



HAROLD BAILEY

Walter Stoneman

Harold Walter Bailey

1899–1996

IN 1979 THE CITY OF PERTH in Western Australia celebrated its Sesquicentenary among other things by setting 150 plaques, one for each year, into the pavement of the main street, St George's Terrace. Each plaque commemorates a famous Western Australian. At the corner of St George's Terrace and William Street the plaque for 1952 can be seen with the simple inscription '1952 Professor Harold Bailey, Scholar'.¹ Above all else the late Sir Harold Bailey was a scholar and a most distinguished one.² When in 1960 M. N. Austin wrote an appreciation of Bailey for the *Gazette of the University of Western Australia* he very appositely entitled it 'Ex humili potens: A Scholar's Progress' and similarly in 1979 he entitled his account in *Westralian Portraits* 'Sir Harold Bailey The Scholar'. When Bailey was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Western Australia in 1963 the speaker presenting him began by applying to him the four words used by Marcellus addressing Horatio at a tense moment in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: 'Thou art a scholar.'

Bailey's single-minded devotion to scholarship was quite extraordinary. He remained single all his life and never allowed personal ties of any kind to distract him from his work, which occupied almost the whole of his time. Even academic committee work he regarded as merely a necessary chore and often spent the time practising Oriental scripts. He was at his happiest when conversing with scholars on

¹ Bailey visited Perth in 1952.

² In the judgement of A. D. H. Bivar, *JRAS*, 1996, 410: 'one of the greatest scholars of all time'.

scholarly matters and regarded most other kinds of entertainment such as theatre, television, or radio as frivolous. He enjoyed playing the violin and taught himself to play the viola to make it easier to form a string quartet in which he participated for many years, but he did not go to concerts or listen to records. The only competitive sport in which he indulged for any length of time was chess, but he did not play in a team. During his first year at Oxford he played tennis quite often, but he seems not to have persisted with it. As a means of relaxation he preferred the simpler pleasures of walking and cycling, and later on in life gardening.

By the time he had taken up the chair of Sanskrit in Cambridge Bailey had already become something of a legendary figure in the field of Oriental studies and even beyond, and he had a steady stream of visitors, many of whom were simply curious to see him even though they had no connection with Oriental studies. As far as I know, Bailey never turned anyone away, but entertained them with his usual courteous hospitality. Countless visitors of Bailey's would, I am sure, be astonished to read Sir Cyril Philips's description of Bailey as 'the reclusive Harold Bailey, born in the Australian outback and, perhaps for that reason, without a single word of small talk'.³ It is true that he did not engage in slick repartee, far less in bawdy jokes, but virtually everyone felt comfortable in his presence on account of his dignified courtesy.

Harold Walter Bailey was born, not in Australia, but in Devizes, Wiltshire, on 16 December 1899 to Frederick Charles Quinton Bailey (1869–1952) and Emma Jane, née Reichardt (1871–1962). His father was in partnership with his brother-in-law Alec George Richards⁴ (born 1853) in a coal and hardware business at the Nursery, Bath Road, Devizes. His parents attached importance to education and sent him to a private school in the centre of Devizes. The school was known as 'Parnella House School', the name moving with the school in 1907 from 26 to 23 Market Place, where Parnella House still stands although it no longer houses a school. The school specialised in the teaching of music, especially the piano and the violin. The principals of the school, Misses Davies and Ward, gave Bailey excellent reports emphasising his attentiveness and interest.⁵ However, in 1910 his parents decided to

³ Sir Cyril Philips, *Beyond the Ivory Tower. The Autobiography of Sir Cyril Philips* (London and New York, 1995), p. 42.

⁴ He married in 1897 Emma Jane's younger sister Elizabeth Reichardt.

⁵ A photograph of the report for 1909 was published on p. 18 of *The West Australian* on 8 Feb. 1986. The original of the report is now in the hands of relatives of Bailey's in Perth.

emigrate to Western Australia and take up farming. They took with them besides ten-year-old Harold, also his older brother, Alec Charles (1896–1985), and his younger brother, Carl William (1900–94). The property they purchased in Australia was known as ‘Glen Wood’. On his university application forms in Australia Bailey always gave his parents’ address simply as ‘Glen Wood, Merredin’. More precisely the farm was at Nangeenan, a small town about ten km west of the town of Merredin in what has been known since 1961 as the shire of Merredin. The town of Merredin itself is 260 km east of Perth on the Great Eastern Highway that links Kalgoorlie with Perth. It is now the largest centre in the Western Australian wheatbelt and in 1992 had a population of 4,500, but when the Baileys emigrated to the area, things were different. Settlement had begun in the area in the 1890s in the wake of the Coolgardie gold rush, but construction of the town did not begin until 1906. So even the most significant town closest to Glen Wood would not have had much to offer in those days when the Baileys set about clearing their 805 acres of bushland in preparation for cultivation. Today the whole area is under wheat.

This then is the setting for the scene that Arnold Toynbee⁶ has made famous of the young Bailey studying Avestan in the shade of a haystack. However, the fact that even on a remote farm Bailey had access to books on so many languages including such exotic ones as Avestan⁷ testifies to considerable encouragement on the part of his family. I myself developed a passion for exotic languages at an early age, but even though it was many years later when I grew up in the huge metropolis of Sydney on the opposite side of the continent and had access to the best libraries in the country there was scarcely a book to be had on Sanskrit, let alone Avestan. The first time I saw a book on Avestan was when J. J. Nicholls, a fellow member of the Latin department at Sydney University, gave me in 1959 the copy of H. Reichelt’s *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1909, that he had acquired in Cambridge in 1940.

Toynbee quotes Bailey as having told him in 1952 that he had had access to ‘a set of seven volumes of an encyclopaedia (eagerly devoured)’, but when he was in Tehran in 1932 he wrote to his mother: ‘How strange it still seems that the name Tehran which I knew first in that invaluable Harmsworth Encyclopaedia as early as 1911 should

⁶ A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. x (1954), pp. 16–17.

⁷ It was not, it seems, until 1919 that he had access to books on Sanskrit, Pali, and Avestan.

have been at last visibly written on public notices before my eyes!’ Thus the work in question must have been the eight-volume *Harmsworth Encyclopædia* published in London in 1905–6. This contains excellent articles not only on Tehran and Persia but also on other subjects such as Avestan that were to become his special field. There is too an entry on Sir Edwin Arnold (1832–1904), principal of the Government Sanskrit College at Poona, who wrote *Light of Asia*, which it describes succinctly as ‘an epic on the life and work of Buddha’. Bailey told me in later years that it was especially this work that had inspired him to take up Oriental studies. Certainly it is difficult to read the poem without being well acquainted with Anglo-Indian vocabulary as well as having some knowledge of Sanskrit, Pali, and Hindi.

By 1920 Bailey’s parents must have decided that he should enter the University of Western Australia that had been founded in 1913. On the advice of P. C. Anderson, headmaster (1904–45) of Scotch College, one of Perth’s old and leading boys’ colleges, Bailey took private tuition for two years from Cecil Owen (1874–1958), who had matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford in 1893 but had left Oxford after one term without taking a degree. How, why, or when he went to Australia I do not know. However, Bailey passed the examinations in English, Greek, Latin, and history at a Perth high school⁸ in 1921 and Junior Mathematics at the University in February 1922, thus enabling him to be matriculated in the same month. It is amusing to note that he seems to have been caught unawares by the requirement that he submit ‘certificates of good character from some responsible person’ and had to write on his application form ‘I will forward certificate as soon as possible’. In the event he submitted a testimonial from J. Pilsbury, ‘Secretary to the Merredin District Road, Health and Vermin Board’, who claimed to have known Bailey for the past seven years.

As there was no course in Oriental languages at that time in Australia, Bailey chose to read Latin and Greek. Lodging in the house of a Mrs Swan in Mason Street, Cottesloe Beach, in 1922 Bailey embarked upon the study of English, Greek, Latin, and a subject called ‘Logic and Ancient Philosophy’. In each of the years 1922, 1923, and 1924 he passed the examinations in Greek and Latin with distinction. In 1923 he was awarded the Lady Hackett Prize for Classics ‘for the candidate taking the highest place in the University Annual Examination in Latin

⁸ I do not at present know at which one. The archivist of Scotch College could find in the college records no mention of either Bailey or Owen.

II'. Before beginning his third year in 1924 he was appointed Assistant Master of Guildford Grammar School, where he taught English, Greek, and Latin. He gave the school as his address until he left Australia in 1927 although he was replaced at the school by a Cambridge graduate after the first term of 1925.⁹ Whether he had overtaxed himself by combining work and study in this way is not clear, but he was placed in a sanatorium only eight days before the examinations in 1924. However, by November 1924 he had completed the requirements for the BA degree and in 1925 he proceeded to the Honours year and he acted as Tutor in Latin at the University in 1926–7. One of Bailey's pupils at Guildford Grammar School was Max B. Grace, who in a book¹⁰ published in Western Australia in 1991 recalls how Bailey fostered his passion for ancient history and they remained lifelong friends.

That Bailey was studying Greek and Latin as second best option only, his real interest being in Oriental studies, is made clear by the fact that already in 1923 he advertised for a Japanese penfriend. From 1923 at least until 1928 he corresponded regularly with Yoshio Kutsuhara (born c.1909) and his elder brother Yasuo (born 1901) in Kumamoto, Japan. In a letter dated 28 December 1923 Kutsuhara wrote: 'Especially it is wonderful to me that you spell Japanese so good', obviously amazed to receive a letter in Japanese from an Australian in Perth. The brothers were curious to know how Bailey had obtained his Japanese Bible. In an earlier letter Yasuo explains differences between Japanese as spoken in Kumamoto and in Tokyo. They sent him Japanese newspapers in 1924 and in 1926 a 'textbook of Japanese Middle School'.

In the 1920s the classical languages were taught at the University of Western Australia by Associate Professor George Wood,¹¹ who had studied in Aberdeen and Oxford before taking up his appointment as lecturer in Perth. Wood recognised Bailey's ability and Bailey appreciated his support. They continued to correspond long after Bailey settled in England, Wood always solicitous of Bailey's best interests. However, I do not know whether Wood ever informed Bailey about the struggle he had to get him awarded a First Class degree, without which history might have taken a different turn.

⁹ M. White, *Go Forward. Guildford Grammar School, 1896–1996* (Guildford, 1996), p. 119.

¹⁰ "Ercildoune", *Guildford Reflections 1906–1925*, p. 81; on p. 82 there is a photograph of Bailey taken about 1926.

¹¹ He was Associate Professor from 1920–44 and Professor from 1945 until his death in 1949.

Wood confidently assessed Bailey's Greek and Latin Honours papers at 90 per cent and 85 per cent respectively, clearly giving him First Class Honours according to the current system, but the external examiner, Professor W. J. Woodhouse, professor of Greek at the University of Sydney, assessed them at 65 per cent and 74 per cent respectively, that is Second Class. Wood eventually persuaded Woodhouse to raise the marks to 74½ per cent and 77 per cent respectively to allow Bailey to be awarded a First. History undoubtedly shows that Wood's instincts were sound.

In 1926 Bailey began work on his MA thesis, which he appears to have completed within a few months. For the thesis, entitled *Religion in Euripides, a study of his religious views and their influence on his dramas*, some 247 typewritten pages, he was awarded the MA degree on 24 April 1927. This time Wood had turned to a different external examiner, J. L. Michie, Professor of Classics in the University of Queensland, who telegraphed: 'unhesitatingly recommend acceptance of thesis on all grounds'.

Wood was somewhat ambivalent about recommending the thesis for publication and in fact Bailey never submitted it for publication. Looking back it seems surprising that he should have chosen or allowed himself to be assigned a literary subject for his thesis when it was clear that his interest lay in language. He himself in later years stressed how valuable it was for him that Wood introduced him to linguistics. Yet the thesis shows none of the etymologising bent characteristic of his later work. Essentially it is a refutation of Verrall's theories as presented in his works *Euripides the Rationalist*¹² and *Four Plays of Euripides*.¹³ He concludes page 246: 'To us therefore Euripides appears to be a theist, not as a believer in the Olympian gods, or even of Chthonian powers, but an original thinker in that he sought to purge the gross popular conception of divinity of its harmful traditional elements, thereby to secure an ennobling in place of a degrading religion. Hence his criticisms and his study of philosophy though he was no philosopher himself.' Bailey's contention, according to Wood, is not entirely novel but had not previously been worked out in such detail.

It is clear that Bailey was so keen to turn to Oriental languages that

¹² A[rthur] W[oollgar] Verrall, *Euripides the rationalist: a study in the history of art and religion* (Cambridge, 1895, repr. 1913).

¹³ A. W. Verrall, *Essays on four plays of Euripides. Andromache, Helen, Heracles, Orestes* (Cambridge, 1905).

in the years immediately following the submission of his thesis he would have had neither time nor interest in preparing it for publication. Nor did he have any serious interest in keeping up with the development of research in the field of classical literature. When in later years he asked me whether I considered he should destroy his copy of the thesis, which he thought might be the only copy in existence, I said I could see no point in doing so. At the time I had not realised how concerned Bailey was about his image. It is true that he did not set much store by outward appearances, but he did by the things that really mattered to him.

The great Western Australian benefactor, Sir John Winthrop Hackett, had in his bequest endowed the so-called 'Hackett studentships', the first of which was awarded to Bailey in 1927. On learning of the award Bailey first consulted G. Wood, who advised him to pursue his studies in Oxford that very year, and then Bailey wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor in Perth enclosing a list of books that he wanted sent from Oxford and charged to the studentship. In a letter dated 8 July 1927 that Wood addressed to 'the Censor, Non-Collegiate Buildings' in Oxford, he wrote: 'This University has shown its faith and appreciation by electing Mr Bailey to the first of its recently established Hackett Studentships, with extraordinary permission to hold the Studentship at another University.' The extraordinary permission was due to the fact that Bailey had already graduated a year prior to the institution of the Studentships.

So on 5 September 1927 Bailey set out from Fremantle on the Pensinsular and Orient RMS *Maloja* on a lifelong adventure. In Oxford he went to the Delegacy of Non-Collegiate Students as arranged by Wood. The Delegacy became St Catherine's Society in 1931 and St Catherine's College in 1964. Bailey remained in touch with St Catherine's, giving a speech at the gaudy of 1965, and he was made honorary fellow in 1976.

It so happened that in 1928, the very next year after his arrival, the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists took place in Oxford so that Bailey had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of many of the leading Orientalists of the time. With some of them such as Georg Morgenstierne (1892–1978) and Sten Konow (1867–1948), from Oslo, and Vladimir Minorsky (1877–1966), at that time living in Paris, he remained in close contact ever afterwards. Also present were Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) and his son Manu (1889–1977), both of whom were working on Khotanese, which was soon to become a field dominated by Bailey.

In 1928 Bailey had already attended a meeting of the Arthurian Society in Lincoln. He remained a member of the Society after it was incorporated into the International Arthurian Society but he seldom attended its meetings. He was particularly interested in the Arthurian tradition in Welsh. Many years later he contributed an article on a Breton word and name to the inaugural issue of the journal *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*.¹⁴

Having matriculated at Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1927 Bailey was granted the status of Senior Student (which enabled him to complete a BA degree in two years) on 22 October 1927. Under Professor F. W. Thomas (1867–1956) and James Morison (1852–1935) he studied classical Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Vedic, and under R. P. Dewhurst (1869–1935) Avestan, which he is said to have been the first person to study officially at Oxford. G. E. K. Braunnholtz (1887–1967), the professor of comparative philology, advised Bailey not to come to his lectures as they would be too elementary for him. He also studied Old Irish with J. Fraser (1882–1945), professor of Celtic, for two terms. Outside his official course of studies he availed himself of Oxford's library facilities to indulge in the luxury of acquiring other languages. Wood was concerned that he was devoting too much time to Armenian, but in 1928 he became the first holder of the Nubar Pasha Armenian Scholarship that had been established the previous year. He held it for three years during which he committed himself to 'the study of the Alexander Romance in Armenian, together with a more general study of Armenian Philology'. Although Bailey never published his research on the Alexander Romance in Armenian, he continued to take an interest in Armenian and in later years supervised the research of C. J. F. Dowsett (1924–1998), who in 1965 became the first Calouste Gulbenkian Professor of Armenian Studies at Oxford. In 1929 he went on to learn Georgian, and it must have been in these years too that he began to study Ossetic. Even so he graduated BA in Oriental Studies (Sanskrit and Zend) with first class honours in Trinity Term 1929.

In the same year the Parsee community's lectureship in Iranian studies was established at the London School of Oriental Studies and Bailey was appointed its first holder on 1 August 1929. However, he remained living in his lodgings at 33 Helen Road, Oxford, and was

¹⁴ 'Bisclavret in Marie de France', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 1, 1981, 95–7. The article evoked criticism by W. Sayers, 'Bisclavret in Marie de France: A Reply', *ibid.* 4, 1982, 77–82.

admitted as an advanced student in November. In the same month, in a letter to W. Sutton Page, he committed himself to giving a course of ten lectures on Zoroastrianism the following term. It was at this time that he began to work on his doctoral thesis that was to have been an edition (with translation and commentary) of the whole of the so-called *Greater Bundahishn*, a kind of encyclopaedia of Zoroastrianism, written in the Middle Iranian language known as Pahlavi. Many textual and philological problems are presented by this work, and Bailey's attempts to solve them immediately led to a spate of articles published in the leading Orientalist journals from 1930 onwards. These articles already show the main characteristic of much of his later work, the attempt to elucidate obscure items of Middle Iranian vocabulary by the application of a combination of philological method based on wide-ranging reading and etymological speculation using the contemporary methods of comparative linguistics. They immediately established his reputation as a brilliant scholar of Oriental philology.

Coming from Western Australia in the late 1920s Bailey clearly revelled in the libraries of Oxford and enjoyed the teaching, but adapting to a country that he found strange and wonderful was not without its difficulties. In his first years in England he suffered badly from arthritis. He also found it advisable to eradicate his Australian accent. However, in Oxford he developed a lasting friendship with Alan S. C. Ross (1907–80), who was later to become Professor of Linguistics in Birmingham (1951–74), and it was Ross who helped him adjust to English life, as Bailey wrote to him many years later: 'the whole English life was astonishing to me and from you I learned to understand it a little'.

In collaboration with Ross he published four articles: 'OE "afigen": Ossete "fēzōnāg"', *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 3, 1934, 7–9, 'Idrisi on Lyonesse', *Journal of Celtic Studies*, II. 1, 1953, 32–42, 'Wastel', *English and Germanic Studies*, VI, 1957, 1–29, and 'Path', *TPS*, 1961, 107–142. With Ross he undertook many journeys in the course of the years. In 1951 he bought a Landrover, in which Ross used to drive him about the Welsh mountains. Eventually in 1964 he sold the Landrover to Ross.

On 10 February 1930 Bailey gave a lecture entitled 'Iranica' to the Oxford Junior Linguistic Society. In the summer vacation he made use of the free return passage to Australia he had been awarded and returned to visit his parents. He arrived back in Southampton on 5 October 1930.

In 1931 Bailey acted as secretary to the section on 'Asie Antérieure et Centrale' at the eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden. There he will have been particularly interested in A. Christensen's paper on the sources of the *Bundahishn* and Kaj Barr's on the Pahlavi psalter.

Before submitting his doctoral thesis Bailey took up lodgings with a Miss Gertrude Robertson as landlady at 7 West Heath Drive, Golders Green, London. She clearly had a sympathetic ear and Bailey remained in touch with her for many years. In 1932 he was given special six-month study leave from the School and a grant from the Forlong Fund to travel to Iran. He went first by ship to Port Said. On board by day he wrote long letters to his mother and to Miss Robertson and at night he played chess with the head steward. In one letter he proudly informed Miss Robertson that he had won seventeen out of eighteen games so far. Already when in Perth Bailey used to make a note in his diary of games of chess that he had won. He continued to play chess during the war years and in 1941 he bought a chess table from Things Unique in Oxford that it was expected would take about seven days to deliver to Cambridge. The director of Things Unique assured him 'This is the very best we can do under the present difficult times'. It was probably some time during the 1950s that he gave up playing chess because he found himself thinking over games he had played and so unable to concentrate on his work.

From Port Said Bailey went to Jerusalem by train. In a letter to Miss Robertson from Tehran he describes his visits to Nazareth, Capernaum, Damascus, Baghdad, Kermanshah, and Besotun. It is interesting that in the same letter he remarked: 'I do hope my Persian improves soon—it is most awkward to mutter yes and no at random.' Although Bailey had an extraordinary ability to learn written languages, he seems to have had no special aptitude for learning to speak them.¹⁵ He obviously found this somewhat embarrassing in view of his reputation as a polyglot. He once advised me to follow his example: 'Learn and practise a few useful phrases, come out with one at an appropriate moment, then turn away quickly to someone else before you get an answer.'

It appears to have been during this journey that Bailey developed an intense aversion to eating meat to judge by remarks he made in letters to his mother at this time. Thereafter he seldom ate meat except to avoid

¹⁵ In a letter to W. K. C. Guthrie dated 6 Dec. 1948 Bailey wrote: 'I should like to help with the Ossetic. But I see great difficulties. I have never been much good at spoken languages.'

embarrassing a host or hostess. However, he did not describe himself as a vegetarian but said he simply disliked the taste of meat.

The highlights of this most exciting of his journeys were evidently his visit to Shiraz and Persepolis, cycling from Esfahan to Gaz with C. A. Storey¹⁶ (1888–1967) ‘to collect some tales in the dialect spoken there’, and a week spent in the Zoroastrian town of Yazd. These events provided material for three articles published shortly after his return: ‘Western Iranian dialects’, *TPS*, 1933, 46–64; ‘Modern Western Iranian: infinitives in Gazī and Soī’, *TPS*, 1935, 73–4; and ‘Yazdi’, *BSOS*, VIII, 2–3, 1936, 335–61. He returned via Istanbul and Venice.

Thereafter Bailey paid only two short visits to Iran. One was in 1968 when he went as one of the members of the editorial board to present to the Shah in Shiraz the first volumes¹⁷ of *The Cambridge History of Iran* to appear. The other was in 1975 when he presided over the Second International Congress of Mithraic Studies.

By 1933 Bailey decided it was time to obtain his Oxford doctorate even though he had not been able to complete his work on the *Bundahishn* according to his original plan. The thesis, officially deposited in the Bodleian on 19 December 1933, is entitled *The Iranian recension of the Pahlavi Bundahesh: a philological and critical treatment of the text, with translation*. The introduction to the thesis is signed and dated ‘London April 18, 1933’. So it appears that he stopped work on it at that date and at the end of term he set sail for Cairo to study Arabic.¹⁸ The public examination of his thesis took place at the Indian Institute in Oxford on 14 October 1933, the examiners being R. P. Dewhurst and E. Benveniste (1902–76).¹⁹

It is often reported that when examiners were being sought for this occasion the name most frequently mentioned as a possible examiner was Bailey’s own. This was because Pahlavi studies had virtually ceased to exist in England until Bailey arrived and he had not only been appointed to teach them in London but already acquired a substantial reputation on the basis of his published articles. The external examiner

¹⁶ Storey was at that time librarian at the India Office but became professor of Arabic in Cambridge in 1933 on R. A. Nicholson’s retirement.

¹⁷ Volume 1: *The Land of Iran*, and volume 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, both Cambridge, 1968.

¹⁸ Bailey joined the YMCA so that he could stay in the YMCA hostel in Cairo. However, in matters of religion he was agnostic. In a letter to S. Konow he wrote (6 Mar. 1936): ‘I usually enter into the spirit of any religion I study by thinking myself a devotee for a time!’

¹⁹ *The Oxford University Gazette*, vol. LXIV, no. 2041, 5 Oct. 1933, p. 12b.

selected in the event, E. Benveniste, was not a specialist in Pahlavi, but himself a young language prodigy. Though a couple of years younger than Bailey he had already been the recipient of a small *Festschrift* and had an international reputation as an Indo-Europeanist with a special interest in Iranian languages. Dewhurst, however, seems to have had scarcely any knowledge of Pahlavi although apparently he held classes in it that Bailey attended.

In the year following his D.Phil. examination Bailey bought a house at 7 Brook Ave, Edgware, Middlesex, where he lived until he moved to Cambridge. In part he bought the house so that he would have room to put up friends.

Bailey's doctoral thesis was unfortunately never published although quite a number of scholars have consulted it over the years. In the introduction to his thesis Bailey thanks among others Kaj Barr (1896–1970), at that time lecturer in classical philology at the University of Copenhagen, who had a particular interest in Pahlavi and was already recognised as one of the leading scholars of Iranian studies in Europe. While Bailey was visiting Barr in September 1934 they decided to collaborate on a joint edition of the *Bundahishn* and he informed S. Konow of their decision in a letter he wrote to him on 5 September 1934 while he was at Barr's. The following year Barr spent a month at Bailey's house in Edgware while they worked on the project and in 1936 Bailey again went to Copenhagen to work on it further with him, but already in a letter to J. C. Tavadia written at the beginning of 1936 he indicated: 'My Saka material is naturally far more interesting to me.'

Barr began intensive work on the glossary to the *Bundahishn* and by 23 February 1937 he was able to report: 'I am glad to tell you that the material for the Bundahišn-glossary is rapidly increasing. More than half of it is finished, and I hope to have done with the whole at the end of the spring.' Oddly enough, however, in the following year in a letter to Mr Roberts of the Cambridge University Press Bailey proposed as one of the items in a planned new publication series a volume containing a translation of the *Bundahishn*, not by Barr, but by one of Bailey's students,²⁰ R. C. Zaehner (1913–74), who later (1952) became Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in Oxford.

While Barr was staying with Bailey in Edgware in 1935 they made an excursion by bus to Cambridge, where Thomas Burrow (1909–86), at

²⁰ Zaehner had read Pahlavi with him in London and was now reading Sogdian with him in Cambridge.

that time Fellow of Christ's, but in 1944 to become Bailey's opposite number as Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, took them to lunch in college. They also called on E. J. Rapson (1861–1937), Professor of Sanskrit in Cambridge, whom Bailey was shortly to succeed, and the recently retired Professor of Arabic, R. A. Nicholson (1868–1945).

In the years following Bailey's first visit to Sten Konow in Oslo in 1933 Bailey corresponded frequently and enthusiastically with him about Khotanese. Although he had himself been contributing significantly to Khotanese studies since as long ago as 1914, by 1935 Konow was already seeking Bailey's opinion on Khotanese matters. I do not know exactly when Bailey first turned his attention to Khotanese, but he appears to have done so quite early to enlist its aid in solving Pahlavi problems and he already shows great familiarity with it in his second published article 'To the *Žāmāsp-nāmak. 1*', *BSOS*, vi. 1, 1930, 55–85.

Bailey reported in detail to Konow not only about his discovery of new Khotanese texts but also about his discoveries concerning the meaning and etymology of vocabulary items. Partly he did this because he knew that Konow would share his excitement, but partly because in the early years Barr was also working on the Khotanese materials. They had agreed that Barr should publish the texts in Paris and Bailey those in London. Bailey not only informed Konow of his discoveries but freely gave him permission (20 September 1935) 'to quote anything you want from my letters. There is certainly no reason why these discoveries should be kept hidden.' In this way he would if necessary have been able to document the priority of his discoveries should Barr have proceeded to publish his work on the Paris texts. Earlier in 1935 Barr had informed Bailey that he now had a hundred pages of notes on Khotanese and was hoping soon to publish texts. However, nothing ever came of Barr's work on the Khotanese texts. Unlike Konow, although he corresponded frequently with Bailey, he never discussed detailed problems of Khotanese. I suspect that he felt eclipsed by them both and became resigned to leave it to them to publish.

After spending ten days at a holiday house with Alan Ross and his wife at Criccieth in September 1935 Bailey intended to depart for the continent. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia had asked him to represent that university at the nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists in Rome. Along with E. Denison Ross (1871–1940), Hamilton Gibb (1895–1971), and Vladimir Minorsky he was to be a delegate from the School of Oriental Studies. That congress was attended by the Pahlavi specialist H. S. Nyberg

(1889–1974) from Uppsala and Sten Konow reported on his work on ‘A new Saka dialect’. However, in a letter to Konow (4 November 1935) he wrote without further explanation that he was sorry he could not be in Rome. It is possible that, like A. F. L. Beeston (1911–95), at that time Assistant at the Department of Oriental Books of the Bodleian Library, he decided not to go to the Rome Congress on account of ‘the Abyssinian crisis’. However, for some reason he also did not go to Copenhagen and Oslo over Christmas as originally planned. Even as late as the middle of December Konow was still hoping he would come. On 12 December 1935 Konow sent him a postcard saying: ‘I sincerely hope that you will come to Oslo during the Xmas vacation. Morgenstjerne is wondering whether the cold of a Norwegian winter is likely to open your eyes to the advantages of strong alcoholic drinks.²¹ I hope it will prove to be.’ But Bailey spent Christmas and New Year at Abbey Court Private Hotel in Torquay. After he moved to Cambridge it became his usual practice to spend this time of year at a seaside hotel while the college kitchens were closed.

Just before going to Torquay Bailey made a discovery that particularly pleased him: on 14 November 1935 he discovered the Khotanese word *hīnāysa*- ‘army-leader, general’ and the same day sent off a postcard to inform Konow. He was eager to publish it, and as he was at the time together with R. L. Turner editing a volume of the *BSOS* in honour of Sir George Grierson, he managed to have it included in F. W. Thomas’s contribution.²² The reason this discovery was so exciting for him is perhaps characteristic of Bailey in many ways. He had been in the habit of referring to himself in his poetry and notes by using the Sanskrit word *senāpati*- ‘general’ as this was for him the Sanskrit equivalent of *Harold* (army-wielder), but now he could use an Iranian word he had himself discovered in a language that he had already begun to regard as in a special sense his own.

Bailey spent August 1936 in Copenhagen working with Barr on the *Bundahishn* and while there attended the Fourth International Congress of Linguists. From Copenhagen he went to Bonn to attend from 3–8 September the Eighth German Congress of Orientalists, at which he gave a paper in German on manuscripts from Khotan and Dunhuang, a

²¹ Bailey never drank alcohol. It is accordingly the more curious that he wrote an important article called ‘Madu: a contribution to the history of wine’, *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Kyoto), xxv. 1, 1954, 1–11.

²² ‘*hīnāysā* “general”’, pp. 790–1 in: F. W. Thomas, ‘Some words found in Central Asian documents’, *BSOS*, viii. 2–3, 1936 [= *Opera Minora* 1. 277].

lecture Denison Ross²³ was later to describe as 'very good'. The published version²⁴ states that it had been translated by the well-known Orientalist H. H. Schaeder (1896–1957), at that time professor in Berlin. On the occasion of this conference the Iranianists present drew up detailed plans for coordinating work towards the publication of an Iranian etymological dictionary but Bailey had caught a bad cold and was unable to participate. However, when Morgenstierne subsequently informed Bailey of the plan by letter (24 September 1936) he readily agreed to provide the Khotanese material.

On 25 February 1936 it was announced in *The Times* that 'the Professorship of Sanskrit [in Cambridge] will be vacant at the end of September on the resignation of Professor E. J. Rapson'. Bailey had presumably been informed earlier that this opportunity would arise for already in March he had received excellent testimonials from Sten Konow, Émile Benveniste, Ralph Turner (1888–1983), Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957), and Georg Morgenstierne, all of whom he knew personally. Professor J. Fraser in Oxford declined to write a testimonial and suggested Bailey would do better with testimonials from F. W. Thomas and R. L. Turner. Bailey had in fact already approached both of them. His main teacher at Oxford, F. W. Thomas, did not provide a testimonial as he was himself one of the Electors. Turner too would not have provided one had it not become clear at a meeting on 4 March 1936 that he was to be designated successor to E. Denison Ross as Director of the School of Oriental Studies as he would otherwise have been a candidate himself. The testimonials of all except Schaeder,²⁵ together with his curriculum vitae and list of publications, Bailey had printed as a nine-page brochure to serve as his application. At this point he had not yet published a book, but he lists twenty-four articles as published, three others as 'in the press', and fifty book reviews. He was duly appointed to the Chair with effect from 1 October 1936.

Under work in preparation listed in his application Bailey mentions, besides the edition of a large number of Khotanese texts, the edition of the *Bundahishn* 'in collaboration with . . . Barr' and the Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, which he had the previous year been invited to hold.

²³ Sir E. Denison Ross, *Both ends of the candle* (1943), p. 239.

²⁴ 'Handschriften aus Chotan und Tunhuang', *ZDMG*, xc. 3, 1936, 573–8.

²⁵ It is probable that he did not use Schaeder's testimonial, not because it was in German, but because it overemphasised Iranian studies rather than Sanskrit.

Dewhurst had been disappointed that in 1934 due to Thomas's influence it was not Bailey, but Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875–1934), Professor of Indian and Iranian philology in Köln until 1933, who had been appointed Ratanbai Katrak lecturer. Thomas had argued that Bailey was very young and would soon enough have the distinction whereas Scheftelowitz was already old. Events proved Thomas right for Scheftelowitz died later in the same year. Drafts survive of the first four of the lectures that he was to have delivered in 1935.

In fact Bailey's Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, which he delivered between 16 November and 1 December 1936 in Oxford,²⁶ were an astonishing *tour de force* that in their published form elicited unqualified praise²⁷ from that sternest of critics, W. B. Henning (1908–67), the holder of the Ratanbai Katrak Lectures in 1949. It was not until 1939 that Bailey found time to revise the manuscript of his lectures for printing and the printing itself, difficult enough in normal times, took three years in wartime conditions to complete. The book that finally appeared in Oxford 1943 as *Zoroastrian Problems in the ninth-century books* is a masterpiece of scholarship, in which Bailey's vast erudition is brought to bear on the central problems of Pahlavi literature, virtually the whole of which he seems to have read for the purpose, a feat that few people before or after him can have accomplished.

It is worth remarking here that in the sixth of his lectures Bailey gave a detailed account of his views concerning the Avestan script adducing reasons for rejecting the so-called 'Andreas theory' in its various evolutions, a theory that had influenced many eminent scholars such as A. Meillet, J. Wackernagel (1853–1938), H. Lommel, B. Geiger, E. Benveniste, and J. Duchesne (later Duchesne-Guillemin). In a lecture given to the Philological Society in 1942 W. B. Henning presented his own views on the matter, but in much less detail. In the published version²⁸ he mentions having received Bailey's work a few days after he had delivered his lecture and states that he was in broad agreement with it. G. Morgenstierne's brilliant article²⁹ on the same subject published in 1942 appears to have been quite independent and reflects the author's background in linguistics.

In view of the importance of Bailey's Ratanbai Katrak lectures it is

²⁶ The story is told, but I cannot verify it, that the only (!) person present in the audience at the final lecture was his student R. C. Zaehner.

²⁷ W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-doctor?* (1951), p. 3.

²⁸ W. B. Henning, 'The disintegration of the Avestic studies', *TPS*, 1942, 40–56.

²⁹ G. Morgenstierne, 'Orthography and sound-system of the Avesta', *NTS* 12, 1942, 30–82.

perhaps surprising that he himself was anxious to have them behind him and several times writes of 'getting rid of them at last' so that he could get on with his research on Khotanese. It is difficult to imagine how he had found time in 1936 to devote himself to Zoroastrian matters since in addition to his work on Khotanese he was working intensely on Tocharian and completed a major article concerning difficult matters of Central Asian linguistics and philology that was published the following year.³⁰ He continued to keep abreast of research in Tocharian and in 1947 published a survey³¹ that was widely admired. He transcribed all the Tocharian fragments in the India Office Library and later supervised J. W. Broomhead's research on them that led to his successful Ph.D. thesis.³²

As it turned out, the fact that Bailey vacated his London post meant that another Iranianist destined to become one of the greatest Iranianists of the century was able to continue his research in England, for as soon as Konow learned that Bailey was applying for the chair of Sanskrit in Cambridge, he wrote to Bailey (10 March 1936): 'If you are going to Cambridge, as I sincerely hope you will, it will probably be necessary to find a successor in the School. Do you think that Dr. Henning would have a chance? I have already told you that he has some difficulties in Germany, which may some day prove fatal, and you know what an excellent scholar he is. Kindly let me know what you think, and I would then later on write to Turner, who is, I understand, going to succeed Ross as director of the School of Oriental Studies.'

As soon as Henning learned from Konow that Bailey might be giving up his London post, he applied for it around Whitsun without even waiting for it to be advertised. Bailey sent him a copy of the advertisement (published in *The Times* 10 and 11 June 1936) as soon as it appeared, but no decision was to be taken until after 15 September in order to allow time for possible applications from India. In due course Bailey sent Henning a telegram congratulating him on his appointment and corresponded with him about the possibility that he should lodge in London with his former landlady, Miss Robertson. Henning duly arrived penniless at Liverpool Street Station on Friday,

³⁰ 'Taugara', *BSOS*, VIII. 4, 1937, 883–921 [= *Opera Minora* 1. 425–63]. This is the only article in which he published Tocharian texts with translation and commentary.

³¹ 'Recent work in "Tokharian"', *TPS*, 1947 [1948], 126–53 [= *Opera Minora* 2. 565–92].

³² *A textual edition of the British Hoernle, Stein and Weber Kuchean manuscripts with transliteration, translation, grammatical commentary and vocabulary*, Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation approved 17 Mar. 1964.

2 October 1936, at 8.38 a.m., where he was met by Bailey, who lent him some money and then took him to his lodgings at 7 West Heath Drive, Golders Green. There Miss Robertson was waiting to give them breakfast. On the weekend they were Turner's guests at Bishop's Stortford.

Thus it came about that yet another great scholar in the field of Iranian studies took up a post at the London School of Oriental Studies.

Bailey had hoped after the sale of his house in Edgware to be able to move straight into rooms in Queens' College,³³ Cambridge, on taking up the Professorship of Sanskrit, but as the accommodation could not be organised in time he rented rooms at 15 King's Parade, to where his effects were removed by Pickfords at the end of October 1936.

The next year Ann Lambton, who had recorded some Persian dialects in the vicinity of Tehran, consulted Bailey because he had himself some experience in recording dialects in Iran. In the preface to her book³⁴ she writes: 'On my return to England, Professor H. W. Bailey read through my manuscript and kindly made various suggestions which have been adopted in the final arrangement of the book. I am much indebted to him for his help and encouragement.'

In the summer of 1937 Bailey returned once more to Perth to visit his parents, who were now living in the Perth coastal suburb of Cottesloe, as well as relatives, and friends. He was given a hero's welcome. His arrival was announced in the Perth *Daily News*: Bailey 'returned today in the Narkunda to visit his parents . . . On arriving in England Professor Bailey studied all the oriental languages at Oxford University, and after a successful career gained the post of Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge University.' Even a fortnight later his movements were reported in the *West Australian*: Bailey was 'visiting friends in the Marradong district. He was guest of Mr and Mrs K. Bowen, of Marradong.'

He returned by way of Ceylon, where also his two-week visit was reported in the newspapers. There he was shown the sights by Dr Parnavitane and at a tea party in his honour entertained the students of Oriental studies at University College by showing them photographs of Khotanese manuscripts and telling them about his work on them.

³³ Bailey was not straightaway elected Fellow of Queens' as the Fellows elected a scientist at the first opportunity. Christ's College ('the Turner connexion' as E. H. Minns, Fellow of Queens' put it) was also interested in having Bailey and gave him dining rights.

³⁴ A. K. S. Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects* (1938).

In 1936 just before the Congress of Orientalists in Bonn F. W. Thomas wrote to inform Bailey that he had a few Khotanese manuscripts in his own possession. When Bailey received his copy of the first fascicule of *ZDMG* 91, presumably towards the end of 1937, and read Thomas's article on 'A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script' (pp. 1–48), a brief version of which he had heard the year before at the Congress in Bonn, he was prompted to write an article correcting Thomas's readings and providing additional material. This immediately elicited a response from Thomas, who wrote a hasty rejoinder, to which Bailey wrote a 'Postscriptum' that was followed by Thomas's 'Postscriptum'.³⁵ The whole affair Bailey found so irksome that he never again engaged in such an academic dispute.

On 9 December 1937 Bailey arrived in Paris to work for about a month on the Khotanese texts in the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Evidently by this time it was clear that Barr would not be publishing the material after all although it was not till 1939 that he informed Konow that Barr had agreed to let him edit the Paris texts. This was a most exciting time for Bailey, who worked assiduously all day long transcribing the texts. At night he returned to his room in the Hôtel St James in rue Saint-Honoré and wrote reports of his discoveries to Konow. By 7 January 1938 on his return to Cambridge he calculated that during his month in Paris he had transcribed sixty manuscripts 'and left three religious texts unfinished'.

On 2 May 1938 Bailey gave his inaugural lecture on 'The content of Indian and Iranian studies'.³⁶ In this masterly survey of that vast field of knowledge Bailey's own enthusiasm for exploring the little known engages and enthuses the reader. When J. J. Nicholls, who had attended Bailey's classes in 1938, gave me a copy of the lecture in 1959, he could have had no idea what the consequences were to be.³⁷ It was the first work of Bailey's to come into my hands and the first time I had heard of the Khotanese language, to which Bailey in his lecture (p. 24) said: 'I confess to a particular attachment'.

At the twentieth International Congress of Orientalists in Brussels in 1938 Bailey presented a paper entitled 'References to Turks in Khotanese manuscripts',³⁸ that was commented upon by P. Pelliot.

³⁵ *ZDMG*, 92. 2–3, 1938, 579–610.

³⁶ *The content of Indian and Iranian studies: an inaugural lecture delivered on 2 May 1938* (Cambridge, 1938).

³⁷ It led me to take up seriously the study of Khotanese with Bailey.

³⁸ This was the basis of his article 'Turks in Khotanese texts', *JRAS* (1939), 1, 85–91.

Among the Khotanese texts on which Bailey had worked in Paris in December 1937 was the Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa. It is clear from his letters to Konow that while in Paris he had not just transcribed the text mechanically but had already been thinking about the philological problems it posed. By November of the following year he was already able to send Konow a typed copy of the text with an accompanying translation and a commentary 'on some of the rarer words'. He decided to make this material known to a wider audience by speaking about it at the 151st meeting of the American Oriental Society hosted by The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore 11–13 April 1939. The lecture was subsequently published as 'The Rāma story in Khotanese', *JAOS*, LIX. 4, 1939, 460–8.³⁹ It clearly reveals that he had already searched widely the extensive literature on the Rāmāyaṇa for parallels to the Khotanese text. Two important articles followed rapidly. The first of them, entitled simply 'Rāma',⁴⁰ provides the complete text in transcription and the second, 'Rāma II',⁴¹ his translation and commentary.

During his three-week visit to America Bailey also visited the universities of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia and saw something of Washington.

Even before Bailey's visit to America he had received a letter (9 February 1939) from the War Office asking him to volunteer for employment on censorship duties 'should the occasion for its institution arise'. He had been recommended for Armenian by R. L. Turner and by N. B. Jopson (1890–1969), professor of comparative philology in Cambridge 1937–55. He agreed, of course, and after the Postal Censorship was duly established, he was occasionally asked even after the end of the war to translate letters by prisoners of war written in such languages as Georgian and Kurdish when the Postal Censorship could not otherwise cope. He seems always to have managed to provide at least a rough translation.

In 1939 the London School of Oriental and African Studies was evacuated to Cambridge on account of the war. Shortly afterwards German scholars including W. B. Henning were arrested without notice and interned. While Henning was in internment on the Isle of Man,

³⁹ It is curious that in that article Bailey ascribes his discovery of the manuscripts of the Rāmāyaṇa to Jan. 1938 but in fact he had come across them almost immediately after his arrival in Paris on 9 Dec. 1937. In *BSOS*, x. 2 (1940), 365 he gives the date correctly as Dec. 1937.

⁴⁰ *BSOS*, x. 2 (1940), 365–76.

⁴¹ *BSOAS*, x. 3 (1940), 559–98.

Bailey saw Henning's important book *Sogdica* through the press and wrote a brief foreword to it. However, when Henning's wife, Maria (née Polotsky) approached Bailey to obtain his help in order to have Henning released from internment, he refused and she had to turn to a faculty member she hardly knew but who willingly helped her. This was a typical instance of Bailey's timidity in the face of authority.

In 1941 Bailey submitted for publication the first volume of his monumental series of *Khotanese texts* that were to be published by the Cambridge University Press.⁴² This first volume contains editions without translation or commentary of five major Khotanese texts. The first of these, a medical text, Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, he provided with a transcription of the corresponding parts of the Tibetan version *en face* and in an appendix his transcription of the corresponding parts of the Sanskrit text as found in the only two manuscripts known to him at that time. These manuscripts, to which F. W. Thomas had drawn his attention, were accessible to him only in the form of photographs kept in the Indian Institute in Oxford.

To the second of the five manuscripts edited in the volume Bailey assigned the name *Jivakapustaka* 'the book of [the well-known Indian physician] Jīvaka' since no title is known. In a postscript to the foreword of this volume Bailey mentions that it was only while reading the proofs that he received Sten Konow's edition and translation⁴³ of the *Jivakapustaka*, and Konow, in the preface to his edition, writes: 'The list [of Khotanese words] published by Bailey, BSOS 8. 117 ff., and many occasional remarks in his letters have here been of the utmost use to me, and I only regret that circumstances have made it impossible to add to my indebtedness in asking him to read the proofs of this paper, and also that I have to publish it without asking for his permission.' They appear to have been working on the text simultaneously but unable to communicate due to the war. Nevertheless, it was only two years before that Konow had last visited Bailey in Cambridge, and it seems strange that they did not discuss their plans.

In the foreword to this work Bailey relates concerning the *Jivakapustaka*: 'The late Dr A. F. Rudolf Hoernle had begun a study of part of this text. Some years ago I saw the MS on one afternoon, but

⁴² *Khotanese texts I–VII*, Cambridge 1945–85 (vols. 1–3 reprinted in one volume as 'second edition', Cambridge 1969 and 1980; vol. 4 reprinted Cambridge 1979; vol. 5 reprinted Cambridge 1980).

⁴³ *A medical text in Khotanese* (Oslo, 1941). The book is dedicated to Bailey 'in friendship and gratitude'.

when about two years later I wished to examine it, it was not to be found. I have not seen it again and do not know what Dr Hoernle had done.' It is of course well known that items can easily be mislaid in libraries. However, Hoernle's unpublished work is nowadays to be found in the India Office Library under 'Eur. D. 723'.

Even stranger, particularly in view of Bailey's phenomenal memory and vast reading, is the fact that neither Bailey nor Konow ever referred to Hoernle's published work on the *Jīvakapustaka*. As long ago as 1917 Hoernle had published an article⁴⁴ entitled 'An ancient medical manuscript from Eastern Turkestan', in which he edited and translated part of the *Jīvakapustaka*.⁴⁵ Bailey's neglect of Hoernle's work seems to have been due to a fundamental scepticism towards him that arose as a result of Hoernle's having at one time failed to recognise that some of the documents on which he had been working were forged. As a result Hoernle (1841–1918) never received from Bailey his due credit as the decipherer of Khotanese.⁴⁶

At this point it is appropriate to try to assess the importance of Bailey's monumental series. The volumes are quite varied in content. Volumes 4 and 7, for example, despite the title, actually contain no texts at all. It is accordingly necessary to discuss the volumes individually although space will not allow an equally detailed discussion of all of them.

In point of fact hardly any notice was taken of *Khotanese texts I* in the academic world.⁴⁷ It was simply put aside by those who possessed it while they waited for a translation and commentary. Although Bailey occasionally indicates in a footnote that the manuscript reading needs correction, he makes no systematic attempt to present a readable text. The transcription of the Khotanese and Tibetan texts contained in it presented no especial difficulty, but Bailey seems to have worked very quickly and made many slips. Even in the later reprints of the work he has only sporadically corrected the mistakes even in the case of the straightforward Tibetan text.

The Newari script used for the Sanskrit text of the *Siddhasāra* is more difficult and in this case Bailey has made so many mistakes that the text as he printed it is scarcely readable.⁴⁸ As a young research

⁴⁴ pp. 415–32 in: *Commemorative essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar* (Poona, 1917).

⁴⁵ See my note on 'Hoernle and the *Jīvaka-pustaka*' in *BSOAS*, XLV. 2 (1982), 343.

⁴⁶ On this see R. E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd edn. (Tokyo, 1992), 6.

⁴⁷ A list of published reviews is given in my *Guide* p. 9 n. 21.

⁴⁸ Many examples are given in my article on 'The Sanskrit text of the *Siddhasāra*' in *BSOAS*, xxxiv. 1 (1971), 91–112.

student I became very depressed by my failure to understand the text especially when I approached Bailey and he assured me that he had not noticed any particular difficulty. It was not until I acquired photographs of the original manuscripts that I discovered that the reason I had not been able to understand the text was in almost every case because Bailey's edition is defective. In this case too he did not attempt to improve the text substantially in subsequent editions.

What I had not appreciated at the time was that it was this ability of Bailey's to seize the gist of a text at a glance without pausing over grammatical or syntactical problems that was part of the clue to his extraordinary breadth of reading in an enormous number of languages.

The point of publishing such rough transcriptions of all these texts was to make the material available as quickly as possible. Bailey was mainly interested in the texts because of their vocabulary. All that interested him about the *Siddhasāra* he had published in his vocabulary list in 'Iranian studies, v', *BSOS*, VIII. 1, 1935, 117–42, but since a list can be used only with caution as long as the items cannot be verified, Bailey felt obliged to make the evidence available as soon as possible. Indeed, he often spoke scornfully of scholars who used material from unpublished texts especially when they used it to disprove statements made by others without access to them. He regarded it as a great privilege to be able to work on new material, but a privilege that brought with it the responsibility to make it known as quickly as possible.

Bailey never did publish translations of any of the texts in *Khotanese texts I*, but he did inspire others to take up the task. In the summer of 1947 he read the text of the *Jātakastava* with M. J. Dresden (1911–86), who at that time was teaching classics at a school in Amsterdam, and Ilya Gershevitch to introduce them to Khotanese studies and he encouraged Dresden to produce a translation with glossary and grammar.⁴⁹ (He also read at least part of the so-called 'Staël-Holstein miscellany' with them, but this research he published himself in 1951 in one of his most important articles.⁵⁰) The rewarding nature of this instruction is described by Gershevitch in a personal appreciation of Bailey written to commemorate his ninetieth birthday.⁵¹ Another of the

⁴⁹ Mark J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, NS, 45.5 (Philadelphia, 1955).

⁵⁰ 'The Staël-Holstein miscellany', *Asia Major*, NS, II. 1, 1951, 1–45 [= *Opera Minora* 2. 493–537]. The text was again published in *Khotanese texts II* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 72–6.

⁵¹ *Journal of Ancient History* 4 (195), 1990, 213–14 (in Russian).

texts in *Khotanese texts I*, the *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, Bailey read in the autumn of 1958 with J. P. Asmussen, a student of Kaj Barr's in Copenhagen, and he too subsequently published the text with translation and glossary.⁵²

The appearance of *Khotanese texts I* was delayed by the war. Although Bailey read proofs in 1941 it did not actually appear until 1945. Meantime, he had continued to transcribe texts and by 1942 had already worked his way through all the longer documents he had found in the collections in London and Paris and arranged for publication of *Khotanese texts II*. Again, however, publication was delayed on account of the war and it was not until eleven years later that the volume finally went to press.

In 1942 Bailey was asked by Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) to assist in work at the Research Institute of International Affairs, Foreign Research and Press Service, Balliol College, Oxford. Whereas Oxford continued to pay professors working at the institute their full salary, Cambridge was prepared to pay only half. Bailey was however willing as his contribution to the war effort to bear the financial sacrifice. Toynbee promised to try to raise some additional funds to help, but I do not know whether he succeeded in doing so. In any case Bailey went to Oxford to join in the work in 1942 and then to London when the office was later transferred to St James's Square. Altogether he was nearly three years away from Cambridge on account of the war effort. The team was engaged in scouring foreign newspapers for indications of enemy plans and had to produce weekly reports on its findings. Bailey told me he spent most of his time reading Albanian and Armenian newspapers. At the end of the war in a letter to Konow he described the work as 'tedious' and 'an example of war's waste'. However, as late as December 1948 he was asked to help translate records of conversations between Soviet refugees in a mixture of Russian and Ossetic, which he must have found an interesting challenge.

In 1944 Bailey was elected Fellow of the British Academy and thereafter followed election to the Danish (1946), Norwegian (1947), and Swedish (1948) academies. As far as I know he was the longest serving member of the British Academy in its history.

One of Bailey's students, K. R. Norman later became one of the world's leading authorities in Pāli and Prakrit studies, but until his

⁵² Jes Peter Asmussen, *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā* (Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 39, no. 2) (København, 1961).

appointment in 1955 it was Bailey who taught Prakrit as well as Sanskrit in Cambridge. He was naturally particularly interested in the kind of Prakrit from which much vocabulary was borrowed into Khotanese and for that reason published an edition of those parts of the *Dharmapada* manuscript from Khotan that were available to him in facsimile.⁵³ He made use of his knowledge of this variety of Prakrit to elucidate a number of problems involving loanwords in Central Asian languages in an often quoted article⁵⁴ called quite simply 'Gāndhārī', a convenient name that he gave to the language and one that is widely used. The definitive edition of the Khotan *Dharmapada* he left to a former student, J. Brough, who called his work *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*.⁵⁵ In the preface (p. xix) Brough of course acknowledges the vast extent of his indebtedness to Bailey.

It was probably in 1946 that Bailey joined the Gypsy Lore Society, of which he remained a member for many years. He took a keen interest in gypsy lore and was especially fond of the works of George Borrow, to which he introduced me. However, he never once met a gypsy although he would have loved to hear one of their dialects since they are ultimately of Indian origin but contain traces of their passage through Europe in the form of loanwords from many languages. He contributed reviews and a short article⁵⁶ to the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

At the twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1948 Bailey gave a paper summarising the current state of Khotanese studies.⁵⁷ He mentions in his paper his intention to utilise the Khotanese material for the Iranian etymological dictionary that had been planned in 1936 at the German Orientalist Congress in Bonn. Unfortunately nothing came of this ambitious project and the planned dictionary remains a desideratum to the present day. However, Bailey always regarded his work on the Khotanese vocabulary as his contribution to the project and indeed the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* that he eventually published in 1979 he describes in the preface as 'one contribution to the far vaster project of the etymological dictionary of all Iranian languages'.

⁵³ 'The Khotan *Dharmapada*', *BSOAS*, xi. 3 (1945), 488–512 [= *Opera Minora* 2. 267–91].

⁵⁴ 'Gāndhārī', *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 764–97 [= *Opera Minora* 2. 293–326].

⁵⁵ J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London Oriental Series, 7), (1962).

⁵⁶ 'The early history of the Romani word *sosten*', *JGLS*, xxxv. 3–4 (1956), 179–80.

⁵⁷ An abstract was published as 'The present state of Khotanese studies', in *Actes du xxi^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 23–31 juillet 1948* (Paris, 1949), 166–7 [= *Opera Minora* 2. 593–4].

After the war Bailey resumed his attendance at the meetings of the German Orientalists (*deutsche Orientalistentage*) but did not present papers. The occasion of the Hamburg conference in the summer of 1955 was as far as I know the only time he ever visited Hamburg. He was especially pleased to have been able to meet Werner Winter and Paul Thieme on that occasion. He returned by way of Copenhagen, where he called on Barr, who had a short time before written to him concerning the *Bundahishn*: 'there are a great number of problems for the final redaction which I would like to discuss with you'. He also went to Oslo, where he visited Morgenstierne. Two years later he attended the meeting in Munich.

In 1948 Bailey was able to arrange for the appointment of Ilya Gershevitch as lecturer in Iranian studies and, for the term of three years, Barasbi Baytugan as Ossetic Informant. Gershevitch had been Henning's student in London but had got to know Bailey in 1940 when the London School of Oriental Studies was evacuated to Cambridge. Both Bailey and Gershevitch worked with Baytugan on his native Digoron dialect for the following three years and both scholars subsequently made important contributions to Ossetic studies. Bailey, who was familiar with most of the world's major epics in their original language, having read through all the Ossetic Nart tales, many years later, at short notice, gave a succinct account⁵⁸ of the Nart epic tradition at the conference on Central Asian epic in London organised by A. T. Hatto.

Although Bailey's interest in language was predominantly that of the comparativist, he did take a delight in poetry and even tried his hand at composing it in a considerable number of languages. Already during his youth in Australia he had written a long Sanskrit poem in the *mandākrāntā* metre. His poetry remains unpublished apart from a short poem he wrote in 1941 lamenting failing eyesight.⁵⁹ It was first read publicly by Anna Chaudhri at the funeral ceremony held at the Cambridge Crematorium on 19 January 1996 and again at the memorial service held in Queens' College Chapel on 9 March 1996. Appropriate as this no doubt was it should not be forgotten that he regarded his poetry as something private and unsuitable for publication.

⁵⁸ 'Ossetic (Nartā)', *Traditions of heroic and epic poetry*, vol. 1, ed. A. T. Hatto (1980), 236–67.

⁵⁹ He was already concerned about his eyesight at that time although he does not seem to have had any serious problems with it until he was in his nineties when eventually he could read only with the aid of a scanner that projected letters in enlarged form onto a screen.

Falling in readily with a suggestion made by Denis Sinor, a Turcologist at that time in Cambridge, in 1951 Bailey purchased a Landrover so that they could travel overland to Istanbul to attend the twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists in the autumn.⁶⁰ They formed a party of four together with Sinor's wife and Donald Keene, a Japanologist, who was at the time also in Cambridge. Neither Bailey nor Keene could drive and although Sinor's wife had a driving licence she did not wish to handle a Landrover. Thus Denis Sinor had to do all the driving, some 8076 miles by the time they returned. The roads in Yugoslavia and Greece were at that time in rather poor condition and the general infrastructure still somewhat primitive so that the journey was something of an adventure never to be forgotten by the participants.

Khotanese Buddhist texts appeared in London in 1951. On these texts Bailey says in the preface that he had been working for sixteen years. Much of this work was evidently already done in the thirties, the first preliminary transcriptions of the texts in the Pelliot Collection having been made in 1937–8 as recounted above.

Of Bailey's second visit to Australia in 1952 I have but scant details. He came back on the s.s. *Otranto* and on his return had to correspond about his missing suitcase.

By 1952 Bailey had completed an edition with translation and commentary of the texts in the Hedin Collection in Stockholm. He had begun work on them some years earlier on the basis of photographs he had been sent and then studied the originals during a visit to Stockholm in 1950. This volume also contains an excellent sketch of the background to the documents. In the preface to his *Khotanese texts III* (p. vi), Bailey writes that the work on the Hedin documents 'has been with the editor of the volumes of the Sino-Swedish Expedition for four years and the printing has begun', but it was eventually published in 1961 by the Cambridge University Press as *Khotanese texts IV* without any explanation of what had happened. In fact, on receiving Bailey's manuscript Sven Hedin (1865–1952) had written to him on 10 April 1952: 'I hope it will not take very long before we are able to print your important work.' But he died later the same year and Gösta Montell took charge of the matter. It was more than two years before

⁶⁰ At the conference Bailey chaired the Iranian section on 16 Sept. 1951 when E. Benveniste and R. N. Frye gave papers and he himself reported briefly on his work on the Khotanese documents in the Sven Hedin Collection.

specimen pages could be printed, allegedly because the printers had to order some of the necessary types from abroad, and it was not for another two years that the board of the Sven Hedin Foundation finally decided that it was not prepared to finance publication. Yet another two years elapsed before Bailey was able to get his manuscript back.

Bailey was the natural choice to preside over the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists that was held in Cambridge in 1954 although most of the organising was done by Denis Sinor and Donald Keene.

At the invitation of Manu Leumann Bailey travelled to Switzerland in September 1954 and came back with the Khotanese manuscript of the *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī*. This manuscript had originally belonged to the Petrovsky Collection in St Petersburg but had been sent by S. F. Oldenburg to Manu Leumann's father at some time between 1894 and 1920. Bailey quickly prepared a transcription for inclusion in *Khotanese texts III* but he never published a translation or commentary.⁶¹

In the mid-fifties Bailey came across a certain Major Husein Kumuz, a native speaker of Abaza, a Caucasian language, whose phonology interested Bailey because it seemed to resemble the system currently being reconstructed for Proto-Indoeuropean. Unable himself to hear the distinctions in a language with more than sixty consonantal phonemes, he encouraged W. Sidney Allen, lecturer in phonetics and later in comparative linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, to investigate the language. Allen's study of Abaza resulted in several important publications.

Khotanese texts III finally appeared in 1956. It contains transcriptions of seventy-five texts, most of which were published there for the first time. In the case of four of them Bailey notes that he had no photograph by which to check the readings so that they depend upon his transcriptions made in 1937–8.

In 1956 Bailey made his third visit to Australia giving two lectures in Ceylon and visiting India (Bombay and Poona) on the way back. (Later in the year he was elected Honorary Member of the Linguistic Society of India.) In Ceylon he stayed with his friend O. H. de A. Wijesekera, who introduced a student to him. This was Ratna Handurukande, who

⁶¹ On this text see now R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St Petersburg collections* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II, vol. V, Texts III) (1995), pp. 239–50. The manuscript has meanwhile been restored and is at present housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

subsequently went to Cambridge and wrote a doctoral thesis⁶² under Bailey.

For about two years 1956–8 Bailey had been ailing from pernicious anaemia. Eventually he had to be hospitalised for three weeks and have a massive dose of vitamin B12. Thereafter he was able to keep well by means of regular vitamin B12 injections and became fit enough to resume cycling. This he continued to do until one day in 1969 he discovered that vandals had taken his bicycle to pieces.

During the fifties Bailey mentions from time to time in his correspondence that he was working on what he describes as ‘a book of Vedica’ although no such book was ever published. The material for it may however be among the archives of the Ancient India and Iran Trust.

When Bailey received an official letter asking him whether he would accept a knighthood, his first reaction was that someone must have been playing a joke on him. He was knighted for his ‘services to Oriental studies’ in 1960. In addition to his books on Pahlavi and Khotanese he had by this time published numerous articles in all the leading Orientalist journals and commemorative volumes, making important contributions to studies in an extraordinary number of Oriental languages. During his time in Cambridge he had also succeeded in obtaining three posts for Oriental studies with which he was closely involved. In 1948 Ilya Gershevitch was appointed for Iranian studies, Morton Smith⁶³ for Indian studies, and D. R. Shackelton Bailey for Tibetan.

In 1962 Bailey asked me to drive him to Durham to attend the Conference of British Orientalists.⁶⁴ On the way we visited sites connected with the poet Tennyson and with Bede, the well-known abbeys and castles, a runic inscription at Bewcastle, the Roman wall fort Housesteads, the third century Mithraeum discovered at Carrawburgh in 1950 etc., on all of which he was able to give a learned commentary.

On 20 November 1963 Bailey was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters at the University of Western Australia. During this visit to Australia he kindly visited my parents in Sydney, whom I had

⁶² Ratna Handurukande, *Mañicūḍāvadāna being a translation and edition and Lokānanda, a transliteration and synopsis* (1967).

⁶³ Morton Smith was succeeded in 1955 by K. R. Norman.

⁶⁴ He often attended these conferences in order, as he told me, to encourage the development of Oriental studies. I have noted references to his having attended the conference in Oxford in 1946 and that in Bangor in 1959.

not seen since my departure in 1959. On the way back from Australia he spent some time in Bangkok, and in January 1964 attended the twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists in New Delhi.

At the time of the Chinese invasion of Tibet many Tibetans fled to India and in 1963 several of them were enabled by the Rockefeller Foundation to come to Britain, where they were under the care of D. L. Snellgrove, a former Sanskrit student of Bailey's who was at that time Reader in Tibetan at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Bailey arranged for one of those Tibetans, Tenzin Namdak, a learned lama who had been abbot at the Sman-ri monastery, to come to Cambridge, where we worked together on a Tibetan text⁶⁵ concerning Khotan and also studied Namdak's language with J. L. Trim, who was at that time lecturer in phonetics at Cambridge. Although Bailey had initiated this project he had no great enthusiasm for Tibetan and was content with the role of observer.

With the appearance in 1963 of *Khotanese texts V* Bailey considered the arduous task of transcribing the texts completed:⁶⁶ 'The preliminary work of printing the texts is thus ended. It is still hoped to provide a commentary to these volumes on the model of that in *Khotanese Texts IV*. But it seems more desirable to finish first the lexicon which was already projected in 1934 and for which material has accumulated over the past twenty-nine years.' Most people who visited Bailey before 1979 will have been shown the three large handwritten volumes of his 'Khotanese dictionary' as he called it. Whenever Bailey thought a word should be noted for inclusion in his dictionary he listed it approximately in its alphabetic position with its reference and sometimes its context and, if known, its bilingual equivalent, but otherwise with no indication of its meaning. This he made freely available to anyone who was interested. Mark J. Dresden in particular made copious use of it for his edition of the Khotanese *Jātakastava*. As a young research student in 1963 I spent some six weeks copying it out by hand. It would have been difficult and expensive to photocopy and Bailey quite rightly advised me to copy it by hand as 'the best way of learning the entire vocabulary'. My copy extends to 1332 pages. The feat did indeed have the desired effect of engraving the entire vocabulary on my mind.

What is not generally known is that Bailey began writing his

⁶⁵ I subsequently published an edition and translation of the text in my *Tibetan texts concerning Khotan* (1967).

⁶⁶ *Khotanese texts V*, pp. x-xi.

dictionary on slips of paper which he kept in Khotanese alphabetic order. On the outbreak of war, however, he decided to copy them all into a volume for security reasons. The original slips as well as notes, transcriptions, and photographs he kept in a safe. Already in March 1940 he was able to inform Konow: 'I find my index in volume form exceedingly useful. I can now add to it easily and find any word quickly. It contains so far about two-thirds of the words in my texts. I am making a separate index of historical names of people and places and also an index of Indian names from the Indian tradition.'

It was in 1963 that I began to collect material on Khotanese grammar and to that end it was necessary to make a fresh close study of the largest extant Old Khotanese text, that now known as *The Book of Zambasta*, which was available at that time only in the edition by E. Leumann⁶⁷ that had by then become antiquated due largely to the research conducted in the meantime by Bailey. So we agreed to work through the text together, my contribution being primarily to provide a new translation, his to examine the vocabulary, but of course the two tasks overlapped. This collaboration resulted in the publication of two books: Bailey's treatment of the vocabulary in *Khotanese texts VI* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1967 and my edition and translation in *The Book of Zambasta*⁶⁸ published by the Oxford University Press the following year. Thus Bailey's *Khotanese texts VI*, aptly described⁶⁹ as 'a much-admired volume of lexical commentary', contains no text but only the vocabulary of a text. This rather unfortunate separation of the volumes was due to Peter Burbidge of the Cambridge University Press, who considered that Bailey's name should be on both volumes as otherwise they would not sell. It should perhaps be mentioned here that in the case of some of Bailey's earlier volumes published by the Cambridge University Press he had actually contributed towards the cost of publication from his own pocket thereby eliminating all financial risk for the Press.

All this time Barr had continued to work on the *Bundahishn*, but meantime another scholar, D. N. MacKenzie, at that time Lecturer in Iranian languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, had become a distinguished Pahlavi specialist and developed an interest in

⁶⁷ E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xx), Leipzig, 1933–6.

⁶⁸ R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism* (London Oriental Series, vol. 21) (1968).

⁶⁹ N. Sims-Williams in *BSOAS*, XLVI. 1 (1983), 40.

the *Bundahishn*. In 1964 he went to Copenhagen to discuss collaborating with Barr on the edition of the text, but Barr refused and subsequently destroyed all his work on the *Bundahishn*.

When in 1965 R. N. Frye organised a conference at the Villa Serbelloni near Como with a view to the computerisation of Pahlavi, Bailey suggested I attend because it was known that J. Moyne had by way of preparation for the conference produced a word index to the published Khotanese texts. The index was useful but not reliable because of a number of rather serious mistakes that had been made during input. I resolved therefore to produce a more satisfactory index by supervising the input myself in Cambridge. Bailey was prepared to support my endeavours but would not himself participate because he disliked intensely the appearance of computerised Khotanese. At that time it had to be encoded entirely in capital letters and without diacritics. He did however occasionally write to ask me for references to words he could not find. By the time personal computers had arrived and Khotanese could be made to appear in any form the user wishes, he was too old to be able to take advantage of the new technology.

In 1966 the Union of the Writers of Georgia invited the peoples of forty countries to send delegates to visit Tbilisi to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the great Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli. Along with D. M. Lang (1924–91), at that time professor of Caucasian Studies in London and W. E. D. Allen (1901–73), author of several books on the Caucasus, Bailey represented the United Kingdom. On this occasion Giorgi Tsereteli (1904–73) in Tbilisi presented him with a traditional Caucasian mountaineer's dress that was made to measure by several tailors who came to his rooms. At the request of the President and Fellows of Queens' College in 1972 he wore it when his portrait was painted by Ronald Way.⁷⁰ In 1978 he sent a photograph of the portrait to Professor A. Chikobava (1898–1985) in Tbilisi for the Georgian Academy of Sciences.

Not long after his retirement in 1967 Bailey moved to a suite of rooms in Southacre Flats, where he remained until 1981 when he made his final move to Brooklands Avenue. Those of us who knew how difficult it was becoming to find a place to sit in his rooms in Queens' had wondered how he would ever be able to find a book again but his prodigious memory stood him in good stead. His rooms in Southacre

⁷⁰ A reproduction of Way's portrait was published in J. Twigg's history of Queens' College, Cambridge (see below).

Flats quickly became even more crammed with books than his rooms in Queens' had been but he still managed to work.

Bailey had been Garden Steward for many years in Queens' but he had not had a free hand to till the soil himself so that he greatly enjoyed being able to garden as he wished at Southacre Flats. Another advantage of living at Southacre Flats was that he was able to keep himself fit by walking a mile to College once or twice a day to take meals and collect his mail. This he continued to do after he moved to Brooklands House, which is situated about the same distance from the College.

Bailey's *Khotanese texts VI* was a kind of forerunner of his later *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*,⁷¹ but it was not until his retirement in 1967 that he was able to devote himself intensively to the preparation of the dictionary. As he put it 'the original plan of 1934 to publish eleven volumes of text, commentary and lexicon, over eleven years was abrogated by much teaching in the field of Veda, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit and by adverse circumstances.'⁷² For, incredible as it may seem, despite the fact that Bailey was publishing books and articles at an enormous rate, it should not be forgotten that he was all the time heavily engaged in teaching, much of it voluntary. Many students of the classical languages who had an interest in comparative philology used to ask him to read Vedic hymns with them, which he did with great enthusiasm, an enthusiasm that made a lasting impression on most of them. I do not know whether it was always so, but by the time I participated in these classes, reading texts with Bailey really meant listening to him etymologise each of the words of the texts successively. Grammar and syntax do not seem to have interested him very much, but sometimes he would talk for hours on the form of a single word. At a speech in Queens' in 1960 he confessed: 'I have talked for ten and half hours on the problem of one word without approaching the further problem of its meaning.'

Bailey's teaching method was the very reverse of interactive and would no doubt be frowned upon by educationalists, but those with sufficient ability could in this way derive maximum profit from his vast resources of knowledge. Word soon got around that Bailey was a mine of information that he delighted in sharing with students and professors alike. Many who came with a simple question were amazed at the casual

⁷¹ H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge, 1979).

⁷² *Khotanese texts V*, p. xi.

way in which he was able to produce from his vast library book after book and article after article that had a bearing on the question.

Bailey did take care of his students' interests. He would not only invite them to tea to meet visiting scholars, but was solicitous of their welfare in general. He was for example concerned about how Ratna Handurukande coming from Ceylon would cope with the cold and kept a thick rug on a chair in case she needed to cover her feet during supervisions. I myself was amused to receive from Bailey a letter dated 31 May 1962, in which he wrote: 'I write just to remind you that the Examination Part I (your two Khotanese Papers) begins on 4 June but I suppose you will not overlook it. Best wishes, HWBailey.'

For his seventieth birthday Bailey was presented with a volume of the prestigious journal of the School of Oriental and African Studies dedicated to him by friends and colleagues. He seems, however, to have had as much pleasure from the fact that on that occasion Sir Ralph Turner recounted an anecdote dating back to 1936: 'Shortly after his election to the Chair of Sanskrit at Cambridge my wife and I were staying with a friend in North Wales, where we were visited by Harold Bailey. Kept indoors by rain, he entertained us with talk on Welsh language, Welsh history and Welsh antiquities. When the visitor, who had been introduced as Professor Bailey from Cambridge, had left, one of the company remarked: "I did not know that Cambridge had a Chair of Celtic!"'

Bailey made his last visit to Australia in 1970–1. He went some months in advance of the twenty-eighth International Congress of Orientalists to assist with the preparations and also gave a course on Khotanese that was published in 1971 as an occasional paper of the Australian National University.⁷³ At the Congress in Canberra he directed the programme on 'Central and Northern Asia' and on 9 January 1971 delivered a paper on 'The Present State of North Iranian Studies' at the Session on Indo-Iranian Studies. In March he gave two lectures in Perth, and on 20 May 1971 he was elected Honorary Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. On this occasion he returned via Japan, where he spent six weeks at the invitation of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. At the Tōyō Bunko and

⁷³ *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, the summary in Khotan Saka* (Occasional paper 10), The Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies (Canberra, 1971).

universities in Tokyo and Kyoto he held several lectures that were subsequently published in Japan.⁷⁴

Throughout his life Bailey continued to maintain contact with friends and relatives in Australia. He used to send at least a postcard to his mother every three weeks and he corresponded from time to time with most of his relatives, many of whom visited him in Cambridge. He also regularly visited his cousins in Devizes.

After two and a half years' writing, by 1974 Bailey had completed the handwritten version of his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, some 1600 pages⁷⁵ in all. The words with their context and references he had over the years already entered into his working dictionary. Essentially, what the two and a half years' writing involved was selecting items from this collection, adding the meanings of the lemmata and providing etymologies. Despite the obvious emphasis on etymology Bailey insisted that the dictionary was not an etymological dictionary, the etymologies being intended merely 'to assure the Khotanese word and situate it within the dialects'. Having completed the handwritten version he then proceeded to type it ready for printing. He was a notoriously bad typist as he himself was almost proud to admit, often remarking with a laugh that he had managed to make more than a hundred typos on a single page. The work was a year and a half with the printer before it appeared in August 1979.

The appearance of the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* was the crowning point of Bailey's career, marking as it did the culmination of almost half a century of prodigious effort to elucidate the Khotanese vocabulary. It is truly a *monumentum perennius*.

To mark the publication of his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* the Iran Center at Columbia University sponsored a series of lectures by Bailey in the autumn of 1979. He spent two weeks in the USA giving five lectures at Columbia University and one to the Zoroastrian community. He also managed to spend two nights in Harvard and to visit the mycologist R. Gordon Wasson in Danbury, Connecticut.

⁷⁴ 'Trends in Iranian studies', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 29 (Tokyo, 1971), 1-16; 'The culture of the Iranian kingdom of Ancient Khotan in Chinese Turkestan', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 29 (Tokyo, 1971), 17-29; 'The Khotanese summary of the Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra', *Taisho Daigaku Kenkyūkiyo* [Memoirs of Taisho University], No. 57 (Tokyo, 1972), 526-30; 'Story-telling in Buddhist Central Asia', *Acta asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 23 (Tokyo, 1972), 63-77.

⁷⁵ In the printed published form 512 pages.

In the sixties Wasson had visited Bailey in Cambridge to enlist his support for his bold thesis that the Indo-Iranian sacred plant known in Vedic as *sóma*- and in Avestan as *haoma*- was in reality a mushroom, specifically the fly-agaric.⁷⁶ As always Bailey was reluctant to take sides on a controversial issue, but he viewed the matter from the standpoint of the etymologist and immediately envisaged the possibility of an etymological connection between Vedic *sóma*- and German *Schwamm* 'mushroom', an idea that he found so attractive that he encouraged Wasson and publicly described his thesis as a 'plausible opinion'.⁷⁷ Philologists were not so easily convinced. J. Brough (1917–84), a former student of Bailey's, who was at that time professor of Sanskrit in London and later on became Bailey's successor in Cambridge, led the counter-attack⁷⁸ and some years later H. Falk⁷⁹ dealt the final blow to the thesis. In his elaboration of the etymological arguments in his article 'Vedic *kṣúmpa*- and connected data',⁸⁰ Bailey makes no reference to the philological aspects of the problem.

The five lectures Bailey held at Columbia University in 1979 were subsequently published in book form as *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan*.⁸¹ Apart from chapter four, which contains excerpts from Khotanese literature in translation, the lectures are based on a selection of Khotanese vocabulary items arranged thematically.

Bailey's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* contains a 'supplement' (pp. 510–12) and an 'addendum' (p. 512) providing additional material that had occurred to him after the typesetting had been completed. In the same month as the dictionary appeared I received from him a list of 'Additamenta'. Shortly afterwards he wrote an article entitled 'Indo-Iranica' containing discussions of fifteen Khotanese vocabulary items, which he published 'in anticipation of a Supplement'.⁸² However, he subsequently gave up the idea of writing a supplement.

Bailey's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* was widely reviewed and highly acclaimed. My own review⁸³ was more critical than any other and

⁷⁶ R. Gordon Wasson, *Soma, Divine Mushroom of Immortality* (The Hague, 1968).

⁷⁷ *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 29 (Tokyo, 1971), 8.

⁷⁸ 'Soma and Amanita Muscaria', *BSOAS*, xxxiv. 2 (1971), 331–61.

⁷⁹ 'Soma I and II', *BSOAS*, lii. 1 (1989), 77–90.

⁸⁰ *Amrtadhārā, Professor R. N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume*, ed. S. D. Joshi (Delhi, 1984), 17–20.

⁸¹ (Columbia lectures on Iranian Studies 1) (New York, 1982), xii + 109 pp.

⁸² *Indologica Taurinensia*, viii–ix (*Dr. Ludwik Sternbach Commemoration Volume*) (1980–1), 15–18.

⁸³ *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 23. 1 (1981), 66–71.

Bailey did not take kindly to it. One of the main points I make in it is that many of the errors in the dictionary could have been avoided if he had taken more fully into account the publications of other scholars. After all, he read extremely widely, so that it seems strange that he should largely disregard the relatively few contributions to the subject at that time being made by any other scholar than himself. To the non-specialist this may look like simply a case of sour grapes, but it is not just a question of preferring one opinion to another. There are of course outstanding problems where no definitive conclusion can yet be reached, but I am referring here to quite elementary and straightforward cases where there can be no doubt about the correct interpretation.⁸⁴

Even though I have felt obliged to pass such severe criticism on Bailey's dictionary I regard it as an absolutely indispensable tool that contains an extraordinary wealth of information of unique value for the specialist user.

As there could be no question of replacing Bailey's invaluable dictionary in the near future and yet some *modus vivendi* needed to be devised upon its appearance I decided to initiate a series of volumes entitled *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*⁸⁵ to accommodate in alphabetical order not only corrections to Bailey's dictionary but summaries of published and unpublished contributions to the study of Khotanese vocabulary items. After the appearance of the first of these volumes Bailey could hardly bring himself to speak to me again, but eventually he did so. However, after completing one more volume largely on Khotanese matters that he had in hand he ceased work on Khotanese altogether and thereafter passed on to me all inquiries concerning it. This was to be his last published book, the seventh and final volume of his monumental series of *Khotanese texts*.⁸⁶ Despite the title, it contains no texts but in the main etymological speculations

⁸⁴ In order that the non-specialist reader can appreciate the point being made I give a typical example. On p. 172 of the dictionary Bailey has an item *namñā* 'nothingness(?)', which he derives 'from *na-* "not", with *-mñā-*'. He translates the sentence concerned as 'Sumeru (mountain) (and) the mustard seed he carries away to nothingness together with the four continents'. In reality, Bailey's *namñā* is merely the end of the locative singular of the word for 'mustard seed'. The passage is a commonplace in Buddhist literature: the power of the Buddha is such that he can place Mt. Sumeru and the four continents in a grain of mustard. Bailey's *namñā* 'nothingness', invented for this one passage, is quite gratuitous and makes nonsense of a passage that had been clearly explained and placed in its context in an article I had published more than ten years earlier: R. E. Emmerick, 'The mustard *upamā*', *JRAS* (1967), 22–5.

⁸⁵ R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese I–III*, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien, 1982, 1987, 1997).

⁸⁶ *Indo-Scythian Studies, being Khotanese texts VII* (Cambridge, 1985), xvi + 147 pp.

concerning some of the proper names associated with Central Asian history during the period represented by the Khotanese texts.

Already in the fifties Bailey had begun giving serious thought to his retirement and in particular what he would do with his extensive library.⁸⁷ At one time he had contemplated returning to Perth, at another to Wales. In 1959 he actually made a bid for the Old Rectory at Dinas Cross, but his offer was too low and was rejected. By 1961 he told Ross that he no longer seriously entertained the idea of retirement in Wales, but he continued to consider Perth a possibility. In fact when his mother died the following year he and his two brothers each inherited a third of his parents' house. However, neither of his brothers was able to maintain the house and in 1965 in an attempt to reduce his own financial burden and at the same time extricate himself gracefully from what was threatening to become an irksome family feud he transferred his third to Alice Westhoff (1922–90), second daughter of his elder brother Alec although this meant to him severing a sentimental connection with Australia.

Even so he continued to contemplate the possibility of retirement to Australia as late as 1970, but by the time Harrison Bryan, Director-General of the National Library of Australia in Canberra, on 17 March 1981 wrote to him with an offer to house his library 'appropriately as an entity', he had already found what he considered the ideal solution. Together with Bridget and Raymond Allchin, J. van Louhuizen, and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in 1978 he had founded the Ancient India and Iran Trust,⁸⁸ of which he was chairman from 1978 onwards. When in 1981 the Trust acquired Brooklands House in Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge, he was able for the first time for many years to reside in spacious quarters large enough to accommodate his library on shelves, and he took delight in the large garden attached to the house. Ever since he came to Cambridge he had been fond of gardening and even at an advanced age spent many hours working in the garden.

Having given up research into Khotanese, Bailey devoted his time in Brooklands House mainly to two spheres of interest, Caucasian languages and the Pahlavi *Bundahishn*. He was particularly fond of Chechen, but took an interest also in other Caucasian languages such

⁸⁷ In what was probably the first will he made, in 1940 he wanted to give the first choice of his books to Queens' College, Cambridge, and the second to the University of Western Australia.

⁸⁸ On the Trust see Bailey's account 'The Ancient India and Iran Trust', *The Cambridge Review*, 30 Jan. 1984, cols. 22–5.

as Abkhaz-Abaza, Circassian, and Ubykh. His work on the Caucasian languages in these years resulted in the publication of a number of articles mainly concerning Iranian loanwords in Caucasian languages. In 1983 he obtained a substantial grant for a three-year period from the Leverhulme Trust to enable a former student, P. Khoroché, to assist him in revising his old edition of the *Bundahishn* with a view to publication. However, his eyesight deteriorated sharply before he was able to bring the project to a satisfactory conclusion and it remains unpublished.

By far the most valuable part of Bailey's financial legacy was his superb collection of books, which, as he wished, are accessible to all interested scholars in the rooms of the Ancient India and Iran Trust. He also left token amounts of £1000 each for prizes in Asian Studies to the University of Western Australia, to Queens' College, Cambridge, to St Catherine's, Oxford, and for two lectures on Iranian, especially Ossetic, to Cambridge University.

In memory of Bailey, who died on 11 January 1996, a terracotta brick pillar by the sculptor Ulf Hegewald has been erected in the grounds of the Ancient India and Iran Trust. Around it is engraved Xetägkaty K'osta's (1859–1906) famous Ossetic poem of mourning for a loved one.⁸⁹

RONALD ERIC EMMERICK

Fellow of the Academy

Note. Numerous people have given of their time to discuss either orally or in writing matters connected with this account. They include (in alphabetic order of the surname) the following: J. P. Asmussen, M. Boyce, S. Bailey, E. Boardman, B. Bosworth, A. Chaudhri, C. Dowsett, G. Dudbridge, K. Easton, E. and I. Gershevitch, M. Grace, R. Handurukande, G. Hewitt, S. Insler, J. V. Kinnier Wilson, E. Leedham-Green, H. Livermore, J. McComb, M. Mayrhofer, K. R. Norman, P. Ottaway, P. Ross, R. Salomon, U. and N. Sims-Williams, D. Sinor, F. Thordarson, H. Wahlquist, E. Yarshater. Any omissions are unintentional.

Bibliography

(a) Writings by Sir Harold W. Bailey

For a bibliography of the books and articles published between 1930 and 1970 see

⁸⁹ 'Марды уæлхъус, Къоста, Уацмысты амбырд 3 томы, Орджоноикидзе 1956, vol. 1, p. 87.

R. E. Emmerick and D. M. Johnson, 'Writings of H. W. Bailey (books and articles)', *BSOAS*, xxxiii. 1 (1970), ix–xiv. Some items published between 1969 and 1978 are listed in *Acta Iranica*, 20 (1979), 33–5. A comprehensive bibliography will be published in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*.

(b) Writings concerning Sir Harold W. Bailey

Newspaper obituaries: *The Independent* 12 Jan. 1996 (A. Rush); *The Times* 13 Jan. 1996 (unsigned); *The Daily Telegraph* 24 Jan. 1996 (unsigned); *The Guardian* 25 Jan. 1996 (R. E. Emmerick).

Obituaries in academic journals and newsletters: Mireille Bénisti(-Monié) and Michel Strickmann, *Buddhist Studies Review*, 13. 1 (1996), 76–8; A. D. H. Bivar, *JRAS*, 6. 3 (1996), 407–10; A. Chaudhri and M. Szuppe, *Newsletter, Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University*, 8. 1 (1996), 1–2; G. Gnoli, *East and West* 46. 3–4 (1996), 491–3; J. Holmes, *Queens' College Record* (1996), 4–6; E. Kahrs, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 20. 2 (1997), 3–5; N. Sims-Williams and G. Hewitt, *BSOAS*, 60. 1, 109–16.

Biographical: M. N. Austin, 'Ex humili potens: A Scholar's Progress', *Gazette of the University of Western Australia*, 10. 1 (1960), 1–4; F. Alexander, *Campus at Crawley. A narrative and critical appreciation of the first fifty years of the University of Western Australia* (Melbourne/Canberra/Sydney, 1963), pp. 125–6 on Wood and Bailey; M. N. Austin, 'Sir Harold Bailey The Scholar', pp. 235–9 in *Westralian Portraits*, ed. Lyall Hunt, University of Western Australia Press (Nedlands, 1979); A. Treweek, *The West Australian* 8 Feb. 1986; Pratapaditya Pal, *The Saturday Statesman* 16 Dec. 1989; I. Gershevitch, 'Отмечая 90-лeие со дня рождения Сэра Гарольда Бейли', [Marking Sir Harold Bailey's 90th birthday], *Вестник Древней Истории, Journal of Ancient History*, 4 (195) (1990), 208–16; A. D. H. Bivar, 'The President's Speech Awarding the Denis Sinor Medal for Inner Asian Studies to Sir Harold Bailey', *JRAS*, 4. 1 (1994), 1–2.

(c) Archives

The University of Western Australia Archives in Perth and the Archives of the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge: the majority of Bailey's letters are deposited in the AIIT.

(d) Festschrift

Volume xxxiii. 1, 1970 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* was published 'in honour of Sir Harold Bailey'.

Portrait

Ronald Way's 1972 portrait was published as Plate 7B between pages 144 and 145 of John Twigg, *A History of Queens' College, Cambridge 1448–1986* (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, 1987).

Abbreviations

BSOS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*

- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JGLS *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
NTS *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*
TPS *Transactions of the Philological Society*
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*