pa nag a ra ja i thu va sa*’ was written in Tibetan language [Dev Bhattarak Nagraj (created) idol of Muni (Buddha)].⁵²⁰

This small inscription, written on the back of the pedestal of a statue, prompts Nagarjun to reflect on the longer history of the region and the etymology of the name Uttarkāśī in the various languages,

नागराज पच्छिमी तिब्बत के शासक ज्ञान प्राभु के (11 वीं सदी) दो राजकुमारों में से एक थे। मालूम पड़ता है, उस समय उत्तरकाशी तक भोटियों का राज्य था। तिब्बती इतिहास में इस बात का उल्लेख है कि ज्ञानप्राभु को किसी पड़ोसी राजा ने कैद पर लिया था। राजकुमार ने विजेता को काफ़ी सोना देकर अपने पिता को छुड़ाना चाहा, परणतु बंदी ने धूटने से इन्कार कर दिया। उसने अपने पुत्र को कहला भेजा—‘यह सोना भारत से किसी महापंडित को बुलाने में खर्च करो। मैं अब बूढ़ा हुआ, यहीं जेल में मर जाऊँगा तो क्या हर्ज है?’

Nāgarāj was one of the two princes of Gyān Prabhu the ruler of western Tibet (11th century). We came to know that in those days the Bhotiya Rule extended as far as Uttarkāśī. In Tibetan history it is mentioned that Gyān Prabhu was imprisoned by the ruler of a neighboring region. The prince offered a large army to the winning king in exchange for releasing his father, but the prisoner [Gyān Prabhu] refused to be released. He sent a message to his sons, ‘Send the army to call a Maha Pundit from India. I have grown old now, what difference will it make if I die in this prison?’⁵²¹

The fact that Nagarjun does not speak directly to the influence of Buddhism in the region is suggestive of how he approaches Buddhism more broadly in his work. During the 1940s, Nagarjun and Sankrityayan’s connection to Buddhism was increasingly tenuous. By the 1950s

⁵²⁰ Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan, 232.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

both had moved away from Buddhism into a more concerted focus on wandering and Marxist theories. However, the perspective both gained from their study of Buddhism and engagement in Buddhist networks continued to frame their ideological critiques of religion, caste, and class in India. It also influenced their approach to international relations in the region. In “Buddhist Dialectics,” Sankrityayan writes, “Buddhism fervently advocated the brotherhood of man without any distinction of race, country, or caste. The principle of coexistence embodied in the *panch shila* was put into practice by Buddhism. And its missionaries in foreign lands never even dreamt of destroying the culture of any nation.”⁵²²

Rather than reify a fixed boarder between Tibet and India, “*Ṭihārī se Nelang*” blurs the cultural and historical affinities between them by focusing on the nomadic lifestyle of the Rongpas. As he writes, “They are of Tibetan descent. Facial features are like Mongols.”⁵²³ Nagarjun seems interested in their business of conveying and trading in goods such as “grains, sugar, jaggery, matches [match box], knives, scissors, cotton clothes and bring back pashmina, wool, *suhāgā*, deer-skin, *pangā*, salt, etc.”⁵²⁴ He ends his discussion of the Rongpas by noting how they have often been marginalized in the region resulting in the classification as “outsiders” within the caste system. As he writes, “Earlier in the Tehri state, these people, as well as people of the lower castes were deprived of the right of building a *pakka makan*, but that is not the case now.”⁵²⁵

By this point in the account, Nagarjun seems fascinated by the multiple valences of religious engagement: the image of the “Bengali ascetic” gives way to the approachable image of a man eating and chatting with those on the path. At a local hot spring, Nagarjun recounts a jovial and bawdy exchange over the origins of the hot water:

गंगनाणी में गर्म पानी का चश्मा है। उसमें एक-एक करके हम नहाए। एक पहाड़ी ने कहा—‘यहाँ भगवान शंकर ने लघुशंका की थी, यह वही जल है।’ लेकिन पंडों ने उसे डाट दिया और कहा—‘वशिष्ठ और पराशर ने तप किया था, इसलिए पानी गर्म है।’ परंतु हमारी हँसी से प्रोत्साहन पाकर पहाड़ी ने भी पंडों को फटकारा—‘गरम पानी के पास बैठकर ठंडि झूठ क्यों बोलते हो?’

सभी ने भभाकर हँस दिया।

There is a hot water spring in Gangnani. One after the other we all took bath in it. One local person told us—‘Lord Shiva (*bhagavān śankar*) urinated (*laguśankā*) at this place; this is the same water.’ But the Pundits scolded him and said—‘Vasiṣṭ and Parāshar did penance here, that is why the water is hot.’ But, encouraged by our laughter, the *phāṛī* (local resident) also chided the *pandas*—‘Sitting next to hot water, why are you saying cold lies?’

Everyone broke out in laughter.⁵²⁶

Nagarjun’s account is filled with such droll moments often brought on by a clever play of words. More than just passing comments, such descriptions highlight the ability of pilgrims and travelers to move between religious and profane registers in describing the same site.

⁵²² Sankrityayan, “Buddhist Dialectics,” 3.

⁵²³ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 233.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 233.

Furthermore, it is often the humor and food, rather than the particular sanctity of a place, that connects travelers in his account.

Nagarjun does not present the terrain as a fully idealized religious territory. Nor is it a lyric landscape that one might find solely in fiction or poetry—though it certainly has its moments of inspiration. The reality of pilgrims and pilgrimage towns is more complex, and Nagarjun's account folds in discussions of politics and economics into his reflections on the beauty of the region. As the travelers get closer to Gangotri, the landscape changes once again. Nagarjun is particularly enchanted by the beauty of the snow-covered mountains and the pine forests there:

हरसिल से गंगोत्री सिर्फ अठारह मील पर है। बीच में एक जगह, भैरों घाटी में कड़ी चढ़ाई है। धराली आठ हजार फीट की ऊँचाई पर है। देवदार, कैल और दूसरे कई वनस्पतियों के गगनचुंबी दरख्त और उनसे पटी किमाच्छन्न चोटियाँ धराली को सषमा का अनुपम भंडार बन डालती हैं। यहीं गंगा गी प्रखर धार में एक टाँग पर खड़े होकर जप करते हुए किसी बंगाली वैरागी को देखा। वह सुबह से लेकर दोपहर तक गंगा में एक टाँग खड़ा होकर जप करता है और उसके बाद एकभुक्त और फिर आए-गए लोगों से गप-शप।

Gangotri is only 18 miles from Harsil. In between, there is a steep climb in the Bhairo Ghati. Dharali is at the height of 8000 feet. Sky-touching trees of Deodar, Kale and other varieties and their snowflake covered peaks makes Dharali look like a treasure of natural beauty comparable to none. Here we saw a Bengali ascetic standing on one leg in the middle of the fast-flowing Ganga river and reciting mantras and meditating. From morning till noon, he stands in the river on one foot and recites mantras and after he eats his single meal of the day and chats with people going back and forth.⁵²⁷

As Nagarjun continues, the sounds and rhythms of the mountain area increasingly merged with the economic realities of those who live there. As he writes:

धराली से गंगोत्री तेरह मील है। दुपहर में चले और शाम को पहुँच गए। रास्ते में भोज के पेड़ भी देखे। जंगलों से रियासत को काफ़ी आमदनी है। सुना, कोई पंजाबी ठेके पर लिए हुए हैं और सके बराहिल पेड़ कटवाकर तख़्ता चिरवाक मैदानी इलाकों में भेजते रहते हैं। सैकड़ों पहाड़ी मज़दूर जंगलों में फैले हुए थे। कुल्हाड़ी और आड़ों की ठक्क-ठक्क सर्र-सर्र से भागीरथी की मुखरित धार और भी मुखरित हो रही थी। भैरों गाटी के एक तरफ़ से भागीरथी गंगा (गोमुखी से निकलकर) आई हैं और दूसरी तरफ़ से भोट गंगा आकर उसमें मिलती है। भागीरथी का जल चिकनी मिट्टी के रंग जैसा है और भोट गंगा का काँच जैसा हरा। यहाँ अपने 'कैलाश दशक' से एक श्लोक उद्धृत कर देना

Gangotri is 13 miles from Dharali. We started at noon and arrived by evening and we saw Bhoj trees on the way. The state generates a lot of income from the forests. We have heard that a Punjabi has taken this region on a contract. His men cut the trees make slabs and planks and send them to the plains. Hundreds of laborers from the mountains are spread in these forests. The *tak-tak* sounds of the axe and *āṇḍo* make

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 234.

the noisy flow of the Bhagirathi river even noisier. From one side of the Bhairi Ghati comes the Bhagirathi river [originating from Gomukhi] and flowing from the other side the Bhot Ganga river joins. The color of the water of Bhagirathi is like sticky mud and the water of Bhot Ganga is like glass.⁵²⁸

Following the course of the river, Nagarjun traces his path and his reflections into his own poetry. In the above lines, the economic value of the forest leads Nagarjun to consider the workers who harvest the wood. Lulled by the sound of their hammers, he follows the sounds of axes to chart the coming together of the Bhagirathi and the Bhot Ganga. They merge in the lines of his poetry which celebrate the soot of the earth as it changes the color of the river water. It is a poetic image, one that finds beauty in the grit of the scenery as it rushes with the rivers.

A member of the Progressive Writers's Movement in India, Nagarjun is often described as a Socialist realist. We see that in the above descriptions and the way in which he merges aesthetic and literary considerations with social considerations. The two come together in such accounts, offering a technique for developing new material and social commentary through new literary works. In "Realism in Marxism," Anil Bhatti describes "Marxian aesthetics" as "an *on-going process*," one that is constantly struggling between "political demands and aesthetic concerns."⁵²⁹ Like Sankrityayan, Nagarjun's work celebrates processes, rather than destinations or products. Their travel accounts are on-going reflections that celebrate the dynamic and evolving landscapes they travel through. A key focus of Marxist realism, according to Bhatti, is a link between "the product" and "the means for production." As Bhatti continues, "it must not only create its tradition and teach other writers, but also place an improved apparatus at their disposal."⁵³⁰ Considered in this light, Nagarjun's travel accounts provide an interesting case study, a model for the production of new works and a related tradition of wandering. This is similar to Sankrityayan's writings which seek to explore wandering and travel as an on-going process that celebrates curiosity and discovery.

More than just a manner or mode of production, like the other authors discussed throughout this dissertation, Nagarjun's work seeks to produce new publics. Bhatti describes this as a form of "material aesthetics" in which new forms of production create publics that are able to appreciate new artistic works and aesthetics. Through poetry that focuses on the mundane, Nagarjun famously helped usher in a new aesthetics in Hindi literature. Works such as *Pakā hai yah kaṭahal* (This Jackfruit is Ripe) are a celebration of the jackfruit in Maithili. Other poems such as *Āo Rāni* (Come Queen), are more overtly political. As mentioned above, his travel writings move through various registers, at times highlighting the mundane, while at other moments commenting on social and economic conditions. In still other moments, he seems caught up in poetic imagination and literary allusion. Each of these references, though, speaks to the kinds of readers and public he imagines will relate and engage with his work. As discussed in the introduction, the authors discussed in this dissertation are interested in writing about and for a broader reading public—the masses, *log*, *bahujan*. Nagarjun in particular sought to do this through his language, topic, and style. By incorporating various dialectics into his work and celebrating the idiosyncrasies of various characters throughout the account, he seeks to expand the breath and scope of Hindi literature, imagining a broader, and more idiosyncratic public.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 234. Translated with the aid of Murtaza Gandhi.

⁵²⁹ Anil Bhatti, "Realism in Marxism," *Social Scientists* 8, no. 5/6 (Dec. 1979–Jan. 1980): 30.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 39.

As the wanderers move further into the mountains towards Gangotri, Nagarjun describes an expanding terrain. It is a religious landscape that was once inaccessible but now made more accessible by better roads and new modes of transportation. In “*Tiharī se Nelang*” we see such an expansion in their travels as well. As they move up further into the mountains, they experience temples that serve as outposts for various communities, specifically from India and Tibet. At the Ganga temple, for example, tourists have begun to make their way up into the mountains, and as such their perception has begun to change. As Nagarjun writes,

गंगोत्री पहले बहुत दुर्गम थी, इधर साठ-सत्तर से लोग वहाँ जाने लगे हैं। उसमें पहले यादा-कदा कोई साधु-संत आ गए। मुखवा पंडों का गाँव है। वहीं के पंडे गंगा मंदिर के पुजारी हैं। जाड़े के दिनों में ये लोग गंगा-जल लेकर नीचे उतर जाते हैं और सभी प्रांतों में फेल जाते हैं। गंगोत्री का गंगा जल कितना दुर्लभ है? कितना पवित्र है? कैसा महँगा बिकता होगा, आप खुद अंदाज लगा लीजिए। इससे इन ब्रह्माणों को काफ़ी आय हो जाती है। यहीं इन सबकी जीविका है। शिक्षा का प्रबंध नहीं रहने से इन लोगों के बच्चे इधर-उधर चलते रहते हैं। खेती बहुत कम होती है।

Gangotri used to be inaccessible. It was only in the past 60-70 years that people started coming here. The chance *sadhus* and *sants* were the firsts among those to arrive. Mukhavā is a village of *paṇḍa*. The *paṇḍa* of Mukhva are the priests (*pūjārī*) of the Gangā temple. In winter, they carry *gangā-jal* down from the mountains, sending it to different regions. How rare is the *gangā-jal* from Gangotri (the mouth of the river Ganga)? How pure (*pavitr*) is it? How much does it sell for; make your own guess. The Brahmins make a lot of money from this. This is their entire livelihood. Because of a lack of education, their children keep moving here and there. There is very little farming.⁵³¹

A lack of education heightens the financial need of the local priests. Without active farming, the text suggests, what options do these Brahmins have but to pedal holy water? As the travelers reach the limits of a certain religious and cultural imaginaire, the landscape shifts again, becoming increasingly unfamiliar:

अब हम भैरवघाटी से बिल्कुल अलग हो गए थे। देवदार के मनोरम जंगलों में से होकर रास्ता था। परंतु कुछ ही दूर बाद कड़ी उतराई आई। मुश्किल से हम भोट गंगा के कछार में उतरे। इसी के किनारे-किनारे थोलीङ् जाना होगा। शाम हो गई थी। घोर निर्जन में हमारी वह रात कटी। जंगली बथुए का साग और किचड़ी से पेट पूजा हुई थी। भोट गंगा यहाँ से गिरती थी, शिलाओं पर आहत होकर उसकी तरंगें छोटी-छोटी फुहियाँ में उड़ती थीं। उन फुहियों से सिक्त होते समय मुझे कालिदास याद आए। घोड़ी भी रात-भर धुनी के पास खड़ी रही। उसे चरने के लिए कोल दिया गया था, फिर भी वह कहीं गई नहीं! इस एकांत अरण्यनी में भूरे और काले भालू बहुतायत से पाए जाते हैं। कभी-कभी तेंदुआ भी निकल आता है। उन्हीं की गंध से घोड़ी चरने नहीं गई। आग के पास खड़ी रही।

Now we had become completely separated from *Bhairava Ghātī*. The road went through delightful (*manoram*) forests of Deodar. But, after a little while, there

⁵³¹ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 235.

was a steep downhill. With great difficulty, we walked down to the banks of the Bhot Ganga. We would have to reach Tho Ling on following the edge of the river. It was already night. Our night was spent in an utterly desolate place. We filled out stomachs (*peṭ-pūjā*) with wild *bathua* and *khichḍi*. Bhot Ganga river was falling from above, the water crashed on to the rocks and created a very fine mist. While getting wet with that spray I remembered Kālidās. The horse also spent the entire night standing by the fire. She was set free to graze, but she did not go anywhere! In this remote region (*ekānt aranyani*), brown and black bears are found everywhere. Sometimes leopards also come out. The horse didn't graze because of their smell. She stood near the fire.⁵³²

In a footnote, Nagarjun comments that the lyric by Kālidāsa he remembered is from “*Kumārasambhava*.” Here we see Nagarjun making the unknown known through an association with familiar literature. His disquiet though is mirrored in the landscape around him and in the horse who chooses to stay close to the fire.

The cultural geography of the area continues to change. Nagarjun indicates this first with small finds and details—an archaeological find that spoke of Tibet's influence in the area, or the inclusion of mantras in Tibetan to help visiting pilgrims—and later through the more sweeping influence of traders and nomads in the area. Next the food begins to change. In the above, *khichḍi* is served with “wild *bathua*” before finally giving way to “*sattu*” and “salty tea.”⁵³³ “As they reach “summer houses of the Rongpa,”⁵³⁴ Nagarjun continues:

नेलङ् का रंग-ढग बिलकुल तिब्बती है। एक गोन्पा (विहार) भी था – मगर अब उसका भग्नावशेष मात्र मौजूद है। रोङ्पा लोग हिंदुओं के बीच अपने को राजपूत कहते हैं और भोटियों के बीच भोटिया। ब्राह्मणों को भी अपना गुरु बताते हैं और लामाओं को भी।

जिस दिन पहुँचे, उस रात आलू और पहाड़ी कुरमुत्ते का साग बना था। उसमे जिम्बू (तिब्बती प्याज, डालचा) भी पड़ा था। अपूर्व स्वाद था उसका। यह जिम्बू इधर इतना-इतना लोकप्रिय है कि सुखा-सुखाकर इसका पत्ता लोग झोली में रखते हैं और तरकारी में मसाले की तौर पर बरतते हैं।

Nelang is completely Tibetan in *rang-dhang* (manner and custom). One Gongpa (vihar) was also there – but now only its ruins remain. Rongpas call themselves Rajput when they are amidst Hindus and when they are amidst Bhotiya they call themselves Bhotiyā. They call Brahmans as their *Guru* and they call Lamas also as their *Guru*.

The day we arrived potatoes and wild mushrooms were cooked for dinner. It had Jimbu (Tibetan Onion, Dalcha). The taste was unique. This Jimbu is so popular

⁵³² Ibid., 236.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. See also: Rinzin Thargyal, *Nomads of Eastern Tibet: Social Organization and Economy of a Pastoral Estate in the Kingdom of Dege* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Tenzin Wangmo, and Pamela B. Teaster. “The Bridge from Then to Now: Tibetan Elders Living in Diaspora.” *Journal of Applied Gerontology* 29, no. 4 (2010): 434-454; Prem Singh Jina, “Bhotias of Nepal: A Socio-Economic and Cultural Study.” *Recent Researches on the Himalaya* (1997): 74-77.

here that people keep its dried leaves in their bags and add as *Masala* in their meals.⁵³⁵

While fording the Bhot Gana river, Nagarjun's horse gets swept onto a small bank. She is stranded there for several days until a group of "*bhotiyā*" manage to rescue her by "[tying] themselves together by their waists and entering the river and reached the horse."⁵³⁶ Nagarjun remains in Nelang for an extra ten days as he waits for the horse to be rescued and to regain her health before they continue on towards Tholing. During this period, Sankrityayan decides to leave for another journey. As Nagarjun writes,

तब तक राहुलजी ने अपना विचहार बदल दिया। घोड़ी समेत वह हरसिल लौट आए और मैं थोलिङ जानेवाले किसी व्यापारी कि प्रतीक्षा में नेलङ ही रह गया।

By this time Rahul-ji had changed his mind. Along with the horse he returned to Harsil and I stayed back in Nelang waiting for some businessmen heading towards Tholing.⁵³⁷

After the tense description of the stranded horse and efforts to rescue her, the account ends rather abruptly in Nelang. The ending calls to mind the similarly curt ending of Kausalyayan's first letter from Sri Lanka, where an accident prompts Kausalyayan to end his narrative with a quick summation of the remainder of his trip. Nagarjun writes about the remainder of his journey and time in Tho Ling in "*Tho-Ling Mahāvihār*," which he publishes in *Saraswati* in 1944, two years before publishing "*Tiharī se Nelang*."

It is worth taking a moment to consider the timing of Nagarjun's travels from "*Tiharī se Nelang*" and onto Tho-Ling. The trip itself is only three years after Anand Kausalyayan publishes *Bhikṣu ke Patra*. Published in 1946, just one year before India's independence, the same year as Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* (1946), and two years before Sankrityayan's *Ghummaṁ Śāstra* (published in 1948). It seems a spirit of wandering was in the air, swirling around budding conceptions of the nation and regional identity. As discussed in previous chapters, this interest in travel as part of a national imagination was linked to discovering Buddhism, and the "soil of India." Nagarjun's work does not articulate a clear thesis argument around this. However, it does comment on the incredible flux at the regional level. Globally, the world has been thrown into war, causing a shift in dynamic and international perceptions. Nationally, India is moving towards becoming an independent nation. Nagarjun's account considers these shifts somewhat obliquely along his appraisal of his localized experiences and historical understanding of the region gained through travel. Returning to William's "structures of feeling," Nagarjun's work embodies dynamic and fraught moments of institutional critique, as old social formations give way to new ones. His travels seek to find evidence for changing social and political realities alongside historical inquiry and a literary attunement to the culture and the landscape. Seeking a deeper understanding of India's history, Nagarjun travels to Sri Lanka and Tibet, studying Pali and Tibetan. What he learns informs his written works and social action.

⁵³⁵ *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*, 236.

⁵³⁶ "I had to stay in Nelang for 10 days. An accident had taken place therefore, Rahul-ji returned and I alone went to Tibet. The accident was that, while crossing the Bhot Ganga river the horse got pulled away by the flow of the water and for 2 days it was stranded on the small bank on the riverside." *Ibid.*, 237.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

Traveling, or more precisely, wandering becomes an emotional register, the “structures of feeling” through which Nagarjun navigates and expands his own conception of region. His travel accounts aim to share that with a broader Hindi public.

Between a Struggle and a Journey

There was an emerging trend around the turn of the twentieth century for leading figures to write autobiographical works that explore travel as the basis for emancipation and development. As Javed Majeed writes in his study of the works of Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Muhammad Iqbal, “It is through their concepts of travel that Nehru, Gandhi and Iqbal define themselves against European ethnographic representations of the ‘native’, in which Indians were represented as being incapable of individual growth through travel.”⁵³⁸ As Majeed continues, Gandhi’s *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927-1929), Iqbal’s *Jāwīd Nāma* (1932), and Nehru’s *An Autobiography* (1936) and a *Discovery of India* (1946) all articulate particular positions through “traveling autobiographies...[that decenter] colonialism in relation to concepts of selfhood, and define what might be called ‘a geography of subjectivity’ in which they reconfigure notions of the ‘outer’ and the ‘inner’, and enact different conceptions of space.”⁵³⁹ As Majeed explains in his more focused study of Iqbal’s work, “geographies of subjectivity” help define the “arrangement of an interior space of selfhood in relationship to different parts of the external world.”⁵⁴⁰ Such works draw from both modern and pre-modern precedents as the basis for individual and collective geographies, suggesting a link between the author as a historical subject, or agent, and a particular reading of the regions they travel through.

Nagarjun’s writings similarly explore the particular geographies of his “selfhood” through accounts that expand the scope of the “interior” geographies of Hindi (or the voice of himself as a Hindi author) and the extents of India’s cultural and historical territories, or what was being studied at the time as “Greater India.”⁵⁴¹ In his works, Buddhism provides a historical and cultural framework through which to consider longer patterns of exchange, helping to define the contours of the intersubjectivity of particular regions as seen and experienced by Nagarjun. Through his published accounts, Nagarjun positions himself as a traveling Hindi author, recording his experiences to share with a larger reading public.

Other authors at the time similarly query expansive cultural territories through autobiographical works that draw from Buddhism and travel. As discussed previously, Nehru’s autobiographical works describe encounters with Buddhism gained through travel.⁵⁴² But perhaps the most paradigmatic work of the period is Dhamanand Kosambi’s *Nivedan*. Published roughly twenty years before Nagarjun wrote his travel account “*Ṭihārī se Nelang*,” *Nivedan* appeared first as a serial publication between 1912-16 and then as a book in 1924. As Kosambi’s daughter Meera Kosambi writes in the introduction to her translation, “*Nivedan* was intended more as a travelogue than a memoir.”⁵⁴³ Meera Kosambi further situates *Nivedan* within a host of autobiographical works from the time, including Baba Damanji’s *Arunodaya* (Sunrise, 1884) and

⁵³⁸ Javed Majeed, *Autobiography, Travel and Postnational Identity: Gandhi, Nehru and Iqbal* (Palgrave, 2007): 5.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Javed Majeed, *Muhammad Iqbal: Islam, Aesthetic and Postcolonialism* (Routledge Kindle Edition, 2009): 98.

⁵⁴¹ Such an approach is connected to efforts at the time to define the geographical extents of India’s impact abroad, understood as “Greater India.” See: Kalidas Nag, *Greater India: A Study in Indian Internationalism* (Prabasi Press, 1926).

⁵⁴² Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 130.

⁵⁴³ Dhamanand Kosambi, *Nivedan*, translation by Meera Kosambi (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011), 12.

D. K. Karve's *Atma-vritta* (An Autobiography, 1915), and especially Godse Bhatji's *Maza Pravas* (My Travels, 1907). Stylistically *Nivedan* is akin to Nagarjun's "*Ṭihari se Nelang*," offering a "matter-of-fact narration [that] oscillates between the breathtakingly dramatic and the quotidian."⁵⁴⁴ However, in both manner and approach, Kosambi's work shares a deep affinity with Anand Kausalyayan's writings, which is understandable given their close association. Kausalyayan studied Pali with Kosambi, who later translated Dharmanand's *Bhagavan Buddha* into Sinhalese.⁵⁴⁵ Both also continued to valorize Buddhism in their work, emphasizing travel in their writings and Buddhist service.

In considering Nagarjun's travel writings as a form of memoir, it is worth reflecting on his close ties with Rahul Sankrityayan and Swami Sahajanand. Like Sankrityayan, Sahajanand was a wandering renunciate or *sanyasi*, dedicated to religious, social, and political change. Both were leading Marxists, working in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as part of the Kisan Sabha Movement. They both also chose to write about their lives through autobiographical works that documented their various experiences as a process. Sahajanand chose to focus on his life as a "struggle," *Mera Jīvan Sangharāś*, while Sankrityayan wrote about it as a "journey," *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*. These two works provide greater political and literary context to Nagarjun's own writings on Buddhism and travel. However, Nagarjun's work stands apart from the written accounts of his two mentors, most notably because he never wrote an extensive autobiographical work. Instead, his entire body of work is often cited as providing a window into Nagarjun's life and legacy.

As Nagarjun stated in an interview towards the end of his life: "Put all my poems together, and that will become my autobiography."⁵⁴⁶ Nagarjun's comment emphasizes how he sought to imbue his writing with a sense of authenticity and directness as the basis for his poetic and literary sensibilities. As Sunil Trivedi writes in his biographical sketch of the author, "[f]ew writers demonstrate this kind of unity of writing and actual living."⁵⁴⁷ The "unity" Trivedi is referring to extends beyond the content of his works. It is also reflected in the tone and manner of his writing. The interplay between language and subject are at the core of Nagarjun's work. It guides the themes and style of his numerous publications, including works of longer prose, such as *Ek Vyakti, Ek Yug* (One Person, One Era) or "*Āīne ke Sāmne*," (In Front of the Mirror) and poems such as "*Manuśy Hung*" (I Am Human). It also defines his approach to Buddhism as part of India's evolving cultural landscape. And it is through the notion of voice, specifically as an index of history, culture, and society, that I'd like to conclude, thinking about how Nagarjun's work pivots to questions of regionalism in his framing of Buddhism for Hindi audiences.

Nagarjun's Hindi travel accounts go beyond incorporating "the vocabulary and lexicon" of various languages and dialects, especially Maithili, as the basis for a new "regionalist mode."⁵⁴⁸ They present a reflexive stance, locating his voice in both space and time. Raymond Williams' notion of "structures of feeling" similarly situates authorial voice in relationship to

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 326.

⁵⁴⁶ As quoted in Sunil Trivedi's "Baba Nagarjun," *Indian Literature*, Vol. 42., No. 6 (Nov. - Dec, 1998): 140.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Avinash Kumar, "New Radicalism in Hindi Literature: Vijaydan Detha, Rajendra Yadav and Omprakash Valmiki," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2014): 34-38. Nagarjun's work is often compared to Phanishwarnath Renu's. See: Kathryn Hansen, "Renu's Regionalism: Language and Form," *The Journal of Asian Studies* (1981): 273-294.

questions of place and history.⁵⁴⁹ As David Simpson argues about Williams' work, "structures of feeling" emphasizes the "voice" as something capable of indicating "presence" within a text. It further suggests that this voice can serve as an index through which to register changing perceptions of history. As an example, Simpson reflects on Williams' work *The City and the Country*, which, as he writes,

...is very moving in its invocation of personal memoirs, and in its deliberate naming of the otherwise mute inglorious agricultural workers whose labor made possible the literary modalities of the pastoral. Though these persons, so deliberately designated *as* persons, can never be known to us, they are voiced by Williams as incantations bidding us to think upon the persons we do know and have known, and they can be powerfully effective that way.⁵⁵⁰

The same description could be applied to Nagarjun's travel memoir "*Tiharī se Nelang*." Unable to recuperate the voices of agricultural workers, shepherds, or lumberjacks, Nagarjun conjures their presence through lyrical sensibilities and sound: the "kal, kal" and "chal, chal" which he describes as the "the rhythmic song of the mountains." Throughout the text, the sounds and melodies he hears merge with his own poetic sensibilities. Add to these, the voices from his interviews and character studies throughout, who often describe themselves in their own words and who seem markedly out of tune, in part because they are intended to seem out of place and out of time. Nagarjun's descriptions of the various sadhus and pilgrims are attentive to each person's voice. He notes with care their diction and choice of words in order to capture their manners and way of speaking, often situating them within more extended networks. As such, they participate in the cacophony of experiences and perceptions of the region, adding greater nuance to his account of a region in flux.

The questions of culture, history, and language that are vital to Nagarjun's work mean that his accounts often embody multiple voices: the author's "voice" and the chorus of the region. This cacophony of place is a quality of his unique style. It situates himself and, as a result, his reading public, in relationship to the regions he writes about. Returning to Williams' work, as he writes, "The most difficult thing to get hold of, in studying any past period, is this felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time: a sense in which the particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living."⁵⁵¹ Nagarjun's works are autobiographical in that they speak from his point of view. They describe his journey as he experienced and remembers it. His unique literary perspective, though, is invested in recording a "sense," or a "feeling," of place, approached through descriptions of "the quality of life at a particular place and time." This more affective aspect of his texts extends to his perceptions of history as well, and the routes he took in search of India's cultural past through Buddhist records and travel.

⁵⁴⁹ As David Simpson writes "the relationship between the personal and the historical as implicit in the various definitions of the 'structure of feeling.'" David Simpson, "Raymond Williams: Feeling for Structures, Voicing 'History,'" *Social Text*, 1992, No. 30 (1992): 14.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁵¹ Raymond Williams, "The Analysis of Culture," *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, edited by John Storey (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998): 52.

Conclusion

The Buddhist Wanderer in Hindi Travel Literature

When Diana Eck asks, “What is India?” in her work on the sacred geography of the subcontinent, her answer is, in part, a locative one: India is its landscape. As straightforward as this may seem, deeper inquiry into the question quickly reveals that what defines the context of India and its landscape is much more complex. Elaborating on her question, Eck turns to a discussion of how myth and landscape work together around notions of place, bringing both locative and ecumenical perspectives to bear on “a particular idea of India that is shaped not by the modern notion of a nation-state, but by the extensive and intricate interrelation of geography and mythology that has produced this vast landscape of *tīrthas*.”⁵⁵² Focusing on pilgrimage sites—*tīrthas*—as points of greater social and religious impact, Eck’s work surveys some of India’s great epic literature such as the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Baburnamas*, as well as more modern works such as Nehru’s *Discovery of India*, to reveal some of the ways in which the diversity and expansiveness of the region can be imagined cohesively. Her work emphasizes the importance of evolving perspectives on the subcontinent, which nonetheless provide some stability due to the regularity with which various texts and authors return to key sites. India, Eck argues, appears as both a “stable palimpsest” and “fragile conjunction of interlinked, sometimes irritable cultures.”⁵⁵³

Of interest here is how Eck’s work reveals the centrality of travel narratives to imagining India’s geographic and cultural identity. Pilgrimage, *tīrth yātrā*, and related accounts reinforce the religious and geographic contours of the subcontinent.⁵⁵⁴ By the twentieth century, such travel accounts came to embody locative as well as transitive qualities of national development. This is part of what makes travel writing such an important genre for thinking about national and cultural identity. As Mary Pratt writes in her seminal text *Imperial Eyes*, travel accounts embody the kind of “transculturation” that make them readable. They bring together different influences, histories, experiences, and even languages to describe journeys that are both through and of various places.⁵⁵⁵ Each encounter is a chance to affirm or contrast the reader’s own identity and sense of place in the world through a comparison to the lands, experiences, and people they are reading about. According to Pratt, travel accounts describe various “contact zones” or “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.”⁵⁵⁶ While focused on imperial

⁵⁵² Diana Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Harmony Books, 2012), 45.

⁵⁵³ Sunil Khilani, as quoted by Eck, *Ibid.* 44–45.

⁵⁵⁴ Christophe Jaffrelot, “The Hindu Nationalist Reinterpretation of Pilgrimage in India.”

⁵⁵⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

⁵⁵⁶ “Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone. In the context of this book, the concept of transculturation serves to raise several sets of questions. What do people on the receiving end of empire do with metropolitan modes of representation? How do they appropriate them? How do they talk back? What materials can one study to answer those questions?” *Ibid.*, 7–8.

conceptions formed through global travel accounts, particularly the way in which travel to other parts of the world informed European conceptions of themselves, Pratt's work points to the ways in which travel writing is able to navigate complex and sometimes competing narratives of identity, sovereignty, and independence.⁵⁵⁷

The travel accounts that are the focus of this dissertation embody each author's attempts to grapple with their understanding of themselves as Buddhists and as Hindi authors. The two identities come together in the figure of the wanderer, a role each inhabits in unique ways as they endeavor to describe their encounters with various "contact zones" both in India and abroad.⁵⁵⁸ While some of their experiences are unique to their own travels, they each are called to return to certain key sites. These sites include Sarnath, Calcutta (Kolkata), and Colombo, tracing a unique constellation of sites against which their readers might begin to imagine the contours of their own sense of place and cultural identity.

Land, like identity, is an abstract idea. It can be moral, political, and cultural. Behind the geographical realities of mountains and fields, rivers and valleys—which many have been taken as cues for legitimizing cultural identities—are the stories we tell of those places. Travel accounts offer an instructive way to imaginatively conceive of identity in relationship to place, merging an interest in how a landscape is traversed and narrated as part of historical and literary accounts of that same landscape. In the twentieth century, this became a way of defining India as an independent nation-state with a rich tradition of surveying its own religious and cultural landscapes and inviting Hindi readers to imagine themselves as historical agents who are able to expand and animate the landscape through their own explorations. As part of such accounts, the spread of Buddhism offered a model for how "India" might expand its cultural influence beyond its geo-political boundaries.⁵⁵⁹ What is unique about the authors discussed here is how the more expansive cultural geography of Buddhism was used to define and augment the cultural-linguistic field of Hindi literature. The result was a unique approach to imagining a *hindī jagat*, or Hindi world, through new works that extended the breadth of the literary canon and its cultural reach.

Travel accounts expand on individual relationships to a place and a given time, linking storied accounts of travelers to the descriptions of the environments and periods they move through in their writings. How do experiments with voice, language, genre, and style reflect the complex ways writing about travel hold multiple identities as part of a fluid or mobile engagement with place?⁵⁶⁰ By way of conclusion, I address here the ways in which Hindi travel literature developed in relationship to questions of identity, place, and culture within a broader history of the formalization and development of Hindi as a national language.

The unique ability of travel literature to provide mobile models of history, geography, and culture makes it a particularly potent genre through which to consider shifting perceptions in the extents of a *hindī jagat*. My discussion of the genre is framed according to how it sits in and

⁵⁵⁷ Justin Edwards and Rune Graulund, eds., *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (New York: Springer, 2010); Steven H. Clark, ed., *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

⁵⁵⁸ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt offer another definition of "contact zones" through the idea of the anecdote as a bridge between the everyday and the literary, explored further in Chapter 3.

⁵⁵⁹ This took many forms, but starting in the 1920s, notions of "Greater India" became increasingly popular. See: Kalidas Nag, *Great India* (Greater India Society Bulletin No. 1, 1926); Susan Bayly, "Imagining 'Greater India'," 703-744.

⁵⁶⁰ James Clifford, "Notes on Travel and Theory," *Inscriptions* 5, no. 5.29 (1989): 11.

between discourses of Hindi literature—the history and criticism of Hindi literature around a burgeoning public in the 19th and 20th Century, by figures like Francesca Orsini, Christopher King, and Vasudha Dalmia⁵⁶¹—and travel writing more broadly by scholars such as Tim Youngs and Mary Pratt. In particular, I address travel literature’s ability to “fill out” the Hindi canon and its link to efforts to imagine and define India as both a geographic and cultural territory through new literary works.⁵⁶²

It is possible to discern several notable shifts in how travel accounts were presented as part of efforts to define Hindi as a national language. These impacted the framing of Hindi literature as a specific category within the canon. Hindi travel literature of the nineteenth century, for example, focused on narrating national identities through modern travel, while later works attempted to rethink customs and traditions—notably caste, the ban on travel, and other religious parochialisms—in order to help define modern sensibilities of the self as an Indian and global citizen. Later, postcolonial works began to stress more personal dimensions of travel writing, emphasizing individual experiences and observations as addendums to dominant or hegemonic cultural narratives.⁵⁶³ Within such histories, Buddhism’s role also shifted, moving away from more encompassing notions of Buddhism as part of a unified *ārāya dharma* to a more circumscribed religious and philosophical tradition.

The works addressed in this chapter cover roughly one hundred years, from the 1870s and Bharatendu Harishchandra’s early experiments with travel writing to the 1970s with the modern experiments of Nagarjun.⁵⁶⁴ Following Pratappal Sharma’s study of modern Hindi travel literature, *Hindī kā Ādhunīk Yātrā-Sāhitya*, this long timespan can be broken down into three major periods: 1850 to 1900, 1901 to 1947, and from 1948 to the present. It is possible to posit a similar periodization of modern Buddhism in India.⁵⁶⁵ One question I address below is how Sharma’s periodization compares to the periodization of Hindi literature and modern Buddhism in India as metrics through which to understand changing conceptions of the wanderer in Hindi travel accounts. As a particular benchmark of such periodization, it is worth noting how Sharma situates Rahul Sankrityayan’s work at the nexus between the periods of 1947 and 1948, when there is a shift in style and focus of travel writing from the more clearly nationalist vein to the post-colonial/post-nationalist narratives.⁵⁶⁶ This is the period in which Sankrityayan published *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, marking an important transitional moment in the practice and style of Hindi travel literature, and perhaps explaining why Sankrityayan felt the need to theorize the practice and offer a new model of the wanderer. Among other things, Sankrityayan’s *Ghumakkar Śāstra* offers an unusual effort to theorize travel as a model of discovery and development, related to Buddhism but also distinct from it. The text also reflects an important shift in how Buddhism was practiced and approached as part of national discourses, impacting how wandering was developed as part of new Buddhist narratives.

Buddhism in the first half of the twentieth century served as a kind of intellectual and

⁵⁶¹ King, *One Language, Two Scripts*; Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*; Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.

⁵⁶² Francesca Orsini argues that literature is able to find compromises and middle grounds that are not so easily found in politics and society. *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*, 206.

⁵⁶³ Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Robert Clarke, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁵⁶⁴ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 324-325.

⁵⁶⁵ For a similar periodization of modern Buddhism in India, see Ray, *The Return of the Buddha*.

⁵⁶⁶ Pratāpālā Śarmā, *Hindī Kā Ādhunika Yātrā-Sāhitya* (Mathurā: Amara Prakāśana, 2003), 31-37.

cultural middle ground in India—a *lingua franca*—navigating political factions, international and national interests, as well as burgeoning discourses around modernization, tradition, and identity. Like the genre of travel literature, Buddhism was understood as mobile and defined by multiple styles, influences, and references. It moved between political, cultural, and even class registers, suggesting, among other things, a way of combating pervasive caste-ism in India. The dynamic movement of both travel and Buddhism suggested new ways of imagining the cultural and geographic contours of India, in some cases aligning with the well-trodden paths of pilgrimage sites and political tours mentioned at the start of this chapter, while at other times offering a glimpse of alternative networks and connections. It also offered a way to expand and augment the Hindi canon, broadening a more narrowly defined interest in Hindi as an expression of Hindu culture.

The authors who are the focus of this dissertation straddle the multiple developments in both modern Buddhism in India and Hindi as a national language. They do so through a common interest in travel and travel writing. In all of their works, a revival of Buddhism and the development of Hindi were seen as part of a common cultural revival animated through travel. In fact, travel accounts offered a way of reviving Buddhism in the region, as well as a vehicle for promoting Hindi as a national language. Travel accounts not only expose readers to different lands and experiences, but they also expand Hindi's literary canon through personal accounts that merge geographical, autobiographical, historical, and anthropological materials. The authors I write about in this dissertation each developed their own personal geographies related to the values, experiences, and references they developed through their travels. I conclude, therefore, by considering how the shifts in literary conceptions of travel literature in Hindi impacted each authors conceptions of the wanderer as an important cultural figure of the twentieth century.

Traveling the Nation

The contours of what we would understand today as Hindi Literature were only formalized in the nineteenth and twentieth century. They reached a kind of apotheosis as part of India's national movements, coming to play an important role in the formation of an "imagined community" around India and Hinduism.⁵⁶⁷ It is hard to pinpoint an exact moment when Hindi emerged as a contested point for cultural and national identity, but what constitutes Hindi as a national language—its scope and limits—has continued to be a vexing issue. In her essay, "Literary Self-Determination and the Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century," Sujata Mody suggests that debates around Hindi as first a vernacular and then a national language were sparked by the East India Company's 1837 verdict to institute local vernaculars to support English as a new "higher level" administrative language, sparking ongoing debates over the use of Hindi as the national language.⁵⁶⁸

It is possible to situate Hindi travel literature within a similar trajectory, tracing its development from the late nineteenth century when such luminaries as Bharatendu

⁵⁶⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁵⁶⁸ As Mody writes, "The English East India Company's decree in 1837 to replace Persian as the language of the courts and administration with English at the higher levels and regional vernaculars at the lower levels had sparked considerable debate and political mobilisation over the question of an 'official' vernacular in regions such as the Northwest Provinces and Awadh, where more than one language and script was in common use" "Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century." *South Asia Research* 32, no. 3 (2012): 233. Sisir Kumar Das traces a similar timeline for travelogues in Indian literature, suggesting that perhaps the first modern travelogue in the region was the Telugu travel account *Kāśī yātrā carita*, published in 1838. Das, *A History of Indian Literature 1911-1956*, 251.

Harishchandra framed travel as part of a nationalist project to establish Hindi as a national language to more recent explorations of the genre. After Harishchandra, critics like Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and Ramchandra Shukla continued to grapple with what travel might mean for Hindi literature and Indian culture, while authors such as Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun explored how new modes of travel writing could bridge India's independence and incorporate diverse Buddhist references from around the world. They also explored how travel writing could serve as a model for social reform, drawing on Buddhism as a way to rethink cultural, political, and even economic development. In each case, travel and Buddhism are considered as part of a vernacular heritage and moral education for Hindi readers.

In many ways, modern Hindi literature is characterized by the ways it assimilates or differentiates itself from a variety of cultural-linguistic references. These include Braj Bhasha, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Avadhi, not to mention the countless other local vernaculars and oral traditions found across northern India. Increasingly, patterns of differentiation were drawn along religious and ethnic lines, resulting in a sense that Hindi and Hinduism were linked together and that Urdu was linked to Islam.⁵⁶⁹ In *One Language, Two Scripts*, Christopher King proposes that Hindi's rise as a national language, and related efforts to fill out the Hindi literary canon, centered on efforts to assimilate regional disparities within a unified form of Hindi distinguished from Urdu through script and vocabulary.⁵⁷⁰ King traces three historical trajectories for the "Hindi-Urdu controversy." First, "the medieval Muslim invasions of India and the resulting Indo-Persian linguistic synthesis which came to be known as Urdu."⁵⁷¹ Second, the "excessive Persianization" of Hindi/Hindavi resulting in a dramatic division between Hindi and Urdu. And third, the introduction of studies in Hindi and Urdu at Fort William College and the related institution of language exams for government service.⁵⁷² As King continues, the "rapid expansion of publishing and journalism...[also] strengthened the existing differentiation between Hindi and Urdu, and made impossible any assimilation between the two."⁵⁷³ To this we might add the proliferation of committees and associations that arose around public efforts and language debates, notably the Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā and the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan.⁵⁷⁴ Such organizations helped to further distinguish Hindi from Urdu, building a sense of community and national identity around Hindi based on identifying and promoting a sense of difference. As King continues,

The essence of the [Hindi] movement lay in efforts to *differentiate* Hindi from Urdu and to make Hindi a symbol of Hindu culture. Seen in this light, the Hindi movement formed part of a much broader process of the heightening of communal awareness in pre-independence India, a transformation of ethnic groups into communities and nationalities which culminated in the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The Hindi movement not only expressed but also reinforced this awareness.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁹ Pratap Narayan Mishra's poem "Hindi Hindu Hindustan" clearly articulates the formalization of the link between language, religion, and nation.

⁵⁷⁰ King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 46.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁷² Ibid., 23 and 26.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Aakriti Mandhwani, "The Hindi Library and the Making of an Archive: The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan from 1911 to 1973." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2020): 1–15.

⁵⁷⁵ King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 11.

King's study draws heavily on the research of Paul Brass, who argues that nationalism is the result of a congruence of cultural "symbols." Within a matrix of "symbols," the synthesis of language, religion, and ethnicity helped to define first an "ethnic group," then a "community," and finally a "nation." As part of emerging discourses in Hindi, the ways in which Buddhism was framed related to efforts to differentiate Hindi from Urdu along literary and cultural divides. As opposing perspectives on the two languages began to solidify, becoming an embedded characteristic of nationalist framings of Hindi and Indian nationalism, Buddhist discourses in Hindi similarly began to fall along opposing ideological divisions. However, Buddhism afforded a set of cultural "symbols" outside of intense Hindu-Muslim debates.⁵⁷⁶ It also provided a geographical sense of the cultural development that straddled much of Asia, and importantly the partitioned subcontinent after India's independence in 1947.

Anand Kausalyayan, Rahul Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun were, at various points in their lives, either formally engaged with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan or ancillary involved with it. Kausalyayan was even a prominent member of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Warda for a number of years, and both Kausalyayan and Sankrityayan were active in literary and academic circles in Varanasi in the 1930s. In each of their works, Buddhism provided a set of "symbols," as a mediating force between different conceptions of Indian nationalism, specifically augmenting more strongly Hindu nationalist approaches.⁵⁷⁷ They each also spent considerable time traveling across India and describing the region of northwest India, addressing historical and cultural affinities between Pakistan and India through archaeological discussions, cultural discussions, and also through travel accounts.

Despite efforts to differentiate Hindi and Urdu as separate political, religious, and literary publics, syncretic approaches towards Hindi and Urdu persisted. "Hindustani" came to represent an approach to a common national language that combined Hindi and Urdu, though arguably with a lingering bias towards the use of Nagari. This mirrored a similar trend in nationalist approaches to Buddhism as part of a more unified understanding of Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Buddhism as a single *sanātana* tradition often referred to as the *ārya dharma*.⁵⁷⁸ Travel became a way of surveying and promoting unified cultural and linguistic fields, incorporating diverse experiences and references into a common tongue. The well-known author Munshi Premchand and Mahatma Gandhi were major advocates of Hindustani.⁵⁷⁹ As Harish Trivedi writes in his survey of Hindi literature, "Premchand himself had already made Hindustani his overriding mission in the last year of his short life...travel[ing] constantly...to propagate everywhere his idea of a common language; it was as if he now traveled in Hindustani."⁵⁸⁰ In

⁵⁷⁶ Jaffrelot, *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India*; Dilip M. Menon, "The Blindness of Insight," in *Indian Political Thought*, ed. Aakash Singh and Silika Mohapatra (Routledge, 2010): 123–135.

⁵⁷⁷ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (2), 85–86.

⁵⁷⁸ Douglas Ober, "'Like Embers Hidden in Ashes, or Jewels Encrusted in Stone': Rāhul Sāṅk Tyāyan, Dharmānand Kosambī And Buddhist Activity In Colonial India," *A Buddhist Crossroads: Pioneer Western Buddhists and Asian Networks 1860-1960*, ed. Brian Bocking, Laurence Cox, and Alicia M. Turner (Routledge, 2016): 133–47; John Zavos, "The Ārya Samāj and the Antecedents of Hindu Nationalism," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* (1999): 57–81.

⁵⁷⁹ Pritipuspa Mishra, "The Mortality of Hindustani," *Parallax* 18, no. 3 (2012): 71–83; Madhumita Lahiri, "An Idiom for India: Hindustani and the Limits of the Language Concept," *Interventions* 18, no. 1 (2016): 60–85; Peter Brock, "Gandhi and the Hindi Movement: An Aspect of his Search for Truth," *The Congress and Indian Nationalism: Historical Perspectives*, ed. John L. Hill (Routledge, 2017) 287–301.

⁵⁸⁰ Harish Trivedi, "Progress of Hindi, Part 2: Hindi and the Nation," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Shedlon Pollock, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 977.

conceiving of a more unilateral version of Hindi, Premchand not only had to imagine a geographic space for it, he actually worked to establish it through his travels. In other words, travel became an integral mode through which to imagine and produce more syncretic understandings of India.⁵⁸¹

That Hindi, and more specifically Kaṛī Bolī Hindi or “modern standard Hindi,” would emerge as a prominent “official vernacular” strongly associated with Hindu identity was not a predetermined historical fact. Unlike in other parts of India where it was easier to construct clear regional and linguistic zones, Hindi emerged as an umbrella language for multiple localized dialects and traditions spread across much of northern India.⁵⁸² As Hindi developed into a national language, it had to evolve to adopt new standard characteristics in relationship to historical and literary traditions, shepherding its transformation from Kaṛī Bolī to a national language which aspired to be a kind of *lingua franca* connecting multiple localized linguistic registers across much of northern India.⁵⁸³ By 1947, however, there were growing concerns over a rising “Hindi imperialism.” In his presidential address to the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, Sankrityayan addresses any such concerns, advocating for Hindi as a national language. As Sankrityayan argues, concerns over a Hindi hegemony do not consider the realities of what was happening on the ground. Hindi, he suggests, could be a unifying language, a *lingua franca*, of India:

हिन्दी के राष्ट्रभाषा होने के लिए जब कहा जाता है, तो कहीं से आवाज निकलती है—हिन्दीवाले सारे भारत पर हिन्दी का साम्राज्य स्थापित करना चाहते हैं! यह उनका झूठा प्रचार है और वे भिन्न-भाषा-भाषियों के मन में यह भय पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी के संघ-भाषा बनने पर उनकी भाषा का साहित्य और अस्तित्व ही मिट जायगा। यह विचार सर्वथा निर्मूल है। जब-जब व्यवहार की बात आयी, तब-तब हिन्दी हो सारे भारत की अंतरप्रंतीय भाषा स्वीकार की गयी। यदि इस पुराने तजुर्बे को नहीं मानते हैं, तो चाहें फिर तजुर्बा कर लें। हिन्दी भाषा-भाषियों को अलग रखकर पंजाबी, आसामी, बंगाली, उड़िया, आन्ध्र, तमिल, केरली, कर्नाटक, मराठी, गुजराती लोगों को ही व्यवहार से इसके बारे

⁵⁸¹ If Pratt’s argument that colonial travel accounts were a way to bridge multiple “contact zones” through which Europeans conceived of themselves as imperial subjects, Premchand’s work highlight a similar effort to promote a sense of community amongst its readers, not through travel abroad, but through travel across the Indian subcontinent.

⁵⁸² As King writes: “To understand the Hindi movement of the nineteenth century, one must first become acquainted with some of the linguistic and social characteristics of the Hindi-speaking area. Language maps of India often show a single large area labelled ‘Hindi’ stretching across much of northern India, suggesting a homogeneous linguistic region. Such an image would be highly misleading, however, since this area displays immense diversity. One American linguist, John Gumperz, has characterized the internal complexities of the Hindi area by distinguishing three strata of speech. The first lies at the village level, where local dialects form a continuous chain from one end of the Hindi area to the other and beyond. While speakers from widely separated points along this linguistic continuum would have great difficulty making themselves understood to each other, those from adjacent point would not.” King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 7.

⁵⁸³ King’s work explores how the standardization of Hindi as a regionally and nationally “inclusive” language were often at odds with contemporary efforts to distinguish it by excluding certain cultural and linguistic references.

में फैसला करने के लिए छोड़ दें। मैं समझता हूँ, यदि वे सारे भारत की एकता के पक्षपाती हैं, तो उनका तर्जुबा भी हिन्दी के पक्ष का समर्थन करेगा।

Whenever it is said that Hindi should become the national language, a concern from somewhere is always raised: Hindi speakers want to establish a Hindi empire (*hindī kā sāmrajya*) across all of India! This is false propaganda. They want to create a fear in the mind of various language speakers (*bhinn-bhāśā-bhāśyon*) that when Hindi is made the national language the literature and existence of their language will be erased. This opinion is altogether false. Whenever there was a matter of business (*vyavahār*), Hindi was accepted as the inter-provincial language of India. If you do not want to believe this old experience, then experience it for yourself. Keeping Hindi language and language speakers aside, leave it to those who speak Punjabi, Asami, Bengali, Urya, Andra (Telugu), Tamil, Kerali (Malyalam), Kartnak, Marathi, Gujarati to decide in their dealings (*vyavahār*). I believe if these people are partial to the unity of all of India then their experience (*tajurba*) will also favor Hindi.⁵⁸⁴

In Sankrityayan's line "*bhinn-bhāśā-bhāśyon*,"—various language speakers—there is an echo of the famous equation "Hindi-Hindu-Hindustani," proposing a certain unity, while maintaining the autonomy of each language's literary traditions.⁵⁸⁵ The quote above, though, emphasizes knowledge gained through experience—*tajurba*—and business dealings and exchanges — *vyavahār*—as measures of the need for a common language and how Hindi might function as a national language. This ideal is at the heart of his work, as it is in all of the travel literature discussed in this dissertation: travel is experience. Through his writings and speeches, Sankrityayan urges readers to draw from their own firsthand experience to question and challenge social conventions, cultural beliefs, and the extent of their shared knowledge of India and the world.

Unity and Self-Discovery

Firsthand experience is a hallmark of Hindi travel writing since the nineteenth century. In its early examples, such as those by Bharatendu Harishchandra discussed in Chapter 1, travel accounts embodied a quest for national unity and identity at the intersection of geography and language.⁵⁸⁶ Harishchandra was an early pioneer of Hindi travel writing, publishing a series of travel essays under the pseudonym "Yātrī." Written as a series of letters to a friend, they describe journeys to major pilgrimage places such as Haridvār and cultural centers like Lucknow. In her appraisal of Harishchandra's travel narratives, Vasudha Dalmia uses these letters to explain key stylistic and ideological developments in Harishchandra's writing. While the earlier essays are more technical or logistical, engaging with the modern apparatuses of travel rather than commenting on different kinds of experiences, later works express a more reflexive or "curious"

⁵⁸⁴ Sankrityayan's presidential address to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1947 as quoted in Nare Mehtā, *Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan kā Itihās, Pratham Khand, 1910–1976* (Allahabad: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1996): 146–147.

⁵⁸⁵ Again, I am referencing Pratap Narayan Mishra's 1894 poem "Hindi Hindu Hindustan."

⁵⁸⁶ While certainly not the bulk of their work, many of Hindi's most famous critics and early promoters engaged with travel writing in one form or another.

eye of the wanderer.⁵⁸⁷ As Dalmia points out, a national discovery is mirrored through a certain personal discovery. Taken together, they offer a survey of developments in the region and a growing sense of a unified Hindi public, composed of *deśvāle*, or fellow countrymen, who share in the author's revelations.

Dalmia begins her discussion of Harīschandra's travel accounts by describing a short trip of the Yātrī to Calcutta.⁵⁸⁸ This piece is almost entirely focused on the surprising qualities and challenges of modern travel: where to catch the train, how to get from the train station or buy a ticket, and so forth. Other accounts explore more descriptive language. In the account of his journey to Haridvar, for example, Harishchandra moves from a description of the colonial cantonment of Roorkee, and the fascination of the mill there, to a "forced description of birds and trees."⁵⁸⁹ It is the "personal note" at the end of the piece that gets most of Dalmia's attention. She follows it as it develops in the Yātrī's account of his trip to Bombay via Jasrā, Śivrājpur, Bargarh, Daborā, and Mānikyapur, mostly via train.⁵⁹⁰ "This personal note" Dalmia continues,

...begins with an announcement of the intention of making the facts of this journey known to his *deśvāle*, his countrymen. The traveling gentleman views the discomfort and discourtesy he encounters with much distaste, though he finds a much lighter tone to convey it, in fact the language itself acquires an increasingly colloquial tone, nearer the spoken idiom.⁵⁹¹

Shifts in language and tone begin to signal the author's experience of his journey and what he wishes to convey to readers. As Dalmia continues, Harishchandra's later writings have a more "relaxed style... The sentences are short, which makes for quick pace. They narrate, describe, comment as they explore and size up."⁵⁹² Discomfort and discourtesy are common themes of travel narratives at this time, both in English and Hindi. Mahatma Gandhi, Vivekananda, and Anagarika Dharmapala, all expressed similar ideas in their travel accounts, undergirding their critiques on colonialism.⁵⁹³ In Hindi we find a similar list of authors, including Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun. But it is the broader perspective Harishchandra achieves through travel writing for his personal take on religious pilgrimage that is most remarkable. As Dalmia puts it, "The points of departure and destination are holy places, off the beaten track of the pilgrim. They are being rediscovered, though their presence in religious literature is well-attested. But their rediscovery is not an act of piety alone, for the perspective is wide-angled even if it is focused on the religious."⁵⁹⁴ This is a crucial point for a longer study of travel writing in Hindi. Born from, or at least in dialogue with, a reappraisal of culture and history through a direct engagement with sites previously only available in literature, travel and travel writing

⁵⁸⁷ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 323-324.

⁵⁸⁸ *Kavivacansudhā* 3 (1), 30 August 1871.

⁵⁸⁹ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 323.

⁵⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that there is a kind of geographic arch to Harīschandra's travel narratives. They seem to move from West to East across north India, beginning with a trip to Calcutta and ending with his trip to Bombay. *Kavivacansudhā* 20 July, 1872.

⁵⁹¹ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 324. Translation by Dalmia.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*

⁵⁹³ In his appraisal of Anagarika Dharmapala's work, Steven Kemper suggests that such comments reveal how colonial dissatisfaction was more of a class issue than a racial one. Steven Kemper, *Rescued from the Nation*.

⁵⁹⁴ Dalmia *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 325.

animate the different landscapes of India as expressions of personal and national identity. In narrating a journey, and not just reporting on a destination, each voyage is a way to comment and reflect on the environments and the people that the traveler encounters. They begin to forge religious, political, and cultural landscapes through a narration of their physical and intellectual contexts, tracing and conniving a unified India through texts that imagine both their literary antecedents and their modern expressions in Hindi.

In her discussion of Harishchandra's shifts in tone and style, Dalmia charts the intellectual trajectory of travel writing under the deft critic's hand. Ending with a discussion of Harishchandra's trip to Janakpur,⁵⁹⁵ Dalmia follows the author's movement from an "ideological appropriation of the landscape, strewn with reminiscences of the Hindu past..." to the moment when "[t]he literary associations dotting the whole account make the poet burst into song himself."⁵⁹⁶ This is more than an author being moved by inspiration, it is a moment when the author's discovery of India becomes married to his own self-discovery. In other words, the author finds his own voice at the very moment that he discovers India. As Dalmia continues: "If Harishchandra had inscribed *svatva nij bhārat gahai*, may Bhārat come into its own, into the motto used as the superscript in his *Kavivachansudhā*, it surely subsumed the wish that Bhārat may become one's own, that, for all its heterogeneity, it may be culturally apprehensible."⁵⁹⁷

Kausalyayan's letters discussed in conversation with Harishchandra's accounts in Chapter 1 describe a similar journey to religious sites. He also imagined himself to be writing for a similar audience of *deśvāle*, or "countrymen." The geographical extent of each author's accounts, however, reveals competing agendas. My argument in Chapter 1 is that Kausalyayan was aiming to describe the contours of a Hindi Buddhist public as a particular counter public of the dominant Hindu public Harishchandra describes in his travel accounts. Like Harishchandra, Kausalyayan's personal revelation appears towards the end of his final letter, emphasizing a deep sense of joy and self-discovery. However, Kausalyayan's moment of self-discovery is cloaked in an alternative set of "cultural symbols" and as such does not offer a related sense of any national discovery. Instead, it suggests Kausalyayan's more personal geography functions as an index of a broader Buddhist community. In writing about his experiences in Hindi, Kausalyayan sought to introduce Hindi readers to that geography and the related network of monks, scholars, and wanderers.

Expanding Cultural Knowledge Through Travel

For Dalmia and others, the Hindi travel writers after Harishchandra are inconsequential until Sachidanand Hiranand Vatsyayan ("Agyeya") when the genre "gained a literary depth that went beyond the merely factual or the merely personal."⁵⁹⁸ However, to gloss over the early twentieth century would miss what Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and Ramchandra Shukla have to say on the subject, not to mention the numerous authors and critics who struggled with travel writing as part of efforts to rethink India both pre- and post-independence.⁵⁹⁹ While there is a clear colonial/post-colonial divide in approaches to travel writing, there is much to be said of diving into the more ambiguous and often unsettled examples of travel writing during the 1930s, 40s

⁵⁹⁵ HC 6, 12, June 1879.

⁵⁹⁶ Dalmia *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 328.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., translation by Vasudha Dalmia.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ For an in-depth breakdown of some of the more representative Hindi travel authors during these periods, see: Śarmā, *Hindī Kā Ādhunika Yātrā-Sāhitya*.

and 50s. In many ways, the authors who wrote travel accounts during those periods offer an unusual snapshot of the changes taking place at the time, and the seminal impact of independence.

Writing after Harishchandra, Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi wrote explicitly about the importance of travel to the development of Hindi. While an editor for *Sarasvati*, he published several travel accounts, including an account of a trip to Madhya Pradesh in 1905, an account of Svami Savyadev's trip to America in 1907, and a series of chronicles on expeditions to the North and South Poles in 1907 and 1909 respectively. Dwivedi's approach seems surprisingly modern, emphasizing not just travel in India and the logistics of modern pilgrimage, but also accounts of grand expeditions to remote places in India and around the world. Returning to Sujata Mody's essay, "Literary Self-Determination and the Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century," the standardization and legitimization of Hindi literature as presented by Dwivedi are best understood through a discussion of *sāhitya*, or "literature."⁶⁰⁰ Drawing from two essays by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi—"The Hindi Language and its Literature" (1903) and "The Present State of Hindi" (1911)—Mody argues that Dwivedi understood *sāhitya* as "cultural knowledge," leading him to advocate for a much broader understanding of Hindi *sāhitya*. Rather than seek to cobble together different socio-linguistic sources, Dwivedi argues that Kari Boli Hindi should be expanded to include both new and old forms of literature. According to Dwivedi, Hindi literature should be written in a language accessible to the greatest number of people—i.e. Kari Boli Hindi. "[K]nowledge," Dwivedi writes, "can only be increased through books. And, the richer a society or community is in knowledge, the more progress it can make in worldly and other-world subjects."⁶⁰¹ Dwivedi's argument is strikingly similar to works on travel writing by Sankrityayan and other early travel writers in the genre who stress the importance of generating new works as a way of expanding the cultural knowledge of readers. In the writings considered throughout this dissertation, Buddhism and travel are approached as important means for expanding the "cultural knowledge," *sāhitya*, of Hindi readers. For example, in an account of his time studying the Pali Tripitaka in Sri Lanka, Sankrityayan celebrates how he learned not just about Buddhism, but also about Indian society, politics, and geography through the Buddhist texts he was reading.⁶⁰² In other works, Buddhist textual traditions contained geographic, historical, and archaeological understandings of the world, grounded in a practice of wandering. Just as importantly, Sankrityayan encounters these materials as part of his peregrinations, sharing them with Hindi audiences through his travel accounts.

The capacity of Hindi literature to engage with diverse forms of "cultural knowledge" continues to be a matter of intense debate related to questions of language, religion, identity, and geography. Taking Sanskrit as one linguistic basis for modern Hindi, Sankrityayan argues that the extensive reach and cosmopolitanism of Sanskrit is part of what makes Hindi viable as a national language. His own work though, further expands the literary and linguistic basis for modern Hindi through the publication of new works that draw from multiple linguistic and cultural references, most notably Pali. Sankrityayan's own writings reflect a multitude of references, highlighting the tension in the field between a more expansive Hindi literature, and a

⁶⁰⁰ "Sahitya is the name for the collectivity of books that compile and distribute this body of knowledge" Mody, "Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century," 239; Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, "Hindī kī Varttmān Āvasthā," *Sarasvati*, 1911: 465.

⁶⁰¹ Dwivedi, "Hindī kī Varttmān Āvasthā," 473, translation by Mody, *Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century*, 249.

⁶⁰² "Pālī tripitak men buddhakālīn bhārt ke samāj, rājñīti, bhūgol kā bhut kāphī masālā hai." *Merī Jīvan-Yātrā* (2), 18.

more restricted one. As Mody continues in her discussion of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi's articles from 1904 and 1911, Hindi literature suggests two opposing positions: On the one hand, a "broadening" of the Hindi canon, while on the other hand a more restricted vocabulary and literary bias as part of an effort to "normalize" Hindi. Rather than representing opposing positions, Mody argues that the twin impulses to expand and normalize Hindi are in fact co-constitutive. As Mody writes,

[Dwivedi's] theorization of Hindi *sāhitya*, broadly inclusive in its composition of a variety of media, genres and topics, though establishing Hindi *sāhitya* as a clearly defined discipline of national consequence, thus also reifies the notion of a national literary corpus oriented specifically towards Hindus who read, write and above all else in importance, claim sovereignty, for themselves and their nation, in *Kari Boli Hindi*...it simultaneously seeks to expand and restrict, criticize and normativise literary national boundaries, often in somewhat contradictory directions.⁶⁰³

Hindi travel literature embodies the tension between exploring a more expanded literary basis and the simultaneous pull towards a more restricted, "normativised," literary tradition. By its very nature, travel literature depends on breaking barriers and encountering the "new" and "foreign," and yet as we will see, these can often be in service of reified national norms and barriers, rather than in service of questioning them. But it embodies complex processes of claiming sovereignty through accounts of expeditions, pilgrimages, and other journeys. The authors discussed in this dissertation complicate such inferences by engaging with Buddhism and Buddhist literary traditions.⁶⁰⁴ In drawing from the Pali Tipitaka and other literary sources, they not only expand the literary references, but they also extend the potential reach of a certain cultural hegemony. Because of Hindi's close connection to Hindu nationalism, their works suggest a budding interest in approaching Buddhist literature and histories as part of a more encompassing Hindu tradition, and yet they are careful to distinguish their efforts from any such project. As a result, their works constitute an important counter narrative to dominant Hindu ideologies at the time, challenging any simple association of Hindi as Hindu.

As part of his work, Dwivedi specifically draws attention to travel literature as one of the limbs—*ang*—in need of expansion in order to create well-rounded Hindi corpus or *sāhitya*. As Mody continues, "Dwivedi (1911) discusses eight major sub-categories of *sāhitya*: newspapers, scientific books, dictionaries and grammars, histories and biographies, travel books, poetry and drama, novels and criticism."⁶⁰⁵ These eight are ranked according to their perceived importance. Dictionaries, for example, are not urgently needed, largely because they are not for general audiences and because someone can write without them. "[N]ewspapers, scientific books, histories, biographies and travel books," on the other hand, "are in need of immediate attention because they are relatively new to Hindi."⁶⁰⁶ One of the recurring claims of travel authors is that travel and travel writing not only expand the Hindi canon, they also stimulate a curiosity in the

⁶⁰³ Mody, "Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century," 250. Mody expands on many of these ideas in *The Making of Modern Hindi: Literary Authority in Colonial North India* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁶⁰⁴ Sheldon Pollock, "The Cosmopolitan Vernacular." *Journal of Asian studies* (1998): 6–37.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 245.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

reader that may lead to an increase in India's "cultural knowledge" through new discoveries. In other words, travel writing drives further development and new works of literature.

Dwivedi's discussion of travel literature in "The Present State of Hindi" (1911) introduces several themes that will remain a hallmark of the genre. Writing about travel literature as *paryāṭan-viśayak pustaken* (tour guides) or *deś-darśan pustaken* (site-seeing books), he suggests that such works are inherently engaging. At the same time, they help readers learn about places they have never visited. Dwivedi highlights two types of travel literature: those written about travel in India and those written about travel abroad. Without actually giving the name of the author or the piece he is discussing, Dwivedi says there is a good example of the first kind of travel literature that is worth noting because the account is based on tours the author actually undertook himself.⁶⁰⁷ With regards to travel narratives that recount journeys abroad to China, Japan, and England, Dwivedi continues, there are few Hindi well-wishers—*hindī hitaiśiyon*—who write about their experiences in Hindi. These few examples are not enough though. According to him, they are like a drop in the ocean—*par is ang kī puṣṭi ke liye tanī pustaken samudar men ek būnd ke barābar hain*.⁶⁰⁸ More should be written, Dwivedi continues, for which he suggests that if every year just a few of India's traveling youths would write about their travels, then the genre would be quickly filled.⁶⁰⁹ The true challenge though, according to Dwivedi, is that even amongst those who write about their experiences abroad in Hindi, when they return, they choose to write in English.⁶¹⁰ The authors described in this dissertation are unique because they chose to write in Hindi, both while traveling abroad and once they returned to India.

In many ways, the authors who are the focus of this study developed an understanding of themselves as "Hindi authors" through their travels. As Sankrityayan writes, he became aware of his own "literary life" while living in Sri Lanka in the 1920s. It was then that he began to think of himself as a "Hindi author," largely because of the response his works were receiving in India. As he recounts in *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*:

एक तरह 1927 ई. में ही मेरे साहित्यिक जीवन का आरम्भ होता है। यद्यपि मैंने पहिले हिन्दी लेख 'भास्कर' (मेरठ) में 1915 ई. में लिखा था, और उसके बाद भी जब-तब हिन्दी-उर्दू के पत्रों में लिखता रहा, किन्तु यहीं से लंका के संबंध में धारावाहिक रूप से मैंने कुछ लेख 'सरस्वती के लिए' लिखे। लंका रहते वक्त उनकी सर्वप्रियता का मुझे पता नहीं लगा। लंका के संबंध में उस समय कुछ लेख 'विश्वमित्र' (दैनिक) और 'मिलाप' (रोजाना) में भी लिखे थे।

In a fashion my literary life only began in 1927. Even though my Hindi article 'Bhāskar' (*Meraṭ*) was written in 1915, and after that I continued to write here and there to write in Hindi-Urdu publications, it was only from here that I wrote a few articles on Lanka in the

⁶⁰⁷ "This book is based on tours the author took himself though several of India's provinces." Dwivedi, "*Hindī kī Varttmān Āvasthā*," 470.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ It is worth noting that Sankrityayan also emphasizes the role of youths in renewing travel and travel writing in India. He does not use the term *yuvak*, as Dwivedi does, but *tārun* and *tāruniyan*.

⁶¹⁰ Dwivedi, *Hindī kī Varttmān Āvasthā*, 270.

form of a series for ‘*Sarasvatī*.’ I was not aware of their popularity. At that time, I also wrote some articles related to Lanka for ‘*Viśvamitra*’ (*dainik*) and ‘*Milāp*’ (*rozana*).⁶¹¹

Sankrityayan’s essays from abroad established him as a travel writer as well as a Hindi author. It was not just that he wrote in Hindi about Sri Lanka. Instead, as he mentioned above, it was the fact that he did so as part of a series, establishing a link between his travels and his new literary life. The above quote also conveys a clear understanding of himself as writing for different publics, particularly Hindi and Urdu publics. Even in highlighting his work for two “daily” publications, ‘*Viśvamitra*’ and ‘*Milāp*,’ he refers to one as a *dainik* and the other as a *rozana*. A thorough study of Sankrityayan’s time in Sri Lanka warrants further study, as does his work in Urdu. Here, I want simply to highlight the ways in which his understanding of himself as a Hindi author was formed in conjunction with a budding understanding of himself as a wanderer.

A decision to write in Hindi was more than just a decision to write in the most familiar or accessible language—it was about making new types of literature and experience available to different audiences. In his call for writers to write about travel in Hindi, Dwivedi, not unlike Harishchandra, advocates for an imagined community grounded in Hindi and guided by gentlemen who have a love or appreciation of Hindi—*jo sajjan hindī se prem rakhate hen*. Again, there is an emphasis on the kinds of readers as “gentlemen” or sophisticated, and arguably, urbane. This filtered into the kind of travelers that authors wrote about and projected in their accounts. Kausalyayan and Sankrityayan both wrote about and for “gentlemen readers,” while Nagarjun, also known as Janakavi, or The People’s Poet, arguably wrote for a broader public. Their conceptions of their various readers however—as urbane gentlemen, monks, rural communities, or, eventually, women travelers—shaped the kind of wanderer they imagined themselves to be and that they presented in their written works.

Within the works discussed throughout this dissertation, travel was modeled as a form of social and moral education: it was not just about encountering different places, but how the traveler moved through various places and types of experiences. For Kausalyayan it was a certain moral disposition related to his understanding of what it meant to be Buddhist, and particularly a Buddhist monk. For Sankrityayan, while the exact contours of himself as a wanderer often shifted, they always fell into a hierarchy of travelers. First class travelers were those who constantly roamed, rejected caste and blind ideology, and who shared their discoveries through published works and images that could increase the “cultural knowledge” of readers back home. For Nagarjun, travel offered an education in different kinds of experiences, especially as a social and political engagement between the urban and the rural. One common thread through the work of all three authors, however, is the importance of travel as a form of social commentary, a moral guide linked to the development of an expanded cultural field.

Literature as Experience

If Dwivedi’s approach to Hindi literature looks to the future in hopes of building out the Hindi canon, Ramchandra Shukla’s work arguably looks to the past. In his most famous work, *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās* (History of Hindi Literature), Shukla outlines a longer history of Hindi with a strict periodization that continues to have a powerful influence on Hindi studies today. Within his study, Shukla’s appraisal of “western genres” is often accompanied by an impulse to dive into the past as a way to divine loosely comparable non-western precedents. In his assessment of Shukla’s approach to novels, Harish Trivedi draws attention to the ways in which Shukla

⁶¹¹ Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan-Yātrā* (2), 23.

emphasizes western and non-western biases, suggesting there are different kinds of works that can be considered as part of Shukla's "canon-forming history of Hindi literature."⁶¹² These include translations of European texts, as well as celebrating those works that emerged from non-European contexts.

As part of Shukla's survey of Hindi literature, Hindi travel writing is similarly defined by the literary and historical precedents of genre—epics, hagiographies, *tīrth yātrā*, and *safarnāmā*, to name but a few. And yet, Hindi travel literature is decidedly modern, engaging with modern accounts, modes of transport, language, and social issues, even as new works allude to historical antecedents of travel in the region and around the world. In fact, the authors discussed in this dissertation often write about these two as conjoined impulses: travel as an effort to recuperate a certain cultural past and tradition of wandering, as well as a decidedly forward looking process of imagining new and desired futures.

Interestingly, Shukla does not recognize travel literature as a major branch of the Hindi canon. Instead, he writes about it as a special subset, or minor genre, within a larger category of essay or prose writing. In "Gadya Prabandh ke Prakār," Shukla divides prose writing into four basic groups: *varṇanātmak* (descriptive), *vicārātmak* (opinion piece), *kathātmak* (narrative), and *bhāvātmak* (expressive). While not explicitly mentioned, travel writing would seem to fall under the third category, narrative essays, or *kathātmak*, defined by Shukla as drawing from descriptions of events and particular experiences.⁶¹³ This seems to be a slight evolution from earlier pieces in which Shukla divides modern prose styles into three types: *vicārpradhān* (opinion piece), *bhāvpradhān* (expressive works), and *ubhayātmak* (argumentative).⁶¹⁴ While not as explicit as Dwivedi who emphasizes first person accounts, Shukla's discussion continues to prioritize narratives drawn from first hand experiences over other kinds of travel account. For this reason, travel accounts might also be categorized as opinion pieces, *vicārātmak*.⁶¹⁵ What distinguishes *kathātmak* from other modes however, and why it is the most apt category for travel accounts, is the ways it develops curiosity in the reader, *jānane kī utkaṇṭhā*, a curiosity to know, or *jijñāsā*.⁶¹⁶ As he writes, "a desire to know takes the form of curiosity, which is evident when the reader keeps saying 'then what happened'."⁶¹⁷ And it is here that we see the most direct correlation between Sankrityayan's notion of travel writing as a mode of discourse and Shukla's understanding of related genres as defining branches of the Hindi literary canon: the ability of certain types of writing to increase curiosity. And so, while travel literature does not appear as a particular category within Shukla's assessment of the Hindi literary canon, it does address Shukla's criteria that modern prose should stimulate a desire and interest in learning; a curiosity in readers.

⁶¹² "In his canon-forming history of Hindi literature, Rāmcandra Śukla identified the first Hindi novel in terms that repay our attention: 'The First original novel of the English kind to be published in Hindi was indeed *Parīksāguru* [Trial as teacher, 1882] by Lālā Śrīnivās Dās.' The work is thus distinguished not only from earlier texts that were in effect translations or adaptations of Western novels...but also from any other original novels that might not have been of the English/Western kind, or at least sufficiently so." Trivedi, "Progress of Hindi, Part 2: Hindi and the Nation," 1002.

⁶¹³ Ramchandra Shukla, *Grantāvali 4: Nibandh Sāhitya* (New Delhi: Prakāshan Sansthān), 331.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 334.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 334-335.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 335.

A more sustained discussion of travel literature can be found in Shukla's introduction to *Mānsorovar aur Kailās* (Monsorovar and Kailash) written in 1935. Shukla's tone and language foreshadow Rahul Sankrityayan's *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, outlining a long history of wandering and travel from and within South Asia. Such journeys include pilgrimage (*tīrthayātrā*) and trade (*vyāpār*) and while they brought Indian's abroad, Shukla laments that they did not seem to result in a robust corpus of travel literature in South Asia. As Shukla continues, despite its diversity, there are very few accounts of the different places in the Indian landscapes.⁶¹⁸ However, unlike European languages where there are numerous kinds of travel accounts, there is a shortage of Hindi travel literature. "Is this because we are frogs in a well?" We see this same proverb in Sankrityayan's writing, used as a way to describe a certain cultural parochialism that can be overcome through curiosity. In both authors' works, literature is approached as an important medium through which to expand the cultural breadth of readers, instilling in them a longing for new experiences, information, and ways of seeing the world. The production of new travel accounts serves therefore both to expand the Hindi canon, building on a rich tradition of wandering, which he felt had not resulted in a large body of literary works, and to increase the emotional and intellectual curiosity necessary to produce new works.

Shukla published a few other minor pieces on travel now available in his *Granthāvalī* under the section titled "*Bhūmikā, Ṭippanī, Riport aur Sammati*" (Introduction, Commentary, Report and Opinion). They address travel directly or indirectly and include an account of a group from Japan searching for the Buddha across much of Asia titled *Jāpānī Khoj* (Search for Japan),⁶¹⁹ a section on Hailey's comet, and lastly a very brief discussion of searches for the North Pole, *Uttarī Dhruv*. It is telling that these are all accounts of exploration by foreigners. The piece on the North Pole is especially interesting because Dwivedi published a similar series of essays in *Sarasvati* on expeditions to the North Pole (1905) and South Pole (1909), both of which highlight a process of discovery and expansion. While Shukla's presentation of the expeditions to the North Pole focuses on debates over who arrived first and the best ways to establish authority through publishing, Dwivedi's accounts are of the separate expeditions, emphasizing the hardships each team endured in their search. Both essays, though, call attention to the benefits of undertaking such expeditions for science, society, and nations. They also stress the importance of publishing accounts of expeditions, showcasing the possible rewards of being able to establish and convey a primacy to different journeys.

Other than these few examples of travel literature, Shukla's own work on travel seems mostly through translations. For example, Shukla undertakes a lengthy translation of *Megāsthinīz kā Bhāratvarśīya* (Megasthenes Indica).⁶²⁰ This work highlights the kind of geological, cultural, and historical observation Shukla advocates for in other essays. While Shukla does not offer an explicit call for travel writing as part of the major Hindi canon, as mentioned above, he does push for travel as part of other prose styles. Accounts of travel, Shukla opines, are the best way to awaken the courage and curiosity necessary to undertake travel and adventure. As new books

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 342.

⁶¹⁹ For more on the modern movement of travelers and ideas between India and Japan, and their impact on Japanese Buddhism, see Richard Jaffe, *Seeking Sakyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

⁶²⁰ See: Sushma Jansari, "From Geography to Paradoxography: The Use, Transmission and Survival of Megasthenes' Indica." *Journal of Ancient History* 8, no. 1 (2020): 26-49; Narain Singh Kalota, *India as Described by Megasthenes* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1976).

on the subject appear, others are likely to be similarly inspired to journey forth and write about those experiences.

Shukla has a parallel interest in literary forms and the “beauty” of style. In many ways, his notions of *saundaraya* index the confluence of experience and imagination.⁶²¹ We see beauty as a similar index of certain types of experience in the accounts of many of the authors discussed here. For example, in Kausalyayan's letters, natural beauty highlights moments when he experiences the joy of traveling. *Saundaraya*—beauty, natural and literary—is an important part of Hindi travel literature. It serves as both a metric for assessing its literary significance, and as a moment to amplify certain emotional engagements in readers. In the works of the authors discussed throughout this dissertation, beauty serves as a way to highlight moments of personal reflection, cultural engagement, social commentary, and charm. More importantly, it becomes a way to highlight the importance of travel, a way of instilling a desire, a curiosity, in readers to go in search of similar moments whether through their own travels or in new literary explorations. Notions of beauty also stoke a certain “love of nation,” a modern “emotion” that Hindi scholars theorized was a necessary flavor, *rasa*, for new literary works to support.⁶²² In Sankrityayan's work, for example, a certain tune or scent, follows the traveler, heightening the aesthetic and emotive content of his encounters while wandering.

Questions of beauty and elegance are also a means for assessing literary works. Shukla offers his own understanding of *sāhitya*, literature, as the combination of language, style, tradition, and personal experience. In her article, Mody compares Dwivedi's call for a new expansion of the Hindi corpus to Shukla's more restrained understanding of Hindi literature. She quotes Shukla as describing *sāhitya* as “personal articulation...a product of imagination and experience. It taps into the full potential of language, which distinguishes it with figures of speech, idioms and syntax or imbues it with sweetness and beauty. Science, by contrast is objective, universal and uses words merely as symbols.”⁶²³ In some ways, this definition echoes inherent qualities of travel writing, which bring together style, memory, and experience into a cohesive narrative. According to the authors discussed in this dissertation, travel accounts are also a way to convey the “flavor of wandering.” Whether it is a certain “love of country” or the joy of the open road, their travel accounts convey an emotional and intellectual engagement with traveling as a metaphor for discovery and progress. The sense of elation they write about at moments in their journey, especially in large open expanses or quiet moments, is often deeply personal. For Kausalyayan, he experiences beauty when he is alone on the road, or in the rural landscape of the Himalayas, a Burmese umbrella in hand. In Sankrityayan's accounts, less attention is paid to natural beauty. Instead, “artistry” emerges from his ability as a wanderer to connect with, and become a part of, different communities. Nagarjun's travels celebrate the freedom and emancipation that comes with travel. In each case, there is a deep relationship in their works between wandering and the kind of literary beauty they attempt to bring to their work. Beauty and elegance are not idle things in their accounts. They are a way of engaging with the world, offering readers an insight into their own social, religious, political, and literary point of view.

⁶²¹ Harisimaran Bhullar, *Samakālīn Yātrā-Vṛttan men Sanskr̥tik Sandarbh* (Naī Dillī: K. K. Publications, 2009).

⁶²² Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 273-274.

⁶²³ Mody, “Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century,” 240.

Travel as Social Commentary

On March 5, 1931, Sankrityayan was waiting outside of a jail in Chapra, Bihar, to receive a group of political prisoners who were due to be released. Because he was a Buddhist monk, he was in the habit of not eating in the afternoon. As noon was approaching, he began to worry about where he might get something to eat before it was too late. He did not have enough time to return to the house of his host Bābu Guṇarāj Singh. Instead, he asked Jumarati Miyan, one of the people he was waiting with, if it might be possible to eat at his house. Jumarātī Miyān responded: “The food is ready.” Because Jumarati Miyan was Muslim, Sankrityayan realized that eating at his house might be controversial. As he writes:

छुआछूत को मैं कब का छोड़ चुका था, किन्तु छपरा में निस्संकोच हो मुसल्मान के घर खाना खाने का यह पहिला अवसर था। मेरे कितने ही साथी जनता में इसके लिए घृणा पैदा होने का डर दिखला रहे थे, किन्तु मैं कह देता—“आप कह सकते हैं, कि अब वह रामउदार बाबा नहीं, राहुल सांकृत्यायन है; हिन्दू नहीं, बौद्ध है।” राजनीतिक क्रान्ति के साथ सामाजिक क्रान्ति की मैं अनिवार्य आवश्यकता बहुत पहिले से समझ रहा था। मुसाफिर विद्यालय के समय से ही छुआछूत और जात-पाँत के विरुद्ध कड़ी से कड़ी आलोचना करने में मैं जरा भी नहीं हिचकिचाता था। जुमराती मियाँ के घर खाना मैंने खुल्लम्खुल्ला खाया था, और खुल्लम्खुल्ला उसकी चर्चा करता था। मुझे तो ऐसी कोई घटना याद नहीं आती, जब इसके लिए मैं किसी के तिरस्कार का भाजन हुआ। वस्तुतः जिनके लिए हम काम करते हैं, वे तो हमें हमारी सार्वजनिक सेवा से तौलते हैं, बाकी प्रतिगामी, सरकारपरस्त मक्कारों की हमें पर्वा क्या होनी चाहिये?

I had long ago abandoned untouchability, but in Chapra I had my first opportunity to eat in a Muslim household and I did so resolutely. Many of my companions were concerned that this would give rise to contempt among the public (*jantā men*), but I offered, ‘You may say that he is no longer Rāmūdār Bābā, he is Rāhul Sāṅkrtyāyan; not Hindu, but Buddhist.’ I had already understood for a long time that, along with a political revolution, a social revolution was needed. Since the time of the Musāfir Vidyālay, I never hesitated to severely criticize (the practice of) untouchability and caste. I publicly ate at Jumarātī Miyan’s house, and publicly discussed it. I do not remember a time when I became the object of someone’s scorn because of this. The reality is that only those for whom we work can gauge our public service. So why should we be concerned with the criticism of regressive, government favoring hypocrites?⁶²⁴

The above lines speak to the multivalent qualities of the wander in Sankrityayan's work. Just as importantly, they emphasize the role of Buddhism to his life and his work. Not only did his status as a Buddhist monk structure his days—prompting him to eat before noon—it allowed him to adopt an entirely new persona: “...no longer Rāmūdār Bābā...Rāhul Sāṅkrtyāyan; not Hindu, but Buddhist.” The decidedly public nature of this comment is striking. He offers it as an alibi for his companions should they be accused of any misdeed because they ate at Jumarati Miyan’s

⁶²⁴ Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan-Yātrā* (2), 82.

house. The publicness of this act is reinforced throughout Sankrityayan's description of the scene as he emphasizes that he ate openly—for others to see—and discussed it openly—presumably after the lunch as well. As part of such accounts, Sankrityayan makes a case that his engagement with Buddhism and his dedication to travel, as evidenced through the publication of such accounts, are fundamental to his public service, his *sārvajanik sevā*. They are also vital to the figure of the wanderer he presents in his work. Sankrityayan's travel accounts are full of such moments when caste and religious divisions are put aside. In fact, he suggests that a disregard for caste and religious divisions is the mark of a first class traveler. But Sankrityayan is driven by a vision for social reform for the greatest number; for the public.

As discussed in the introduction, Sankrityayan's understanding of the Buddha's call to wander was impacted by different conceptions of “the many.” Around the same time as the scene described above, the editors of *Dharmadūt* were exploring alternative translations of the Buddhist mission: “Go ye, O Bhikkhus, and wander forth for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men.”⁶²⁵ In various translations, “the many” appears as *bahujan* and *lok*. By 1949, Sankrityayan was still exploring these ideas, writing about the service of the Buddha as “the best son of India,” focusing on their significance for the *bahujan*, the many, not just in words, but in actions as well.⁶²⁶

Within Sankrityayan writings, Buddhism is presented as a form of public service, a means for a social revolution. As an index of the “social,” Buddhism further references what Francesca Orsini discusses as the “customary.” Orsini's insightful revision of Habermas' analysis of the public-private dichotomy into a three-part division—the public, the private, and the customary—addresses some of the nuances of Hindi literature and the related formation of communities around it.⁶²⁷ These divisions are related both to the kind of linguistic registers used by authors in various moments of their texts, but also the ways in which different authors address different topics. In the works of Sankrityayan and his contemporaries, travel was a means for promoting their social ideals. Caste, in particular, became an important issue around which to think about their work as a service to the many.

While Orsini's *The Hindi Public Sphere* is ostensibly about the formation of a dominant Hindi public in India, as Eugene Irschick points out in his review of the book, one of the major contributions of the text is the counter publics it suggests. Drawing from the work of Nancy Fraser, Orsini addresses the ways in which marginalized communities used literature to distinguish themselves, giving rise to specific “counter publics.”⁶²⁸ One avenue through which Orsini discusses subversive accounts is through “hybrid genres.” As Orsini writes, “(confessions, epistolary novels, social novels), mixing reality with fiction, instruction with entertainment” often allowed for authors to raise otherwise “taboo issues.”⁶²⁹ Can we take travel literature as another type of hybrid genre? And if so, does that mean it was also an important forum for critiquing dominant ideologies, enjoying a certain amount of moral flexibility that might not have been possible in other genres? Because travel writing is naturally a mixed genre—drawing

⁶²⁵ As quoted in *The Maha Bodhi Journal*, see introduction.

⁶²⁶ Rahul Sankrityayan, “*Tathāgat kī jay*,” 17.

⁶²⁷ Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*.

⁶²⁸ The work of Jotirao Phule, for example, in Maharashtra, suggests a model for exploring how debates over the inclusion of Bhakti literature in Braj could be used by Dalit activists to present a counter narrative, and thus a counter public to Aryan centric narratives the exclude such literary references.

⁶²⁹ Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*, 284.

from multiple literary styles⁶³⁰—travel literature is perhaps better situated to present outlying ideas; moral ambiguities, uncertainties, or social critiques not readily introduced into counter genre or “minor literature.”⁶³¹ The notion of a “minor literature” in Hindi is complex but is taken here to mean a set of literature poised against the dominant discourses. This is especially evident in the works of the authors discussed throughout this dissertation, all of whom engage Buddhism much in the way they engage travel: a way to expand Hindi’s literary and cultural field.

Buddhist works in Hindi speak more directly to the development of a minor literature within the dominant narratives of Hindi literature. Especially when addressing matters of caste, they speak to the formation of specific reading publics defined by religious affiliation. Because of the unique status of Buddhism at the time, Hindi authors were able to be more creative in how they drew from historical references. For this reason, the notion of literary and historical *saṃskāra* is essential to understanding of the works of the authors discussed here.⁶³² Like other works at the time, they valorized a certain historical past, and especially India’s Buddhist past, drawing on the figure of the Buddha as a model for themselves as modern day wanderers. In their travel accounts, they also begin to trace the extents of a Buddhist community, drawing from a vast array of influences to inform their work.

Buddhism is a major pillar of their work, and the focus of this dissertation. It suggests a certain set of historical and literary allusions that inform Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun. However, alternative readings of their works might suggest others. The above lines give some indication of how the multitude of associations and influences come together in Sankrityayan’s “life journey.” Drawn from the second volume of his *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*, in a chapter dedicated to describing a period of less than one year when Sankrityayan returned to India between trips to Sri Lanka, he describes an incident that took place in 1931. Titled “*satyāgrah ke lie bhārat men (1930-31 ī.)*” (In India for Satyagraha), the chapter highlights Sankrityayan’s close connection to the Indian nationalist movement and Rajendra Prasad.⁶³³ As part of his efforts, Sankrityayan borrowed a camera, which he used to take photos in the hope of drumming up more attention to the ongoing conditions. It was during this same episode that Sankrityayan writes about losing confidence, along with his fellow *rāśtrakarmiyon*, in Gandhism as a sufficient response to colonial rule and the ongoing exploitation of the people. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact marks a pivotal shift in Sankrityayan’s political associations, resulting in a more formal alliance with the Bihar Socialist Party and the publication of his work *Bāīsavīn Sadī* (Twentieth Century).⁶³⁴

Despite these dramatic shifts in his life, Sankrityayan continued to valorize Buddhism and travel in his life and work. In the same chapter, Sankrityayan quickly leaves aside discussions of the nationalist movement and politics to focus on his journey. He even spends several paragraphs

⁶³⁰ Das and Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*.

⁶³¹ Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Robert Brinkley, “What is a Minor Literature?,” *Mississippi Review* 11, no. 3 (1983): 13-33; Françoise Lionnet and Shumei Shi, eds. *Minor Transnationalism* (Duke University Press, 2005).

⁶³² Orsini’s work is again instructive here. As she writes, “We saw how a unified historical identity, a historical *saṃskāra*, was formed in tandem, but also in competition with orientalist historiography and provided a crucial component in nationalist ideology. Homogenization, positive self-representation, and the ideals of Hindu valour and militancy were the hallmarks of this *saṃskāra*, reworked and recreated through both ‘high’ and ‘popular’ literature, including songs, religious and theatrical performances, speeches and public *upadeś* (sermons).” Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*, 240.

⁶³³ Sankrityayan, *Merī Jīvan-Yātrā* (2), 80.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

describing a detour he took to Mohenjo-daro to see first-hand the recently excavated ruins he had read about and studied.⁶³⁵ While such asides may seem like happenstance, the result of a changed itinerary is a chapter dedicated to the Indian independence movement, and speaks to Sankrityayan's understanding of how history, tradition, and exploration all play a role in the kind of political revolutions and social revolutions he envisions for India. In other words, his travel accounts valorize the kind of cultural and social changes Sankrityayan sought for his community. They define and explicate the historical and literary *samskāra*, what we might understand as a certain cultural imaginary, that define his written works and his social engagement.

As Daniel Majchrowicz discusses in his dissertation on the subject, travel literature became a particular genre through which authors could image alternative forms of victory.⁶³⁶ In the case of the authors discussed in this dissertation, rather than political success, travel came to represent social and cultural progress. Following the model of the Buddha, it was as much a personal model for development as a collective one. Caste and religious parochialism were central motifs of their works. They became indexes of each author's individual progress as wanderers, but also measures of broader social change. This would reach a kind of apotheosis in India with B.R. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism in 1956 along with several hundred thousand *dalits*, and the framing of Buddhism as a release from the bonds of Hinduism.⁶³⁷

As part of the broader periodization of Hindi literature proposed above, it is after 1948 that discourses in and around caste and Buddhism undergo a dramatic shift, marking a similar development in how Hindi was understood as a national language. As Harish Trivedi's comments on the perceived "success" of Hindi pre- and post- Independence:

It is an ironically apt measure of the rise and fall of Hindi during the twentieth century that whereas in the colonial period it was seen as a spearhead of resistance against British imperialism, in the postcolonial period it has had to face charges of 'Hindi imperialism,' of exercising its own brand of linguistic dominance and expansionism, which have in turn been resisted by the other Indian languages.⁶³⁸

Trivedi actually sites Sankrityayan as the first to use the term "Hindi imperialism" in his presidential speech to the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan. Again, the unique qualities of travel writing as a genre allowed it to address some of these issues more directly through narratives that surveyed both geographic and cultural territories. Shifts in the conception of Hindi as a "unifying" language reflected similar shifts in the formation of different reading publics.

In *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Tim Youngs draws on the work of John Frow to point out that genres are almost always co-constitutive and changing places. However, travel writing is particularly vexing because it almost always attempts to incorporate and cut across many different genres. The authors addressed throughout this dissertation have published travel accounts as letters, essays, autobiographies, and even historical fiction. As mentioned above, one of the through-lines of their works is the priority of firsthand experience—truth, discovery, and insight born from their own adventures. While this may seem like a basic tenant of travel accounts today, as Youngs points out, truth and first-hand experience were not always required of travel texts. Youngs cites a series of popular "travel works" such as Herman

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 83.

⁶³⁶ Daniel Joseph Majchrowicz, "Travel, Travel Writing and the 'Means to Victory' in Modern South Asia," iii.

⁶³⁷ Douglas Fairchild Ober, "Reinventing Buddhism."

⁶³⁸ Trivedi, "Progress of Hindi, Part 2: Hindi and the Nation," 959.

Melville's *Typee* (1846) and Johnathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1762) as two well-known examples. Over time, authenticity and direct experience became a hallmark of the genre, and an essential part of any travel account.

While engagement with the truth, and the importance of authenticity in an account may change over time, one thing that remains constant in almost all travel writing is the centrality of a voice and the rhetoric of a recounted experience. This is what makes Hindi literature of the twentieth century so exciting: it emerges at a time when authors were rethinking cultural subjectivities and redefining their own personal identities in relationship to changing notions of national, communal, and religious identities. Travel writing emerged as forum in which to think about what it meant to be Indian and how historical legacies could shape the literary, cultural, and political realities of the present. The importance of such narratives necessarily shifted once India gained independence.

In *Travel Writing and the Empire*, Sachidananda Mohanty argues that while colonial travel narratives in India described "India as a geographic space," with India's independence travel literature in the region became a way of rethinking individual and cultural sensibilities within a new panoply of regional and global references—India as a cultural and intellectual thing that could be spatial or could be impressed onto other times, places, and people.⁶³⁹ As Mohanty continues, "[t]ravel narratives especially in the post-colonial context often become self-assuring exercises, a site for the collision and contestation of cultures, and for the natives the internalization of their subject status."⁶⁴⁰ This was not in Hindi alone. V.B. Tharakeshwar continues in a similar vein in her an essay "Empire Writes Back?: Kannada Travel Fiction and Nationalist Discourse." Tharakeshwar's argument is that "travel writing must be taken out of a simple colonial/nationalist discourse. Instead, she suggests that it should be framed within a much more complex "matrix" around the "self," that includes foreign, regional, and caste biases.

A geographic and cultural understanding of India as Hindustan was fundamental to the nationalization of Hindi and Hindu tradition. As the geographical and linguist constructs of "India" became unmoored, so did questions of voice, identity, and authenticity. This became a hallmark of later travel accounts which began to explore the limits of the genre itself. Agyeya, for example, seems to raise the question of perspective, voice, and authenticity as part of his play with literary allusion in the opening of *Are Yāyāvar Rehegā Yād?* When he chooses to open his work with a description of travel from the perspective of a truck's tire, he is essentially doing two things: First, he is bringing the issue of perspective and truth to the foreground. How could a tire's travel story ever be considered factual or empirical? And yet, it gives a vivid picture of a journey, one which in describing the material experience of the tire, offers a candid description of a road trip; the road is dirty, the tire gets a puncture, the shop stalls are muddled and so on. It is also a way of bringing fiction into the muck of the everyday, rather than the realms of reified literature. Agyeya's choice of perspective also upends what would traditionally be understood as an "authentic" or "truthful" travel narrative. It also satirizes notions of an "epic" literature, elevating the quotidian while debasing grand narratives through the account of a tire's experience—*ek tayar kī rām-kahānī* (one tire's 'rām-kahānī'). Ironically, while Agyeya might disavow an elevated ambition for his story, such touches elevate his work and suggest an important aspect of travel literature to aggrandize the everyday as a mode for social, political, and literary commentary. Interestingly, later chapters in *Are Yāyāvar Rehegā Yād?* read more

⁶³⁹ Sachidananda Mohanty, "Introduction: Beyond the Imperial Eye," in *Travel Writing and the Empire* (Katha, 2003): xv.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., xvii.

like tourist guides. His chapter on Elora, for example, takes great care to point out the major sites, and possible routes for viewing different places of interest. In those chapters too, all those facets that affirm the importance of travel accounts and their links to history are brought into question through a destabilization of genre itself. In other words, Agyeya plays with complex qualities of genre as constitutive of travel literature in order to offer multiple ways of seeing, relating to, and experiencing India.

In her conclusion to *The Nationalization of the Hindu Tradition*, Dalmia writes, “[m]ore work would be necessary to confirm the thesis proposed here, which amounts to no less than the proposition that the late nineteenth century was witness to an ideological fusion unprecedented in the history of Indian religions.”⁶⁴¹ Dalmia’s discussion focuses on the standardization of Hindu tradition and its variegated process of becoming a more nationalist religion. But how do Buddhist histories and travel narratives embody a syncretic approach to religious and cultural identity in India, especially in light of increasingly rigid social identities around Hindi? Is Hindi travel literature able to find any common ground, perhaps in the constant movement and foreign interactions that inform so much of the work? The works of Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun suggest that the “ideological fusion” Dalmia writes about continued well into the twentieth century and remains a hallmark of Hindi travel literature. All three authors struggled with how to incorporate complex and multivalent histories into a modern image of the wanderer. Rather than a single, unified image, their written works reveal syncretic approaches to Buddhism, travel, and Hindi, resulting in three related, yet distinct images of the wanderer.

Bhikṣu, Ghumakkar, Yātrī

Three terms that index the historical shifts in how Buddhism was imagined within changing conceptions of Hindi literature: *Bhikṣu*, *ghumakkar*, *yātrī*. Considered together, they trace the complex ideas and relationships that informed each author’s work, revealing key overlaps in their experiences, travels, and approaches to Buddhism. Taken one at a time, they reflect distinct periods in the nationalization of Buddhism and Hindi as they relate to the lives and particular interests of Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun.

More than a call to roam, each author approached the Buddha’s urge to “go forth” as a model of social and cultural development. They folded this approach into their writings on Buddhism and into their approach to Hindi as a national language. As discussed in Chapter 1, Kausalyayan presented his travels in a series of letters designed to introduce Hindi audiences to Buddhism. Three of those letters described a series of journeys he had taken, beginning in Sri Lanka and proceeding into the Himalayas. They present an image of a modern day Indian *bhikṣu*. A bundle over his shoulder and a “Burmese umbrella” in hand, his travel accounts celebrate the joy of traveling, especially in those moments when he is alone and walking on the open road. They also describe the contours of an expanded *hindī jagat*, as both a physical and cultural space, connected to a network of Buddhist monks and intellectuals.

The legacy of Kausalyayan continues today. It is evidenced in the way Ambedkar chose to write about the Buddha as a wanderer in *The Buddha and His Dhamma*.⁶⁴² It is also continued in the work of the monks of the small Buddhist vihar he established just outside of Nagpur, India

⁶⁴¹ Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 434.

⁶⁴² Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *The Buddha and his Dhamma: A Critical Edition* (Oxford University Press, 2011). First published in 1957. Anand Kausalyayan later translated Ambedkar’s work into Hindi as *Bhagavāna Buddha aurā Unakā Dharma* (Śrāvastī [India] ; Bhāratīya Bauddha Śikṣhā Parishada, 1970).

called *Buddha Bhūmi*. One of the major services provided by that monastic community is to provide pilgrimage tours for Buddhist from Sri Lanka to India, as well as trips to Sri Lanka for Buddhists from India.⁶⁴³ It is also clear in the way in which Dalit Buddhists use walking as a way to affirm their claims to the Buddhist landscape of India, mounting long pilgrimage walks from Diksha Bhumi to Bodh Gaya in India.⁶⁴⁴ But Kausalyayan's efforts to establish himself as a peripatetic *bhikṣu*, is perhaps best evidenced through how he is remembered: less as a wandering hero and more as a stoic monk. Born Harnamdas, on January 5, 1905, in the village of Sohana, Punjab, he passed away on June 22, 1988, Badant Anand Kausalyayan.⁶⁴⁵

Sankrityayan wrote about, and promoted, an image of himself as a *ghumakkar*, a wanderer. He formalized his theories of wandering in *Ghumakkar Śāstra*, offering a theory of wandering as a guide for the would be wanderer. Building off of the notion of the Buddha as a wayfarer presented by European scholars such as Caroline Rhys Davids, Sankrityayan soon expanded his notion of the wanderer to include a multitude of references ranging from the Buddha and Guru Nanak to Marco Polo and Charles Darwin. His various expeditions and travels indexed his growing set of cultural and historical precedents, all of which he incorporated into his written works. Drawing from encounters and materials he studied and uncovered as part of trips to Tibet, France, Germany, Iran, and Japan, to name but a few, Sankrityayan's written works trace a dynamic network of intellectuals, religious adherents, radicals, and activists. But it is in his theories on "the art of travel," that we perhaps see the clearest indication of what a wanderer is or should be in his work: someone who connects and translates experiences, bringing together different communities and classes, and who works in service of "the many."

In Sankrityayan's work, the wanderer is both a historical figure and a driver for social change. Like Sankrityayan himself, the wanderer is deeply knowledgeable, embedded in different religious traditions, and committed to promoting particular social ideals. Sankrityayan's wanderer is also driven by a commitment to scientific inquiry and individual emancipation. His travels were always deeply informed by his research and learning. Very often, he would validate or deepen his knowledge of a site through direct firsthand experience. His expeditions to Tibet are especially indicative of this. They also came to play a defining role in his life. Not only did they expand the extents of the Buddhist world and histories of "Greater India," they also expanded his understanding of the wanderer as a historical figure responsible for the spread of Buddhism. Sankrityayan's time in the U.S.S.R. (present day Russia), was another pivotal moment in his life, amplifying his commitment to the wanderer as a social and political radical.

In bringing back evidence of the far reaching impact of Indic influences abroad, especially in conjunction with the reach of Sanskrit and spread of Buddhism, Sankrityayan hoped to inspire curiosity and a thirst for discovery in Hindi readers. Today the artifacts, text, photographs, and other materials Sankrityayan brought back from his time in Tibet are still housed in the Patan Museum and Bihar Research Society Archives. His intimate connection to Tibet also helped broker the settlement of Tibetan refugees in India after the Cultural Revolution. The first Tibetan settlement in India, for example, was constructed just outside of Mussoori, India, in an area known as Happy Valley, where Sankrityayan's house was located at the time.

Nagarjun travelled extensively with Sankrityayan, and also spent several years studying Buddhism in Sri Lanka. He is, however, less remembered for his contributions to Buddhism in

⁶⁴³ Personal interview with Ven Bhadant Pragyaajyoti Thero at Buddha Bhumi, March 25, 2015.

⁶⁴⁴ Tara Nancy Doyle, "Bodh Gaya: Journeys to the diamond throne and the feet of Gayasur," PhD diss. Harvard University, 1997; Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*.

⁶⁴⁵ Ahir, *Buddhism in India*, 138–143.

India as he is for his role as a poet. His poems celebrate the everyday. It is this interest in the everyday existence of most people that is perhaps behind Nagarjun's choice of the moniker *yātrī*. In addition to writing in Hindi, Nagarjun published several works in Maithili under the name Yātrī, or traveler, reflecting a deep interest in more local communities and regional languages. Nagarjuna's travelogues portray a rather personal portrait of himself as an earnest student, companion, and curious mind. His work on Buddhism similarly focuses on its impact on everyday experiences and the legacy of Buddhism in Bihar as an economic, cultural, and historical ideal.⁶⁴⁶ It was a popular notion of Buddhism at the time, especially with Nagarjun's contemporaries in the region, such as Jagdish Kashyap and Upendra Maharathi, both of whom also sought to revive the state as a modern day "Magadha."⁶⁴⁷ Like Sankrityayan, Nagarjun was heavily influenced by Marxism and was active in social and political movements in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. His written works belie an interest in discovering a historical precedent on which to imagine a more egalitarian society. Accordingly, his approach to Buddhism and travel were informed by his political and social ideals, leading to works that presented the wanderer less as a religious figure or idealized wayfarer, but instead as a traveler: someone on a trip or a journey.

While there are many important overlaps between the various approaches to wandering and travel presented by Kausalyayan, Sankrityayan, and Nagarjun—likenesses born out of their time studying, traveling, and working together—the different figures promoted in the work of each highlights how conceptions of wandering and Buddhism were in constant flux at the time. Travelers, wanderers, saints, and monks, move through and animate the work of all three authors discussed in this dissertation. An understanding of the distinct approach each took to describing themselves as roaming figures reveals the unique valences of each author's work. It also highlights some of the nuances of each author's work on Buddhism in Hindi. There are, however, several important continuities that link all three author's writings, including the way each author writes against the idea of the wanderer as an idealized or imaginary hero. Instead, the wanderer is deeply human. He struggles, just as they did, to embody and reflect the ideals and mission that guided their work. And as a deeply human figure, they wrote about the wanderer as someone future readers could follow, disagree with, and emulate in their own lives.

To return to Eck's approach to outlining the contours of India through accounts that continually affirm the sacred geography of the nation by returning in myth and pilgrimage to the same set of sites, travel accounts in India might always be understood as what Sisir Kumar Das describes as journeys that traverse the "known-unknown."⁶⁴⁸ The authors who are the focus of this study chose to make unknown places known. They brought new sites into the constellation of places that define India's cultural and political extents. Through their peregrinations and published accounts, they sought to broaden the cultural geography of India by redrawing historical pathways from and across India and mapping out new networks for their readers to follow. To draw on the work of Sugata Bose, their travel accounts offer readers vantages of a thousand horizons, some discovered, other still yet to be explored.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁶ For a thorough study of Magadha, see Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007).

⁶⁴⁷ J.C. Mathur, "Upendra Maharathi: A Shilpi in the Old Tradition and New," *Roopa-Lekha* 37, no. 1 and 2 (1967).

⁶⁴⁸ As Das continues, these second sorts of travel participate in "a nationalist programme to which the writers participated consciously as well as unconsciously." Das, *A History of Indian Literature 1911-1956*, 254.

⁶⁴⁹ Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Bibliography

A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma, and Ceylon. London: John Murray, 1901.

Budh-Gaya Temple Case: H. Dharmapala Versus Jaipal Gir and Others. (Prosecution Under Sections 295, 296, 297, 143 & 506 of the Indian Penal Code). W. Newman & Company, 1895.

Exhibition on Rahul Sankrityayana's Antiquity Collection from Patna Museum. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. 2018.

Agrawal, Purushottam. "The Naths in Hindi Literature." In *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Naths*, edited by David N. Lorenzen and Adrián Muñoz, 2-18. Albany: SUNY Press, 2011.

Ahir, Diwan Chand. *Pioneers of Buddhist Revival in India*. Delhi: Sri Saguru Publications, 1989.

———. *Buddhism in North India*. Delhi: Classics India Publications, 1989.

———. *Buddhism in North India and Pakistan*. Sri Satguru Publications, 1998.

———. *Buddhism in India: Rediscovery, Revival and Development*. Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2010.

———. *Buddhist Studies: Memoirs of a Civil Servant*. Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2011.

Alam, Muzaffar; and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, eds. *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Ali, Daud. *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ambedkar, B. R. (Bhimrao Ramji). *Untouchables: Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables*. New Delhi: Amrit Book Company, 1948.

———. "The Buddha and the Future of His Religion," *Maha Bodhi* 58, Vaishaka Issue (1950), 199-206.

———. *Buddhist Studies: Memoirs of a Civil Servant*. Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2011.

———. *Who Were the Shudras?: How They Came to be the Fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society*. Bombay: Thackers, 1970.

———. *Conversion as Emancipation*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2004.

———. *Buddha or Karl Marx*. New Delhi : Critical Quest, 2005.

———. *Bhagavān Buddh aur unkā Dharm*. Translation by Bhikṣu Ānand Kausalyāyan. Nāgpur:

- Buddhabhūmi Prakāśan, 1997.
- . *The Buddha and His Dhamma: A Critical Edition*. Edited with an introduction by Aakash Singh Rathore and Ajay Verma. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . *Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition*. Edited by S. Anand with an introduction by Arundhati Roy. London; New York: Verso. 2014.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books, 2006.
- . “Letters, Secrecy, and the Information Age: The Trajectory of Historiography in Southeast Asia,” 9th Frank. H. Golay Lecture, Cornell University, October 25, 2012.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large; Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Arnold, Edwin. *India revisited*. London: Trubner, 1886.
- . *The Light of Asia*. Rand, McNally, 1890.
- . *Buddhism & Hinduism Premium Collection*. e-artnow, Kindle Edition, 2015.
- Arrowsmith, Rupert Richard. “‘An Indian Renaissance’ and the rise of global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910-11,” *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 152, No. 1285, Art in Britain (April 2010), 228 (228-235).
- Asher, Frederick M. *Bodh Gaya: Monumental Legacy*. New Delhi: Oxford University, 2008.
- . *Nalanda: Situating the Great Monastery*. Mumbai: Radhika Sabavala, 2015.
- . *Sarnath: A Critical History of the Place Where Buddhism Began*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2020.
- Ashraf, Kazi. *The Hermit's Hut: Architecture and Asceticism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013.
- Bajaj, Richa. “Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Nehru to Indira Gandhi.” PhD dissertation, Aligarh Muslim University, 2004.
- Bandurski, Frank. *Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rahula Sankrtyayana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte*. Göttinger: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
- Banerjee, Sikata. *Make Me a Man!: Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.

- Bannet, Eve Tavor. *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688–1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Bartholomeusz, Tessa J. *In Defense of Dharma: Just-War Ideology in Buddhist Sri Lanka*. Routledge, 2005.
- Barrier, Norman G. “The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894–1908.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 3 (1967).
- Barrows, John Henry, ed. *The World's Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, vol. 2. Chicago: Parliament Publishing Company, 1893.
- Barton, Scott, J. “Unsaintly Virtue: Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Modern Hindu Hagiography,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 7, no. 3 (2014): 371–391.
- Bayly, Susan. “Imagining ‘greater India’: French and Indian Visions of Colonialism in the Indic mode.” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004): 703–744.
- Barrier, Norman G. “The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894–1908,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 3 (1967): 363–379.
- Bechert, Heinz. “Theravāda Buddhist Sangha: Some General Observations on Historical and Political Factors in Its Development.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 29, 4 (1970): 761–78.
- . “Sangha, State, Society,” Nation”: Persistence of Traditions in” Post-Traditional” Buddhist Societies.” *Daedalus* (1973): 85–95.
- . “Beginnings of Buddhist Historiography: Mahavamsa and Political Thinking.” In *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, edited by Bardwell L. Smith, 1–12. New York: Anima Press, 1978.
- Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Vol. 244. Duke University Press, 1994.
- Behl, Aditya. “The Buddhist Renaissance in Modern India: Dr B.R. Ambedkar and the Untouchables,” *India International Centre Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1990): 83–99.
- Beltz, Johannes, and Surendra Jondhale. *Reconstructing the World: Dr. Ambedkar and Buddhism in India*. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. Translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. “History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism,” *Journal of the American*

- Academy of Religion* 71, no. 3 (2003): 579–604.
- . “Resisting the Global in Buddhist Nationalism: Venerable Soma’s Discourse of Decline and Reform.” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Feb., 2008): 73–106.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Bhatti, Anil. “Realism in Marxism,” *Social Scientists* 8, no. 5/6 (Dec. 1979–Jan. 1980): 30–51.
- Bhullar, Harisimaran. *Samakālīn Yātrā-Vṛtton men Sanskr̥tik Sandarbh*. Naī Dillī: K. K. Publications, 2009.
- Bocking, Brian, Phibul Choompolpaisal, Laurence Cox, and Alicia M. Turner, eds. *A Buddhist Crossroads: Pioneer Western Buddhists and Asian Networks 1860–1960*. London; New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Boehmer, Elleke. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature 1870–1918*. London: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bond, George Doherty. “Anagarika Dharmapala and the 1893 Parliament of the World’s Religions,” *Vidyodaya Journal of Social Science* 6, no. 1 & 2 (1992): 19–26.
- . *The Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka: Religious Tradition, Reinterpretation and Response*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.
- Bose, Sugata. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Bose, Sugata, and Manjapra, Kris, eds. *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Bose, Sugata, and Ira Pande. “Tagorean Universalism and Cosmopolitanism.” *India International Centre Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (2011): 2–17.
- Bowden, Ernest M., and Edwin Arnold. *The essence of Buddhism*. Girard, Kan: Haldeman-Julius Co., 1930.
- Burton, Antionette. “Making Spectacle of Empire: Indian Travellers in Fide-de-Seicle London.” (1996).
- Blackburn, Anne M. *Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010..
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

- Brant, Clare. *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Braun, Erik. *The Birth of Insight: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Brock, Peter. "Gandhi and the Hindi Movement: An Aspect of his Search for Truth." In *The Congress and Indian Nationalism: Historical Perspectives*, edited by John L. Hill, 287–301. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Caddick, Samuel James. "The Construction of Anglo-Indian Spaces in Middlebrow Works of Raj fiction, 1880-1914." PhD dissertation, Liverpool John Moores University, 2020.
- Carvalhoes, Cláudio. "Wandering and Wondering: Unimaginable Interreligious Border Crossings." *Liturgy* 32, no. 3 (2017): 14-22.
- Chakravarty, Chandrava, and Sneha Kar Chaudhuri, eds. *Tagore's Ideas of the New Woman: The Making and Unmaking of Female Subjectivity*. Delhi: Sage Publications, 2017.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "The Colonial Context of the Bengal Renaissance: a Note On Early Railway—Thinking in Bengal." *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 11, no. 1 (1974): 92-106.
- . *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Chandra, Nandini. "The Pedagogic Imperative of Travel Writing in the Hindi World: Children's Periodicals (1920–1950)." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 293-325.
- Chatterjee, Kumkum. "History as self-representation: the recasting of a political tradition in late eighteenth-century Eastern India." *Modern Asian Studies* 32.04 (1998): 913-948.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Charsley, Simon. "'Untouchable': What Is in a Name?" *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 1 (1996): 1–23.
- Chatterjee, Sris Chandra. *Magadha: Architecture and Culture*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942.
- Pravas Jivan Chaudhury. "The Theory of Rasa." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 11, no. 2 (1952): 147-150.
- Cheah, Pheng. *What Is a World?: On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature*. Durham;

- London: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Chopel, Gendun. *Grains of Gold: Tales of Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Translated by Thupten Jinpa and Donald S. Lopez Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Chudal, Alaka Atreya. *A Freethinking Cultural Nationalist: A Life History of Rahul Sankrityayan*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- . “A Life of the ‘Other’ and a Story of the ‘Self’.” *Cracow Indological Studies* 20, no. 2 (2018): 145-162.
- . “What Can a Song Do to You? A life story of a Gurkha prisoner in World War I.” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2020): 392-406.
- . “Nepali Intellectuals in Exile: The History of Nepali Printing in 19th- and 20th-Century Benares.” *Journal of South Asian Intellectual History* 3, no. 1 (2021): 34-59.
- Chunder, Bholanauth. *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India*. London: Trübner, 1869.
- Clark, Steven H., ed. *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- Clarke, Robert, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Clifford, James. “Notes on Travel and Theory.” *Inscriptions* 5, no. 29 (1989): 177-188.
- . *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Cohen, Richard. *Beyond Enlightenment: Buddhism, Religion, Modernity*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Consolaro, Alessandra. “The Errant Philosopher: Rāhul Sāṃkrītyāyan’s Art of Wandering.” *Communication & Culture Online / Komunikacija i Kultura*, (2013): 15-28.
- Corbridge, Stuart, and John Harriss. *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2013.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. “The Pilgrim’s Way, A Buddhist Recension.” *Bihar Research Society Journal* XXIV, no. III, 1937.
- . “The Origin of the Buddha Image.” *The Art Bulletin* 9, no. 4 (1927): 287-328.
- Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India: The Buddhist Period, Including the*

- Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang*. London: Trubner and Co., 1871.
- Cusack, Andrew. *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism*. Rochester: Camden House, 2008.
- Damrosch, David, ed. *World Literature in Theory* (John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014).
- Dalmia, Vasudha. *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bhāratendu Hariśchandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras*. Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- . “Pilgrimage, Fairs and the Secularisation of Space in Modern Hindi Narrative Discourse.” In *Patronage and Popularisation, Pilgrimage and Procession: Channels of Transcultural Translation and Transmission in Early Modern South Asia*, edited by Heidi Rika Maria Pauwels, 117-133. Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz Verlag, 2009.
- . *Fiction as History: The Novel and the City in Modern North India*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2019.
- Dalmia, Vasudha, and Rashmi Sadana, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Indian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Das, Sisir Kumar. *A History of Indian Literature: 1911-1956*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2006.
- Das, Nandini, and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Dasgupta, Sanjukta, and Chinmoy Guha, eds. *Tagore: At Home in the World*. Los Angeles; New Delhi: SAGE, 2013.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1988.
- Deleuze, Gilles, Félix Guattari, and Robert Brinkley, “What is a Minor Literature?,” *Mississippi Review* 11, no. 3 (1983): 13-33.
- Derrida, Jacques, and Anne Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Deśāi, Bāpūrāva Dhoṇḍū. *Yātrā Sāhitya Vidhā Śāstra Aura Itihāsa*. Kānapura: Vikāsa Prakāśana, 2005.
- Dey, Mukul *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta & Bagh*. Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1925.

- Dharmapala, Anagarika. *The Arya Dharma of Sakya Muni, Gautama Buddha or The Ethics of Self Discipline*. Reprint from the University of Michigan Libraries Collection. Calcutta: The Maha Bodhi Society, 1917.
- Dowman, Keith. *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1985.
- Doyle, Tara Nancy. "Bodh Gaya: Journeys to the diamond throne and the feet of Gayasur." PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1997.
- Dutt, Sukumar. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publisher, 1988.
- Dwivedī, Hazārīprasād. *Hindī Sāhitya: Uska Udbhav or Vikās*. Delhi: Attrachand Kapūr And Sons, 1964.
- Dwivedi, Mahavir Prasad. *Hindī bhāshā kī utpatti*. Prayāga: Inḍiyana Presa, 1927.
- . *Mahāvīrprasāda Dvivedī Racanāvalī*. Nāī Dillī: Kitābaghara, 1995.
- Dwivedi, Ram Awadh. *A Critical Survey of Hindi Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1966.
- Eck, Diana. *India: A Sacred Geography*. New York: Harmony Books, 2012.
- Edwards, Justin, and Rune Graulund, eds. *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*. New York: Springer, 2010.
- Edwards, Penny. "Making a Religion of the Nation and Its Language: The French Protectorate (1863–1954) and the Dhammakāy." In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, edited by John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie, 63–85. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004.
- . "The Tyranny of Proximity: Power and Mobility in Colonial Cambodia, 1863–1954." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2006): 421–443.
- . "Grounds for Protest: Placing Shwedagon Pagoda in Colonial and Postcolonial History." *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 197–211.
- . "Making a Religion of the Nation and Its Language: The French Protectorate (1863–1954) and the Dhammakāy." In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, edited by John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie, 63–85. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004.
- . *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007.

- Eldridge, Elizabeth, and John Eldridge. *Raymond Williams: Making Connections*. London: New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Falser, Michael, "Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations," in *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission*, edited by Michael Falser, 1–32. New York: Springer, 2015.
- Figlerowicz, Marta. *Flat Protagonists: A Theory of Novel Character*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Freier, Monika. "Cultivating Emotions: The Gita Press and its Agenda of Social and Spiritual Reform," *South Asian History and Culture* 3, no. 3 (2012): 397–413.
- Gallagher, Catherine, and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Geary, David. "Destination Enlightenment: Branding Buddhism and Spiritual Tourism in Bodhgaya, Bihar," *Anthropology Today* 24, no. 3 (2008): 11–14.
- . *The Rebirth of Bodh Gaya: Buddhism and the Making of a World Heritage Site*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- Geary, David, Matthew R. Sayers, and Abhishek Singh Amar, eds. *Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on a Contested Buddhist Site: Bodh Gaya Jataka*. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Ghose, Indira. *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Giri, Sadananda. *Pilgrimage to Greater India*. Printed for the author by M.M. Mukherjee, 1936.
- Gokhale, Jayashree B. "The Sociopolitical Effects of Ideological Change: The Buddhist Conversion of Maharashtrian Untouchables." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 45.2 (1986): 269–292.
- Gombrich, Richard F. *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*. London; New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Gombrich, Richard, and Gananath Obeyesekere. *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Ghosh, Anindita. "Revisiting the 'Bengal Renaissance': Literary Bengali and Low-Life Print in Colonial Calcutta." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2002): 4329–4338.

- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. *The Making of a New "Indian" Art: Artists, Aesthetics, and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-colonial India*. Columbia University Press, 2004.
- . "The Production and Reproduction of a Monument: The Many Lives of the Sanchi Stupa." *South Asian Studies* 29, no. 1 (2013): 77-109.
- Gupta, Akhil. "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism." *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. (Feb., 1992); 63-79.
- Gupta, Atreyee. "The Promise of the Modern: State, Culture, and Avant-gardism in India (ca. 1930-1960)." PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011.
- Gupta, Samita. "Sris Chandra Chatterjee: The Quest for a National Architecture." *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 28, no. 2 (1991): 187-201.
- Guruge, Ananda W. P. "The Socio-Cultural Background of the Evolution of Vidyodaya and Vidyalandara Universities," *Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science, and Letters, Silver Jubilee Issue* (Feb. 1984): 351-366.
- Grewal, Inderpal, and Caren Kaplan. "Global identities: Theorizing transnational studies of sexuality." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 7.4 (2001): 663-679.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991.
- Haddad, Emily A. "Digging to India: Modernity, Imperialism, and the Suez Canal." *Victorian Studies* 47, no. 3 (2005): 363-96.
- Hancock, Virginia. "New Buddhism for New Aspirations: Navayana Buddhism of Ambedkar and His Followers." *Manushi* 145 (2004): 17-25.
- Hansen, Kathryn. "Renu's Regionalism: Language and Form." *The Journal of Asian Studies* (1981): 273-294.
- Harris, Elizabeth J. *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter Religious, Missionary and Colonial Experience in Nineteenth-century Sri Lanka*. London; New York: Routledge. 2006.
- Hawkins, Hunt. "Forster's Critique of Imperialism in 'A Passage to India'." *South Atlantic Review* 48, no. 1 (1983): 54-65.
- Heine, Steven, Prebish, Charles S. 2003. *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an*

- Ancient Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Herz, Judith Scherer. *A Passage to India: Nation and Narration*. Twayne Publishers, 1993.
- Hobsbawn, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Holt, John. *The Buddhist Visnu: Religious Transformation, Politics, and Culture*. Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Hosseini, Mohammad. "Similar Designs and Symbols in Indo-Achamenid Art." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 5, no. 6 (2015): 153-170.
- Huber, Toni. *Holy Land Reborn*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Jaffe, Richard M. "Seeking Śākyamuni: Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 30.1 (2004): 65-96.
- . *Seeking Śākyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Jadhav, Narendra. *Ambedkar: Awakening India's Social Conscience*. Konark Publishers, 2014.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. "Hindu Nationalism: Strategic Syncretism in Ideology Building." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1993): 517-524.
- . *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- . *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s: Strategies of Identity-Building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India)*. Penguin Books India, 1999.
- . "The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt," *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 1 (2000): 86–108.
- . *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Fighting the Indian Caste System*. Columbia University Press, 2005.
- . "The Hindu Nationalist Reinterpretation of Pilgrimage in India: The Limits of Yatra Politics." *Nations and Nationalism*, 15, no. 1 (2009): 1-15
- . *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2010.
- Jānātilok, Mahāsthavir. *Buddh-Vacan*. Translated by Bhikṣu Ānand Kausalyāyan. Dārāganj:

Chātr-Hitakārī Pustakamālā, 1937.

Jansari, Sushma. "From Geography to Paradoxography: The Use, Transmission and Survival of Megasthenes' Indica." *Journal of Ancient History* 8, no. 1 (2020): 26-49

Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad. *Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text with Special Commentary on Later Gupta Period*. Lahore: Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1934).

Jha, Ashutosh Kr. "Compile All My Poems It would Be My Autobiography: Nagarjun," *Indian Literature* 43, no. 6 (Nov. - Dec. 1999): 196-206.

Jina, Prem Singh. "Bhotias of Nepal: A Socio-Economic and Cultural Study." *Recent Researches on the Himalaya* (1997): 74-77.

Jory, Patrick. "Thai and Western Buddhist Scholarship in the Age of Colonialism: King Chulalongkorn Redefines the Jatakas," *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 3 (2002): 891–918.

Kalota, Narain Sigh. *India as Described by Megasthenes*. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1976.

Kapstein, Matthew T. "An Inexhaustible Treasury of Verse: The Literary Legacy of the Mahasiddhas." In *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, edited by Rob Linrothe. New York; Chicago: Rubin Museum of Art & Serindia Publications, 2006: 49–61.

Kantowsky, Detlef. *Buddhists in India Today: Descriptions, Pictures, and Documents*. Translated from the German by Hans-Georg Tuerstig. New Delhi: Manohar, 2003.

Kausalyayan, Anand. "A.B.C. of Buddhism," *Maha-Bodhi* 46, no. 2 & 3 (Feb and March, 1938): 76–87.

———. *Bhikṣu ke Patra*. Dārāganj: Chātrahitakārī Pustakamālā, 1940.

———. *Yadi Bābā Na Hote*. Nāgpur: Bhikṣu Nivās Prakāśan, 1968.

———. *An Intelligent Man's Guide to Buddhism*, Nāgpur: Bhikṣu Nivās Prakāśan, 1992.

———. *Dhammapad*. Nāgpur: Bhikṣu Nivās Prakāśan, 1993.

———. *Bauddh Dharm: Ek Buddhivādī Adhyayan*. Nāgpur: Bhikṣu Nivās Prakāśan, 1993.

Keay, John. *India Discovered*. New York: Harper Collins, 1988.

Keer, Dhananjay. *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 1995.

Kemper, Steven. *Rescued from the Nation: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Buddhist World*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

- Kenadi, Lella. *Revival of Buddhism in Modern India: The Role of BR Ambedkar and the Dalai Lama XIV*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1995.
- King, Christopher Rolland. *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in the Nineteenth Century North India*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- King, Richard. *Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'*. London; New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Kinnard, Jacob N. *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Kopf, David. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.
- Kosambi, Dharmanand. *Nivedan*, translation by Meera Kosambi. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011.
- . *Dharmanand Kosambi: The Essential Writings*. Edited by Meera Kosambi. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010.
- Kosambi, Meera. "DD Kosambi: The Scholar and the Man." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2008): 34-42.
- Krämer, Hans Martin, and Julian Strube, eds. *Theosophy Across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2020.
- Kudaisya, Medha M. *The Life and Times of G.D. Birla*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Kudelska, Marta, Dorota Kamińska-Jones, Agnieszka Staszczuk, and Agata Świerzowska. *The Temple Road Towards a Great India: Birla Mandirs as a Strategy for Reconstructing Nation and Tradition*. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2019.
- Kuehn, Julia, and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Kumār, Anil. *Svātantryottara Yātrā-Sāhitya Kā Viśleshanātmaka Adhyayana*. Nāī Dillī: Hindī Buka Seṇṭara, 2007.
- Kumar, Avinash. "New Radicalism'in Hindi Literature: Vijaydan Detha, Rajendra Yadav and Omprakash Valmiki." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2014): 34-38.
- Kumar, Ravinder. "Gandhi, Ambedkar and the Poona pact, 1932." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 8.1-2 (1985): 87-101.

Lahiri, Madhumita. "An Idiom for India: Hindustani and the Limits of the Language Concept." *Interventions* 18, no. 1 (2016): 60–85.

Leoshko, Janice. *Sacred Traces: British Explorations of Buddhism in South Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Learman, Linda, ed. *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

LeVine, Sarah. *Rebuilding Buddhism: the Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Ling, Trevor. *Buddhist Revival in India: Aspects of the Sociology of Buddhism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Lionnet, Françoise, and Shumei Shi, eds. *Minor Transnationalism*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2005.

Ludden, David E., ed. *Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Lopez, Donald S. Jr. *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

———. *The Madman's Middle Way: Reflections on Reality of the Tibetan Monk Gendun Chopel*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

———. *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

———. *From Stone to Flesh: A Short History of the Buddha*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

———. *Gendun Chopel: Tibet's Modern Visionary*. Boulder: Shambhala, 2018.

Machwe, Prabhakar. *Rahul Sankrityayan*. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1998.

Mandal, Somdatta. *Journeys: Indian Travel Writing*. New Delhi: Creative Books, 2013.

Mandhwani, Aakriti. "The Hindi Library and the Making of an Archive: The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan from 1911 to 1973." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2020): 1–15.

Majchrowicz, Daniel Joseph. "Travel, Travel Writing and the 'Means to Victory' in Modern South Asia,," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2015.

- Majeed, Javed. *Autobiography, Travel and Postnational Identity: Gandhi, Nehru and Iqbal*. London: Palgrave, 2007).
- . *Muhammad Iqbal: Islam, Aesthetic and Postcolonialism*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2009.
- Manjappa, Kris. *Age of Entanglement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Masuzawa, Tomoko. *The Invention of World Religions: Or, how European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Mathur, J.C. “Upendra Maharathi: A Shilpi in the Old Tradition and New,” *Roopa-Lekha* 37, no. 1 and 2 (1967).
- . “In Search of Primeval Russia: Stylistic Evolution in the Landscapes of Nicholas Roerich, 1897–1914,” *Ecumene* 7, no. 3 (2000): 271–297.
- McCannon, John. “By the Shores of White Waters: The Altai and its Place in the Spiritual Geopolitics of Nicholas Roerich,” *Sibirica* 2, no. 2 (2002): 166–189.
- McGuigan, Jim, ed. *Raymond Williams :A Short Counter Revolution: Towards 2000, Revisited*. New York: SAGE, 2015.
- McMahan, David L. *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*. Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Mehtā, Nare. *Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan kā Itihās, Pratham Khand, 1910–1976*. Allahabad: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1996.
- Menon, Dilip M. “The Blindness of Insight,” in *Indian Political Thought*, ed. Aakash Singh and Silika Mohapatra (Routledge, 2010): 123–135.
- Mishra, Pritipuspa. “The Mortality of Hindustani.” *Parallax* 18, no. 3 (2012): 71-83
- Mohanty, Sachidananda, and Mohammed Zaheer Basha. *Travel Writing and the Empire*. New Delhi: Katha, 2004.
- Mody, Sujata S. “Literature, language, and nation formation: The story of a modern Hindi journal 1900–1920.” PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2008.
- . “Literary Self-Determination and The Disciplinary Boundaries of Hindi Literature in the Early Twentieth Century.” *South Asia Research* 32, no. 3 (2012): 233-256.
- . “Visual Strategies for Literary Authority in Modern Hindi.” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2014): 474-490.
- . *The Making of Modern Hindi: Literary Authority in Colonial North India*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

- Mookerjee, S. C. "Vaisak Festival, Chaitya Vihara, Calcutta." *Maha Bodhi*, 24, no. 7: 243.
- Moritz, Maria. "'The Empire of Righteousness': Anagarika Dharmapala and His Vision of Buddhist Asianism (c. 1900)." In *Asianisms: Regionalist Interactions and Asian Integration*, edited by Marc Frey and Nicola Spakowski. 19–48. Singapore: NUS Press, 2016.
- Mukherjee, Sraman. "New Province, Old Capital: Making Patna Pataliputra." *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 46, no. 2 (2009): 241-279.
- . "From Sites and Museums to Temples: Relics, Ruins and New Buddhist Viharas in Colonial India." Archive Series 5. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, January 2014.
- Mukhopadhyay, Aparajita. "Colonised Gaze? Guidebooks and Journeying in Colonial India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, no. 4, 656-669. 2014.
- . *Imperial Technology and 'Native' Agency: A Social History of Railways in Colonial India, 1850–1920*. Taylor & Francis, 2018.
- Mukhopadhyay, Bhaskar. "Writing home, writing travel: The poetics and politics of dwelling in Bengali modernity." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44.02 (2002): 293-318.
- Mukul, Akshaya. *Gita Press and the Making of Hindu India*. New York: Harper Collins, 2015.
- Nagarjun. "Buddh yug ki arthik avstha." *Nagarjun Rachnavali*, Vol. 6. Edited by Shobhakant. New Delhi, Patna: Rājakamal Prakashan, 2003, 82-88.
- Nagarjun, *Jamaniyā kā Bābā*. Nayī Dillī: Vāñī Prakāśan, 1968.
- . *Nāgārjun Racanā Sacayan*. Edited by Rājeś Jośī. Naī Dillī: Sāhitya Akādēmī, 2004.
- . *Ek Vyakti: Ek Yug*. Dillī : Yātrī Prakāśan, 1992.
- . *Nāgārjun Racanāvalī*, vol. 1-7. Edited by Śobhākant. New Delhi: Rājakamal Prakāśan, 2003.
- Nag, Kalidas. *India and the Pacific World*. Calcutta: Book Company Ltd., 1941.
- . *Discovery of Asia*. Calcutta: The Institute of Asian African Relations, 1957.
- . *Greater India*. Calcutta: The Institute of Asian African Relations, 1960.
- Narasu, P. Lakshmi. *Essence of Buddhism*. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 1907.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. "The Unity of India." *Foreign Affairs* 16, no. 2 (1938): 231-243.

- . *The Discovery of India*. Gurgoan: Penguin Books, 2004.
- . *Glimpses of World History*. Penguin UK, 2004.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, and Gopal Gandhi. *Nehru and Sri Lanka: A Collection of Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches and Writings Covering Three Decades* (Ratmalana: Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2002).
- Nijhawan, Shobna. "Journeying in the Vernacular: Pilgrimage, Tourism and Nationalism in Hindi Travelogues." In *Nation, Nationalism, and the Public Sphere: Religious Politics in India*, edited by Avishek Ray and Ishita Banerjee-Dube. New Delhi: SAGE, 2020.
- Nivedita. *Footfalls of Indian History*, London; New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1915.
- Ober, Douglas Fairchild. "Reinventing Buddhism: Conversations and Encounters in Modern India, 1839-1956." PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2016.
- . "From Buddha Bones to Bo Trees: Nehruvian India, Buddhism, and the Poetics of Power, 1947–1956," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (2019): 1312–1350.
- . "Socialism, Russia, and India's Revolutionary Dharma," *Buddhism in the Global Eye: Beyond East and West*, edited by John S. Harding, Victor Sōgen Hori, and Alexander Soucy, 71-86. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.
- . "'Like Embers Hidden in Ashes, or Jewels Encrusted In Stone': Rāhul Sāṅk tyāyan, Dharmānand Kosambī And Buddhist Activity In Colonial India." *Contemporary Buddhism* 14, no. 1 (2013): 134-148.
- . "Translating the Buddha: Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia and Its Indian Publics." *Humanities* 10, no. 1 (2021): 3.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. *The Buddha in Sri Lanka: Histories and Stories*. Taylor & Francis, 2017.
- Ojha, P. N. *Homage to Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap: Commemorative Volume*. Nalanda: Siri Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, 1986.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. *His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*, translated by William Hoey. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1882.
- Omvedt, Gail. "Dalit and Democratic Revolution." *New Delhi* 1, no. 994 (1994): 1-50.
- . *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*. New Delhi; New York: Penguin, 2008.

- . *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2014.
- Orsini, Francesca. *The Hindi public sphere 1920–1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. “Art of the Contact Zone,” *Profession*, (1991): 33-40.
- . *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Pandey, Dhanpati. *The Arya Samaj and Indian Nationalism, 1875–1920*. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972.
- Pandey, Gyanendra. “The Time of the Dalit conversion.” *Economic and Political Weekly* (2006): 1779–1788.
- Pollock, Sheldon. “The Cosmopolitan Vernacular.” *Journal of Asian studies* (1998): 6–37.
- . *Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History*. Duke University Press, 2002.
- . *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*. . Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.
- Prasad, Ritika. “‘Time-Sense’: Railways and Temporality in Colonial India.” *Modern Asian Studies* 47.4 (2013): 1252-82.
- Pozza, Nicola. “Wandering Writes in the Himalaya: Contesting Narratives and Renunciation in Modern Hindi Literature,” *Cracow Indological Studies* 17 (2015): 49–84.
- Puri, Bharati. “Traveller on the Silk Road: Rites and Routes of Passage in Rahul Sankrityayan’s Himalayan Wanderlust.” *China Report* 47, no. 1 (2011): 37-58.
- Queen, Christopher S., and Sallie B. King, eds. *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.
- Rāhula, Walpola. *The Heritage of the Bhikkhu: The Buddhist Tradition of Service*, translated by K.P.G Wijayasurendra. New York: Grove/Atlantic, 2003.
- Ramaswamy, Sumathi. “Visualising India’s geo-body: Globes, Maps, Bodyscapes.” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 151-189.
- . “The Goddess and the Nation: Subterfuges of Antiquity, the Cunning of Modernity.” In *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*, edited by Gavin Flood, 551–68. Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

- . *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Ratanasara, Havanpola. “A Critical Survey of Pirivena Education in Ceylon from 1815 with Special Reference to Vidyodaya and Vidyalkara Pirivena.” PhD dissertation, University of London 1965.
- Ray, Avishek. “The Resurrection of the Vagabond: Identity Politics in Sankrityayan's ‘Ghumakkar Sastra’.” *Indian Literature* 58, no. 2 (280 (2014): ...
- Ray, Himanshu Prabha. *The Return of the Buddha: Ancient Symbols for a New Nation*. New Delhi: Routledge India, 2014.
- Rhys Davids, Caroline, *Wayfarer's Words*. London: Luzac & Co., 1940.
- . *Buddhism: A Study of the Buddhist Norm*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1925.
- . *Stories of the Buddha: Being Selections from the Jataka*. Dover Publications, 2013.
- Rhys Davids, Thomas. *Buddhism: A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894.
- Rhys Davids, Thomas, and Hermann Oldenberg, trans. *Vinaya Texts: Part I*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1881.
- Rod-Ari, Melody “Thailand: The Symbolic Center of the Theravada Buddhist World,” *Explorations* 9 (Spring 2009): 55–64
- Robinson, Rowena, and Sathianathan Clarke, eds. *Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivations, and Meanings*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Roerich, Nicholas. *Altai Himalaya*. New York: Nicholas Roerich Museum, 2017.
- Rutherford, Andrew, ed. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of A Passage to India: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Sacareau, Isabelle. “Himalayan Hill Stations from the British Raj to Indian Tourism.” *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 31 (2007): 30-47.
- Sahni, Bhisham. “The Progressive Writers' Movement.” *Indian Literature* 29, no. 6 (116 (1986): 178-183.
- Said, Edward W. “Traveling Theory,” *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226–247.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1994.

- . *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 2019.
- Sangharakshita. *Ambedkar and Buddhism*. Cambridge: Windhorse Publications, 1986.
- Sankrityayan, Rahul. *Rāhul Yātrāvalī: Praṭam Bhāg*. Ilāhābād: Kitāb Mahal, 1946.
- . *Ghumakkar Śāstra*. Ilāhābād: Kitāb Mahal, 1948.
- . “Tathāgat kī Jay,” *Dharmadūt* (1949), 17.
- . *Merī Jīvan Yātrā*. Kalakattā: Ādhunika Pustaka Bhavana, 1951.
- . *Yātrā ke Panne*. Dehra Dun: Sāhitya Sadan, 1952.
- . *Rūs men Paccīs Mās: Yātrā*. Nayī Dillī: Ālokaprakāśan, 1952.
- . “Buddhist Dialectics,” In *Buddhism: The Marxist Approach*, 1-8. Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1970.
- . *Selected Essays of Rahul Sankrityayan*. New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1984.
- . *Rāhul Vāngmay*, vol. 1-4. Nayī Dillī: Rādhākṛṣṇā Prakāśan Praveṭ Limited, 1998.
- . *Kārl Mārks*. Ilāhābād: Kitāb Mahal, 2004.
- . “Kāshī men,” *Soch Vicār* (July 2013): 49-56.
- Sarasvatī, Swami Sahajānanda. *Swami Sahajanand and the Peasants of Jharkhand: A View from 1941*. Walter Hauser, ed. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005.
- Śarmā, Pratāpapāla. *Hindī Kā Ādhunika Yātrā-Sāhitya*. Mathurā: Amara Prakāśana, 2003.
- Sartori, Andrew. “The Resonance of ‘Culture’: Framing a Problem in Global Concept-History,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2005): 676-699.
- . *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Saraswati, Sahajanand. *My Life Stuggle: A Translation of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati’s Mera Jian Sangharsh*. Translated by Kailash Chandra Jah and Walter Hauser. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2016.
- . *The Struggle of My Life: Autobiography of Swami Sahajanand*. Translated by Ramchandra Pradhan. Oxford University Press, 2018).

- Śarmā, Pratāpapāla. *Hindī Kā Ādhunika Yātrā-Sāhitya*. Mathurā: Amara Prakāśana, 2003.
- Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar. *Essentials of Hindutva*. New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2021.
- Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
- Schober, Juliane. *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar: Cultural Narratives, Colonial Legacies, and Civil Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011.
- Seager, Richard Hughes, ed. *Dawn of Religious Pluralism: Voices from the World’s Parliament of Religions, 1893*. Open Court, 1993.
- Seckel, Dietrich, and Andreas Leisinger, “Before and Beyond the Image: Aniconic Symbolism in Buddhist Art.” *Artibus Asiae, Supplementum* 45 (2004): 3–107.
- Sen, Simonti. *Travels to Europe: Self and other in Bengali travel narratives, 1870-1910*. Vol. 9. Orient Blackswan, 2005.
- Seneviratne, Herbert L. 1999. *The Work of Kings*. University of Chicago Press.
- Sensabaugh, David Ake. “Footprints of the Buddha,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Recent Acquisitions (2017): 84–89.
- Schober, Juliane. *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.
- Shashi, Shyam Singh. *Bharata Ke Yayavara*. Dilli : Jagata Rama, 1984.
- Shukla, Ramchandra. *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās*. Kāshī: Nāgarī Prachārṇī Sabhā, 1973.
- . *Grantāvali 4: Nibund Sāhitya* Naī Dillī: Prakāshan Sansthān. 2014.
- Shulman, David. “The Inner Life: A Bottom-Up View of South Asia.” Avenali Lecture, University of California, Berkeley, Feb. 18, 2016.
- Simpson, David. “Raymond Williams: Feeling for Structures, Voicing ‘History,’” *Social Text*, 1992, No. 30 (1992): 9-26.
- Singh, Sagar. “Slow Travel and Indian Culture: Philosophical and Practical Aspects.” In *Slow Tourism: Experiences and Mobilities*, edited by Simone Fullagar, Kevin Markwell, and Erica Wilson, 214–226. Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2012.
- Singh, Śyāmsankar. “Hindī Yātrā Sāhitya ko Nāgārjun kā Praday,” vol. 13 (Oct-Dec., 2011).
- Śarmā, Rāmsharaṇ, and Puśpamālā Jain, eds. *Rahul Smṛti*. New Delhi: People’s Publishing

- House Lmt., 1988.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979.
- Snodgrass, Judith. "Defining Modern Buddhism: Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids and the Pali Text Society," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 186–202.
- . "Discourse, Authority, Demand: The Politics of Early English Publications on Buddhism," in *TransBuddhism: Transmission, Translation, Transformation*, edited by Nalini Bhushan, Jay L. Garfield, and Abraham Zablocki, 21-41. Cambridge: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Nationalism and the Imagination," *Lectora*, 15: 79-80.
- Surendran, Gitanjali, "'The Indian Discovery of Buddhism': Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890–1956," PhD. dissertation, Harvard University, 2013.
- Stark, Ulrike. *An Empire of Books*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.
- Stasulane, Anita. *Theosophy and Culture: Nicholas Roerich*. Gregorian Biblical BookShop, 2005.
- Steedman, Carolyn. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*. Rutgers University Press, 2002.
- Strong, John S. *The Buddha: A Beginner's Guide*. Oneworld Publications, 2001.
- Strong, John S, and Stephen Teiser, *Relics of the Buddha*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Szondi, Peter, and Harvey Mendelsohn. "Hope in the Past: on Walter Benjamin." *Critical Inquiry* 4, no. 3 (1978): 491-506.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. *Nationalism*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917.
- . *Greater India*. Madras: S. Ganesan. 1921.
- . *Selected Letters of Rabindranath Tagore*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *The Essential Tagore*. Edited by Fakrul Alam and Radha Chakravarty. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Tagore, Saranindranath. "Tagore's Conception of Cosmopolitanism: A Reconstruction." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (Fall 2008) 1070-1084.

- Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Tartakov, Gary Michael. "Art and Identity: The Rise of a New Buddhist Imagery." *Art Journal* 49, no. 4 (1990): 409-416.
- , ed. *Dalit Art and Visual Imagery*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. London: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Taylor, Irene. "The Dharma Round the World," *Maha Bodhi* 29, no. 8 (August 8, 1921): 265–266.
- Thargyal, Rinzin. *Nomads of Eastern Tibet: Social Organization and Economy of a Pastoral Estate in the Kingdom of Dege*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Thapar, Romila. "Ashoka—A Retrospective," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 31-37.
- . *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "The Mauryan Empire in Early India," *Historical Research* 79, no. 205 (2006): 287-305.
- . "Historical Memory Without History," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2007): 3903-3905.
- . *The Past Before Us*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Thorat, Sukhadeo. *BR Ambedkar: Perspectives on Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Tiyavanich, Kamala. *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth-Century Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- Trevithick, Alan. *The Revival of Buddhist Pilgrimage at Bodh Gaya (1811–1949): Anagarika Dharmapala and the Mahabodhi Temple*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publisher, 2006.
- Trivedi, Sunil. "Baba Nagarjun," *Indian Literature*, Vol. 42., No. 6 (Nov. - Dec, 1998): 140-144.
- Trivedi, Harish. "Progress of Hindi, Part 2: Hindi and the Nation," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Sheldon Pollock, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 958-1022.
- Trivedi, Lisa N. "Visually Mapping the 'Nation': Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920–

- 1930.” *The journal of Asian Studies*, Vo. 62, No. 1 (Feb., 2003): 11-41.
- Turner, Alicia Marie. 2014. *Saving Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- . “The Irish Pongyi in colonial Burma: The confrontations and challenges of U Dhammaloka.” *Contemporary Buddhism* 11, no. 2 (2010): 149-171.
- . “Narratives of Nation, Questions of Community: Examining Burmese Sources without the Lens of Nation.” *Journal of Burma Studies* 15, no. 2 (2011): 263-282.
- Turner, Alicia, Laurence Cox, and Brian Bocking. *The Irish Buddhist: The Forgotten Monk who Faced Down the British Empire*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad. *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*. Arya Samaj, 1954.
- Ujjwal, Madalsa. “Political Ideas of Swami Dayanand Saraswati,” *Indian Journal of Political Science* 69, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec., 2008): 965–974.
- Vājapeyī, Udayana. *Paṭajhara Ke Pāmva Kī Mehandī: Yātrā-Vṛttānta Aura Vaicārika Nibandhoṃ Kā Saṅkalana*. Naī Dillī: Yātrā Buksa, 2009.
- Van der Veer, Peter. *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. University of California Press, 1994.
- Van der Veer, Peter, and Hartmut Lehmann, eds. *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Vatsyayan, Sachchidanand ‘Ajney’. *Are Yāyāvar Rahegā Yād?* Nayī Dillī: Rājakamal Prakāśan, 2015.
- Vatsyayan, Sachchidanand Hiranand, and Kṛṣṇadatta Pālīvāla. 2010. *Bhāgavata bhūmi yātrā*. Dillī: Prabhāta Prakāśana.
- Veidlinger, Daniel. “On the Road: The Appeal of Buddhism to Travelers,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 17, no. 2 (2016): 439–452.
- Viswanathan, Gauri. *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Viswanathan, Gauri. “Religious Conversion and the Politics of Dissent.” In *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*, edited by Peter van der Veer. 89-114. New York; London: Routledge, 2014.
- Vivekananda, Swami. *Memoirs of European Travel*. Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1963.
- Walters, Jonathan S. *Rethinking Buddhist Missions* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1992).

- Wangmo, Tenzin, and Pamela B. Teaster. "The Bridge from Then to Now: Tibetan Elders Living in Diaspora." *Journal of Applied Gerontology* 29, no. 4 (2010): 434-454.
- Webber, Thomas W. *The Forests of Upper India and their Inhabitants* (London: Edward Arnold, 1902).
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- . *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- . "The Analysis of Culture." In *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, edited by John Storey, 32-40. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.
- Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
- . "The Others Within: Travel and ethno-spatial differentiation of Siamese Subjects 1885–1910." *Civility and Savagery: Social identity in Tai States*, edited by Andrew Turton (Curzon Press, 2000): 38–62.
- Yang, Anand A. "Sacred symbol and sacred space in Rural India: Community mobilization in the "Anti-Cow Killing" riot of 1893." *Comparative studies in society and history* 22, no. 4 (1980): 576-596.
- Yayawar, Bharat. *Hindī kī anasthiratā: eka ētiḥāsika bahasa*. Naī Dillī: Vāṇī Prakāśana, 1993.
- Yadav, K. C., ed. *The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati*. South Asia Books, 2010.
- Yu, Dan Smyer. "Buddhist conversion in the contemporary world," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*. Edited by Lewsi R. Rambo and Charles E. Farhadian. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Zavos, John. "The Arya Samaj and the Antecedents of Hindu Nationalism." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 3, no. 1 (1999): 57-81.
- Zelliot, Eleanor. "Connected Peoples: Pilgrimage in the Structure of the Ambedkar Movement." *Contemporary Voice of Dalit* 4, no. 1 (2011): 1-6.
- Zèphir, Thierry. "Chakra: Quintessential Symbol of the Buddha's Law." In *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, edited by John Guy, 192–194. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2014.