Chapter 1

Itineraries between India and Switzerland 1900–1950: An Overview

Philippe Bornet and Maya Burger

Abstract: This introductory chapter outlines different aspects of relations between India and Switzerland during the first half of the twentieth century, focusing on the topics of mission, travel, and translation. Transnational themes such as the political context of the aftermath of the First World War, the print media boom, and the women's rights movement are aspects that influenced the relations between India and Switzerland in no small way. This can be verified by looking at the itineraries of individual Indian and Swiss actors going back and forth between India and Switzerland in this period, exploring new or different ideas or practices: travellers, orientalists, translators and political activists. No less important as channels of exchange were institutions, such as Christian missions and various religious movements centred in India and seeking to spread to the West. The chapter finally turns to the very telling example of transnational yoga, which brings into play all the dimensions described earlier.

1 Introduction: Scope, Methodologies, and Approaches

Given that Switzerland is a small landlocked country that very much depends on its relations with other European nations, it might appear that its interactions with the distant South Asia are worthy of little more than a footnote. Indeed, very few scholars have been interested in the cultural relations between India and Switzerland, and existing studies have often privileged one side of the relation over the other, without acknowledging how related events happening in Switzerland and afar could belong to the same historical process.

However, and as is increasingly being recognized, even without "direct" political ties and colonies in Asia, Switzerland has played a significant, albeit often indirect, role in the history of countries beyond European borders.[1] Conversely, the history of countries outside Europe has influenced in no small way the history of Switzerland. Through trading companies, missionary institutions, philanthropy, medicine, the arts, or indeed in its status as a safe haven for expatriated

1 See David et al. 1998; Harries 2007; Purtschert & Fischer-Tiné 2015; Veyrassat 2018; Etienne et al. 2020.

scholars and artists during the wars of the twentieth century, Switzerland can be said to have concentrated within a limited geographical territory some of the most important issues in the relations between Asia and Europe in this period. Moreover, its plurilingualism (French, German, Italian) directly connected it to debates and actors in adjacent countries, and made it a fitting place for the dissemination of new concepts and practices in Europe.

This book is the result of a research project, entitled "Travel, Missions, Translations: Mechanisms of Encounter between India and Switzerland, 1870–1970", which offered an innovative study of Indo-Swiss cultural relations during the first half of the twentieth century.[2] The project focused on three aspects: (1) exchanges resulting from the travels of remarkable individuals such as Swiss adventurer Ella Maillart (1903–1997); (2) encounters resulting from missionary activities, in particular the missions of Basel and St. Maurice in India, and Buddhist proselytism in Switzerland; and (3) exchanges as appearing in translations, with a close study of specific publications, such as a book by Swiss philosopher and orientalist Lizelle Reymond (1899–1984) on her stay with Indian Hindu monk Sri Anirvan (1896–1978) in Bengal.[3] That the three aspects (travel, missions, translations) are often combined in the same historical figure or institution became increasingly clear during the course of the project.

This book has retained many of the features of the original work, in particular the focus on cultural "goods," as they are exchanged and thus transformed through their travels from Asia (India) to Europe (Switzerland) and the way back. It features case studies involving Swiss and Indian protagonists who interacted with various strands of Indian cultures: politics and social reform in the case of Swiss artist and writer Frieda Hauswirth (1886–1974) and her second husband Indian nationalist revolutionary Sarangadhar Das (1886–1957) in California, Odisha, Bengal, and Switzerland; religion and health in the case of Swiss missionary doctors Eva Lombard (1890–1978) and Elisabeth Petitpierre (1893–1893) in Karnataka; religion and philosophy in the case of Swiss orientalist and missionary Jakob Urner (1883–1961) and his Indian guru Chenappa Uttangi (1881–1962), also in Karnataka; embodiment and physical culture in the case of Indian yoga teacher and author Selvarajan Yesudian (1916–1998) and Hungarian spiritual teacher and sculptor Elisabeth Haich (1897–1994) in Hungary and Switzerland; and philosophy in the case of Lizelle Reymond and Sri Anirvan in present-day Uttarakhand, Bengal, and Switzerland.

While much of the history of "globalization" in the modern era has focused on economic and political aspects, with special attention to the power imbal-

2 Funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF 147342), the project was co-directed by Maya Burger (University of Lausanne) and Angelika Malinar (University of Zurich).

3 Reymond 1957.

ances between metropoles and colonies, the centre and the periphery, we contend that "cultural" elements deserve special consideration. Taking inspiration from the groundbreaking study by Wilhelm Halbfass on the history of intellectual exchanges between India and Europe,[4] we look at different forms of cultural exchange, from the dissemination of Christian doctrines and their hybridization with South Indian traditions, to the reformulation of yogic practices on Swiss soil. While political (and economic) processes show a clear imbalance in favour of Western countries in the late modern period, a study of the circulation of cultural and epistemic "goods" invites a more nuanced approach. Thus, while in most of the cases explored here the Swiss actors were generally in a more favourable position than their Indian fellows (with greater access to editorial, financial, or institutional resources), the cultural exchanges that occurred in such contexts cannot be reduced to the asymmetrical power relations in which they were embedded – a point where we diverge from paradigms which focus exclusively on economic and political processes. To better understand these dynamics, we pay special attention to the actual "mechanisms of encounters" through detailed case studies, with the conviction that the situational or mediational context of encounters impacts their outcome and legacy in no small way.

To approach these interwoven histories, we have opted for a study of specific cases analysed in singular documents, along lines reminiscent of what the historian Carlo Ginzburg has called *microstoria*. This implies a focus on detailed cases that might seem idiosyncratic at first sight but that mirror larger processes – an approach that can be described as a "global microhistory."[5] Such an approach not only counters the determinism of some macrohistorical narratives by focusing on the agency of individuals. It also presents an empirical approach to studying larger phenomena such as global (or transnational) networks, a kind of "probe" to explore the strata of vast historical material. While studying the biographies of individual actors can reveal global processes,[6] the same can be said of analysing the transnational itineraries of objects, visual material, or publications – even if these are more rarely explicitly dealt with in scholarship. We chose the concept of "itineraries" specifically to include the circulation of objects and techniques as they move between continents.

To conduct our investigations, we have found that philological and historical methods were the most helpful guides. Indeed, philology draws our attention to meaningful textual and editorial details and allows us to examine encounters with a microscopic attention – something which is needed to go beyond merely rehearsing commonly held views. It helps us see how a specific document has

4 Halbfass 1981.

5 See Ginzburg & Poni 1981.

6 For the methodological implications of applying a microhistorical approach to the study of biography, see Hausberger 2006; Gamsa 2017.

been constructed and, in a transcultural context, contributes to revealing the complex mechanisms of cultural (and linguistic) translation that happen within a single document. For example, any version of Yesudian and Haich's work on yoga is the product of a number of successive encounters and translations and has to be analysed closely in order to disentangle the various layers it consists of (see chapter 6). Moreover, a philological approach brings an external and fresh perspective on texts written by "insiders" and meant for other insiders.

As to historical methods, the notion of "connected history" (or "connected histories," in the plural) formalized by Serge Gruzinski and Sanjay Subrahmanyam has struck us as particularly promising.[7] In this perspective, a productive way to move beyond the national bias in history writing consists in following singular translocal itineraries that cross political, social, or cultural boundaries, and in piecing together sources that reflect different sides of the stories – reconnecting archives as an electrician reconnects wires, and attempting to bring together diverging perspectives by using documents that have been produced and kept in different places or archives.

The practical application of these approaches and methods has its challenges. Indeed, the philological analysis of documents explored in this volume had often to be conducted with missing contextual elements about authorial or editorial work. The framework of "connected histories" itself needs to cope with the fact that some documents have been better preserved than others, making a perfectly "balanced" perspective unlikely. For example, the study of the activities of a missionary society tends to be biased by an abundance of "internal" (and often apologetic) sources available, and conversely, the scarcity of external sources. Finally, the focus on the "micro" level might carry with it the risk of overemphasizing the importance of some details: gauging the significance of a printed work or the extent to which it has borrowed such or such an idea from another source, for example, is always a tricky task. Nevertheless, and despite these difficulties, we are convinced that the focus on detail that we have committed to in this volume can offer valuable insight into the ways in which the histories of Switzerland and India are interwoven that would remain invisible otherwise.

2 The Period: 1900–1950

Although our original research project had a broader time frame (1870–1970), we realized that the most fruitful periods for this study, and also the ones that are least studied, were the interwar period on the one hand and the period immediately following the Second World War on the other. In these periods, spe-

7 Subrahmanyam 1997; Gruzinski 2003. See Bornet 2021b for an application of the method to late modern religious exchanges between Asia and Europe.

cific historical events affecting India and Switzerland gave these cultural exchanges a particular significance. As such, we have framed our scope of focus to the period between 1900 and 1950.

2.1 The Swiss Context

Five characteristics of the Swiss context at the beginning of the twentieth century have struck us as particularly important for cultural exchanges with (South) Asia. First, and because of the role it played during the First World War, Switzerland emerged as an important platform for *international coordination*. Several international institutions chose locations in Switzerland for their headquarters. While the neutral position of Switzerland has a long history,[8] it took on a particular significance at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the context of growing tensions between European nations. During the First World War, Switzerland was a zone where belligerent parties could negotiate, and represented the diplomatic interests of twenty-five nations. It is no surprise, then, to witness the establishment of diverse international institutions on Swiss territory – along with people specialized in international relations and activists from colonized countries.[9]

Secondly, and related to the same circumstances, Switzerland became a hub for *international humanitarian missions*. The International Committee of the Red Cross was founded in 1865 out of Geneva and underwent significant development at the beginning of the twentieth century. The League of Nations was founded in 1919, with its seat in Geneva, and several international peace conferences took place in the same location.[10] This all created a favourable context for the establishment of several international organizations on Swiss soil, and, in parallel, for the development of various movements of organized pacificism in the country. The Indian model of a non-violent freedom movement – and Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) in particular – enjoyed particular popularity in these circles.

Thirdly, and also related to its particular situation during the war, Switzerland played the role of *safe haven* for various intellectuals and artists from the rest of Europe, seeking to escape the horrors of war. It thus became a second

8 See Walter 2010, vol. 5, pp. 138–139. The concept of Swiss neutrality was imposed in 1815, by other political powers, at the Congress of Vienna. It was revived in the nineteenth century, *inter alia* with the construction of major railroads through the Alps.

9 See Speich Chassé 2012 for an analysis of the relations between Swiss neutrality and internationalism in this period.

10 See the example of the 1930 Universal Religious Peace Conference, which about 1,000 people (including delegates from India) attended, representing diverse religions (see *World's Religions Against War*, 1928).

home to figures such as the German-born Hermann Hesse (1877–1962)[11] or the French-born Romain Rolland (1866–1944). It offered artists the opportunity to experiment with radical new ways of living, in a cosmopolitan spirit – as in the case of the Monte Verità "utopian" community based in Ascona in the Swiss canton of Ticino from 1900 on.[12] Circles identifying with the so-called Lebensreform (life reform) movements[13] typically integrated elements borrowed from Indian conceptions of health and the body. Orientalists working in Switzerland also contributed to the reception of Indian cultures, through translations and public lectures.[14]

A fourth important characteristic for our purpose is the *plurality of religious communities* hosted on Swiss soil. Since its 1848 Constitution, the country had dissociated religious affiliation from politics, making religion a personal choice and the freedom of belief and religious practice a fundamental right. In the second part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, a variety of Christian communities, but also many movements imported from the East, flourished in Switzerland.[15] This could be movements actually founded by leaders from Asian countries – as in the case of Mazdaznan[16] – or movements led by European figures taking inspiration from Asian religions – as in the case of Max Ladner's (1898–1963) Buddhism or Rudolf Steiner's (1861–1925) anthroposophy; the latter established its world centre in Dornach, close to Basel, in 1925.[17] In some cases, this was also related to Switzerland's policy of neutrality: for example, the country played the role of a safe haven for Russian theosophists when the movement was banned there in 1921 because it was considered "bourgeois" by the Bolshevik regime.[18]

Finally, one must also note the rather favourable economic situation enjoyed by Switzerland during the same period – even if the war had reinforced the fracture between the working poor and the bourgeoisie. The strong economy might explain, at least in part, both the country's success in conducting international trade, especially in Asia and Africa, and the wealth accumulated by certain

11 On whom see Choné 2009.

12 See chapter 1, 5.1 and chapter 6. Also Schwab 2003.

13 See Rindlisbacher 2021.

14 For examples, see chapter 1, 3.2.

15 See Mayer 1993 for an overview of various religious movements that emerged in Switzerland in the twentieth century.

16 See chapter 1, 4.2.

17 On Ladner, see chapter 1, 4.2. On Steiner, see Zander 2008.

18 See, for example, the case of the Russian theosophist Anna Kamensakya (1867–1952), who moved to Geneva in 1921, taught at the University of Geneva, and published a translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* from Sanskrit into French (Kamensky 1925). See http://www.theosophy.ru/kamensky.htm.

Swiss individuals who therefore had the financial means necessary to undertake long and costly travels for the mere sake of curiosity or learning.

2.2 Contextualizing Itineraries in India

For what pertains to the Indian context, it is of course impossible to justly summarize in a few points the major events that marked this period, which culminated with independence in 1947. Both the vast regional differences and the sheer size of the country (Figure 1.1) make it in no way comparable to a small stretch of land such as Switzerland.[19] The various figures studied in the present book are part of the period leading to independence. Most of the events belong to the time before the division into Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India, hence a context quite different from what followed after 1947. The first half of the twentieth century is a period of agitation and deep change on all levels.

To abstract a general picture from the recent history of the Indian subcontinent would be to banalize its multiple and various histories. Certain points are addressed here insofar as they show a relevant connection to the itineraries of the protagonists of this book. What did India look like to the missionaries of the 1920s, or to the travellers during the Second World War?

Prior to this period and above all, the subcontinent may be seen through the lens of the tensions evolving around the colonial situation. Since 1857, the Indian subcontinent was the largest British colony and deep modifications changed its society on every level: political, economic, juridical, and so on. The nineteenth century, as a consequence, hosted the beginnings of various movements for social reform and massive controversies against or in favour of British rule. Changes occurred over long periods and were very different in the various places of this large "new unity." Nationalist movements grew amid political and religious tensions, and the struggle for independence was the primary political backdrop for the first half of the twentieth century, with 1947 marking a before and an after.[20]

Each of the protagonists examined in this volume was grounded in a particular context and deployed a specific mode of interacting with what was unfolding on the subcontinent. Halbfass has pointed out that the relation between India and Europe was not only an encounter between India and the colonial power but an encounter with a modernizing world that was unfolding everywhere simultaneously.[21] This observation is important to remember. The confrontation with modern infrastructure changed the face of the Indian subconti-

19 For a general overview of Indian history during this period, see Metcalf & Metcalf 2012.

20 See McDermott et al. 2014 on the tensions and challenges characterizing the period.

21 See Halbfass 1988, pp. 160–170, esp. p. 162.

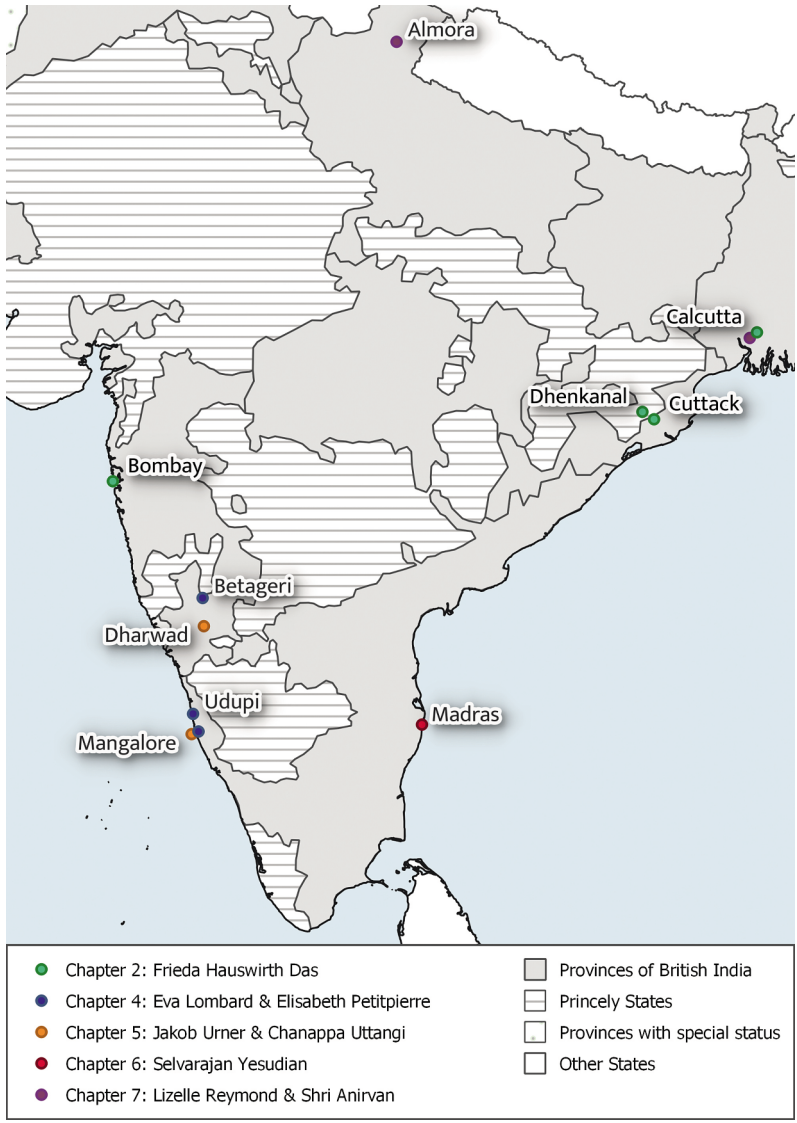

Figure 1.1. Location in India of the book's main protagonists (Claire Blaser)

nent. For example, the construction and expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century of the railway network connected distant populations and greatly contributed to enabling the circulation of "new" ideas across a larger range of peoples than had previously been possible, and to propagate nationalistic aspirations. For the purpose of this book, two themes help to contextualize specific

cases: the booming of print media and the development of social movements. It is a selective choice that may help better situate the encounters and exchanges that wove a new world of possibilities. We will present these themes in combination with the Swiss protagonists examined in later chapters for two reasons. First, Indian colonial history has been widely studied and needs no repeating here; by contrast, the specific processes of exchange deserve more attention. Secondly, the Swiss protagonists present the material in a way that reflects their concerns or choices in addressing a largely Swiss or international audience.

2.3 Disseminating Ideas and Expanding Knowledge: Print and Translations

The period under study is characterized by the increasing availability of new media across the whole subcontinent: print and other new modes of communication (radio, telegraph) enabled ideas and news to spread at greater speed. The proliferation of publishing houses, newspapers, journals, and translation projects was instrumental in facilitating access to diversity and change.[22] These new media accelerated the communication of knowledge both within India (for example, as printed books, Sanskrit texts became more widely available) and between India and other countries, along the transnational networks of publishers.[23] Thus, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, translations of European works (mostly, but not only) into the various languages of India (including English) opened and expanded the horizons of knowledge.[24] Conversely, the same period also witnessed an increase in the number of translations into English of works in the various Indian languages, in an attempt by various groups to situate themselves in the wider world of (mostly Western or English-language) global literature.[25]

As a major mode of exchange, the *periodical* was *the* medium in which to discuss new ideas and information stemming from Europe and Asian coun-

22 For a history of print in colonial India, see Stark 2007.

23 The selection of new media we present in this book is not, of course, representative. Neither do we discuss its literary value. It is the process itself that is important here, showing the dynamic of exchange and how increased awareness of differences was negotiated.

24 Similarly, translations of Indian works by European (and Swiss) orientalists expanded intellectual horizons in the West.

25 Orsini 2019, p. 73, recalls, for example, the important translation work of Miraji (1912–1949), who tried to bring the Urdu-speaking population into the orbit of world literature: "In these translation-essays he explored and expanded the world in an intense cosmopolitan practice of reading, translation, and explanation that merged into his poetic practice. Other Indian poetic traditions in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bengali also became part of this translational exploration, broadening Miraji's sense of his own literary tradition."

tries.[26] Periodicals were a means to connect people and spread ideas and knowledge to various parts of the world. Be it on the level of literature or politics, the authors of the subcontinent used the periodical form to prepare for the challenges of a newly independent nation, including spreading neo-Hindu or Islamic ideas.

An international movement par excellence, the Theosophical Society under the leadership of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) exploited the new possibilities of print to the fullest extent.[27] Immediately upon arriving in India in 1879, Blavatsky and Olcott launched *The Theosophist*, a periodical which, while centring on spiritual debates, also became an organ for Indians to debate their past and explore new ways of looking at it.[28] The journal was distributed not only throughout India but across the world via the network of the Theosophical Society. Local theosophical publications in German and French further disseminated this material in Europe, including of course Switzerland.[29]

Based in Tamil Nadu, Indian journalist, poet, and guru Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950), in collaboration with his spiritual collaborator Mirra Alfassa (1878–1973), and in part with Mirra's husband, French philosopher Paul Richard (1874–1967), published the periodical *Arya* between 1914 and 1921, in English and French, with the ambition to propagate Indian philosophy in the West. Many of Aurobindo's early essays appeared in the journal and were later published in book form (e.g. *The Life Divine* and *Synthesis of Yoga*). Yoga was the main topic of interest, but other subjects were dealt with too, for example the foundations of Indian culture or the Vedic heritage.[30] Having been brought up in both England and India, Aurobindo was well prepared to address various publics and integrate diverse systems of knowledge. And indeed, he had a large number of international supporters including the influential French Orientalist and translator Jean Herbert (1897–1980) who settled in Geneva in 1937 with his wife Lizelle Reymond.

Crucial philosophical and social issues – involving sources and cases from all over the world – were also debated in periodicals aimed at an Indian readership, published either in English or in regional languages out of various centres of the subcontinent, notably Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Madras.

26 Orsini 2019.

27 Blavatsky and Olcott, along with William Quan Judge (1851–1896), had co-founded the Theosophical Society in 1875 in New York.

28 Burger 2014.

29 See Zander 2004 for a list of theosophical periodicals in German up to 1945.

30 Most of these publications can be consulted on the website of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, which Aurobindo founded with Alfassa in 1926. See https://www.sriaurobindoashram.org/ashram/.

The periodical *Modern Review* (1907–1995), founded by Ramananda Chatterjee (1865–1943) in 1907 in Calcutta, was one such place where writers and nationalists discussed their ideas in a public print forum.[31] Its counterpart in Bengali, *Prabasi*, founded by Chatterjee in 1901, was a monthly literary magazine that disseminated ideas into the Bengali homes. Tagore's novel *Gora* was first published within its pages, from 1907 to 1909. *Gora* relates the encounter (and subsequent problems) between East and West rendered in a genre accessible to a large audience sensitive to the challenges at stake in a changing world in which traditional habits and customs were discussed and critiqued.

Another example from the Hindi-Urdu belt is Dhanpat Rai Srivastava, better known by his pen name Premchand (1880–1936), a well-known scholar and author who made full use of the print media: he published his novels and stories in the columns of periodicals before assembling them in book form. He developed a literature which introduced its Indian readers to a new understanding, both critical and informative, of their society.[32] He incorporated in his works many of the tensions that existed in the first quarter of the twentieth century, including nascent communalism, the rupture between Urdu and Hindi, and the identification of language with religion.[33] The realism of his literary works would later prove to be a useful source of knowledge about the period to scholars. An avant-gardist of his time (belonging to the progressist movement, *pragaṭivād*), he explored literary style and political perspective throughout his many-sided life, writing, and thinking between Hindi and Urdu. During a teaching post in Gorakhpur (1916–1921), he developed a friendship with the bookseller Buddhi Lal who gave him access to classics of world literature in translation.[34] Premchand lapped them up, sharpening his skills as a keen observer of society and history. He developed critical views on the family, the landowning class, and priests. He possessed an aptitude for human psychology more generally and demonstrated a profound knowledge of the Indic traditions and ways of life, as well as of the ideas emerging at the time of modernization. In his writings, Premchand not only criticized Indian society but exposed certain absurdities by creating distance and ironizing them through minute description. He was in many ways inspired by writers and authors from other parts of the world, but above all he comprehended his surroundings in the light of new linguistic, cultural and media possibilities. He is featured here as one example of those who not only comprehended the ongoing formal changes in literature but who also recognized and felt deeply a new self-understanding (to take up the terminology of

31 Orsini 2019, p. 62: "[T]he *Modern Review* followed closely foreign reports on Indian politics and the work of European Orientalists."

32 Schreiner 1972.

33 See, for instance, Shingavi 2013.

34 Gupta 1998.

Halbfass) provoked by the increasing availability of print resources and ideas. We do not know whether Premchand was read by all the other protagonists in this book,[35] but there can be no doubt that he nourished the ongoing reformulations of traditions, and that his literary ambition was itself a product of his encounter with the new ideas and innovations that the proliferation of print media and scholarly translations made possible. In South India, an author such as Subramania Bharati (1882–1921) was deeply influenced by both Indian (and specifically Tamil) literary traditions and English literature, and invented new forms of expression. He also made wide use of the printing technology to spread his socio-political views in readily accessible publications.

All the protagonists examined in this volume have interacted in important ways with the boom in print culture, either as sources of knowledge or as a way to propagate their own ideas. Sri Anirvan, whom Lizelle Reymond presented to the West as well as to the East, had an impressive library that contained many books by European authors.[36] Sri Anirvan was a citizen of the world, inspired by whatever attracted his attention, but he was also a Vedic scholar and an interpreter of yoga outside the typical general conception of yoga in the West. Like other Indians of the period – for example, the philosopher Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya (1875–1949), who reinterpreted traditional Indian philosophy in response to contemporary questions and reflected on cosmopolitanism – Anirvan saw no boundaries between the "worlds" at large, leaving manufactured divides such as East and West behind and rejecting the nationalist intoxication with the past glory of India. He adopted what he called the *universal psychological language*, and his work is testimony to a universal reading integrated in an Indian perspective.

It was not only philosophers, scholars, and writers who used the periodical form to disseminate knowledge and share ideas. Missionary work, in India as elsewhere, not only depended on periodicals to propagate its convictions but also spread the very technique of print in vernacular contexts, outside of the main urban centres. For example, *Mangaluru Samachara*, launched in 1843 by the Basel Mission and published out of Mangalore in Karnataka, was the first journal in the Kannada language, soon to be joined by multiple periodicals that were specifically targeting local communities. Conversely, the Basel Mission published much propaganda in Switzerland in periodicals (for example in its *Evangelisches*

35 It is possible that some may have been exposed to his writings via the new medium of film in the 1930s, where some of Premchand's stories had been adapted.

36 His brother had a bookstore in Allahabad, from whom he had gained access to books such as Peter D. Ouspensky's works on George I. Gurdjieff (1866?–1949). In Gurdjieff, Sri Arnirvan recognized a man who shared his thinking. On Sri Arnivan and Lizelle Reymond, see chapter 7.

Missionsmagazin, launched in 1857), contributing to the creation of an imaginary India, essentially reduced to its religious dimension, among its audiences.

Swami Sivananda (1887–1963), though not one of our protagonists, deserves an honourable mention as a telling example of the use of print media to propagate his views about yoga and the regeneration of society in the pre-independence period. Indeed, he was occupied with rethinking tradition and understood that Indian society needed to be regenerated (in his view); for this he made heavy recourse to the printed word to spread information in India and abroad. He had a printing machine and a post office installed in his ashram to ensure the proper functioning of his editorial work. The Belgian André Van Lysebeth (1919–2004), a yoga instructor who was influential in introducing Swiss people to the practice (albeit later, in the 1950s and 1960s), recounts an anecdote that demonstrates how Sivananda understood the impact of print media in spreading information. Van Lysebeth was himself a printer by trade and knew the publishing context well. He offers no date for this anecdote but it seems likely that it was around 1950.

> It was a time when books on yoga were rare in the West. There were of course specialized libraries in London (Watkins and others), but their offer was still limited. One had to write to Bombay or Calcutta, or even to Benares, to obtain catalogues, often restricted in form of some (badly) stencilled leaflets that would take months to reach Europe! […] When the books reached [their destination], in parcels tattooed with postal stamps and postmarks, these were messages from another world, almost of another time. I felt more joy to have – finally – in my hands such a book for which I had waited for months than a collector who holds a rare book. This is how I came to find in a catalogue of Taraporevala & Sons in Bombay, the title "Yogic home exercises for modern men and women." From a certain Swami Sivananda.[37]

Van Lysebeth wrote to Sivananda in Rishikesh and asked for resources about yoga. He recounts that to his surprise he received a bill of seven pages and a

37 The original reads: "C'était l'époque où les livres sur le yoga étaient rares en Occident. Il y avait bien les librairies spécialisées à Londres (Watkins et autres), mais leur choix était encore assez limité. Il fallait écrire à Bombay ou à Calcutta, ou encore à Bénarès, pour obtenir des catalogues, souvent réduits à quelques feuilles (mal) stencilées qui mettaient des mois à arriver en Europe! […]. Quand les livres arrivaient, dans des colis tatoués de timbres-poste et de cachets postaux indiens, c'étaient des messagers d'un autre univers, presque d'un autre temps. J'avais plus de plaisir à tenir – enfin! – en mains tel ouvrage attendu pendant des mois, qu'un collectionneur tenant un livre rare. Et c'est ainsi que, dans un catalogue de Taraporevala & Sons de Bombay, je suis tombé en arrêt devant un titre 'Yogic home exercices for modern men and women'. D'un certain Swami Sivananda." Van Lysebeth 1973, pp. 13–16, quoted by Desponds 2007. Unless otherwise stated, translations are our own.

letter announcing the eleven packages that would soon arrive, full of books, posted on consecutive days owing to postal restrictions.[38]

Thus, not only did the so-called reform movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but also individual thinkers and authors responding to the challenges of modernity depend to a large extent on publications and print to ensure exchange and encounter. To consider yet another domain, the women's struggles that emerged in the first part of the twentieth century largely benefited from print and periodicals. Frieda Hauswirth, Eva Lombard, Elisabeth Petitpierre and Lizelle Reymond learned of the situation of women not only from their own experiences but from the new material gathered in print form. What exactly would they learn from that material about the condition of women?

2.4 Women and Reform: How to Think the Future

Since Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), the position of women in Indian society was debated and scrutinized. Throughout the nineteenth century, we read about what (mostly) men (sometimes in collaboration with their wives) thought about women's destinies. There were of course notable exceptions, such as social reformer Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922), who, long before the question of women's status in society became a central topic in an India fighting for independence, was the first woman to live on the profits of her books, such as *Strī Dharma Nīti*. Written in her mother tongue – Marathi – in 1882, it openly discusses the condition of women and especially the place of Brahmin widows in Indian society.[39] Her activities and work reflect her struggles on every level against clerical abuse and inequality. During her stay in England, she turned to Christianity, but never as an institution, which she heavily criticized. The descriptions of her travels to America illustrate her capacity to summarize the American way of life (in many ways idealized) and to compare it to Britain and the Raj.[40]

38 "Il découvre donc Sivananda, dont l'enseignement le convainc, et s'exerce au moyen de ce livre puis, un peu imprudemment, écrit à son ashram pour obtenir tous ses livres. Il ignore à ce moment que le nombre de titres dépasse de loin ses attentes. Il reçoit en réponse une lettre signée de la main du Swami avec une facture de sept pages. La lettre précise que les onze colis de livres quittent Rishikesh à raison d'un par jour à cause des restrictions postales. Cette erreur de commande lui permettra de se positionner comme pionnier dans l'espace francophone, espace dans lequel les livres sur le yoga et surtout sur 'le yoga pratique' sont rares." Cited in Desponds n.d. See also Desponds 2007, pp. 78–90.

39 This was her first book and its tone was rather timid, particularly when compared to her later, more radical works. See Burger 2013.

40 Notably in *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter*, 1889, translated by Meera Kosambi (2003), in which she combines a descriptive approach with a comparative one.

It was at the beginning of the twentieth century that a new era opened up for women ready to take their destiny into their own hands. Indian women of so-called educated status were greatly concerned with rethinking and defining their place in society, anxious to be part of the movement of independence and nationalism and keen to have their say. They wanted to be able to think their future for themselves.[41]

In this context, too, the written word played its part. Indian women's journals were founded in Indic languages and in English, and they became a platform for the cause. Hindi magazines such as *Strī Darpaṇ* (founded in 1909 by female members of the Nehru family in Allahabad) or *Chāṃd* (founded in 1922 in Allahab by Ramrakh Singh Sagal) debated the role of women in education and politics.[42] Like the men negotiating the arrival of modern Western literature and ideas, these women were equally inspired to take fresh perspectives. In the early issues of *Strī Darpaṇ* some expressed the need for women to find their own way and not become a mere copy of Western women; others travelled widely and wrote about their experiences in other Asian and Arabic countries.[43] A recurring theme was the question of children's education. These women were eager to discuss how to educate boys and girls in order to change the hierarchical relation between the genders and ultimately to change society.

Europeans travelling to India were rare at the time, and European women even more so. This book traces the itineraries of four women living between India and Switzerland (and indeed elsewhere). All four were highly educated and seeking a path outside the traditional gender roles of Swiss society. Two of them (Eva Lombard and Elisabeth Petitpierre) worked as doctors inside a missionary institution and served humanitarian goals. The other two (Frieda Hauswirth and Lizelle Reymond) were writers and thinkers, the former involved in social and political activism, the latter in spiritual discovery. Hauswirth and Reymond may be seen more specifically as cultural translators engaged in publishing and spreading ideas about India on a wide scale. Both wrote about their lives with an Indian family, Hauswirth as an activist and wife to political firebrand Sarangadhar Das, Reymond as a member of a Brahmin household. Such testimonies were relatively rare, not least because men, European but often Indian too, had little access to (and perhaps interest in) the world of women in India at the time (even if they were perhaps more open to the world of women in

41 As shown by Forbes [1996] 2008, the first movements concerned with the place of women in society were launched by men, whereas in the twentieth century women started to play more direct roles. See chapter 2, 2.4 for a concrete example.

42 See Nijhawan 2012.

43 For example, two articles published in 1918 issues were titled: "Stryaṁ aūr sāmājik svatantratā" (Women and Social Independence) by Kumari Chandravati Gupta and "Īrān kī pardānaśī stryāṃ" (Women Observing Pardah in Iran) by Rameshwari Nehru.

Switzerland). Both Hauswirth and Reymond recorded their time in India in books and subsequently attracted public attention, including being invited to speak in lectures and reflect on their experience.[44] There can be little doubt that much of what ordinary Swiss people would have known about India at the time was filtered through the work of cultural translators such as Hauswirth and Reymond. Lombard and Petitpierre also spoke about their time in India, both in public forums such as the Swiss Association of Academic Women for Lombard (see chapter 4, 5) and in the more restricted settings of mission periodicals and private correspondence.

All four were confronted (though in different measure) with the question of the role of women in society that since the end of the nineteenth century and especially in the twentieth century became a central preoccupation in India. Hauswirth was greatly interested in the reform movements and after her many years in India, she drew the conclusion that the women active in those movements knew best what the women of India needed (see chapter 2). She also attached much importance to education. She went to Switzerland in 1913 and 1914 to learn about reforms of the educational system there, before joining the Indian reform movements for whom education was a key part of modernizing India.

Reymond came into contact with the feminist and poet Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) when the latter was in New York in 1919. Both were interested in improving the condition of women. Two decades later, Reymond related the story of Sister Nivedita (Margaret Noble, 1867–1911), an Irish teacher and activist who became a disciple of Swami Vivekananda at the Indian Ramakrishnan Mission in Calcutta and who was to become an important figure in the fight for Indian independence. Her biography of Sister Nivedita was first published in French in Neuchâtel (*Nivedita la fille de l'Inde*) in 1945, with an English translation appearing in 1953.[45] The book was based on the research work that Reymond and Jean Herbert had done during Reymond's first trip to India in 1937, as well as on their readings on the new spiritualities on the subcontinent. During the trip, Reymond and Herbert visited contemporary representatives of "Hinduism" (such as Ramana Maharshi, Swami Ramdas, Ma Anandamoyi, and Sivananda[46]), which provided Reymond with knowledge about modern spiritual authorities, mostly in the field of Vedānta. During her second visit to India (lasting six years) she encountered Sri Anirvan and spent five years in his company at the Himalayan House. On this occasion, it was not Vedānta that she explored but what she later transmitted as "Sâmkhya [sic] yoga", a notion that should be

44 In Reymond's case, she waited twelve years after returning to Switzerland before recording her experiences in book form, though she did deliver talks on India during that period.

45 Reymond 1953.

46 All these masters were interpreters of Vedāntic ideas in modernized settings.

treated with some care, regardless of the audience.[47] Large parts of her book about the Indian family are devoted to explaining the "true meaning" these women saw in their place of subordination within the family system. Reymond labelled it a kind of yoga. More in line with spiritual questions, she interpreted the question of women within the frame she received from Anirvan, who had postulated that the "authentic nature" of women was to be complementary to men.[48]

Lombard and Petitpierre had to deal more mundanely with the situation of Indian women at home and at the hospital; they were primarily concerned with hygiene and education. During their long stay in India (over twenty years) they witnessed changes in the position of women and explored various ways to heal and educate the "natives" – especially the women – in the context of the missionary institution. The period of Lombard's activity extended from 1921 to 1954. She returned to India for three more years in 1957 before retiring back in Switzerland in 1960. Think of the changes she must have witnessed during this period!

The fact that Lombard and Petitpierre studied at the London School of Tropical Medicine is also worth noting, for they would have received their first image of India through the lens of the British medical establishment (see chapter 4, 2.2). At this time, be it in Europe or India, women faced huge obstacles in trying to become doctors and practising in the field.[49] Lombard and Petitpierre, like other Europeans in the colony, enjoyed a certain status and authority that would have been difficult to achieve back home in Switzerland. Both women held leading positions in India and enjoyed a measure of independence from both the institution funding their activities back home and Indian society. They spent much time in the country, accruing local cultural knowledge and witnessing sweeping social and economic changes. However, their respect for Indian cultural aspects may not have extended to local medical practices and traditions: what they considered to be "quackery" was not admitted in their own diagnostic practices.

These four women – Hauswirth, Lombard, Petitpierre, Reymond – all worked in a defined micro-context, yet their lives are testament to the diversity of possible actions. Only Hauswirth was greatly active in the women's struggle. Reymond was aware of it but chose a different path, being basically apolitical, while Lombard and Petitpierre operated inside a context largely determined by

47 One reason for this care is that "Sâmkhya yoga" cannot be simply equated to the classical *darśana*s of the same name. See chapter 7.

48 On *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, see chapter 7.

49 See Bonner 1992 for a historical account of what medical studies were available to women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Charumbira 2015 for the example of Bertha Hardegger (1903–1979), who emigrated to South Africa to practise medicine.

an institution, making the free expression of their positions somewhat constrained.

Hauswirth is the most politicized figure in the volume, and the chapter on her struggles in India illustrates the complex position she held among Indian women (see chapter 2). Even before her travels to India she was in contact with various anti-colonial and nationalist movements and this increased once she arrived on the subcontinent, where she became politically active on several fronts. She was part of an international network of activists and was better informed than most.[50] Having come into contact with women in the Indian countryside (principally, in Odisha, in the east), she became increasingly motivated by her reflections on the caste society, on colonial oppression, and on gender. Circulating in both Odisha's rural society and the intellectual circles of city women in Calcutta, Delhi, and Bombay (an unusual position for anyone at the time, even Indian women themselves), she was able to garner rich information. As such, she was both a transnational thinker and an insider to the traditions and ideas that made up part of Indian life. Hauswirth's life and work can thus be studied from many different angles, as her profile shows her to have been versatile, international, and well informed. She published in Switzerland in the 1930s and was instrumental in shaping popular imaginaries of contemporary India in the country for the next two decades. Her itineraries reveal a distinctly trans-political and transnational dimension. She moved from local to global and knew how to promote international awareness.

These examples show how four women living in India at once integrated and rejected local Indian knowledge, shaped and were shaped by the encounter between different cultures. They highlight the fact that boundaries cannot be easily drawn and that the circulation of ideas and goods invites us to pay attention to specific cases to see the mechanisms at work. It is not only the ideas and knowledge disseminated through print media that reveal the processes of exchange. Actors, artefacts, objects, and practices, too, are important sources of information on cultural difference and impacted on mutual perceptions between India and Europe/Switzerland in the first half of the twentieth century.

50 See, for instance, the article she wrote that gives chapter 2 of this volume its title: "Women of the World, Unite!", published in *The Hindusthanee Student* in 1917. See chapter 2.

3 Actors, Objects, Practices: On the Move between India and Switzerland

3.1 Travelling between India and Europe: Meeting and Imagining Others

Travellers personify the cultural exchange between departure point and destination. While the number of travellers between India and Switzerland at the beginning of the century was minimal, that number steadily increased over time. For some, the experience of travel turned out to be a critical point in their biographical itinerary; for others, it either reinforced preconceived ideas about the visited cultures, or was considered disappointing because reality did not meet expectations. For all, however, travelling to, from, and in the Indian subcontinent was radically different from today's experience. Travellers, with their respective motifs, functions, and agendas, made a journey that would usually sprawl out over several days and weeks on ships or trains, ample time to connect with other people and learn about the country or the purpose of their visit. Indeed, the interstitial and "liminal" space of a ship or a train not only offers occasions for serendipitous encounters; it also shapes expectations and thus the imaginary of the place that is yet to be reached. For example, Lombard imagined the India that was awaiting her by observing other passengers on the ship taking her from Marseilles to Mumbai (see chapter 4). These journeys are in themselves vectors of exchange – bringing and taking back – and those that experienced and wrote about them[51] became the key informants for our research.[52]

While missionaries, traders, and diplomats settled for longer periods for specific (and often professional) reasons,[53] many other Swiss travellers were embarking on existential or spiritual quests in search of something different than

51 One could wonder in what measure the activity of writing about travel is constitutive of the status of "traveller" – in which case, all the protagonists studied in this volume can be called such, in addition to their role of traders, missionaries, scholars, administrators, military personnel, spiritual seekers, and so on.

52 Outside of the framework of this volume, other decisive encounters that have taken place on ships include Colonel Olcott meeting Mooljee Thackersey (?–1880) when returning to the United States in 1870; Helena P. Blavatsky meeting Thackersey, Shyamji Krishnavarma, and Ballajee Sitaram in 1879 in Bombay; Surendranath Dasgupta (1887–1952) meeting Sri Yogendra (1897–1989) when travelling on board a ship from the west coast of India to Chittagong, and many others. On the last of these encounters, see Guggenbuhl 2008, p. 12.

53 Indologists, those who provided Europe with knowledge about ancient India, rarely travelled since they did not study modern times. (Exceptions might include government administrators in India who turned to Indological research – e.g. writing grammars, dictionaries, and ethnographies – as a hobby or after having left service.)

what Europe had to offer at the time.[54] Indeed, the "oriental ideas and aspirations" that India came to be associated with in the period after the foundation of theosophy by Blavatsky and others in 1875 and through forums such as the Parliament of Religions (first established in 1893) attracted some notable figures to travel or settle on its shores. That having founded the movement in New York five years before, Blavatsky and Olcott relocated to India and established the Theosophical Society's headquarters at Adyar, Tamil Nadu, in South India in 1879/1880 was no minor event in the entangled history of India and Europe. The award of the 1914 Nobel Prize for literature to Indian writer Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) increased the nascent interest in the region among the European public, as well as shifted their regrettably low expectations about what could be achieved by one emanating from the subcontinent. The year before, in 1913, Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) travelled to India and is known for having practised yoga in Calcutta.[55] Ella Maillart, the grand lady of travel in Asia, spent five years at the feet of Ramana Maharshi (as well as Sri Atmananda Krishna Menon) in South India. She had left Switzerland in 1939 with Annemarie Schwarzenbach (1908–1942) for Iran, went as far as Kabul by car, before continuing overland on her own and by local means all the way to India. Although she is better known for her travel accounts, her book *Ti-Puss* addresses more spiritual questions and describes her five years (1940 to 1945) in South Asia among her spiritual guides.[56]

In the opposite direction, a few Indian nationals travelled to Switzerland and published accounts about their stay: they can be roughly categorized as: (1) Indians belonging to higher social classes, and following in the footsteps of the British aristocracy, going for tourism or education; (2) political activists; and (3) charismatic figures looking for an international forum to spread teachings or an ideological programme.[57]

As to the first category – for the second (political activists) and third categories (charismatic figures) see chapter 1, 3.4 and chapter 1, 4.2 respectively – an interesting case is that of the Bengali scholar Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848–1909), who travelled to Europe in the years 1868 to 1871. His description of Switzerland followed closely the model of British travelogues, including in the choice of locations, among which was the Château de Chillon on Lake Geneva, well known across the world, not least from Lord Byron's poem "The Prisoner

54 As shown by Linse 1991, a primary motivation among Europeans of the nineteenth and early twentieth century for travel to the East was existential or spiritual. Travellers were not so much fleeing Europe but searching for meaningful answers to introspective questions.

55 On yoga and Jung, see Baier 1998, pp. 219–256.

56 See Maillart [1951] 1979. Also Borella 2006.

57 For an overview of Indian travel writing, see Sen 2005; Chaudhuri 2019.

of Chillon" and Henry James's novel *Daisy Miller* (Figure 1.2).[58] Dutt was struck in particular by the condition of the Swiss peasants, who, while poor, were able to lead decent lives – possibly a model for his later socio-economic reflections on poverty in India.[59] Two other figures are worth mentioning here. The first is Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya (1852–1910), who studied in London and Leipzig before obtaining a PhD in Zurich with a dissertation on "The Yâtrâs; or, The Popular Dramas of Bengal" (published in 1882), supervised by Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler (1815–1894). Chattopadhyaya was probably one of the first Indians to receive a PhD in a European university. The second figure is Jagat-Jit Singh (1872–1947), the maharaja of the princely state of Kapurthala. His European "grand tour", undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century, included a stay in Switzerland. Like Dutt, Singh made his way to all the preferred locations of the British aristocracy. Singh later represented India at the League of Nations in Geneva in 1925, 1927, and 1929.[60]

3.2 Orientalists

From the early nineteenth century onwards, there have been an important number of Swiss orientalists working at different academic institutions, or on their own. When bearing in mind the size of the country, the concentration of scholars interested in Indian topics – from Indo-European linguistics to Vedic studies and Buddhism – is indeed remarkable, especially considering that Switzerland lacked the libraries and manuscript archive facilities of other countries with a colonial history, such as France or Great Britain.[61]

There were already some important Swiss figures in "amateur Orientalism" before the time frame examined in the volume, and especially in the (pre-)Ro-

58 For Dutt on Lake Geneva and Chillon Castle, see Dutt 1896, pp. 91–94.

59 See in particular Dutt's description of Swiss peasantry (Dutt 1896, pp. 92–93): "As one travels through this beautiful mountainous country he cannot fail being struck with the happy condition of even the lowest classes of the people. Go to the poorest villages, and you will see the beautiful and neatly varnished and painted wooden huts which are peculiar to Switzerland, with carefully cultivated fields and lawns adjoining them, and a happy and contented peasantry, passionately fond of their homes and country. In neatness, in intelligence, and even in a gentleman-like sense of politeness, the Swiss peasant presents a marked contrast to the peasantry of most other European countries, and notably of England. Women comfortably seated out-side their huts and sewing their linen in the sun, and healthy little children neatly dressed, and running about in the neat and garden-like fields, form an interesting sight to be seen only among the peasantry of this happy republic."

60 Singh 1895, pp. 172–176.

61 See Etter 1997 for a brief overview of the history of Swiss Indology. For a preliminary list of Swiss orientalists that specialized in Indian topics, see Klaus Karttunen's online register of "Persons of Indian Studies" at https://whowaswho-indology.info/europe/switzerland/.

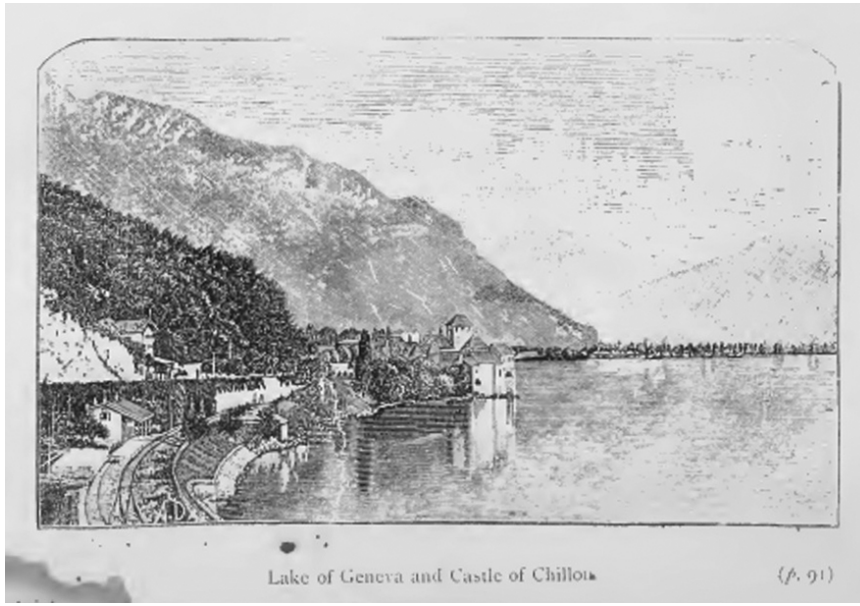

Figure 1.2. Postcard of Lake Geneva and Castle of Chillon. Source: Dutt, Romesh Chandra, *Three Years in Europe*, 1896, p. 10.

mantic period. The Swiss location, at the margin of major European intellectual centres, often allowed for the expression of original (and possibly controversial) theses. Famous examples include Voltaire (1694–1778), who instrumentalized data about Asia to fuel polemics against the Church from his base in Geneva; Johann-Rudolf Sinner of Balaigues (1730–1787), who gathered texts about metempsychosis and published them in a volume;[62] and Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier (1741–1795) who, after a career as a mercenary for the British army in India, played an important role in retrieving Vedic manuscripts and bringing them back to Europe.[63]

Academic orientalism related to India started to develop in the second part of the nineteenth century in Switzerland, with various German scholars taking positions in Swiss universities. For example, Paul Deussen (1845–1919) started his career at the University of Geneva where he introduced Sanskrit classes in 1873; the Austrian Aloys Sprenger (1813–1893) filled the Chair for Oriental Languages established in 1858 at the University of Bern; and Sprenger was followed by a pioneer of Pali epigraphy from Prussia, Eduard Müller-Hess (1853–

62 Sinner de Ballaigues 1771; App 2010, p. 429.

63 See his work published posthumously by his cousin, the canoness Elisabeth Marianne Polier (1740–1817): Polier 1809; Régamey 1966; Subrahmanyam 2000 and Veyrassat 2022.

1923) who taught English, Pali, and Sanskrit, after a stay in Sri Lanka.[64] The different positions (Privatdozents and professorships) that developed at Swiss universities were configured along the lines of historical and comparative linguistics as they had been practised in Germany. This explains the focus on the Sanskrit language and the fact that most orientalists remained armchair scholars, with no or little contact with India, as in the case of Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler, who taught Sanskrit from 1841 at the University of Zurich, and Adolf Kaegi (1849–1923), who taught Sanskrit and Indo-European linguistics at the same university from 1875 to 1912.[65]

A few years later, Emil Abegg (1885–1962)[66] in Zurich and Paul Oltramare (1854–1930) in Geneva broke away from a perspective exclusively rooted in linguistics, and developed an interest in the cultural aspects of Indian traditions.[67] A similar perspective was adopted by the periodical launched by the Schweizerische Gesellschaft der Freunde Ostasiatischer Kultur (in French, Société Suisse des Amis de l'Extrême-Orient): the *Mitteilungen der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft der Freunde Ostasiatischer Kultur / Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Amis de l'Extrême-Orient*. This periodical would later become the academic journal *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* in 1947 and has been active ever since. Its content is quite eclectic, embracing the domains of East, South, and South East Asia, and proposing studies focusing on diverse textual and cultural topics.

3.3 Translators and Seekers of New Forms of Spirituality

While many orientalists hired at Swiss universities and focusing on Indian languages did not spend extended periods of time in India, "amateur orientalists", driven by spiritual quests, spent much time abroad and came back with the intention of disseminating knowledge about what they had learned by publishing translations.

64 See Bornet 2019 (on Eduard Müller-Hess); Blaser 2021, p. 598.

65 Kaegi published a translation of a few hymns from the *Rig-Veda:* Kaegi 1875. On Kaegi, see Blaser 2021, pp. 600–601.

66 Horsch 1962.

67 Oltramare 1906, 1923. In Lausanne, even though Sanskrit lessons had been available since the beginning of the twentieth century, taught by Hans Schacht (1863–?) from 1903 to 1933 (see Schacht 1918 for a translation of parts of Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara), it was not until the second part of the twentieth century that a more structured teaching (and academic department devoted to Indian and Slavic languages and civilizations) emerged with the arrival of polymath, musician, and scholar Constantin Régamey (1907–1982). For an overview of Régamey's exceptional profile and Indological career, see May 2001.

In the 1930s, the Neuchâtel publishing house Delachaux et Niestlé published books on India, yoga, and Indian philosophy, in particular the works of Jean Herbert and Lizelle Reymond, which later formed part of the Spiritualités vivantes (Living Spiritualties) series published by Albin Michel (in Paris) from the 1950s onward.[68] In the Swiss German region, the German Alwine von Keller (1878–1965), born in New York, played a role similar to that of Herbert and Reymond. After meeting the educationalists Paul Geheeb (1870–1961) and Edith Geheeb (1885–1982)[69] she moved to Switzerland during the Second World War. She became a close friend of Herbert and Carl Jung, and was herself an active psychoanalyst. In that context, she translated several works of Vivekananda and Aurobindo from English into German, subsequently published by the Rascher Verlag in Zurich, a publishing house founded in 1908 and specializing in the publication of writings leaning towards pacificism and oriental "spiritualities", including books on Buddhism by Max Ladner (on which see chapter 1, 4.2).[70]

The publishing house Rotapfel-Verlag was established in Zurich (Erlenbach) in 1919 to serve the regeneration of Europe after the atrocities of the war. Its editor, Emil Roniger (1883–1958), translated in German Romain Rolland's[71] biography of Gandhi the same year it was published in French (in several parts, in the magazine *Europe*, 1923) and *before* its publication as a book (Rolland 1924). Rotapfel kept publishing works by or about Rolland, Gandhi, Tagore and others for several decades (see chapter 2, 5).[72]

Other publishing houses played their part in encouraging curiosity among Swiss people about yoga and the promises of a regenerated better life it claimed to entail. Werner Zimmermann (1893–1982), one of the main promoters of Lebensreform in Switzerland, followed the traces of Gandhi and Tagore and developed

68 On Herbert, see Mayer 1993, pp. 191–193.

69 Born in Germany, Paul and Edith Geheeb emigrated to Switzerland in 1934 where they pursued their activities as educationalists. Interested by "alternative" models of education – such as those offered and popularized by Rabindranath Tagore – they founded the Ecole d'Humanité in 1934 in Versoix, close to Geneva. On the role of Indian references in the Odenwaldschule, Germany's oldest rural private boarding school, conceived by the Geheebs before their emigration to Switzerland, see Horn 2018, pp. 126–155 and Kämpchen 2020. Shortly after Tagore's visit to the Institut Rousseau in Geneva in 1921, Emma Pieczynska-Reichenbach (1854–1927) published a book about his educational concepts. See Pieczynska 1922.

70 This continued for quite some time and, in 1955, they published works of the German yogi Hans-Ulrich Rieker. See Rieker 1955.

71 A convinced and engaged pacificist, Rolland who was then living on the shores of Lake Geneva in Villeneuve (from 1914 to 1938), also published on Vivekananda and Ramakrishna, providing material for new interpretations of religion and spiritual life (Rolland 1930a). On Rolland's activities related to India in Switzerland, see Meylan 2010.

72 For example Rolland 1923, Mahatma Gandhi 1925, Rolland 1930b and 1930c etc.

an interest in yoga. He disseminated his views through the periodical he edited, *Tao* (1924–1926) or *Tau* (1927–1937) and along with Eduard Fankhauser (1904–1998), he collaborated to the publishing house Fankhauser Verlag (see chapter 6, 3.3) which published *inter alia* a biography of Gandhi.[73]

Perhaps influenced by such publications, many Swiss individuals set out on a spiritual quest to India. Hans Hablützel (1929–2015) left Switzerland never to return again, became Swami Jnanananda, and founded his own ashram in Dehradun.[74] Frieda Hauswirth, as we have seen, spent many years in India as the wife of Sarangadhar Das and an activist in her own right. Alice Boner not only travelled to India but settled there for most of her life (see chapter 1, 3.5). The Swiss historian of religion, Carl-Albert Keller (1920–2008) was born in Guntur and returned to India later as a missionary between 1946 and 1948. While teaching at a Christian theological seminary in Trivandrum (until 1952) he became acquainted with major works of South Indian Shaiva bhakti and developed then an inclusivist and phenomenological approach to religion. He stands as a striking example of a missionary who became an Orientalist scholar (see chapter 5, 3).

The main protagonists of this book all spent several years fulfilling different functions in India. As we have discussed, Reymond trod a spiritual path, while Hauswirth reflected on the social conditions of women and engaged in political activism. Lombard and Petitpierre spent their time in the institutional context of missionary work, as did Urner, the latter showing his appreciation for India by translating works from a textual tradition that had been so far neglected by mainstream orientalists. By looking carefully at what they brought back from their travels to India, we enter the field of a "hermeneutics of encounters", which allows us to decipher certain elements of understanding, or at least address a few questions.

3.4 Indian Activists, Politicians, and Their Swiss Partners

Because of its special geopolitical position, as we discussed in chapter 1, 2.1, Switzerland came to play a significant role in the early twentieth century as a refuge for Indian activists fighting British imperialism. The Kerala-born Champakaraman Pillai (1891–1934) studied engineering in Zurich from 1910, and founded there an international "Pro India Committee" which published a journal with the same name (see chapter 2). In 1914, the Indian revolutionary Shyamji Krishnavarma (1857–1930)[75] moved to Geneva after spells in London

73 Zimmermann 1948.

74 See Swami Jnanananda Giri 2015 and Mathur 2019 for details about Hablützel's biography.

75 Fischer-Tiné 2014.

and Paris, and published his *Indian Sociologist* from there. Similarly, Madam Cama (Bhikaiji Rustom Cama, 1861–1936) published several issues of her *Bande Mataram* and *Talwar* out of Geneva. Unlike France or Britain, Switzerland was not censoring publications published on its territory.

In 1912 the famous Indian revolutionary Lala Har Dayal (1884–1939) was in Switzerland and joined the International Pro India Committee. He was convinced that the destiny of Europe lay in the hands of Germany and that the Indian revolutionaries should ally themselves to it. Sardar Ajit Singh (1881–1947), an uncle of the better-known Shaheed Bhagat Singh (1907–1931), a Punjabi revolutionary, moved to Lausanne and conducted political activities under the cover of being a teacher of English. He met Mussolini in 1918 and later joined the radical Ghadar movement. While many of these anti-imperialist activists were Indian, they also joined forces with similar movements from other non-Western countries, such as Egypt and Turkey. The discovery that Virendranath Chattopadhyay (1880–1937) and Abdul Hafiz (1925–1944), Indian activists affiliated with the Berlin India Committee, were smuggling weapons from Germany to Italy through Switzerland in 1917 prompted the Confederation to take measures to stop their seditious activities on Swiss territory. These groups subsequently relocated to Germany and/or Russia, thus ending this chapter of Swiss history.[76]

However, the internationalist and politically neutral character of Switzerland remained appealing to various Indian intellectuals and politicians. Tagore gave well-attended lectures in Geneva and Zurich in 1921 and 1930, and Gandhi visited Switzerland in 1931 on the invitation of Rolland, with remarked speeches in Lausanne and Geneva.[77] In turn, some Swiss individuals took an interest in the Indian freedom movement: we have already discussed Hauswirth, who shared her life with several of the above-mentioned Indian political activists, but Swiss historian Edmond Privat (1889–1962), a pioneer of organized pacifism in Switzerland, was also an admirer of Gandhi whom he followed to India.[78]

A Swiss passport acted as a powerful key not only for crossing political borders but for approaching leaders and gaining their trust. Thus Walter Bosshard's (1892–1975) photographs of Gandhi in 1930 showed aspects of the Indian leader's private life that had not been publicly displayed before. The photographs were reprinted by various outlets all over the world, and influenced the general perception of Gandhi in no small way.[79]

76 On the Swiss chapter in the history of anti-imperialist movements at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Kieser 2005; Fischer-Tiné 2015; Brückenhaus 2017, pp. 63–71.

77 See Rolland 1969 for an account of Gandhi's visit to Switzerland.

78 See Privat 1948.

79 See Bosshard 1931 – a digitized collection is available online: https://fss.e-pics.ethz.ch/index.jspx?category=522&r=1633424025148. Also see Münzer 1997.

After Indian independence, India and Switzerland came to entertain privileged political relations: the first international treaty concluded by the newly independent country was indeed with Switzerland, with the Indian-Swiss Treaty of Friendship of 14 August 1948, signed by both Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and Max Petitpierre (1899–1994) in Bern[80] – an initiative that was probably encouraged by the non-aligned, non-colonial and prosperous image of Switzerland. In addition, ambassadors and diplomats often developed interests that went far beyond politics in their host country. For example, Dhirajlal Bhulabhai Desai (1908–1951), the first Indian ambassador to Switzerland (from 1948 to 1951), brought with him an important collection of Indian books which, after his death, his widow donated to the National Library in Bern.[81] In the other direction, Jacques-Albert Cuttat (1909–1989), a lawyer and professional diplomat who had worked for the League of Nations and subsequently as a Swiss minister in Columbia and Ecuador, produced a number of orientalist works and was reported to be close to the French esotericist René Guénon (1886–1951). In parallel to his appointment as the Swiss ambassador in Delhi in 1960, Cuttat published several books on encounters and relations between different religious traditions.[82]

3.5 Art and Artefacts: Testimonies to an Interwoven World

Besides academic studies of India, Switzerland was also home to several artists – either Swiss nationals or expats from other European countries such as Britain – who referred to India or Indian cultures as a source of inspiration. Art is of course part of the process of cultural (and economic) exchange, either through the travels of artists themselves or through the circulation of new techniques, styles, or media that are appropriated in local contexts.

In the field of painting, Ravi Varma (1848–1906) gained a reputation as someone who knew how to combine Western styles of painting with Indian subjects and sensibilities.[83] Using lithography, he distributed his paintings widely and contributed to making art consumers visually sensitive to these new, hybrid,

80 On this episode, see Schweizer 2008.

81 The Desai collection is described in Ringold 1957 and discussed in Schazmann 1997.

82 For example, Cuttat 1957, 1961. He also published under the pseudonym Jean Thamar (e.g. Thamar 1949).

83 Another painter, Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951), founder of the Bengal School of Art, is also a figure to be noted. First formatted by western art, he subsequently revisited Indian art traditions to find an Indian way to paint in modern times. He produced, for example, the emblematic and much mediatized painting of Bharata Mata (Mother India) incarnating the crave to be "swadeshi", which is to say the necessity to follow indigenous ways. See Mitter 1994, 283–303.

Figure 1.3. Vishnu with Rukmini and Satyabhama. Ravi Varma Press, ca. 1900. © SADACC Trust.

modes of expression: a phenomenon that would intensify in the years to come, to the point that Ravi Varma's representations of deities appear in the advertisement of Swiss companies doing business in India (Figures 1.3 and 1.4).

Several Swiss painters found sources of inspiration in South Asian themes and artistic techniques: the case of the painter Helen Dahm (1878–1968), who in 1938 moved to in Meher Baba's (1894–1969) ashram in Meherabad is particularly telling, as is the example of Hans Erni (1909–2015).[84] In addition there have been rich exchanges between Swiss and Indian artists. For example, the author Johann Bernhard Rudolf Wyss (1909–1988) corresponded regularly with

84 See https://www.helen-dahm.ch and Erni 1973. For more on Swiss artists influenced by South Asian cultures, see Erismann 1997.

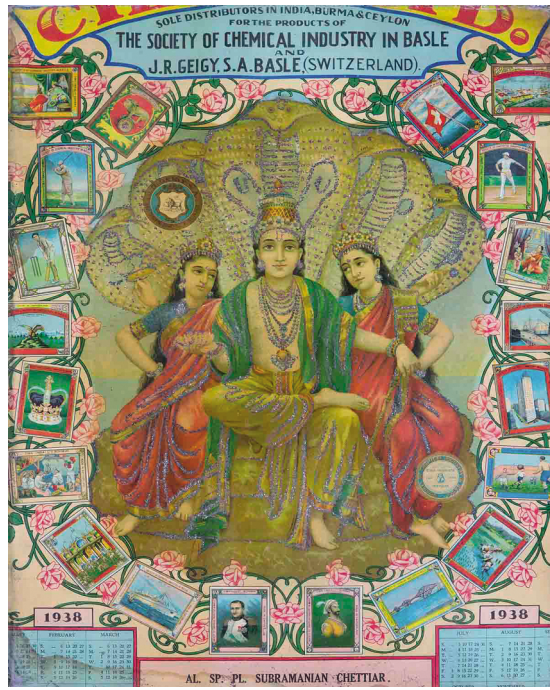

Figure 1.4. Vishnu with Rukmini and Satyabhama. Promotional Calendar for The Society of Chemical Industries in Basle and J.R. Geigy, S.A. Basle, Switzerland, 1938. Courtesy of the Museum of Art & Photography (MAP), Bengaluru.

the South Indian painter K. V. Haridasan (1937–2014) and left a prolific documentation which is awaiting further research.[85]

Another artistic medium, dance, was largely connected to the debates occurring in the field of Lebensreform, yoga, and health in the Swiss context at the beginning of the twentieth century.[86] Anne Brügger Lenz,[87] a central Swiss figure

85 See https://www.helveticarchives.ch/detail.aspx?ID=222306

86 Rudolf von Laban (1879–1956), who founded new dance forms while at the Monte Verità utopian community in Ascona, and Suzanne Perrottet (1889–1983) are also worth noting here. Perrottet, born in Rolle (Vaud), was a trainee in the Jaques-Dalcroze method and in rhythmic gymnastics. She joined von Laban in Monte Verità in 1913 and later worked with him in Zürich (1918). She is considered, along with von Laban and Mary Wigman, as the founder of expressive dance (Ausdruckstanz). She collaborated with M. Bircher-Benner and C. G. Jung connecting health questions and dance; she is considered a main figure of free dance in Switzerland. On these figures, see Dörr 1999, 2004.

87 One of the founding figures of the Swiss Union of Yoga and a leading figure in yoga in Switzerland, especially in the French part. Desponds 2007.

in the development of yoga in the 1950s and 1960s, claimed a tight and innovative bond between dance, yoga, and Lebensreform. In India, the connection between dance and yoga has a long history, but the dance medium underwent drastic changes in the first half of the twentieth century, exemplified by a figure like Uday Shankar, who created fusion between Indian classical dance and European techniques.

The collaboration and the friendship between Indian dancer Uday Shankar (1900–1977) and Swiss artist Alice Boner (1889–1981) illustrate the interconnectedness that underpins this book. Alice Boner, a native of Zurich, was a painter and sculptor who lived in India for about forty years and developed an extremely impressive range of interests and activities: an artist working with sculpture, photographs, dance, and other mediums, she also composed erudite works on Indian artistic traditions and architectural sciences.[88] In Zurich she came into contact with the Indian dancer Uday Shankar and visited India with him in 1929. Shankar adapted European theatre techniques to Indian dance (seeing dance as a key element in developing new body awareness). Years later and after many travels Boner settled in Varanasi in 1936 where she spent most of her remaining days. She became an acclaimed painter, integrating Indian art into her own mode of expression, but finally devoted her life to research. In 1974 she received a Padma Bhushan from the Indian government, the third-highest civilian award in the Republic of India and a distinction for exceptional work. The Alice Boner Foundation is still active today, hosting scholars, researchers, and artists in Boner's house in Varanasi.

The example of Boner reminds us that in the process of encounter, cultural artefacts are exchanged. Indeed, like many other European countries, Switzerland retains several collections of artefacts and objects from the "Orient". The German-born aristocrat and banker Eduard von der Heydt (1882–1964) offered his art collection to the city of Zurich in 1946 as the founding collection of the Museum Rietberg, the leading museum of Asian art in Switzerland. Boner later also donated Indian objects to the museum, in addition to her private archive.[89] Other more regional collections landed in various museums across the country: the collections of the Museum der Kulturen in Basel (which include the objects from the Basel Mission's collection, as a long-term loan);[90] the Asian collections

88 See Beltz & Kuratli 2017.

89 Von der Heydt was also connected to the Lebensreform movement and the art scene, and had earlier purchased, in 1926, the famous Monte Verità site near Ascona, where he built a hotel that still stands today. He helped make Monte Verità *the* meeting place to discuss the arts, politics, and social reform.

90 See https://www.mkb.ch/docroot/pdf/MKB-Bestandesliste-IIa-Südasien_2022_92-MB.pdf See Bozsa 2019 for a study of specific objects belonging to the BM collection now in the Museum der Kulturen in Basel, coming from Cameroon and South India; Konrad 2020 for the his-

of the Geneva Museum of Ethnography via the efforts of the Swiss Buddhist monk Jean Eracle (1930–2005); or the Sammlung für Völkerkunde of the University of Zurich, established from the donations of Hans J. Wehrli (1871–1945) in 1926/1927 after his travels to India.[91]

These examples show that even if Switzerland was at the margins of major imperial centres such as Paris and London, it still functioned as an important platform for the circulation of material and cultural goods from Asia to Europe. While this topic requires further research, it is nevertheless an integral part of the exchanges we examine in this book.

4 Institutions: Vehicles for the Circulation of Knowledge and Practices

As we will see in the coming chapters, religious institutions constituted privileged channels for the circulation of knowledge and goods between Switzerland (and Europe more generally) and India, and vice versa. Such institutions include Christian missions, of course, but also various movements based in India that attempted to promote their teachings in Europe. Furthermore, religious institutions have often represented unexpected opportunities for various actors – having an impact that goes far beyond the intended propagation of a religious faith or practice: not only did these institutions bring about new technical practices (in, for example, print publishing and medicine), but they often created the conditions of a "zone of contact" in local contexts.[92] This contributed to the creation of new ideas or practices, sometimes in opposition to the intended goal of the institution and often marked by a fundamental hybridity.

4.1 Christian Missions

While several studies have focused on Swiss missions in African contexts,[93] the history of Swiss missions in South Asia remains rather under-researched.[94] A first important chapter of that history is related to Catholic missions in South Asia. Since Jesuits were banned from Switzerland from 1847 to 1973, Swiss nationals interested in joining the order had to expatriate themselves to study the-

tory of that collection, and Falk & Jenni 2012 for an analysis of Indian figurines in the same collection.

91 See Abegg 1934–1935 for a description of the collection, with illustrations.

92 Or "terrains of exchange", in the words of Green 2010.

93 For example, Harries 2007; Mabika et al. 2017; Morier-Genoud 2011; Morier-Genoud 2020.

94 See Haller-Dirr 2017 for an overview of the history of Swiss missionary societies.

ology. This was the case of the native of Appenzell, Ethelbert Blatter (1877–1934), who became a renowned botanist and taught at the St. Xavier college in Bombay. Another Jesuit priest, Father Faustine Corti (1856–1926), born in Ticino, was active around Mangalore and specialized in dealing with the lowest social classes.[95] From 1894 on, four sisters from Ingebohl, Lucerne, the "Holy Cross Sisters", chose India as one of their destinations and ran an orphanage next to Bettiah, North Bihar. Whereas most missionaries maintained an important difference in status between themselves and the people they interacted with, the Ingebohl Sisters recruited new members in Bihar, among whom was Sister Francisca Thakur (?–1936), who spent time in Ingebohl.

Other smaller societies developed similar activities. One of them is particularly noteworthy: the mission started in Sikkim by the canons of the St. Maurice abbey in 1934, which maintained a small group of Swiss missionaries until 1996. Taking inspiration from their experiences in Valais, the Swiss Fathers developed "social" initiatives that were fitting for a country of mountains such as Sikkim. One of them was a milk and cheese-making facility that subsequently played an important role in the socio-economic development of the whole region. Another was a bank project that would be able to fund local projects at a fair price.[96] The missionaries reported their activities in a periodical called *L'écho du Sikkim*. Published continuously from 1937 to 1986 with a print run of about 1,000 copies, the journal provided realistic glimpses into encounters between missionaries and their Nepalese, Tibetan, or Lepchas interlocutors. While considering them first under the lens of "idolatry", as is usual in this type of literature, the tone progressively changed, and the journal soon published more informative texts about these groups. In particular, and under the pen of Father Jean-Bernard Simon-Vermot (1923–2016), articles depicted the culture of the Lepchas, the community from which most converts came.[97] As such, it was arguably one of the first Swiss publications dealing with these local cultures. Like other missionary societies, the Sikkim mission had to adapt to the changing political realities in India: from a programme consisting in making converts, it progressively rebranded itself as a non-governmental cooperation society.

One of the first Swiss Protestant missionaries active in India was probably Alphonse-François Lacroix (1799–1859) from Neuchâtel. After studies in the Netherlands, he embarked in 1821 for the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah (north of present-day Kolkata) and worked there as a preacher (in Bengali) for the Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap (Netherlands Missionary Society). When the settlement was returned to the British, he joined the London Missionary Society before travelling back to Europe and Switzerland in 1842, and actively par-

95 Andina 2006.

96 Guex 2015, pp. 458–459.

97 See, for example, Simon-Vermot 1953, 1958.

ticipating in a movement of missionary "revival." He held speeches in Geneva and Lausanne to foster a missionary spirit and was the first to reach out to the Basel Mission committee, recommending that it give more attention to the French-speaking part of the country.[98] Lacroix then returned to India and wrote about rituals at the Puri Jagannath temple and discrimination against Indian Christians.[99] Lacroix's daughter, the Calcutta-born Hana Catherine Mullens-Lacroix (1826–1861) – after studies in London and a marriage with a British missionary, Joseph Mullens (1820–1879) – promoted teaching in zenanas and wrote several literary texts in Bengali, such as *Phulmaṇi O Karuṇār Bibaraṇ [Story of Phulmani and Karunar]* as early as 1852.

The single most significant group of missionaries related to Switzerland and active in India was that of the Basel Mission. The Basel Mission (BM) began in 1816 as an institute to train missionaries based in Basel on behalf of other religious societies before "sending them to various regions of the heathen world".[100] From 1828 on, after having conducted activities in the Caucasus region, the Basel Mission launched projects on the western coast of Africa, in the then Gold Coast region, present-day Ghana. The next area where the Basel Mission started activities was South India, beginning in 1834, about twenty years after non-British missionary societies were authorized to work on Indian soil (Charter Act of 1813).[101] Missionaries came from both Germany – particularly the kingdom (then state) of Württemberg – and Switzerland, with a predominance of German nationals until 1914. The chairman and the president were usually Swiss, often recruited among the wealthy families of Basel, and the executive director was generally German. As Jenkins has noted, the BM can be considered "a mission of village Pietists, made possible by the organisational talents and faith of Basel business men".[102] As will be examined in chapters 3 to 5, the Basel Mission was active in different registers: evangelization, of course, but also the organization of local churches, education, publication, medicine, and industrial activities, to name but a few. As such, it provided conduits for information and people between India, Germany, and Switzerland.

Often, the background was that of a normative and negative perspective on Indian society and culture. But there were some notable exceptions, as in the production of dictionaries and translations of vernacular literature, or in the lives of certain missionaries who were "attracted" by local religious traditions, especially various forms of South Indian bhakti. This explains why the outcome

98 Schlatter 1916, pp. 172–173.

99 See, for example, Lacroix 1850; Anderson 1999, pp. 379–380.

100 Schlatter 1916, p. 28.

101 The Basel Mission had actually been "indirectly" active earlier in India, through sending missionaries who worked under the aegis of the Church Missionary Society. See Jenkins 1989.

102 Jenkins 1989, p. 13.

of such missionary institutions cannot be reduced to the question of conversions to Christianity: editions and translations of vernacular texts were produced, with significant effects on regional movements – within and without the Christian fold.[103] Sometimes, individuals who had joined the mission and had been sent to India developed an intellectual interest for the cultures they encountered. This was the case for the missionary from Neuchâtel Auguste Ali Bourquin (1848–1928), who had stayed in South India (Palghat, Kerala) with the Basel Mission and in Mumbai with a Scottish mission. After returning to Europe, he started to study Vedic religion academically (at the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Paris) and produced a translation of a Sanskrit treatise about orthodox (*smarta*) Brahmanical rituals, the *Brahmakarmapustaka*.[104] The missionary Jakob Urner took a striking interest in the Liṅgāyat tradition and evidence shows that he evolved from the perspective of a missionary looking for strategic similarities between the *vacana*s and Christianity, to that of a sympathetic exponent of that tradition (see chapter 5).

Thus, in opposition to a more imperialist style of mission typical of the nineteenth century, missionary work at the beginning of the twentieth century could no longer frontally preach its message, but often implied an in-depth understanding of local cultures and an integration of indigenous actors into its organization. In addition, schools were frequently staffed by non-Christian teachers, giving them a platform and resources to start dissident movements. Missionaries were also active in the field of health, providing medical care and running dispensaries and hospitals. There too, despite ambitions to implement a Western lifestyle in these institutions, they often had to find practical compromises, as for example in the preparation of food (see chapter 4).

Last but not least, the industrial activities developed by the mission had a significant and lasting impact on the industrialization of the whole region where the Basel Mission was operating, and especially Mangalore: the industrial landscape of the Basel region, along with a conception of financial success as a consequence of divine grace, became a model for the economic development of that region in India. In turn, this was soon imitated by other institutions outside of the Basel Mission.[105]

Back in Switzerland, the complexities of missionary work often resulted not only in the dissemination of a dark image of Indian society through various lectures and publications but also in a greater awareness about the ambiguity of missionary enterprises (at the beginning of the twentieth century) and the role

103 See Sharkey 2013 for examples.

104 Bourquin 1894; on which see Schouten 2020, pp. 156–165.

105 See Stenzl 2010; Schär 2017. Among other activities, the Basel Mission developed a successful business specialized in the manufacture of tiles. It took advantage of both its translocal networks (for the export of goods) and its local converts (as workers).

of religion in conflict. Ideas about the Indian freedom movement – in particular, Gandhi – were received through missionary networks and were soon integrated within pacifist ideologies and movements in Switzerland. In addition, initiatives for institutionalized ecumenism often developed with the contribution of former missionaries in that period (see chapter 3).

4.2 Institutions Disseminating South Asian Traditions on Swiss Territory

Running counterflow to Christian missions in India, another vehicle for the circulation of knowledge and practices between India and Switzerland in this period relates to different religious associations based in India which spread doctrines and practices on Swiss soil, often borrowing techniques of proselytism from a Christian missionary model. From the beginning of the twentieth century, various Buddhist movements arrived in Switzerland with the ambition to find sympathizers and disseminate Buddhist teachings.[106] While today one tends to associate India with Hinduism, the "greater" colonial India of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries included Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and – for some periods – Myanmar. These regions are central to Buddhist history and to the Buddhist revival at the beginning of the twentieth century – which began and spread from Sri Lanka and Myanmar.

The charismatic Nyanatiloka (Anton Gueth, 1878–1957), born in Germany and ordained as a Theravada Buddhist monk in Myanmar, developed public interest in Buddhism among Swiss sympathizers: upon the invitation of the self-professed Buddhist – and industrialist – Rodolphe-Adrien Bergier (1852–1920), he stayed in Lausanne from 1909 to 1911 in the so-called Caritas Vihara.[107] Nyanatiloka then moved to Sri Lanka but left behind a legacy through his publications and disciples, such as the German-born Nyanaponika (Siegmund Feninger, 1901–1994) and Anagarika Govinda (Ernst Lothar Hoffman, 1898–1985). Some individual figures converted and studied Buddhist texts in this early period – but they remained more or less isolated after the Caritas Vihara ceased its activities in the late 1910s. A remarkable case is that of Alfred Millioud (1864–1929) who, after having spent time in Japan, authored a few studies on Buddhist texts and lived a Buddhist lifestyle in the mountains around Lausanne.[108]

106 See Baumann 1998 and Ducor 2012 for an overview of the history of Buddhism in Switzerland.

107 On Nyanatiloka in Switzerland, see Bhikku Nyanatusita & Hecker 2008, pp. 32–33.

108 See Ducor 2012. Millioud translated Gyonen's *The Essentials of the Eight Sects* (1268): Millioud 1892.

A few decades later, a central actor in the diffusion of Buddhism in Switzerland was the Austrian-born Max Ladner who discovered the tradition through his interest in the philosophical reflections of Friedrich Nietzsche and Arthur Schopenhauer. In his first book, *Nietzsche und der Buddhismus* (1933), Ladner emphasizes the notion of the absence of self, which he describes as "one of the strongest thoughts that was ever thought."[109] Along with the Bern-based chemist and aristocrat Raoul von Muralt (1891–1975), he founded the Buddhistische Gemeinschaft Zürich in 1942. Ladner was well integrated in a network of people sympathizing with Buddhist concepts: he corresponded with Bertha Dahlke, the sister of the German Buddhist pioneer Paul Dahlke (1865–1928), who had taken over the direction of the Berlin "Buddhistische Haus" after the death of her brother. He was also in close contact with the former British officer Padma Vajra (Henry Noel Marryat Hardy, 1884–1968), who was by then in Lausanne and had attracted there a group of people interested in Buddhism and Daoism. From Zurich, Ladner started an association which promoted different goals: the diffusion of Buddhist teachings, through readings of texts in Pali and lectures; the advancement of human progress through Buddhist ethics and culture; the publication of a monthly journal, *Die Einsicht*; the building of a library for Buddhist literature; preparations for the creation of a vihara (Buddhist temple or monastery) in Switzerland and networking with other Buddhist groups in the country and abroad. Among those various goals, it seems that the most lasting contribution has been *Die Einsicht* (published 1948–1961), which counted many readers in post-war Germany.[110]

As to (neo-)Hinduism, one of the classical organizations spreading teachings abroad was the Ramakrishna Mission, which indeed reached Switzerland – but much later than the United States where the movement started its development in the West.[111] While Vivekananda (1863–1902),[112] the monk from Calcutta and founder of the Ramakrishna Mission, only spent a few days in Switzerland on one of his world tours (in Saas Fee, in the summer of 1896), his disciple, the Bengali Swami Yatiswarananda (Suresh Chandra Bhattacharya, 1889–1966), founded study circles in St. Moritz and Geneva. Between 1935 and 1938, he made Zurich and St. Moritz the centres of his activities in Europe, before leaving for the United States. In parallel, a few Swiss devotees contributed to the development of the movement, as in the case of Sister Bhakti (Helen Rubel, 1898–

109 Ladner 1933, quoted in Frey 2016, p. 407: *anattā* as the "größte und tiefste [Gedanken] der je gedacht wurde."

110 See Frey 2016 for details. Ladner published two further monographs on the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. See Ladner 1946, 1948.

111 On the history of the Ramakrishna Mission in Europe, see Beckerlegge 2020 (in particular pp. 436–437 on Yatiswarananda in Switzerland).

112 Vivekananda's work is available online, https://www.swamivivekananda.guru/.

1954), a Zurich native who had emigrated to the United States and had funded the construction of the Ramakrishna temple in Belur Math, the headquarters of the Ramakrishna Mission in Bengal. Ma Suryananda Lakshmi (Noutte Genton-Sunier, 1918–1996) worked tirelessly to propagate neo-Hindu teachings – those of Sri Aurobindo – through numerous lectures, translations, and publications, in which she attempted a synthesis between Hinduism and Christianity. She was one of several remarkable figures doing this work. Even if it does not belong to our time frame, no survey of the period is complete without mentioning Krishnamurti (1895–1986), a figure of international standing who helped create a combined world view between India and the West. Some of his most famous lectures, to which attendees travelled from far and wide, took place between 1961 and 1985 in Saanen where he appreciated the quietness and the mountains, succumbing like many others to the charm of romanticized "Swiss sceneries."

Though it did not start in India, the Mazdaznan movement also merits a mention here because it found in Switzerland a very favourable space to develop its activities and a Swiss national played an important role in the international spread of the movement.[113] Claiming roots in ancient Zoroastrianism, the movement had been founded by Dr. O. Z. Hanish (1856–1936) in 1890 in the United States. It elected Switzerland as its European headquarters through the activities of the American Swiss David Ammann (1855–1923), the son of a former missionary of the Basel Mission, born in Honore, Karnataka. With his wife Frieda Ammann (1862–1955), he developed the conception of an ideal alternative and vegetarian society through publications and community-based actions in the region of Zurich.[114]

In the same period, the so-called International Sufi Movement – founded by the Indian Inayat Khan (1882–1927) – organized lectures in various Swiss cities and established its headquarters in Geneva in 1923. Still active today, the movement teaches religious universalism through a new interpretation of "classical" Sufism and the creation of new rituals – such as a universal worship that emphasizes the unity of all religions.[115]

Finally, and somewhat ironically, one could also mention the idealization of an "Oriental" Christianity to be found among several evangelical groups: borrowing the opposition between a spiritual East and a materialist West, some projected on charismatic Christian Indians such as Sadhu Sundar Singh (1889–1929) the figure of a new prophet bringing back from the East a pure faith to a corrupted Western Christianity. Sundar Singh did two world tours and one of those led him to Switzerland (in 1922) where he held an impressive number of

113 See Mayer 1993, pp. 153–166.

114 See Gutmann 2021 for details on the Aryana community in Herrliberg (Zurich).

115 Mayer 1993, pp. 167–171.

speeches which were then recorded and published – and have been republished several times right up until today.[116]

5 Goods, Techniques, Appropriations: The Circulation of Yogis and Yogic Practices

Yoga is a striking example of the import of Indian ideas and practices to the West. Be it on the level of ideas or on the level of body techniques, Indo-Swiss encounters around yoga illustrate some of the mechanisms of encounter at work and the impact of specific itineraries of yoga-inspired travellers.

5.1 Transnational Encounters and the Modern History of Yoga

During the first half of the twentieth century, yoga did not exist in the form in which it would later spread and be institutionalized in Switzerland during the 1960s. The difference between the two periods is enormous, especially when we consider that today there is not only the paid profession of "yoga teacher" but yoga classes in all cities and almost all villages in Switzerland. Since 1971, the country has hosted the European Congress of Yoga at Zinal in Valais, where yogis from the European Union meet and where Indian masters are invited to present their practices and philosophies.[117] For yoga to become a professional, international and widely popular good, it needed a few decades of development, the translocal itineraries of various individuals, and the combined influence of the cultures it encountered.

It is impossible to separate the various yogas in Switzerland from the various yogas in India, though of course they differ on many levels. They are however both the outcome of continuous exchange processes back and forth, since it is impossible to write about yoga in the twentieth century without seeing it as a commodity transformed in the process of multiple exchanges between India and the world.[118] It is therefore necessary to address the development of yoga in the Indian context when presenting the history of its reception in Switzerland. Conceptually speaking, since the beginning of the twentieth century, the word yoga has become a generalized universal concept. The trend to invent new names for any kind of yoga or one's specific yoga (Sivananda yoga, hot yoga, etc.) perpetu-

116 See Goodwin 1989 for a day-by-day journal of Sundar Singh's Swiss stay, and Bornet 2021a for an analysis of the tour and the multiple controversies it triggered.

117 The history of the Congress of Yoga in Zinal is very informative in understanding how yoga has transformed over the years. See Desponds 2007.

118 See Baier, Maas & Preisendanz 2018.

ates the convention to qualify "yoga" by compounds or with adjectives – laya, tantra, bhakti – inherited from a long past.

India was not unknown to Swiss people at the beginning of the twentieth century but awareness of it tended to be restricted to certain circles and was certainly stained with fantastical ideas inherited from a long history. Yoga, in its many understandings, was always somewhere in the background of any imaginary related to India, and it emerged in the twentieth century as a *convenient word* to frame whatever spiritualities or techniques from the Indian "Orient" one was discussing. Although reducing the sheer diversity of forms of yoga is a fraught task, one can roughly distinguish two broad even if at times overlapping strands: one a spiritual yoga (akin to the new types of religiosity that spread in the United States and Europe), the other a yoga related to fitness, health, and medicine.[119]

Without entering into the details of the complex history of the introduction of yoga in the West, Vivekananda played a significant role in propagating his Vedānta (a revivalist form of Hinduism in this context) in the world, and in introducing yoga to the West. He was firmly convinced that yoga, a science of the mind (*rāja* yoga essentially), was the basis of all religions and could be experimented with by anyone who followed this path.[120] Since the intense propaganda in favour of Vedānta in the United States at the time of Vivekananda, there was a trend to see the so-called yoga as *the* "spiritual" good (whatever that was) needed most by the West. For many Indian authors, the missionary creed was that India had yoga to offer to the world. Selvarajan Yesudian (1916–1998) is no exception and wrote that his Indian teacher had told him to bring yoga to the West and to present it as a knowledge deeper than whatever the West had to offer in terms of spirituality and health – a missionary injunction that had a lasting effect (see chapter 6). Regarding the spiritual aspect, the theosophical movement and the various trends derived from it did not see much value in physical yoga since it was considered excessively turned towards the bodily aspects of life. If in 1893 Vivekananda wished to present Eastern spirituality as far superior to anything the West could offer, the twentieth century witnessed, globally, a focus on yoga as a science of *health and well-being*, deeply transforming yogic practices.

Many Indians involved in this transformation wished to harness yoga as a means to improve the strength of what some Europeans called the "weak race". Krishnamacharya trained young men in an almost military fashion during the

119 Although these two strands do intermingle, the health-oriented strand of yoga was more dominant in Switzerland.

120 On Vivekananda's own interpretation of yoga, see White 2014, pp. 116–142.

Mysore Palace period.[121] Kuvalayananda wanted yoga to render people healthy, strong, and able to fight for independence. Equally, he wanted it to be a *science* (contra spiritual practice) of health.[122] Sivananda conceived of a wholescale programme to regenerate Indian society. For him, one form of yoga was combined with the need to fight for national independence; thus, the practice was transformed to fulfil the desire for a strong society.[123] The case of two Indian brothers, Paramahamsa Yogananda (1893–1952) and Bishnu Charan Ghosh (1903–1970), illustrates the choices that were made between yoga as sport or exercise and yoga as spirituality. Yogananda wrote the *Autobiography of a Yogi* in 1946 (a bestseller and widely considered a classic of the spiritual genre) and created the Self-Realization Movement in California in 1920, a spiritual yoga based on specific "exercises" (*kriyā*). Bishnu Charan, though he learned from the same master as his brother, combined bodybuilding and yoga in his studio in Calcutta, creating a body-oriented yogic tradition that can still be traced today.[124]

In the Swiss context, Lebensreform movements provide a major framework for the reception of yoga as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. Especially in the context of Monte Verità, we encounter images of movements and techniques that seem vaguely reminiscent of yoga:[125] a yoga combined with practices aimed at achieving good bodily and mental health, untarnished by the increasingly resented damaging by-products of growing industrialization and pollution. Indeed, the mountain near Ascona was a hub of much experimentation with the body, with nature, and with free movement, though dance was the dominant element. It was a place for artists to experiment with new ways to live. Later in 1933, Eranos, an intellectual discussion group dedicated to humanistic and religious studies and natural sciences that was established by the aristocrat Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962), gathered at Monte Verità to hold its first *Tagung* (conference) on different spiritual themes. The circle became known for its civilizational debates, searching for new ways of living and promoting the free discussion of all things spiritual. The first conference in 1933 was on the subject

121 Later in his life, he turned towards a health-oriented type of yoga (during his Madras period, 1952–1989). For the Mysore Palace period 1924–1950, see Sjoman 1996.

122 In 1924 Kuvalayananda started the publication *Yoga Mīmāmsā: The Scientific Journal of Yoga*, conveying his ambition to approach yoga scientifically.

123 Alter 2000.

124 The health-oriented strand of yoga has been flooding the Indian market since the second half of the twentieth century as it has in much of the rest of the world. The nationalist fervour that can be perceived in Vivekananda, Krishnamacharya and other yoga teachers of the early twentieth century is alive more than ever. In 2014, the Indian president Narendra Modi established an international yoga day and expended great efforts to ensure that yoga remains a recognized good of Indian heritage. The International Day of Yoga (held annually on 21 June) was approved by the United Nations and has been observed since 2015.

125 Schwab 2003; Merz 2000.

of yoga, not physical yoga, but yoga as a modality of thinking, reminding us that certain groups self-evidently connected yoga with spirituality.[126] Notable participants at the Eranos conferences over the years included not only European scholars such as the German religious historian Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), the Romanian writer and professor Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), and Carl Gustav Jung, but also Indian guests such as Swami Yatiswarananda (in 1934).[127] The conferences have thus been an important site for encounters between European and Asian ideas, the results of which were then widely disseminated through the participants' numerous publications.[128]

At the same time, more commercial forms of yoga appeared with a tour of the Swiss national circus[129] ("Manege Schaustück India" in 1935) or in the context of gymnastic parades (related in daily newspapers). Such events promoted the physical and athletic benefits of performing yoga. Finally, there was also an increasing interest among the Swiss public in natural living and alternative or herbal medicine,[130] as in the case of the works of the Swiss doctor Arnold Rikli (1823–1906) on naturopathy, which, perhaps not by coincidence, resurfaced in Gandhi's views on health and medicine;[131] once more, the notion of yoga was part and parcel of the transformation processes.

5.2 Mapping the Itineraries of the Two Yogas in Switzerland

The reception of yoga in Switzerland in the twentieth century was embedded within different dimensions of society: life reform, medicine and health (including fitness, diet, hygiene, etc.), spirituality, philosophy, and the arts. The studies by Yesudian (see chapter 6) and Reymond (see chapter 7) look at the divergent ways yoga interacted with these dimensions by concentrating on written sources and their impact. When Yesudian came to Switzerland or Reymond returned

126 The exact theme was "Yoga und Meditation im Osten und Westen" (Yoga and Meditation East and West). Eliade defended his thesis on yoga at the event. Three years later, his thesis was translated into French and became a standard book on the practice. The Eranos conferences that followed were on the themes "Eastern-Western Symbolism and Soul-Guidance" (1934/1935) and "The Shaping of the Redemption Idea in East and West" (1936/1937). On Eranos, see Wasserstrom 1999; Hakl 2013.

127 In 1934. See Hakl 2013, p. 190.

128 To take one example, Eliade's book *Immortalité et liberté* enjoyed wide success and international distribution. See Eliade 1954.

129 Merz 2000.

130 Many Swiss individuals turned to nature cures and herbal or natural body cures in the early twentieth century, perhaps most notably the *Kräuterpfarrer* (herbal pastor) Johann Künzle (1857–1945).

131 Alter 2000, p. 59.

from her years in India, what could they expect to find in terms of yoga? How did they relate to the changes occurring in India?

When Yesudian left India in 1936, the yoga scene in his native country was undergoing drastic changes and entered a new phase during the period of pre-independence. Some of these changes, as chapter 6 shows, affected what Yesudian brought to Switzerland. He came from South India via Hungary to Switzerland in 1947 to open the first school of yoga in Zurich. Lizelle Reymond, by contrast, travelled several times to India before spending five years in the region of Almora with Sri Anirvan. Yesudian and Reymond brought to Switzerland different types and understandings of yoga, but both transmitted their specific interpretation of the Indian yoga in the form of books and other print materials. Yesudian was in the tradition of *haṭha* yoga, mostly practised for its health benefits. He did not give his name nor any other to his yogic practice but aligned himself behind the traditional Indian designation of "*haṭha* yoga," modified to apply to the Swiss context. Lizelle Reymond, following her master's advice to wait twelve years after her return to Switzerland before publishing her account of his psychological and spiritual yoga (first published in 1957), which *she* labelled "Sâmkhya yoga." Her yoga cannot directly be connected to the spiritual strand of Vivekananda or to theosophy, nor to the craving for a health reform. It rather forms a marginal strand in relation to the mainstream understanding of yoga in Switzerland at the time, which was primarily as a health/fitness practice.

Yesudian and Haich emphasized the lost unity between body and mind and favoured a complete, holistic view of the human being. Yesudian synthesized yoga and life reform in his book *Sport und Yoga* published in 1949. Inspired by discourses related to diet and nature cures (or naturopathy) that were circulating in the country at the time, Yesudian's work marked the opening of a new era for yoga in Switzerland. His classes in the 1950s increasingly became a model for *haṭha* yoga in a post-war society. During the second half of the twentieth century the yoga scene became professionalized, diversified, more and more detached from its Indian side, and adjusted to the needs of contemporary societies, be they Western or Indian.[132] According to Yesudian, both body and spiritual yoga testify to the goal of finding new ways of interpreting the world and of preparing a holistic approach to life.

Yesudian's yoga was very well received. Unlike some yoga masters, his charismatic personality remained discreetly hidden behind his work, and moreover he steadfastly refused to become institutionalized or submit to the temptation to become a "professional" yoga teacher. Yesudian shifted from a health-oriented yoga to a holistic technique that offers solutions on a global level. He did not encourage the practice of yoga as a means to fortify the youth or prepare

132 Tardan-Masquelier 2021.

the body for combat (as in India, as we saw with the approaches of Krishnamacharya, Kuvalayananda, Sivananda, and others). Nor would he have participated in any politically-based activity. Moreover, he did not go back to India to "sell" his yoga to the masses. But in the ongoing circulation of yoga ideas and practices, some of his findings have penetrated the global yoga scene of today. In the Swiss context, he is a key figure in the history of yoga; in the Indian one, he has barely appeared in a footnote.

By contrast to Yesudian's holistic and methodical yoga/life reform practice, Reymond's yoga was not strictly a *practice* as such, but an attitude that could be adopted in executing any kind of yoga technique. She practised *t'ai chi ch'uan* (better known to English-speaking readers as tai chi) and brought it to Switzerland from Paris, and wrote about "Sâmkhya yoga" not as a body technique but as a philosophical world view and discourse. The English version of her book on "Sâmkhya" became the basis for developing and spreading Anirvan's ideas in Bengali.

These two examples present an almost symmetric situation, reminding us that what we just call yoga can be so many things. Yesudian, the Indian Christian, is transformed by the Vedānta as expounded by the Hungarian esotericist Haich and teaches a "spiritualized" body yoga (in fact very different from Vivekananda, whom he has yet adopted as his master (chapter 6)). Reymond, through her travels and encounters, was well versed in Vedānta and was transformed by the teaching of Anirvan, who is not a Vedāntist, but a vedic scholar with his own view on a peculiar kind of Sāṃkhya that he reinterprets with concepts of modern psychology (chapter 7).

6 A Few Questions for a Preliminary Conclusion

The Indo-Swiss exchanges explored in this volume constitute a lens through which to understand the significance of broader processes characterizing relations between Asia and Europe in the twentieth century. Because of its specific geopolitical status and geographical location at the heart of Europe, Switzerland has been a privileged place for the exchange of cultural values and practices imported from Asia. Swiss and Indian actors have contributed in no small way to changing the Swiss sociocultural landscape by importing ideas and practices, and "localizing" them in the wake of these dynamic exchanges. Yoga provides one example of a cultural good that became disconnected from its Indian origins, taking on different forms and hybridizing with other trends in Switzerland in the domains of fitness, health, naturopathy, vegetarianism, and which in return contributed to new adaptations in India. In the opposite direction, Swiss missions have contributed to reshaping the religious and socio-economic landscapes of

the regions of India in which they were established, yet through their writings and conferences created a new imaginery about India in Switzerland.

The encounters and itineraries of our main protagonists (Hauswirth, Lombard, Petitpierre, Reymond, Urner and Yesudian) illustrate the specific hermeneutic situation of the time, characterized by a struggle to negotiate a new world, across the period of two world wars, and their positions *between* cultures. To be sure, even if we have focused on India and Switzerland for methodological reasons, all protagonists were influenced by stays and visits in various countries and continents. This underlines the need for an approach that is not binary but which accounts for the transnational itineraries of the actors and the wide circulation of ideas. Hauswirth's case, in particular, eloquently illustrates this in-betweenness, caught between her attachment to life in India and love of Indian traditions, and her unlimited, transnational way of thinking about issues such as gender. The Indo-Swiss exchanges we explore in this book were not mechanical nor linear, but a complex pattern of interactions at multiple levels, a constant back and forth that can be more accurately described as a circular process, connecting many distant regions around the globe. The circular process indicates that it is difficult to know where exchanges start or end. An even more accurate metaphor could be the spiral, as it indicates circularity yet also change and transformation in the exchanges. The cases also point clearly to the fact that interpersonal encounters, planned or serendipitous, play a central role for the circulation of ideas and for processes of transformation, even though they are hard to capture in a more analytical perspective.

Halbfass called his 1981 study on the relations between India and Europe an essay. This collective monograph comprises six essays that attempt to present those relations and connections in detail, tracing the various itineraries that contributed to that unique history. The stories in the chapters that follow can open up wider reflections on larger processes at play, such as transnational issues related to art, gender, politics, religion etc. They stimulate further questions and identify various processes that come to light here for the first time. A focus on specific examples renders the investigation of connectedness more precise and at the same time reveals the specificity of the relations between Switzerland and parts of India.

We began this project with little more than a general hypothesis: that focusing on the travels, missions, and translations of specific people, institutions, objects, and practices would yield useful insight into the encounter between India and Switzerland in the twentieth century, and by extension between Europe and Asia. The various itineraries and interweaving histories the contributors to this book have unearthed have proved very fertile ground and raise various sets of questions that yet need further (and ever more precise) investigation. Such questions may concern the role played by other relations and other artifi-

cial constructs such as nations and national identities in the itineraries and histories of individuals, institutions, objects, and practices.

One set of questions that remains unexplored relates to the extent to which the patterns of exchange and cultural interaction between India and Switzerland in this period resembled those between India and other European countries (or not). What is the specificity of these patterns? Did they change after Indian independence and the decline of Western imperial powers? If so, why?

A second set of questions concerns the circulation of bodily practices and conceptions related to health. What do the examples studied here reveal about the transnational networks that channelled those practices and conceptions? To what extent did social experiments in Europe such as the Monte Verità community or vegetarian societies influence Indian actors, and vice versa? How did such conceptions circulate and what role did Switzerland play in promoting them?

A third set of questions concerns the perception of Switzerland in India: while European images of, and stereotypes about, India have been thoroughly investigated, one cannot say the same of the perception of (particularly smaller) European countries in India. Was this perception systematically mediated by – for example – British representations of Switzerland, as seems to be the case in the rare accounts of Indian travellers to Switzerland, particularly those that consciously favoured the known itineraries of famous British aristocrats. Or were there other prominent aspects? Was Switzerland always perceived as the paradise it appears as in the songs and imageries of Indian cinema?

Finding answers to these questions may shed light on further interwoven histories that have received only scant or no attention so far. They may help bridge the divide in scholarship between studies of the micro- and macro-levels of recent history and better identify the traces of that history that remain today. With this volume, we hope to show the broader significance of connections between Indian and Swiss histories, and beyond, to contribute to microhistorical studies focusing on global cultural exchanges as seen from specific locations.

Bibliography

Abegg, Emil. 1934–1935. "Die Indiensammlung der Universität Zürich." *Mitteilungen der Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft Zürich* 35: 1–172. https://www.e-periodica.ch/digbib/view?pid=ghl-002%3A1934%3A35#7.

Alter, Joseph S. 2000. *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Anderson, Gerald H. 1999. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions.* Grand Rapids, MI / Cambridge, UK: William Eerdmans.

Andina, F. 2006. *Trent'anni fra i Parias: il padre Faustino Corti S.J., ticinese missionario in India.* [Bellinzona]: Salvioni.

App, Urs. 2010. *The Birth of Orientalism.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Baier, Karl. 1998. *Yoga auf dem Weg nach Westen: Beiträge zur Rezeptionsgeschichte.* Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

Baier, Karl, Philip A. Maas, and Karin Preisendanz (eds.). 2018. *Yoga in Transformation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.* Vienna: V&R Unipress / Vienna University Press.

Baumann, Martin. 1998. "Geschichte und Gegenwart des Buddhismus in der Schweiz." *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 4: 255–281.

Beckerlegge, Gwilym. 2020. "The Ramakrishna Math and Mission in Europe." In Knut A. and Ferdinando Sardella (eds.), *Handbook of Hinduism in Europe.* Leiden: Brill, 422–461.

Beltz, Johannes, and Andrea Kuratli. 2017. "Alice Boner: A Visionary Artist and Scholar Across Two Continents." *Orientations* 48, no. 5: 1–11.

Bhikku Nyanatusita, and Hellmuth Hecker. 2008. *The Life of Nyanatiloka Thera: The Biography of a Western Buddhist Pioneer.* Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.

Blaser, Claire Louise. 2021. "Sanskrit Roots in the Swiss Idiotikon: Early Indology in Switzerland between National Identity Formation and European Imperial Imaginaries." *Comparativ. Zeitschrift fuïr Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 31, no. 5/6: 591–610.

Bonner, Thomas Neville. 1992. *To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine.* Cambridge, MA / London: Harvard University Press.

Borella, Sara Steinert. 2006. *The Travel Narratives of Ella Maillart: (En)Gendering the Quest.* New York: Peter Lang.

Bornet, Philippe. 2019. "From the Emic to the Etic and Back Again: Archaeology, Orientalism, and Religion from Colonial Sri Lanka to Switzerland." In Philippe Bornet, Svetlana Gorshenina Svetlana, Michel Fuchs, and Claude Rapin (eds.), *"Masters" and "Natives": Digging the Others' Past.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 177–195.

Bornet, Philippe. 2021a. "A 'Christian Hindu Apostle'? The Multiple Lives of Sadhu Sundar Singh (1889–1929?)." In Phillipe Bornet (ed.), *Translocal Lives and Religion: Connections between Asia and Europe in the Late Modern World.* Sheffield: Equinox, 219–248.

Bornet, Philippe. 2021b. "From Comparative to Connected Religion: Translocal Aspects of Orientalism and the Study of Religion." In Phillipe Bornet (ed.), *Translocal Lives and Religion: Connections between Asia and Europe in the Late Modern World.* Sheffield: Equinox, 3–55.

Bosshard, Walter. 1931. *Indien kämpft!: das Buch der indischen Welt von heute.* Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder.

Bourquin, Auguste. 1894. *Brahmakarma ou Rites sacrés des brahmanes.* Paris: Leroux.

Bozsa, Isabelle. 2019. *Geschenkt, gekauft, erbeutet – Missionarisches Sammeln in Kamerun und Indien.* Basel: Museum der Kulturen Basel. Online: https://www.mkb.ch/dam/jcr:c3929f25-d609-4576-9852-18398d68b360/Geschenkt,%20gekauft,%20erbeutet_Forschungsbericht%20Isabella%20Bozsa.pdf

Brückenhaus, Daniel. 2017. *Policing Transnational Protest: Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burger, Maya. 2007. "Une posture inversée: le yoga global". In Maya Burger and Claude Calame (eds.), *Comparer les comparatismes: perspectives sur l'histoire et les sciences des religion.* (Histoire de l'histoire des religions 2). Paris: Edidit, 161–188.

Burger, Maya. 2013. "Transcultural Conversion: The Life of Pandita Ramabai (1852–1922)." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 67, no. 4: 1155–1177.

Burger, Maya. 2014. "Marge ou centre ? Où chercher la vérité ? L'orientalisme d'une Russe en Inde: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky." In Philippe Bornet and Svetlana Gorshenina (eds.), *L'orientalisme des marges: éclairages à partir de l'Inde et de la Russie.* Lausanne: Études de lettres, 297–322.

Charumbira, Ruramisai. 2015. "Becoming Imperial: A Swiss Woman's Shifting Identity in British Southern Africa." In Patricia Purtschert and Harald Fischer-Tiné (eds.), *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 157–178.

Chaudhuri, Supriya. 2019. "Indian Travel Writing." In Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 159–174.

Choné, Aurélie. 2009. *Rudolf Steiner, Carl Gustav Jung, Hermann Hesse: passeurs entre Orient et Occident: intégration et transformation des savoirs sur l'Orient dans l'espace germanophone (1890–1940).* Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1986. "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa." *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 1: 1–22.

Cuttat, Jacques-Albert. 1957. *La rencontre des religions.* Paris: Aubier.

Cuttat, Jacques-Albert. 1961. *Le dialogue spirituel de l'Est et de l'Ouest.* New Delhi: Max Müller Bhavan.

David, Thomas, Bouda Etemad, Claude Lützelschwab, and Michela Trisconi (eds.). 1998. "Suisse – Tiers Monde – Schweiz – Dritte Welt: Des réseaux d'expansion aux formes de domination – Von der Expansion zur Dominanz." Special issue, *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte / Revue d'histoire* 5, no. 2.

Desponds, Séverine. 2007. "L'enseignant de yoga européen entre adhikāra et pédagogie." PhD thesis, Université de Lausanne.

Desponds, Séverine. No date. "Le yoga entre la Suisse et l'Inde." Unpublished article as part of SNF Project 105213 "Le Yoga entre la Suisse et l'Inde: l'histoire et l'herméneutique d'une rencontre," 2004–2006.

Dörr, Evelyn. 1999. "Rudolf von Laban. Leben und Werk des Künstlers 1879–1936." PhD thesis, Humboldt Universität, Berlin.

Ducor, Jérôme. 2012. "Le premier siècle de la rencontre de la Suisse et du bouddhisme." In *Centre Bouddhiste International de Genève – 20 ans à Genève*, 14–15.

Dutt, Romesh Chandra. 1896. *Three Years in Europe, 1868 to 1871.* Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri.

Eliade, Mircea. 1954. *Le yoga: immortalité et liberté.* Paris: Payot.

Erismann, Peter Edwin. 1997. *Indien Sehen: Kunst, Fotografie, Literatur.* Bern: Schweizerische Landesbibliothek / Baden: Lars Müller.

Erni, Hans. 1973. *India-Indien-Inde. Skizzenbuch 4.* Zurich: Ex Libris.

Etienne, Noemie, et al. (eds.). 2020. *Une Suisse Exotique? Regarder l'ailleurs en Suisse au siècle des Lumières.* Zurich: Diaphanes.

Etter, Anne-Marie. 1997. "Die Indologie in der Schweiz." In Peter Edwin Erismann (ed.), *Indien Sehen: Kunst, Fotografie, Literatur.* Bern: Schweizerische Landesbibliothek / Baden: Lars Müller. Reproduced at http://www.annemarie-etter.ch/publikationen/indologie.pdf.

Fischer-Tiné, Harald. 2014. *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism.* New Delhi: Routledge.

Fischer-Tiné, Harald. 2015. "The Other Side of Internationalism: Switzerland as a Hub of Militant Anti-Colonialism, c. 1910–1920." In Patricia Purtschert and Harald Fischer-Tiné

(eds.), *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 221–258.

Fischer-Tiné, Harald. 2019. "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and Physical-Education Schemes in Late-Colonial South Asia (Circa 1900–40)." *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 2: 512–559.

Forbes, Geraldine. [1996] 2008. *The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 4, Part 2: *Women in Modern India.* Digital version (Cambridge Histories Online). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frey, Nina. 2016. "Max Ladner (1889–1963) und die frühe Rezeption des Buddhismus in der Schweiz." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 70, no. 2: 399–434.

Gamsa, Mark. 2017. "Biography and (Global) Microhistory." *New Global Studies* 11, no. 3: 231–241.

Ginzburg, Carlo, and Carlo Poni. 1981. "La micro-histoire." *Le Débat* 17, no. 10: 133–136.

Goodwin, Alys. 1989. *Sadhu Sundar Singh in Switzerland: His Sojourn as Recorded by Alys Goodwin in Switzerland, March 1922.* Ed. A. F. Thyagaraju. Madras: Christian Literature Society.

Green, Nile. 2010. *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guex, Fanny. 2015. "L'*Écho du Sikkim.* Missionnaires suisses dans l'Himalaya. De la conquête à l'aide humanitaire (1937–1970)." *Revue suisse d'histoire* 65, no. 3: 449–470.

Guggenbühl, Claudia. 2008. *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta: The History of their Encounter.* Heidelberg: CrossAsia.

Gupta, Prakash Chandra. 1998. *Prem Chand.* (Makers of Indian Literature). New Delhi: Sahitya Akadeemi.

Gutmann, Rahel. 2021. "Wie Zarathustra in die Lebensreform kam: Eine Untersuchung der Rezeption der Mazdaznan-Bewegung im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Fokus auf die Aryana-Siedlung in Herrliberg, ca. 1910–1930." Master's thesis, ETH Zurich.

Hakl, Hans Thomas. 2013. *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century.* London: Routledge.

Halbfass, Wilhelm. 1981. *Indien und Europa: Perspektiven ihren geistigen Begegnung.* Basel / Stuttgart: Schwabe.

Haller-Dirr, Marita. 2017. "Missionen." In *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 2 September 2010. https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/011456/2010-09-02/.

Harries, Patrick. 2007. *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa.* Oxford: James Currey / Harare: Weaver Press / Johannesburg: Wits University Press / Athens: Ohio University Press.

Hausberger, Bernd. 2006. "Globalgeschichte als Lebensgeschichte(n)." In Bernd Hausberger (ed.), *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen.* Vienna: Mandelbaum, 9–27.

Horn, Elija. 2018. *Indien als Erzieher. Orientalismus in der deutschen Reformpädagogik und Jugendbewegung 1918–1933.* Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt.

Horsch, Paul. 1962. "In Memoriam Emil Abegg." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 15, 81–85.

Jenkins, Paul. 1989. *A Short History of the Basel Mission.* Basel: Basel Mission.

Kaegi, Adolf, with Karl F. Geldner and Rudolf von Roth. 1875. *Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda.* Tübingen: H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung.

Kamensky, Anna. 1925. *Śrī Bhagavad Gītā = La Bhagavad-Gîtâ: le chant du Seigneur.* Paris: Ed. Adyar.

Kämpchen, Martin. 2020. *Indo-German Exchanges in Education: Rabindranath Tagore Meets Paul and Edith Geheeb.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kieser, Hans-Lukas. 2005. *Vorkämpfer der "Neuen Türkei": Revolutionäre Bildungseliten am Genfersee (1870–1939).* Zurich: Chronos.

Konrad, Dagmar. 2019. *"Entfernte Dinge" --- Objektgeschichten aus der Sammlung Basler Mission an Beispielen aus Ghana und Südchina.* Basel: Museum der Kulturen Basel. Online: https://www.mkb.ch/dam/jcr:1971bfe8-aaed-4727-a658-fcffe1e47d43/EntfernteDingeDagmarKonrad.pdf

Kosambi, Meera (transl. and ed.). 2003. *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of United States (1889).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lacroix, Alphonse-François. 1850. *Voyage du Missionnaire: Alphonse-François Lacroix au temple de Jogonnath.* Transl. William Pétavel. Neuchâtel: Henri Wolfrath.

Ladner, Max. 1933. *Nietzsche und der Buddhismus. Kritische Betrachtungen eines Buddhisten.* Zurich: Juchli-Beck.

Ladner, Max. 1946. *Die Lehre des Buddha.* Zurich: Rascher.

Ladner, Max. 1948. *Gotamo Buddha. Sein Werden, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde. Dargestellt an Hand des Pâli-Kanons.* Zurich: Rascher.

Linse, Ulrich. 1991. "Asien als Alternative? Die Alternativkulturen der Weimarer Zeit." In Hans Kippenberg and Brigitte Luchesi (eds.), *Religionswissenschaft und Kulturkritik. Beiträge zur Konferenz "The History of Religions and Critique of Culture in the Days of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950)."* Marburg: Diagonal, 325–364.

Mabika, Hines, et al. 2017. *Working Paper Research Project "History of Health Systems in Africa" […] (SNIS Final Report).* Basel: Department of History and Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Basel. https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-150871.

Mahatma Gandhi. 1925. *Ein Wegweiser zur Gesundheit. Mit einer Einleitung von Ettore Levi.* Zürich: Rotapfel-Verlag.

Maillart, Ella. [1951] 1979. *Ti-Puss ou l'Inde avec ma chatte.* Translated from the English by Henriette Guex. Rennes: La Tramontane. First published as *'Ti-Puss*, London: Heinemann.

Mathur, B. P. 2019. *The Mystic Yogi: The Life and Messages of Swami Jnanananda Giri – Swiss Youth turned Sanyasi.* Varanasi: Indian Mind.

May, Jacques. 2001. "La carrière universitaire de Constantin Régamey." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 55, no. 2: 349–380.

Mayer, Jean-François. 1993. *Les nouvelles voies spirituelles: enquête sur la religiosité parallèle en Suisse.* Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme.

McDermott, Rachel Fell, Leonard A. Gordon, Ainslie T. Embree, Frances W. Pritchett, and Dennis Dalton (eds.). 2014. *Sources of Indian Traditions*, Vol. 2: *Modern India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.* 3rd edn. New York: Columbia University Press.

Merz, Martin. 2000. *"Ich weiss, dass das unglaubhaft tönt …": Zur Geschichte des Yoga in der Schweiz, 1900–1960.* Licence Thesis. Basel: Universität Basel. http://www.martinmerz-yoga.ch/www.martinmerz-yoga.ch/Historisches.html

Metcalf, Barbara D., and Thomas Metcalf. 2012. *A Concise History of Modern India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meylan, Jean-Pierre. 2010. "Der Plan einer 'Weltbibliothek' von Romain Rolland und seinem Schweizer Verleger und Mäzen Emil Roniger, 1922–1926." *Librarium: Revue de la So-*

ciété Suisse des Bibliophiles / Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen Gesellschaft 53, no. 1: 3–13.

Millioud, Alfred (transl.). 1892. "Esquisse des huit sectes bouddhistes du Japon par Gyau-nen." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 25: 219–243, 337–360 / 26: 201–219.

Mitter, Partha. 1994. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850–1922. Occidental Orientations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2011. "Missions and institutions: Henri-Philippe Junod, anthropology, human rights and academia between Africa and Switzerland, 1921–1966." *Schweizerische Zeitschrift fur Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 105, 193–219.

Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2020. *Convertir l'empereur? Journal du missionnaire et médecin Georges-Louis Liengme.* Lausanne: Antipode.

Münzer, Verena. 1997. "Indien und Gandhi – Schauplätze und Schlagzeilen." In Peter Pfunder, Verena Münzer, and Annemarie Hürlimann, A. (eds.), *Fernsicht: Walter Bosshard, ein Pionier des modernen Photojournalismus.* Bern: Benteli, 90–122.

Nijhawan, Shobna. 2012. *Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere: Periodical Literature in Colonial North India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Oltramare, Paul. 1906. *Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde.* Vol. 1. Paris: Leroux.

Oltramare, Paul. 1923. *Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, Vol. 2: *La Théosophie bouddhique.* (Annales du Musée Guimet 31). Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Orsini, Francesca. 2019. "World Literature, Indian Views, 1920s–1940s." *Journal of World Literature* 4, 56–81.

Pieczynska, Emma. 1922. *Tagore éducateur.* Neuchâtel / Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé.

Polier, Colonel de (Antoine-Louis-Henri). 1809. *Mythologie des Indous* [compiled by Marie Elisabeth de Polier based on manuscripts brought from India by Colonel de Polier]. Rudolstadt: [Schoell?] / Paris: [Librairie de la cour?].

Privat, Edmond. 1948. *Aux Indes avec Gandhi.* Paris: Concorde.

Purtschert, Patricia, and Harald Fischer-Tiné (eds.). 2015. *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Régamey, Constantin. 1966. "Un pionnier vaudois des études indiennes: Antoine-Louis de Polier." In Georges Alfred Bonnard and Rudolf Stamm (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Monsieur Georges Bonnard, professeur honoraire de l'Université de Lausanne, à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire* (Publications de la Faculté des lettres, Université de Lausanne, 18). Geneva: Librairie Droz, 183–209.

Reymond, Lizelle. 1953. *The Dedicated: A Biography of Nivedita.* New York: J. Day Co.

Reymond, Lizelle. 1957. *Ma vie chez les brahmanes.* (Homo sapiens). Paris: Flammarion.

Rieker, Hans-Ulrich. 1955. *Die zwölf Tempel des Geistes: Weisheit und Technik der Yoga-Systeme.* Zurich: Rascher.

Rindlisbacher, Stefan. 2021. *Lebensreform in der Schweiz (1850–1950). Vegetarisch essen, nackt baden und im Grüñen wohnen.* Bern: Peter Lang.

Ringold, Isabelle. 1957. *Collection Desai: Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'Indica de D.B. Desai, premier ambassadeur des Indes en Suisse, don de Madame Madhuri Desai en mémoire de son mari.* Bern: [Benteli / Bibliothèque nationale Suisse?].

Rolland, Romain. 1923. *Mahatma Gandhi.* Transl. Emil Roniger. Erlenbach-Zurich: Rotapfel-Verlag.

Rolland, Romain. 1924. *Mahatma Gandhi.* Paris: Stock.

Rolland, Romain. 1929. *Vie de Ramakrishna.* Paris: Stock.

Rolland, Romain. 1930a. *La vie de Vivekananda et l'évangile universel.* Paris: Stock.

Rolland, Romain. 1930b. *Das Leben des Vivekananda.* Transl. Alfred Bissegger. Erlenbach-Zurich: Rotapfel-Verlag.
Rolland, Romain. 1930c. *Ramakrishnas und Vivekanandas universales Evangelium.* Transl. Alfred Bissegger. Erlenbach-Zurich: Rotapfel-Verlag.
Rolland, Romain. 1969. *Gandhi et Romain Rolland.* Paris: Albin Michel.
Schacht, Hans. 1918. *Indische Erzählungen.* Lausanne / Leipzig: Frankfurter.
Schär, Bernhard. 2017. "Philanthropie postkolonial: Macht und Mitleid zwischen der Schweiz und Indien, 1850–1900." *Itinera* 44: 127–140.
Schazmann, Paul-Emile. 1997. "Don de la collection D. B. Desai, Premier Ministre des Indes en Suisse, à la Conféderation Suisse." In Peter Edwin Erismann (ed.), *Indien Sehen: Kunst, Fotografie, Literatur.* Bern: Schweizerische Landesbibliothek / Baden: Lars Müller, 28–30.
Schlatter, Wilhelm. 1916. *Geschichte der Basel Mission 1815–1915. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ungedruckten Quellen*, Vol. 1: *Die Heimatgeschichte der Basler Mission.* Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung / Basileia Verlag.
Schouten, Jan Peter. 2020. "Missionaries from Switzerland: The Basel Mission in South India." In Jan Peter Schouten, *The European Encounter with Hinduism in India* (Currents of Encounter 62), transl. Henry Jansen. Leiden: Brill, 147–165.
Schreiner, Peter. 1972. "The Reflection of Hinduism in the Works of Premcand." PhD thesis, University of Münster.
Schwab, Andreas. 2003. *Monte Verita: Sanatorium der Sehnsucht.* Zurich: Orell Füssli.
Schweizer, Peter A. 2008. "The India-Swiss Treaty of Friendship and Establishment of 14 August 1948." In Bernhard Imhasly (ed.), *Friendship in Diversity: Sixty Years of Indo-Swiss Relations.* Hyderabad: Universities Press, 13–24.
Sen, Simonti. 2005. *Travels to Europe: Self and Other in Bengali Travel Narratives 1870–1910.* Delhi: Orient Longman.
Shingavi, Snehal. 2013. "Premchand and Language: On Translation, Cultural Nationalism, and Irony." *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 28: 149–164.
Sharkey, Heather J. (ed.). 2013. *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
Singleton, Mark. 2010. *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice.* Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
Simon-Vermot, Jean-Bernard (transl.). 1953. "Nebesky: 'Les enfants du Kinchinjunga.'" *L'Echo du Sikkim*, Nov–Dec: 51–52 / Jan–Feb: 4–5.
Simon-Vermot, Jean-Bernard. 1958. "Inauguration d'un centre culturel à Git". *L'Echo du Sikkim*, Jan–Feb 1958: 6–8.
Singh, Jagat-Jit. 1895. *My Travels in Europe and America, 1893.* Manchester / New York: George Routledge & Sons.
Sinner de Ballaigues, Johann-Rudolf. 1771. *Essai sur les dogmes de la métempsychose et du purgatoire.* Bern: Société typographique.
Sjoman, Norman. 1996. *The Yoga Tradition of the Mysore Palace.* New Delhi: Abhinav.
Speich Chassé, Daniel. 2012. "Verflechtung durch Neutralität: Wirkung einer Schweizer Maxime im Zeitalter der Dekolonisation?" In Patricia Purtschert, Barbara Lüthi, and Francesca Falk (eds.), *Postkoloniale Schweiz: Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien.* Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 225–244.

Stark, Ulrike. 2007. *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stenzl, Catherine. 2010. "The Basel Mission Industries in India 1834–1884: Improvisation or Policy?" Unpublished master's thesis, Birkbeck College, London.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1997. "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3: 735–762.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2000. "The Career of Colonel Polier and Late Eighteenth-Century Orientalism." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ser. 3, 10, no. 1: 43–60.

Swami Jnanananda Giri. 2015. *Transcendent Journey*. Dehra Dun: K Publications.

Tardan-Masquelier, Ysé (ed.). 2021. *Yoga: L'encyclopédie*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Thamar, Jean [Cuttat, Jacques-Albert]. 1949. "Prajñāpāramitā." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 3: 7–29.

Van Lysebeth, André. 1973. "Swami Sivananda père de notre revue." *Yoga,* 12 June: 13–16.

Veyrassat, Béatrice. 2018. *Histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses dans la marche du monde (XVIIe siècle – Première Guerre mondiale): espaces, circulations, échanges*. Les routes de l'histoire. Neuchâtel: Livreo-Alphil / Presses universitaires suisses.

Veyrassat, Béatrice. 2022. *De l'attirance à l'expérience de l'Inde: Un Vaudois à la marge du colonialisme anglais, Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier (1741–1795)*. Neuchâtel: Livreo-Alphil.

Walter, François. 2009–2010. *Histoire de la Suisse*. 5 vols. Neuchâtel: Livreo-Alphil / Presses universitaires suisses.

Wasserstrom, Steven. 1999. *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

White, David Gordon. 2014. *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

World's Religions Against War, The. 1928. *Proceedings of the Preliminary Conference Held at Geneva, September 1928, to Make Arrangements for a Universal Religious Peace Conference*. 1928. Paris/New York: The Church Peace Union.

Yogananda, Paramahamsa. 1946. *Autobiography of a Yogi*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Zander, Helmut. 2004. "Theosophische Zeitschriften in Deutschland bis 1945." In J. Baumgartner and B. Wedemeyer-Kolwe (eds.), *Aufbrüche, Seitenpfade, Abwege. Suchbewegungen und Subkulturen im 20. Jahrhundert (Festschrift für Ulrich Linse)*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 99–120.

Zander, Helmut. 2008. *Anthroposophie in Deutschland. Theosophische Weltanschauung und gesellschaftliche Praxis 1884–1945*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Zimmermann, Werner. 1948. *Mahatma Gandhi. Sein Leben und sein Werk, Seine Lehren für uns alle*. Munich: Vivos Voco.