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THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDĪ PROSE LITERATURE  
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1856.

Thesis presented to the University of London  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

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ABSTRACT.THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDĪ PROSE LITERATURE  
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1856.

In the opening chapter an attempt is made to trace the development of Hindī prose from its earliest beginnings in Rājasthānī and Brajbhāṣā. Kharī Bolī (Hindī) prose is shown as one of the dialects of Meerut and Delhi in North India. The shift of Hindī Literature from Rājasthān to Braj Provinces and religious movements of the period, are also outlined.

The second chapter traces the influence of Fort William College and the impetus it gave, indirectly, to Hindī Prose writings.

The work of the Protestant Missionaries in popularising Hindī as a part of their religious campaign, is analysed in chapter III.

The recognition of Hindī as the medium of instruction is discussed in chapter IV together with the pioneering effort of various individuals and organizations concerned in the vernacularisation of education.



The fifth chapter recounts the story of early Hindī journalism.

The last chapter introduces five MSS. of Hindī prose from the Hodgson Collection described herein for the first time and throws new light on the extent of the Hindī area.

The findings are summed up in the conclusion, which is followed by appendices on Regulation IX (1800), Grammars and Dictionaries, and a list of books published under the scheme of vernacularisation of education.

The Bibliography lists the documents and publications consulted, comprising Government Records, Parliamentary Papers Hindī MSS. Annual and Asiatic Registers, Journals, Memoirs and works on History and Literature.

Dedicated to "Rākeśa",  
my beloved husband,  
whose memory has  
inspired me to carry  
out this work.

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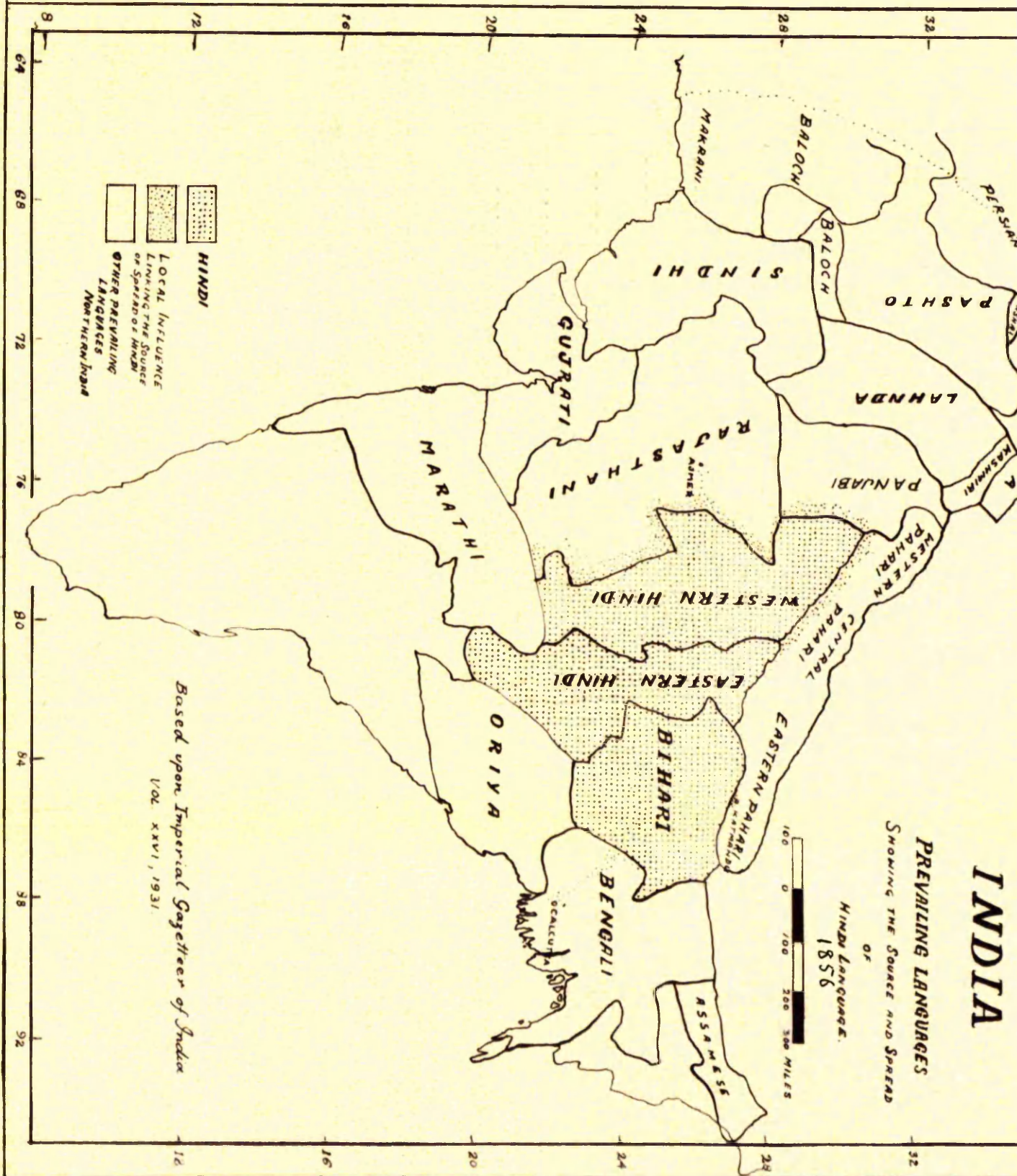
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# INDIA

PREVAILING LANGUAGES  
OF  
HINDI LANGUAGE.  
1856

SHOWING THE SOURCE AND SPREAD



Based upon Imperial Gazetteer of India  
Vol. XXVI, 1931.

INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>  
Hindī has now assumed the status of the Lingua Franca of India. It is one of the most widely-spoken languages in the world ranking next to English and Chinese. Hence its international importance cannot be over-stressed.

The term Hindī or Hindūī (Hindūī) is a Persian word, signifying 'the language of Hind' or of India, and has been employed by several Muslim poets from the 12th century onwards (See PP.20 ff.)

The first Orientalist to employ the word Hindī (1786) was Sir William Jones<sup>2</sup> and it was formally distinguished from Urdu and Hindustānī by Colebrooke<sup>3</sup> in 1801.

1. See: The Constitution of India, Article 343, Part XXII, P. 167 September, 1951, Delhi. 'The Official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagari script'.
2. The Third Anniversary Discourse 'On the Hindus', delivered on 2nd February, 1786.  
See: Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, 1788.
3. Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII, 1801 (PP. 199-231)



Although Hindī or Hindvī has, as we have seen, been prevalent since the 12th century, its Khaṛī Bolī form was for the first time so designated by Lallūjīlāl and Sadal Misra in 1803 (pp. 55, 78).

The term Hindī embraces Western Hindī, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī and Rājasthānī. These are indicated in the linguistic Map No. 5. The Western Hindī are as follows:

To its north-west lies the Panjābī, to its south-west, Rājasthānī, to its outh, Marāṭhī and to its east, Eastern Hindī.

The Prākṛt of Madhyadeśa, the Midland, an ancient geographical entity, was the parent of Western Hindī. 'It is directly derived from the Apabṛamśa dialect corresponding to Śaursenī, the most Sanskritic of all the Prākṛts'<sup>4</sup>.

Khaṛī Bolī belongs to Western Hindī along with its other dialects: Braj Bhāṣā, Kanaujī, Bundelī and Bāngarū.

Braj Bhāṣā, Kanaujī and Bundelī differ from Khaṛī Bolī: the first three have 'au' or 'o' as the ending of masculine nouns, adjectives whereas the last has 'a' instead. Another difference lies in the pronouns.

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4. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 9, Part I, p. 2.

Khari Boli is the language of the Upper Gangetic Doab and of Western Rohilkhand.

Khari Boli has evolved two literary styles; One is standard literary Hindi or High Hindi with its variant form Theth Hindi or Pure Hindi. This style abounds with Tatsam and Tadbhav words from Sanskrit and Prakrit, although words of foreign origin cannot be excluded altogether.

The other style is known as Urdu. The word came originally with the Turki conquerors. It means the tent, camp, dwelling or encampment of a chief. This term has also been found on some of the coins of Akber. <sup>5</sup> 'The Turki and Mongol princes' camps or tents were courts, and their language came to be known as 'Zaban-e-Urdu,' the language of the camp.

The term Urdu appears in a literary context in 1782, when it is used by Murad <sup>6</sup> Shah, a poet of Panjab. <sup>7</sup> Mushafi (1750-1820) is 'the first poet of note who names his language Urdu.'

5. S.K. Chatterji, Indo Aryan and Hindi, p.178.

6. 'He says in a versified letter written by him in A.H.1196. 'Vuh Urdu kha yih hindi zubahai, kih jiska quill ab sara jaha hai. See; Nama-e-Murad, Lahore (A.H.1343), p.8.

7. 'Khuda rakhe zuba ham ne suni hai Mir O Mirza ki, kahe kis munh se ham ai Mushafi Urdu hamari hai.'  
See: Muhammad Baquir Malik, "The Development of Hindustani in its early stages, especially as seen in translations and adaptations from Persian."

Urdū is confined to that variety of Kharī Bolī in which Perso-Arabic words are of frequent occurrence and which is normally written in the Persian character. Urdū is called by various other names: Rekhtā, Dakhanī and Dehlawī.

The colloquial style of Hindī is generally known as Hindustānī. This term was introduced by the Europeans (p.19). Hindustānī enriches its vocabulary with a considerable proportion of Perso-Arabic words and also contains a very small number of Sanskrit and other Hindī dialects (see: specimens pp.67,68). Hindustānī is written in Persian and Nāgarī characters as can be seen from the writings of the teachers of Fort William College (pp.69,73).

The proportion of Perso-Arabic to Sanskrit words depends on the speakers. Muslims naturally tend to employ more of the former; Hindus more of the latter.

Hindustānī is a vehicle of conversational and commercial communication from the Panjab to Bihar and by virtue of its mixed vocabulary and its adaptability, it is also understood and used in non-Hindī regions.

Although in keeping with 20th century linguistic trends, I have classified Kharī Bolī (p.iii) under two main divisions,

x Hindī (literary and theth) and Urdū, for the purposes of this thesis which covers a formatory period. I am employing the term Kharī Bolī to denote Hindī and its variants only. I am retaining Urdū for that style of Kharī Bolī in which Perso-Arabic words occur frequently and which is written in Persian script.

The term Hindustānī, I am using to describe the mixed language containing Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit and other dialects and written in Nagari character only.

I have tried to describe through maps the relationship between the expansion of the political boundaries and the spread of the Hindī language.

Map No.1 shows the area which had come under the East India Company by 1765.

Map 2. indicates the extension of British territory by 1805. The other two Maps (3, 4) also display the further spread of the East India Company's rule in 1837 and 1856 respectively.

The fifth is a Linguistic Map (1856) of India depicting the regional languages in general and Hindī in particular. The sixth Map is a diagrammatic representation of the expansion of Hindī throughout the period under review. It should be studied in conjunction with the thesis as a whole. A detailed explanation of the map is given in the conclusion.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

- N.P.S. . . . . . Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā.  
N.P.P. . . . . . Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā.  
D.C.B.M.P.C. . . . . Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical  
Prose Chronicles.  
K.B. . . . . Kharī Bolī.  
L.S.I. . . . . Linguistic Survey of India.  
F.W. . . . . Fort William.  
E.I.C. . . . . East India Company.  
G.G. . . . . Governor General.  
B.P.C. . . . . Bengal Public Consultations.  
I.O.L. . . . . India Office Library.  
I.O.R. . . . . India Office Records.  
B.M. . . . . British Museum.  
B.M.O.S. . . . . British Museum Oriental Section.  
R.A.S. . . . . Royal Asiatic Society.  
C.C. . . . . College Council.  
B.S.O.S. . . . . Bulletin of School of Oriental and African  
Studies.  
B.M. . . . . Baptist Missionary.  
N.T. . . . . New Testament.  
O.T. . . . . Old Testament.  
T.S. . . . . Tract Society.  
C.T.S. . . . . Calcutta Tract Society.  
B.T.S. . . . . Banaras Tract Society.

Abbreviations contd.

A.T.S.....	Agra Tract Society.
N.I.T.S.....	North India Tract Society.
C.M.S.....	Church Missionary Society.
V.L.S.....	Vernacular Literature Society.
T.C. Mitra.....	Tarinī Caran Mitra.
R.C.Sukla .....	Rām Candra Śukla.
N.W.P. ....	North Western Provinces.
S.B.....	School Book.
V.G.....	Visitor General.
L.C.....	Local Committee.
G.C.P.I.....	General Committee of Public Instruction.
G.C.....	General Committee.
S.H.MSS.....	Search for Hindī Manuscripts.
I.E.V.S.....	Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools.
A.S.....	Amodhyā Singh.
H.P.....	Hazārī Prasād.
S.S.....	Śyām Sundar.
S.O.A.S.....	School of Oriental and African Studies.

CHAPTER I.HINDI PROSE LITERATURE BEFORE 1800 A.D.

Literature reflects the society of a particular age. It is closely connected with a country and its people and is greatly influenced by the various political, economic, social and religious movements. Before tracing the development of Hindi Prose Literature prior to the 19th Century, it is desirable to outline the political and religious conditions of Northern India.

Harsavardhana was the last Hindu Emperor who founded a vast Empire. Besides being a warrior, he also patronized art and literature. His reign provided a great impetus for creative activities.

'The age of Harṣa witnessed a considerable development of a Greater India beyond the limits of India both towards the islands of the Southern Seas and the eastern countries. Indian culture was spreading in all the neighbouring countries of India. Some of the best evidence of this for the time of Harṣa is given also by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwāng.' 1

'The evolution of Neo-Hinduism <sup>2</sup> as a religion was mainly the work of the Gupta Period which was accomplished between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D.' 3

Harṣa was liberal enough to accept this new revival of Hinduism. He ruled over his vast Empire up to 646 A.D.

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1. Rādhā Kumud Mukhopādhyāya, Harṣa, p.182.

2. Ibid. 'Attempted to combine the monotheism of Śiva and Viṣṇu with a vast polytheism, and these personal deities took the place of the esoteric pantheism of the Vedas'

3. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1909, Vol.II, p.306.

The political history of India is a succession of struggles between uniting and dividing forces, when uniting forces predominated, the Empires of Maūrya, Guptā and Vardhana flourished but when disintegrating forces triumphed, the country was divided into many petty states and kingdoms. After the death of the Emperor Harṣa (647 A.D.), 'the subject kings were left masterless and Northern India lapsed into a state of feebleness or anarchy,' <sup>4</sup> which lasted for three centuries (650 - 950 A.D.).

The centre of Indian culture was shifted from the Upper Gangetic plains of Northern India to Rājasthān or Rājputānā. During this period a number of Rājput clans especially the Sisodiās, the Rāthāurs,<sup>5</sup> the Pōwārs, the Cauhāns, the Tomars and the Candels came into prominence and were flourishing when the waves of North-Western external invasions began to overwhelm them (750 to 1192 A.D.). These Rājput states were often at war with one another on petty matters but the invasions from the West united them, against the common foe. Although foreign adventurers had already penetrated into Kabul, the Panjab and Sindh, the real conquest of India began after 1175 A.D. with the invasion of   
x Muhammad Ghorī.

+ In 1191 A.D. the Muhammadan incursion induced the Hindu Kings to compose their quarrels and form a great confederacy under

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4. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1909, Vol.II, p.303.

5. Skt. Rāstrakūtās.



Prithvīrāj (or Rāi Pithorā), the Caūhān ruler of Ajmer and Delhi <sup>6</sup> which at that time was also a part of Rājasthān. Initially the Hindus won the battle of Tārain (1191) under the leadership of Prithvīrāj but later they were defeated in the same place and he was made captive and killed. After the death of Prithvīrāj, the Rājput̄s could never unite and win.

It was during this period the earliest 'modern vernacular literature of Hindustan appeared in the form of the Bardic Chronicles of Rājputānā.' <sup>7</sup> Rājasthān was the centre of the Bardic Age (1000 - 1400 A.D.) of Hindī literature for a considerable period. Many works both in prose and poetry viz. "Prthvīrāj Rāsaū", <sup>8</sup> "Hammīr Rāsaū" <sup>9</sup> are said to have been composed at that time. A large number of such works was destroyed as fresh invasions swept across the country, destroying temples and monasteries: the repositories of religious and didactic literature.

### Rājasthānī Prose.

The tradition of Rājasthānī Prose is the oldest in the history of North Indian Literature, the main sources of information being coins, inscriptions and copperplate grants. It is

---

6. About the 12th Century A.D. Delhi Province was also included in Ajmer of Caūhān. See Beniprasād, Hindustān Kī Purānī, Sabhyatā

7. F.E. Keay: A History of Hindi Literature, p.9

8. Its authenticity has been lately proved by Narottamdās Swāmī. See: Rājasthān Bhāratī, April 1946, Part I, Vol. I, p.2

9. Composed by Sārāgdhar, Keay, p. 17. Also see Mīśra Bandhu Vīno

significant that no manuscripts have been found of Hindī Prose works which might be considered as produced between the 10th and 12th Centuries A.D. From the tenth century coins and inscriptions, the chief sources of accurate knowledge, became more abundant. The inscriptions were taken for the most part from temples or from copperplate <sup>10</sup> grants of land.

The earliest recorded Hindī prose compositions are to be sought in the nine deeds of gift, "Dān Patras" and inscriptions "Silā lekhs" of the time (1172 A.D.) of Rāwal Samar Singh and Mahārāj Prīthvī Singh. <sup>11</sup> One of the nine is given below,

स्वस्ति श्री श्री चित्तकोट महाराजाधिराज तपेराज श्री श्री रावल जी श्री समरसी जी बचनातु दा अमा आचारज ठाकर रूसीकेश कस्य थाने दलीसु डायजे लाया अणीराज में ओषद थारी लेवेगा, ओषद ऊपरे मालकी थाकी है ओ जनाना में थारा वंसरा टाल ओ दुजो जावेगा नहीं ओर थारी बैठक दली में ही जी प्रमाणे परधान बरोबर कारण देवेगा ओर थारा वंसक सपूत कपूत वेगा जी ने गाय गोणों अणीराज में खाप्या पाप्या जायेगा ओर थारा चाकर घोड़ा को नामो कोठारा सूं चला जायेगा ओर थूं जमाखातरी री जो मोई में राज थानबाद जो अणी परवाना री कोई उलंगण करेगा जी ने श्री अक लिंग जी की आण हे दुवे पुंचोली जानकीदास सं. ११३९ काती वदी ३

'Hail, by the orders of the King of Kings of Citrakot, Rāwaljī Srī Samar Singhjī ! Acārya Thākar of Rsikeśa was brought from the place Delhi along with a dowry and he was brought into this Kingdom, the ownership of which .... rests with you in the harem. You and your descendants have the right to enter and no other person can do so. You will be given an (office) room in the vicinity of our Secretary's (Pardhān) office, and then your sons, clever or stupid will be provided with food, drink and protection. And the bills of maintenance for your servants and horses will be included in those of the (Royal) Store. Anybody

10. 'These are more widely scattered; some 250 are known, and they are commonest in Rajputana, Rewa, Gujrat and Magadh and the neighbourhood of Banaras'. See; the Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1909, Vol.II, p.304.

who questions your rights in my Kingdom about this sanction given by me herewith will be transgressing the sacred orders of Śrī Ek Lig (a form of Śiva).'

This was written by Dube Pācolī Jānakī Dās in Ānand Sam. 1139 (i.e. V.S. 1229 - 1172 A.D.)

Such deeds of gifts were prevalent in the Royal Courts of Rājasthān, and this specimen shows the influence of Sanskrit compound words and Apabhraṃśa e.g. 'Samarsī Vācanātu', with the permission of Samarsī. Its verbal forms (underlined) are of a type, identical with those of Kharī Bolī<sup>12</sup> viz. 'Javega', 'Devega' etc. Some words such as 'Māph', 'Janānā', 'Mukam', are of foreign origin which are retained even in modern Hindī. The admixture of foreign words indicates Muslim contacts with the Rājput̄s. Perhaps these contacts culminated in the founding of a Muslim Kingdom in the 13th Century.<sup>13</sup> The date (V.Sam.1235, 1178 A.D.) of Prithvirāj's accession to the throne is known from another of these deeds.<sup>14</sup> If after further research these deeds of gifts are found authentic they will prove valuable sources of information on the Bardic Age.

It has been recently established that certain Jain-sādhūs wrote a number of works in prose on religious topics from the 12th<sup>15</sup> Century onwards. The propagation of a particular religious faith<sup>16</sup>

11. Ayodhyā Singh Upādhyāya, The Origin and Growth of the Hindī Language and its Literature, p.617.

12. See Chap.II, p.

13. Slave Dynasty (1206 to 1290 A.D.)

14. These were made available to Nāgerī Pracārini Sabhā through through Pt. Mohanlal, Viṣṇulall Pandya and have been published by the Sabhā.

was the main motive behind their production. A few of these are available in part and illustrate another form of Rājasthānī prose. The language of these Jain works is quite different from that of 'Paṭṭe-Parvāne', Royal Orders and deeds of gift.

Further there is a remarkable volume of Rājasthānī narrative literature, its two main branches being 'Vātā', 'Khyātā'. The 'Khyātā' (Skt. totell-khyā) literature is mainly historical and consists of records of actual events in the lives of Rājput kings described by their court-bards. The 'Vātā' (Skt. Vātā - a story) literature is also narrative but imaginary and supernatural elements are more freely mixed with incidents in the lives of more or less historical characters. Though specimens of such stories are found from the 14th century, it is only from the 16th century onwards that this type of literature was produced abundantly. It forms a potential source of historical data of the period.

This Rājasthānī narrative literature is found mainly in three forms, prose, verse, and mixed prose and verse. Stories written in verse are known as 'Gītā'. Thus the narrative prose

- 
15. 1. Yuktivyakti Prakaran (A.D. 1154), Bhārtiya, Vidyāmaḍir, Bombay.  
 2. Dasārṇa Bhādra Kathā by Taurun Prabh Sūrī. (14th century) See: Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Vol.XII. Also see Hazāri Prasād Dvivedi, Hindi Sahityakā Adikāl, p.18.
16. Nathū Rām Premī, Hindi-Jain Sahityakā Itihas, p.15.

literature is of four types viz. historical, <sup>17</sup> semi-historical,<sup>18</sup> imaginative <sup>19</sup> and mythological <sup>20</sup>. The main sentiments of 'Vātās' are erotic, <sup>21</sup>, heroic, <sup>22</sup> serene,<sup>23</sup> and humorous. <sup>24</sup> The language is mainly Rājasthānī with a mixture of BrajBhāṣā on one hand and Gujratī on the other.

A

Further I have discovered that Dr. L.P. Tessitori has published a Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical MSS. of Prose Chronicles (Section I) of Bikaner (1918) and Jodhpur States (1917) in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal. <sup>25</sup> The importance of his compilation is increased by the fact that the works described afford one of the richest sources of information on 17th century prose style and history. Most of these MSS. are anonymous. In spite of the absence of dates in some and authors' names in others, these could well be the basis of further research in the field of Rājasthānī prose literature.

Tessitori has quoted many passages illustrating the language and subject matter. A few important examples of Khyātās may be cited as follows viz., 'Phutkar Khyātās' <sup>26</sup> Jodhpur rā Rāthorā rī

- 
17. e.g. Rāv Rīmāl rī Vātā, Rāva Amarsingh rī Vātā.
  18. Jograj Cāraṅ rī Vāta, Pirojsāh Paṭisāhri Vāta.
  19. Cād Kūwar rī Vāta, Candan Malayāgiri rī Vāta.
  20. Somvati Amāvas rī Kathā, Duaska Mahātam rī Vāta.
  21. Dholā mārvaṅī rī Vāta.
  22. Gorā Bādāl rī Vāta, Prithirāj Cauhan rī Vāta.
  23. Rājā Nakstra Jatic ar Vikma dit rī Vāta.
  24. Virval rī Vāta, See: 'Rājasthān Bhārti', July 1931, pp.23 (on footnotes 17-24 for a detailed information)
  25. New Series, Nos.1409, 1412.
  26. There are many in the Catalogue which are quite different from one another.

Khyātā, 'Muhnaūt Nansī rī Khyāt.naī phutkar Vātā,'<sup>27</sup> 'Rāthourā rī phutkar kavittā tathā Khyāt naī piḍhyā, Bikaner rai Rāthourā rī Khyātā. Most of these 'Khyāts' contain genealogies<sup>28</sup> of Rāthor and Bikaner Kings. The following specimen will indicate the language employed,

तिणि बेला गैवरी आवाज आकासवाणी कहिजौ २ । महाराज रैषसाहि वधाई वधाई ३ । अगनि सिवान करि सती ही आई ३ । ब्रह्मा विसन महेश इन्द्र सुर साथै सुरब्रिजां नुं कहिजौ ४ । महासतिजा सांम्ही जावौ । (पृ. ८५)

' At that time .... (suddenly) a voice from the Heavens came "Maharāj Rain Singh! Hail, Hail. (Your wife) proved a chaste woman after a bath of fire. Tell, Brahmā Visan, Mahes, Indra, Gods and Goddesses that the woman renowned for chastity 'Mahāsati', will accompany them.' "

30

This is a specimen of rhymed prose to be distinguished from the mixed prose and verse mentioned earlier.

These 'Khyātas' and 'Vātas' were generally written by the court-bards. Although the institution of bards is a pre-Rājput tradition, rulers of Rājasthān patronized art and literature and continued to encourage their bards to compose chronicles. These bards enjoyed a prominent place in the courts of their patrons, as historians, poets, ministers and personal advisers to the kings. Works eulogising their masters were the main source

27. Edited by Tessitori. Contains a copy of deed 'Parvan' of Jodhpur Kings, see D.C.B.H. Prose Chronicles, Part I, Cal. 1917, p.26. I.O.L.

28. See: Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1919, p.20. 'The custom of keeping genealogical records of the kings is at least as ancient as the Purānas and this custom was still in vogue at the time of the rise of the Rājput power in Western India as is proved by the existence of numerous 'Prasasti' inscriptions dated in that period' says Tessitori.

of their livelihood e.g. Cand was known as Prithvirāj's Court-bard  
Thus,

'Royal patronage plays no unimportant part in the cultivation of Hindi literature. It doubtless influenced very greatly the character of the literature, and possibly the value of the patronage has been greater, on the whole, in the domain of history than of literature.' 31

The works preserved in the Rājasthān Royal Libraries still offer material for a wide range of research, historical and literary.

Thus, the earliest Rājasthāni literature can be divided into four groups, viz. Bardic Literature, Brahmanical Literature, Jain Literature and Saint Literature. Bardic Literature comprises epic and commemorative songs. 32 Brahmanical Literature consists of translations of the great Epics, Rāmāyan and Mahābhārat and any mythological works. Jain Literature is a collection of short stories and works on Astronomy, Āyurved and Music. Eākīdās and Dayāldās are the two best known writers of Bardic prose literature. These works are considered as standard examples of Rājasthāni prose. Dāmodardās, a follower of Dadū Pāth, translated the 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purān' 33 in A.D. 1638.

29. Khiriyo Jāgo, Vacanikā Rav Ratan Singh jī Mahesdasautri; edited by L.P. Tessitori. Cal.1917.

30. Vacanikā is written in rhymed prose, is governed by no rules except that each phrase or sentence long or short, must rhyme with the next; rhymes being generally combined in pairs, e.g. in the above piece we find 'Vadhāi' and 'Ai' in the second and third lines. See: Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajpūtānā (New Series) No.1411, Cal.1917. Introduction pp.I,II.

31. E. Greaves, A Sketch of Hindi Literature, p.22.

32. e.g. Veli Krsan Rukmani ri, Rāthor, Prithirāj Rasan.

33. M. Menariya, Rājasthāni Sahitya Ki Ruprekha, p.169.

A group of MSS. available in the Royal Asiatic Society Library, well-known under the name of the Tod Collection (of Indian MSS.), has been exhaustively catalogued by Dr. L.D. Barnett. Although only the date of accession is given for many of the MSS., one work in particular has an important bearing on our subject.

This is a volume (MS. No.145, Date of Acc. 1815) containing 86 Official Letters in 'Hindi', presumed, written in the early 19th century because some of them bear definite date of their composition. Two of the letters are quoted below,

स्वस्ति श्री उदैपुर सुथाने पंचोली श्री जसोतराय जी जोग्य सावडी थी राणा श्री रायसिंह जी लिषावतां बुहार । बाचजूयौ अपुंच कागत १ आपरा कासी देरे हाथ मोकल्या सो स्माचार लिष्यासो कागद वाच्या हेगा तो पोछो जाब आयां स्माचार री म्हां है ठीक पडैगा अगथी रावल गुंगाधर है आप तीरे मोकल्यो हैसो स्माचार कहैगा सो सही करे मानैगा पछै तो आपरा जाण्याटी बात है । सां १८२६ वर्ष फागुण सुदी १ (२) भौमै

'To

Pācolī Śrī Jasōtrāy Siṅghjī in the auspicious and fair place Udaipur.

From

Rāmā Śrī Rāi Siṅghjī of Sādari, whose respects while dictating this letter, kindly receive.

Further, one letter sent by you through a messenger in which information has been written (by you), has been read by us. We have sent a reply in return from here. I have despatched Rawal Gāgādhār from here to you who will give all information and he will give consent to what you ask him to do. Otherwise you may do what you think best.

V.S. 1826 Year Fāgūna Sudi I (2) Tuesday.'



(2)

सिध श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री संग्रामसिंह जी जोग्य लिखत राजा सवाई जयसिंह के नमुजरी अवधार जो अंगवा समाचोर भला छै आप का सदा भला चाही जे अपुंच आप बड़ा छो हिंदस्थान नै सिर छो अंगवैंग का योहार मै कही बात जुदायगी न है अै वघोडा रजपूत छै सो आप का काम नै छै ई तरफ कामकाज होय सो हमेसा लिखावतां रहोला .....

मि. माद वदी १३ १७९५

'To

The highly honoured, suspicious, the King of Kings,  
the great Lord, Sri Sgrām Singhji

from

Rājā Sawāī Jaysingh who presents his respects for your kind acceptance.

Here all is well (and) we wish you perfect happiness. Moreover, you are great and the Head of India. With reference to matters relating to the English and another people there is no difference of opinion with us in any matter. He is a Rājput of Baghelā clan and he is likely to be useful to you. Kindly write to me if I can be of any service to you in this part of the country.

Date, Bhādra Vadi, 13 V.S. 1795.'

The language is Rājasthānī with an admixture of Gujrātī words (underlined). The collection is interesting because it proves that even in the early 18th century the tradition of Rājasthānī prose continued although, as we shall see later, the centre of flourishing literary production had shifted to the Braj Provinces in the beginning of the 15th Century.

The main causes of the development of Rājasthānī prose appear to be firstly the encouragement given to the bards for the production of the varied literature described and secondly the exigencies of commerce and administration which necessitated such

expansion. The latter type of prose compilation is to be found in inscriptions and deeds of gift and account books, known as 'Vahī', which present a definite form of the language of the period. Thus, the tradition of Rājasthānī was maintained till the 18th century. But with the rise in importance of the East India Company in the Government of India, this language was disregarded for official purposes and hence its natural development was checked.

### Braj-Bhāṣā Prose.

The second distinct form in the development of early prose literature was that of Braj-Bhāṣā.

From Śahāhuddīn Gorī (1192 A.D.) to Akhar (1555 A.D.) was a period of storm and stress in the firmament of Indian culture. The Gorī, Gulām, Khilzī, Toglaq Saiyad, Lodhī and (the first) Mughal dynasties were founded one after the other, and ruled over the country for nearly two hundred and fifty years - a period of great unrest and disorder. Scholars were dispersed, idols broken, and temples demolished. Hindus generally felt that their very life was insecure. Continuous wars reduced their strength of character and they were rendered physically weak and mentally perturbed. In a mood of passive despair they left everything to the will of the Almighty.

This mental reaction brought about a great change in their

religious and social outlook. Though Hinduism suffered severely, it was not totally destroyed and a great impetus was to be given to the Vaisnava form of the Hindu faith, which resulted in the mediaeval Bhakti - Movements. 'A new development in Hindi literature was caused by the growth of the Vaisnava movement in North India.' <sup>36</sup> These movements fall mainly into three groups Rāmāite, Kṛṣṇāite and Non-incarnational Deistic.

In the Bhakti -period (1400 to 1800 A.D.) the centre of Hindi literature was shifted from Rājasthān to the Braj Provinces and Kāśī. Some eminent scholars <sup>37</sup> of Hindi literature hold the opinion that Gorakhnāth was the 'first known prose writer of Hindi', and on this ground a few prose works <sup>38</sup> are attributed to him. Owing to the diversity of learned opinion <sup>39</sup> concerning his date and even his works, it is impracticable to assign any definite prose work to this author. 'Copious writings attributed to him on 'Hathyog' and 'Brahmagyān' might well be later compilations of his disciples or followers.

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36. Keay, p.19.

37. a. Viz. Mīra Bandhu Vinod, Vol.I, p.112.

b. A.S. Upādhyāya, p.619 c. Greaves, p.23.

d. Search for Hindi Manuscripts (1909-1911) p.6.

38. Gorakh Nāth Kā Gadya, N.P.P. V.S.2009 (1952 A.D.).

39. 1. Rāhul Sākṛtyāyan, V.S. 912.

2. H.P. Divivedī, Nāth Sampradāya (10th century) p.123.

3. P.Barthawāl, Gorakh Bānī (V.S.1050) p.20.

4. Dr. Farkuhar, (V.S.1257)

5. S.M. MSS. 1909 -1911, p.6 V.S. 1407 (1350 A.D.).

At this time the production of prose was not in conformity with any literary ideals but was used only for propagating religious beliefs since the main current of literature was towards poetry. But when a religious topic was to be dealt with or discussed, prose served as a vehicle of expression. Thus the use of prose was formerly promoted by Gorakhnāth's 'Nāth Pāth' and later by the 'Puṣṭimārg'.

Viṭṭhalnāth (or Bitthaleswar), son and successor of Swāmī Ballabhācārya (1479-1531) flourished between 1515 and 1585 A.D. and wrote three books viz. "Sṛgār Ras Madan", "Yamunāṣṭak", "Navratna -satik", from one of which a specimen is given,

प्रथम की सखी कहत है जो गोपीजन के चरणविषे सेवक की दासी करि जो इनके प्रेमामृत में डूबि के इनके मन्द हास्य ने जीते है । अमृत समूह ता करि निकुंज विषे शृंगार रस ब्रैष्ठ रसना कीनी सी पूरण भई । (पृ. ५९)

'The first friend says that the (humble) servant who has attained the (honour) of being a maid servant of 'Gopījan', milk maids and who is sunk in the(ocean) of the nectar of love and who is won by their sweet smiles. The nests(of love) are full of nectar (Amrt) and the devotional composition (Rasanā), which I wrote about them has been completed (now).

This 16th century MS. (Sṛgār Ras-Madan) is the first complete work in Braj Bhasā prose of which we know definitely the date and the author. Its style has been widely imitated

40. S.H. MSS. 1909-1911, pp.58, 59.

41. Composed in verse by Vallabhācārya, translated into Braj Prose by Viṭṭhalnāth.

42. This is in prose in which the doctrines of Vallabhi-Sects has been described. See: Hindi Sāhitya Kā Alocanātmak Itihās p.872.

by contemporary religious prose writers. He rarely employs foreign words and makes frequent use of 'Tatsam' words.

Heri Rāy is an author of a few works <sup>43</sup> in prose which throw considerable light on the Vallabhī Sect of Vaiṣṇavas and its founder, viz. "Śrī Ācāryajī Mahā Prabhūn kī Dwādas Vārtā", "Śrī Ācārya Mahā Prabhūn ke sevak Caurāsī Vaṣṇavankī Vārtā" <sup>44</sup> "Śrī Ācārya Mahā Prabhūn kī nij Vārtā and gharū Vārtā" and "Bhāv-Bhāvnā" is a huge work in which a tendency towards the use of Khari Boli verbal forms (underlined) is noticeable as for example,

सो पुष्टिमार्ग में जितनी क्रियाएँ हैं सो सब स्वामिनी जी के भावते हैं ताते मंगलाचरण गोवे , प्रथम श्री स्वामिनी जी के चरण कमल को नमस्कार करते हैं तिनकी उपमा देवे को मन वसो दिसा दौरयो परन्तु कहुं पायो नहीं पाछे श्री स्वामिनी जी के चरण कमल को आश्रय कियो है तब उपमा देवे कूं हृदय में स्फूर्ति भई ।

' All the (religious) acts of Puṣṭimārgare pleasing to the Goddess (and) thus sing (we) a hymn of praise, first (we) bow before the lotus-feet of the Goddess (and) our hearts have sought in all ten directions to find a simile for her but none could find (so) at last have taken refuge in the lotus-feet of the Goddess and then only felt inspired to offer a simile.'

Two famous "Vārtās", <sup>45</sup> "Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā and Do saū kāban Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā have been attributed to Gokulnāth

43. S.H. MSS. 1909-1911, p.19.

44. Similar works have been attributed to Gokulnāth in the 17th century which bears the same title but the subject matter is different.

45. A.S. Upādhyaya, p.629. Also see: T.G.Bailey, Bulletin of School of Oriental And African Studies, Vol.III, part III, 1923-25, London, p. 525.

(fl. 1568 to 1593), son of Viṭṭhāl-nāth, although later research indicates that these were written in the 17th and 18th centuries by his disciples. An extract from the "Vārtās" is given below, तब सूरदास जी अपने स्थल तें आय के श्री आचार्य महाप्रभुन के दर्शन को आये , तब श्री आचार्य महाप्रभुन ने कह्यो जो सूर आवौ बैठ्यौ , तब सूरदास जी श्री आचार्य महाप्रभुन के दर्शन करि के आगे आय बैठे तब श्री आचार्य महाप्रभुन ने कही जो सूर कछु भगवद् यशे वर्णन करौ , तब सूरदास ने कही जो आहम्

'Then Sūrdās-jī came from his place, had audience of Acārya Mahā-Prabhūn. Then Acārya Mahā-Prabhūn spoke, O, Sūr! Come (and) take your seat. Then Sūrdās took his seat, having paid his respects to Acārya Mahā-Prabhūnji. Then, Sri Acārya said, Sur! Tell of the glory of the Lord (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) Then Sūrdās replied, "What ever you command."

The extract shows profuse use of 'Tatsam' and 'Tadbhāv' words. (underlined). The language is lucid and expressive and shows an advance in the creation of a definite prose style as opposed to the poetic exuberance of the earlier samples quoted.

Gokulnāth composed the prose works, "Ban yātrā" "Rahasya Bhāvnā" and "Siddhānt Rahasya." If Sūrdās is the greatest exponent of poetic language towards the end of the 16th century, the writings of Gokulnāth are equally notable for their plain yet distinguished prose.

Later in the 17th century Braj prose began to be employed for purposes other than the expression of religious beliefs. Nandadās (1560 A.D.), one of the best known of the "Aṣṭachāpa", wrote "Nāsiketā Purān Bhāṣā" and "Vigyanārth Praveśikā"

in Braj-Bhāṣā, intermixed with Western-Hindī. 'Praveśikā' is a commentary in Braj. In this century we find that a number of commentaries were written on certain Sanskrit works and on prosody. Nābhādās (about 1603), the famous writer of "Bhaktamāl", was also the author of a Braj prose work entitled "Aṣṭāyām" in which the day to day deeds of the epic hero Lord Rāmcandra have been described. His prose is similar to that of Viṭṭhalnāth. Later Priyādās (1712 A.D.) wrote his well-known gloss on "Bhaktamāl" entitled "Bhaktiras Bodhinī Tīkā" (1769).<sup>47</sup>

Surati Miśra (fl.1720 A.D.) wrote his famous commentaries viz., "Amar Candrikā" on the "Satsai" of Bihārī Lāl and also on the "Kavi Priyā" and "Rasik Priyā" of Keśavdās. Later he translated the "Baitāl Paccīsī"<sup>48</sup> into Braj Bhākhā.

Bhaktés wrote a commentary on the "Rasrāj" by Matirām Tripāthī Hirālāl (1715 A.D.) with the permission of Sawāī Partāpsingh prepared a commentary in Vacanikā in "Āin-e-Akbarī".

More commentaries are in existence but are not discussed here as they are undated and anonymous.

I have been unable to trace any dramatic works in Rājasthānī, but a number of Sanskrit dramas were adapted into Braj prose in

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47. N.P.P. Vol. 57, Part I, p.129.

48. S.H. MSS., 1923-25, p.137. From Sanskrit 'Vaitāl Pācaviśatikā of Sivadās.' The Braj Bhāṣā Version is the foundation of the well-known Hindustani version of Lallūjilāl. (See: Chap. II, p.61)

the 18th century. The allegorical drama "Brahmōdh Candrōdaya Nāṭak"<sup>49</sup> has been translated by as many as four different authors, Nandadās<sup>50</sup> Surati Misra (1720), Brajāsīdās (1760) and Rājā Jasvantsingh.

Nevāj (fl.1737) composed one drama "Śakuntālā Nāṭak"<sup>51</sup> in Braj. Further "Ānand Raghunandan Nāṭak" was composed by Mahārāj Viśvanāth Singh of Rewā, "Hanumān Nāṭak"<sup>52</sup> by Hrdayrām and "Raghunandan Nāṭak" by Bhikhārīdās.

So far we have been able to trace the history of Hindi prose as it developed in Rājasthān and Braj Provinces whose varied traditions each contributed to its formation.

### Kharī Bolī Prose.

The third distinct form in the development of early prose literature is Kharī Bolī.<sup>53</sup> After the battle of Plassey (A.D. 1757), the East India Company<sup>54</sup> which already had trade relations with India, gradually established administrative control over Bengal. They began to acquire Zamindārī rights, monopolise revenue, assume civic control, and step by step excluded the Mohammadan Government from its political supremacy. In their

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49. N.P.P., Sam. 2009 (1952 A.D.) P.122.

50. A MS. Copy available in "Chamberlain Collection", Tübingen University Library.

51. S.H. MSS., 1906-1908, p.93. 52. S.H.MSS., 1923-25, p.66.

53. This term has been used for the first time by Lallūjilāl and Sadal Misra in 1803, See: Chap.II, pp.<sup>57</sup> &

54. 'On the last day of the year 1600 A.D. the East India Company was incorporated by name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies." See: F.E.Roberts, History of British India, II Ed.1944 London, p.23.



initial contacts the Company experienced almost insurmountable difficulties in dealing with the Indians and also in transacting business with them.

With the help of interpreters they tried to learn the language of the country which they, for the first time, called "Indostan"<sup>55</sup> in 1616. The word "Hindustānī" seems to have appeared in European writings about 1786 A.D. and is apparently derived from the earlier term. Although the Muhammadans designated India as "Hind" and the language as "Hindvī" or "Hindī", they did not employ the word Hindustani for the language in the 18th century. Confusion has arisen because today Urdū is sometimes called by Muslims "Hindustānī." Originally, however, Hindustanī<sup>54a</sup> was an expression coined by Europeans.

Besides Rājasthānī and Braj Bhāsā, Kharī Bolī had been developing since the 12th century as one of the regional dialects of Northern India, Delhi and Meerut.

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54a. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.IX, Part I, p.47.

55. E. Terry, A Voyage to East India, 1655, p.232, gives the following description: "The language of this Empire, I mean the vulgar, bears the name of it, and is called "Indostan"; it hath much affinity with the Persian, and Arabican tongues, but the "Indostan" is a smoother language and more easy to be pronounced than the other, a language which is very significant and speaks much in few words; they write it (as we) to the right hand. It is expressed by letters, which is very much different from those Alphabets by which the Persian and Arabian Tongues are formed."

Hitherto Amir Khusrau (1253 to 1325 A.D.) has been regarded as the first writer in "Hindvī" or Hindī Kharī Bolī. Many chroniclers <sup>55a</sup> of Hindī Literature have supported this view attaching great importance to his writings. From my present investigation, it appears that this language (Hinduīā, 'Hindvī'), was in existence much earlier than the establishment of the Mughal Camp and Capital at Delhi. This can be supported by the following evidence.

Khawājā Masūd-e-Sād-b-Sālman <sup>56</sup> of the Panjab who lived many years before Khusrau was born, composed some verses and a whole of Diwān in Hindvī and therefore seems to be the earliest (died 1181 A.D.) Muhammadan poet who wrote in language which later on was called K.B. or "Hindustānī". The earliest known reference to the language of India occurs in Muhammad Afi's "Lubāb-ul-Albāb"<sup>57</sup>, a collection of biographies (Tazkirah) written in 1228 A.D. Writing about Masūd, the author remarks,

'U rā seh diwān ast; yake ba Tāzī va yake ba  
Pārsī va yake ba hindvī.'

58

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- 55a. Viz. 1. R.C. Sukla, Hindī Sāhitya Kā Itihās, p.443.  
2. S.S. Dās, Hindī Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya, p.296, 273  
3. L.S. Vārṣneya, Adhunik Hindī Sāhitya ki Bhūmika, p.  
4. 'Nayā Samāj', April 1953.  
5. Mīśra Bandhu Vinod, Vol, I. p.239.
56. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, London, 1894, p.222. Also see: Mirza M.W., The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, p.228.
57. MS. Available in British Museum.
58. M. Afi, Lubab-ul-Albab, (B.M.) p.246. Also see: M.B. Malik, Thesis for Ph.D., "The Development of Hindustani in its early Stages especially as seen in Translations and Adaptations from Persian," London, 1939, p.11.

'He wrote three Diwāns, one in Arabic, one in Persian and one in Hindvi.'

So far Masūd's Diwān in Hindvī has not been discovered but his Persian Diwān is available in the B.M. Library (Oriental Section).

Following Masūd there is a clear gap of about two centuries in the records of Hindī writings. Then in the reign of Alānd-Din-Khalzī (1295-1315 A.D.), Fakhrud-Din Muhārak Ghaznari compiled a lexicon<sup>59</sup> in which he gave Hindī synonyms of Persian words.

Amir Khusrau follows with his writings in "Hindūī" or Kharī Bolī, mostly in the form of riddles and conundrums, a 'ghazal' with alternate Persian and some Hindī lines, a 'mukhammas' with every fifth line in Persian and some couplets. Although he is no longer considered the first writer in 'Hindvī', his language is the pearliest of which we can form any definite opinion as for example

'Syām v̄ran aur dāt anek, Lacket jaise nārī, 60,  
Done hāth se Khusro Khīche aur kahe tū ari.'

'It's colour is black and it has got many teeth (sharp ends) (and) it bends )modestly) like a woman. Khusrau draws it with both of his hands and says, (O), You come.'

Compared with his immediate successors his K.B. (underlined) is colloquial as befitted his topic. His subject matter is original

59. Ibid. P.11.

60. A Riddle.

and he wrote just to amuse his friends but never cared to have his writings collected. Although the writings in K.B. which are generally attributed to him cannot with confidence be accepted as his own, nevertheless, if his name is incorporated in the text of his compositions, this supports the view that he is the author. 'Khusrau's greatest passion was originality. He always wanted to do something new ..... His Persian poetry and prose are sufficient proof of the existence in him of this dominant passion, and it is easily conceivable that the same love of innovation goaded him to write Hindī verses in a new style.' 61

The versified Persian Vocabulary, "The Khaliqhari" 62, popularly ascribed to Khusrau has lately been proved by Mahmūd Sirānī to be a later production. The authenticity of this compilation unfortunately will remain indeterminate until further research work is done.

⊥ Muhammad Geisū Darāz 63 Saiyad of Kulbargā in Daulatahad, a famous Muhammadan Saint, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chirāgh, of Delhi, was born in Delhi on the 30th July 1321 A.D. and died in 1422. He lived at Kulbarga in the reign of the Bahmanī Sultans.

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61. The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, p.231.

62. See Chap. V, p. Appendix II

⊥ 63. His name is Sūdar-u-ddīn Muhammad Geisu Daraz, on account of his having long ringlets.

Prince Ahmad Shāh became his disciple. Geisu Daraz is known to be the author of several works in Persian, but at the same time he appears to be the first prose writer in Kharī Bolī. His book *Mirāj-eul-Āshikin* <sup>64</sup> (pp.19) deals with Sufi doctrines. The following lines give an indication of the style employed.

‘इस में आप कूं देखिया सो खालिक मे ते खालिक की इज़हार किया (पृ. १४, १५)  
 मुहम्मद हमें ज्यों दिखलाये त्यों तुम्हें देखो ( पृ.१५ )  
 ओ भाई सुनो जे कोई इध पीवेगा सो तुम्हारी पैरवी करेगा शरियत पर  
 कायम अछेगा ।’

‘When I saw you in this form, I beheld in you an expression of the Creator. As Muhammad reveals unto you, thus should you see.

O brethren, hear! The one who drinks milk shall follow you and firmly uphold the Law of the Prophet.’

The language which the author denominates as ‘Dakanī Urdu’ is Kharī Bolī with a mixture of Braj Bhāṣā and Persian words.

Shāh Mirājī Shamsul ‘Ushshaq’ who died in 1495 A.D., wrote <sup>65</sup> verses in Hindi or Kharī Bolī for those people who did not understand Arabic and Persian.

64. See: Hindi Sāhityakā Alocanātmak Itihās, pp.274,275. See: MS. B.M. (Persian Characters). According to Maulana Abdul Huq, ‘The author belongs to one of those pious men of Deccan whose writings and compilations are in plenty. But after further research, it is known that he wrote some of his works in Hindi or Dekani Urdu.’

65. e.g. "Hai Arabī hōl kere, aur farsi bhotere, Yih Hindi hōlū saṅ is artō ke sabab, Yih bhākha bhāl so hōlī, pan is kā bhavat līharat hōlī, Yū gar mukh pand pāya to aise hōl calāya. "To aise hōl calāya" gives the proof of the type of language used by the author.)

The use of Kharī Bolī<sup>66</sup> also continued among Hindī poets viz. Hemcādra, Cand, Nānder, Kabīr, Nānak.

In 1576 Gāgā Bhāt (fl.1556-1572), a court poet of Akbar wrote a small work entitled "Cand Chhād Barnan kī Mahimā"<sup>67</sup> containing sixteen pages only. A specimen of language is as follows,

‘श्री दलपति जी अकबर साहा जी आमकाश में तखत ऊपर विराजमान हो रयेह । और आमकाश भरने लगा है जिस में तमाम उमराव आय २ कुर्निश बजाय २ जुहार करके अपनी अपनी बैठक पर बैठ जाया करै अपनी २ मिशेल से।’

‘The Commander Emperor Akbar has adorned the throne in the Assembly of Nobles and the Assembly is about to be filled by all the Nobles, (who) after blowing the trumpets and offering presents to the Emperor, will occupy their seats in their own manner.’

This language is a mixture of Kharī Bolī and Persian words, e.g. ‘Amkāś,’ ‘Juhār,’ ‘Umrāv,’ ‘tākhat’.

Under the Mughal rulers whose supremacy extended from 1550-1685, Hindī Literature flourished but mainly in the field of poetry, Gāgā Bhāt was the only Hindī prose writer.

In 1746 (V.S.1803) Kāśīnāth composed "Ajīrnamājarī"<sup>68</sup> with a commentary in Bhāsa. It contains 59 Sūtras in folios 15.

66. Brajratna Dās, Kharī Bolī Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās.

67. S.H.MSS. 1909-1911, pp.12, 147.

68. Original MS. in West Deutsche Bibliothek, Marburg.

A Photostat Copy in I.O.L.

A specimen of its language is given,

अथ अजीर्ण मंजरी सूत्र अर्थ संयुक्त भाषा बालबोध लिख्यते । सूत्र ..... १  
टीका - बड़े बड़े वैद्य आगे हुये हैं । आयुर्वेद के संपूर्ण के जाणेण वाले ।  
कौण कौण से पंडित । आत्रेय । सुश्रुत । चेरक । हैरीत । बाग्भट ।  
माधव इनहि आदि दे करि जे पंडित । तिनो के ताई मे नमस्कार करि  
ग्रंथ का आरंभ करुं हुं । इस ग्रंथ को नाम अजीर्ण रस मंजरी । अहं कहता हुं  
लोका का सुष के वासते । यह अजीर्ण मंजरी ग्रंथ भाषा करुं हुं १

अब अजीर्ण का भेद रस शेष कहिये है । अंगभामे आलस आवै । उवासी बहुत  
आवै । तृष्णा बहुत लागै । अंग के विषे संधि संधि टूषे । छर्दि बहुत करै ।  
डकार मारी आवै । उदर पीड होय । जे अजीरण का च्यारि भेद कहया ।  
न्यारा न्यारा जुदा जुदा २ अब यां अजीर्ण का च्यारां का जुदा २  
उपाय कहिये है । सूत्र .....

इति श्री काशीराजे विरचिता अमृत मंजरी संपूर्ण लिपिः कृता महात्मा  
नवनिधि रामेण लवाणि मध्ये संवत् १८०३ मार्ग शीर्ष शुक्ला षष्ठां भृगुदिने ।

'Now (I) write Sutras of Ajīrnamājarī with their  
meaning. Sutra .....  
Commentary. (There) have been well-known physicians  
in the past who were versed in the Science of Medicine.  
Who are the Pandits? Ātrya, Susrut, Carak, Hārit,  
Bagbhat, Mādhav! These are the Pandits. Having paid  
my respects to them, I will begin my books. The  
name of this book is Ajīrnamājarī.....

'Now (I) describe different kinds of indigestion. The  
body aches. (One) feels lazy. (One) yawns very much.  
(One) feels very thirsty. (One) feels pain in every  
joint. (One) feels very cold. (One) suffers from heavy  
hiccups. (One) feels pain the stomach. These have been  
related the four kinds of indigestion. Differently (and)  
separately. Now (I) tell (you) the remedies of the  
four types (of indigestion) separately.'

It is especially interesting in that the MS. predates "Yogvasiṣṭa",<sup>69</sup> hitherto accepted as the first modern Hindī prose work. With Kāsināth, whose subject is scientific, didactic and humanitarian, we are close to modern Hindī prose not only in the language but in the treatment. There is scarcely any admixture of foreign words and only an occasional archaism is to be noted.

In 1761 Daulatrām translated "Jain-Padma Purān" into Hindī:

‘जंबू द्वीप के भरत क्शेत्र विषे मगध नामा देश अति सुन्दर है • जहां पुण्याधिकारी बसे हैं • इंद्र के लोके समान सदा भोगोपभोग करे हैं और भूमि विषे सांठेन के बाड़े शोभायमान हैं । जहां नाना प्रकार के अन्नो के समूह पर्वत समान ढेर हो रहे हैं।’

'The country called Magadh, situated in Bharat region of Jambūdwip, is beautiful. Where live the virtuous. Who enjoy life like heavenly abode of Idra. Sugar-cane fields beautify the ground (where) different kinds of corn appear in heaps like (a) mountain.'

The Language of the specimen is Kharī Bolī with a tinge of Braj Bhāṣā.

Rām Prasād Nirājanī who was attached as priest at the Court of Patiala (the Panjab) and was religious adviser to the Queen, composed "Yogvasiṣṭa"<sup>71</sup> in 1798 A.D. (V.S.1855). A specimen

69. L.S. Vārṇeya, p.46., R.C. Sukla, p.4+6 Also see N.P.P. Vol.57, Part I, pp.123,4.

70. Jain Padma Puran, p.1. Also see Parmatma Prakāśaḥ Yogsarāśca by A.N. Upādhyāya, Bombay 1937, p.77. (The author gives the date of Padma Purān as V.S.1823, 1866 A.D.).

71. Wilson, A Descriptive Catalogue of Meckenzie Collection, Vol,2, p.109, I.O.L.



of the language is given below,

अथ महाराजमाइण योग वसिष्ठ भाषा लिखयते । अथ वैराग प्रकरण ।  
 सतचित आनंद नंद रूप आत्मा जो है जिस को नमस्कार है कैसी है सतचित  
 आनंद रूप सो कहते हैं । जिस ते इह सर्व भासते हैं । अरु जिस विषे इह सर्वलीन  
 होते हैं । अरु जिस विषे इह सर्व इस्थिते है । तिस सत आत्मा को नमस्कार  
 है । .....जिस आनंद समुद्र के कण कर संपूर्ण विश्व आनन्दवान  
 है । अरु जिस अनंद करि सर्व जीव जीवते है । ....कोउ, एक सुतीण ब्राह्मण  
 अगस्त का शिक्ष होत भया जिस के मन विषे एक संस उतपत भया तिस संसे  
 निर्विघ्न कर्ण अर्थ अगस्त मुन जी के आश्रमे को गमन किया जाइकरि विद्वसंजुक्त  
 प्रणामे कीयो इस्थित भया । सुतीक्षणोवाच । हे भगवन सर्व तत्वहु सर्व शास्त्रों  
 के ज्ञाता एक संशा मुज को उतपत भया है । कृपा कर तुम निवर्तित करो ।  
 जो मोक्ष का साधन है सो कहो । अगस्तोवाच । हे ब्राह्मण केवल कर्म मोक्ष  
 का कारण नही । अरु केवल ज्ञान ते भी मोक्ष नही प्राप्त होता । दोनों कर  
 मोक्ष की प्राप्त होती है ।

प्रथम परब्रह्म परमात्मा को नमस्कार है जिस से सब भासते हैं और जिस में सब  
 लीन और स्थित होते हैं ...जिस आनंद के समुद्र के कण से संपूर्ण विश्व आनंदमय  
 है, जिस आनंद से सब जीव जीते हैं । अगस्त जी के शिष्य सुतीक्षण के मन में  
 एक संदेह पैदा हुआ तब वह उस के दूर करने के कारण अगस्त मुनि के आश्रम को  
 जा विधि साहित प्रणाम करते बैठे और विनती कर प्रश्न किया कि हे भगवन,  
 आप सब तत्वों और सब शास्त्रों के जाननहारे हो । मेरे एक संदेह को दूर  
 करो । मोक्ष का कारण कर्म है कि ज्ञान है अथवा दोनों हैं समझाय के कहो ।  
 इतना सुन अगस्त मुनि बोले कि हे ब्रह्मण्य । केवल कर्म से मोक्ष नहीं होता और  
 न केवल ज्ञान से मोक्ष होता है, मोक्ष दोनों से प्राप्त होता है ।<sup>72</sup>

(Now (we) translate "Yogvasiṣṭa" in (the Hindi) language from Mahārāmāyan. This is the chapter on "Vairāgya".

We bow before this Spirit (Atma), the True, the Omnipotent, the Abode of Happiness. What this form is, herewith I describe the nature of "Sat Cit Ananda", by whom the Universe is glorified and into whom all things merge, and which is the basis of all existence ..... The whole universe is made rejoiced by but one drop of the ocean of happiness. And all creatures survive because of that joy. (We) bow to that Spirit.

Some, Sutīna (Sutikṣṇa) Brahman was Agasta's disciple in whose mind there arose a doubt, (he) went to the hermitage of the Sage Agasta to remove that doubt, he went there, bowed to the sage and took his seat. Sutikṣṇa spoke, 'O Lord! Seer and Possessor of the knowledge of all the scriptures, there has arisen a doubt in my mind, (you) kindly relieve me of it. Tell me the means of salvation.' Agasta replied, "O Brahmin, Salvation cannot be attained by actions and nor by knowledge alone, it is through both that Salvation can be attained."

From the two Hindī versions obviously of the same passage quoted above, it can be seen that the first is definitely much more archaic than the second, especially in the use of verbal forms. Also on closer comparison, it will be observed that several of the older words as postpositions and conjunctions present in the first version, do not appear in the second.

The first is an extract from a MS. which I have found in I.O.L. dated V.S.1855<sup>73</sup> (1798 A.D.) (Fols.155), bearing the name of Rām Prasād. The second is from R.C. Śukla's "Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās", and is stated to be from a MS. of Rām Prasād Nirājanī, dated V.S.1798 (1741 A.D.). As the difference in style between the two versions is very striking, and as Śukla gives no details of his actual source, it would appear conclusive that Rām Prasād did in fact compose his work in 1798 A.D. and that Śukla's version has been modernised. The difference in dates,<sup>74</sup> is probably owing to a small slip in copying, as

73. The actual figure of the date is 155. The accession date is 1833 A.D. From the latter fact and the style of MS. which is definitely 18th century, we can safely conclude that the missing figure is '8', (eight).

74. Śukla V.S. 1798 (1741 A.D.) India Office MS. V.S.1855(1798 A.D.)

V.S. 1798 and 1798 A.D. would otherwise be too singular a coincidence.

On further analysis of the original MS. (i.e. 1798 A.D.), Rām Prasād's style is seen to be strongly flavoured with the colloquial Panjābī idiom as used today. He was a native of the Panjab and the authenticity of 1798 MS. is thus further confirmed by this stylistic idiosyncrasy.

An extract demonstrates this point clearly:

८ हे मुनीश्वर मूरष मानुष का बहुता जीवणां दुष के नमित हैं जैसे वृध पुरुष को बहुता षावणां दुष का कार्ण है तेसे अज्ञानी का जीवणां भी दुष का कार्ण है इसको जीवणे तें मृत बहुत श्रेष्ठ है जिनो मानुष शरीर को पाइकर आत्मपद पावने का यतन नहीं कीया तिनो आपहीं आपणां नास किया है (पृष्ठ ६९)

'O Muniswar, (if) a foolish man survives long, it becomes a cause of misery just as an excess eating for an aged person becomes the source of trouble. Death is better than such a life. Those who attaining human form, have not made an effort to achieve God, have brought destruction to themselves.'

Mūsī Sadā Sukhlāl<sup>75</sup>, 'Niyāz', a native of Cunar, near Banares, and mainly a Persian writer, translated "Śrī Madbhāgvat" into Hindī prose under the title "Sukhsāgar"<sup>76</sup>. His style can be judged from the illustration given,

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75. V.S. 1803-1881. See: R.C. Sukla, p.451.

76. Only a portion is available.

यद्यपि ऐसे विचार से हमें लोग नास्तिक कहेंगे, हमें इस बात का डर नहीं। जो बात सत्य होय उसे कहा चाहिये कोई बुरा माने कि भला माने विद्या इसी हेतु पढ़ते हैं कि तात्पर्य इस का जो सतोवृत्ति है वह प्राप्त हो और उससे निज स्वरूप में लय हूजिये। इस हेतु नहीं पढ़ते हैं कि चतुराई की बातें कहके लोगों को बहकाइये और फुसलाइये और सत्य छिपाइये व्यभिचार कीजिये और सुरापान कीजिये और धनद्रव्य इकठौर कीजिये और मन को जो तमोवृत्ति से भर रहा है, निर्मल न कीजिये। तोता है सो नारायण का नाम लेता है, परन्तु उसे ज्ञान तो नहीं।<sup>77</sup>

'Although people will call me an atheist for such ideas, I do not fear it. What is true, ought to be told whether anybody takes it ill or well. Knowledge is sought with this end in view so that it is objective, the truth (or the true quality) may be attained, so that one can merge into oneself. We do not acquire knowledge to mislead and beguile others by smart talk. To indulge in sexual pleasure and drink or conceal the truth, amass wealth and property, do not purify our mind which is sunk in darkness.

A parrot pronounces 'Narāyaṇa's' (God) name but it does not possess knowledge.'

It is surprising that one who habitually wrote in Persian should produce such a pure Hindī with complete absence of foreign words and writing entirely on his own initiative without direction of any kind unlike his successors (in the Company) Lallūjīlāl and Sadal Mīśra. No doubt the philosophical nature of the subject matter has moulded the language which is lucid and expressive and practically indistinguishable from the writings of Kharī Bolī of later 19th century.

The first original composition in Kharī Bolī Hindī appeared in "Rānī Ketakī kī Kahānī" or Kahānī Theth Hindīmē.

77. A.S. Upādhyāya p.629.

78. MS. (Persian Character) available in I.O.L. but it does not bear the date. Edited by S.S. Das, N.P.S. Banaras, V.8.1982.

and was a love story written by *Īsā Allā Khān*, a resident of Delhi.<sup>79</sup> The quotation given below demonstrates the standard of literary production at which he was arriving:

‘अक दिन बैठे बैठे यह बात अपने ध्यान में चढ़ आई-कोई कहानी ऐसी कहिये जिसमें हिन्दुई छुट और किसी बोली की पुट न मिले। तब जाके मेरा जी फूल-की कली के रूप से खिले। बाहर की बोल और गंवारी कुछ उसके बीच न हो। अपने सुनने वालों में से अक कोई बड़े पढ़े लिखे पुराने धुराने डाग-बड़े घाग-यह खटराग लाये-सिर हिलाकर-मुंह बनाकर-नाक भी चढ़ाकर- आंखें पथराकर-लगे कहने-यह बात होती दिखाई नहीं देती। हिन्दुईपन भी न निकले और भासापन भी न ठुस जाय-जैसे भले लोग अच्छों से अच्छे आपस में बोलते चालते-हैं यों का त्यों वही डोल रहे और छांह किसी के न पड़े। यह नहीं होने का।’<sup>80</sup>

‘One day, while sitting, it occurred to me that (I) should tell such a story without introduction of any dialect but Hindui. Then my heart will blossom like a bud. No foreign words or rustic expressions were to appear in it. Among (my) associates, one highly learned, orthodox (and) very aged introduced a discordant note, wagging his head, screwing his face, lifting up his nose and eye-brows, petrifying his eyes, began to say "it does not seem possible (that) the Hindui form should be maintained and dialectal touch excluded. Thus, the language in which the gentry converse, would be retained intact, and it should not be influenced by any other - that is not possible."’

Nevertheless, inspite of his resolutions, *Īsā Allā Khān* could not escape the influence of Urdū syntax. His language is overloaded with metaphors, similes and proverbs, and probably for this reason, his style has never been regarded as a model.

<sup>79</sup>. See: *Vārṣṇeya*, pp.277-287.

<sup>80</sup>. Grierson, L.S.I. Vol.IX, Part I., p. 108.

Thus we see that the varied prose works of Hindī Literature, in all three different forms, not only received impetus in their respective periods through the exigencies of war, administration, royal awards and commerce, but were also largely shaped by them into definite developmental patterns.

The two former, but inevitably smaller, streams of Rājasthānī and Braj Bhāṣā merged into the onrushing tide of Kharī Bolī. Under the patronage of the teachers at Fort William College, and Missionaries at Srīrāmpur, Kharī Bolī was designated and recognised. From then on, it gradually became the most prevalent literary medium and our enquiry, therefore, will be mainly devoted to its development.

## CHAPTER II.

FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE: HINDĪ WORKS.Introductory Retrospect.

After the battle of Plassey and assumption of Diwānī and other wider powers by the Company, the need for establishing educational institutions was keenly felt, at first by individual officers and later by the Company's Government; for the task of administration was naturally bound up with the question of an efficient and trained personnel.

Warren Hastings entered the service of the East India Company with all the advantages of a regular classical education, and 'with a mind fairly enriched with the pleasures of literature'. He was the first Governor General (under the Regulating Act of 1773) to encourage literary activity in India. He saw the necessity there was for the English to make themselves acquainted with native languages. After his arrival, he himself soon became familiar with the common dialects of Bengal.

Thus two educational institutions <sup>1</sup>, "the Calcutta Madrasā" (1781), and "the Hindu College" (1792), were established.

With the support of Hastings, Sir William Jones, <sup>2</sup> Jurist

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1. See Chapter IV, p. 149

2. Was a great linguist, but by posterity he is chiefly remembered as the pioneer of Sanskrit learning. He delivered eleven lectures at the time of annual anniversary of A.S.B. which were published in Asiatic Researches.' See: Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXX, pp. 175, 176.

and Scholar, founded on the 15th Jan. 1784, the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> Among its members were the great Sanskrit scholar Colebrooke<sup>4</sup>, a Civil Servant who rose to be a member of the Governor-General's Council and Horace Mayman Wilson<sup>5</sup>, another famous Orientalist.

Gilchrist's private enterprise.

In 1783 John Borthwick Gilchrist,<sup>6</sup> a Scotsman entered the service of the East India Company as Medical Officer. At this time the policy of the Company was to acquaint its employees with a working knowledge of Persian, which was then the language of the Courts and the Government, and which continued to be an official language till 1836. From his personal experience, however, it appeared to Gilchrist that this policy (regarding language) was at variance with the best interests of the British official class. For Persian, the then language of the Courts, did not seem to be popular with the people, and on that account no direct intercourse was possible through its medium. He was, therefore, of the opinion that an elementary knowledge of the vernaculars of the country, particularly of Hindustānī, the common

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3. The court of Directors encouraged the Society by a grant of Rs,500/-/- per mensem 'for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East.'  
See: W. Carey, The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company. Chap. XXII, pp.417,418.
  4. Appointed Professor of Hindu Law and Sanskrit at the College of Fort William. He assisted in conducting examinations, (1801). See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XI, London, 1887, p.284.
  5. Was the Secretary to A.S.B. completed the first Sanskrit-English Dictionary in 1842.



and the most prevalent form of speech, was essential for the Civil Servants of the Company. He started learning these vernaculars with enthusiasm,

"Clad in native garb, he travelled through those provinces where Hindoostanee was spoken in its greatest purity, and also acquired good knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and other Eastern languages. His success inspired a new spirit in the Company's servants, and the study of Hindoostanee became most popular."

In order to facilitate a systematic study of this language, Gilchrist employed himself assiduously for many years in compiling a "Hindoostanee-English Dictionary" <sup>7</sup> (in two vols.), which he subsequently published (1787-1791)., followed by a grammar, <sup>8</sup> the 'Oriental Linguist,' an Introduction to the language of Hindustānī, in 1798. His publications were patronized by the Government and he received ample pecuniary aid from it, this shows that the individual enterprise was encouraged by the Government.

So as to facilitate the acquisition of Hindustānī certain junior Civil Servants were ordered in Feb. 1799 to attend a course of instruction given by Gilchrist, who had an 'Oriental Seminary'

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6. 'Born in 1759 at Edinburgh, educated at George Heriot's Hospital in that city, he went out to Calcutta in 1783 as an assistant Surgeon.' See: Annual Register 1841, East India Register 1803, Part I, p. 83.
7. See Chap. V, p. Appendix II
8. Ibid, p.

in Calcutta. He taught them the rudiments of the Persian language. He required no further compensation than the allowance then established for a 'Munshi', which instead of being given to each writer on his arrival, was paid to Gilchrist. His offer, as being beneficial in promoting due knowledge of the country's language among the Civil Servants, was readily accepted by the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley. Thus the newly arrived writers remained under Gilchrist's tuition for a year in Calcutta.

To put the matter on a regular and systematic basis, Wellesley took two steps. In the first place, he had a notification<sup>9</sup> issued to the Civil Servants on the Bengal establishment informing them that

"after the 1st Jan. 1801, no servant shall be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereafter mentioned unless he shall have passed an examination (the nature of which will be hereafter determined) in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification."

Thus Persian and Hindustānī were required for the office of Judge or Registrar. In the second place, it was arranged that after a year, an examination in the said languages was to be held with a view to ascertaining the efficiency of the proposed mode of instruction.

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9. The Public Department, Dec. 21, 1798.

It may be noted here that a Committee consisting of five senior Civil Servants <sup>10</sup> was appointed to ascertain the progress made in Hindustānī and Persian by the students. The names of successful students were published by the Gazette, and prizes were adjudged 'as public marks of distinction.' <sup>11</sup>

The Governor General expressed his great satisfaction with Gilchrist's enterprise in having composed a Grammar and Dictionary of the Hindustānī language and having thereby facilitated the acquisition of the language most generally used throughout Hindustān. <sup>12</sup>

This system of imparting instruction to the Civil Servants was a preliminary step, and an experiment to lead up to a more extensive plan "for promoting the study not only of all the languages, but of the Code of Regulations and Laws, of which a knowledge is requisite in the Judicial, Revenue and Commercial departments.'

Gilchrist's tuition and instruction in Hindustānī and Persian was discontinued from the 1st Nov. 1800. <sup>13</sup>

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10. Viz. G.H. Barlow, J.H. Harrington, N.B. Edmonstone, Lt.Col. W. Kirkpatrick, W.C. Blaquiere. Vide Extract from Public Letter from Bengal dated Sept. 2, 1800, respecting the appointment of the Committee. See: Home Miscellaneous, No. 487, India, Office Library, pp. 177-182.
11. Vide Report of the Committee on the Results of the Examination. Calcutta Gazette, July 29, 1800.
12. R. Roebuck, Annals of the College of Fort William, p. 12.
13. See Bengal Public Consultation, Fort William, Oct. 23, 1800.

Foundation of Fort William College.

The idea of establishing a college at Fort William first occurred to Wellesley, the then Governor-General in Council. Before communicating his bigger plan to the Court of Directors, Wellesley intimated his intentions in a private letter <sup>14</sup> to his friend Henry Dundas, Chairman of the Board of Control. He wrote,

'I think it necessary to apprise you of my intention to adopt without delay a plan for the improvement of the Civil Service, at Bengal in a most important point.'

In justification of his proposed plan, he drew attention to the 'prevailing inefficiency of the Civil Service' which in his opinion could only be improved by a course of systematic education and discipline at a collegiate institution. He observes,

'The state of the administration of justice, and even of the collection of revenue throughout provinces affords a painful example of the inefficiency of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer those laws in their different branches and departments..... It arises principally from a defect at the source and fountain-head of the service- I mean the education and early habits of the young gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of writers. My opinion, after deliberation on the subject, is decided, that the writers on their first arrival in India should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some collegiate institution at the seat of Government.'

Wellesley was encouraged in this move by the reply <sup>15</sup> he

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14. Vide R.M. Martin, op. cit. letter No.39, Oct. 24, 1799.

15. Vide Public Letter to Bengal, May, 7, 1800. Home Misc. No.488, India Office Records.

received from the Directors to his letter cited above, dated Dec.25th, 1798, regarding the instruction of the junior Civil Servants by Gilchrist and referring to a more extensive plan. The Directors wrote,<sup>16</sup>

'Sensible as we are of the great importance of our Servants in general obtaining a proficiency in the country's languages, as well as a correct knowledge of the Code of Regulations and Laws, which have been recently established in order to qualify them for the several offices in the Judicial, Revenue and Commercial Departments, we have further to signify our approbation of the arrangement intended by his Lordship upon a more extensive plan on the principles laid down in the public notification annexed to the Governor-General's Minute before mentioned to commence with the year 1801.'

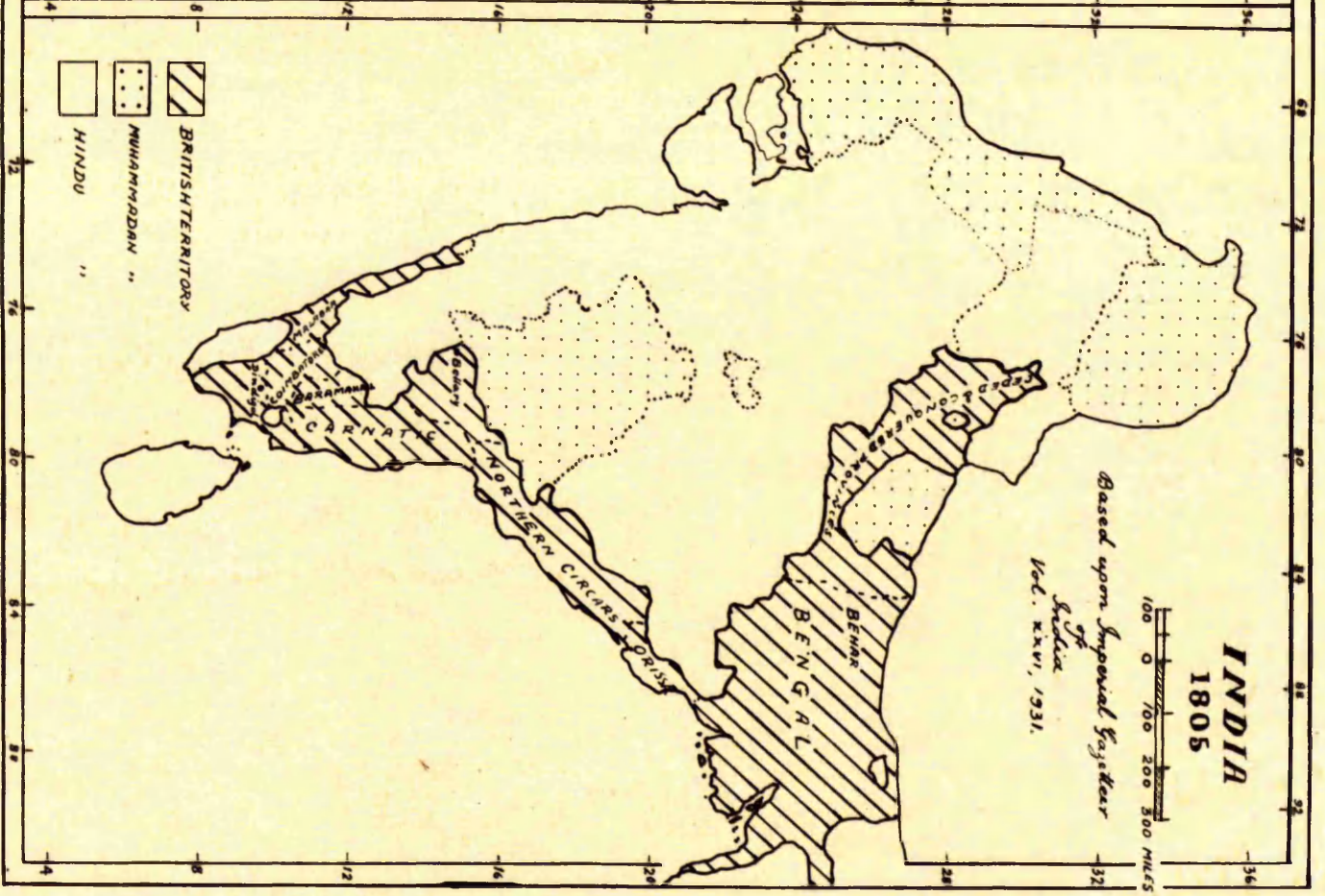
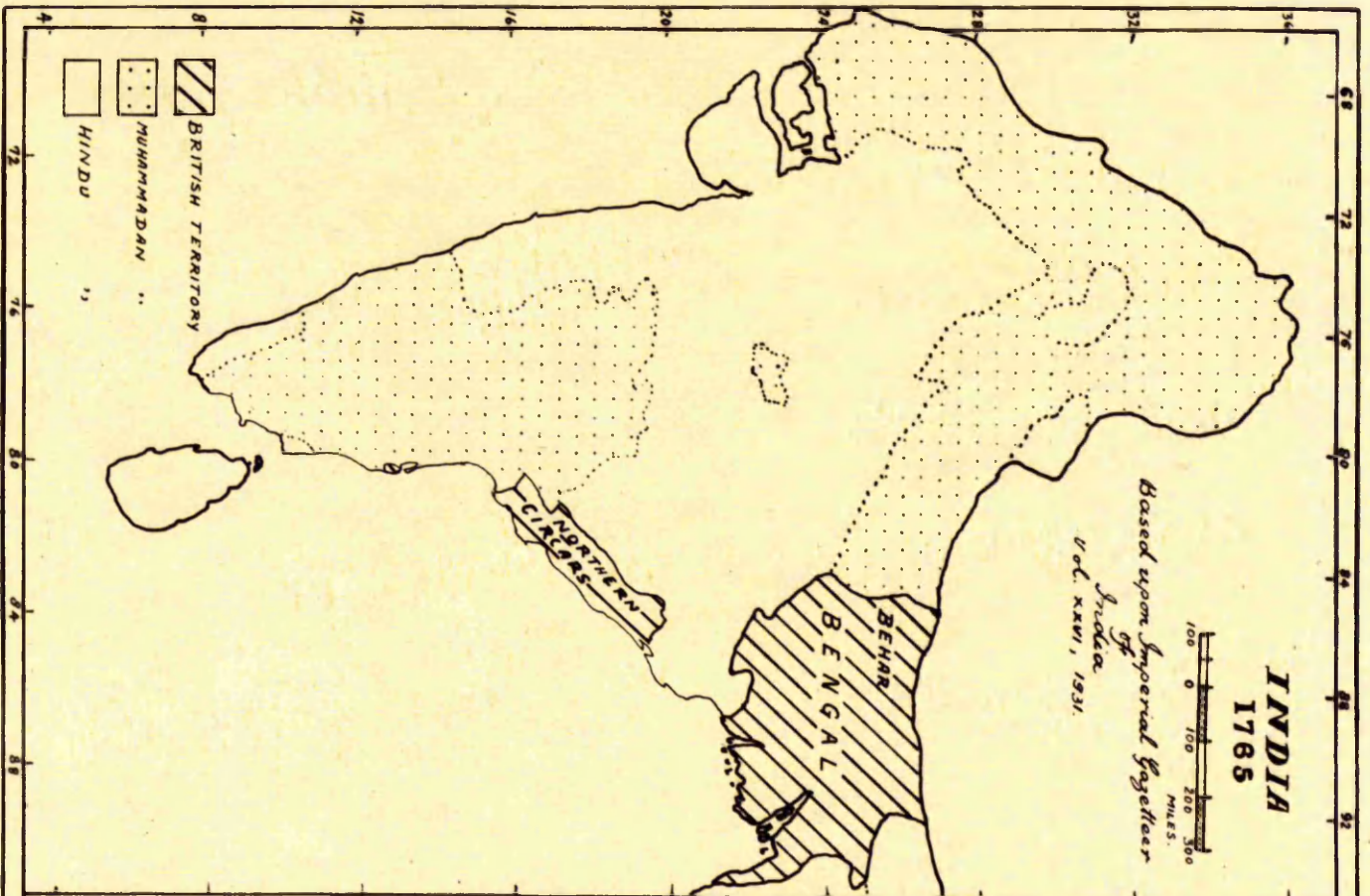
Wellesley took this to mean, as he later argued, a general concurrence in whatever plan he formulated for the education of the junior Civil Servants. He went ahead with his plans. He also believed that an education exclusively European or Indian would not eradicate the defects with regard to the morals and studies of the Company's Servants and would not qualify them for the efficient discharge of duties of a complicated nature.

Thus Wellesley decided that the education of Civil Servants must be of a mixed nature, 'its foundation must be laid in England and the superstructure systematically completed in India.' He, therefore, founded the College on the 4th May 1800 in Calcutta for the better instruction of the Civil Servants of

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16. Ibid, pp. 5, 6.





three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

In his elaborate minute, dated July 10, 1800, Wellesley clarified again the reason of his immediate action in founding the institution. He says,

'The British possession in India now constitutes one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the Government of the various provinces namely, Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benares, the Company's Taghree in the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, the Baramahal and other districts..... are under the more immediate and direct administration of the European Civil Servants of the Company....  
'Duty, policy and honour require that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition...  
'It must be considered as a sacred trust and a permanent possession. In this view, its internal government demands a constant, steady and regular supply of qualifications.....

Thus, for the first time, the need to acquire the vernacular languages of the country was felt because the Civil Servants were called upon to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, Governors of Provinces in all the complicated and extensive relations of those 'sacred trusts and exalted stations.'

The Original Constitution of the College Under Regulation IX of 1800 and the First Statutes.

The College of Fort William started functioning from Nov.24,1800 from which date lectures in Arabic, Persian and Hindustānī being delivered to the students regularly, but the

first statutes of the college were not promulgated by the Provost under the said Regulation till the 10th April of the following year. 17

It is necessary to give here a brief account of the original constitution under this Regulation. The Governor General was to be the Patron and Visitor of the College, and the members of the Supreme Council, the judges of the Sadar Diwānī Adālat and of the Nizamat Adālat, were to be Governors. The ultimate controlling authority was to vest in the Supreme Government, but the immediate government of the college was to rest in a provost and a vice-provost and such other officers of the college as the Patron and Visitor thought proper to appoint. 18

The East India College at Haileybury, Hertfordshire, was instituted on May 12th, 1806. Its object was to train Civil Servants to a standard commensurate with their varied functions in India.

The College started with a Principal and six Professors in such subjects as classical and general literature, Hindu literature and History of Asia, Arabic, Persian and Hindustānī.

17. B.P.C. April 16, 1801. See: Appendix I for detailed information

18. It may be noted that the offices of Provost and Vice-Provost were abolished in 1807 by Regulation III of that year, the immediate government of the college being then vested in a College Council, which was empowered to propose statutes to G.G. in Council and to frame rules for the internal discipline of the college. The College Council was also abolished in 1814 by Regulation XX of 1814, all authority being vested in the G.G. in Council. A third, fourth and fifth Chapter were added as regards examinations and other rules. A fifth chapter was published in 1816, a sixth in 1822, a seventh in 1824 and the eighth in 1825.



literature;

'The institution was given statutory status and stability in 1813 by the Charter Act' which was in operation up to 1857, serving as a counterpart of the College of Fort William.

In East India College the students were grounded in the rudiments of Oriental languages. Before the opening of the College, Gilchrist,<sup>19</sup> acting as a provisional professor (from Feb. 12 till May 19, 1806), taught Hindustānī, Hindī and Persian. Later Charles Stewart<sup>20</sup> (1807 - 1826) was appointed Professor of Arabic, Persian and Hindustānī. James Michel,<sup>21</sup> an assistant Professor in the Oriental Department, composed two works, 'Hindi selection' and 'Hindi stories' in 1829. Edward Vernon Schalch<sup>22</sup> was attached to this department (from 1827-1845) followed by Edward B. Eastwick<sup>23</sup> who was appointed Professor of Hindustānī in 1845 and remained there till the college ceased to function (1856). In addition to other works he translated "Prem Sāgar" (1854) into English for the students.

The College was designed more or less on the same principles that inspired Wellesley in laying the foundation of Fort William College. The latter became a kind of continuation of Haileybury.

The Regulations of the Fort William College were revised

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19. See Memorial of Old Haileybury College, London, 1894. p.16.  
 20. Ibid.  
 21. Ibid., p.207.  
 22. Ibid., p.23.  
 23. Ibid.

in 1807, and from then onwards the Calcutta Institution was to be strictly confined to the cultivation of Oriental literature, and to the languages <sup>24</sup> of the East, particularly Persian, Hindustānī, Sanskrit, Hindī, Marāthī (Mahrattā) and Bengālī.

The orders of the 7th Feb. 1814 are the earliest under the provisions of which Military Officers were declared to be entitled to compete for Degrees of Honour in languages.

Further changes in the Statutes were made in Nov. 1816. In 1825, Hindī was recognised for the first time, as one of the important vernaculars, and definitely distinguished <sup>25</sup> from Hindustānī, by Capt. William Price, Head of the Hindī and Hindustānī Department. After Price's resignation (1830), Professorships were abolished in 1831. However, the students continued to be taught by a few 'munśīs' and 'pandits' but no work was composed in the period. The college was finally closed on the 24th Jan. 1854. <sup>26</sup>

### The Curriculum.

The variety of subjects which were introduced into the

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24. See B.P.C. Fort William, Jan. 15, 1807,

25. See page,            Also see: B.P.C. Fort William, Jan. 28, 1824. "It is gratifying to observe that a fair proportion of the students now attached to the institution have directed their attention to the study of Hindee, and equally so that their progress has been much greater than could reasonably be anticipated." (B.P.C. Jan. 5, 1826).

26. Home Misc. Series, Vol. 488, F. 753, I.O. Records.

college, was a special feature of Wellesley's elaborate scheme. Had the plan received approbation of the Court of Directors, Fort William College might have been one of the world's most outstanding institutions. Wellesley combined the varied subjects of Western literature with those of the Eastern, to a degree that astonishes us even today.

According to the Regulation <sup>27</sup> IX of 1800, professorships were established and regular courses of lectures commenced from the 24th Nov. 1800 in the following branches of literature, science and knowledge viz. ' Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, <sup>28</sup> Hindoostanee, Bengalee, Telingna, Muhratta, Tamool, Kunura, Mohummudan Law, Hindoo Law, Ethics including civil jurisprudence and the law of nations, English law ..... Political economy and particularly the commercial institutions and interest of East India Company, Geography and Mathematics, Modern languages of Europe, Greek, Latin and English classics, General history, ancient and modern, the history and antiquities of Hindoostan <sup>29</sup> and the Dekkan, Natural history, Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy.'

Four terms were held within each year; later some changes were introduced when the students admitted to the college were

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27. See Appendix II.

28. 'The study of Arabic and Sanskrit beyond what was requisite for a grammatical and accurate knowledge of the other languages taught in the college was considered optional.' See B.P.C., Fort William, Oct. 28, 1824.

29. Annals of the College of Fort William. Introduction, p. xvii.

not to be attached to it for a specified period as before, but their continued attendance was determined by their proficiency. Every student was to attend at least one class of study in the Oriental languages during each term.

Examinations and Public Disputations.

Examinations were made the means of acquiring proficiency in the prescribed languages. The College Council was empowered to appoint the Committee of Examiners in different branches of knowledge. Two Public Examinations were to be held annually, and the comparative proficiency of the students was to be determined by written exercises and oral questions. Thus, the prospects of students who were expected to prepare themselves for the Public Service, mainly depended upon the reports of the Examiners.

Public Disputations <sup>28a</sup> and Declamations were held in the Oriental Languages at stated times, prescribed by the Council of the College.

The typical subjects of Disputation in the Hindustānī Language were as follows,

- ' (1) The Hindoostanee Language is the most generally useful in India. <sup>28b</sup>

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28a. Statute VI was especially meant for Public Disputations, it says, "Whereas it is necessary that the students destined to exercise high and important functions in India, should be able to speak the Oriental Languages with fluency and propriety."

28b. Essays by the students of the College of F.W. See pages 209-220 to 22, Calcutta 1802.

- (2) The Knowledge of the Asiatic Languages is of greater advantage to the Public Service in India, than any other branch of learning.
- (3) The Oriental Languages are studied with more success in India than in England: and with greater advantage to the Public Service. 28c

Though the college was started with the object of training Civil Servants and thereby improving the administration of the country, it could not help giving an impetus, however indirect, to education generally. It became the main fount of cultural as well as educational activities, especially in a period of literary dearth. Never before had any effort been made to collect the vast treasures of learning in the form of Sanskrit and vernacular literature which were lying scattered all over the country in a very imperfect state.

Credit goes to Wellesley for drawing the attention of the Court of Directors for the benefit of the Civil Servants, through his memorable despatches,<sup>30</sup> to this unexplored field of learning.

Printing presses were established for the first time in Calcutta<sup>31</sup> (in 1779) especially for printing the vernacular

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28c. See Annals of the College of Fort William.

30. Dated July 10, Aug.18, 1800. See Appendix I.

31. Under the direction of Sir Charles Wilkins who became known as the father of 'Native Typography' in Bengal. Also see Chap.III, footnote 31.

literature which was then accessible. The introduction of printing presses with Nagarī types also facilitated the dissemination of knowledge through the publication of many books of Sanskrit and vernaculars viz. Hindī, Bengalī and Marāthī etc. in several volumes which were also calculated to promote learning on a wider scale.

### The College Library.

Under the first statute of the Regulations (IX of 1800), a provision for a library was made. In the beginning the college library was founded by voluntary contributions for the use of the students for supplementing their lectures with books, It was then placed under the immediate charge of the Provost and afterwards (in May 1805) under the Secretary of the College Council, with one native assistant and two 'daffteries.' Immediately after that, it was furnished with the books obtained from the Library of Tippū Sultan.

During that time, the Company's Directors decided to establish a public repository at the East India House (1801) in Leadenhall Street, London 'for the safe custody of Oriental books, manuscripts, coins which were presented for the library.' Thus an oriental library <sup>32</sup> (now known as the India Office Library) was instituted in London.

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32. Was placed under the charge of Charles Wilkins.

The library of the Fort William College consisted of 11353 printed books and MSS. A brief account of the same is given here. The printed books included History, Biography, Travels, Law, Divinity, Antiquity, Grammar and Lexicography, besides a selected collection of the most approved works on classical Oriental Literature. The class books on Oriental MSS. in various languages <sup>33</sup> amounted to 6560 of which 2994 were MSS. A few subjects are mentioned below,

Grammar	-	107
Dictionaries	-	60
Hindi MSS.	-	150
Sanskrit MSS.	-	1650

(on all the various branches of Hindee Literature)

'The total number, therefore, of printed books and MSS. in the College Library amounted to 11353 and was considered on a very moderate valuation to be worth upwards of 2 lacs of Rupees estimated.' <sup>34</sup>

In the opinion of the College Secretary, A. Lockett, the collection of books in the college library was far superior to any similar collection with which he was then acquainted. He compared this library with a few famous Libraries of Europe, viz. "Escorial" in Spain in which there were only 1850 Vols. and the "Leyden Library", 1953, and the "Bodleian" at Oxford 1561, and still more celebrated, the Library of the "Seraglio" in Constantinople, when examined by Professor Carlyle was found to contain only 1298 vols. There could be little doubt,

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33. See B.P.C., Fort William, Oct.23, 1818 (for a detailed information).

34. Ibid.

therefore, that the college library surpassed almost every similar collection not only in the number, but also the excellence of the volumes.

Undoubtedly, the College Library played a vital role in the general spread of knowledge by providing facilities for the professors on the college staff in their various compilations of Dictionaries, Grammars and compositions of text books.

Appointment of Professors, Pandits and Munsīs in the Hindustani and Hindi Department.

Gilchrist was appointed professor and head of the Hindustānī Department from the 1st Nov. 1800. He remained attached to the college till Jan. 1804, when he resigned because of illness. The following professors viz. Capt. Mouat <sup>35</sup> (6 Jan.1806 - 20 Feb. 1808), Capt. John William Taylor <sup>36</sup> ( 22 Feb.1808 - May 1823) Capt. William Price (23 May 1823 - Dec. 1831) succeeded him respectively. All these professors were further assisted by a number of local 'paṇḍits' and 'munśīs', some of them were permanently appointed, other temporarily. In 1801, some fourteen 'munśīs' were employed; Meer Bahādoor Ulee was the Chief 'Munśī' and Tarnī Caran Mitra (Tarnee Churun Mitr.) the second 'munśī', the rest <sup>37</sup> being regarded as subordinate 'munśīs'. A provision

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35. B.P.C. 9th May 1803.

36. B.P.C. 8th March 1808.

37. "Gholam Ukhar, Nusuroolah, Meer Ummun, Gholam Ushruf, Hilatood Deen, Mahummud Sadiq, Ruhmuttoollah Khan, Gholam Ghos, Kundan Lall, Kasheeraj, Meer Hyder Bukhsh. See MS. Copy of the College of F.W.1801-1802.



for a 'Bhākhā Moonshee' was made in Feb. 1802 and consequently Lallūjīlāl<sup>38</sup> (Lallūlal Kuvi) Kavi was appointed. He had already been rendering assistance to some of the munsīs in translating works from Persian into Hindustānī and having them printed in Nāgarī characters. Other 'pandits' appointed in this department included Sādāl Misra,<sup>39</sup> generally known as "Hindee Punḍit" or "Hindee Moonshee"; Sundar Paṇḍit, first Nāgarī writer, Lochan Rām Paṇḍit (1811) who rendered assistance to Hunter in the compilation of Hindustānī - English Dictionary, Indreswar<sup>40</sup> (1815 - May 1819), Navsingh (1818-1821) Gangā Prasād Śukla (1823 - 1827) and Khyālī Rām (1827 - 1829). Most of these "Hindī-Paṇḍits" belonged to the North and North Western Provinces. Besides rendering assistance to the respective professors, they coached and composed exercises in Hindī for students.

#### Contribution of College Teachers.

The literary output of the Hindustānī and Hindī Department comprised Dictionaries and Grammars of the languages concerned, prose adaptations from Sanskrit, Persian and Braj Bhāṣā works, and compositions of some text books in 'Kharī Bolī' and Hindustānī. These useful activities were in full swing from the very inception of the college, however, they did not remain confined to the

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38. See Lallulal, Lal Chandrika, (without introduction and notes by G.A. Grierson) Introduction p.3.

39. See B.P.C. Fort William, 19th Aug. 1803.

40. Imperted instruction in Braj-Bhāṣā and Purbi dialects.

limits of this institution or of this Empire alone. In the words of the Marquis of Wellesley,

'such works tend to promote the general diffusion of Oriental Literature and Knowledge in every quarter of the globe by facilitating the means of access to the elementary study of the principal languages of the East.'

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Earlier it has been mentioned that Gilchrist compiled his famous works, the Dictionary <sup>42</sup> and Grammar of Hindustānī Language which are described in Chapter <sup>Appendix</sup> II along with others. Here we will confine our enquiry to those works of Gilchrist intended to facilitate the study of Hindī and of Hindustānī in Nāgarī character.

With this end in view, he composed 'Hindee Story Teller', (1802), this being the first text in which Kharī Bolī Hindī was employed and published; although prior to this, a few exercises in Hindī and Hindustānī were printed in 1801 for the students' examinations, e.g.

43

"Second Exercise."

<sup>6</sup> इस लड़की से दोनों सखीयां पूछने लगीयां तू जो इन दरखतों को सीचती रहती है क्या उस वराहमन को ये तुझ से भी बहुत पेआरे हैं तू तो उनकी जान से भी चाहिती आदः है सो तुझ को उन्होंने क्यूं इनकी खिदमत को मुकरर कीआ है खुदा ने तुझे यह सूरत वोशकल दी है कि कोई हुस्न वो अदा में तेरे मुकाबिल नहीं ' (पृ. ९९)

41. Annals of the College of Fort William, p.4.

42. 2nd Ed. revised by T. Roebuck with many additions and improvements in 1810 (Edinburgh).

43. See: Exercises College of F.W. 1802 (This collection includes the Exercises of the year 1801) p.3, I.O.L. Also see Grierson: Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part I, Calcutta, 1916, p.17.

'Both friends began to ask that girl, 'You go on watering these trees. Are these dearer than yourself to that Brahmin? You are fonder of them than of your own life? Why has he deputed you to look after them (trees)? God has gifted you with this countenance and form so that none can compete with you in beauty and grace.'

सुना है जो एक भाट निपट दालिद्री था। एक दिन उसकी जोरु बोली जो कहीं कुछ हाथ आवे तो यह लड़की बेआही जावे। क्यूंकि मरना जीना साथ ही लग रहा है। जो अपने साम्हने निवाह दें तो बहुत अच्छा। क्या जानीये हमारे पीछे कैसी वन पड़े।' (पृ. १८६)

'It was known that a bard was terribly poor. One day his wife said to him that if something was obtained this girl might be married; because happy and sad occasions go side by side. If it is performed before us, it is very good, who knows what will happen after us.'

This is the first time we see a few specimens printed in Nāgarī character which convince us that the Nāgarī types were introduced in the College (Government) Press. First piece lacks punctuation marks but the second bears them. The letters 'Kha', 'ra', 'jha', 'ja', 'ca', 'dha' are not Nāgarī characters but Kaithī<sup>44</sup> which was then prevalent among the Writers' class in the country who employed it in writing account books.

The language of the first piece is typical Hindustānī. 45

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44. Besides the Devanāgarī, Hindī is written in two other characters, the Kaithī or Kayathī, the Mahājanī or Sarāfī. The word Kayathī is from Kāyasth or Kāyath, the writer caste.

45. See Introduction.

Besides three fourth of Perso-Arabic words, a mixture of <sup>Braj</sup> Bhāsā words in somewhat corrupted form, such as 'Varāhman', 'Peyāre', 'Sakhiā' etc., is to be noticed. But the second piece is Khari Boli Hindi <sup>46</sup> or Theth Hindi with a mixture of some 'Dadbhav' words, e.g. 'Jorū', 'Veyāhī', 'nivāh'. There is a complete absence of Arabic words. These examples also convince us that a genuine effort was made by the teachers concerned to acquaint the Civil Servants with Hindustānī and Hindī.

The following specimen from "The Hindee Story Teller" <sup>47</sup> will indicate what Gilchrist <sup>48</sup> really meant by the terms viz. 'Hinduwee', 'Hindee' and 'Hindustanee'. A 'Hinduwee' specimen as follows,

'Ek Pritheeputi nen apnon pōotr kahoo gōōroo kuōu sumpyo ki yāhi jotish bidya sikhao jub wa mahiñ nipōōn hoe tu mere nikut lyao. Gōōroo nen uti purisrum vo kripa teu jutek prukar wa bidya ke he achhee bhanti purhae, ju dekho ki chhora neeke jani chookyo, tuh sunmookh a nivedun kiyo ki Muhraj! Raj kōōnwur jotik bidya mahin puripukk bhuyo ju chaho, tu purich-chha leōō.' <sup>49</sup>

46. Ibid.

47. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1802. Vol. II, Calc. 1803. There is a difference in the prefaces. In Vol. II a mention of Khari Boli is made.

48. Has treated 'Hinduwee or Erij Bhakha as the exclusive property of the Hindoos alone, and have therefore constantly applied to the old language of India, which prevailed before the Moosulman invasion, and, in fact, now constitutes among them the basis or ground work of the 'Hindoostanee', a comparatively recent superstructure, composed of Arabic and Persian words, in which the two last may be considered in the same relation that Latin and French bear to English.' See: Gilchrist, 'Oriental Linguist', II Ed. 1802, Intro. p. 1.

49. The Hindee Story Teller, p. 23, Nuql. LXXVI.

The same piece under "Hindoostanee" orthoepy,

एक राजा ने अपना लड़का किसी जोतिकी को सौंपा-जो इसे जोतिक सिखाओ जब उसमें यह पूरा हो तो मेरे पास लाओ- पंडित ने बड़े प्यार और दुःख से जितनी बातें उसकी थीं सो उसे अच्छी ढब से सिखाई - जब देखा वह लड़का बड़ा गुनी हुआ तब राजा के साम्हने जाकर कहा महाराज आपका बेटा अब जोतिक में चौकस हुआ जब चाहिये उसे जांच लीजिये

The same piece in "Hinduwee" and Persian words under the same regimen as the last as modern "Hindoostanee" or "Urdu",

किसी बादशाह ने अपना फरजन्द एक मुअल्लिन को सौंपा कि इसको इलिनजूम सिखाओ - जब उसमें लासानी हो तो इसे हजूर में लाओ - आखून ने बड़ी सफाकत और मिहनत से जितने मरातिब उस इल्म के थे खातिर ख्वाह जताये जब देखता कि लड़के कोथउस इल्म में खूब महारत हो - तब हजूर में आकर अर्ज की कि जहाँपनाह शाहजादाह अब नजूम में लाइक ओ फाइक हुआ - जब मर्जी आये मुबारक में आवे तब उसका इम्तिहान लीजे

'A King entrusted his son to an astrologer to teach him Astrology; when he completes this (course) bring him (the boy) to me. The Pandit taught him all the essentials of that subject thoroughly, out of affection and with pains. When he saw that the boy had turned out to be virtuous, he went before the King and said, "My Lord, your son has learnt Astrology thoroughly, test him whenever you desire." '

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49. contd. (As this piece has been omitted in Nagari character, I had to copy the one transliterated by Gilchrist himself. His method of transliteration differs from the Royal Asiatic Society.)

I have followed the R.A.S. to a great extent but for the nasal symbols. Gilchrist transliterates Nagari letters, viz., a, ca, cha, ū, ī, ā, as u, cha, chha, oo, ee, a respectively without using all the diacritical marks.

50. Ibid, Nuql. LXXVII, p. 35.

51. Ibid, Nuql. LXXX, p. 35 ff.

Gilchrist's first specimen is an example of Braj Bhāṣā. His third specimen is obviously of Urdu<sup>52</sup> but the second specimen is written in Kharī Bolī Hindī which he failed to denominate as 'Hindi' but calls it "Hindoostanee" although it is an ideal illustration of 'Kharī Bolī' with more use of 'Tadbhaṅ' words and the verb forms, such as 'Sikhāī', 'huā', 'lijīye', 'Cāhiye,' etc.

This shows that Kharī Bolī Hindī was employed in the composition from the very beginning of the college, though a recognition of this fact was made later in the prefaces of "Prem Sāgar" (1803) by LallūjīLāl, of "Candrāvati" or "Nāsiketopākhyān" (1803) by Sadal Misra and in 'The Hindee Story Teller' (Vol.II, 1803) by Gilchrist. All the three authors give their own interpretations of what they really meant by Kharī Bolī.

In the introduction to his "Prem Sāgar", LallūjīLāl stated that avoiding Arabic and Persian words, he had told the story 'Dillī Āgre kī Kharī Bolī me,' in the Kharī Bolī of Delhi and Agra, while Sadal Misra in the introduction to his "Candrāvati", says, 'some people cannot understand the "Nāsiketopākhyān" because of its being in Sanskrit so I have translated it into Kharī Bolī'. This shows that he denominated the most prevalent form of Hindī as 'Kharī Bolī, and the only form of prose literary language. Similarly Gilchrist's references to Kharī Bolī are

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<sup>Introduction</sup>  
52. See Preface for definition.

to be seen in 'The Hindee Story Teller', VolIII, p.ii, 'many of those (stories) are in the Khuree Bolee or the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee, while some will be given in the Brij Bhāsā.' At another place in the "Oriental Fabulist" (1803), p.V, 'I very much regret that along with the Brij Bhasha, the Khuree Bolee was omitted since this particular idiom of style of the Hindoostanee would have proved highly useful to the students of that language.'

Similarly in the "Hindee-Roman Orthoepi-Ultimatum", 1804, p.19, 'another version of Sukoontala in the Khuree Bolee or <sup>graphical</sup> sterling tongue of India. This differs from the Hindoostanee merely by excluding every Arabic and Persian word.' In this way in short, Gilchrist defines Kharī Bolī as 'the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee merely by excluding every Arabic and Persian word.'

In spite of supply of a definition like this, he failed to recognise Kharī Bolī Hindī in the "Oriental Fabulist" <sup>53</sup> or 'Polyglot Translations of Aesop's and Other Ancient Fables', (P.V.) a specimen given below,

६ 'एक समय किसी नगर में चर्चा फैली कि उसके पड़ोस के पहाड़ को परसूत की पीर हुई और कहते हैं कि अति आहकर कराहने का शब्द उससे सुना जाता था , और सब की ध्यान उस पर थी की कुछ अनूठी वस्तु छिन एक में प्रसिद्ध होगी ..... निदान अति बाट देखते और अधिक अस्थिरता के पीछे क्या देखते हैं कि एक चूही भई'

53. 'From the English Language into Hindoostanee, Persian, Arabic, Brij Bhakha, Bongla, Sunkrit in the Roman characters by various hands under the direction of Gilchrist.'

'A rumour once prevailed that a neighbouring mountain was in labour: it was affirmed that she had been heard to utter prodigious groans; and a general expectation had been raised that some extraordinary birth was at hand ..... when, after waiting with great impatience a considerable time, behold! out crept a mouse.'

From these illustrations, it is evident that Gilchrist failed to recognise Kharī Bolī Hindī. In view of this fact Graham Bailey's <sup>54</sup> much exaggerated remark needs no examination. He states, 'I have recently made the very interesting discovery that Dr. John Gilchrist used the term in 1803, the first year in which any Indian is known to have used it, and twice in the year following. He, therefore, shares with Sadal Miśr and Lallūjī the honour of priority. In fact, as he wrote the name four times in 1803, and they only once, he deserves it perhaps even more than they.'

Mr. Bailey then goes on to explain,

'what happened is clear. He was Professor in the College of Fort William for four years, and for nearly the whole of this time Lallū and Sadal Miśr worked with him. He learned the name from them, and in his daily intercourse with them, had every opportunity of finding out its exact meaning.'

'He has told us further that in order to facilitate the transition from Urdū to Bhasa, he had caused a Kharī Bolī version of Śakuntalā to be prepared.'

From these contradictory statements of Mr. Bailey, no real conclusion can be drawn as to what Gilchrist contributes to the use of Kharī Bolī. But from earlier quoted specimens, it is clear

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54. See Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. VIII, 1935 - 37, page 365.

Also see T.G. Bailey, Studies in North Indian Languages, London 1938.



that Gilchrist's knowledge of Kharī Bolī Hindī was theoretical rather than practical.

His other works, the Stranger's East Indian Guide (1802), The Hindee Directory (or Student's Introduction to the Hindustānī language: comprising the practical Orthography (along with the first and general principle of its grammar) (1802),) The Hindee-Roman Orthographical Ultimatum (1802) bear the stamp of his originality. Besides these he compiled a number of text books <sup>55</sup> for civil servants and a "Collection of Dialogues in English and Hindoostanee" (1804), in which he has dealt with the general rules of pronunciation and mutation of letters as well as guide to conversing with the natives on the following lines:-

'Jitnī jaldī ho sake maī Hindī bolnā sikhugā.

I shall learn to speak the Hindoostanee as soon as possible. '

'Kapre badalnā is garmī ke mausim me kyā takliph haī!

How troublesome dressing is in this hot weather!'

Speaking about this language, Gilchrist does explain 'it is Hindustani and not Hindee or Hinduwee.'

He adds that

'the scheme of the Roman-Orthography is the only previous step of this nature that I shall take in these sheets because real students can and may refer for grammatical information when requisite to my other works.'

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55. The Hindee Arabic Table (1801) The Hindee Moral Preceptor and Persian Scholars shortest road to the Hindoostanee (1802), The Hindee Manual or Casket of India (1802) It contains a portion of each of the following texts, "Sihasan Batisi, Buetal Pacisi, Sakuntala Natak, Madhonal.

He continues,

'the Roman Alphabet is fully adequate to express all the various oriental sounds, however defective it must naturally appear when two or more letters are employed to denote only one sound.....'

His plan affords to the beginner

'the accuracy of pronunciation and the competent idea of the inflexion and concord of words.'

Gilchrist appears justified to some extent on the basis of his personal experience, nevertheless the use of Nagari characters is desirable even for beginners for learning the correct orthoepy and orthography of the languages concerned.

#### Gilchrist's Theory of Punctuation.

Gilchrist's writings in Nagārī character lack punctuation marks and appropriate diacritics. This sometimes makes them unintelligible. He therefore introduced punctuation marks <sup>56</sup> such as (-), (!), (-), (!), for a pause, full stop, interrogation and exclamation respectively. Only this sign (!), in fact inherited from Hindi MSS. (then available) for a full stop, has been retained until today.

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56. Gilchrist explains,

"At the suggestion of an ingenious friend, I have attempted to introduce a method of punctuation by using in the Naguree and Persian, the - a convenient mark of every pause less than a full stop. This last I have denoted by a | but when the ! appears, it denotes a note of admiration, and = an interrogation. I tried our points, but they were too minute for the Naguree, and not less inconvenient for the other character. That the idea is yet capable of great im-

Thus Gilchrist and his colleagues would appear to have felt the need of punctuating the Hindi and Hindustani texts.

Among other teachers of the Hindustani Department, Capt. Taylor compiled a "Dictionary of the Hindoostanee and English"<sup>57</sup> for his personal use which was later revised by Hunter and was subsequently published in 1808. Capt. Price composed a 'Vocabulary, Khuree Bolee and English of the principal words occurring in the "Prem Sāgar" 1815.<sup>58</sup> He edited Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections in two volumes in 1827<sup>59</sup> with the assistance of Tarni Caran Mitra, to which are prefixed the rudiments of Hindustānī and Braj Bhakha Grammar compiled for the use of the interpreters to the Native Corps of the Bengal Army. He translated "Articles of War" into Urdu also included in the Selections.

He distinguishes Hindi from Hindustānī and Braj Bhaṣā in the following lines,

60

'The great difference between Hindee and Hindoostanee consists in the words, those of the former being almost all Sunskrit and those of the latter, for the greater part Persian and Arabic.....  
Another important difference is the character, for Hindi, to be correctly expressed, must be written in Nagāri letters.'

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56. contd. improvement I have so little doubt that I hope other Orientalists will lend their aid to introduce so useful a plan into all their oriental works.' See: The Hindee Story Teller, Vol.1, (1802), Preface p. XIV.
57. B.P.C., 3rd Dec. 1808. Also see Chap.V. p.
58. B.P.C. 1st Feb., 1815, See his letter addressed to the College Secretary. Also see ~~Chap. V.~~ p. App. II
59. II Ed. Cal. 1830, Also see Chap. p.

Capt. Price made an original approach in distinguishing clearly between Kharī Bolī Hindī and Hindustānī. Consequently it is difficult to understand why he never produced a single prose work not even in the form of a translation, though he was on the staff for about seventeen years.

A few more Europeans including Hunter, Thomas Roebuck<sup>61</sup> compiled valuable works. The chief compositions of the latter are "British Indian Monitor" (1808), "Hindustānī Philology" (1810),<sup>62</sup> "Hindustānī Naval Dictionary" (of technical terms and sea phrases) to which a small grammar of Hindustānī (in English) was affixed. His most useful compilation was "The Annals of College of Fort William"<sup>63</sup> (1819), which comprises an account of the Annual Disputations with the Discourses of the Visitors who have been attached to the college. This work serves as the most reliable contemporary source of reference and provides the historical data of the college.

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60. "This is the same also which, and not Braj Bhasha as stated by Dr. Gilchrist, is so far the basis of Hindoostanee that it furnishes the grammar of the latter.".... See: B.P.C. Oct. 11, 1824, Price's letter addressed to the College Council for a fuller detail.

61. Attached to the Madras Military Establishment, later appointed as assistant Secretary of the College Council and an examiner of Persina, Arabic Hindustani and Braj Bhasa.

62. According to Taylor this was one of the best grammars prescribed as text book.

63. B.P.C., 2nd April, 1819.

Among munsīs and 'paṇḍits', one Gangā Prasād Sukla, the Bhākhā Paṇḍit compiled a 'Dictionary of the Hindee Language' in 1826. As stated earlier Munśī Tārṇī Caran Mitra assisted Gilchrist in compiling the "Oriental Fabulist", and Capt. Price in the "Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections." 64

In the contribution made by F.W. College to the development of Hindī prose, two names are outstanding, Lallūjīlāl Kavi and Sadal Misra, both attached to the college from its very commencement as 'Bhākhā Paṇḍits'.

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A number of writings are attributed to Lallūjīlāl Kavi viz. (1) Sihāsan Battīsī (1801), from Braj Bhāṣā of Sūdar Kaviśwar; (2) Baitāl Paccīsī (1801) from Braj Bhāṣā of Surat Kaviśwar; (3) Śakuntalīā Nāṭak (1801), from Braj Bhāṣā of Newāj; (4) Mādhonāl (1801) from Braj Bhāṣā of Motīrām; (5) Rājnitī (1802) from Sanskrit Hitopadeśa; (6) Prem Sāgar (1803 - 1810) from Braj Bhāṣā of Caturbhuj Misra; (7) Lataif-i-Hindī (1810); a collection of humerous stories; (8) General principles of Inflection and Conjugation in the Braj Bhākhā i.e. a Braj Bhākhā

64. See Appendix V, p. It seems that the Dictionary could not be published in author's lifetime. Hitherto, the MS. copy is not traceable.

65. B.P.C., March 9, 1813. Most of the books are enlisted in the the College Secretary's Report.

Grammar (1811) <sup>66</sup> (9) Sabhā-Vilās (1817); a collection of poems in Braj Bhākhā and Awadhī dialects;; (10) Vidyā Darpan (1813), (11) Mādho-Vilās (1817); a story of Mādhav and Sulocanā in prose and poetry combined, (12) Lāl-Candrikā (1813).

From the above list, It can be seen that hardly any of Lallulal's works are original; almost all are based either on Sanskrit or Braj Bhāṣā texts, excepting the Braj Bhākhā Grammar. <sup>67</sup>

Apart from "Sabhā Vilās" and the Grammar, his output consisted of prose writings for which he employed Braj Bhāṣā and Kharī Bolī Hindī. A specimen from "Rājñiti" being the earliest translation from Hitopadesa is given below as an example of his style,

पुनि ऐसे कहयो है कि सब पदार्थनि में विद्यारूपी पदार्थ उत्तम है + क्योंकि आहार की देनवारी + पुन्य मार्ग की दिखावनहारी अरु सदा चतुराई की दाता है + जाको भागी भाग न ले सकै अरु मोल नाहीं + कषय नाहीं + यह गुप्त धन है + याको चोर ठगराज छल करि न ले सकै + विद्या देती है नम्रता + नम्रता पाये भयो सुपात्र + सुपात्र भये मिलतु है धन + धन मिले करतु है धर्म + धर्म तें सुखी रहतु है + अरु जैसे नदी नारे को समुद्र पहुंचावे + तैसे विद्याहूं नर को राजा तक ले जाय + ओगे जैसे वाके कपार में लिख्यो होय तैसी , फल मिले +

66. Tassy names it, "Maçadir-i-Bhakha", "les noms d'actions de la langue (hindie)", ouvrage de grammaire redigé en prose et écrit en caractères nagaris. Il en existe un exemplaire dans la riche bibliothèque de la Société Asiatique de Calcutta See "Histoire De La Littérature Hindonie et Hindoustanie" p.232, II Ed. Vol.II, Paris 1870.

67. See Chap<sup>r</sup>. VI. p.

"Again he has said thus, that of all the objects, the object of knowledge is the best because it gives livelihood, it shows the path of virtue, and it bestows dexterity that cannot be shared by a partner and for which no price is to be paid, which cannot be destroyed; this is secret wealth, this cannot be misappropriated by (a) thief, robber, King; this furnishes one with modesty, modesty makes one a worthy person, after becoming worthy one acquires wealth; wealth enables a person to perform pious deeds, piety contributes to happiness and as the river bears the stream down to the ocean, in the same way knowledge enriches a person with dignity of a King; further what has been written in one's destiny that must be fulfilled."<sup>68</sup>

The language of this piece abounds with 'Tatsam' and 'Tadbhav' words, such as 'Kṣaya,' 'dharma', 'namratā', 'dhan', 'uttam', 'ahār', 'Punya', 'Kapār', 'vidyā' etc. Here we notice an absence of foreign words and lucidity of the language. The style is better than that found in early Braj Prose. The author has employed all the diacritics whenever required. A - sign has been introduced instead of proper punctuation marks, though in later editions the latter have been introduced.

The works <sup>69</sup> "Sihāsan Battīsi", "Bāitāl Paccīsi", Sakuntalā

68. p. 3 (1809) 1st Edition.

69. See: Introduction p.3, 'Satsaiya of Bihari Lall, Calcutta 1896 ( a literal translation in English) 'One day Sir or 'Sāheb' (Dr. Gilchrist) asked me "write (tell) a good story (if) there is one in Braj Bhāṣā, in the dialect of 'Rektā!" I said, "Allright, but arrange a Persian scribe for that, then only it will be composed (or written) nicely." He appointed two poets Majhr Alī Khān 'Wilā', and Mirjā Kajam Alī Jawā for my sake. Four books, Sihāsan Battīsi, Bāitāl Paccīsi, Sakuntalā Nāṭak and Mādhonāl were translated from Braj Bhasa in the dialect of Rekhtā.... I got a job under the Company in V.S. 1857 (i.e.1800 A.D.) That took place 19 years ago.

"Nāṭak" and "Mādhonāl" were composed with the collaboration of two munsis, Majhar Alī Khān Wilā,<sup>70</sup> and Mirjā Kāzim Alī Jawa.<sup>71</sup> Gilchrist does not mention Lallūlāl's name as author of these in his letter (19th August 1803) addressed to the College Council. He has attributed the authorship of "Sihāsan Battīsī" and "Sakuntalā Nāṭak" to Mirza Kāzim Alī Jawa and "Baitāl Paccīsī" and "Mādhonāl" to Majhar Alī Khān Wilā. Similarly Hunter, too, seems to have excluded Lallūlāl's name in his letter (7th March 1811) addressed to the College Council. Nevertheless some Reports of the Secretary, C.C. do include Lallūlāl's name in the book lists submitted from time to time to the College Council.

\* Garein de Tassy<sup>72</sup> in his book "Histoire de la Littérature Hindoni et Hindoustani",<sup>73</sup> (Vol. I) which is considered to be the first history of Hindī Literature by a European, has mentioned that Lallūlāl cooperated with the two munsis, 'Wilā' and 'Jawā' in rendering in Urdū or Hindustānī the works under discussion. Tassy accepts that 'Wilā' was the principal translator of "Baitāl Paccīsī" which was later revised by T.C. Mitra with the purpose of extracting Braj Bhasā words which were then not

69. contd. The books which have been composed in Braj Bhasa, Khari Boli and in Rekhta. All of them are popular.

70. Was engaged 10th Nov. 1800.

71. Was appointed 2nd June 1802.

72. pp. 310 ff., II Ed. Paris 1879.

73. Translated (the portions connected with the Hindī Literature) in Hindi, entitled "Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās" by Dr. L.S. Vārṣneya



in use in Hindustani.

All these data suggest that Lallūlāl introduced the stories to 'Wilā' and 'Jawā' while the latter were responsible for the language; because from the prefaces, it is evident that both the poets were employed by Gilchrist to assist Lallūjīlāl in the work of translation.

The manuscript copies of these four works available in the British Museum, are in Persian script. Gilchrist includes the text of "Śakuntalā Nāṭāk" in his book "Hindee Roman Ortheographical Ultimatum in Roman characters, but from the reports of the college, it appears that all four texts were written and composed in Nāgarī character and this is borne out by the fact that a portion of each work was published by Gilchrist in the "Hindee Manual" in 1802. This has been further supported by Tassy.

Though not appointed on the staff till 1801, it would appear from the evidence that Lallūlāl assisted the munsīs in these works. Besides, other pandits<sup>74</sup> namely Kāsīrāj, Kundan Lāl and T.C. Mitra were also on the staff of Hindustānī Department.

The following specimens from "Sihasan Battīsī"<sup>75</sup> and "Baitāl

74. See footnote 37.

75. Composed in Hindustani in Nagari character in 1801, published in Calcutta 1805, a copy of which is available in I.O.L. and the British Museum. II Ed. 1816, III, 1839, IV, 1849 Agra, 1854, 1865, 1869 (in Eng). 1888. (Note - All of these editions are available in British Museum.)

Paccīsī" <sup>76</sup> from their very first editions indicate the type of language employed,

6 यह कहानी सिंहासन बत्तीसी की संस्कृत में थी - शाहजहां बादशाह की फर्माइश से - सुंदर कवीश्वर ने ब्रज की बोली में कही अब शाहआलम बादशाह के अहद में मुवाफिकि इरशादि जनाबि जान गिलकस्त साहिबवाला मनाकिव - सनि बारह सौ पंदरह हिजरी - मुताबिकीसनि अठारह सौ एक ईसवी - काजिम अली शाइर ने ( जिसका तख्तुस जवा है ) श्री लल्लू जी लाल कवि की मदद से मुहावरये खास ओ आम में अर्हीहिंद के लिखी - इसलिये कि नोसिख साहिबों के सीखने और समझने को सहज हो और हरजेक के रोज मरें की उन्हें समझ हो - हिन्दू - मुसलमान शहरी - बेखजाती - अला अदना के कलाम को जानें - दूसरे के समझाने के मुहताज न हों (पृ. १, २)

'This story of "Sihāsan Battīsī" was in Sanskrit. By the order of the Emperor Sahjahā Sūdar Kavīśwar rendered it into the dialect of Braj. Now, in the reign of Emperor Shah Ālam in conformity with the order of the illustrious John Gilchrist, Kājim Alī (whose pseudonym is Jawā), the poet, with the assistance of Lallūjīlāl Kavi composed in the pure and current speech for the inhabitants of India in the year twelve hundred and fifteen Hijarī and according to the Christian era, in the year eighteen hundred and one, so that the new civil servants might find it (the language easier to learn and to follow) and every one could understand the common discourse. The Hindu, the Muhammedan, the foreigners, the superior and the inferior might be able to converse with each other. They should not depend on others for making it (language) intelligible.

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76. Composed in Nagari character in 1801, published in Calcutta 1805 (I.O.L.) followed by a number of editions viz. 1809, 1830, 1834, 1849, 1855, translated into English in 1839.

(२) " तब पंडित राजा से सिंहासन की हकीकत कहने लगे राजा सुन मरना जीना इखतियार खुदा के है पर इनसान को चाहिये जीते जी सब ज़िंदगी का अेश करले यह राजा सुनकर बहुत खुश हुआ और कहने लगा शायद ये पुतलियां खुदा ने अपने हाथ से बनाइयां हैं - या इंद्र के यहां की परियां हैं

यिह कहकर पंडितों को हुकम किया - नेक साअत अच्छी लगन बिचारो जो में उस साअत सिंहासन पर बैठूं सुनते ही पंडितों ने बिचार किया - कातिक महीने में अेक दिन शुभ लगन ठहराई - सब जोग उसके अच्छे थे कहा कि उस साअत तुम बैठो (पृ. १२ )

'Then the priests began to tell the King, the merit of the throne, O King! Hear! Life and death rest with God but man should enjoy life in every way while he survives. Hearing this, the King was very much pleased and said, "Perhaps God has constructed these puppets with His own hands or they are the nymphs of the abode of Indra."

'After saying this (he) commanded the priests "Think of an auspicious moment so that I may occupy the throne at that time." Hearing this, the priests thought of an auspicious day in the month of Kartik (Oct). In every way it was suitable, "You sit (on the throne) at that time."

#### पहली कहानी का शुरूअ

६ अेक राजा प्रताप मुकुट नाम बनारस का था और उसके बेटे का नाम वज्रमुकुट- जिस की रानी का नाम महादेवी। अेक दिन वुह अपने दीवान के बेटे को साथ ले शिकार को गया और बहुत दूर जंगल में जा निकला और उस के बीथ अेक सुंदर तालाब देखा कि उसके कनारे हंस चकवा चकवी बगले मुरगाबियां सबके सब कलोल में थे - चारों तरफ़ पुख्तः घाट बने हुअे - कंबल तालाब में फूले हुअे - कनारों पर तरह बतरह के दरख्त लगे हुअे कि जिनकी घनी घनी छांव में ठंडी ठंडी हवाअें आतियां थीं और पंछी पखेरू दरख्तों चहचहों में थे और रंग बरंग के फूल बन में फूल रहे थे - उन पर भौरों के झुंड के झुंड गूंज रहे किये उस तालाब के कनारे पहुँचे औरे मुंह हाथ धो कर ऊपर आये (पृ. १७)

"There was a King, Pratāp Mukuṭ by name, of Banaras, and his son's name was Vajra Mukuṭ. The queen's name was Mahādevī. One day, the King, accompanied by his minister's son, set off hunting and went out very far in a forest and meanwhile saw a beautiful pool situated therein which was encircled by swans, geese, herons, ducks; all of them were engaged in frolics. Strong banks were constructed on four sides and lotus was blossoming in the pool. Various trees were planted on the sides of the banks under their dense shade cool breezes were blowing and the birds were chirping on the trees and different kinds of flowers were blooming in the forest and a swarm of bees were humming on them. When the King and his companion reached near that pool and after washing their face and hands came away."

८ गुरजु सारे अेश ओ तुरब के साजु ओसामान मुहैया हैं अजब समें का आलम हैं कि जिसका कुछ बयान नहीं हो सकता । उसी मकान में रानी पद्मेमावती ने राजकुंवर को लेजा बिठलाया और पांव धुलवा सन्दल बदन में लगा फूलों के हार पहना गुलाब छिड़क पंखा अपने हाथ से झलने लगी - इसमें कुंवर बोला हम तुम्हारे देखने से ही ठंडे हुअे - इतनी मिहनत क्यूं करती हो - तुम्हारे ये नाजूक नाजूक हाथ पंखे के लाइक नहीं पंखा हमें दो तुम बैठो (पृ. २६)

"In fact all the (musical) instruments and means of enjoyment were ready. It was a wonderful time that could not be described. The queen Padmāwatī, taking the prince into that house seated him and washing his feet, applying sandal wood paste on his body, making him wear (a) garland of flowers, sprinkling rose (water) on him, began to fan him. Then the prince spoke, "I am refreshed by your very sight, why do you labour so much, these delicate hands of yours are not meant for fanning, give me the fan, you sit down."

The subject matter of these pièces is based upon ancient mythology. Therefore Lallūlāl did not introduce a new theme. Both works were, originally, in Sanskrit. Later

they were rendered into Braj Bhāṣā and subsequently into Hindustānī.

The language of the Hindustānī versions is a strange mixture of Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic, Braj Bhāṣā, Awadhī and Bihārī words. Among Sanskrit words, we find both 'Tatsam' and 'Tadbhav' such as Prajā, atithi, śarīr, swarglok, tapsyā, devkanyā, tirth-yātrā, uday, kamal, mukti, samarpan, sevā, citta, āgryā, prithvī, parikramā, niścaya, mitra, kāmā, māyā, dharmātma, budhivān, sastra, ānand, amṛtphal, dhyān, kathā, mandir, darsan, bhūtpret, sarāp, jatan, sanmukh, rākas, jātrā, mūrakh, ādes, barnan, asnān, vesyā, dasā, subhāv, jas, sīthal, kachuā, dakṣin, grihstī, des, suphal, ratan, jogī, nirās; the percentage of 'Tadbhav' words seem to be greater than 'Tatsam'.

Perso-Arabic words such as aīnh, sāj, majuno, ālā, iqrār, najat, ahvāl, khilat, hakīqat, zardā, bihtar, nasīb, siyāsāt, ahvāl, ahsān, ahlikār, dahsāt, vamūjiv, asarful<sup>77</sup>, sarāf, taqhllus, ahad, raiyat, basfa, rakab, daride, ikhtilāt, fidavī.

We also find Braj Bhāṣā words and phrases in a pedantic style, e.g. 'Sandesā hamārī bhī letī jāiyo; 'ham ān pahuce hai, lenā jo laksmī de hai, uske karam me likh de hai. Some distorted words are also seen e.g. dhirkā, Sansār, imarat, sāstar; use

77. For Persian and I have used 'fa' and 'qa' instead of 'Pha' and 'Ka' respectively.

of some such verb forms e.g. ātiyā, jātiyā, holiyā, baithiyā, hasiyā which seem to indicate the influence of other regional dialects. These words appear in the modern Pājābī language. Insā Allā Khān has also used similar verb forms in his text of "Ranī Ketākī kī Kahānī."

Some 'Desāj' words such as unne, viske, vinse, vinko, ānpahuckē, ānbaithī, karlijo, are to be found in both texts. Proverbs and idioms occur as in the following sentences, 'Kācan kī barābarī pītal nahī kar saktā', 'the copper cannot be compared to gold;' 'Candan ke guṇa ko nīm nahī pātā, Nīām (a tree) would not contain the quality of Sandal wood;' 'bandar ke gale mē motī kī mālā nahī sohatī,' 'a pearl necklace does not adorn a monkey's neck', 'manke laddū khāmā pīth na denā, kān dharke sunanā.'

It is interesting to note that the terminology of the Hindu religion, race and customs has been retained, e.g. aṣṭasidhi, naunidhi, varna, āsram, rājanya, rājputra, dhūpdīp, naivedya, gūrū, Lakṣmī, Mahādev, Pujā, etc.

The "Sihāsan Battīsī" contains more Urdū syntax and Persian words than the "Baitāl Paccīsī" e.g. '

'Surta Kahani kā yih hai, garaj sare ais o taraf ke  
sāj-o-sāmān muhaiyā hai, ajaṅ samai kā ālam hai.'

Earlier we have seen that the "Sihāsan Battīsī" was revised

by T.C. Mitra so that archaic Braj Bhāsā words could be avoided. The results of his efforts in this direction can be seen in the texts quoted. In the preface to "Baitāl Paccīsī," the munsīs describe the ideal they set before themselves,

'Zabāne sahal me jo khās-o-ām bolte haī aur jise ālim vo jāhil guni kūrḥ sab samajhe aur harek kī tabiat par āsān ho, muskil kisi tarah kī jāhan par na gujare aur braj kī boli us me rahe.'

'In easy language spoken by the select few and the common people and which is to be understood by the educated and the illiterate, the accomplished, the dull and which would become easy for everybody, none should find it difficult and it should contain Braj words.'

The statement indicates that the munsīs of the college wanted to introduce into the text a colloquial language which might be intelligible to all concerned. Therefore it was rather difficult for the teachers to employ a pure, unmixed language or to introduce a new style which could have been retained in the literature of our own time. This was a formatory period of prose writings especially as regards Hindī prose.

Similarly the language of "Mādhonāl" and "Śakuntalā Nāṭāk" abounds with Persian words and Urdū syntax, as the following specimens will show,

जनावे जान गिलक्रिस्त साहिब दाम इकबालहुके वा मुहावररे - ज़बावे उर्दू वया करता है लेकिन इ तदाअे किस्सा शहर की तारीफ़ में और उसके राजा और लोगों के वस्फ़ में है बलन्द बलन्द मकानों के बालाखानों का अक़लम देख कर आस्मान ज़ुमर्नि का आलाम तह व बाला था नये नये तौर के मकान मुनक़क़श आलीशानों पर सुनहरी कलियों के चमकने से अजब उजाला साहब-इ इल्म ओ हुनर नेक अफ़आल ओ नेक करदार और लोग अच्छे अच्छे आराम चैन से उस बस्ती में बसते थे।<sup>78</sup>

'Majhar Alikhān whose pseudonym is 'Wilā' tells the story of "Mādhonāl" and "Kāmkādālā" in the idiom and language of Urdū which has been related by Motīrām Kavīśwar in Braj, by the order of the most fortunate John Gilchrist. The beginning of the story is in praise of the city and describes its King and its people. At the view of the lofty houses and their occupants, (they) seemed to have been transformed as if the earth was touching the sky, the people who were highly educated and skilful, kind and benevolent lived in perfect comfort in that city.'

अगले ज़माने में , विस्वामित्र नाम एक शख्स था , शहर को छोड़, जंगल में रहा करता और तौर की इबादत ओ रियाज़त दिन रात किया कर्ता अपने साहिब की बंदगी में तन बदन की कुछ उसे खबर न थी, उसी के तसव्वुर के , कभी निगाह इधर उधर न थी, यहाँ तक दुबलापे से लटा था कि पहचाना न जाता।<sup>79</sup>

'In ancient time, there was a man Visvāmītra by name, (he was a ) great saint (and) great ascetic. Sitting in the forest (he) kept himself occupied and engaged in every sort of worship and austerity, (he) did not take care of his body meditating upon his Lord, became so emaciated as not to be recognisable.'

78. This piece has been copied from the Persian MS (No.92) "Kisseh-i-Madhonāl and Kāmkādālā" from the copy found in British Museum, pp. 1, 2 (in the absence of Hindi text).

79. This has been taken from the Persian MS. B.M. in the absence of Hindi version.



The language of the text is Urdū. The percentage of Persian words is much larger in "Mādhonāl" than in "Sakuntalā Nāṭāk." The syntax of both compositions is Urdū. Many of the sentences rhyme, as for example,

'In dukhō se usko kabhī ekdam ārām nathā,  
sivā uṭhāne in jafāō ke kuch kām na thā,  
tāki is khāksārī se ārjū dil kī bar āve,  
aur darkhte se muddāe phal pāve.'

The florid and ornate style of this prose is typically archaic in nature. Rhymed prose such as seen here is also a feature of early Braj prose texts but in this specimen the rhymes are less elegant than in Braj.

Another form of archaism is to be marked in such verb forms,

'Sakuntalā se dono sakhiyā pūchane lagiyā,'  
'Sakhiyā daūrī āiyā', 'has has kar Kahne lagiyā',  
'Sakhiyā bahlā bahlā kahtiyā.'

X The pedantic use of Persian in Urdū compositions is natural because in many cases no appropriate Urdū word existed; similarly 'pandits' could not avoid a good number of Sanskrit words when translating into Hindī.

Though the language of "Mādhonāl" and "Sakuntalā" is Urdū, the use of 'Tatsam', 'Tadbhav' and 'Desaj' words, e.g. manoj, tāpasvī, dhyāngyan, muni, dādhat, ādar, mahraj, āsīrbād, ṛṣiyō,

tīrth, darsan, ruprāg, bhāvra, bicār, caturāī and verb. forms such as kījo, kariyo, kījīyo, jāiyo, hūjiyo, rahiyo is to be found here and there. The number of such words is, however, much fewer than in "Sihāsan Battīsī" and "Baitāl Paccīsī".

Thus they do not contribute to the growth of Hindi prose nor can they be recognised as exclusive writings from the pen of Lallūlāl. Rather were they a collective effort where the aim was to compose a text in everyday speech which should be comprehensible to the civil servants in particular.

Till then Khaṛī Bolī Hindi could not be recognised as the only literary language of the prose writings. In the words of Lallūlāl,

80  
'the ancient language spoken in the cities of Dillee and Agra, and still in the general use among the Hindoos of those cities is distinguished by the inhabitants of Braj by the name of Khuree bolee, and by moosulmans indiscriminately by looch Hindee, nich, huchh Hindee or in theth Hindee, and when mixed with Arabic and Persian form what is called the Rekhtu or Oordoo.'

81

Thus the language of "Sihāsan Battīsī" and "Baitāl Paccīsī" can be called 'Rekhtā', but that of "Mādhonāl" and "Sakuntalā"

80. General Principles of Inflection and Conjugation in the Braj Bhākhā (1811) p.iii.

81. Was called Rekhta (i.e. scattered) because it consisted of Hindi into which Perso-Arabic words had been lying scattered and 'in the time of Nasikh (d.1838) poets gave up this word (Rekhtā) and began to use 'Urdu' for the language See: Bailey (T.G.) History of Urdu Literature.

Nāṭak" is Urdu.

"Prem Sāgar" is Lallūlāl's most popular writing and has already gone into several editions. The first edition of the text, though containing only 51 chapters and 176 pages, was published at the Hindoostanee Press in Calcutta in 1805.<sup>82.</sup> However, owing to the sudden departure of Gilchrist from the college according to Lallūlāl, 'the work remained half-finished and half-unfinished, half-printed and half-unprinted' and it was not until 1810 that the whole text was completed and reprinted in a single volume which is considered as the first complete edition. It contains ninety chapters occupying 430 pages with a list of errata at the end.

There is hardly any difference in the texts of the first and the second editions except for a few words e.g., Yasasvī, prabīn, sarūp, adharan, sām̄rath, yotsiyo, dachna, instead of yaśasvī, pravīn, swarūp, adharma, sām̄arth, yot̄siyo, daksina respectively. The type of the second edition appears a great improvement on the first.

To the third edition published in 1825, a Vocabulary Kharī Bolī and English of the principal words occurring in the

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82. Though on the title page it is printed 1803 in Hindi, V.S. 1860.

A copy available in I.O.L.

"Prem Sāgar" was attached by Price. Punctuation marks are added and more 'Tatsam' words are employed in place of 'Tadbhav' such as deśā, śaraṇ, prithī, śiṣya, śila, munīśa, yaśa, āśā, daśā, śudra, beśyā, nirmohī, vaṃśa, dakṣiṇa for deśā, saraṇ, prithī, śiśā, śila, munīsa, yasa, āśā, daśā, sudra, vesyā, nirmohī, baṃsa, dachna. The most peculiar change which is to be noticed in the use of palatal 's' in place of dental 's' and 'v' for b. In 1831 another edition followed.

In 1842, after a careful revision of the text, Paṇḍit Yogdhyān Mīśra published the fifth edition under the patronage of the Government of India. There have been three translations into English, one of them by Edward B. Eastwick (London 1854).

In V.S. 1979 (1922 A.D.) Brajratna Dās edited and published "Prem Sāgar" under the auspices of Nāgārī Prācārīṇī Sabhā. He has affixed an introductory note on the development of Hindī prose prior to Lallūlāl. However, the text in no way differs from the first complete edition except for the punctuation marks. Lalluji's tendency has been to write the inflexion separately in the first edition but in the later editions, it is combined, the only change noticeable in the two editions.

"Prem Sagār" was rendered into Kharī Bolī from the Braj Bhāṣā verse version of Caturbhij Mīśra. Therefore, many Braj

words, some in pure and some in a distorted form, have been retained in the text. The story relates an account of the life of Kṛṣṇa which has been taken from the tenth skandh of the "Bhāgvatpurāṇ".

So far as the subject matter is concerned, "Prem Sāgar" does not introduce a new theme. It is based upon ancient religious and mythological themes. Such themes have been adopted by his predecessors, Sadāsukh Lāl, and Rāmprasād Nirājanī as well.

The term Kharī Boli is introduced by Lallūlāl and Sadal Misra simultaneously, in 1803. In spite of employing the term Kharī Boli for the first time, Lallūlāl does not seem to have supplied any precise definition, apart from the following description of his style, 'Yāminī bhāṣā chor Dillī Āgare kī Kharī Boli me kah nām "Prem Sāgar" dharā, excluding the foreign language of the Mohammadans related in the pure language (speech) entitled (his work) "Prem Sāgar".

Specimens from "Prem Sāgar" demonstrate the first recorded example of Kharī Boli Hindī,

इतनी कथा कह शुक्रदेव जी राजा परीक्षित से कहने लगे कि राजा जद प्रथ्वी प-  
 अति अधरम होने लगा तद दुख पाय घबराय गाय का रूप बनाय रांभती देव  
 लोक में गई और इंद्र की सभा में जा सिर झुकाय अपनी पीर कही कि महाराज  
 संसार में असुर अति पाप करने लगे - तिनके उर से धरम तो उठ गया और  
 मुखे अज्ञा हो तके नरपुर छोड़ रसातल को जाऊँ इंद्र सुन सब देवताओं को साथ  
 ले ब्रह्मा के पास गये। ब्रह्मा सुन सबको महादेव के निकट ले गये। महादेव भी सुन  
 सब को साथ ले वहाँ गये जहाँ क्षीर सागर में नारायण सो रहे थे। विन को  
 सोता जान इंद्र सब देवताओं को साथ ले खड़े हो हाथ जोड़ विनती कर वेद  
 स्तुति करने लगे - महाराजाधिराज! आपकी महिमा कौन कह सके- मछरूप हो  
 वेद डूबते निकाले। कछ सरूप वन पीठ पर गिरिधारन किया। वाराह वन भूमि  
 को दांत पे रख लिया। वावन हो राजा बलि को छला। परसराम औतार ले  
 क्षत्रियों को मार प्रथ्वी कश्यप मुनि को दी। रामावतार लिया तव महादुष्ट  
 रावन को वध किया और जब दैत्य तुम्हारे भक्तों को दुख देते हैं तव आप वित्त  
 की रक्षा करते हैं। (पृ. १५, १५)

'Having related the story so far, Sukhdevji said to King Parikṣita, "O King! when exceeding iniquity began to exist on earth, then (the earth), pained and agitated went complaining into the celestial region, and entering Indra's Court bowing the head, she related all her trouble thus "Lord! in the world demons have been engaged in exceeding crimes; through fear of them religion has departed, and if you allow me I (will) abandon the abodes of men (and) go to the nether region." Indra, having heard (and) taking all the Gods with him, went to Brahmā. Brahmā, having heard, conducted all of them to Mahādev. Mahādev, also having heard, taking all with him, went where in the ocean of milk, Nārāyan was sleeping; Brahma, Rudra Indra accompanied by all the Gods stood with folded hands began to pray to God; King of Kings! who can utter your greatness! Assuming the fish form the sinking Vedas (you) extricated; assuming the tortoise form on (thy) back the mountain was carried; becoming a boar, the earth on (thy) tusk was placed; having become a dwarf, (you) played a trick on King Bali; assuming the Paśurāṃ incarnation (you) destroying the Kṣatriyas (you) gavethe earth to the saint Kāśyapa; the Rāma incarnation was adopted, then the most wicked Rāvan was slain; and whenever the demons are afflicting your devotees, you, then protect (them).

जब श्री कृष्ण आठ बरस के हुये तब एक दिन जसोदा से कहा कि मां में गाय चरावन जाऊंगा - तू बवा से समझा कर कह जो मुझे ग्वालों के साथ पठाय दे। सुनते ही जसोदा ने नन्द जी से कहा - विन्हींने शुभ मधूरत ठहराय बाल वालों को बुलाह कार्तिक सुदी आठें को रामकृष्ण से खरक पुजवाय विनती कर वालों से कहा कि भाइयो आज से गौ चरावन अपने साथ रामकृष्ण को भी ले जाया करो - पर इनके पास ही रहियो - वन में अकेले तब छोड़ियो जैसे कह छाक दे कृष्ण बलराम को दही का तिलक कर सब के संग विदा किया। वे मगन हो ग्वाल वालों समेत गायें लिये वन में पहुंचे। तहां वन की छव देख श्री कृष्ण बलदेव जी से कहने लगे - दाऊ ब्रिह तो अति मनभावनी सुहावनी ठौर है - देखो कैसे वृक्ष झुक झुक रहे हैं औ भांति भांति के पशु पंछी कलोले करते हैं (पृ. ५१)

'When Śrī Kṛṣṇa was eight years old, one day he said to Jaśoda (Yāsoda), "Mother! I will go to graze cows; do you persuade father that he may send me with the cowherds." On hearing this, Jaśodā spoke to Nandjī. He, having chosen an auspicious moment, sent for the Cowherds on the eighth of the bright half of Kārtik (October), having caused Rām and Kṛṣṇa to worship a cow-shed, humbly said to the cowherds, "Brothers! continue to take Rām, Kṛṣṇa also with you to graze cows from today; but remain close to them; do not leave them alone in the wood." Having spoken thus (and) given food, marking Rām (and) Kṛṣṇa's foreheads with curd (he) bade farewell (to them) along with the others. They, being delighted, accompanied by the cowherds, taking cows, reached the wood. There, seeing the beauty of the wood, Śrī Kṛṣṇa began to speak to Baldev, "Brother! This is an exceedingly charming (and) pleasant spot; see, how the trees are bending (and) bending; and various kinds of beasts (and) birds are engaged in frolics.'

From the above specimens, we are now in a position to form an opinion of Lallūlāl's language. Being a native of Agra, he could not possibly avoid the influence of Braj Bhāṣā, both in syntax and style. Therefore, it is apparent that "Prem Sagār"

abounds with Braj, Awadhī, Tatsam', 'Tadbhav' and 'Deśaj' words which together enabled him to produce a sonorous effect. It has also contributed to the lucidity of the text. We find sonority in such verb forms as pathāy, bulāy, pujvāy, thahrāy, phirāy, rijhāy, samjhāy, bujhāy and rahiyo, jāiyo, choriyo.

It was Lallūji's first attempt at employing Kharī Bolī Hindī as a medium of translation from Braj Bhāsā. This explains why 'kāraks' cases and 'Kriyāpad' verb forms were so very indefinite. We find no regularity or stability in these forms, e.g. 'Bulā' Bulāy, bulāke, and bulākar, pīrthī, prīthvī, prīthī, prāthivī, and the letters e.g. 'Ya', 'Ja', 'sa', 'śa', 'ṣa', 'va' and 'ba', variable. 'Tadbhav' words are used profusely, such as "Prasāntā bhāī, Vyāhān jog, pyāsebhaye, chāti se lagāy, maiyā tū mat risāy, vṛadādevī ko manāy, khilāypilāy, hamāre āye se, tumhāre gaye se. They were taken from every day speech, more popular and more easily understood. Since his writings were intended as text books for civil servants.

Though Lallūlāl decided not to employ a single foreign word, he could not avoid them altogether. The very first sentence of "Prem Sāgār" is in Urdu syntax, 'Ek samāī Vyāsdeva kṛt śrīmat Bhāgvat ke dāśam skandh kī kathā ko Caturbhuj Mīśra ne do he caupāī me Braj Bhāsā kiya pathśālā ke liye.

'Once the story of the tenth section of the holy Bhagvat (composed by Vyāsdeva, Caturbhuj Mīśra rendered into couplets and



quatrain in Braj Bhāṣā for (the use of) the college.'

Many Orientalists have maintained the view that it was Lallūlāl who introduced the Kharī Bolī form of Hindī in "Prem Sāgar" for the first time and that before this no such language was extant in India. In the Introduction to "Lāl-Candrikā" Sir George A. Grierson writes,

'Such a language did not exist in India before... when, therefore, Lallūjīlāl wrote his Prem Sāgar in Hindī, he was inventing an altogether new language.

Again, he writes in the Linguistic Survey, (Part I, Vol. IX),

'This Hindī (i.e. Sanskritized or at least non-Persianised form of Hindustānī) therefore, or as it is sometimes called "High Hindī" is the prose literary language of those Hindus who do not employ Urdū. It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last century..... Lallūjīlāl, under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist changed all this by writing the well-known "Prem Sāgar", a work which was so far as the prose portion went, practically written in Urdū with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian only.'

Grierson does not seem to be justified in the above statement so far as the language of "Prem Sāgar" is concerned. For the language employed in the text was more or less that spoken in Agra - Lallūjī's native place - and is prevalent there even now with slight changes. As stated earlier when Lallūlāl started

composing this book, he denominated the language as Kharī Boli. or pure language for the first time and gave it a particular form by means of his writing. But, even if the MSS. were not accessible to the teachers of the college, Hindi prose, <sup>83</sup> was, as we have seen, in existence well before the nineteenth century.

As to the Kharī Boli Hindi, its history is very old; it has been known since the thirteenth century, though under the denomination of 'Hinduī', 'Hinduvi' or 'Hindawī'. Formerly Kharī Boli was a colloquial language of the educated Hindu merchants and scholars of Northern India. It was, therefore, not invented by the Muslims, whose literary language is Urdū.

Thus the credit for the 'invention' or introduction and popularising of a new language does not go only to Lallūjīlāl and Sadal Mīśra who acted mainly under the direction of Gilchrist, but also to authors who had been working independently for some considerable period. These early writings were more literary, unmixed and less colloquial than Lallūlāl's, but remaining in MS. never became known to a wide public as did "Prem Sāgār."

84

Like Grierson, the brothers Mīśra, say,

'Varttamān gadya ke janmadātā Sadal Mīśra aur Lallūjīlāl mane jāte hai, the parents of modern prose are considered to be Sadal Mīśra and Lallūjīlāl.'

83. See Chapter I.

84. "Mīśrabandhu-Vinod" athva Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihās (Hindi), II Ed., II part, Lucknow. Sam. 1984, p.852.

'Of course the brothers Miśra are not considered to be the best authorities in the domain of linguistic problems but we quote their opinion because these words reflect the point of view widely spread in India itself.'

85

Barannikov, the Russian scholar, seems justified in the above statement. The brothers Miśra would appear to have written under the influence of Grierson's Linguistic Survey, as regards "Prem Sāgār", and its author.

Syāmsundar Dās in his preface to 'Hindī Śabda Sāgar' (1929), Rām Candra Sukha in his 'Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās' (V.S.1986 - 1931 A.D.) do not share these views on the question of the origin of Hindī prose.

Lallūlāl's last production, "Lataif-i-Hindī" or 'Hindoostanee Jest Book' containing a choice collection of humorous stories was published in Nāgari and Persian characters in 1810, and to it was added a vocabulary of the principal words in Hindustanī and English. Though it is clearly mentioned on the title page that one hundred 'Nuql' (or stories) were composed in 'Rekhtā' a literary form of Urdu, the following piece indicates the type of language actually employed in the text:

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85. A. Barannikov: Modern Literary Hindi (an article) B.S.OS - Vol. VIII, 1935-37, p.374. The author has translated "Prem Sāgar" into Russian, Leningrad.

## नकल ३१

'कोई बनियां बटोही बाट मूलके अक बन में जा निकला - वैसे वहां और तो कोई न नजर आया पर अक जोगी दिखाई दिया - इसने उसे दंडवत करके पूछा नाथ जी आते कहां से और जाओगे कहां + जबाव दिया - बाबा हिंगलाज ज्वालामुखी हरिद्वार कुरुक्षेत्र करके तो आता हूं और काशी हो गंगा गोदावरी का मेला कर सेतबंध रामेश्वर को जाऊंगा + बनिये ने कहा महाराज अक बात पूछूं जो सुफा न हो - बोला बाबा अक नहीं दो - कहा महाराज हम गृहस्ती हैं जो देस देस फिरें तो कुछ दोष नहीं आप फकीर हो भटक भटक क्यों भ्रम गंवाते हो - अक ठौर बैठकर किसलिये अपने भगवान का यान नहीं करते '

(पृ. २६)

'A merchant traveller straying from his path, found himself in a wood, he met no one but a saint; where after having bowed to him, he asked him, "Nāthjī, whence come you? Where will you go?" He replied, "Bābā! I have been to Higlāj, Jwālāmukhī, Haridwār, Kurukṣetra, and I shall go to Setābandh, Rameswar after attending the Ganga Godāwarī fairs via Kāśī." The merchant said, "Sir! May I ask you one question if you don't get annoyed." The other replied, "not one (but) two." (The merchant) said "Sir! we are householders, if we move about from one country to another, there is nothing wrong with it, but you are a 'Fakīr', why do you destroy people's confidence by wandering about, why do you not meditate upon your God sitting in one place?"

The language of this anecdote 'Nuql', is Khafī Bolī.Hindī, very similar to that of "Prem Sagār", as seen by the following examples, 'Bharam, jogī, grihastī, thaur, dhyān, dadvat, gahan. But most of the stories or 'Nuqls' are in Hindustānī. Also between appear the stories and verses from Persian and Braj writings, so it would seem that by 'Rekhtā' Lallūlāl meant a mixture of Hindī and Hindustānī.

Sadal Misra was another Bhākḥā Paṇḍit on the college staff, though for a short period (1803 - 1809). From the proceedings of the College Council, we learn that he composed viz. "Candrāvati or Nāsiketopakhyān" (1803),<sup>86</sup> "Rāmcāritra" or Adhyātma Rāmāyana (1806)<sup>87</sup>, Hindī Persian Vocabulary (1809), and he edited "Rāmcāritmānas" of Tulsīdās in V.S.1867 (1810 A.D.) A copy of this last work is preserved in the library of K.N. P.S.. A MS. copy of "Candrāvati"<sup>88</sup> is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society, Bengal. The late Dr. Śyām Sundar Dās<sup>89</sup> edited this book in 1904.

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86. Sadal Misra has given us the reason for his composition of Candravati,  
'I met the Honourable John Gilchrist who is the principal of the College (Fort William). Receiving his order, I have translated a couple of works from Sanskrit into Bhāṣā and from Bhasa into Sanskrit. Now in V.S. 1860 (i.e. 1803 A.D.) I have rendered "Nāsiketopākhyān" into Kharī Bolī in which the story of Candravati has been related because some cannot understand Devavānī.'  
Also see, B.P.C., 29th Aug.1803.
87. A MS. copy is preserved in I.O.L. See p.1 (after Maglācaran) The author gives the reason of his composition.
88. A few words here and there omitted, the same has been substituted by the editor, given in brackets.
89. II Ed. 1935, B.M.

The following piece, taken from the second edition (p.6 ) will indicate his language,

‘वहां चंद्रावती नाम उस राजा की महा सुंदरी कन्या जिसके लक्षणों का वर्णन न तो किया जाता है, न तो कोई वैसी देवतों की कन्या, न गंधर्व और नागों की देखने में आई, न सुनने में कि जिसके रूप को देखते जग जीतने वाले कामदेव भी मोहित होय और तीनों लोक में ऐसा कोई नहीं कि उसकी आंखों के देखने से अचेत हो न गिरे। दशसहस्र राजों की कन्या दिन रात उसकी सेवा टहल में रहती थीं अपने बाप के घर में नाना भाँति आनन्द विहार किया करतीं। सागर में लक्ष्मी वो तारन्ह में चन्द्रमा समान शोभतीं सब रनिवास में उसके चौथाई भी रूप किसी को नहीं कि जिसको देखकर आपस में लोग सब कहते थे कि उसे विंघि ने अपने हाथों से बनाया । कोई तो कहता था कि अरे! यह इंद्र की अप्सरा है कि किसी शाप से यहाँ आ पहुँची और राजा रघु को जो पूछो तो जिनकी इक्ष्वाकु के कुल में जन्म, वेद शास्त्रों में एक बड़े धर्मात्मा, सारी पृथ्वी का पति काम लोभ को जीते हुये, प्रजा पालने में सदा प्रसन्न, ब्राह्मणों का भक्त कि जिसको सत्य ही व्रत, उसके राय में न तो किसी को कुछ रोग और दुख होअे, हृष्ट पुष्ट, सब लोग अति पराक्रमी और बड़ों के आगे छोटों का मरण न था और नित्य घर घर मंगलाचार होता था।’

‘There, Candrāvātī by name, that King's most beautiful daughter whose virtues cannot be described nor in the daughters of celestial (Gods), of musicians, of Nāgās (the serpent race) are (they) seen or heard of; after seeing whose charm 'Kāmadev' or the Cupid, who was conquered the world, was fascinated and there was none in all the three worlds who did not fall unconscious on looking into her eyes. Daughters of ten thousand Kings attended on her who were making merry at their father's home in many ways. Seeing her, who looked graceful like Lakṣhmī in the ocean and Moon among the stars, not one fourth of her beauty was possessed by any body in the palace, people talked (of her) among themselves that she has been created by the Creator Himself. Some said, "Oh! she is a nymph of Indra or she came down here because of somebody's curse but ask the King Raghu who was born of the lineage of Ikṣvāku,

the most virtuous in Vedas and Scriptures, Lord of the Universe, having conquered (his) passions (and) temptations, delighted in bringing his subjects, a devotee of Brahman whose religious vow is the truth, nobody is afflicted from misery and sickness in his kingdom, hale and hearty, all people (were) brave and the inferior were not humiliated in the presence of the superior, and pious custom was observed in every house.'

It is thus evident that the style is very different from that of Lallūjīlāl, both in the choice of words and in the sentence construction. Although the Braj words in "Prem Sāgar" have a sonorous effect, the harmonious flow of Sadal Misra's style derives from certain dialectal touches. Like Lallūlāl, the native flavour of his speech arises from his background. As born in Arrah, near Patna, Sadal Misra employs the following words, 'Phulanh, Sonanh, bahuteranh, motinh, karorñh, ān pahuce, khare bhāe, man bhāe, kanyā yāc kar, narak bhog hoe, bidā bhae, citta lagāy, unho ke sāth khari bhaī, citaure lage, hamāre kahe se jāve, bhramte haī, sakalpate, sradhā, purī bhaī, bhāṣate.:

His sojourn in Calcutta during the composition of the work has also had an influence on his language as for example, 'maī jhuthāne nahī sakta hū,' 'yah to anāth koī kādatī hai, vinatī kiya,' 'sau barasdin vahā bit gayā.'

Sadal Misra has enriched Hindī literary style with such 'Alamkārs' as 'Upamā', 'Rūpak', 'Antaprās', e.g. 'Candrāma sā badan,' 'kācan sī deh,' 'sone kī latā par se motiyo ke phul jhark

A note of pedantry creeps in with his use of transitive verbs in some such sentences as 'Sukh ko pāte haī,' 'dukh ko sahte haī,' 'pīdā ko sahte haī,' 'bāt ko sunte haī.'

Sadal Misra's other composition was "Rām Caritra", a translation of "Adyātma Rāmāyaṇ", the only manuscript copy available, is preserved in the I.O.L. The Ms. copy contains 320 pages divided into seven chapters or 'Kādas' viz. Bālkād, is further divided into nine (not eight, as stated in the translated work) chapters, Ayodhyākād, having nine (chapters), Aranyakād having ten, Kiskindhā having nine, Sundar kād having five, Lākākād, having sixteen including Uttarkād having eight only. It has not been published hitherto. The following specimen will indicate the type of language employed in the text,

इतनी कथा कह फिर महादेव बोले कि नारदमुनि के जाते ही राजा दशरथ अकान्त में जो बैठे थे सो अपने कुल के आचार्य वशिष्ठ गुरु को बुला कर कहने लगे महाराज इस नगर के लोगन समेत बड़े बड़े महोजन ओ विशेष मेरे पुराणे मंत्री सब बारवार राम की बहुत बड़ाई करते हैं तिससे सब गुण भरे कमलनयन श्री रामचन्द्र को कल में राज्य का तिलक दिया चाहता हूं क्योंकि निपट वृद्ध में हुआ फिर क्या जानूं आगे कैसा होगा इस समय शत्रुघ्न सहित भरत अपने नाना को देखने गये हैं सब प्रकार यह अवसर अच्छा है इसे हर्षित हो जो जो सामग्री चाहिये सो सो तुरन्त आप मंगाईये ओ राम को जा जनाइये कि आज नेम आचार से रहें ओ चहुं दिश वर्ण वर्ण के ध्वजा पतका खडा करा मोतिन की लडीन से अति विचित्र वंदन बार द्वारों पर टंगाइये इस भांति आचार्य को बुझा समझा पुन सुमंत्र नाम मंत्री से कहा कि सुनो जो जो आज्ञा वशिष्ठ मुनि करें सो सब सावधान हो तुम करो होत सवेरे रघुनाथ को मैं राज्य पर बिठलाऊंगा इतने वचन के सुनते ही महा हर्षित हो विसने मुनि से कहा कि स्वामी मैं तो तुम्हारा दास हूं जो जो वस्तु चाहिये सो सो शीघ्र आप मुजे सुनाइये (पृ. ४)



'Relating this story, Mahādev said, that after the departure the sage Nārada, King Daśrath who was seated in a solitary place, said to his family priest, the Preceptor Vaśiṣṭha, "Sir, the big merchants along with the gentry and especially my old secretary, often praise Rām profusely, that is why, of the lotus-eyed Rāmcandra, gifted with all the virtues, I want to mark the forehead on his coronation day because I have grown very old, who knows what will happen next; at present Bharat along with Satrugna has gone to his maternal uncle's place, this opportunity is in every way favourable, therefore (you) rejoicing at this news, arrange whatever things are required and let Rām know that he is to lead a pure life today. And fixing poles for flags of different colours in all the four directions, let a string of pearls and unusual festoons being hung on doors." Thus making the preceptor understood (he) again spoke to his secretary, Sumātra by name, "Listen, whatever orders (you) receive from sage Vaśiṣṭha, obey them carefully; when morning dawns, I would crown Raghunāth." Having heard this message, being rejoiced greatly, he said to the sage, "My Lord," I am your servant, whatsoever materials are required, let me know immediately."

The language of Rām Caritra abounds with 'Tatsam' words. The use of 'va' for 'ba', 'sa' for 'kha' can be noticed. On comparing with the original, the translation "of Rām Caritra" appears more accurate than "Prem Sāgar."

Sadal Misra's prose does not rhyme, we do not find a chain of alliteration and adjectives in the text. His style is simple and lucid. He employs the earliest form of Khari Boli, but he never makes it artificial. He tries to be as natural as possible in the choice of his words and phrases. His sentences are generally very short. Lallulal, on the contrary, had a tendency to introduce compounds in his prose which gave it an effect of

overloading.

Thus Sadal Misra's language is of a higher literary standard than his colleague's with less variation in the syntax, more restraint in the style and is altogether more classical in tone. This may be due to his background of Sanskrit and the fact that he was a scholar. In spite of his prose being superior in every respect to that of Lallūlāl, his works were never published during his lifetime, for which no reason has been found. Although his works could not become popular as text books, nevertheless in them, he has cultivated a Hindī prose style, after the pattern of Rāmprasād Nirājanī, Daulatrām and Sadā Sukhlāl.

## CHAPTER III.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES: HINDĪ PROSE.The Dawn of Modern Missions in North India.

Considerable impetus was given to Hindī Prose Literature by the Srīrāmpur (Serampore) Missionaries by various Religious Tract and Book Societies and kindred institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century. On the 16th Jan. 1800, the first Protestant Mission in North India was established at Srīrāmpur, a small Danish Settlement, sixteen miles from Calcutta; by the illustrious trio, William Carey, the linguist, Joshua Marshman,<sup>1</sup> the educationist and William Ward,<sup>2</sup> the printer. Of these the moving spirit was William Carey.

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1. Born on April 20, 1768, in Westbury Leigh, Wiltshire. His parents were of very slender means, nevertheless, they managed to educate their son. When he was fifteen years of age, he was apprenticed to a bookseller in Holborn, London; but he did not like the job and returned home to help his father in his trade as weaver. This gave him enough leisure and opportunity for study. In 1791, he married Hannah Shepherd, who proved a most faithful companion. While they were at Srīrāmpur, she became a prominent woman missionary, interested particularly in female education. Marshman studied the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac languages while he was a teacher at Bristol Academy (later known as the Baptist Mission College). He worked there for about five years and then was sent to India through the Baptist Missionary Society, London. Besides some of the Indian Vernaculars, he acquired Chinese in which he subsequently compiled a Dictionary. He edited "The Friend of India" (1818-1878) till his death in 1837.
  2. Born in Derby on Oct. 20, 1769. He lost his father in infancy so was left under his mother's care. After completing his education, he was apprenticed to a printer at Hull, where he founded the church in George Street. Before Carey was to leave

Carey was the son of a schoolmaster and parish clerk and was born in obscurity in the village of Paulerspury in Northamptonshire, England, on August 17th 1761. His native place had served as the cradle of Shakespeare, Wycliff, John Newton and Thomas Scott. He was 'grounded in the rudiments of learning and received an education which was generally esteemed good in country villages.' At the age of twelve, somehow, he procured a copy of 'Dyche's Latin Vocabulary' <sup>3</sup> and committed to memory the fundamentals of grammar prefixed to it. It seems that this laid the foundation of his future zeal and aptitude for the acquisition of languages. When he was fourteen, he was apprenticed to Clarke Nichols, a shoemaker at Hackleton. Under the ministry of Thomas Scott, the well-known biblical commentator, he made progress in his religious outlook. In his later life, he never forgot his indebtedness to Scott's influence. He joined the small church at Hackleton and afterwards became a pastor of the Baptist congregation at Moulton. Gradually, the circle of his studies enlarged; although pinched with poverty he yet managed

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2. contd. for India he met him and said to him, "if the Lord bless us, we shall want a person of your business to print the Scriptures; I hope you will come to us." These words remained in his mind and influenced his future decisions. He arrived at Calcutta in 1799, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Marshman and two other missionaries. He married Mrs. Fountain in May 1802. His main contribution to the Srirampur Mission was the establishment of Printing Presses. He supervised the publication of the Scriptures and other works. He devoted many years to the compilation of a work of considerable magnitude, entitled, 'A view of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos', which was published in 1811 in four quarto volumes. Before he died in 1823, he had advanced to the printing of the 20th version of the New Testament, under his own immediate direction.

to buy a few books at the sale of Dr. Ryland's<sup>4</sup> property, which  
 1 laid the foundation of his own library. 'His extensive study of  
 Geography and books of travel convinced him painfully of the  
 fact that a very small portion of the human race had yet possess-  
 ed any knowledge of Christ.'<sup>5</sup> Thus, Carey for the first time  
 conceived the idea of founding a society for the propagation of  
 the Gospels and to that effect he wrote (1786) and published  
 in 1792, a paper entitled, 'An Enquiry into the Obligations of  
 the Christians for the Conversion of the Heathens in which the  
 Religious State of different Nations of the World, the success  
 of Former Undertakings are considered.' This was the birth of  
 England's foreign mission in Bengal. 'The Pamphlet displayed  
 the extraordinary knowledge he had acquired of the geography  
 history and statistics of the various countries in the world,  
 and exhibited the greatest mental energy under the pressure of  
 the severest poverty.'<sup>6</sup>

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3. J.C. Marshman, The Life and Times of Carey,  
 Marshman and Ward, p.

4. An eminent Baptist divine.

5. S.K. Dey, History of Bengali Literature, p. 95

6. The Life and Time of Carey, Marshman and Ward, p. 10.

Carey was able to infect his colleagues with his ideas. Accordingly, at a meeting of the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Churches held at Kettering, on the 2nd Oct., 1792, a resolution for the institution of a society was proposed and unanimously accepted. "It was agreed that the society be called 'The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospels among the Heathen.'<sup>7</sup> A few more resolutions were passed and a committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. John Ryland, Reynold Hogg, William Carey, John Sutcliff and Andrew Fuller, was appointed. Three of these were empowered to carry into effect the purposes of the Society. 'The object of this society was to evangelize the poor, dark, idolatrous heathen, by sending missionaries into different parts of the world, where the Gospels of Christ were not known nor published.'<sup>8</sup> Besides this, the London Missionary Society was founded in 1795, followed by the Church Missionary Society in 1799, in the evangelical interests of the Anglican Church: 'other sects followed closely in the wake of these organizations.'

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7. See Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Chipstone, 1800, Vol.1.

8. Ibid.

9. They were called 'Danish' because they were financed and supported by the King of Denmark.

Protestant Missions in Southern India: Carey's Predecessors.

It must not be supposed, however, that missionary activities were unknown in India before Carey arrived. In the history of modern evangelization, it is a fact that the first Protestant Mission to India owed its origin and support to the Danish Government. The missions are known as the Lutheran Danish - Halle missions and their field was Tranquebar, Madras. Early in the seventeenth century, the Danes had an insignificant commercial connection with Tranquebar. But it was not until the commencement of the eighteenth century (1705), that King Frederick IV. of Denmark at the suggestion of Dr. Lutkens, one of his Majesty's Chaplains, resolved to establish a mission for the diffusion of the Gospels and for the conversion of his Indian subjects in Tranquebar and in the adjoining territory. Among the outstanding Protestant Missionaries were Bartholomew Ziegenbalg (1683-1719), Henry Pluetschaw (1678 - 1747), Benjamin Schultze, (Schulze), Christian Frederick Schwartz (1726 - 1798). The first two were the founders of the 'Danish Halle' mission in India. They were educated at the University of Halle, the then centre of Evangelical Christianity, under the guidance of the learned professor Franke, and were sent to India. 'Fired with holy zeal', Ziegenbalg and his associate were desirous of

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10. 'The name 'Halle' explains the fact that the workers sent out by Frederick IV, were trained at the mission-loving theological seminary at Halle, Germany.' See: J. Theodore Mueller, Great Missionaries of India, p.23.

11. Ibid.

delivering their message to the inhabitants of the place, immediately after their arrival in 1705.

But on the very threshold, they were confronted by the basic problem 'the want of a medium of communication.' Both of them applied themselves to the acquisition of 'Malabarick' or Tamul, the proper language of the country. After attaining proficiency with the help of 'native pundits' <sup>12</sup> Ziegenbalg and his associate started preaching through the medium of Tamil. Besides other writings <sup>13</sup>, Ziegenbalg <sup>14</sup> translated the New Testament into Tamil in 1711, but owing to his premature death early in 1719, he could not finish the translation of the Old Testament <sup>15</sup> which was later completed (1725) by Schulze who took charge of the mission early in 1720.

Schultze wrote a considerable number of religious tracts in Tamil, a Hindustānī Grammar <sup>16</sup> and translated the Bible into Hindustānī. He devoted twenty three years of his life to missionary pursuits. J.Z.Kiernander, a Swede, joined the Mission at Cuddalore in 1740. In 1858, he settled at Calcutta. F. Schwartz, a student of Professor Francke, was associated mostly with the history of Tanjore Mission. After spending forty-eight years in the mission field, he died in Febr.1798. With the death of Schwartz ends the first period of the Protestant Mission in India.

12. The two missionaries studied Tamil, attending the village school and sitting cross-legged with other boys. They traced the alphabet in sand in the traditional manner of Indian schools.

13. Tamil Grammar and a Dictionary and a few religious tracts.



### Kiernander's Mission.

So far we have been discussing missionary activities in Southern India, however, modern missionary work in Bengal, North India, dates from November 11th 1793, the day upon which William Carey<sup>17</sup> with Dr. Thomas<sup>18</sup> as a coadjutor, landed at Calcutta in a Danish vessel.

On reaching Calcutta, Carey found Kiernander's Mission already in existence. In 1758, after the Battle of Plassey, J.Z. Kiernander on the invitation of Mr. Watts, one of the Bengal Council, arrived on board a Danish vessel to settle in Calcutta. At that time Col. Clive was the Acting Governor of Bengal, accorded a cordial welcome to Kiernander and the latter was appointed to the Chaplaincy of Fort William. He laid the foundation of the 'Old Church' at Calcutta in 1767 and contributed his own money,<sup>20</sup> a sum of £8000 towards its completion. For thirty years this was the only Christian Church in Bengal.

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14. He laid the foundation stone of the first Protestant Church in 1707, but another was built in 1717, which was called 'New Jerusalem Church.'
  15. Schultze took up the translation of the Old Testament beginning with the Book of Ruth.
  16. See Chapter V. p. App. II
  17. He was accompanied by his wife and five children.
  18. Dr. John Thomas had come to India as ship's doctor in 1786, and had for three years been closely engaged in the service of Charles Grant, (1746 - 1823) Secretary to the Board of Trade in Bengal. In 1792, Grant wrote a pamphlet entitled 'Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain.'
  19. See The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register Vol. XV (Sept.-December) 1834, New Series.
  20. He had married a rich lady.

Kiernander called it 'Beth Taphillah', the 'House of Prayer'. He also founded a school earlier in 1758. Although he was acquainted with Tamil and Portuguese, he never acquired Bengālī or Hindustānī during the forty years he resided at Calcutta. He could not, therefore, wield any influence on the masses. At the ripe age of eighty, he met Carey at Bandel. Prior to his decease, Kiernander had to give up his post because he was heavily in debt. No trace of his writing was found by Carey after his death in 1798.

Modern Missions and Opposition of the East India Company.

It was Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General (1786-1792), who denounced the missionary labour in the strongest terms, thinking that no benefit could possibly accrue to the people from a missionary scheme. 'The British Parliament notwithstanding the eloquence of Wilberforce, refused its patronage and lent a willing ear to the antagonistic declaration of the Company's Directors.'<sup>21</sup> Thus the East India Company, from the beginning, set its face against missionaries, because its primary concern was with trade, and it was felt that interference with the social habits and religious beliefs of the people would rather go against the Company's commercial interests.....'the fact that an organized Protestant Mission did not exist at the time

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in England.'<sup>22</sup>

21. M.A. Sherring, The History of Protestant Mission in India (1706-1881) p.57.

Thus, we find, Kiernander's scheme could not succeed, although he tried to sow the seeds of the so-called first Protestant Mission in Bengal. There were, it is true, other persons like David Brown,<sup>23</sup> Claudius Buchanan,<sup>24</sup> Henry Martyn,<sup>25</sup> Thomas Thomason and Danniell Corrie,<sup>26</sup> who manifested considerable interest and zeal in the conversion of the Indians to Christianity but these eminent men entered Bengal as Chaplains of the East India Company, not as missionaries.

22. K.M. Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance, p.

23. He remained the clergyman of Kiernander's 'Old Church' for a quarter of a century, and was also appointed as the Provost of Fort William College in 1800. He died in 1812.

24. Arrived in Calcutta on 30th July 1796, and was appointed Vice-Provost of the College. In 1806-1807, at the request of the Government of Madras, he undertook a tour for the purposes of discovery and enquiry amongst the Syrian Christians in Travancore, and in 1811 he published the results of his investigations, in a book entitled 'Christian Researches in Asia' that ran through many editions in England. He also brought with him to Calcutta a copy of the Bible in the Syriac language (of the 12th Century) and which was sent home and was deposited in the University Library at Cambridge.

25. Martyn (1781-1812) arrived at Calcutta in April 1806. Immediately on arrival he met Carey who was connected with the Fort William College. Martyn was trained by Srirampur missionaries in the mission field. He acquired the knowledge of Hindustani, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and translated the Bible into Urdu in 1808 which was rendered into Hindi by William Bowley in 1818.

26. Was intimately connected with the Church Missionary Society and established schools at various places in Upper India.

William Ward and Joshua Marshman, together with two of their associates, <sup>27</sup> landed at Calcutta on the 5th Oct. 1799, in the American ship 'Criterion'. At this time Carey was still at Madnabati near Maldah (Bengal), looking after his Indigo factory. The former were not permitted, by the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, to establish an English Mission in the vicinity of Calcutta. On the other hand, the Danish Governor proposed generously that they should establish themselves permanently in Srīrāmpur. They were allowed to found schools, instal a printing press and carry on such other missionary labours as they might choose to engage in. It was then that William Ward approached Carey whose attention was thus drawn to the latest missionary developments and who therefore decided to join the other missionaries viz. William Ward, Joshua Marshman and his wife. <sup>28</sup> Thus the Baptist Mission was established in Srīrāmpur.

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27. Both William Grant and Daniel Brunson died prematurely.

28. After Carey's arrival, the Srirampur Trio bought a house with spacious grounds for their own accomodation and for other numerous purposes which they had in view in connection with the mission.

'Rules were framed for their mutual guidance - They agree to have all things common, with their wives and children to dine at a common table'

See: the History of Protestant Missions in India. p.61.

The Printing Press at Srīrāmpur and Nāgarī Fount.

One of the reasons that induced Carey to shift to Srīrāmpur was the need to print the Scriptures in the various languages of India. He had experienced some difficulty in installing at Madnā<sup>h</sup>atī a press which he had purchased at Calcutta for Rs.400. This, though an old one, was the first printing press. It was subsequently removed to Srīrāmpur and on it the first edition of the Bengālī New Testament was printed in 1801. 'The types were set with the knowledge of a first rate printer by Ward with his own hand, assisted by Carey's son, Felix.'

By the beginning of 1803 the Srīrāmpur Missionaries had made considerable progress in the preparation of a fount of Devanāgarī types. 'This was the first fount of this type which had been attempted in India.' It was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed who inspired his friend, Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) to take up the study of Sanskrit and Bengālī. As regards the first Nāgarī fount ever cast in India, the following lines are of relevance.

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Dr. Joshua Marshman, the editor of 'The Friend of India'

29. History of the Serampore Mission, pp.178,179.

30. Ibid, p.178.

31. Born at Frome, Somerset, in 1749, was the son of Walter Wilkins and Martha Wray, niece of Robert Bateman Wray, the engraver. In 1770 he joined the East India Company as a Writer and became Superintendent of the Company's factories at Maldah. "About 1778, he writes, his curiosity was excited by the example of his friend Halhed to commence the study of Sanskrit." Later he made himself acquainted with Persian and some of the vernaculars. He established the first

(1818), a monthly magazine, writes, 'To Mr. Charles (now Dr.) Wilkins: We are indebted for the application of the art of printing to the Bengal language ... the result of which on the destinies of India, it must benefit for eternity fully to develop..... He originated the models, prepared the materials<sup>34</sup> and shared the manual labour with his native assistants while he directed their operations, Among the first specimens of his typographical skill, was his friend Halhed's Bengalee Grammar (1778) which, but for him could not have seen the light, at least in this country. To this fount of Bengalee types, he added others in the Nagaree, Persian characters; and thus completely opened the way for the ultimate diffusion of knowledge throughout India.'

The very fact that as "The History of the Serampore Mission" states, the blacksmith Panchanam had been trained in the art of punch-cutting by Wilkins, convinces us that the need of Nāgarī founts must have been felt by the Government officials.

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31. contd. official printing press for Oriental languages in Calcutta in 1778. Here he was not only an organizer, but also (in the words of Halhed) "a metallurgist, engraver, founder and printer," of types for alphabets so elaborate and distinct from one another like Bengali, Persian etc. See The Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1900, Vol.LXI, pp.pp.259,260.

32. Father of John Clark (or J.C.) Marshman.

33. No.III, p.61.

34. One of these was the blacksmith Panchanam.

Furthermore, we have seen that the Bengal Regulations of 1793 were translated into Hindustānī in 1797 (but in Nāgarī characters). Later in 1801, the Examination Exercises of the Fort William College were published also. Besides, the first Indian who established a press in Calcutta was Babūrām, a native of Hindustān.<sup>35</sup> His Press was most liberally patronized by T.H. Colebrooke,<sup>36</sup> and from it various editions of classical works, both in Hindī and Sanskrit, were published.<sup>37</sup> This fact has been confirmed by a "Memoir Relative to the Translations"<sup>38</sup> published in 1807.

'Happily for us and India at large Wilkins had led the way in this department; and by persevering industry, the value of which can scarcely be appreciated, under the greatest disadvantages with respect to materials and workmen, had brought the Bengālī to a high degree of perfection. Soon after our setting at Srīrāmpur the providence of God brought to us the very artist who had wrought in that work and in great measure imbibed his ideas. By his assistance we erected a letter-foundry; and although he is now dead, he had so fully communicated his art to a number of others, that they carry forward the work of type-casting, and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of accuracy which would not disagree European artists. These have cast for us two or three founts of Bengālī ..... Of the Devnāgarī character we have also cast an entire new fount, which is esteemed the most beautiful of the kind in India. It consists of nearly 1000 different combinations of characters, so that the expenses of cutting the patterns only amounted to 1500 rupees, exclusive of metal and casting.'

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35. The area which extended from Digah (Digha) and Patna to Banaras was known as the 'Hindustan Mission.'
36. Was appointed (1765-1837) to a writership in the Civil Service of Bengal in 1782, and landed at Calcutta in April 1783. He was appointed an honorary Professor of Sanskrit Grammar. The Seventh Volume of "Asiatic Researches" (1801) contains three of his essays, out of the three one on Indian languages where Colebrooke has thrown considerable light on the denomination of Hindi in the modern sense.
37. See 'The Friend of India', Quarterly Series, No. I, p. 119.

Thus it is clear from the above 'Memoir' that an improvement was made in the existing Nāgarī fount, some letters of which were rather archaic in design. This can be seen in the early printing done at Calcutta.

Panchānan's apprentice Manohar continued to make elegant founts of type in all the Eastern languages for the Śrīrāmpur Mission and for sale to other missionaries for more than forty years. Later he introduced some noteworthy changes and to his exertions Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful founts of Bengālī, Nāgarī, Persian and Arabic and other characters. By 1813, the Śrīrāmpur Mission had six presses<sup>39</sup> and was expect-<sup>40</sup>ed to instal a few more in the different printing establishments, to expedite the work of printing the Scriptures in as many languages as possible.

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38. Of the Sacred, Scriptured into the Languages of the East, Serampore 1816.  
Also see G. Smith, "Life of Carey", London 1885, pp.242,243.
39. Periodical Accounts of Baptist Missionary Society, 1813, Vol. V, p.223.
40. The History of Serampore Mission, Vol.I, p.179.



Translation of the Scriptures into 'Hindee or Hindoosthanee!

Thus, after installing a printing press with new founts, of types in some of the languages, the Śrīrāmpur missionaries applied themselves assiduously to the work of translation. By this time two editions <sup>41</sup> of the New Testament in Bengali had been printed. Missionaries found some favourable circumstances which led them to success. In a letter, <sup>42</sup> dated April 1804, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), London, the missionaries gave their reflections on the possibility of effecting a translation of the Bible 'into some if not all the languages ' prevalent in India. The relevant portions of the letter are produced below. They wrote:

"First: We, having been for a considerable time employed in translating, are in some degree formed to those habits which are necessary to such a work. Secondly: We are in a situation where we can at a moderate expense, procure learned natives of all these countries who understand either the bengalee or hindoostanee; and some can read the arabic bible, besides having a critical knowledge of their own languages. Thirdly: We have, perhaps, one of the best libraries of critical works on the Scriptures and different versions of them, that will be found in any one place in India and this may be still increased. Fourthly: We have a printing press to publish them and a letter foundry to cast types of the different characters. Fifthly: Any help which you will be in a position to extend us, will enable us to go through with it. Sixthly: Our Situation will enable us to spread them abroad, if we should live to see the work or any part of it completed."

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41. In 1801, 1803.

42. See: Periodical Accounts No.XIV, B.M. Society 1803.

"Impressed with these considerations, we last year (1802), engaged in a translation of the New Testament 43 into Hindoostanee and Persian. The Hindoostanee is nearly finished; but the Persian has hitherto advanced slowly."

44

The information given above indicates the resourcefulness and the enthusiasm of the missionaries determined, in spite of unfavourable circumstances, to carry on the work of translation for the dissemination of the Gospels through the medium of various vernaculars.

When Carey in 1802 decided to make the first translation of the New Testament into Hindi, this language was not as yet in common use for prose compositions. Nevertheless, in Bengal some efforts were being made by the teachers of Fort William College to extend it as a medium of expression. Carey's knowledge of Sanskrit<sup>45</sup> and Bengali<sup>46</sup> and his consequent philo-<sup>47</sup>logical approach helped him to differentiate between Hindi and Hindustani; because of his connection with the college,<sup>48</sup> he was aware of the developments taking place in it.

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43. This word has been used for Hindi. The following lines will elucidate this point: "We have also begun to print part of the New Testament in the Mahratta languages; with the Nagaree types, of which we have a complete fount. These types will also do for the Hindoostanee Bible." This also shows that the New Testament in Hindi was not printed till then. (Extract from the letter addressed to the Secretary dated 24th Sept. 1804).

44. See Periodical Accounts of B.M.Society, Vol.III, London, 1806.

45. He composed a Sanskrit Grammar in 1798. See his letter to Sutcliff, June 16, 1798, quoted in E. Carey's 'Memoir of Dr. Carey' op,cit. p.323.

In a letter dated Dec. 14, 1803, addressed to Dr. Ryland, Carey wrote,

'At this time several considerations prevailed on us to set ourselves silently to work upon a translation in these (Mahratta, Hindostani etc) languages. We accordingly hired two moonshees to assist us in it and each of us took our share. Brother Marshman took Mathew and Luke; Brother Ward, Mark and John; and myself the remaining part of the New Testament into Hindostani. I undertook no part of the Persian, but, instead, thereof, engaged in translating into Maharastia, commonly called Mahratta language, the person who assists me in the Hindostani being a Mahratta etc.'

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While Carey and his associates were engaged in the translation of the New Testament into Hindī, C. Buchanan, a Chaplain of the East India Company and Vice-Provost of Fort William College, acquainted Carey with the news that 'a military gentleman had translated the Gospels into Hindoostanee<sup>50</sup> and Persian<sup>51</sup> and that the college<sup>52</sup> Council had approved of its printing. In the circumstances, Carey was compelled, though reluctantly,

46. A Grammar was published in 1801. According to S.K.De, 'It was an original contribution to the study of language.'
47. As early as 1796 he wrote of Hindi as 'perhaps the most widely extended offspring of the Sanskrit.' He continued 'I have acquired so much of the Hindi as to converse in it and preach for some time intelligibly.... It is the current language of all the West from Rajmahal to Delhi and perhaps further with this I can be understood nearly all over Hindoostan.' 'By the time that he issued the Sixth Memoir of the Translations, Chamberlain's (see footnote 62) experiences in North-Western India led Carey to write that he had ascertained the existence of twenty dialects of Hindi with the same vocabulary but different sets of terminations.' See: G. Smith, Life of William Carey, p.260.

48. See: Chapter II.

49. See Smith P.240.

to disclose the existence of his own which had so far remained a secret of the missionaries on account of the various restrictions which had hitherto been imposed on their activities.

The first Hindustānī version of the New Testament <sup>53</sup> was rendered by "the learned natives of the College" and was revised and compared with the original Greek by Dr. William Hunter in 1805.

Some of Carey's biographers <sup>54</sup> quote Colebrooke's name as the translator but the only Colebrooke attached to the establishment of East India Company was Henry Thomas, (the Sanskrit scholar).

A Lt.Col. Robert Hyde Colebrooke <sup>55</sup> is recorded as having supervised translations in 1806 of the Gospel of St. Mathew but into Persian. This mistaken idea arose from a conversation between Carey and Buchanan which was later conveyed to Dr. Ryland.

Thus, it can be said that the Srirāmpur Trio commenced the translation of the New Testament in 1802.

50. Mirzā Fitrut

51. Lt. Col. Colebrooke translated a portion only. See: Christian Researches, p.2 (for footnotes 50,51).

52. There was a department for translating the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages; and as early as 1805, the first version of any of the Gospels in Hindustani, printed in India issued from the college press. There were two translators in the Hindustani Department, viz. Mirza Fitrut and Meer Bahadur Ali.

53. See: a) The Annals of the College of Fort William, p.27.

b) Smith, p.240.

c) Also T.G. Bailey's article 'Judge H.T.Colebrooke's supposed translation of Gospels into Hindi 1806,' published in "Studies in North Indian Languages."

54. a) George Smith, p.240, A correction has been made by the author, on p.260.

b) S.P. Carey in 'William Carey' London, 1923.

Then in 1803, they heard of Hunter's translation in Hindustani which was printed in 1805. On 2nd June 1806, <sup>56</sup> they were favoured by the College authorities with four hundred copies of it for which Carey had made an application earlier. In 1807, the first version of the New Testament in Hindi, <sup>57</sup> by the missionaries, was sent to press and half of it was printed by 1809, but owing to pecuniary difficulties it could not be completed until 1811. <sup>58</sup> Thus, in March 1811, the New Testament in Hindi was printed <sup>59</sup> and the Old Testament, excluding the Pentateuch, was also translated in 1812.

The ideal cherished by Carey in his heart as to the standard he desired to maintain is clearly stated below,

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54. c) Periodical Accounts, Vol.II, p.456.
55. This is wrongly spelt in the British Museum Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books, 1922. His name appears (correctly spelt) on the title page of his translation of the New Testament, a copy of which is available in the India Office Library.
56. See Periodical Accounts of B.M.Society No.XVII.
57. See 'Second Memoir' of the state of the Translations in a letter to B.M. Society, Nov. 1809.
58. See 'Third Memoir', Aug. 1811. Also Brief Narrative of B.M., London, 1819, Fifth Edition.
59. The edition, on account of its being the first, was confined to one thousand copies.  
See: Periodical Accounts No.XXIII.

'We never print any translation till every word has been revised and re-revised whatever helps we employ. I have never yet suffered a single word or a single mode of construction to pass without examining it and seeing through it. I read every proof-sheet twice or thrice myself and correct every letter with my own hand. Brother Marshman and I compare with the Greek or Hebrew and Brother Ward reads every sheet. Three of the translations, viz. the Bengalee Hindoost'hanee and Sungskrit, I translate with my own hand; the two last immediately from the Greek, and the Hebrew Bible is before me while I translate the Bengalee. Whatever helps I use, I commit my judgement to none of them,'etc.

60

On the 27th Jan. 1803, John Chamberlain and his wife arrived at Srīrāmpur with the intention of joining Carey and his associates. Although good at Latin and Hebrew, he was not acquainted with any Indian language but after his arrival he applied himself to the study of Bengālī, Hindustānī and 'Hindu-wee'. In the beginning Chamberlain frequently accompanied missionaries on their excursions to preach or distribute religious tracts in the villages. He picked up the aforesaid languages within a year with the help of a 'native pundit' and started preaching the Gospel. He composed a few tracts in Hindi in 1804. Later he moved to Cutwa, (Katwa) in the district of Burdwan, seventy-one miles north of Calcutta where he founded a school for native children.

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60. See Periodical Accounts No. XVIII.

61. Born at Walton, in Northamptonshire on the 24th July 1777, the eldest son of John and Ann Chamberlain, was given a good education which included a sound knowledge of the Scriptures. See W. Yates, Memoirs of Mr. Chamberlain, Calcutta 1824.

From December 1807 the missionaries adopted a plan of printing a monthly circular letter <sup>62</sup> containing the intelligence of the preceding months. It was to be sent to the different missionary stations up and down the country as they became established and also to the Society in England. Hereafter "Periodical Accounts" contained articles reprinted from these circular letters describing the occurrence of each month. In addition, the missionaries issued ten memoirs, between 1808 and 1832, giving <sup>63</sup> accounts of their translation work. These memoirs are rare and very valuable; from them it is evident that not only were there published translations of the Scriptures in as many as <sup>64</sup> forty languages, but also texts, <sup>65</sup> grammars, <sup>66</sup> dictionaries <sup>67</sup> and tracts. Missionaries believed that by translating, printing and circulating tracts, knowledge of Christianity would spread wide and fast. When they found themselves established and successful in their various enterprises in Bengal, they resolved

62. See Periodical Accounts of B.M. Society, No. XVIII.

63. Available in the B.M. College, Bristol.

64. See 'Sixth Memoir' of B.M. Society.

65. 1. The Rāmāyana was translated into English by J. Marshman.  
2. 'A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos.'

Ward writes about this book, (dtd. Jan. 12, 1809, see p. 505 of Baptist Magazine) "I have been for the last five or six years employed in a work on the religion and manners of the Hindoos. It has been my desire to render it the most authentic and complete account that has been given on the subject. I have had the assistance of brother Carey in every proof sheet; and his opinion and mine is in almost every particular the same."

66. Sanskrit, Bengali, Marathi, Panjabi and Tamil, etc.

67. Hindi, Sanskrit and Bengali.

to form other subordinate stations <sup>68</sup> in different parts of the country, so that if anything should happen to the work at Śrīrāmpur, the cause might live and spread from other quarters. <sup>69</sup>

From the commencement of the year 1811, the missionaries spoke of themselves no longer as a single mission, but as divided into missions according to the different languages of the country which they designated as "The United Missions" <sup>70</sup> in India. These were "The Bengal", "The Burman", "The Bootan" and "The Hindoost'han". The Bengal contained five stations, <sup>71</sup> the Hindustan two and the rest one each; in all ten.

After the establishment of "the United Missions," Chamberlain and another missionary, Peacock, with their families, set forth with the permission of the Government, for Agra in <sup>72</sup> 1811. In one of his memoirs from Agra, Chamberlain wrote to the Śrīrāmpur brethren that he conducted a mixed congregation in Hindustānī. Though he had expected that the greater number of the people might be Muhammadans, he found, on the contrary, that nearly all were Hindus, and of those many were "Brahmins."

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68. See Periodical Accounts B.M. Society Vol.III, 1806.

69. Ibid.

70. See Brief Narrative of the Baptist Mission, London, 1819.

71. Digah (Digha) and Patna to which later added Agra, Sirdhana, Banaras, Allahabad and Cawnpore (Kanpore).

72. See Periodical Accounts No.XXIII. p.418.



The language of the people appeared to him to be pure 'Hinduwee' which was at times quite unintelligible to him. He also perceived that the people understood 'the running Hindustānī', and the translation of the Scriptures was followed there more than it had been at other places on the road, but he entertained every doubt whether one translation would suffice both for Muhammadans and Hindūs. It was at that time that Chamberlain expounded his views on the basic difference between Hindī and Hindustānī in a letter addressed to Dr. Ryland who was then the Principal of Bristol Academy. Chamberlain wrote,

73

"The language called by Europeans 'Hindoost'hanee' and the language of the Hindus are diverse. The latter is 'Hinduwee'. The 'Hindoost'hanee' which is spoken by the Mussulmans, is a compound of Hinduwee, Persic and Arabic; it is much spoken as a popular tongue, and is used in all civil and military proceedings; but I suspect that if we would do good to the major part of the Hindoos, we must have the Scriptures in their own vernacular language, and must preach to them in that language too."

Therefore, he decided to procure a 'pandit' who later translated the second and third chapters of St. Mathew which were ultimately despatched from Agra to the Śrīrāmpur brethren for their perusal and approval. Chamberlain studied the Braj-Bhāṣā with another 'native pundit', and wrote about this dialect as follows,

'The Brij-Bhāṣā is spoken in the Upper Provinces of

Hindoostan and contains perhaps a greater mixture of Sungskrit words than most of the other dialects of the Hindee: it contains the Deva-naguree as its own proper character."

Chamberlain translated the Gospels, into BrajBhāṣā and also into 'Joypore and Oodaypore dialects. <sup>74</sup> A specimen of Braj dialect by Chamberlain will be quoted later. From Agra he visited Ghazepore (Gajipur). Writing on the language of the people residing in Patna he told Marshman,

"The Mussulmans in these parts seem to be few to the Hindoos. In Patna, there is a good proportion. The language of the people is different from what I expected to find it. The Brahmans speak 'Sungskrita Hindoost' hane' and appear to despise the Scriptures on account of their containing so many mussulman words " etc.

This shows that the Hindī language spoken by the people was pure and devoid of foreign words.

A certain Rev. Rowe with two Indian brethren settled with the Rev. and Mrs. Moore at Digah and Patna stations. None of them were sufficiently acquainted with the Hindī language to preach in it to the people; and therefore, J.T. Thompson, a young minister of the Church at Calcutta was sent there in 1811. He was joined by Chamberlain who had visited Patna once before.

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74. See Periodical Accounts No. XXIX.

These missionaries used to preach to the citizens through the medium of Hindī. Chamberlain describes it thus,

'I have Hindee Worship almost every evening for the servants and other natives of the place.'

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In a letter dated Dec. 28, 1815, addressed to Marshman, Chamberlain wrote,

'We must have a fount of types for the running Nagaree. This is the character used all over Bahar (Bihar), and in many other provinces, where the 'Deva-nagaree' is very little used.'

*infants Bihar and language*

The word 'Deva-nagaree' seems to have been used here for 'High Hindī'. Our attention is again drawn here to the distinction between colloquial Hindī and High Hindī out of which prose was developing by the fact that Chamberlain congratulates himself on teaching to read Hindī to the people.

76

On Aug. 20, 1815, he writes,

'I have engaged the Lala, at four rupees a month to write Hindee tracts, and teach my servants and the native children who are willing to learn to read the common Hindee; I have persuaded many persons to learn.'

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75. See Periodical Accounts Vol. VI, pp. 119 ff.

76. Ibid, p. 130.

Similarly, elsewhere in a "Memoir of the Translations (1816)," the missionaries wrote to the B.M.Society in support of the Hindī language,

'The Deva-nagaree is familiar to most of those who can read; and as this alphabet is perfectly complete while some of the local alphabets are greatly deficient, it seems desirable to extend the Deva-nagaree as widely as possible. It would greatly facilitate the progress of knowledge if it could have that extension given to it in India which the Roman alphabet has obtained in Europe.'

That is why most of the tracts published in other than Nāgarī characters were reproduced in Hindī. Chamberlain translated the New Testament into Hindī in April 1818. Earlier he had corrected the Gospels of Mathew and Mark in 'Hinduwee'. The Śrīrāmpur brethren resolved to print his version instead of their own on account of his long stay in the Western Provinces of India and his ultimate acquaintance with the popular dialects spoken there. <sup>77</sup> Writing about the Kaithī Characters, Chamberlain said that it was an 'imperfect imitation' of the Devanāgarī, being far more read in some parts of the country than the Nāgarī itself, particularly the merchant class.

Adam and Pearce joined the Śrīrāmpur Mission and applied themselves to acquiring the languages. Thompson was attached

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77. A new fount was prepared at the Mission Press. Three thousand copies of the New Testament were printed in the the very first edition.

to Patna for some years and later he travelled through Chunar, near Banaras; Alkhabad, Kanpore, Lucknow, Agra and finally settled in Delhi. He compiled a Hindi-English Dictionary (1846) and composed some tracts in Hindi. In 1824, he revised the New Testament which was subsequently published in 1837. Mackintosh, another missionary, was connected with Allahabad; and Banaras was occupied by William Smith, though Chamberlain and Thompson frequented these stations. The former preached the Gospels from Calcutta to Hardwar in the respective languages and dialects of the people until he died in early 1821.

Of the Śrīrāmpur Trio, Ward died on March 7th, 1823; Carey in June 1834, and Marshman on Dec. 5, 1837. The 'Tenth Memoir', July 1, 1832, being the last, and a review of the work of the Śrīrāmpur Mission since its commencement, i.e. between 1801 and 1832, was published in an appendix to the 'Memoir'. It was shown that two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in as many as forty different languages at a cost of over ₹80,000 had been issued from the Mission Press.

After the decease of the illustrious missionaries, the mission continued functioning till 1854, but very few works were published after 1832. 'Memoirs' and 'Periodical Accounts' presented

by the missionaries throw considerable light on the denominations of the Hindī language and some of its varieties which were gradually encountered by them through their various itineraries. It is obvious that they were quick to make out the respective regions and boundaries of the Hindī speaking people of the 'Hindustān Mission'. Various definitions, already mentioned in the preceding chapter, facilitated to some extent, in differentiating Hindī from Hindustānī, then very popular in Bengal among the Civil Servants. Of all the missionaries, it was Chamberlain that elucidated the different styles of Hindī under the denominations of 'running Hindustānī', 'Sanskritized Hindustānī' and 'running Nāgurī'. In some cases he denominated Hindī as 'Hinduwee' which was to him a colloquial language rather than a literary.'

Specimens of the Hindī translations of the Bible are given below in chronological order,

6 फिर उसने अपने बारह शार्गिदों को पास बुलाया और उन्हें पलीद रूहों के दूर करने की और हर तरह की बीमारी और हर किसम के आज़ारसे शिफा बख्शने की कुदरत बख्शी .....

ईसा ने उन बारहों को बुलाया और हुक्म किया कि तुम काफ़िरों की तरफ़ न जाना और सामरियों के किसी शहर में दाखिल न होना बल्कि बित्तखुसीस उन मेड़ों की तरफ़ जाओ जो इसराईल के घर से खोये गये हैं और तुम चलते हुअे को चंगा करो कोढ़ियों को शिफादो मुदीं को जिलाओ देवों को दूर करो तुम ने मुक़ पाया है मुक़ दो अशरिफ़ियां और रुपये और पैसे अपने थेलों के लिये मुहैया

न करो और न हमयानी सफर के लिये न और दो कवाअें और न जूते और न असा इस लिये कि मजूर अपनी खुराक का मुस्तहिक है।

6 और यिश्नु ने अपने बारह शिष्यों को बुलाके नापाक भूतों के ऊपर उन्हीं के छुडावने को और हर तरह की बीमारी और हरअेक आजार दूर करने की उन्हे कुदरत दिया.... यिश्नु ने यह बारह शिष्यों को भेज दिया व उन्हे यह हुकुम दिया कि तुम और मुलकियों के देश के रास्ते में मत जावो और शमरोनियों के नगर में मत पैठो बल्के यिशरअेल वंश के खोये गये मेढों के नजुदीक जाव। जाते जाते इशतिहार देव कि सरग का राज नजुदीक है। बीमारियों को चंगा करो और कोढ़ियों को पवितर करो और मुअों को जिलावो और भूतों को छुडावो अनुग्रह से तुमने पाया है अनुग्रह से देवो। कोमरबन्द में सोना या रूपा या पैसा रखो मत और रास्ते में खाने के लिये थैला या दो कपड़े जा जुत्ती या लाठी मत लेवो क्योंकि मजूर अपने खुराक के लायक हैं। और जिस शहर में या गाँव में तुम जावो उसमें तलाश करो कि लायेक कौन है और जब तलक वहाँ से निकलो तब तलक उसके पास रहो। और तुम किसी के घर में जाकर उसे आशीश करो। जो वह घर लायेक होय तो तुम्हारी सुलह उसपर आवे गी लेकिन जो वह नालायेक होय तो तुम्हारी सुलह तुम्हारे पास फिर आवेगी।

6 और अपने बारह शिष्यों को समीप बुलाके उन्हे अपवित्र आत्माओं के ऊपर उन्हीं के छुडावने को और सब पीडा और सब दुबलाई आछी करने को उन्हीं को अधिकार दिया .....

यिश्नु ने इन बारहों को भेजा और यह कहके उन्हीं को आज्ञादिह तुम और देशों के पथ में मत जाउ और शमरोनियों के किसी नगर में मत पैठो परन्तु पहले यिशरअेल के घर के खोये भये मेढों के पास चलो। और जाते में यह कहते प्रगट करो जो स्वर्ग का राज निकट है रोगियों को आच्छा करो कोढ़ियों को पवितर करो मरियों को उठाय भूतों को छोडाउ सेंट में तुमने पाया है सेंट में देउ। तुम अपने पटुकाओं में

79. The New Testament edited and revised by William Hunter, Calcutta 1805, pp.36,37.

80. The New Testament or Manāgal Samācār, Serampore Press, 1811, pp.24,25.



न सोना न रूपा न पैसा रखोगे और पंथ के कारण न थेली या और न दो कुरतो और न जुतो और न लाटी क्योंकि ठेहेलूआ अपने खाने का योग है और जिस नगर में व ग्राम में तुम पैठो तिसमें कोन योग है यह पूछो और जब तलक वहाँ से न निकलो वहाँ रहो और तुम किस घर में आये होके उसकी आशीष् करो। और वह घर जो योग होय तो तुम्हारी शांति उसपर आवेगी - परंतु वह जो योग न होय तो तुम्हारी शांति तुम्हारे पास फिर आवेगी। " 81

6 "और अपने बारह शिष्यन को बुलाके उसने उन्हें अपवित्र आत्मों पर सामर्थ्य दिया कि उन्हें दूर करें और समस्त प्रकार के केरोग और अनेक रीति के दुःख को चंगा करें .....

ईसा ने इन बारहों को भेजा और उन्हें आज्ञा करके कहा कि अन्य देशियों के ओर मत जाओ और सामरियों के नगर में प्रवेश मत करो। परन्तु पहिले इसराईल के घर के खोले हुअे मेड़ के पास जाओ और तुम जाते जाते उपदेश करके कहो कि स्वर्ग का राज्य समीप है। रोगियों को चंगा करो कोढ़ियों को पावन करो मृतकों को जिलाओ पिशाचों को दूर करो सेंट से पाओ हो सेंट से देओ। अपने बटुअे में सोना और रूपा और पीतल मत बटोरो। और यात्रा के कारण झोला अथवा दो वस्त्र अथवा जूता अथवा लाठी मत लेओ क्योंकि बनहार अपने भोजन के योग्य है और जिस किसी नगर अथवा गाँव में प्रवेश करो दूँढो कि उसमें योग्य कौन है। और जब लों वहाँ से न निकलो वहीं रहो। और जब तुम किसी घर में प्रवेश करो उस पर आशीश देओ। और यदि वह घर यो य होय तुम्हारा कल्याण उस पर पहुंचे परंतु यदि वह योग्य न होय तो तुम्हारा कल्याण तुम पर फिर आवेगा 82

81. Chamberlain's Hindi New Testament, 1821, p.23.

82. W. Bowley, The New Testament altered from Martyn's Oordoo (Urdu) Translation into Hindee Language. Published by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, Calcutta 1826, p.22.



'And after having called his twelve disciples, he (Jesus Christ) gave them strength against unclean (evil) spirits, to cast them out and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease..... Jesus sent forth these twelve (disciples) and commanded them, saying, do not go towards the Gentiles and do not enter city of the Samaritans. But (you) go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and as you go, preach, saying that the kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, purify (clean) the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils, (you) have received freely, give freely. Collect (provide) neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. And do not carry a scrip, two dresses or shoes or a staff for your journey, for the farm-servant (workman) is worthy of his meal. And to whatsoever town or village you enter enquire who in it is worthy; and stay there till you go thence. And when you enter a house bless it. And if the house be worthy, let your benediction rest upon it, but if it be not worthy, let your benediction return to you. '

83

" पहिले ईश्वर ने स्वर्ग वा पृथ्वी सिरजा पृथ्वी खाली वा बेकायम थी वा गहरे पर अंधियारा था वा ईश्वर का आत्मा पानी पर होलनेहारर हुआ उस बाद ईश्वर ने कहा कि रोशनीअहोवो उससे रोशनी मई तब वह रोशनी जो अच्छी वह ईश्वर ने देखा उस बाद ईश्वर ने उजियाला वा अंधियारा जुदा किया ईश्वर ने उजियाले का नाम रात रखा सांज व सवेरा होने पर पहिला दिन मया अकेर ईश्वर ने कहा पानी के बीच के जगे में आकाश होवो और वह पानी इस पानी से जुदा करो "

" आरंभ में ईश्वर ने आकाश और पृथ्वी को सिरजा और पृथ्वी बेडकेल और सूनी थी और गहिराव के ऊपर अंधियारा था और ईश्वर का आत्मा

83. Translation in English based upon the Authorized Version of the Bible (in English) edited by John Stirling, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1954, p. 11 of St. Mathew, 10. 84. Dharma ki Pothi (or the Old Testam. Serampore 1818, B.M. Late eds. were entitled as Utapatti ki Pustaka.

जल के ऊपर डोलता था और ईश्वर ने कहा कि उजियाला होवे और उंजियाला होगया और ईश्वर ने उंजियाले को अंधियारे से भाग किया और ईश्वर ने उंजियाले को दिन और अंधियारे को रात कहा और सांझ बिहान पहिला दिन हुआ फेर ईश्वर ने कहा कि पानियों के मध्य में आकाश होवे और पानियों को पानियों से बिभाग करे "

'In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth. And the earth was without form and vacant; and darkness was upon the face of the deep and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters and let it divide the waters from the waters.'

86

The language of the New Testament of Hunter's version (1805) is Urdu. Carey's version (1811) seems to be the first translation ever made in Hindi, although it contains a small percentage of Persian words such as, 'nāpāk, jiyādā, bīmārī, ājāra, kudratā, phiriste, istihāra, lāyeka, najdika, masahūra, mulkiyon, majūra, muphata, talāsa, talāka, mehmānī, bekāyam, sūrat, raūsānī.' Most of these words have been retained until today in colloquial speech. It seems that the colloquial Hindi

85. W. Bowley, *Utapatti kī pustaka* (or *The Old Testament*) Calcutta 1834, p.1.

86. English Translation is based upon the Authorized Version. See Footnote 83.

of that region (Śrīrāmpur) was more influenced by Persian than by any other language.

We find a touch of vulgarity in the style because the translation was at first intended for villagers and illiterates of low castes. The use of such words 'Sāj, Nāv, bihān, sarag, apavitar, sirjā' are found. Chamberlain's version (1821) was an improvement upon Carey's, though the former translated it with the help of two native scholars. That is why after Chamberlain's version was published, Carey preferred it to his own. In 1824, Thompson revised New Testament <sup>86a</sup> which is substantially the same as Carey's version with very minor changes in syntax.

87

W. Bowley translated Martyn's Urdu version of the New Testament in 1818. His style which differs somewhat from that of other translators, corresponds closely to modern prose. Both Chamberlain' and Bowley's language is much influenced by Braj-Bhāṣā e.g. the use of 'sisyan, jablō, sūdhe, manuṣyan;' because both of them were stationed at Agra while the respective versions were under preparation. The introduction of new compound-verb forms such as 'kudratā diyā, <sup>88</sup> Sāmarthya diyā, najdik jāva, āisīsa

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86a. A copy (1837) is available in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

87. See Footnote 97.

88. Just for example, literally 'nature gave' an Anglicism which is not permissible in Hindi syntax.

karo, sāksī ho-o, phir āvegī, kahtā hō, holanehāra, curāvane ko, kahavātā, holāyke, āyke, ājñyā karke, ān pahucā, cintāmat kariyo' show that prose was in its formatory stages.

We find that none of the authors were very particular about the use of diacritics or marks of punctuation. Some of the spellings were not yet fixed. Indeed, it is difficult to form an opinion of any missionary translators' style in Hindī since all were assisted by 'native paṇḍits' whose names are unrecorded but whose contribution has been recognised repeatedly; the greater or lesser degree of their influence on the composition of Hindī prose, we are now unable to evaluate.

#### Origin of Religious Tract and Book Societies.

Protestant Missionaries, aware of the vast power of the press in aiding the Reformation in Europe, employed it to some extent in India from the establishment of Modern Missions.

D'Ambigne mentioned that as early as 1524, a Tract Society existed at Basle. The "Society"<sup>89</sup> for Promoting Christian Knowledge was the oldest organization of this kind in England. It commenced in 1698 with five members.

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89. Besides publishing the Bible, books and tracts, it aided by grants in the establishment of new bishoprics and in building churches and schools.

'It was not till 1750 that a Society was formed in England on the principle of uniting Christians of different denominations in promoting the Gospel by means of the press.'

90

This was known as "The Society for Promoting Religious knowledge among the Poor." In 1756 similar societies were established at Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The first Tract Society was established by Rev. John Hands at Bellary in South India in 1817,<sup>91</sup> followed by the Madras Tract Society in 1818. The first book ever printed in the vernacular language of India seems to have been "The Doctrina Christiana"<sup>92</sup> of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the Order of the Jesuits who first cast Tamulic Character in 1577. Tamil type was cast at Halle in 1710, when the Apostle's creed was struck off. A fount was soon afterwards sent out to India which seems to be the first printing press<sup>93</sup> that India ever saw. This was installed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1711 at Madras. It facilitated the printing of the New Testament in 1715. The first Christian work printed in Hindustani (in Persian character) seems to have been "Summula Doctrinae Christianae"<sup>94</sup> printed at Halle in 1743.

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90. See John Murdoch, Hints on the Management of Tract Societies in India, p.4.

91. Ibid, p.4.

92. Ibid, p.4.

93. Rev. J. Long, Hand Book of Bengal Missions,

94. See Hints on the Management of Tract Societies in India, p.4.

John Chamberlain was apparently the first Srirampur mission-  
 ary who wrote a pamphlet <sup>95</sup> in 'Nāgarī' or Hindī, printed at  
 the Mission Press in 1804. It was distributed at an annual fair  
 held in the month of January at Ganīgāsāgar, which is situated  
 in the Sāgar Island, on the mouth of the river Hoogly, seventy  
 miles from Calcutta. Later he translated a few tracts <sup>96</sup> into  
 Hindī.

<sup>97</sup>  
 William Bowley acquired considerable knowledge of the  
 colloquial 'native tongues'. He composed some of the 'best tracts  
 viz., "Epitome of Christianity", "Substance of Bible", "Brief  
 Sketch of Hinduism", "The Religion of Christians", "A Religious  
 Address", "The Evils of Sin", etc. in Hindī; was associated with  
 Abdul Masib, Henry Martyn's only convert, at Agra in 1814. He  
 subsequently removed to Chunar, where he worked till his death.  
 Bowley organized a Tract Association at Chunar, and printed all  
 his tracts there. Scattered notices of his writings are found in  
 Missionary and Tract Reports, but no detailed account seems  
 available. <sup>98</sup> In 1818, he altered Henry Martyn's Urdu New  
 Testament so that it might be acceptable to Hindus. Later he

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95. See W. Yates, *Memoirs of Mr. John Chamberlain*, p.143, Chamberlain writes, 'I conversed with the young men a little on the subject of religion, and gave him a Naguree and Bengalee paper on which, at his request, I wrote my name.'

96. *Ibid.* Also see Rev. F.A. Fox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society (from 1792-1842)*, 2 vols, p.137.

97. Was the son of a soldier and was brought up in the 'Lower Orphan School' Kidderpore.

98. See J. Murdoch, *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India*, p.44.

translated the Bible into Hindī in 1826. A specimen of his language has already been given.

J. K. Thompson, who was stationed at Delhi from 1817 till his death in 1850, prepared a number of tracts, <sup>99</sup> viz., "The Purpost of the Gospels," "The Method of A Sinner's Becoming Righteous," "On Death", "The Testimony of the Prophets," "Ten Proofs in Favour of the Gospel," "The Way of Salvation," "Who is the Lord Jesus Christ", etc. in Hindī. They are included in the list <sup>100</sup> of Tracts published by the Śrīrāmpur Missionaries which was drawn up by Thompson. The tracts were twenty five in number, consisting of biographical sketches of Jesus Christ, Bible Storie and exytracts from Vedas and Hindu Mythology.

In 1823 the Calcutta Tract and Book Society was instituted. The total number of tracts published up to 1835, was forty-one including biographical sketches, sermons, one memoir and one on travels. Most of the tracts published by the Society were by Bowley. A few Hindī tracts, viz. "Jesus Christ the only Refuge from the Wrath to Come", "Explanation of the Christian Religion," etc, were composed by M.T. Adam. <sup>101</sup>

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99. Ibid. p.44.

100. It appeared in 'Periodical Accounts' for 1831, pp.347-49.

101. See Chapters IV for more information.

Later he compiled a "Hindī Dictionary" (1829) and Hindī Grammar (1827) and a few text books viz., "Upadesā Kathā", "Bhugol Sāra" "Ganitānka", etc. His compositions were mainly for schools. It appears that afterwards efforts of the Society were directed to the translation of works of a higher order than tracts. <sup>102.</sup>

The Banaras (Benares) Tract Society was established in 1827; <sup>103</sup> but owing to the death of some of its active members, it ceased to exist in 1829. It was re-established for the Districts of Banaras and Chunar, as a branch of the Calcutta Tract Society in 1834. The first report published in 1836, stated that during the eighteen months the Society had been in operation, 25000 copies of vernacular tracts had been circulated. In 1840 the Banaras Tract Society was merged into the C.T. Society. It was re-established as a separate organization in 1844 and was for some time styled "The Central North India Tract Society." It was amalgamated with the Agra Tract Society which was instituted on 30th July 1848. Most of the Hindī tracts published by the Society were chiefly reprints. Some of these were revised by Rev. W. Smith of B.T. Society. The total number of tracts published in Hindī was thirty. During the Mutiny

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102. See "The Friend of India", No.107, Vol.III, Jan.12,1837.

103. The Bombay Tract Society was founded in the same year. A few Hindi tracts were published.



in 1857, the whole of the Society's stock was destroyed. The transfer of the seat of Government of the North West Provinces from Agra to Allahabad rendered the latter more central and the Society's headquarters were removed from there early in 1858. A new title was also assumed, viz. 'The North India Tract and Book Society.'

The C.T. Society before the establishment of the A.T. Society published largely in Hindī. The total number of publications seems to have been 722,750<sup>104</sup> From the loss of most of the Reports of the A.T. Society, the number of its publications cannot be given. The N.I.T. Society printed 178,350 tracts up to the end of 1868.<sup>105</sup> The North Indian Missions were greatly assisted by the German and American Missions. The American Presbyterian Press,<sup>106</sup> Allahabad, was chiefly aided by grants from the American Tract Society and seems to have printed 350,700 copies of Hindī tracts and books. The Bombay Tract Society published (1837) three tracts, viz., "Vivian's Dialogues," "Hindu Incarnations", Voice from Heaven and Hindu Incarnations, or "Ākāśbāñī."<sup>107</sup> The Lodiana Press, the German Press, Tirhoot also printed tracts in Hindī during the period under review. The

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104. Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature, Introduction p.VI.

105. Ibid, p.VI,

106. Ibid, p.51.

107. Ibid, p.51.

estimated number of Hindī publications was 350,700 during the years 1839-1869. In addition to tracts a certain number of school books were also published.

Prominent writers of the tracts were W. Bowley, Thompson and Adam, but the list also includes T.V. French, W. Smith, W. Start and J.H. Budden. The last named translated some of the Sanskrit tracts of John Muir into Hindī, viz. "Mat Parikṣā," "Muktimālā," "Dharmādharmā Parikṣhā Patra." Most of the tracts do not bear the authors' name, and hence it is rather difficult to attribute a particular style to any particular author. Although records of all these tracts are available in various London Libraries, yet only a limited number of the original documents are, as far as we are aware, still in existence.

Thus, the distribution of religious tracts was a prominent feature of missionary labour; it was the chief medium of conversion of the people, especially the illiterate villagers.

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108. Wrote Viz. 1. "Shri Yisu Christ Charitra Darpan."  
2. "Dhukhjanitam Sukhodhyam."

109. Wrote Viz., "Three Great Things."

110. Wrote viz., 1. "An Address to Pilgrims."  
2. "The True Remedy for Sin."

110a. The India Office, The British Museum, The London Missionary Society, The Baptist Missionary Society.

Specimens of Hindi Tracts will indicate the gradual development of prose:

" ब्रह्मा के पीछे विष्णु गिना जाता है क्योंकि लोग ब्रह्मा, विष्णु महेश्वर कहते हैं और विष्णु को हिंदुमत में उदारकर्ता और जगत का रक्षा करने वाला कहते हैं और हिंदु की समझ में सब देवते उसकी सहायता चाहते हैं इस विष्णु की उपासना सब जगहों में बिख्यात रूप से प्रसिद्ध है और अन्य देवतों की उपासना से उसकी उपासना प्रधान करिके कही जाती है। उसके उपासिक वैष्णव कहाते हैं और उन्हकी मेष माला तिलक से वे जाने जाते हैं।" <sup>111</sup>

'Viṣṇu (The Sustainer) is reckoned after Brahma (the Creator), because people speak Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahesvar and Viṣṇu, in Hindu Religion, is represented as the Preserver and the Protector of the world and according to Hindu belief all the deities long for his help. The worship of this Viṣṇu is popularly well-known in all places and his worship is considered to be rather more important than that of the other deities. His worshippers are known as 'Vaiṣṇavas' and they are recognised by their dress, garland and a saffron mark.'

111.

6 शिष्य कहता है। हे गुरु जी भिन्न भिन्न मत के गुरु लोग जितने इस देश में मिलते हैं, सो सब के सब अपने तई मुक्ति के ही खोजने में तत्पर बताते हैं, इससे हम को जान पड़ता है कि उन सभों के समझ में मुक्ति ही परमार्थ है और सब बुद्धिमानों को चाहिये कि उसकी चिन्ता में सदा लगे रहें। अब आप कृपा करके कहिये कि मुक्ति का उपाय कैसा जाना जायगा।

गुरु उत्तर देता है अ शिष्य तुम्हारा प्रश्न बहुत ही उचित और बुद्धिमान के योग्य है क्योंकि मुक्ति इतर सब पुरुषार्थों से उत्तम है, इसलिये कि इतर सब पुरुषार्थ अनित्य हैं परन्तु मुक्ति नित्य है और तुम ने प्रश्न किया है उसका यह उत्तर है कि मुक्ति का उपाय केवल शास्त्र से अर्थात् ईश्वर के उपदेश से जाना जाता है और दूसरी किसी भाँति से उसका जानना अशक्य है।'

111. See 'Dāśa Avtarō kā vānan' or Hindu supposed Incarnations, composed by Thompson in *Hinduism*, pp. 16, only, Bombay 1837. p. 2, Description of 'Viṣṇu.'

'The disciple says, "O Preceptor, all the teachers of different religions who are to be met within this country, represent themselves as earnestly engaged in the pursuit of salvation. I infer from this, that in the view of all these persons, Salvation is the supreme object of human desire, and that it is incumbent on all wise men to have it continually in their thoughts. Will you then be good enough to inform me how a knowledge of the means of salvation may be obtained?" The Preceptor replies, "O Disciple, your enquiry is an exceedingly proper one and becoming a wise man. Salvation excels all other objects of pursuit; for all the latter are temporary, while the former is eternal. The answer to your enquiry is that the way of Salvation can be known only from a revelation (Sastra or Scripture), i.e. from instruction communicated by God. There is no other manner in which this knowledge can possibly be acquired."

112

हिंदू धर्म के पुस्तक चार वेद और चार उपवेद और छः वेदांग और चार उपांग हैं पर उनमें चार वेद और छः शास्त्र और अठारह पुराण प्रसिद्ध हैं सो अब उन पुस्तकों की बातें ऊपर के लक्षणों से परखी जाती है पहिले यह समझा चाहिये कि उन पुस्तकों से परमेश्वर दो प्रकार का जाना जाता है एक निर्गुण दूसरा सर्गुण निर्गुण शब्द का अर्थ यह है कि जिसको गुण नहीं है और परमेश्वर निर्गुण तब रहता जब कि सृष्टि नहीं रहती उस दशा का कुछ वर्णन है नहीं वुह तो मानों निद्रा की ऐसी दशा है उसमें उसे कुछ कहा नहीं जाता कि पवित्र है अथवा अपवित्र सच्चा है अथवा झूठा सामर्थी है अपन असामर्थी सज्ञान है अथवा अज्ञान क्योंकि सर्वथा निर्गुण है और इस कारणसे वुह ब्रह्म कहलाता है अर्थात् न पुरुष लिंग, न स्त्री लिंग परंतु नपुंसक लिंग है।

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112. J. Muir, 'The Course of Divine Revelation' (Skt. Portion only) Baptist Mission Press Calcutta, 1846, pp. 12. A brief outline of the communications of God's will to Man and of the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity with allusions to Hindu tenets have been given in the Text.

'There are four Vedals and four subordinate Vedas and six Vedāṅga and four Upāṅga of Hindu Religion but among these four Vedas, six Scriptures and eighteen (Hindu Mythologies are well-known, therefore now the subject matter of these books are to be examined on the above criteria; firstly, it should be understood that God has been characterised in two forms 'Nirguṇa' (Being without quality) and Sarguṇa (Being possessing good qualities) through those books. The significance of the word 'Nirguṇa' is this, who is devoid of qualities and the Supreme Being would have been devoid of qualities had there been no Creation. There is no description of that state that is, as if the state of sleep about which nothing could be said of Him; whether pious or impious, true or false, powerful or powerless, literate or illiterate, because (He) is completely devoid of qualities, that is why He is known (as) 'Brahma', that is (He) neither masculine, nor feminine, but (He) is Neuter.'

"हिंदुस्थान के समस्त नगरों में काशी नगर अति प्रसिद्ध है। वहाँ बड़े बड़े राजगृह मंदिर आदि जिनकी चोटियाँ आकाश को छू रही हैं अत्यन्त सुंदर और शोभायमान बनीं हैं। उसमें बड़े बड़े श्रीमंत लखपति करोड़पति वास करते हैं और उसके महापंडितों का यश सारे संसार में फैल गया है। ...

" एक समय उस नगर के बड़े पंडितों में एक मनुष्य था जिसका नाम वेद विद्वान था वह ऐसा ज्ञानी था कि सम्पूर्ण शास्त्रों को भली भाँति जानता था और जैसा ज्ञानी को योग्य है वह अति सभ्य दयालु शुद्ध स्वभाव और निर्पक्ष भी था निदान सत्य असत्य का बिचारी था .....

" इतने में एक सज्जन काशी निवासी जिसका नाम सत्यार्थी था उसके समीप आया। यह मनुष्य पश्चिम देश का एक महापंडित था और बड़ा धर्मी सूक्ष्म बातों का विवेकी देश देश के भिन्न मतों का जानने वाला भी था सो यह भी गंगाके तीर पर ही वेदविद्वान का सुयश जान उसके समीप आ बड़े आदर और सिष्टाचार के साथ उसको प्रणाम कर उसके संग संवाद करने लगा।" 114

'Of all the cities of India, the town of Kasi is very famous. The big palatial buildings and temples whose pinnacles are touching the sky, have been very beautifully and luxuriously built. There live, the rich big millionaires, multi-millionaires, and the fame of its scholars has spread throughout the world....

'Once upon a time, among the scholars of that town, there was a man whose name was 'Veda Vidwāna'; he was so wise that (he) was well-versed in all the Scriptures and as it becomes to the wise, he was very cultured, kind, of simple nature and impartial, therefore he was conscious of the truth and falsehood.....

'Meanwhile, a gentleman, resident of Kāsi whose name was 'Satyārthī', came to him. This man was a great scholar from the West and he was very religious, judicious and was familiar with the varied creeds of several countries. Therefore he also having heard 'Vedvidwān's' fame, went to him on the Bank of the Ganges, bowed before him respectfully and humbly began to converse with him.'

114

"सरदार बजनीये के वास्ते दाउद का अक गीत"

स्वर्ग ईश्वर की बड़ाई प्रगट करते हैं और आकाश उसके हाथ का किया काम दिखाता है। दिन दिन को बात कहता है रात रात के पास ज्ञान प्रगट करता है। जहाँ जहाँ उन्ह की बात सुनी नहीं जाती ऐसी कोई बोली या भाषा नहीं है। उन्ह की रस्सी सारी पृथ्वी म गई है वा उन्ह की बातें संसार की सिवाने तलक फैली हैं उन्ह के बीच में उसनेसूर्ज का अक तंबू रखा है। वह अपने बालेखाने में से निकलता हुआ दूल्हा के ऐसा है वा जोसवर आदमी के ऐसा अपनी राह में दौड़न को आनन्द करता है। उसका कूच स्वर्ग की सिवाने से वा उसका फिरना दूसरी सरहद तलक है उसके तावे से कोई चीज पोशीदी नहीं है। यिहुह काशास्त्र पूरा व मन का फिरावनेहारा है यिहुह के प्रमाण की बातें स्थिरवा अज्ञानियों को ज्ञान देने हारी हैं। यिहुह की विधि यथार्थ वा अंतःकरण को आनन्द देने हारी है। यिहुह का उर पवित्र वा हमेशा काय म है यिहुह का इनसाफ ठीकै वा निपट यथार्थ है। सोने वा बहुत खालिस से सोने से वह सासा है शहद वा शहद के महाल से भी मीठा। ॥५

114. 'Mat Pariksha' or Examination Hinduism and Christianity, from Sanskrit text of J. Muir. Translated into Hindi by J.H.Budden. Sikandra (Secundra) Orphan Press, Agra, 1856, p.1

'To the Chief Musician - A Psalm of David.  
 The Heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament shows His handiwork. Day utters speech today and night throws knowledge to night. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line spreads through all the earth and their words to the end of the world. In their midst he has set a tabernacle for the Sun. He comes out of his chamber like a bridegroom and rejoices as a strong man who runs a race. He departs from the end of the heaven and gives a round to the other end of it, there is nothing hidden from its heat. The law of the Lord is perfect and converting the mind (soul). The testimony of the Lord is immutable and it gives wisdom to the wise. The Statutes of the Lord are right and rejoicing to the heart. The commandment of the Lord is pure and enlightening to the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean and enduring for ever. The judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. They are purer than gold or pure Gold, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb.'

Most of the tracts are translations into Hindī from English Sanskrit, Bengālī and Urdū tracts. In each case the style of the translation bears the impress of the original language and similar variations are found in Hindī prose today. The tracts, composed after 1823, were, in fact, approaching the modern standard which appeals to modern readers.

While translating, long sentences which often lack punctuation marks, seem to have been strung together. A few dialectal forms have been substituted for the literary. Moreover, similes and metaphors give colour and charm to the texts.

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115. See 'The Old Testament' Psalm 19, Translated into the Hindī Lang. by J.T. Thompson, Serampore Press 1836, p.20. Translation in English is based upon the Authorized Version of the Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London 1954.

A new subject matter - Christianity has been introduced. A comparison between Hinduism and Christianity is often made in tracts and discussions between the people and missionaries apparently took place which led to a new style - that of dialogue. On the whole the prose of the tracts seems more developed than that of the Bible translations. As is only to be expected a strongly didactic tone is maintained throughout. From the tract it is also apparent that in spite of their rapid acquisition of Hindī, the missionaries on the whole remained aloof from the culture and ideology of the country.

The Church Missionary Society and Kindred Institutions.

The operations of the C.M.S. (Founded in 1799) commenced in Calcutta immediately after the revision of the Charter of 1813.<sup>117</sup> 'From that year only were Protestant Missionary operations on a large scale possible, and, as a matter of fact, undertaken by various societies.'<sup>118</sup>

The Society entered a well-prepared field and set itself to accomplish clearly defined tasks, namely, the establishment of schools and the preparation of text books in Hindī and in

116. See Memoirs of Mr. John Chamberlain, his speeches.

117. 'The Episcopal system of the Church of England was transferred to India. A bishop and three archdeacons were for the time being deemed adequate ecclesiastical equipment for the vast colonial empire of India.... etc.' See Richter ~~History~~ of Indian Missions, p.153. 118. Ibid, p.153.



other regional languages. Everywhere the Society associated itself with the work of the Protestant Chaplains and formed 'Corresponding Committees', <sup>119</sup> in three capital towns, viz., Calcutta, (1812), Bombay (1818), and Madras (1820). Daniel Corrie and George Udany's names seem to be closely connected with the Society.

Corrie built a church and founded missions at Chunar, Buxar and Agra in 1812. Consequently he made himself acquainted with the regional languages especially Hindī and Hindustanī in which he composed some books. He preached to the people through that medium. He also established the first vernacular schools at Agra, Chunar, Gorakhpur and Buxar in 1813. Text books were prepared with the help of local scholars and were printed at various mission presses. The first representative of the C.M.S. was Abdul Masih, once a Mahrāthā trooper. He was appointed a superintendent of schools by Corrie at Agra in 1813. Funds were collected in Calcutta (1813) in support of a native school at Agra (under Corrie's Superintendence) which contained eighty four students with in a year.

A Girl's Orphanage was established in 1838 by the ladies of Agra in the Old Mohammedan tomb. It was supervised by

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119. Ibid, p.157.

Rev. and Mrs. Hoernle. Girls were educated through the medium of Hindi and Urdu. This shows that an impetus was given for the first time to female education by the Society.

A printing press was installed at Agra in 1840 in connection with the Orphan Asylum, under the superintendence of Mr. Greenway. In 1845, it was in a flourishing condition under a certain Mr. Longden. Six typographic and six lithographic presses were constantly at work. The latter were cast at the Orphan Institution. Thus, presses proved the grand medium of communication between all Missionary Stations at home and abroad.

'After Agra, the great military depot Meerut (1815), Benares (1817), Chunar near Benares (1815) Gorakhpur (1823), Azamgarh and Jaunpur (1831) were occupied in quick succession, so that that district soon became a great centre of Anglican missionary work.'

121

A committee had previously (1818) been formed by Corrie, composed of W. Bowley, Greenwood and Adlington. They used to meet every quarter alternatively at Chunar and Banaras to consult on the establishment of new schools, the construction of buildings and the preparation of reports to be communicated to the Committee at Calcutta.

In 1823 the first Missionary Association was formed at Calcutta which was followed by similar Associations at various afore

120. J. Long, Hand Book of Bengal Missions, London, 1948, p. 80.

121. See Richter, History of Indian Missions, p. 157.

aforesaid Missionary Stations.

Much impressed by the labours of the Srīrāmpur Mission and of the School Book Society (1818), in Calcutta, Jay Nārāyan Ghoshāl,<sup>122</sup> a native of Calcutta, donated generously for dissemination of learning in Banaras. As a result a school, which was named after him, was founded in July 1818. Hindī, Sanskrit, English, Chemistry and Arabic were taught in the school. Scholarships were awarded. After the establishment of the school a printing press was installed which aided considerably in multiplying school books and treatises for distribution throughout the country.

Two girls schools were founded in 1823 by Rev. T. Moris, followed by four more for boys in the following year. The missionaries had to face many difficulties for want of proper teachers. In the schools, the Gospels were read in Hindī.

William Bowley was attached to the C.M.S. Chunar. J.J. Carshore, connected with the Kanpore (Cawnpore) Mission, founded five schools which were assisted by several of the residents of

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122. In his letter addressed to the C.M.S. London, he wrote after founding a school, 'Thus, what I have been for many years desiring, begins to be accomplished most effectual means may be used for enlightening the minds of my countrymen, etc.'

'I, therefore, most earnestly request the honourable Church Missionary Committee to take measures for sending out a Printing Press to Benares with one or two suitable Missionaries to superintend it.'

See Hand Book of Bengal Missions, p.70.

the town. The eleventh report of the C.M.S. stated that he was engaged in superintending the translation of the "Cawnpore Translation Society", which was established by the then Lord Bishop of Calcutta. The chief aim of this Society was to supply a series of translations of such tracts and works as met the needs of the people of the Upper Provinces. A native "Female Orphan Asylum" was founded in 1835 and instruction was imparted to girls through the medium of Hindi.

123

The Vernacular Literature Society was established in 1851. It did not confine its support to translations only but it also encouraged original compositions in Hindi and in other regional languages.

Thus, in the second half of the period (1823-1856) under review, we find that The Tract and Book Societies were busy supplying books and tracts impregnated with the religious elements. The School Book Society <sup>124</sup> and the Calcutta School Society (1818), published texts and books connected with education. A list of books published up to 1846 includes the following, "Balkon ke liye Pratham Sikṣā Pustak", "Mūl sūtra" or "A Spelling Book," "Nītikathā" in Vol.II, "Manorajan Hihās" "Śiṣu Bodhak" in three parts, "Hindī Grammar", "Vidyābhyās kā

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123. See Report of the Transactions of the Vernacular Literature Society (from Feb.1856 to May 1857) Calcutta, pp.20 ff

124. At Calcutta and Agra.

phal," "Upadesā Kathā," "Hindī-Abhidhān", "Ganitānka kā Pustaka  
 "Pear's Geography Book" and "Padārtha Vidyā-sāra." The  
 Vernacular Literature Society provided for a healthy domestic  
 literature which was interesting and civilizing in its effect.  
 The ideal that the Society maintained was this,

'The Composition must be idiomatic and at the same  
 time simple, and the general style of the work and  
 treatment of the subject must be specially adopted  
 to the comprehension of natives of this country.'

125

We find that the missionaries always emphasised the  
 claims of the living languages for educational training. We  
 have also seen that they were the first to learn the various  
 vernaculars, in some cases the first to reduce them to writing  
 and to lay the foundations of a future literature, especially  
 in Hindī prose. They were one and all predisposed to favour  
 Hindī which they considered indispensable in the work of the  
 Hindustān Mission.

126

But Alexander Duff (1830-1857) 'resolved to make the  
 English language the vehicle for the new civilization and  
 culture.'<sup>127</sup> He advocated replacing Hindī or any other  
 regional language by English as the medium of instruction in

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125. See Report of the Transactions of the V.L.S. p. 23 ff.

126. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland.

127. Richter, History of Indian Missions, p.177.

schools and thereby hoped to reach high caste and influential parents of prospective pupils. Though at first sight his influence was to retard the evolution of Hindi prose, his work in building up an Indian Educational system eventually favoured the development of that medium. Education thus became a recognised missionary method and the Missionaries were, in a way, pioneers of the Indian educational system. Later the Government raised the superstructure.

From the following extracts of and original compositions in Hindi (English Versions appended) the progress from the crude early style of Carey to the finished product of 1823 can be traced: -

"चाँद को देखो कैसा चमकता है, लेकिन उसकी रोशनी अपनी नहीं जैसा पीतल धूप में झलकता है तिस मुबाफिक यह भी है सिरिफ सूरज के तेज से चाँद उजियाल होता है परमेश्वर ने सूरज से दिन को और चाँद से रात को रोशन किया ताकि लोग खुशी से काम काज करें "

"वन के बीच गाछ की खोलड में आग होने से, जैसे तमाम जंगल को जलाती है, तैसे कुपूत, अपने कुल को जलाता है, ओ कानन के बीच सुगंध फूल रहने से, जैसे सारे वन को सुश वो करता है, तैसा सपूत सब कुल को सुंदर प्रकाश करता है " 128

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128. "Mūl Sūtra" or "A Hindee Spelling Book" by Mrs. Rowe, of Digah, which was composed for the students. 1st edition, Calcutta 1820, II ed. Cal. 1823, Printed for the Calcutta School Book Society at the Baptist Mission Press. p.65 IIed

'Look at the Moon! How it shines, but its light is not its own, it is just like the copper that glitters in the Sun; the Moon derives light from the brightness of the Sun only. God has lighted the day with the Sun and the night with the Moon so that people might perform their work with pleasure.'

'As, in the midst of a forest, the fire in the hollow of the trunk of a tree burns the whole forest, so a bad son destroys his noble family tradition; or as a scented flower scatters its fragrance in the whole of the forest, so a worthy son brightens the name of the whole family.'

" माता पिता में श्रद्धा भक्ति करना मनुष्य को उचित है, क्योंकि माता पिता की सन्तान की चाहना करने का प्रयोजन यही, कि पुत्र पुत्र के ज्ञानवान् होने के सबके पास मान्य होय, तिस करके हम भी मान्य होंगे, और पुत्र की श्रद्धा भक्ति से सब संतुष्ट रहेंगे। जो पुत्र माता पिता की भक्ति नहीं करे सो पुत्र केवल माता पिता के दुख देने के लिये जनमे हैं। सो पुत्र जो जनम के मर जाय सो अति श्रेष्ठ वा नहीं जन्मे सो भी भला, जिसलिये सो अक बेर शोक देता है, परंतु मूर्ख पुत्र कुछ नहीं, जिसके लिये उससे मातापिता सदा ही दुःख पावते हैं, इसके लिये पुत्र को यही करना उचित है कि यो य काल में विद्या अ यास और माता पिता की भक्ति करे ।

जो कोई मनुष्य उद्योग करता है, सो धनी होता है, और जो कोई मनुष्य अपनी सन्तानों को उद्योग करने को सिखावे, यह सबसे भला है जिसको आलसी असा य बिचारता है सो उद्योग से करने सकता है ।' 129

'To show respect and devotion to parents is obligatory to mankind because the intention of parents behind having any issue is that as a son after he is born and has attained knowledge, may be respected by all so that he may bring honour to us and everybody will be satisfied with his son's respect and devotion. Those sons, who are not

devoted to their parents, are born only to inflict pain upon their parents. A son who expired immediately after his birth is best, or if not born, it is also good, that is why (he) brings sorrow only once, but an idiot son is good for nothing, from whom parents always suffer, therefore a son should attain knowledge at proper time and show devotion to his parents.'

'One who makes effort, becomes rich and a person who teaches his children to labour, this is excellent. If a thing is impracticable for a lazy person, he can do it provided he makes an effort.'

"मनितर रखने का बखान"

" पाठशाला नियुक्त होने के पीछे बालकन के बीच में से विद्या और अंशुता से बड़ा ऐसा एक बालक छांट लेके मनितर के काम में नियुक्त किय जायगा जब पाठशाला प्रथम स्थापन किई जाय, तब क्लास के मनितर को छोडके दो तीन क्लास के ऊपर एक मनितर नियुक्त करने होगा, पढ़नेहारों मेंसे मनितर को छांट के बाहिर करना और तिसके पीछे मनितर के ऊपर तदारक करना इसमें शिक्षक की सामर्थ्य अथवा असामर्थ्य जानी जाय, क्योंकि पाठशाला का मली प्रकार से शासन और पढ़ने हारों का विद्या में अभ्यास ये दोनों मनितर के परिश्रम वा यो यता के द्वारा होते हैं, इसलिये अपनी आज्ञा के अनुवर्ती और विश्वास के पात्र ऐसे मनितरों को छांट के लेना शिक्षक को बहुत आवश्यक है, जिस काम में जो मनितर नियुक्त किया जाय तिसमें उसकी कदाचित् अयोग्यता प्रगट होय तब उस काम में किसी से उसको नहीं रखने होगा ।' 130

'After the establishment of a school, one boy, who is older in age and more intelligent will be selected and appointed a monitor. When the school is instituted for the first time besides the monitor of a class, another monitor for two to three classes has to be appointed. Out of the students, a monitor should be

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130. 'Substance of Dr. Bell's Instructions ' for modelling and conducting schools, translated into Hindoos by M.T. Adam Calcutta 1824. p.5.



selected, then the monitor is to be supervised, that will show the capability or incapability of the teacher, because a good administration of the school and exercises of the students in their learning, both are attributable to diligence and capacity of a monitor. Therefore, it is very essential for a teacher to select a monitor who is obedient and worthy of his confidence. The moment a monitor proves inefficient to a given task then he should not be retained for that work.'

" अब भी परतक्ष देखते हैं जो इंग्लैंड की रंडियों के सहारे से लड़कियों के पढ़ाने के लिये जो जो चटसाल हुए हैं उन्होंने जो जो कन्या पाठ आरम्भ किया है उन्होंने में से कोई एक बरस में और कोई डेढ़ बरस में लिखना पढ़ना अच्छी भांति सीखा है और भाषा की पोथी जो उन्होंने कभी नहीं देखी सहज में पढ़ सकती है जो बालक बहुत बरसों में नहीं सकते। यह बुझ पड़ता है कि जो स्त्री जन विद्या सीखे तो पुरुष से अति शीघ्र गुणवती होती है। " 13

" अब भी प्रत्यक्ष देखते हैं जो इंग्लैंड की स्त्रियों के सहारे से लड़कियों के पढ़ाने के लिये जो जो पाठशाला हुईं उन्होंने जिन जिन कन्याओं ने पाठ आरम्भ किया है उन्होंने में से कोई कोई एक बरस में और कोई कोई डेढ़ बरस में लिखना पढ़ना अच्छी भांति सीख गई हैं और भाषा की पोथी जो उन्होंने कभी नहीं देखी सहज में पढ़ सकती हैं जिनको बालक बहुत बरसों में नहीं पढ़ सकते इससे यह समझा जाता है कि जो स्त्री जन विद्या सीखे तो पुरुष से अति शीघ्र गुणवती होंगी " 132

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131. "An apology for Female Education" (or Evidence in favour of the Education of Hindoo Females from the Examples of illustrious women, both Ancient and Modern) in Khari Boli Dialect (pp.22) (Author's name not given) Calcutta School Book Society, 1823, p.16.
132. Ibid, revised by Jaisakar Brahman (pp.24,) p.18, Agra School Book Society, 1847.

'Even now, it is apparent that the school which have been instituted with the help of English ladies, for teaching the girls (and) those who have started their lessons, some of them within a year and half, have learnt reading, writing very well; and the book of language which they never happened to look at can read easily which boys cannot read in many years. This shows that if women receive training, they are sure to qualify themselves more quickly than men.'

Simplicity of style appears the keynote of the missionary original compositions. Colloquial Hindī has been employed in the texts whereas the tracts have included many Sanskrit words hence they incline towards pedantry. Some texts show Bengālī influence, e.g. 'Udyog karne saktā hai', 'Niyukta karne hogā', 'Usko nahi rakhne hogā', Use of Braj forms can also be noticed.

From specimen IV (h), it is very clear that school books were revised later and reprinted by the Agra School Book Society (1839). The revised version with its better diction raises the standard of the language. It seems that the texts which were at first composed by missionaries were revised by native scholars who improved the style under the patronage of the Government. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Thus we see that missionaries not only contributed to the originality of the subject matter, but also with the assistance of native scholars towards the formation of a style which they preferred to any other then prevalent, perhaps, because it was more suitable for their purpose.

## CHAPTER IV.

VERNACULARISATION OF EDUCATION.

'Education is no exotic in India,' says Professor F. W. Thomas. 'There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence.'<sup>1</sup> From the Vedic Age to the last Hindu Empire in North India, a well-organised system of education<sup>2</sup> is said to have been in existence.

A legacy of the 'tols', 'Vidyālayas' and 'Madarsās', the seats of Sanskrit and Arabic learning;<sup>3</sup> the 'Pāthsālās,' the indigenous elementary schools scattered all over villages and towns; was handed down to the Government of the East India Company who, however, took no interest in the education of its Indian subjects in the first few decades of its rule.

'Consolidation and organisation of the newly acquired territories taxed its servant's energy to the utmost and in any case, education was not a state affair, even in England at that time.'

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1. F.W. Thomas, The History and Prospects of British Education, p.
  2. H. Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, Part I, (1781-1839), p.1.
  3. Blochmann, Regulations Regarding Education, 'Ain-i-Akhari', pp.278,279.
  4. P. Griffiths, The British Impact on India, p.248.

Perhaps, therefore, the Company was not concerned at that period with the promotion of learning; on the contrary, there was much opposition<sup>5</sup> to the introduction of any system of education at all

'The earliest efforts to introduce any form of education beyond the indigenous system emanated from missionaries private societies and individuals, whether officials or others.'

6

Missionary enterprise in the cause of education has already been described in the preceding chapter. Individual efforts resulted in the establishment of two colleges of Oriental Learning.

#### State of Education (1781-1816).

The first educational institution "The Calcutta Madrasa"<sup>7</sup> or "The Muhammadan College" was founded by Warren Hastings in 1781. Its main object was 'to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state even at that date largely monopolised by the Hindus'.<sup>8</sup> In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Banaras, with the liberal support<sup>9</sup> of Lord Cornwallis, founded 'the Banaras Sanskrit College.' The college was designed to cultivate 'the laws, literature and

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5. See A. Howell, Education in British India (Prior to 1854 and in 1870, 71), Cal. 1872, p.1.
  6. H. Shart, Selections from Educational Records (1781-1839), Part I, p.2.
  7. Ibid, p.7.
  8. Education in British India, p. 1.
  9. Its curriculum was composed of Natural Philosophy, Theology, Law, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Logic, Rhetorics, Grammar. The Course extended to seven years. Still flourishing, as is the Muhammadan College.

religion of the Hindus'. It was instituted especially to supply qualified Hindu Assistants to European Judges. '

Thus, though the Company had as yet devised no definite plans for the education of the people, its individual officers here and there applied public funds <sup>10</sup> to the maintenance of institutions of Oriental learning.

Both, the Muhammadan College and Sanskrit College, were oriental in character. The mode, the scope and the medium of instruction were oriental. The Company thus encouraged the cultivation of the classical languages of Hindus and Muslims; but it is needless to mention here that the object implied in their establishment was 'self-interest', for they were competent enough to cite the respective laws in cases that had to be tried by the British Magistrates. Besides, the Company wanted to win the confidence of the upper classes by educating their sons for high posts under the Government and thereby to consolidate its rule in India.

Sir John Shore (1793-1798) expressed his views on the education of the masses very clearly in his famous document, "Notes on Indian Affairs".

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10. See Selections from Education Records, Part I, pp. 7-12.

He asked,

'Is a rational attempt to educate the people of the great country to be made? Or are they to be allowed to remain in their present state of ignorance? -- that is, as far as relates to the assistance of their English masters..... Certainly it was their (the British Rulers) duty first to have ordained that the language and character of the country should be that of the Courts of Justice; secondly, to have established schools, or at least to have encouraged these that already existed, for the education of the people in their own language and character; thirdly, to have promoted the translation of books of knowledge into the vernacular tongue; and fourthly, to have afforded all who had leisure or inclination the means of acquiring that knowledge in which the most general information is concentrated, the English.'

This seems to be the earliest statement emphasising the importance of the vernaculars, as media of instruction. Sir John Shore appears to have held far more advanced and enlightened views than his contemporaries, not only in India, but also in England. As regards English, he took the moderate view that encouragement should be given to those who want to learn it. This seems quite a reasonable approach to the problem connected with the Vernacularisation of Education. Had this plan been adopted, many controversies to be related later, might possibly not have arisen at all.

The Fort William College <sup>12</sup> (1800-1854) was founded by Lord Wellesley in 1800 A.D. for the training of civil servants in

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11. H.A. Stark, Vernacular Education in Bengal, (1813-1912), p.2

12. See: Chapter II.

the language literature and laws of the country with the object of facilitating a better administration. The writings and publications of the college teachers composed as text books for the students, contributed to the spread of certain vernaculars but not with a view to educating the common people. Among its teachers, Taylor, Roebuck, Tārṇī Caran Mitra and Mirzā Kāzīm Allī were connected with the Hindustānī Department of the College and were later appointed to the Committee of the Calcutta Book Society of which W.B. Bayley, an old Student of the college, held the presidentship for a considerable period.

After the establishment of the two Oriental Colleges, nothing was heard of the educational activities undertaken by the Government, until Lord Minto in 1811, reported the gradual decay of the science and literature of India and exhorted that 'the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of explaining them.'

In 1813 when the Company's Charter was renewed, a clause concerning the education of the people was inserted, under the influence of Charles Grant and of Wilberforce. The clause reads,

'It shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the

encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British Territories in India.'

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Here a question arises.

'Should the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people? If it should what should be the nature and scope of its educational activities?'

14

In fact, the Court of Directors were opposed to the acceptance of any such responsibility because, as mentioned earlier, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State, even in England at that time and therefore the East India Company felt reluctant to accept any such responsibility in India. It seems that the upper classes in the country also remained indifferent to any attempts made by the Company's officials towards the education of the masses. Therefore, the task of making the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people was a difficult one. When such tendencies existed, it is too early to perceive the nature and scope of its educational plans. However, it is evident that the clause meant to revive and improve the classical literatures in Sanskrit and Arabic. Thus, the Charter Act of 1813<sup>15</sup> formed a 'turning

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13. Vernacular Education in Bengal, pp.4,5.

14. I.P. Naik and Syed Nurullah, History of Education in India. p.80.

15. See Selections from Educational Records, Part I.



point in the history of Education.'

On 3rd June 1814, the Court of Directors recorded their First Educational Despatch and explained how they proposed to encourage Indian scholars and promote a knowledge of sciences among them.

16

They wrote,

'By "Sciences" was meant the Oriental Sciences -- the systems of ethics written in the Sanskrit language which embodied "Codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of people....." many other things the study of which might do much to form links of communication between Indian and European officials.'

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16. See: Vernacular Education in Bengal, p.6. 'We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance. We are informed that there are in Sanskrit Language treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra which, though they may not add new lights to European science might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences. With a view to these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments, as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed for this purpose may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the science in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.'

Lord Moira, after a visit to the North Western Provinces, issued a Minute on the 2nd Oct. 1815, stating his anxiety to establish a system of public education. He was mostly concerned with the village elementary schools which were already in existence where rudiments were taught, but where the inculcation of morals formed no part of the instruction. He suggested,

'the remedy for this is to furnish the village school masters with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars taking care that while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled, no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular creed.'

17

Lord Moira's Minute was followed by the establishment of the 'Vidyālaya' or the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816.

The foundation of this college marked an important event in the history of Indian Education where a group of learned Indians manifested a 'spontaneous desire' to introduce English as the medium of instruction so that European Literature and Science might be made accessible to them.

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17. Selections from Educational Records, p.25.

18. The Curriculum included Literature, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy, Mathematics and Logic, Among vernaculars - Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. In Hindi, 'Premsagar,' 'Sabha-Vilas' were prescribed as text books.

19. Rājā Rām mohun Roy, Rājā Rādhā kānta Deva.

Formation of the Calcutta School Book Society and  
similar Institutions (1817-1834): Hindi Publications.

The Calcutta School Book Society was formed on the 1st  
<sup>20</sup>  
 July 1817. The Society was a voluntary association for promoting education among the common people. The principal object of this Society were to prepare and publish cheap supplies of books ('English as well as Asiatic') useful for indigenous schools and seminaries of learning. One of the principal aims of the Society was to maintain a strict religious neutrality in contrast to the religious tracts already supplied to the Missio Schools by the missionaries. However, this restriction did not preclude the supply of Moral Tracts which seldom interfered with the religious sentiments of the people. They were, however, calculated to enlarge 'the understanding and improve the character' of the students, most of whom came from the Lower Classes.

<sup>21</sup>  
 A Committee of Managers to be elected annually, consist of 24 persons, of whom 16 were to be Europeans (including office members) and 8 Indians. Three Sub-Committees were also con-

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20. See: Proceedings of the General Meeting of the C.S.B. Society held at the Town Hall. Also see: Report of the Provisional Committee of the C.S.B. Society, Cal. 1817.

21. The following names appear: Hon. Sir E.H. East, R. Rock, J. H. Harington, W.B. Bayley, Dr. W. Carey, Rev. J. Parson, Rev. T. Thomason, Capt. J.W. Taylor, A. Lockkett, T. Roebuck, W.H. Macnathen, E.S. Montagu, James Robinson, N. Wallich, E. Mackintosh (Treasurer) Lt. F. Irvine, Secretary, Mawluiwee Umeenoo (llah, Mumluvee Curum Hoosuyn, Mrityoonjuy Bidyalune Bahoo Tarinee Churun Mitr. for the year 1817-18.

constituted. The management and administration rested with the General Committee; one was established for English language, a second for Arabic, Persian and Hindustāni and a third for Sanskrit. It was further decided that all persons of whatever nationality, subscribing any sum annually to the funds of the Society, would be considered Members of the Society and be entitled to vote at the annual election of Managers. Two secretaries, a European and an Indian, were appointed. They were made ex-officio members of the Committee. W.B. Bayley was elected President and Lt. Irvine and T.C. Mitra, secretaries of the Committee.

It seems that this institution came into being after the pattern of societies then existing in Britain and in other European countries. Several Europeans, as members of the Committee, were aware of the benefits derived from the formation, extension and success of such voluntary associations for the promotion of education and other estimable objects whose growth was surprisingly rapid. The Cheap Book Society was already in existence prior to this Society, but rather in a deteriorating condition possibly due to lack of funds.

22

In the Provisional Committee itself, it was proposed by

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22. See Appendix P. 69, to the Second Report of C.S.B. Society, Cal. 1819.

means of Sub-Committees to raise funds <sup>23</sup> for the printing of 'Elementary Books for the use of Native Schools.' From the printing of such works great advantages were expected to accrue, 'the efforts of individuals will be supported and facilitated and the circulation of the Books may be extended to the benefit of many of the schools established in the villages.' <sup>24</sup>

An appeal was made to the public to donate such printed books or manuscripts as were calculated to assist the Committee in their elementary labours. Amongst these were included Grammars, Vocabularies, and Dictionaries in the various languages; 'extracts from elegant writers; selections of general History or Biography with Treatises on the Arts and Sciences whether Ancient or Modern, perfect or imperfect.'

The Committee established six departments, Bengālī, Hindustānī, Sanskrit Arabic and Persian and English respectively. We are more concerned with the Hindustānī <sup>25</sup> later known as Hindi Department. <sup>26</sup> They also decided to start by printing the

23. Ibid, p.71. "To this document were attached at an early period the names of Moira, Londoun and Moira, W.B. Bayley, James Hare, W.H. Trout, W. Rumbold and T. Thomason with their respective subscriptions."

24. Ibid, p.70.

25. According to W. Adam, 'The term Hindoostanee, properly speaking is not applied by the Natives of India to any dialect (it being only the epithet for a native of the Western Province); but has been used, after Dr. Gilchrist, as a more comprehensive term than Hindee, and which should therefore have every currency among the natives, some of whom indeed about the persons of Englishmen are beginning to adopt it.' See: State of Education in Bengal, edited by A. Basu. pp.290.291.

most elementary books of the lowest order, 'for they judged that education could not be more effectually promoted than by taking the young pupil at the very commencement of his studies and providing him gradually with such books as will conduct him in due order to the higher branches of learning.' Such books were recommended as proved useful in the village schools for providing elementary knowledge to the pupils.

In the beginning, the Bengālī Department occupied a good deal of Committee's attention. A set of elementary Bengālī Primers and Arithmetical Tables were published under the superintendence of the Revs. Eustace Carey and W. Yates who had been attached to the Society since its commencement. Thus, we find a friendly understanding was established between the Committee and the missionaries of Srīrāmpur which helped to secure a good supply of such publications from the latter's press, as were required by the Society. Punctuation marks were introduced by Carey and Yates in the text books. A collection of Fables were translated into Bengālī from the English and the Arabic by T.C. Mitra, Rādhākānt Dev and Rāmkamal Sen. Later these fables were

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26. Ibid. 'It is difficult to say what is understood by the common name of Hindee or Hinduwee. The Khuree Bolee it appears is the purest and most correct Hindee and is thought to have been the language of the metropolis of India under its ancient Rajas; on the foundation of which the Orduu was laid by the later Maoslim dynasties, having the same terminations and general mode of inflection.' Also see: Appendix No. II, the Report of the Provisional Committee of C.S.B. Society, p.15. Cal. 1817.

rendered into Hindī by T.C. Mitra who was connected with the Hindustānī Department.

As we are concerned mainly with Hindī texts, our enquiry from now on will concentrate on them. At first the number of Hindī productions was much smaller than Bengālī because the latter was a vernacular of the whole Presidency of Bengal in which the number of schools was fairly large while Hindī was the medium of instruction in Bihar.

The following were prescribed by the Society and used as text books <sup>27</sup> for many years not only in Bihar, but also in Banaras, the North Western Provinces, prior to the formation of the Banaras and Agra School Book Societies,

1. Varṇmālā or Hindī Primer.
2. Mūlsūtra or Hindī Spelling Book.
3. Hindī Grammar (Part I, II, III.)
4. Gaṇita Prakāś.
5. Bhūgol - Vṛttānt or Pearce's Outlines of Geography.
6. Nītikathā.
7. Upadeśa Kathā.
8. Manohar Kathā.
9. Strī Sikṣā Vidhayak.

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27. See Appendix to VII Report of the C.S.B. Society.

10. Bāthsālā - Vivarna or Bell's Instructions.
11. Hindī Golādhyāya.
12. Zamīdarī Accounts.
13. Serampore (Bhugol) Geography).

'Varnamālā' was prepared by Taylor, 'Nīkīkathā' in two parts by T.C. Mitra, 'Mūlasūtra' by Mrs. Rowe. The elementary Spelling Book or Mūlasūtra supplies the beginner with his first material for learning. 'Manohar Kathā' or Pleasing Tales, were translated into Kharī Boli by Lt. Bagnold. In addition 'Ganit-Prakāsa in three parts, was composed by M.T. Adam of Banaras. The need of a grammar and dictionary in Hindī was felt very much by the Committee and Adam <sup>27a</sup> supplied both.

From the Reports (up to 1834) of the Society, it is to be noticed that the same set of books were multiplied in many editions and served as text books for the Indigenous Elementary Schools and later for the Anglo-Vernacular Schools where Hindi was employed. Nevertheless, useful reading books, such as novels and short stories, were very scarce in the period under review.

Perhaps a few words about the publications of the English Department would not be irrelevant to the present narrative.



A considerable number of works were printed in English. It seems that then only was the foundation of English laid, later to be adopted as the medium of instruction. A few schools were then in operation in the Presidency for the European, Christian and Anglo-Indian children where English was the medium. All the texts required in the Hindu College were supplied by the English Department of the Society and some of them were imported from Europe, as suitable school books were very scarce.

The texts employed in various 'pāthsālas' and 'tols' cannot be discovered, because the works were in manuscript form, only a small number of books having been printed in Hindī by the Fort William College and the Srīrāmpur Missionaries prior to the establishment of the Society. Printing was practically out of the question, for ordinary school teachers, involving as it did, considerable expenditure.

Thus many books, imported from Europe, were in common use, which had been adapted to the circumstances of Indian children. Geography books, for example, were prepared with the boundaries, extent, towns, rivers, and products of Bengal, leading from thence to the Geography of Hindustan and Asia. Similarly historical abridgements centered on India at first and developed to embrace other countries.

The Committee recommended that 'many of the books printed in the native languages, be accompanied with an English Translation as far as this may be practicable as an important help to the acquisition of English.' This was adopted in the selections for reading, compendiums of History and Geography, as well as in all the elementary books of science.

In view of the progress of their labours, the Society sought for the literary contributions of native writers versed in the English Language. Later we find a number of Indian scholars translating English works into Hindi and other vernaculars for the use of Anglo-Vernacular Schools of the North Western Provinces (1843-1856) under the supervision of the Visitor General of Schools.

The Committee were of the opinion that

'the European Instructor may correct and modify so as to present a book received from Europe in a form somewhat more adapted to Indian schools, but it must be evident that he is unqualified to supply the imagery and illustration, the turn of thought, and the mode of arguing which are best suited to the Native mind..... therefore he cannot exhibit the innumerable properties of thought, style, argument and illustration which must combine to form a perfect elementary work in a foreign country.'

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28. See Report of the Provisional Committee, Cal. 1817 of C.S.B. Society, p.10.

Thus,

'a judicious direction of Native efforts in the English Department promises incalculable benefits to the Community at large.'

Lastly the Committee said that

'the efforts of the Institution in the English Department need not in the smallest degree retard the publication of books in the native languages, for the presses being distinct the progress of two departments may be simultaneous'

29

The Calcutta School Society was formed on the 17th August 1818, to assist, improve and to establish more schools and seminaries whenever and wherever required, with a view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge. This Society was followed by two more institutions, viz., the Calcutta Diocesan Committee in the same year. The Calcutta School Society decided to select pupils of distinguished talents and merit from elementary and other schools and to provide for their instruction in seminaries of a higher degree. This shows that a provision for Higher Secondary Instruction was being made. An association of qualified teachers and translators who might be instrumental in enlightening the people, was also formed so that they might be able to devise ways and means for furthering the cause of education. The Society also awarded stipends and gave financial support to such pupils as continued their studies.

Thus other Auxiliary School Associations founded on the same principles, were established and encouraged.

The Madras School Book Society<sup>30</sup> was formed at Fort St. George on the 14th April 1820, and the Bombay School Book Society<sup>31</sup> on the 10th August of the same year under Presidentship of Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay. Both Societies were instituted for the purpose of procuring, compiling, printing and distributing works, both in English and the Vernaculars of the respective Presidencies. Both of them maintained a strict religious neutrality like the Parent Society. A set of English Elementary Books was despatched to both Presidencies for translation into the respective vernaculars and adaptation as text books.

Thus, the three Presidencies promoted a common cause. The progress of each was greatly accelerated by mutual cooperation. The cause of education in India received great encouragement in the years between 1823 and 1833.

Later, a set of school books in Hindī was sent from Calcutta by the Society to the Collector and to similar responsible officers to Banaras, Allhabad, Kampore, Agra and Delhi to be employed in the schools.

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30. See: Third Report of the C.S.B. Society (1819-20), Cal.1821. pp.66,67.

31. Ibid, p.52.

In 1821 J.H. Harington, Chief Judge of Sadar Diwānī Adālat, was appointed an Agent for the C.S.B. Society and School Societies in England. A set of the C.S.B. Society's Reports and works was presented to the Court of Directors. Similarly, the Governor General was approached for pecuniary aid. A sum of Rs.500 per month was sanctioned in 1822, thus enabling the Society to prosecute their endeavours in the cause of education.

Before concluding we have yet to estimate the results of the Society's labours up to the year 1834. <sup>32</sup>

The C.S.B. Society represented a confluence of Europeans, Missionaries, Hindus and Muhammadans, where their combined efforts were directed to a common pursuit. The very attempt to devise plans for the establishment of schools in any place, seemed imperiously to call for some simultaneous provision of suitable texts. It appeared obvious that instruction could not be given without such materials as the C.S.B. Society furnished and consequently that every effort to diffuse knowledge would have failed without some established depository from whence the means of teaching might be drawn. Books were circulated in almost all the principal towns under the Company's Government.

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32. After the reorganization of the General Committee of Public Instruction, the C.S.B. Society ceased from all the active patronage of Vernaculars.

The Associations and Societies formed at other places owed their origin to this Society. By 1822 the C.S. Society was running no fewer than eighty-four schools dependent mainly upon the C.S.B. Society. A plan to publish an Anglo-Asiatic Dictionary and a Hindi Grammar and Dictionary, was devised and executed by the Society. Adam's Grammar seems to be the first Khari Boli Hindi Grammar, now available. The Society was furnished with a library of its own to which the public contributed gifts of manuscripts and books. A total number of 126,456 copies of various works were printed by the Society up to 1834. A well-organised system of education seems to have been developed.

W. Adam, <sup>33</sup> in his Report on Vernacular Education thus reviews the services rendered by the C.S.B. Society and the S.B. Society to the cause of indigenous education,

'The improvements introduced by the S.Society into the schools are various. Printed, instead of manuscripts, school-books are now in common use. The mode of instruction has been improved..... The system of teaching with the assistance of monitors and of arranging the boys in classes formed with reference to similarity of ability of proficiency has been adopted and as in some instances it has enabled the teachers to increase the number of their pupils very considerably etc.'

34

Thus, we see that the contribution of the C.S.B. Society and other similar societies was of no small order. There was no

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33. A native of Dunfermline, Scotland. In the year 1815 joined the Baptist Missionary Society and stayed in Bristol and Glasgow for necessary training. The Home Committee sent him to India. He reached Srirampur on the 19th March 1818.

other institution more calculated to benefit the people than this Society. It continued to do so for a considerable number of years.

Committee of Public Instruction (1823-1842).

In 1823 a General Committee of Public Instruction was set up by the then acting Governor General, John Adam with Mr. Harington its President. From 1823 to 1842, the General Committee was the only official organ of Government in all matters connected with education. This was the first Committee of the kind to be organised and sponsored by the Government under the Company's rule. The General Committee was the only channel of official correspondence with individual institutions. The grant of one lakh of rupees provided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also placed at the disposal of the Committee. This facilitated the Committee's laying the foundation of scholarships and introducing tuition fees. The Committee subsidized the Banaras Sanskrit College and Calcutta 'Madrassāh', established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1824 and Oriental colleges at Agra (1823) and Delhi (1828) to which English classes were attached in 1833.

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33 contd. There he acquired Sanskrit and Bengali. In 1829 he submitted a memorandum to G.G. Lord W. Bentinck stating that an educational survey of the country was indispensable to a proper understanding of system of education. In 1834 the G.G. accepted his proposals. He was paid an allowance of Rs.1000 per mensem.

34. See: Vernacular Education in Bengal (1813-1912), p.12.

The Committee consisted mainly of those Europeans, such as Wilson, Prinsep and Bayley, who were admirers of the classical literature of India. Hence the decision of the Committee to encourage oriental learning can hardly be regarded with surprise.

'It dealt with such subjects as the system of education best adapted to meet the actual needs of the country; the preparation of text books; the establishment of new colleges and advanced schools; the improvement and development of existing seminaries; the course of studies appropriate to each institution.'

36

A close supervision of schools and colleges was also conducted by the Committee with a view to ascertaining their standard and proficiency.

Schools in the 'Mofussil' were superintended by Local Committees composed of the Judge, the Collector, the Magistrate, the Civil Surgeon, the Principal Sadar 'Ameen' and a few influential and educated Indians. They were expected to visit the schools and seminaries and to submit to the General Committee an Annual Report on the year's activities. Local Committees were to

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35. The Hindi curriculum comprised the following text books, 'Baitāl Paçīsi', 'Sihāsan Battisi', 'Prem Sāgar', 'Rājniti', 'BrajVilās', 'Lāla Candrikā', 'Rāmāyana'.

36. Vernacular Education in Bengal, pp.17,18.

37. Education in British India, p.14.



correspond with the General Committee directly and not with the Government. Strangely enough the Local Committees remained quite indifferent to the common cause. As a result the Government appointed an Inspector in 1844.

From its commencement the General Committee aimed at winning the confidence of educated and influential people by giving due encouragement to classical Indian literature, and observing strict religious neutrality. Secondly, as the funds at the disposal of the Committee were limited, they were devoted to furthering the cause of higher education. From the former principle sprang the controversy between the Anglicists and Orientalists, that grew in intensity during the first twelve years of the Committee's existence and was finally settled in 1839.

37

The General Committee wanted to adopt the "Downward Filtration Theory" of which Macaulay was an advocate. They believed that education was to be first confined to the upper and middle classes and that it would gradually percolate down to the masses.

In 1831 the General Committee published its first Report, from which it appears that there were 14 institutions under its control with 3490 pupils. Hindī was introduced in the following schools and colleges: Bhagalpore (1823), <sup>38</sup> Banaras (Allahabad,

Allahabad <sup>39</sup> (1825), Jaunpur, Sagar <sup>40</sup> (1827), Kanpore (1824) ,  
Ajmer <sup>41</sup> (1827) before 1835.

The Anglicist-Orientalist Controversy.

The controversy <sup>42</sup> between the Anglicists and the Orient-  
alists <sup>44</sup> took place on the question of the medium to be adopted  
for higher education; although both parties were in favour of  
the "Downward Filtration Theory." They believed that education  
was to be first confined to the upper and middle classes and  
that it would gradually percolate down to the masses.

As regards the medium of instruction, there were three  
schools of thought. The first school advocated the encouragement  
of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and suggested that Western  
Literature and Science should be diffused through these. The  
second school believed in the 'wisdom of Grant's advice' and  
advocated the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of

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38. Hindi texts - 'Hindi Spelling Book,' 'Rajniti', Bell's Instruction,  
'Stewart's Historical Anecdotes and Tales in Hindi'.  
See: Report on the Colleges and Schools of G.C. p.9, in  
Bengal, Cal. 1831, p.21.
39. Do.Ibid, 'Niti Kathā', 'Baitāl Pacīsi', 'Rājniti'.
40. Do.Ibid, Hindi Spelling Book, 'Manoranjan Itihās', Hindi  
Grammar, Niti Kathā', 'Baitāl Pacīsi', 'Sabhā-Vilas,'
41. Do.Ibid, 'Sihāsan Battisi', 'Rajniti' and 'Hindi Spelling Book.'
42. See: Vernacular Education in Bengal, pp.19-22.
43. Messrs. Bird, Saunders, Bushby, Trevelyan and J.R.Colvin.
44. Messrs. H. Shakespeare, H. Thoby, Princep, James Princep, W.M.  
Macnaghten and T.C.C. Sutherland, Secretary to the Committee.

English. The third school consisted of some Government officials like Elphinstone<sup>45</sup>, Munro<sup>46</sup>, Col. Jervis<sup>47</sup> and Hodgson<sup>48</sup>, British Resident in Nepal, and believed in giving due encouragement to vernaculars by their adoption as the medium of instruction. It is surprising that the three schools of thought were composed entirely of European officials of the Company. Indian opinion, at that time, did not appear to exist at all. A few Indian scholars<sup>49</sup> of the Presidency, who could have wielded influence on the Government were inclined to adopt English as the medium for higher education.

The Orientalist Party was led by H.T. Prinsep while the Anglicist Party was warmly supported by T.B. Macaulay who came out to India in 1834 as the Law Member of the Supreme Council. He was appointed the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction when the controversy was at its height and the Governor General Lord Bentinck sought his intervention in the matter. This was the occasion when Macaulay<sup>50</sup>, after making himself acquainted with the views of both parties, prepared his famous Minute on the 2nd Feb. 1835, in favour of the Anglicists.

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45. See His Minute on Education. Also see: History of Education in India, pp.115 ff.

46. Ibid, p.119.

47. Who said, 'if the people are to have a literature, it must be their own, the stuff maybe in a great degree European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials and the fashion must be Asiatic.' See: Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p.13.

Bentinck agreed with the views of Macaulay and passed a Resolution on the 7th March 1835. It runs thus,

'His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.'

51

This Resolution aroused considerable criticism, since it appeared as if the vernacular languages were entirely to be excluded and all the funds were strictly to be employed 'on English education alone.'

The General Committee of which Macaulay was the President, corrected this error in the Annual Report <sup>52</sup> for 1835. It says,

48. See two articles appeared in "The Friend of India," Serampore 1835. Also see "Pre-Eminence of the Vernaculars," an article included in "Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects Edited by W.W. Hunter, Vol.II, p.255 ff. London 1880.

See the following extract from "Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson by W.W. Hunter, London 1896, p.310, Hodgson declared, "if the education of the Indian peoples were to become a reality it must be conducted neither in English nor in the classical languages of India, but in the living vernaculars of each province. To the heated disputanists Hodgson seemed to be proposing a "middle course."

49. See Footnote 19.

50. He summed up the claims of English as a medium of instruction in these words: "We are free to employ our funds as we choose that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that ~~neither~~ as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanskrit or Arabic, any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed."

See: Selections from Educational Records, Part, I, p.116.

51. Ibid, p.130.

'We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government, only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other.....

We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed.'

Though English was prescribed as 'the best medium of instruction' in the Resolution referred to above, it seems that the General Committee had in view those classes only of the community who had means and leisure for obtaining a thorough education. It appears to have been clearly their opinion that when the object was merely an elementary education, it might be most easily imparted to the people in their own language.

It was at the period under review that 'Sati' and Slavery were abolished and freedom of Press was established (1835). These reforms were the reflections of important events which came about between the years 1834-35 in England itself. In

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52. Published in 1836 at Calcutta. Also see the following extract from Macaulay's Minute. Agreeing with the third school of thought (those who favoured the vernaculars) Macaulay said, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying

1834 a system of national education had been initiated by a parliamentary grant towards the erection of schools. Similarly, in 1835 the Municipal Corporation Act had restored to the citizens the rights of Self-Government.<sup>53</sup> 'Lord Bentinck and his colleagues were under the spell of the hour', with the result that the Governor General directed his attention towards improving the lot of the common people by giving them a proper education. With this intention in view, he deputed W. Adam<sup>54</sup> to make a survey of Indigenous Elementary Education.

#### Adam's Reports and his Proposals.

On 22nd Jan. 1835 Adam was appointed Special Commissioner for the survey of the state of education in Bengal. In the words of Bentinck,

'He being an individual peculiarly qualified for this undertaking..... His knowledge of the languages and his habits of intercourse with the natives give him peculiar advantages for such an inquiry.'

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52. contd. knowledge to the great mass of the population.'  
See: Selections from Educational Records, Part I, p.116.
53. See: Vernacular Education in Bengal, p.24.
54. See footnote 33. Also see: The Encyclopaedia Britanica, XIV Ed., Vol.7, I.O.L. p.980, London, 1929.
55. See: Vernacular Education in Bengal, pp.25.26.

Thus Adam began his momentous enquiry. He was assiduously engaged on this work for nearly three years. He travelled through the hamlets and villages, towns and districts of Bengal and South Bihar, came into contact with the educated and the common people. He saw for himself the actual conditions of things and in the course of his inquiries he amassed valuable material and spared no labour and patience in its collection. The results of his investigations were embodied in what has been called 'one of the ablest Reports ever written in India', and results of which are indeed 'more celebrated than known.'

Adam conducted his survey with the help of 'pandits', 'maulvis', and 'Wāqifkars' or 'agents of intelligence' and also by friendly communications with the learned men of the place. The agents of intelligence were employed to carry information to the villagers and to explain the nature and objects of the enquiry, which helped Adam in compiling his statistics of the schools, students and scholars. While making his investigation, he resided at the chief station of the district and diverged from it in all directions to the extreme bounds of the district. Adam was assisted everywhere by the local District Magistrates or such officer.

Adam focussed his enquiry on the state of education, the

condition of the schools and the mode of instruction. He classified the schools as follows:

- 1) Elementary Indigenous Schools.
- 2) Elementary Schools not Indigenous.
- 3) Indigenous Schools of Learning.
- 4) Domestic Instruction.

By Elementary Indigenous Schools he meant 'those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated and which were supported by the local people. In the Elementary Schools not Indigenous, he included those schools which had been established and financed by the missionaries and other private societies. A European method of teaching was introduced in the Mission Schools. Indigenous Schools of Learning were the 'Sanskrit Tols' and Arabic 'Madrassahs', and then there was another mode known as the Domestic Instruction. Writing about the last mode of instruction, Adam narrates in one of his Reports,

'In addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditional knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic elementary instruction was much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction and yet it was not so highly valued as the latter.'

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Those who gave their children domestic instruction were



'zamindars', 'talukdars', shopkeepers, merchants and also persons of slender means.

These Indigenous Schools had no particular buildings of their own. Generally they were held in a village temple, or in a 'Baithakhana'<sup>57</sup> or a private house of the chief supporter of the school. At times, elementary instruction to the children was imparted by 'Pujārī' or (a village)'priest.'

On the whole these schools appear to have been lacking in a uniform system, discipline and regularity. It appears that even this kind of elementary education was not essential but rather a temporary arrangement. Those who attended the schools, were taught reading, writing, and a little arithmetic to facilitate the writing of accounts.

After giving a brief description<sup>of/</sup> the types of indigenous schools then existing in the Presidency of Bengal, we shall say more about the schools of South Bihar in which Hindī was the medium of instruction.

In the districts of South Bihar, there were 285 Hindī<sup>58</sup> schools. The vernacular instruction was almost in the hands

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57. An open verandah mainly intended as a place of recreation and discussions of matters relating to the general interests of the village.

58. State of Education in Bengal, p.243.

of 'Kāyastha' or writer-caste. In Bihar leaves were not in use as a material for writing on, the wooden board and brazen-plate being employed in the second and third stages of instruction.

In 36 schools commercial accounts were taught and in 20 schools agricultural accounts, but in 229 both commercial and agricultural accounts were taught and there were two schools out of the enumerated figures where vernacular works were employed.

The works of this description were the 'Dānlīlā', 'Dadhi līlā', 'Sudān Caritra', <sup>60</sup> 'Sundar Sudāmā', 'Rāmjanma', 'Sundar Kānda', 'Gīta-Govinda' and 'Sūrya Purān'. All of these works are in Hindī. The same text books were employed in some parts of Tirhut District <sup>61</sup> also where the total number of Hindī schools was 80 with the same number of teachers. <sup>62</sup> They were all Hindus, and thus divided in respect of caste, viz.,

'Kāyastha'	-	77
Gandhabanik	-	2
Brāhman	-	1

59. A MS. Copy is found in the 'Kern Institute' Leiden (Holland).

60. A MS. Copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque National, Paris.

61. See: Ibid, p.248, 'But in the Northern and Eastern district the 'Tirjutiya' is prevalent' which differs from Hindi and Bengali chiefly in its inflections and terminations, says Adam.

62. Ibid, p.246.

Thus Adam says 'both in Bengal and Behar the business of teaching common schools is chiefly in the hands of the 'Kayastha' or writer caste. In the Behar districts, this privilege is enjoyed in nearly its pristine completion.'

Vernacular instruction prevailed to a greater extent in the Bengal than in the Bihar districts. The more popular type of instruction was commercial and agricultural employing Hindi as medium. There was no connection between the Hindi and Sanskrit Schools of Bihar. The instruction in the common schools was totally different from that in the schools of Learning.

Adam, after making an exhaustive investigation, summed up his observations by emphasising the need for comprehensive measures to promote and direct national education. The chief object of the plan proposed by Adam for the extension and improvement of public instruction was to give due encouragement to already existing native schools. He believed that without entirely changing their character, the Indigenous Schools were capable of being greatly improved by the appointment of a 'Native Examiner' of teachers and an 'Inspector' for four or five districts. He also proposed having an Anglo-Vernacular School in each district, to which a certain number of highly qualified pupils should be admitted on small stipends from the Vernacular Schools. This Anglo-Vernacular School was designed

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as a Normal School for training the teachers so that they might introduce some improvement in the existing schools. The Government should undertake the preparation and distribution of a set of school books in the respective vernaculars. Adam laid great emphasis on the point that his proposals should be given a trial at least in a few selected districts.

The General Committee for Public Instruction rejected his proposals and recommendations as a whole. Adam being disappointed resigned from his appointment. The Court of Directors were in favour of the 'Filtration Theory' and suggested that when the educational needs of the upper and middle classes had been provided for, Adam's proposals might be taken into consideration.

The years that followed the Resolution of 1835, conclusive as it seemed to be, were still a period of experiment and conflict.<sup>64</sup> The Anglicist-Orientalist controversy lingered on for about five years and was finally decided by a Minute, dated 24th Nov. 1839, by Lord Auckland.

Prior to this, vernaculars were substituted in the judicial and Revenue Proceedings for the Persian language.<sup>65</sup>

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63. Suggested by Hodgson in his article published in "The Friend of India," 1835.
64. L.S.S. O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p.151.
65. See: The Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William, Chapter VI, Section 1, Language pp.244,245. Circular Order of the Sadar Diwany Adalat, No.3 of Act XXIX, Feb.9,1838.

The claims of the vernaculars were tending to be realised by the authorities concerned.

Lord Auckland by the said Minute, passed the Resolution in favour of the continuation of the existing Oriental Institutions. He also approved of the publication of 'useful books of instruction in Oriental languages' provided the expenditure did not exceed the specified amount.

On the other hand, in support of the Anglicist Party, the Governor General emphasised the principal aim of educational policy that a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science should be imparted through the medium of English. And the extension of higher education would be restricted to the upper classes.

This shows that he also supported the famous Downward Filtration Theory. Approval by the Governor General marked the official acceptance of this theory. 'Henceforward this theory became the official policy in education and continued to dominate Government effort in education till about

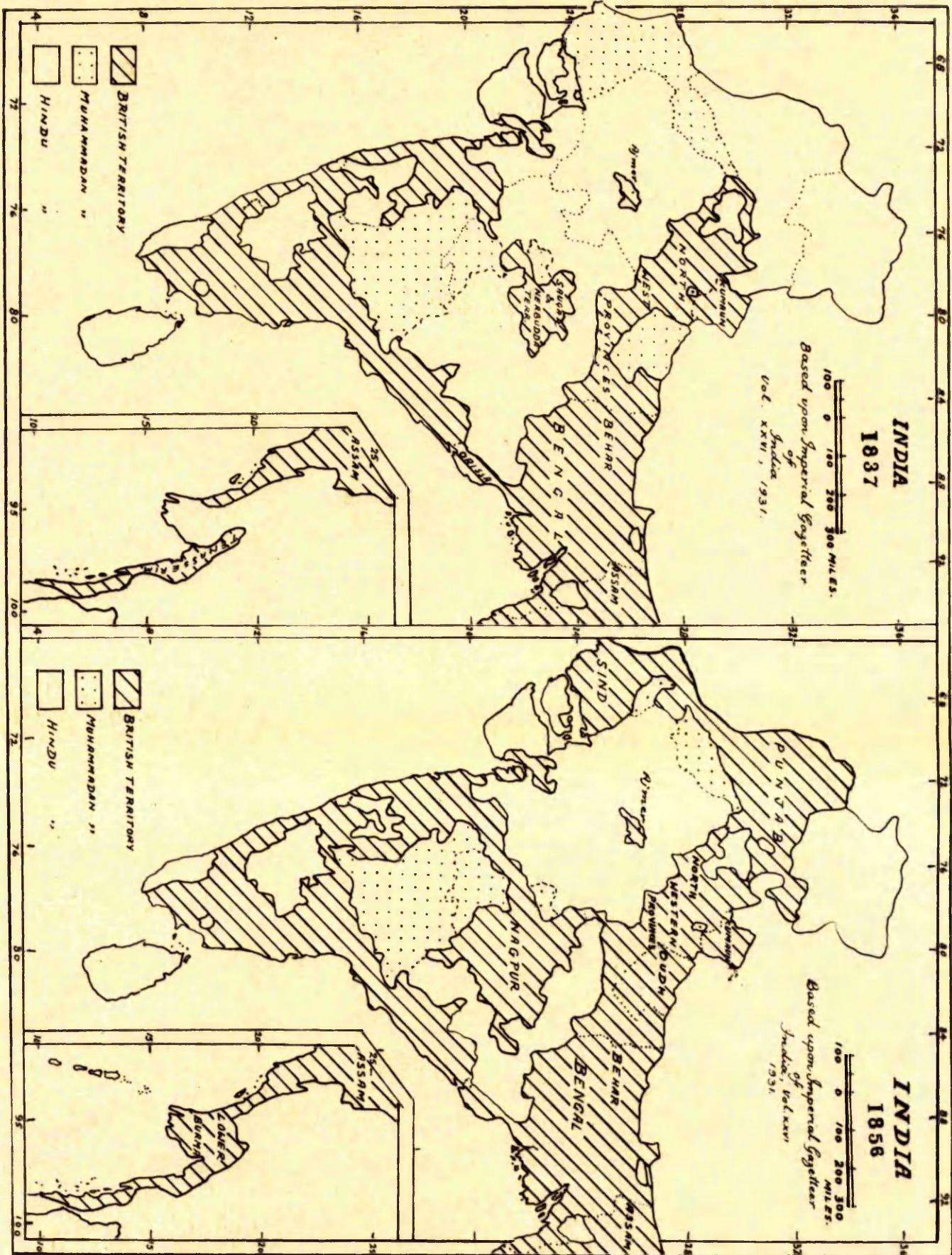
66

Anglo-Vernacular Schools were established at the headquarters of each district and some of the schools were linked with the existing colleges. Scholarships were re-established in

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66. History of Education in India, p.144.





1837

1856

order to give due encouragement to the industrious pupils who aspired to continue their studies for higher training. Lord Auckland tendered his advice to the General Committee to relinquish all 'forced attempts to introduce English where there is no effective demand for it.'

Two experiments were in progress, one in Bengal through the medium of English, and the other in Bombay, Madras and North Western Provinces, through the Vernaculars. From now on our narrative will be confined to the last mentioned Provinces.

Indigenous Education in North-Western Provinces (1843-1856)  
and Hindi Text Books.

In 1843 the superintendence of the Educational Institutions of the North Western Provinces was transferred to the Government of Agra which came into existence under the Lieutenant Governorship of Thomason <sup>67</sup> who was a pioneer of mass education and indigenous schools.

Thomason wrote in 1843 that 'every town in the Provinces has its little schools and in every 'Purgannah' are two or more schools.' He was also convinced from long personal intercourse

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67. The son of the Rev. Thomas Thomason, the Chaplain of the Old Church, Calcutta, who submitted to Lord Moira 'a wide scheme for vernacular education in 1814, which was rejected. His official career in India began in 1823 as Registrar of the

with all classes of Indians, 'that people do desire to learn, and that there is no backwardness in any class or in any set to acquire learning or to have their children taught.' Hence he urged three original ideas <sup>68</sup> viz.,

- 1) The necessity of incorporating the indigenous schools in a national system of education.
- 2) The creation of an Educational Department. 69
- 3) The levy of a local rate for educational purposes.

From the very first Educational Report (1843-44), it is evident that English as medium of instruction was not accepted in several schools. Thomason relates,

'There are very few European Residents except the functionaries of Government. There is no wealthy body of European merchants transacting their business in the English language and according to the English method. There is no Supreme Court where justice is administered in English. All public business, except correspondence between English officers, is carried on in the vernacular language. There are therefore fewer means of diffusing a taste for learning English.'

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Therefore, Thomason was of the opinion that if we wish to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind in the North Western Provinces, it must be not through English, but through the medium of the vernacular language. 71

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67. contd. Sadar Adalat, Calcutta. Serving as District Magistrate at Azamgarh (1832-37) he became more familiar with the real life and condition of the people. He prepared for the masses an educational scheme of very similar design to his father's.

68. See: History of Education in India, p.105.



Thus the study of English remained confined to the colleges at Banaras, Agra, Delhi and Bareilly only and minor English schools in the province, as a general rule, were abolished. In 1849 annual expenditure of £50,000 was sanctioned and operations began in 1850.

72

Stewart Reid assumed charge of Office of Visitor General of Schools of North Western Provinces in Feb. 1850. He submitted the first Report <sup>73</sup> to J. Thornton, Secretary to Government North Western Provinces on the state of Indigenous Education in the eight districts, viz., Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Mathura, Shahjahanpur; selected by Government <sup>74</sup> as the field for operation of the Educational Scheme. In the Report the actual state and extent of Vernacular Education and mode of teaching in village and Tahsili Schools or 'Government Village Schools' were described by means of statistical details. The object aimed at in the establishment of schools at the headquarter of every 'Tahsildar' was to place a sound elementary education within the reach and means of all. It also enabled the cultivators to safeguard their interests from fraud.

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69. Thomason was the first officer in India to levy a local rate for schools and to pay it a grant-in-aid from Government treasury.' 'The idea of taxation for school purposes was then new to India, and even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870.'

70. J. Kerr, Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency (1835-1851), p.18.

71. Ibid.

72. Joint Magistrate of Hamirpur.

Types of Schools.

There were 3,127 schools,<sup>75</sup> attended by 27,853 scholars in the eight districts. Schools were classified thus:

Hindī School,<sup>76</sup>  
 Urdu and Hindī School,  
 Hindī and Sanskrit School,<sup>77</sup>  
 Urdu and Hindī School,  
 English and Vernacular School,  
 Kāyasthī and Mahājāthī Schools besides  
 Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit Schools  
 which are not relevant to the present inquiry.

With the exception of 9%, Hindī teachers were confined to the 'Brahman' and 'Kāyastha'. Hindī Schools were mainly supported by the agricultural classes. In all but a few districts,<sup>78</sup> 'Kāyasthī' and 'Mahājāthī' Schools outnumbered those in which Nāgarī character was in use. Perhaps, therefore, the Visitor General instructed Pargana Visitors to introduce Nāgarī instead of Kāithī character in 'Kāyasthī' Schools.

75. See Appendix K, Statement I, pp.149-156, Reports on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools by Henry Stewart Reid (1852-54) Agra 1854.

Also see Appendix III

76. See Statistical Tables given below.

73. Dated 10th Oct. 1851.

74. Set forth in Resolution of Government of N.W.P. No.149 A. of 1850, dated 9th February.

There was no provision of school houses. Most of the schools were conducted in the houses of individuals of particular professions, such as 'Patwari', 'Baniya' and 'Zamindar', or a platform in the open air.

In Hindi Schools, the course of instruction consisted of 'Reading, Writing, Numeration, Multiplication Table and very rarely the four elementary rules of Arithmetic.'<sup>79</sup> In some schools agricultural accounts were taught, i.e., the student was to learn the names of Patwari's papers, and in other schools the method of maintaining 'Mahajan' accounts formed part of the course. 'Patwaris' were compelled to file their yearly papers in Nagari.

In Hindi Schools, no text book was employed at the elementary stage. All knowledge was orally communicated by the teacher

77. In many schools Sanskrit was studied along with Hindi, but a majority of the students attended Hindi Schools. The following table will show the different statistics of the year 1852.

	Sanskrit School		Hindi School	
	School	Scholars	School	Scholars
Agra	52	698	110	1263
Aligarh	63	703	203	1515
Bareilly	5	79	104	815
Etawah	17	not known	135	1213
Rarrukhabad	35	452	195	1625
Mainpuri	15	198	90	952
Mathura	40	689	126	1712
Shahjahanpur	6	35	156	995

See Reports on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools by Henry Stewart Reid, Agra 1852, p.58.

who himself had but a scant knowledge of subjects in which he was to impart instruction. The main object of tuition was to communicate and interpret the commonest ideas in colloquial language to the pupils.

### Want of Class Books.

The want of good class books was felt at first. As stated earlier the vernaculars were entirely neglected in the Indigenous Schools. Scholars did not pay much heed to the production of works in vernaculars. It was at that time that 'Elementary School Books' known as the "Ram Saran Das Series" were published and extensively circulated by Government through its local officers, under the guidance of the Visitor General. Steps were also taken for providing a supply of "Vernacular School Books" and other educational works which were published by order of Government. This account includes as many as 78 books <sup>80(a)</sup> comprising Elementary Primers, Arithmetical Tables in IV parts, History of India, Geography, Mathematics, Biogeography, Hygiene, Letter Writing, Painting, Drawing and Moral Instruction, etc. Most of the books were lithographed in 1851. Srilal, Superintendent of the Central School (1852), Kampore, Bansidhar and Adam (M.T.) were the principal translators of several works enumerated in Appendix K,

78. See Ibid, p.63, Agra, Aligarh, Mathura.

79. Ibid, p.64.

80. See list of Ver. Edu. Works published in Hindi from May 1850

80(a) See Appendix: III

80  
statement 1.

Plans were also devised for improving and encouraging Village Schools and their teachers. Everywhere the Visitor General was assisted by the Collectors and the Magistrates of the Districts in the collection of materials relevant to the aforesaid Report,

From the Annual Reports of 1853-54 a marked improvement in the mode of instruction pursued in the village schools and 'Tahsili' Schools, and a considerable increase in the number, both of schools and students, was to be perceived. From the same Report (1854) the Curricula and a list of text books are given below.

Primers.

"Aksharābhyās", 226,1170, "Akshardīpikā" 47,358, "Varn-  
mālā" 39,283, "Bālopadesh", 25,125, "Onām Bārahkhari Siddho",  
136,48, "Nāgarī Alphabet", 25,151, "Kāyasthī Alphabet", 77,368,  
"Sarāfi Alphabet", 24,302.

Grammar.

"Adam's Hindi Grammar," "Laghu Chandrika."

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80. contd. to April 1854. "Reports on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools." pp.149-156.  
81. Ibid, 1853. pp.76,77. Figures indicated against each book, represent the number of schools and scholars respectively.  
Note: Most of the text books are available in I.O.L.

Tales in Prose.

"Dharm Singh ka Vṛttānt," <sup>83</sup> 24,94, "Sūraj Purkī kahānī", <sup>84</sup>  
 19, 109, "Hindī Reader No. 1" (C.S.B.S.) 3, 12, "Baitāl Pachīsī"  
 (F.W.C.) 3,4, "Prem Sāgar" (F.W.C.) 2,4, "Azimgarh Reader," 2,11,  
 "Rasek Priyā", 2,3, "Singhāsan - Battīsī", 1, 1.

Epistolary Correspondence.

"Patra Malikā" <sup>85</sup> (in two parts), 16,37.

Morals.

"Buddhi-Vidhyādot", 8,29, "Rājnitī", 3, 4, "Nītikathā",  
 (C.S.B.S.), 1, 2.

History.

Brief Survey of History, 5, 2, 4, History of India, 1, 7.

Geography.

"Bhūgol" (C.S.B.S.) 18, 126, "Bhugol-Sar", 1, 8.

Science.

"Bhūgol-Vṛttānt", 4, 12, "Malumāt", 6, 18.

82. A Hindī Primer on a more methodical plan than 'Ak-Sherabhyas' it contains short spelling and Reading lessons, commencing with monosyllables, ascending gradually to longer words.
83. The Original Story was written by J. Muir (C.S.B.S) and put into the Nagari Characters by Pandit Shrilal. The aim of the book is to show that Honesty is the Best Policy.
84. The history of a village community. Compiled by Visitor

For the first time we have access to a complete curriculum introduced by the Visitor General in the Schools of North Western Provinces, where Hindi was the medium of instruction. Only the books in which prose writings are found, have been stated. 85a. The list presents a gradual increase in the number of prose productions. The numbers (of schools and scholars) shown against each book, further indicate the popularity of a particular book, its language and style and the subject it is connected with. Almost all the works are translations and adaptations from Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Marathi and English, whereas the publications of the C.S.B.S. included some of original compositions. Viz., Mrs. Rowe's "Hindee Spelling Book", (in three parts), and "Pleasing Tales" by W.T. Adam.

Books of History and Geography were produced in Hindi for the first time. Besides Adam's, some other grammars in Hindi, viz., "Bhasa Candrodaya" (1851), "Urdu Martad", "Laghu Candrika" and "Hindi Bhasa ka Vyakaran" have been discovered. 86 87 89 88

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84. contd. General and translated with assistance of Pandit Shri Lal into Hindi.
85. A Hindi letter writer containing twelve examples of letters; mode of addressing superiors and other directions. By Shrilal 1851.
- 85.a. The rest are given below so that a complete picture of the Curriculum can be had.

Poem and Verse.

"Ramayan", 18,16, "Ukha" 2, 4, "Sanch-Lila", 2,4, "Alkhand", 2, 2, "Sabha Vilas," "Dan Lila", Bhanwargit", 1,1, "Briji-Vilas", 1,1, "Ram Chandrike", 1,1, "Kshetr-Prakash", 1,1.

Religious.

Pandava-gita, 1,2.

Arithmetic.

"Phailawat" (Ram Saran Das Series) 187,927, "Ganit-Prakash"

All the grammars were used as text books in the various Hindi Schools of North Western Provinces.

The following specimens will indicate the type of language employed by the writers:

" धन से अंहकार नहीं, अंहकार मन में है। बड़ा होने से ज्ञानी नहीं होता, ज्ञानी ज्ञानन से होता है। बहुत धनी लोग अंहकार नहीं करते और अनेक दलित्री अंहकार करते हैं। जो धन से बड़ाई होती तो सभी धनी अभिमानी होवे, इस लिखे अंहकार द्रव्य से नहीं होता, केवल मन में अपने तई बड़ाकर जानना है।" 90

85a. contd. Part I, 52, No. II, 285, "Lilawati," 56, 264, "Ganit-ank", 1, 1, "Patti Pahara" (Multiplication Table for Agra only) 141, 1492.

Mensuration.

"Map Tol" (No. III of Ram Saran Das Series), 64, 238.

"Kshetr-Chandrika", 38, 149.

Mathematics.

"Rekha-ganit" (Euclid) 4, 15, "Bij-Ganit" (Algebra) 2, 4.

Mercantile Accounts.

Bohra's (Village Banker's) Manual, 12, 28, "Mahajan's Manual, 1, 1, "Mahajani-Sar", "Dipika" 2, 5.

Agricultural.

"Khet Karmm" 14, 41, Parwari's Manual (No. III of Ram Saran Das Series) 34, 112.

86. See Chapter V for a detailed information.

87. This Book is an improvement on Adam's Grammar. See <sup>App. II</sup> Chap. V. Its author is Shrilal, 1st Ed. 1851.

88. "Padri" (Bishop) Budden (J.H.).

89. Translated from "Kavaydul Muvtadi" (Urdu) into Hindi by Pandit Bansidhar.

90. M.T. Adam's "Nitikatha" in Khari Boli, Part II, pp. 34, Calcutta School Book Society, Cal. 1822.



'Riches do not beget egotism, egotism resides in the mind. One does not become wise because of one's greatness, one becomes wise because of one's wisdom. There are many rich people who do not boast and many poor people who do boast. Had the wealth been the cause of appreciation, all the rich would have been boastful: therefore, ego does not emanate from wealth, it is the result of one's thinking too much of oneself.'

"परस्पर सम्मान और स्नेह करके और स्नेह कस्के दो मनुष्यों के मन का जो मिलना, उसी मिलने से आपस में जो संबंध उत्पन्न होय, उसी को मित्रताई कहते हैं। जो मनुष्य विना अपने मत के और कामत नहीं सुनता, सो कार्य के निवाह करने के कारण दूसरे को योग्य परामर्श न नहीं दे सकता और जो मनुष्य सब के ऊपर सन्देह करे उस मनुष्य का और किसी पर विश्वास नहीं होता।" ११

'Friendship is said to be the relationship which results from the association of two hearts, inspired by mutual respect and love. The person who does not listen to the views of others save his own, cannot give proper advice to others for the performance of their work and he who suspects everybody cannot have confidence in anybody.'

"मनुष्य अपने अन्तःकरण की बात दूसरे को जताने के लिये, जो शब्द उच्चारण करते हैं उसे भाषा कहते हैं यद्यपि पशुपक्षी भी बोलते हैं तो भी उन्हें यह शक्ति नहीं है, कि वे अपने चित्त का विचार निज मुंह से कहकर दूसरे को समझा सकें परन्तु इतना है, कि वे जन्तु अपनी धीमी, और कड़ी बोली में अपना सुख, दुःख, क्रोध और नम्रता प्रगट कर सकते हैं " १२

1 'Although animals and birds also speak, yet they have not got the power to express the feelings of their heart from their own mouth and make others understand. But it is a fact that those creatures can express their happiness, sorrow, indignation and humility through their slow and harsh sounds.'

"लड़को जब तुम पाठशाला में पहुंचो तब बड़े आदर से झुक कर पाठक को दंडवत करो और जो तुम्हारे मित्र हों उनसे भी धीमे से सिर झुकाकर नमस्कार करो और अपने स्थान पर बैठकर नियम के अनुसार लिखने पढ़ने में लगे और जटल्लें मत मारो ऐसी बातों से तुम्हारा भी समय व्यर्थ जायेगा और दूसरे का समय भी अकारथ जायगा मनुष्य को चाहिये कि जोड़ समय जिस काम के लिये नियत कर लिया है उसको उसी में लगावे जिस समय में तुम पाठशाला में होते हो वह केवल पढ़ने लिखने के ही लिये है इस्से योग्य है कि उस समय को पढ़ने लिखने ही में व्यतीत करो " 93

'Boys, when you go to school, bowing respectfully, salute your teacher and offer your greetings to your friends by bowing slowly, and occupying a seat, engage yourself in reading and writing according to routine and do not indulge in gossiping, you will also waste your time through such (idle) talk and other's time will also be wasted uselessly. Men should utilise his time in the work for which it has been fixed, when you are at school, that time is meant only for studies, therefore, it is proper that you should spend that time in reading and writing.'

c शिष्य- प्रातःकाल और सांयकाल में सूर्य की किरण कैसी होती हैं?  
गुरु - प्रभात समय में किरण क्रम से बढ़ती हैं और सांझ समय में क्रम से

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92. "Vidyakur" or 'rudiments of Knowledge', compiled from Baha Shera Prashad's Bhugol-Vrittant and 'Mahimat' by Pandit Srilal (69 pp.) Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra, 1st Ed. 1851, p. 36
93. 'Upadesa Puspavali', translated from Guldestah Akholak into Hindi by Pandit Bansidhar, Agra 1853, p.4.

घटती हैं, कारण यह है कि आकाश मंडल में जो स्थिर पवन है उस में किरण क्रम से पैठती हैं, ऐसा न होता तो उदय के समय अक पल में दुपहर के समान प्रचंडतर किरणों का समागम होता, और असे अस्त के समय अक पल में घोर अंधकार होता

शिष्य - दिन रात का कारण क्या है ?

गुरु - साठ घड़ी में पृथ्वी दिन २ चक्र की मत अक बेर फिरती इससे भूमि के अर्ध भाग में सूर्य का तेज लगने से दिन होता है, और दूसरे भाग में तेज न लगने से रात्रि होती है । १५

Pupil - What do the Sun's rays look like in morning and evening?

Teacher- In the morning the rays increase gradually and in the evening (they) decrease gradually; the reason is, that the rays penetrate the calm or (static) air of the sky by slow degrees had it not been so, within a moment of the rise of the Sun, the blazing mid-day rays would have appeared and there would have been the complete darkness instantly at the time of the Sunset.

Pupil - What is the cause of day and night?

Teacher - The earth moves round its axis in twenty-four hours day by day, therefore the half of the earth which receives the Sun's lights gets day and the second half which does not receive light, gets night.

जोग लिखी बंबई से रत्नेश्वर का नमस्कार बंचना आगे हम प्रसन्न हैं आपकी प्रसन्नता के समाचार आवें तो परमानन्द, आपने चलते समय कहा था कि हम को बंबई आदि नगरों का वर्णन और विधावान् लोगों से मिलने के समाचार और पाठशालाओं का वर्णन लिखना, सो आपके कहने के अनुसार जो जो स्थान हम ने देखे उनका वयोरा लिखते हैं

हमने भूपाल से चलकर हुसंगाबाद देखा, वह नगर नर्मदा के तीर पर बसता है, उसके बाजार में कई दुकान साहूकारों की सुंदर बनी हुई हैं, और नर्मदा का घाट बासली साहब का बनवाया हुआ रामचन्द्र के देवल के समीप बहुत रमणीक हो रहा है, जहाँ कि नगर के नरनारी आकर नर्मदा के तीर से स्नान, पाठपूजन करके आनंद पाते हैं, और उस नगर का गढ़ नदी के तीर पर बना हुआ था अब उस की केवल एक भीत नदी की ओर खी शेष रही है । १९५

'Accept Blissful greetings of Ratneswar (through this letter) from Bombay, however, I am happy, shall feel very much delighted to hear about your welfare. While I was leaving for this place, you wanted me to write to you a description of Bombay, of other towns and of schools and information about my associations with the learned people. Accordingly, I write in detail the places I have been through.

Starting from Bhopal, I saw Husāgabād, the town is situated on the bank of the Narmada. Its market has quite a few beautiful shops of merchants; and the bank of Narmada built by Mr. Basali, looks pleasant near the temple of Ram Candra where men and women take delight in bathing in the Narmada, reading scriptures and offering prayers, and the fortress of that town stood on the bank of this river whose only wall stands in front of the river.'

These specimens indicate a gradual development of Hindi prose - the crudeness of the language appears to be replaced by the simplicity and lucidity. Small sentences are preferred. Translations in Hindi do not seem to retain many words of the original languages in the text, unlike religious tracts. The language of the various works abounds with similies, metaphors, alliterations and proverbs. The style seems to be stabilized.

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95. Pandit Ratneswarji, Patra Malika (pp.43) Agra School Book Society, Agra 1841. P.1, A description of journey from Seohore to Bombay in a series of letters to a friend. The Beginning indicates a particular form of addressing informal

hore to Bombay in a series of letters to a friend. The Beginning indicates a particular form of addressing informal

Bansidhar and Shrilāl are the principal writers and translators of the Hindī text books. Their prose writings seem to correspond with the style of the late nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, the series of texts composed and prepared by the authors under the direction of the Visitor General were in use in the primary and secondary schools of North Western Provinces, Rajpūtānā, the Panjab and Bihar-for another few decades after the period under review. They were adopted as models by the contemporary prose writers.

96

Adam's "Khuree Bolee" Hindī is partly influenced by Lallulāl's style; especially in the use of such phrases, eg. 'Utpann hoy', 'Sandeh kare', 'Āvāgaman karte', 'Tārnākī', 'ān pare', 'Caritra aisī huī', 'tevarī Carhay', 'ān kar', 'apane taī', 'Harsit bhaye', 'pāy ke', 'pastāvegā', 'mol liī'. Besides, they have a tendency to employ more of 'Tadbhav' words such as 'Tūch', nihurtī, āskat, susīl, parosī, sikṣak, achā, jatan, sichā, srenī, agñya, icha, kales, gun āskat, taknāī, mūrakhtāī, sanch dalidarī.' Nevertheless, there is lucidity in their style and the diction is quite apt for the subject matter to be dealt with. Books on "Moral Instruction" or "Nīti kathā" and "pleasing tales" or "Manohar kathā" were very popular among young students.

Some of the translations contain some words of foreign origin

such as 'Auval, sagird, fazil, firiste, hukum ke murafik, tajim, sulah, khalās, khusnur, hamsāye, hurmat, dilgir, muluk, gārat, zahīr, sumo o sarārāt, gair mumkin, zaraat, mazrua, hisahdār, hisah, nafāa, jamaa, kist, dākhil, mutfarrik, vedakhal, lāgmāt, adāvat, khast, jarib kā hisāb. Perhaps these were unavoidable in certain texts. Translators and authors of various works were not particular in the use of punctuation marks. Spelling of some words appears quite inconsistent.

Coming back to our narrative, we thus find that Thomason's  
 97 plan for the inspection of indigenous schools which was first introduced (1850), as an experimental measure in eight districts, attained considerable success. Later in 1856, this scheme was  
 98 extended to the rest of North Western Provinces.

Thus Thomason's contribution towards the vernacularisation of education by way of the adoption of Hindi is remarkable. Although Elphinstone, Munro, Adam and Hodgson laid emphasis on the employment of vernaculars, Bentinck and his colleague did not think it worthy of consideration. On the other hand, Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor General of India, appreciated Thomason's scheme which was not different from that of his contemporaries.  
 99 His plans were not only extended to the Panjab but also

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97. "There will be a 'Government Village School' at the headquarters of every 'Tahseeldar'. In every two or more 'Tahseeldarees', there will be a 'Pargunnah' Visitor, over these a Zillah Visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor General for the whole of the Province."

98. Meerut, Delhi, Goorgaon, Rohtak, Badayu, Muradabaḡ, Mozaffer-

to Bengal and Bihar.

In the first administration report of the Panjab an account was given of the indigenous schools. It reads,

'The schools are of three descriptions, namely those restored to by Hindoos, Mussulmans and Seikhs respectively. At the Hindoo schools writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught in the Hindee character; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran in Arabic..... at the Seikh school the Grunth in Goormukhi.'

100

Government established a school at Amritsar in 1849 of which the following account is given as regards the languages,

'In the Umritsur (Amritsar) school, there are Hindee, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Goormukhee departements. The Seikh students of Goormukhee are about one fifth of the whole number. Among the Hindee schools the prevailing castes are 'Khutrees' and 'Brahmins' among the Seikh schools, Jats. The great majority are residents of the city.'

101

In 1853, Dr. Mouat, the Secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, submitted a Report in which he evaluated the system adopted in North Western Provinces. He says,

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98. contd. Mozaffarnagar, Bulandshahar.

99. The Province was constituted in 1849.

100. J.A. Richey, Selections from Educational Records, Part II, (1840-1859) Cal. 1922, pp.278,79.

101. Ibid, p.280.

'I am convinced that it is not only the best adopted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North Western Provinces, but is also the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the masses of the people of Bengal and Behar.'

102

The suggestions forwarded by Dr. Mouat were accepted by Dalhousie. In his Minute of the 21st Oct. 1853, he declared,

'I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar these means of education which, notwithstanding, our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lt. Governor of North Western Province.'

103.

'The following Table illustrates the numerical advance made by State Education in Northern India during this period.'

104

	1829		1840		1854-55	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
Lower Provinces of Bengal	29 a	3000 b	51 c	7,324	151 d	13,163
North Western Provinces					897 e	23,688
<b>Total:</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>7,324</b>	<b>1,048</b>	<b>36,851</b>

102. Ibid, p.262.

103. Ibid, p.268.

104. See: The History and Prospects of British Education, p.45.  
 a. of these 18 were elementary schools, 14 at Chinsurah and 4 at Ajmere.  
 b. An approximation.  
 c. Chiefly high and middle schools.  
 d. Ibid.  
 e. Chiefly elementary schools.



The Educational Despatch of 1854.

In 1853 the Company's Charter was renewed. On 19th July 1854, the Educational Despatch, generally known as 'Wood's Despatch,' was issued. 105

The Despatch of 1854 embodied the following points, relevant to the present narrative.

'The medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching Vernacular Literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is demand for it, but the English language is not to be substituted for the Vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the study of the classical languages of India are to be maintained.... Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people.'

106

The Despatch then proceeds to explain other new provisions which were to be made, the first being the institution of a Department of Public Instruction in each of the five Provinces, 107

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105. Sir Charles Wood was then the President of the Board of Control and the document was probably drafted under his direction.

106. Education in British India, p.59.

107. Bengal, Bombay, Madras, N.W.P. Panjab.

and establishment of three Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to be modelled on the London University which was then 'an examining body.' Emphasis was laid on primary education which had so far been neglected owing to the adoption of the 'Downward Filtration Theory.' The institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools, were to be set up and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid was also included in the Despatch. It insisted on the policy of perfect neutrality.

Such were the main provisions of the Despatch which was 'the last and the most complete of a series of historical documents.'

108

Departments of Public Instruction were instituted as proposed. Universities were also established (1857) at three Presidency towns. The Despatch gave an impetus to Primary and Secondary education through the medium of vernaculars; thus recognising the significance of the suggestions made earlier by Adam and other Vernacularists.

It seems that the vernaculars were not encouraged to the extent proposed in the Despatch. Had this been the case, the

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development of prose writing mainly in Hindi and in other vernaculars would have been in a flourishing condition from the year 1856 on.

Thus this year brings to a close the Second Period in the history of Indian Education - a period in which were laid the foundations of the present education system.

## CHAPTER V.

EARLIEST HINDI JOURNALISM.

We shall now proceed to trace the growth of early Hindi journalism and its contribution to the development of Hindi prose in the period under review. Certain branches of prose literature such as essays, short stories, commercial, political and general news items flourish in the columns of newspapers.

The impact of the West is felt most strongly in the field of Indian Journalism. The introduction of printing presses facilitated the circulation of journals and newspapers to a wider circle of people. However, this does not mean that there was no other means of communicating intelligence prior to the rule of the East India Company.

A Sketch of MS. Newspaper.

'The dissemination of information before the invention of printing took place: by words of mouth, by the exchange of private documents, by posting of notices in public places, by the erection of columns which gave announcements regarding instruction to the populace for instance, Aśoka's edicts (2) and by the circulation of manuscript newspapers.'

The market place was the chief centre for collecting and circulating news through the intelligencers or news-agents

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1. See Chap. III, F. 31.

2. R.R. Bhatnagar, The Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism. p. 3.

although only the select few had access to them.

'Under the Afgans and Moguls the MS. Newspapers of India developed in circulation, utility and strength, in various forms. Like French 'moniteurs' the most trustworthy channels of communication from government reporters to the Court at Delhi became the 'Waqas' or News letters.....

Waqane-gaurs or Newsagents or intelligencers became a regular department of the State to supply news, descriptions of events and ceremonies, complaints etc., (3) to the Court, at regular intervals in the form of 'Waqas' or newsletters. These newsletters were regularly entered by newswriters in the news registers of the State which were maintained at all centres of the government. The head of the Department was known as 'Waqanegaur' or State Intelligencer.'

In his office of Intelligence he was assisted by four persons, viz., the "Vaccaynugar" or Remembrancer, the "Savanah-nugar" or Gazetteer, the "Ohofiahnuvis" or Secret Writer, and the "Harcara" or Spy. The first formal account we have of the system is in "Ain-i-Akbari".<sup>4</sup>

Later Bernier writes:

'The Emperor appointed "Vacea-Navis" in each district and they sent reports of the important events that took place by "Sandni-Sawars", Carvans or Harcaras. On the basis of these records Imperial decisions were taken and policies formulated.'

5

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3. Calcutta Review, Vol.C XXXII, Jan. 1911, pp.3, 4.
  4. Ain-i-Akbari, Ain 10 of Book II Second, Bibliotheca Indica, Blochman's Translation, Vol.1, pp.258,259.
  5. Travels in the Mogul Empire (1656-1668) p.231.

'The native princes also maintained a regular corps of news-writers in their dominions whose business was to keep their masters well-informed of what was going on around.' Besides these, groups of persons in each town collected news and privately circulated it by letter throughout the country. This was an entirely private enterprise. The writers were known as "Akhbār Navīs."

After the decline of the Mughals, the State Intelligence Department and the native princes' newswriting corps gradually ceased to operate but the private MS. Newspapers written by "Akhbār Navīs" continued to circulate.

Later in 1835, when Liberty was granted to the Indian Press, Macaulay wrote on the MS. newspapers%

'The Gazettes (Akhbars) which are commonly read by the Natives are in manuscript . . . . . To prepare these gazettes it is the business of a numerous class of people who are constantly prowling for intelligence in the neighbourhood of every 'cutcherry' (court) and every 'darbar' (courts of native princes). Twenty or thirty news-writers are constantly in attendance at the palace of Delhi and at the Residency.'

6

Thus the indigenous MS. journalism in an active form preceded the journalism of the printing press in India.

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6. Calcutta Review, Vol.C. XXXII, Jan.1811, p.15.

The Beginning of the Printed Journals.

The history of printed newspapers commences with Hickey's Bengal Gazette<sup>7</sup> (or the Original Calcutta General Advertiser) which appeared weekly on Jan.29, 1780. Its editor was James Augustus Hickey.<sup>8</sup> Copies still in existence show that the paper comprised two full sheets bearing a great number of advertisements and many social and commercial news items. A so-called Poet's Corner contains verses of sentiment or veiled social satire quite in the style of the period. The journal is in places quite difficult to read as the printing is somewhat blurred. This may be due to the inferior paper as in issues where the paper is of a superior quality, the letters are legible. The form of the letters belongs to the eighteenth century.

The Gazette was followed by a number of other Anglo-Indian journals.<sup>9</sup> Indian Gazette (Nov.1780), Calcutta Gazette (1784), Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement (April 6, 1785), Calcutta Magazine and Oriental Museum (Oct. 3, 1791), Calcutta Monthly Journal (Nov.1, 1794), The Indian Apollo (a weekly, Oct.4,1795), The Relator (April 4, 1799).

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7. A complete file is available in the National (imperial) Library, Calcutta. Also, in I.O.L. (only a few issues missing)
8. Was a printer by trade and he described himself as 'the first and late printer to the Honourable Company.' He, with two thousand rupees, set up a printing press in Calcutta in 1778.
9. See: "The Calcutta Press" Chap.XV, pp.285,286.

The Anglo Indian Press had in the beginning no connection with the ruling aspect of the Company. It was started partly by persons dissatisfied with the Company's monopoly in all trade matters, partly by Śrīrāmpur Missionaries but also included among its founders a number of progressive individuals interested in Anglo-Asiatic relations and the culture and civilization of India.

The first number of the "Asiatic Magazine and Review" appeared in Calcutta in July 1818. In 1817 "The Friend of India"<sup>10</sup> the missionary journal was published by Marshman at Śrīrāmpur. This journal was followed by two newspapers in Bengālī, "Digdarsan" a monthly (April 1818-1821) or the Indian Youth's Magazine, and "Samāchar Darpan", a weekly (May 23, 1818). 'The first Bengālī periodical, the "Digdarsan" confined itself purely to instructive, literary, scientific, or historical essays of general interest.' It was a bi-lingual journal, each article being printed both in Bengālī and English.

In Dec.1819, there appeared "The Gospel Magazine",<sup>11</sup> another bi-lingual (Bengālī and English) monthly journal containing pp.16, published by the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society. The contents of the first issue (Dec.1819) are as follows:

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10. A monthly magazine (1817-1819) Bi-weekly (1835-1854).
  11. A volume containing issues of the magazines from Dec.1819 to Nov.1820 is preserved in B.M. Oriental Section.



'The Origin of the Week . . . .	page	1.
Jesus, a Saviour.....	"	3.
Purification of the Heart..	"	5.
Advantage of Early Education	"	7.
History of Christ.....	"	11.
Mirzapore Chapel.....	"	13.
Intelligence.....	"	16.

Like the body of the text, the contents' table occupies two columns - English and Bengali.

From the point of view of our inquiry, the importance of this Missionary Magazine lies in the fact that extracts from it were published in Nāgarī. A notice to this effect first appears on the back cover of the Aug. 1820 issue. The notice continued in three subsequent issues. In the last announcement, the term "Hinduwee" replaced Nāgarī. The only copy of the booklet printed on the somewhat rough paper of the period and entitled "Extracts from the Gospel Magazine"<sup>12</sup>, is available in the B.M.O.S. Written in Khaṛī Bolī, it contains articles on

- '(1) Antahkaran ke mālinya kā vināś
- (2) Cauryavṛtti
- (3) Tārak Yisū
- (4) Durvicār nāśa.'

12. Ibid. (Bound in the same vol., which contains "The Gospel Magazine".)

Neither the editor's name nor that of any contributor is given. A specimen from the last article is in the typical Kharī Boli style evolved as we have already seen by the missionaries.

13

किसी एक समय कोई एक मनुष्य ने तुर्कीय पुरोहित के समीप जायके तीन बात पूछी प्रथम प्रश्न, हे माहोराज लोक सब ईश्वर को सर्वव्यापी करके क्योंकर कहते हैं ? कारण हमने कहीं भी उसको देखा नहीं अतदर्थ उनका निवासस्थान हम को दिखाय दीजिये

द्वितीय प्रश्न और अपराध के लिये मष्टुय को दंड पावने का ही कारण क्या ? क्यों ना ईश्वर से मष्टुय की सम्पूर्ण क्रिया भई

तृतीय प्रश्न और अग्नि से उत्पन्न जो शयतान उसको दंड ईश्वर नरकाग्नि में किस प्रकार से करने सके ?

इन तीनों प्रश्न के अनन्तर उस पुरोहित ने एक मट्टी का ढेला लेकर उसके माथे में मारा, और इसी अपराध के कारण उसने जज के समीप में पुरोहित के नाम पर नालिश करके पहिला सब वृत्तान्त कहा (पृ. ६०)

'Once upon a time a certain man, having gone to a Holy Man from Turkey, asked three questions. The first question: "O My Lord, why is God called Omnipresent? The reason is this that I have never seen Him anywhere therefore please show me His abode. The second question, what is the cause of the punishment inflicted on man? Why did God not create all things fair for main? The third question was, how is it that God can punish man in the fires of Hell? After the three questions, the priest picked up a (small) lump of clay and threw it at the man's forehead, the man sued the priest for this assault and related the whole incident to the Judge.'

There is no real evidence to show whether "Extracts from

the Gospel Magazine" appeared once or repeatedly, although the several announcements on the back of the parent magazine do suggest that it was a regular feature. Nevertheless, we are not justified, however much we may be tempted to do so, in calling it the first Hindi magazine.

As far as I can ascertain no mention of either the Bengālī "The Gospel Magazine" or its "Nāgarī Extracts" has been made in any history of Hindi Journalism.

The aforesaid publications were mainly the medium of missionary propaganda and at the same time marked the beginning of Vernacular Journalism.

In 1821 "Sambād Kaumudī", a Bengali weekly, was started by Bhavānī Charan Bandhopādya, as an organ of Hindu political, social and religious views partly in opposition to the mission-<sup>14</sup>ary journals. Later it was taken over by Rājā Rammohun Roy whose journalistic aspirations were encouraged by his close<sup>15</sup> association with James Silk Buckingham.

This publication appears to be the first Indian owned Vernacular newspaper in North India. As such it is interesting to note that its attitude, at first reactionary, was soon

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13. See Chap. III.

14. Born on May 22, 1772, (Bengal) Died on Sept. 27, 1833, England. Well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi and English, he was 'the only person in his time' to

directed towards progressive humanitarianism under the capable editorship of the Rājā. Among other reforms he advocated abolition of Satī.

The journals so far mentioned were either in English or in Bengālī. Before proceeding to a discussion of Hindi Journalism, it will be necessary to outline briefly some of the Press Regulations relevant to our enquiry.

### The Press Regulations.

Lord Wellesley was the first Governor General to pass Regulations <sup>16</sup> (1799) controlling the Press. A censor was appointed to whom all newspaper articles had to be submitted before publication. However, in Aug. 1818, the Marquis of Hastings gave freedom to the Press and thus encouraged the development of newspapers already existing in the Presidency of Bengal and stimulated others to start. This freedom was of a short duration.

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14 contd. realize completely the significance of the Modern age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs... See; Rammohun Roy: The Man and His Work, pp.4,5. (Centenary Publicity Booklet No.1, June 1933, Calcutta.

15. From Ship's captain, he became the editor of the Calcutta Journal (1818-1822).

16. First every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. Second every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government. Third, no paper to be published on

In 1823 the Press Ordinance was passed requiring that newspapers should be licensed, that the license could be revoked at a moment's notice without any reason given; and the Secretary (to the Government) was permitted to delete 'undesirable criticism of the Government'.

Rājā Rām Mohun Roy, Dwarikānāth Tagore and Gauṛī Charan Banerjī declared that this ordinance would be a deprivation of their most precious right, which, moreover they had never abused. A Memorandum was submitted on March 31, 1823, by Rājā and his associates,

'who dared to stand up to Company, Government and Court, not on behalf of any peculiarly Indian rights, but on behalf of what they and their admirers regarded as a natural right of all men.'

17

The Memorandum was rejected in November 1826.

The battle for freedom of the press continued to be waged until in 1835, Macaulay, who supported the forces of progress, recorded his well-known Minute <sup>18</sup> on the subject. Subsequently,

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16. contd. Sunday. Fourth: No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorized by him for that purpose. Fifth: The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe. See: Modern Review" Nov. 1928, p. 554.
17. O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p. 198.
18. Dated April 16, 1835.

Sir Charles Metcalfe approved publicly of Macaulay's reasoning in the following words:

'First, that the Press ought to be free, if consistently with the safety of the state it can be. In my opinion it may be so. I do not apprehend danger to the State from a free press, but if danger to the State should arise, the Legislative Council has the power to apply a remedy.'

19

At another place he wrote,

'I think that in all our legislation we ought to be very careful not to make invidious distinctions between Europeans and native subjects.'

20

Lord Auckland and Sir Henry Fane also supported the liberty of the press by their Minutes (Aug. 1836) William Bentinck recorded his views as follows:

'The liberty of the press is a most useful engine in promoting the good administration of the country.'

The outcome of all these tendencies was Sir Charles Metcalfe's decision to repeal the press regulations and grant a large measure of freedom to the expression of public opinion.

19. Extract from the Minute of April 17, 1835, Parliamentary Papers (from 1831) I.O.L. p.2.
20. Extract from the Minute, Sept. 6, 1830, (Section 17) A reply to Princep's apprehension. (See: Princep's Minute, April 17, 1835.)

By the promulgation of Act XI this scheme was put into force. It was decided that all publications must bear the name of printer and publisher, infringement of this regulation to be punishable by fine or imprisonment. 'By this means liberty was combined with a sense of responsibility.'

### The First Hindi Journal.

It was not until May 1826 that the first Hindi Newspaper "Oodunt Martand"<sup>21</sup> (Udant Martand) in Nāgarī character appeared in Calcutta. Pandit Jugal Kishore, Shukla, a native of Kanpur, and a 'Proceeding Reader to the Sadar Diwānī Adalat' was its proprietor and Munoo Thakar of Banstalla Galī was its printer.

The following application<sup>22</sup> (Feb.9,1826) was made to the Chief Secretary to Government, C. Lushington,

'Sir,

Being desirous of publishing a weekly newspaper in the Hindee Language and Deo Nagaree character to be entitled "Oodunt martand", I beg leave to forward herewith the requisite affidavit verified by myself and Munoo Thakur before a Magistrate, and to submit the sanction and authority of Government for the same

(signed by Joogul Kishore).'

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21. A complete file excepting first three numbers is preserved in Radha Kant Deo's Library, Calcutta. See also Tassy, Histoire De la Litterature Hindovie et Hindoustanie, Appendice II, Tome II, Ed. II, Paris, p.487, where the following reference occurs: "Uadant martanda", Le Soleil des Nouvelles de Serampore. No date for the newspaper has been given nor does any reference to its publication appear in the "History of

Thus, according to the Press Ordinance of 1823, a License was issued on Feb.16, 1826, authorizing Jugul Kishore and Munnoo Thakur to publish the paper.

A statement entitled 'Native Publications' was incorporated in the Parliamentary Papers (1831) showing the number of Periodical Publications and Printing Presses, under the License of the British Government at the Presidency of Bengal, Fort William and Bombay for the years 1814, 1820 and 1830 respectively. In the year 1830, we notice for the first time, the record of two Hindi newspapers, "Oodunt Martand" and "Bongodooth" (Bagdūt).

21. contd. Serampore Mission", Vols.I,II. This suggests that possibly the journal mentioned by Tassy is not identical with the one we are discussing. A more probable explanation however, is that Tassy simply made a slip in adding the word Serampore.
22. See: B.P.C. (Nos.57-61) Feb.9 to 16, 1826. Also see No.59 of Feb.16. J.K. Sookool having applied to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council for a Licence to print and publish in Calcutta, a weekly newspaper in the Hindee Language and Deo Nagaree Character, entitled and called the "Oodunt Martand" and having delivered to the Chief Secretary to Government the requisite affidavit, subscribed and verified by a solemn declaration by them the said J.K. Sookool and Munnoo Thakur. The Governor General in Council does hereby authorise and empower the said Munnoo Thakur to print and publish in Calcutta at No.37 Amratullah Lane being the house or place in the said Affidavit and not elsewhere, a newspaper to be called the "Oodunt Martant" and not otherwise whereof the said Munnoo Thakur and no other person or persons is or are to be the printer and publisher and the said Joogul Kishore Sookool and no other person or persons are to be the Proprietor.

By order of the Right  
Honourable the Governor General in  
Council this 16th February 1826.

Ed. C. Lushington, Chief Secretary to Government.



This confirms the statement that "Oodunt Martand" was undoubtedly the first Hindi Journal.

A contemporary journal "Samachar Durpan" also publishes a notice to this effect on June 17, 1826 (in Bengali).

" नागरी का समाचार पत्र । हाल में इस कलकत्ता नगर से "उदन्त मार्तण्ड" नामक एक नागरी का नूतन समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित हुआ है, इससे हमारे आह्लाद की सीमा नहीं है । क्योंकि समाचारपत्र दूसरा सम्पत्ति संबंधीय और नाना दिशाओं के देशों के राजसम्पर्कीय वृत्तान्त प्रकाशित हुआ करते हैं, जिनके जानने से अवश्य ही उपकार होता है ।' 23

'Newspaper in Nagari (Hindi). Recently a Hindi newspaper named "Oodunt Martand" has been published in Calcutta (and) has given us great pleasure, because a newspaper is the only channel whereby financial and political news can be made known; which information is undoubtedly useful.'

The editor reminds his readers that Vernacular Newspapers were first printed in Bengali<sup>24</sup> followed by Persian<sup>25</sup> and Urdu.<sup>26</sup>

However, he adds,

'there is only one newspaper in Nagari by which the people living as far as Banaras can be benefitted.'

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23. Visal Bharat, Feb. 1931, Part 6, Vol. 2, pp. 191 ff. The paper was not popular in Calcutta (North India) only, but also in Nepal. Its price was two ruppees only.
24. Smachar Durpan, June 16, 1818.
25. Mirat-ul-Akhbar, April 12, 1822.
26. Jam-i-Jahan-numa, March 18, 1822.

Jugal Kishore's own statement which follows is borne out by Marshman's remarks given above.

" यह उदंत मार्तण्ड अब पहिले पहल हिन्दुस्तानियों के हित के हेतु जो आज तक किसी ने नहीं चलाया पर अंगरेजी ओ पारसी ओ बंगले में जो समाचार का कागज छपता है उसका सुख उन बोलियों के जानने ओ पढ़ने वालों को ही होता है। इससे सत्य समाचार हिन्दुस्तानी लोग देख कर आप पढ़ ओ समझ लें ओ ओ पराई अपेक्षा न करें ओ अपने भाषे की उपज न छोड़ें, इसलिये बड़े दयावान करुणा ओर गुणनि के निधान सब के कल्याण के विषय गवरनर जेनेरल बहादुर की आयस से ऐसे साहस में चित्त लगाय के एक प्रकार से यह नया ठाट ठाटा ।"

'This "Oodunt Martand" now appears for the first time and has never been published before for the benefit of the Indian people, although newspapers published in English, Persian and Bengali benefit those who understand the respective languages. In order that those Indians whose language is Hindi should read the paper by themselves, independent of others and thus contribute to the development of their own language, I have, with the permission of the most kind, gracious and virtuous Governor General, ventured to introduce a paper (in Hindi) altogether in a new style.'

The above lines prove that "Oodunt Martand" was the first newspaper to appear in Hindi and also make clear the ideals cherished by the editor in establishing it.

From the following extract it can be seen that the editor was also interested in commercial news:

" दालचिनी के पौधे "

" जावा की चिट्ठी से समझ पड़ा कि पिछले फरवरी महीने में वहाँ छोटा एक जहाज पर लंका से तीनहज़ार दालचिनी का पौधा लाया गया है। और वहाँ के बड़े साहिब की इच्छा है कि जैसी सरस दालचिनी लंका में होती है वैसही जावा में होय। उस दालचिनी का पेड़ लंका से बाहिर निकालने का हुकुम नहीं है इसेलिये वे सब इस प्रकार से उन पौधों को वहाँ से उाय लाये हैं। "

'According to a letter received from Java, it is understood that three thousand saplings of "Dālcini" (a spice) were taken there from Lāka (Ceylon) by a small (trading) vessel in the month of February. And the chief officer (of Java) wishes to grow the same quality of "Dālcini" as produced in Lāka. That variety of "Dālcini" is not allowed to be removed from Lāka, therefore, those saplings were stolen.'

Unfortunately the paper was discontinued after December 1827, because its circulation was not sufficient to meet the cost of publication nor did it receive any financial support from the Government.

The editor in one of his editorials describes the situation,

" शूद्र सेवा चाकरी आदि नीच काम करते हैं, उन्हें पढ़ाई लिखाई से मंतलब नहीं। कायस्थ फारसी, उर्दू पढ़ा करते हैं और वैश्य झुंड अक्षर सीख कर वहीखाता करते हैं, खत्री बजाजी आदि करते हैं पढ़ते लिखते नहीं और ब्राह्मणों ने तो कलियुगी ब्राह्मण बनकर पठन-पाठन को तिलाजलि देरखी है फिर हिन्दी का समाचार पत्र कौन पढ़े और खरीदे। "

'Sudras serve and perform menial work, they have nothing to do with reading and writing, The Kayasths learn Persian and Urdu and the group of Vaisyas after learning the alphabet, write account books, the Khatriis sell cloth, they do not read or write and Brahmins assuming the form of 'Kaliyugi Brahmins' have given up their studies. Who then should read a Hindi newspaper?

Thus the paper was published for a year and a half (i.e. 23rd May 1826 to December 4th 1827). There were 79 issues of the newspaper and in the last that of the 4th December, the editor inserted the following couplet:

" आज दिवस लौं उग चुक्यो मारुण्ड उदन्त,  
अस्ताचल को जात है दिनकर दिन अब अन्त "

'"Udant Martand" has dawned till today. Now it is setting (in the West) like the Sun towards the end of the day's journey.'

After two years "Bangdoot", a Hindi weekly edition of "The Bengal Herald" <sup>28</sup> was published (1829) every Saturday. Its proprietors were R.M. Martin, R. Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarikanath Tagore, Prussana Comar (Kumar) Tagore, Nil Ratan Halidar and Raj Kisen Singh. Through the columns of this paper, Ram Mohun Roy propagated his religious beliefs.

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28. Appeared in Persian and Bengali as well. The files of "Bangdoot" are preserved in the Imperial (National) Library Calcutta, (Vol.1 No.3) May 27, 1829 to Dec.27, 1829

" जो सब ब्राह्मण सांगवेद अध्ययन नहीं करते सो सब ब्राह्मण हैं यह प्रमाण करने की इच्छा करके ब्रह्मण धर्म परायण श्री सुब्रह्मण्य सास्त्री जी ने जो पत्र सांग वेदाध्ययन हीन अनेक इस देश के ब्राह्मणों के समीप उठाया है उसमें देखा जो उन्होंने लिखा है -  
वेदाध्ययनहीन मनुष्य को स्वर्ग और मोक्ष होने शक्ता नहीं

'Those Brahmins who do not study Vedas and their Agas are Non-Aryans. To prove this, the religious-minded Brahmin Mr. Subrahmanya Sastri has raised the question before those "Brahmins" who do not study Vedas and their Agas. I have seen what he has written, "people who do not study Vedas cannot attain Heaven or Salvation."'

### Journals or Newspapers of North Western Provinces.

The first Hindi newspaper to appear in the North Western Provinces was "Banaras Akhbār".<sup>30</sup> It was published in (Banaras 1845 under the guidance of Rājā Shiv Prasād and its editor was Raghunāth Thatte, a Marāṭhā. The journal seems to have contained only local news and a piece of translation from Sanskrit books on Law was given in every issue. There were only 44 subscribers<sup>31</sup> (Europeans 23, Hindus 21). Marshman says that the language is Urdu as shown from the following specimen:

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29. "Bangdoot" May 27, 1829. Also see: East India Magazine for December 1830. pp.47 ff.  
30. See: Friend of India, Nov. 23, 1848.  
31. Ibid.

" यहाँ जो नया पाठशाला कई साल से जनाव कप्तान किट साहेब बहादुर के इहतिमाम और धर्मात्माओं के मदद से बनता है उसका हाल कई दफा जाहिर हो चुका है .....

देखकर लोग उस पाठशाले के किते के मकानों की खूबियाँ अकसर बयान कर हैं और बनने के खर्चे का तज़वीज़ करते हैं कि जमासे ज़ियादा लगा होगा और हर तरफ से लायक तारीफ़ के है "

'Of the school which is being built here under the supervision of Capt.Kit and with the help of other philanthropists, a description has already been published several times. ....

Having visited it, people often speak of special features in other buildings which resemble the school and make an estimate of the expenditure incurred which will exceed the sum collected; (and) it (the school) is worthy of admiration.'

As regards language, the editor was guided by the ideals of Shiv Prasād who always believed in the employment of such words as are 'Āmfaham and Khāspasand', 'common and popular.'

Later this aim was restated by Rājā Shiv Prasād <sup>33</sup> in the preface to his book "Itihāstimirnāsak" (Vol.2) in the following lines:

'I may be pardoned for saying a few words here to those who always urge the exclusion of Persian words, even those which have become our household words, from our Hindi books, and use in their stead Sanskrit words, quite out of place and fashion or those coarse expressions

32. Radha Krishna Das, Hindi ke Samyik Patro ka Itihas. N.P.S. Banaras 1844, (B.M.) p.10.

33. Wrote "Noble Women" in Hindi Sekandeva Orphan Press Agra (1855)

which can be tolerated only among a rustic populations... I have adopted, to a certain extent, the language of the Baital Pachisi.'

34

Thus the language of "Banāras Akhbār" is Hindustānī, but in certain places the introduction of a considerable number of Perso-Arabic words, compels us to recognise it as Urdu. However, as can be seen from the passage, he could not avoid the inclusion of a certain number of 'Tatsam' words.

35

According to Tassy the circulation of this newspaper was limited to cultured Hindus, as it was written in 'hindi recherche', mixed with Sanskrit words and was, as regards style and production, superior to the other 'hindoustani' journal of the same name.

This suggests that "Banāras Akhbār" was in fact bilingual, written in Hindī and Urdu (Tassy's 'hindoustani'). Tassy has also drawn attention to the number of Sanskrit words in the Hindī issue of "Banāras Akhbār".

36

R.K. Das tells us that "Banaras Akhbār" was the first newspaper in Hindī but from the evidence put forward can be seen that "Oodunt Martand" <sup>which appeared in 1826</sup> / can claim this distinction.

34. Also see; R.C. Sukla p.479.

35. Histoire de la Litterature Hindonie et Hindoustanie (Ed.II) (Tome II), p.572.

36. Hindī ke Sāmyik Patrō kā Itihās, p.9.

Another paper "Mārtand"<sup>37</sup> was published from Calcutta in 1846, under the editorship of Maulvī Nasīruddīn. The paper was pentaglot. It was published in Hindī, Urdu, Bengālī, Persian and English, providing five columns, for the respective languages. Tassy says that the effort was not a success and compares the attempt made in Europe for the production of multilingual newspapers.

R.K. Das<sup>38</sup> further states that a journal entitled "Sudhakar" was published in 1850 under the editorship of Tārā Mohan Mitra. He describes this publication as the first Hindī journal and contrasts its language with "Simlā Akhbār" and "Malwā Akhbār" on the grounds that they were probably written in Urdu whether printed in Nāgarī or Persian characters. As we have already seen<sup>39</sup> he has entitled "Banaras Akhbār" the first Hindī journal.

The "Banaras Akhbār", we know to have been mainly an Urdu production, but "Sudhakar", according to Marshman<sup>40</sup> later referred to, was in a pure Hindī style. We can only suppose that R.K. Das changed his mind about what constituted "Hindī" between viewing the two publications.

Marshman in his article "The Native Press" in the North West Provinces,<sup>41</sup> wrote,

37. Tassy, Vol. II, p. 423, (1870).

38. Hindī ke Sāmyik Patrō kā Itihās, p. 10.

39. Ibid, p. 9. <sup>40.</sup> Friend of India, Nov. 23, 1848. <sup>41.</sup> Ibid.



'There are at present seventeen lithographic Presses established in those Provinces, from which newspapers and periodicals in the native languages are issued, independent of such as are conducted by Christian Missionaries at Mirzapore and elsewhere.'

The editor has listed seventeen newspapers, the last three (Nos.15-17) being in the Nāgarī character. These are: "Benares Ukhbar" - (Govind Rugonath Thutteh), "Sudhākar"<sup>42</sup> - (Pundit Rutneshur Tewaree) and "Simla Akhbār" (Sheikh Ubdoolah).'

Elsewhere in the same article, Marshman points out that the language of "Banaras" and "Simla Akhbars" is Urdu but the character is Nāgarī.

From his statement quoted above two facts emerge: In "Simla Akhbār" Nāgarī character was employed; "Sudhākar" which<sup>43</sup> has, so far, been regarded as published in 1850, proves to be an earlier (1848) publication, and must have been produced prior to 1848, the date of Marshman's article. As "The Friend of India" was a contemporary journal, the information given in the article referred to, cannot be ignored.

"Sudhākar"<sup>44</sup> was a bilingual paper but later (1853) it became unilingual. The editor of the Hindi issue was Pt. Ratneswar Tiwari. The language was Khari Boli and as such was opposed to

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42. Circulation of 50 copies taken by Hindus, 22, by Europeans 26, and 2 by Muslims. (Marshman's article).

43. R.C. Sukla, p.471. R.K. Das, p.10. Bhatnagar, p.75.

44. Tassy, p.24.

the language policy of Rājā Shiv Prasād. 'However it shared the Raja's social and political views.'

"Malwa Akhbar" published at Indore, under the editorship of Dharam Nārāyan, was a bilingual paper with columns: Hindī and Urdu.

A Children's paper entitled "Balkō ke liye Phulō kā hār" <sup>45</sup> was printed in 1850 at the Orphan Press, Mirzapore. The name of the press and the contents suggest that it was a missionary enterprise although the author's name is not given. In appearance it is a small (2½" x 2") booklet of pp.30 per issue.

The language of which a specimen is given, is of an improvement of earlier missionary writings. It must be remembered that by this time there was a considerable number of Indian missionaries assisting the Christian religious writers and no doubt their influence was beginning to show itself in the style of Khari Boli employed:

" सिंह का नाम सब कोई जानता है और उसके नाम को सुनते ही कैसा भय मन में उत्पन्न होता है उसका गरजना बादल के गरजने के समान है और हर एक पशु उसके सुन्ने से घबड़ाकर कांपता। जब साँझ के समय वह अपने भोजन के खोज को निकलता तो बिल्ली की रीति पर अहेर करता। प्रगट में किसी का पीछा नहीं करता परंतु छिप के उसपर लपकता। वह ऐसा बलवंत है कि घोड़ा या गाय या भैंस इत्यादि को सहज से अपने घर में उठा के ले जाता। यह पशु अफ्रिका देश में बहुताई से पाये जाते हैं और कोई कोई ईरान देश और हिंदुस्थान में भी हैं।" <sup>46</sup>

45. Available in B.M.O.S. (a few issues of 1850 and some of 1859.)

46. Balko ke liye Phulo kahar.

'A lion's name is known to everyone and how terrifying to the mind is his name! His roar is like thunder and every creature trembles at the sound. In the evening when he is prowling in search of food, he is a beast of prey like a cat. He does not hunt openly but stealthily pounces. He is so strong that he can easily carry off a horse, a cow and a bullock. This beast is found in great numbers in Africa and some in Iran and also in India.'

In 1850, Jugal Kishore, publisher of "Oodunt Mārtand"<sup>47</sup> brought out another newspaper, "Sāmyādand Martand" which continued up to April 1852. Jugal Kishore seems to have shown considerable interest in encouraging Hindī Journalism and can be considered as one of the pioneers in this field.

A certain Munshī Sadāsukhlāl who was well-versed in Urdū,<sup>48</sup> Hindī and English commenced editing a paper, "Budhi Prakāsh" in Agra in 1852. Sadā Sukhlāl owned a press. Besides the Hindī journal, he published another paper "Nur-ul-absar" in Urdū.

Stewart Reid, the then Visitor General refers to the editor and his paper in the following words:

'He has hitherto following out my suggestion filled his paper with interesting items of current news and is now introducing short articles on History, Geography, Vernacular and Female Education.'

49

46. contd. No.6, 1850, B.M.O.S. pp.7.8.

47. Bhatnagar, p.72.

48. Tassy (Tome III) p.479. Two hundred copies were taken by Government.

49. See Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools, Agra 1853. pp.49,50.

An extract from an article on "Female Education" runs as follows:

" स्त्रियों में संतोष और नम्रता और प्रीति यह सब गुण कर्ता ने उत्पन्न किये हैं केवल विद्या की न्यूनता है, जो यह भी हो तो स्त्रियाँ अपने सारे ऋण से चुक सकती हैं और लड़कों को सिखाना पढ़ाना जैसा उनसे बन सकता है वैसा दूसरों से नहीं / यह काम उन्हीं का है कि शिक्षा के कारण बाल्यावस्था में लड़कों को भूल चुक से बचावें और सरल सरल विद्या उन्हें सिखावें" 50

'The creator has endowed women with the qualities of contentment, modesty and love, they only lack knowledge, if they possess this, women can discharge all their debts (liabilities) and none can teach children as they {women} can. This is their duty that they should impart simple instruction to children in their infancy and save them from errors.'

In 1854 "Samāchar Sudhā Varshan" <sup>51</sup> (daily) appeared as a bilingual paper, Hindi and Bengali, in Calcutta. It was edited by Shyam Sundar Sen and it contained one page Bengali and one in Hindi.

'The news items and editorials were written in Bengali but news relating to merchandise, ships, market reports and other items connected with business were written in Hindi as well.'

Thus we see that from 1845 onwards, Hindi newspapers appeared in the three main towns, Calcutta, Banaras and Agra. In all

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50. "Budhi Prakash", Vol.2, No.35, Wednesday, August 31st, 1853.  
51. Copies available 10 Sept. 1858 to 29th Sept. B.M.O.S.

three towns vernacular schools were flourishing and considerable importance was attached to educational projects.

The Language employed.

The language of the majority of the newspapers cited above is Kharī Bolī with its dialectal and regional flavour. The chief editors are Jugal Kishore, Rājā Shiv Prasād, Munshī Sadā Sukhtāl and Rājā Rām Mohun Roy. The last, a Bengālī, ventured to produce a standard literary Kharī Bolī style, probably assisted by his knowledge of Sanskrit. He could not entirely avoid, however, the influence of his native tongue on his writings.

Of all the editors, Munshī Sadāsukhlāl is the most outstanding both for his language and his choice of subject matter. This may be due to his close association with education. His concern for female education marks him as well in advance of the thought of his day. In fact, in many ways he is a modern and his style, even is very close to that produced in the later nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER VI.

HINDI IN NEPAL.

In the foregoing chapters, the writings of teachers, missionaries and the earliest Hindi journals have been discussed.

We shall now proceed to consider five MSS. in Hindi of unknown authorship which I have found in the Hodgson Collection in the India Office Library.

The first MS. <sup>2</sup> is a drama, <sup>2a</sup> entitled "Kṛṣṇacaritopākhyān Nāṭakam" (Folios 1-102), Kāthmāndū, Nepal, 1835.

The drama is based upon the well-known 10th Skandha of the Bhāgavata Purāna. It is composed for the greater part in Khari Boli. 'Supplication, incantation and other religious ceremonies throughout the drama are in Sanskrit.' Scattered throughout the prose text are verses in Avadhī and Brajbhāsa.

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1. This does not exhaust the material in this form in I.O.L. of which a typed catalogue is available. Also see: W.W. Hunter, Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, Appendix B, pp.358 ff (for further information)
  2. Hodgson MSS. 72, I.O.L.
  - 2a. Ibid, p.359. Hunter mentions a 'Hindu Drama on the Death of Kansa, as acted before the Court and Embassy', but does not describe the language employed.

It was acted by the Newār performers at the British Residency, Kāthmāṇḍū on the occasion of the "Indra Zātrā", an annual festival, in the year 1835 on the 1st September and concluded on the 17th After eight nights' performance.<sup>3</sup>

According to Hodgson's Notes,<sup>4</sup> 'the corps dramatique consisted of 238 persons including paṇḍits, prompters, actors, musicians and 'taish' bearers.' The actors numbered 130, all men and boys from the Newārī population of Bhātgaō.

The Drama is divided into nine sections, the first entitled Act I, the others second day, third day and so on. Hodgson seems to have misunderstood the number of days taken for the performance, as these were actually nine.

On the first day, the drama starts with a benediction. Then Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and Śeṣ Nāg appear on the stage. They introduce themselves to the audience. All go to "Kṣīr Sāgar", the Ocean of Milk where Viṣṇu retires.

The second scene opens with two ladies, Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī in Brahmālok, the heavenly region. Then appears Prithivī, Mother Earth complaining about the injustice done to māṅkind by demons born from the families of Kings. Thereafter Prithivī assuming

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3. See: Hodgson MSS. Vol.18, Folios 18 (139-158) in English (presumably) in Hodgson's own handwriting. F.139. 4. Ibid.

the semblance of a cow, seeks refuge with Brahma.

Then appear Kuver and Varuṇ going to Indra's abode, the heavenly region. First they greet Indra and then announce the motive of their arrival. All the Gods then approach Brahma. The two ladies also join the group.

Ugrasen, his wife and sons, Kās and Devak appear conversing with each other about Devakī's marriage. The marriage is arranged with Vasudev of Yaduvaṃśa. An auspicious day for the marriage is fixed.

On the second day the performance begins with a conversation between Vyomāsura and Pralambāsura, Kās's servants. Devakī's marriage is celebrated. She departs from her parents and goes to her husband's home. A description of the dowry is given on F.13.

While Vasudev and Devakī are on their way home, they hear a voice from Heaven announcing that Devakī's eighth son will kill Kās. Suddenly Kās appears on the scene and wants to kill Devakī. Vasudev promises to give away all his children immediately after they are born. Devakī is set free. Vasudev informs his parents of the incident.



Devakī is delivered of her first male child. As promised Vasudeṣ hands over the child to Kās but the latter does not kill the child. He declares that he is frightened of Devakī's eighth child not the first. Eventually, Vasudeṣ and Devakī are imprisoned.

The third day's acting opens with Narād, Yaśodā in the country of Braj. Then in another scene Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī appear and the former tells the latter that he will be born from Devakī while 'you will become Rādhā, daughter of Vṛabhanu. Later we shall be known as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'

Labour pains start simultaneously to Yaśodā and Devakī, the former gives birth to a baby girl and the latter to a boy. Both infants are exchanged.

Birth celebrations take place in Gokul at Nand's house. Dancers dance and musicians sing. All the members of the family rejoice at the ceremony.

In another scene Kās appears before the prison and asks Vasudeṣ and Devakī for their newly born child. Devakī entreats her brother "You have killed all of my sons, this time I am blessed with a daughter. It does not become you to kill a female child." Devakī prays for her child's life. The moment Kās

attempts to kill the child, a voice from the Heavens is heard, "the enemy by whom you will be killed has already been born at another place. Therefore it is no use killing the child."

Kāś wonders at the ambiguity of the voices from the Heavens. Thus realising the futility of their imprisonment, he sets Vasudev and Devakī free. Kāś presumes that even Gods tell lies, not only mortals. The scene ends with Kāś appologising to Vasudev and Devakī.

In the fourth act Kāś orders his courtiers to proceed in every direction in search of the newly born child who is destined to be his slayer. Kāś's courtiers come to Braj to collect revenue from Nand and other citizens of Braj.

Rūtānā appears and wants to feed Yaśoda's son, but the child Kṛṣṇa bites her breasts and causes her death. Likewise, the infant Kṛṣṇa wrestles with and throws the demon Hemtrīnāvart sent by Kāś to kill him.

The Sage Garga appears on the scene and describes the significance of Kṛṣṇa's name (F.43).

At Nand's house, the Christening Ceremony of Kṛṣṇa takes place followed by the Anna Prāśana Ceremony. A sacrificial

fire is lit and Nand entertains all his guests.

In another scene, all the residents of Gokul with their belongings shift to Vṛndāhan near the mountain Govardhan.

Kṛṣṇa in the company of Balbhadrā, his brother and other cowherds, goes to graze the cows in Vṛndāban. He goes to the bank of the Yamunā to quench his thirst where he encounters a demon Vakāsur and kills him. The cowherds being very much astonished and rejoiced at Kṛṣṇa's bravery, relate the incident to Nand and Yaśodā.

The fifth day's acting starts with "Nāgrāj", the King of Snakes, Kālī by name with his son and daughter. Nāgrāj assumes the form of "Ajgar", the snake.

Brahmā with Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī proceeds to Vṛndāban to see the gaiety and bravery of young Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa kills the demon Dhenukāsur. He then becomes unconscious and assumes a different form before the "Kālināg" whom he seizes in a deadly grip.

Nāginī supplicates Kṛṣṇa who releases "Kālināg" and curses him so that he will never assume human form again.

On the sixth day Kṛṣṇa appears saving the cowherds from the forest fire.

Then appears Rādhā with her friends bathing in the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa with his companions also comes there. He hides their clothes. Kṛṣṇa first teases them and then returns the clothes.

Kṛṣṇa assumes the form of Govardhan just to test the wisdom of the citizens of Gokul. The latter start giving donations of cows, corn and clothes and money within their capacity.

Lord Indra hurls thunder and rain on Gokul because the Gopīs worship an earthly born boy - Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa saves the Gopīs from the storm.

The seventh day's acting shows Indra and Vasudev who praise Kṛṣṇa. The latter plays on his flute on the bank of the Yamunā. Rādhā with her friends also appears.

The eighth act begins with Kṛṣṇa and other cowherds and Rādhā and her friends going to Vṛndāban.

Vyomasur appears there to kill Kṛṣṇa and Balbhadrā but his attempts prove futile.

श्रीगणेशायनमः॥ ॥श्रीनृत्यनाथायनमः॥ ॥अथभागवतीय  
 कृष्णचरित्रोपाख्याननाटकमभिलिख्यते॥ ॥तत्र हेतुर्विघ्न  
 प्रशमनार्थं देववाचानंतरं नादिगीतं॥ ॥नादिमेपु १॥ ॥ततः  
 महाविष्णुप्रवेशगीतपु २॥ ॥नादिमे॥ कामोद॥ ज. र. अ. ए.  
 थ. प. प्र॥ जय २ नटेश्वर धवल फणीश भूषण ए॥ पावक दिन क  
 र. शश धर लोचन भांग भोजन शिर चन्द्र धर सुवेश॥ सकल धरणि  
 पति श्रीनृपराजेन्द्र विक्रम ए॥ सुरेन्द्र विक्रम नृपति कुमार साह  
 भनय इह शुभमतिगीतनिवेश॥ विष्णुया प्रवेश॥ ॥मालव॥ गिरि  
 जापतिमा॥ ॥महाविष्णु ह्रमे परवेश॥ अवकर वनिज सह परिवार  
 कयवाहन खगेश॥ १॥ नृपनारायण राजेन्द्र भाने करिय मंगल सब  
 सुतवर सार्थ कयवाहन खगेश॥ वि॥ हे शेष हे प्रिये हमारो महिमा  
 सुनिये॥ ॥शे. ल॥ वैकुंठनाथ आज्ञा की जिये॥ ॥वर्णाणां श्लोक॥ ॥  
 वि॥ विष्णुश्चक्रगदा ब्रह्मशंख वरुध क्लक्ष्मी करालिङ्गितौ नानारत्न जिरी  
 टकुराडल धरो धर्मस्य रक्षा परः॥ श्रीराजेन्द्र सुविक्रमस्य नृपते श्री कृष्ण  
 ये सांप्रतं भोगीन्द्रेण समन्वितो विहगगोरंगं प्रविष्टोऽस्मिहं॥ ॥ हे शेष  
 प्रहे प्रिये एतादृश महाविष्णुहमे॥ ॥शे. म॥ वैकुंठनाथ यथार्थ आ  
 ॥होतहे॥ ॥शे॥ हेमहाविष्णु हमारो महिमा सुनिये॥ ॥वि॥ शेषक

The ninth act starts with Kās's Court at Mathurā. Kās and Kṛṣṇa proceed to the fighting ground. Kṛṣṇa kills Kās and is enthroned by the citizens of Mathurā.

All retire to their respective abodes. Thus the drama ends with the ninth day's acting.

## 5

The drama commences with the following lines:

" श्री गणेशाय नमः श्री नृत्यनाथाय नमः अथ भगवतीय कृष्णचरित्रोपाख्यान  
नाटकमभि लिख्यते  
श्लोक ----- नादि मे पु१ "

The Hindi text begins as follows:

" हे शेष हे प्रिय हमारो महिमा सुनिये।शे.ल॥  
बैकुण्ठनाथ आज्ञा कीजिये ॥ वर्णन श्लोक .....  
हे शेष हे प्रिये अतादृश महाविष्णु हमे ।  
शे.म॥बैकुण्ठनाथ यथार्थ आज्ञा होत है ॥  
शे ॥ हे महाविष्णु हमारो महिमा सुनिये।  
वि॥ शेष कहिये ॥ श्लोक .....  
हे महाविष्णु अतादृश शेष नाग हमे ॥ वि ॥  
शेष जुक्त वचन कहत है ॥ ल ॥ हे प्राणनाथ हमारी विशिष्ट सुनिये ..... " (पृ.१)  
" हे प्रिये अवहि अहि झीर सागर में अंतर्धान होयके सोय रहत है।शे.ल। बैकुण्ठनाथ  
अवस्य .....  
" हे प्रिये गायत्री सावित्री अवहि ब्रह्मलोक आय पहुंचे ज्ञान एक विश्राम करत है ।

5. A photostat copy is affixed on the opposite page.



'O Śeṣa, O my loved one, give ear to my glory.  
 Se.L. 'Vaikuṭhnāth, the Lord of the Heavens, command!'  
 (A description given in Sanskrit) Sloka.  
 O Śeṣa, my beloved, so great a Viṣṇu, am I.  
 Se.M. 'Vaikuṭhnāth, true are your words'.  
 O Great Viṣṇu, give ear to my glory.  
 V. Speak Śeṣa.  
 Se. 'O, Great Viṣṇu so great a Śeṣanāg am I.  
 V. Śeṣa speaks true words.  
 O my beloved, listen to my pronouncement.

'O dear one, straightaway (I) shall vanish into the  
 ocean of milk.  
 Se.L. Vaikuṭhnāth, certainly.

'O dear Gayatrī (and) Sāvitrī, now we have reached  
 Brahmālok, the heavenly region, (and) will take rest  
 for a little while.

The following extracts are specimens of the language:

- " हे ब्रह्मन् जो कारण सोऽथाहा आम् हो सोहम को मालुम है वसुदेव का पुत्र  
 होय के पृथ्वी का भार नास करेंगे हमारा प्रिय कर्मे का निमित्त सबदेवगण  
 ऋषिगण अप्सरागण मे मि पृथिवी मे जन्म लेने को जाना होगा । "(पृ. ४)
- " हे देवतासब आकाशवाणी होयके पुरुषोत्तम भगवान ने आज्ञा हुवा का वचन  
 हमसे सुनिये आज्ञा वमोजीम तुमलोक ने कर्णा पृथिवी मे भार हुवा का देवलोक  
 का दुःख संताप हुवा का सब परमेश्वर को आगे से मालुम थे पृथी का भार  
 उतारने को भगवान महापुरुष जदुवंशी वसुदेव का घरमो जन्म होयगे "(पृ.५)
- " हे कुबेरादि देवलोक पृथिवि मंडल मे लाखो-दैत्य लोक राजार का कुल मे  
 जन्मलीय के हमलोक को वहुत संताप किया सो कारने ब्रह्मा का शरण मे  
 पुकारने को जाय चलिये  
 सर्वे देवराज विजे कीजिये (पृ. २)

'O Brahmins, I know the reason why you have come here.  
 Vasudev's son will relieve the earth of its burden;  
 for your welfare all gods, sages and nymphs should  
 also go to the earth to take birth.

'O Gods! there was a voice from the Heavens. Listen to the order of Purgottam. You are to act accordingly. The burden of the earth (and), the misery of the Gods are known to the Supreme Being beforehand. To lessen the burden of the earth, the Great Man will be born in the house of Vasudev of the Yadu family.

'O, Kuver and other Gods, Lacs of demons, born in the families of Kings, throughout the whole earth, torture us greatly, therefore let us seek refuge with Brahma, All. May the Lord of the Heavens be victorious.'

The beginnings of the drama in Kharī Bolī are obscure.<sup>6</sup> However, as far as I have been able to ascertain after exhaustive enquiry, the play under reference is the first in Kharī Bolī whose date (1835) of performance can definitely be given.

It is significant to note that a Kharī Bolī drama was performed before a distinguished audience including the Court and the British Embassy.

This fact further indicates that Hindī must have been one of the inter-regional languages of Nepal at that time. The audience undoubtedly consisted of a large number of Nepalis, Indians and the British with their employees, probably trained in Fort William College. The actors were mainly Newāris. These

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6. Brajratna Das mentions that plays "Jānaki" - Rāncarit Nāṭak" and "Ramlilā Bihār," which he presumes were composed in the first half of the 19th Century and in which he states that Kharī Bolī prose was employed. No authorship is given. See: Hindī Nāṭya Sāhitya, Banaras, V.Sam 1995 (1938 A.D.) pp.58,59.



are only a few of the regions represented at a gathering of this nature. There must have also been considerable variety in class among the audience, as well as these producing the spectacle. Such a performance lasting nine days, requires the utmost cooperation between all concerned - actors and audience alike and it is very striking that Kharī Bolī should have been chosen as the medium employed.

The prose portion is in Kharī Bolī with admixture of Bihārī, Awadhī and BrajBhāsā words and phrases. Besides these, a considerable number of Tatsam words are employed such as 'bhāvnā, mithyā, prasūti, subhlagna, nakṣatra, sayan, sāgrām, adṛṣṭ, darsan, yogeswar, visrām, rakṣā, ṛṣīswar, citta, cintnā, mandir, arādhnā, ātārdhyān, āscarya,' and Perso-Arabic words such as 'sar-jām, kavol, vaṣat, salām, firiyād, vamojīb, hajūr, darbar,'

The spelling of certain words is very inconsistent, e.g., 'bolāvnā, bolāunā, bolāy', 'prithī, prithvī, pirthī, prthī, karnā, karte, kartte, karne.'

The genders are often confused, for example:

" हे महाराज उग्रसेन वसुदेव देवकी विदा हो गया अवहि हमलोक अभयंतर जाय रहत है। प्रिये अवहि रात्रि हुवा "

२ जमुना तीर में वस्त्र छोड़ के गोपकन्या सब स्नान कर रहा है

(Krsna says to Gopis)

३ तुम लोक दिगंबर होय के जल में गया कादेवता का अपमान किया है

The following lines indicate a typical dialectal influence viz. Awadhi and Bengali, which frequently occurs:

- " हे शूर विवाह का सायत परशुअक्षा है सब सराजाम तजूर कर्के देवक कामंदिर में  
बरयात जाना होगा ,अवहि हममि उहां जायके रहेंगे "
- " हे कमलासन पृथ्वी का भार नास कर्के का विना विष्णु से नहि होगा सो का  
कारणे क्षीर सागर जायके श्री महाविष्णु से पुकारने परेगा "
- " हे चतुरानन क्या कररण सो परिश्रम कर्के आउना भये सो आज्ञा कीजिये "
- " अब हमे ब्रहमा का आज्ञा से अपन स्थान जात हे "
- " अब हमे ध्यान करते हे "
- " अब हमे शीघ्र जात हे "
- " हमने आपका सरण में ल्याये हैं "

Words viz. "Uhā, jāy, jāt, aunā bhaye, apan! are of Awadhī or Old Baiswāri dialect. Bengālī influence can be seen in such use as 'Pukārne paregā', karne nahī hogā'. Besides these some verbal forms are used, generally in causative form: 'Āvanā, bolāvanā, phūcaṅnā, caṅhāvnā'.

Postpositions are often confused, e.g. 'so' is used for 'se', and in some places for 'therefore', 'this' and 'that is why'.

The accusative form 'hame' is often substituted for the nominative but in places where the actors introduce themselves to the audience, the use of 'hame' is emphatic.

Tedious repetition of some phrases is an inartistic feature of the work. One sentence in particular is uttered by Indra, Brahma and Prithvi in turn:

" लाखो दैत्य लोक राजा र काकुल में जन्म लीके उदत राजा होयके अधम उपद्रव ने हमको बहुत असहय हुवा सो कारणे जल्दी भारनाश कर्के हमको रक्षा करना होगा सहस्त्र विनति "

The flow of dialogue is occasionally interrupted by speeches in Newārī and Parbatīā<sup>7</sup> which are spoken by those playing the parts of servants. The stage directions of which examples are given below, are in Newārī and Parbatīā.

" थेंका वसोय। दुहावना फेटुय। पृथ्वी मातावने। देवलोक दाने। गायत्री सावित्री फेटुय। कैलास थेंके। महादेव दाने। क्षीर समुद्रतये। अकासे सोय। देव कुहाय। ब्रह्मादि पेसारमें पु "

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7. 'In eight tenths of its vocables substantially Hindee'.  
See: Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, London, 1874, p.1.

This different language for menials had always been a feature of the drama comparable to the use of prose in certain of Kālidās and Harīścandra's plays.

This work, in spite of its somewhat primitive form, fulfils the four requirements laid down for a drama. Its hero is a royal incarnation of God; the sentiments are heroic and erotic; the drama is divided into 9 acts and the style intended for acting.

On the whole the language of the drama is colloquial and certainly not free from linguistic defects. Its historical importance should not, however, be minimised as it appears to be the earliest extant Hindī drama - that Hindī prose drama which was later to reach its greatest achievement in the hands of Bhārtendū Harīścandra.

The second MS.<sup>8</sup> is a roll of 69 Royal Letters<sup>9</sup> addressed either to the Queen or the King of Nepal (1837,38).

Letters Nos.17,40,66 were written in V.S.1894 (1837 A.D.).

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8. Hodgson MSS. Vol.51.

9. All not numbered.

" स्वस्ति श्री मन्त्रहाराजाधिराज महाराज माहारानी जी योग्य श्री विश्वेश्वर से परमहंस की नारायण पहुँचे समचार मालुम करना जी आपने महरवानगी करके मेरेकु पत्रिका मेजी सो पहुँची जी समचार मालुम किया जी आपकि मेहरवानगी मेरे पे चैति है जी ज्याहांतहा आपहि कि जये मनाता हुं जी. आपने चौतर्यांकु समजाई के मेज देने कि लिषि से चौतर्या साहेब तो आवते नहि चार्तुमास रहेंगे जी. अनेक तरसे शमदण्ड भेद करिके समजाये तोभि मानते नहि कहते हैं - मेरेकु वोहत दिषत करोगे तो प्राण छोड देउगा आवने कामन हैनहि अवस्य करके नहि आवेगे कहते हैं. मेरा हात चलता नहि पाद चलता नहि बोलया जाता नहि मे नेपाल जाईके क्या करूं चारमास कासि जिमें रहूंगा .ओषधि करूंगा अछा होउगा तव जाउगी वारंवार याहि कहते है. नहि वोहत दिषतदारि मे हे लोकामे हास्ये होता है खरच मेजना ल्योग्य हो जि याहा कोडि येक कोई देता नहि चौतर्या साहेब कहते हैं भीष माग खाउग परंतु चार्तु मास रहूंगा ये वार्ता ध्रुव है

.....  
 चैत्र वदि ९ मंगलवार सम्बत् १८९४

'Hail Sri the King of Kings, and the Queen, accept the respects of Pramhas from Sri Visvesvar (Kasi) (and) know the contents thereof. You have very kindly written (this) letter to me which I have received and noted the contents. I am in need of your sympathy. I always wish for your victory, wherever I go. You have written that I should send Cautaryā back after making him understand why. But Cautaryā Sāheb does not want to go, he wants to stay another four months. I have sppken to him in every way and I have applied the methods of coercion, punishment and segregation but he does not listen to me. He says, 'If you make my life miserable I shall give up my life.' He does not feel like going back, therefore he will not go. He says, that he cannot move his hands and feet, cannot speak (properly). 'What shall I do in Nepal? I shall stay in Kāsi (Banaras) for four months, and shall be under treatment (when) I get better I shall go back.' He says this repeatedly. He does not possess even a farthing, he is in great trouble. He is laughed at. It is desirable to send some money, nobody (here) will spare a farthing. Cautaryā Sāheb says that he would rather beg and stay here four months, this is definite.'

Caitra Vadi 9, Tuesday, V.S.1894 (1837 A.D.).

The other three MSS. <sup>10</sup> are "Vamsavali", 'Genealogy' of the Kings of Nepal and Proceedings of the Court, 1830 A.D.

Extracts from the three MSS. are given below:

" गणेश व सरस्वती व महोदेव व पार्वती को नमस्कार करके लिखते हे कि इस कलियुग मे ऐसा श्रीमान् राजा हुआ कि सब राजों का शिर उसकी कदम पर है इस राजा के मुलुक में हेमालय पर्वत के नीचे कि माहाभारत मण्डल भृंगेश्वर भट्टारक नामे महादेव पैदाहुवा तिसके बाद गौतम वगैरह बृहिसिं ने उसी जगह गौतमेश्वर वगैरह देवतास्थापन किया उसके बाद भृंगेश्वर भट्टारक माहादेव श्लेषमातंक वन में पैदा हुवा तिस वषत् नेप नामे गोपाल था उसके कपिल रंग गाय ने वागमती के किनारा पर दुध अपने थन से गिराया . वहाँ से पशुपति ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग प्रकाश हुवा उस गोपाल ने उसका पूजा किया फेर गोपाल के संतान के तफसिल जिल वमोजिब राज किया " (पृ. २)

'Bowling to Ganēsa, Saraswatī and Pārvatī, I write that there happened to be a King in this age of Kaliyug to whom all Kings owed allegiance. In that Kings' country, which was below the Himalayan mountain, a great sage, Bhrngeswar Bhattāarak by name, was born in Mahābhārat. Mādāl. After that Gautam with the assistance of other sages, established the Lord Gautameswar at that place. After that the great sage Bhrngeswar Bhattāarak was born in the forest of Slesmatak. At that time there was a cowherd, called Nep whose brown-coloured cow dropped some milk from her udder on the bank of Bāgmātī, whence Pasupati Jyotirling appeared whom that cowherd worshipped. After that the description of that cowherd's children who ruled over..... according to their wishes (is as follows)'.

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10. Hodgson MSS. 50, 52, (Vamsavali) Hodgson MSS. 60, (Religion, Law Ethnography).

11. Hodgson MSS. 50 (Fols. 1-31) (MS is faded at certain places)

६२ श्री वृषदेव वर्मा ----

उस राजा ने चावहील में तरफ धंदोनामें चैत्य बनाया और पशुपति में उत्तर तरफ लोहे का त्रिशूल चढ़ाया उसे राजा के वषट् में स्वामी शंकराचार्य ने नेपाल में आके बुद्धमत खण्डन किया और चावहील मजकूर की ऐसी षवर हेके चारुमती नामे अशोक राजा की लडुकी थि उसने १ नगर आवाद कर चारुमति विहार नाम रखा . नेवारी जमात् में उसकू चावही और देसी लोग में चावहील कहते हे चूके वृषदेव वर्मा ने शंकराचार्य के वृषत् बेटा पाया उसका नाम संकरदेव रषा " (पृ. ९७) 12

'62 - Sri Vrsdev Varma -

That King constructed a temple "Dhāndo" by name in Cāvahil and a 'Trisul' (three pointed spear) was affixed in the North of Pasupati. It was during this period that Swāmi Śākarācārya opposed Būdhism in Nepal, and it is known from "Cāvahil Majkur" that the King Asokās daughter, Cārumatī by name, who settled inhabitants in a town, named 'Cārumatī Vihar'. Among Newaris, it is popularly known as Cāvahi and the gentry call it Cāvahil because Vrsdev Varma was blessed with a son during the visit of Śākarācārya, the son was named Śākardev.'

" नेपाल में तिनोसहर हे काठमाडौं १ पाटन १ भावगाउ १ तिनोसहर में जीनासहर में महाराज राज कर्ते हे सो सहर्वडा हे सो वास्ते आजकल काठमाडौं बडा सहर हे काठमाडौं में अदालत चार हे पाटन में अदालत तिन हे " (पृ. ११५)

" और अदालत के नाम संस्कृत में सभासद कहता हे नेवारी भाषा से सभा कहता हे पारिभि कहता हे पर्वतिया भाषा में अदालत कहता हय कहे कहे गाउ में वाहाभि कहता हे " (पृ. ११६)

'In Nepal there are three towns Kāthmāndū, Pāṭan and Bhatgāō. Of the three towns, the capital is the one where the King himself rules, therefore, Kāthmāndū is the biggest town today. There are four Courts in Kāthmāndū. In Pāṭan, there are three courts.'

'In Sanskrit, the "Adalat" is known as "Sabhāsad", but it is known as "Sabha" or "Paribhi" in Newāri, (but) in the Parvatiā language, it is known as "Adalat" (and) also in the villages here and there.'

One reason for grouping these three MSS. together, inspite of their varied subject matter, is the similarity of the language employed, also all the MSS. date from approximately the same period (1830).

The language is colloquial Hindī with an admixture of Persian words in a somewhat distorted form. The use of post-positions is rather confused.

The employment of Kharī Bolī for Royal correspondence, religious and genealogical data, and proceedings of the Courts, convinces us that Hindī was one of the written languages of Nepal at that period.

Further, the MSS. all come from Kāthmāndū and are thus a valuable indication of the geographical extension of Hindi.

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13. Hodgson MSS.60 (Fols.115-120). This MS contains folios 255. Most of them are in one of the languages of Nepal although some folios are in Sanskrit. The folios 115-121 are in Hindi and Nagari character is employed throughout this MS. These Hindi folios (115-121) deal with the proceedings of the Court of Nepal. Some of the extracts (one already given) in



### CONCLUSION.

In surveying the period covered by this thesis 1800-1856, we observe that the tradition of Rājasthānī Prose is the oldest and richest, and the Royal Libraries of Rājasthān afford a mine of information to the research student. Tessitori's Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical MSS. of Prose Chronicles is worthy of note.

As early as the 12th century, exigencies of administration and commercial contacts necessitated the employment of prose in the form of Royal letters, deeds of gift and account books.

To record the lives and heroic exploits of the rulers, Bardic Literature arose under the patronage of the Courts. At the same time religious thought found expression in Brahmanical and Jain literatures.

With the advent of Muhammadan rulers the centre of culture was transferred to the Braj Provinces. Although poetry was in the ascendant, prose was employed for religious discussions notably in the works of Harirāy, Gokulnāth and Nandadās.

From the 17th century, Braj prose began to be employed for commentaries on certain Sanskrit works, and adaptations of

Sanskrit dramas were made in Braj.

The tradition of Rājasthānī and Braj Prose continued till the 18th century, but was gradually localized to Rājasthān and Braj Provinces, the main cause being the East India Company's preference for Hindusthānī.

Although sporadic attempts were made (12th to 17th century) to use Kharī Bolī, hitherto merely a dialect of Delhi and Meerut, in literature, Kāsīnāth's medical treatise "Ajīrnamājarī" (1746 A.D.) appears to be the first complete work in this medium and in a style approaching nineteenth century early prose. Kāsīnāth, is thus, the first author of a Kharī Bolī prose work not Rāmprasād Nirājanī as has hitherto been maintained.

Based on our evaluation of the language in the I.O.MS., we have no hesitation in ascribing to Rāmprasād's "Yogvasiṣṭa" the date 1798 A.D. (V.S.1855) inspite of Rām Candra Śukla's date 1741 A.D. (V.S.1798.)

The next author of note is Munśī Sadāsukhlāl (Niyāz', whose complete work however remained inaccessible until recently. His prose could not, therefore, exert any influence on his immediate successors.

*antahjanam  
Ram  
Sukla  
has not  
mentioned  
date.*

Īsā is the first to introduce a story, and his "Rānī Ketakī kī kahānī" or "Kahānī Theth Hindī mē", marks a step forward but his ornate language and his use of Persian character made his work unsuitable for imitation.

Twentieth century research has demonstrated that Kharī Boli prose writings were in existence before 1800, although their influence was considerably hampered because of their being confined to MSS.

Fort William College was established (May 1800) purely with an administrative purpose, but thanks to Wellesley's vision, the importance of the vernaculars was appreciated by his colleagues.

The most important advance as regards 19th century Hindī prose was the installation of printing presses by the Company's Government. This immensely facilitated the diffusion of knowledge, especially the prose compositions of the period under review.

Gilchrist undertook to acquire Hindustānī and Hindī, and he enabled other teachers, viz. Lallūjīlāl and Sadal Misra to bring out their well-known works. Had he continued to be on the staff of the College, it is likely we would have seen more

publications of this kind.

"Premsāgar's " unchallenged historical importance lies in Lallulāl's attempt to give a form to Khari Boli which might make it a worthy vehicle of prose writing. The work's success as a text book rests on the author's popular language.

Sadal Misra's undoubtedly superior compositions lay in MS. for more than a century, possibly because of their high literary style, could not therefore advance the cause of Hindi.

Protestant Missionaries, undoubtedly, played their part in the evolution of Hindi prose. This medium did not seem, however, to benefit to any great extent by the early translations of the Bible. The crudeness of the language, intended to appeal to the villagers, prevented lucidity. It is, nevertheless, proof of the effort made by the translators to employ a style suitable for the common people.

The publication of tracts and school books necessitated a systematic and scientific knowledge of the language, and so Grammars and Dictionaries began to be compiled. The resultant enrichment of vocabulary fostered original composition, simplicity of style and lucidity in Language.

In the formatory stage of a language, it is too early to establish a particular standard of style. After 1840, there is a tendency towards stabilization, but prior to this date, Theth or pure Hindī, Hindustāni, less frequently literary or High Hindī were employed.

The publication and distribution of all the works were made possible only through the medium of the printing presses, established by the missionaries at every station from the commencement of their undertaking.

Apparently, Fort William College preferred the use of Hindustāni, as they considered it more widely understood than Hindī. It is noteworthy that the missionaries duly recognised through their contacts with the people that Hindī, with its several variations, was the accepted medium from Bihar to Delhi.

During the experimental stage of Indian Education, we hear more of controversies than of achievements. The East India Company was engaged in conquest and consolidation; education was not considered a part of Government's duty for a few decades in the early nineteenth century. There was no strong urge to embark on the enlightenment of the common people.

Towards the end of the 18th century, John Shore had stressed

the importance of educating the masses and employing vernaculars as the medium of instruction. Later, Moira, Minto, Elphinstone and Auckland, as well as Adam, pursued the same principles, which were finally established by the Educational Despatch of 1854.

A considerable period was spent in further controversy over the medium of secondary education, and this was finally settled by Macaulay's well-known Minute (1835). English was introduced partly by C.S.B. Society but mainly by G.C.P.I. Macaulay was merely asked to intervene in the matter, and, therefore, must not be alone held responsible for the decision taken, since his wide knowledge of English literature and his total ignorance of Indian classical writings naturally prejudiced him in favour of the former. As he became more familiar with the true conditions, his liberal tendencies appeared by degrees to have resulted in his emphasising the importance of the vernaculars.

A successful educational policy of the Government can be perceived in Thomason's scheme for introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction. Thus by 1856, the Hindi area extended from Bihar to the Panjab.

More than a hundred works, most of them of an elementary

type, although some were for secondary education, were prepared and published (1850 - 1856) (See Appendix III).

I have found (from the Reports) of the C.S.B. Society and I.E.V.S.) two documents having an important bearing on this educational phase. They are the first syllabus for Hindī Primary Schools in British India and the first for Hindī Secondary Schools in the North Western Provinces. The foundation of a useful syllabus was laid, and texts of a uniform character were employed.

The style of Hindī prose writing was becoming stabilized. The period was one of preparation - 'morning shows the day.'

Thus from controversy, error and experiment dawned the new era of Indian Education.

The foundation of Hindī Journalism was laid in Calcutta, although it never flourished as did Bengālī and Urdū Journalism.

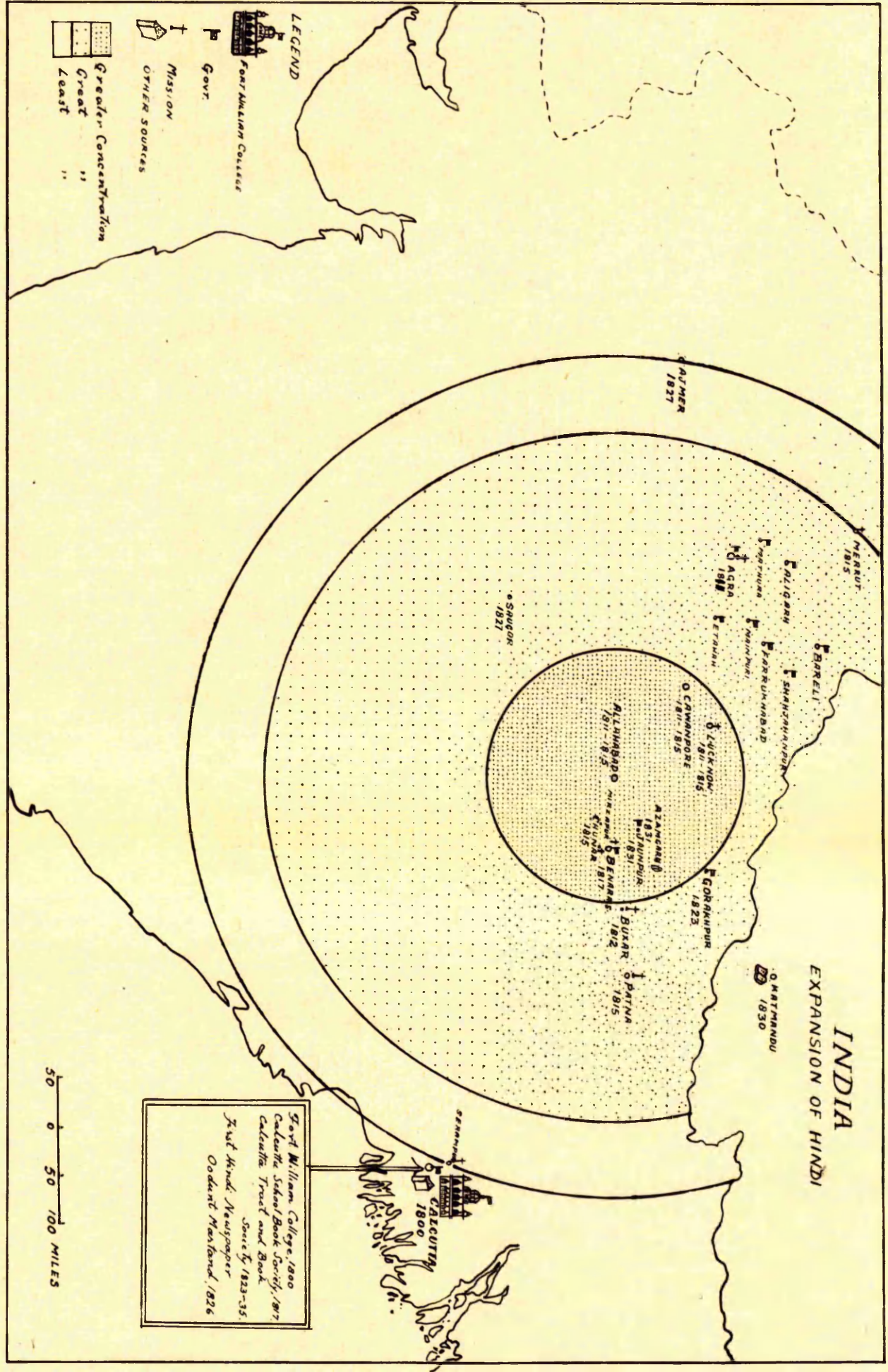
Bengālī was the language of the province, and Urdū introduced as the Court language from 1837, was popular because its acquisition led to the attainment of prominent posts.

Hindī journalism, more or less petered out for lack of



# INDIA

## EXPANSION OF HINDI



**LEGEND**

- Fort William College
- Govt.
- MISSION
- OTHER SOURCES
- Greater Concentration
- Great
- Least

Govt. William College, 1800  
 Calcutta School Book Society, 1817  
 Calcutta Tract and Book Society, 1823-35.  
 First Hindi Newspaper  
 Oodent Nandan, 1826

50 0 50 100 MILES



financial support from the educated Hindi speaking class, a fact which has been put on record by the editor of the first Hindi journal, "Udant Mārtand".

The investigation of Hindi in Nepal opens a new venue for research, especially in the field of prose works, although the language of the Nepal MSS., I have examined, is a mixture of Hindustāni and Pure Hindi. This suggests that other Hindi writings may be in existence, forming a link between Nepal and the Hindi-speaking regions in its neighbourhood.

From the 17th century onwards, Grammars and Dictionaries or European and Indian scholars are found in an increasing number. A list of these is given in Appendix II, together with our evaluation of their contribution to the formation of the Hindi language.

The map opposite shows the expansion of Hindi between 1800 and 1856 in relation to the place of its genesis. Calcutta, the seat of the evolution of Hindi, lies on the East of the outer circle, whereas Ajmer, the Western limit of Hindi expansion, occupies the Western periphery. The core of Hindi growth is located at Allahabad, which is also the centre of concentric circles, that delimit the degree of expansion of Hindi at various stages of the period under review. Though the nuclei of the

development of Hindi agglomerate in the North Western Provinces, this does not mean that its territory was confined to this region. The stream of the Hindi prose has its source in Calcutta but its greatest expansion occurred in North Western Provinces, with its diverse branches, of which one lies in Kāthmāndu, the other in Ajmer and the third in Sagour, marking the northern and the western spread of its territorial expansion.

The innermost circle covers the most important area round the nucleus. The middle zone is the intermediate region of Hindi predominance with greater intensification on the Western and Eastern sides of the inner circle.

The outer circle marks the source of its expansion in the East and the limit of its expansion in the West. Though this zone is the least extensive the sporadic influence of Hindi may definitely be observed in it.

The story of the development of Hindi prose is inseparable from that of India's administration, trade, religions and peoples. As the need for a common medium between the rulers and the ruled, the teachers and the taught, began to be felt, Kharī Bolī with its two styles, Hindustānī and Urdu gained

prominence.

Many writers, some perhaps as yet undiscovered, have contributed to the formation of a language which has assumed international importance.

Truly it may be said,

" गद्यं कवीनाम् निकषं वदन्ति "

Prose is considered the criterion of a writer's genius.

APPENDIX I.REGULATION IX (1800).<sup>1</sup>

A Regulation for the foundation of a College at Fort William in Bengal, and for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Honourable the English East India Company, in the important duties belonging to the several arduous stations to which they may be respectively destined in the administration of justice, in the general government of the British Empire in India, passed by the Governor General in Council on the 10th July 1800.

"Whereas it hath pleased the Divine Providence to favour the counsels and arms of Great Britain and India with a continued course of prosperity and gloire; and whereas, by the victorious issue of several successive wars, and by the happy result of a just, wise, and moderate system of policy, extensive territories in Hindostan, and in the Decan, have been subjected to the dominion of Great Britain; and under the government of the Honourable The English East India Company, in process of time a great and powerful empire has been founded, comprehending many populous and opulent provinces, and various nations, differing in religious persuasions, in language, manners and habits, and respectively accustomed to be governed

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1. Home Misc. No.487 (I.O.R.) pp.147-162.

according to peculiar usages, doctrines and laws; and whereas the sacred duty, true interest, honour and policy, of the British nation require, that effectual provision should be made at all times for the good government of the British empire in India, and for the prosperity and happiness of the people inhabiting the same; and many wise and salutary regulations have accordingly been enacted from time to time by the Governor General in Council, with the benevolent intent and purpose of administering to the said people their own laws, usages and customs, in the mild and benignant spirit of the British constitution; and whereas it is indispensably necessary, with a view to secure the due execution and administration of the said wise, salutary, and benevolent regulations in all time to come, as well as of such regulations and laws as may hereafter be enacted by the Governor General in Council, that the Civil Servants of the Honourable The English East India Company, exercising high and important functions in the government of India, should be properly qualified to discharge the arduous duties of their respective offices and stations; should be sufficiently instructed in the general principles of literature and science, and should possess a competent knowledge, as well of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain, as of the several native languages of Hindostan and the Decan; and of the laws, usages and customs of the provinces which the said civil servants respectively may be appointed to govern: And whereas the early

interruption in Europe of the education and studies of the persons destined for the civil service of the Honourable The English East India Company, precludes them from acquiring, previously to their arrival in India, a sufficient foundation in the general principles of literature and science, or a competent knowledge of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain; and many qualifications, essential to the proper discharge of the arduous and important duties of the civil service in India, cannot be fully attained, otherwise than by a regular course of education and study in India, conducted under superintendence, direction and controul of the supreme authority of the government of these possessions: And whereas no public institution now exists in India under which the junior servants appointed at an early period of life to the civil service of The Honourable The East India Company, can attain the necessary means of qualifying themselves for the high and arduous trusts to which they are respectively destined; and no system of discipline or education has been established in India for the purpose of directing and regulating the studies of the said junior servants, or of guiding their conduct upon their first arrival in India. or for forming, improving, or preserving their morals, or of encouraging them to maintain the honour of the British name in India, by a regular and orderly course of industry, prudence, integrity and religion: The most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General in Council, deeming the establishment of such an institut-

institution, and system of discipline, education, and study, to be requisite for the good government and stability of the British Empire in India, and for the maintenance of the interests of The Honourable The English East India Company, his Lordship in Council hath therefore enacted as follows:

II. A College is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company in such branches of literature, science, and knowledge as may be deemed necessary to qualify them for the discharge of the duties of the different offices constituted for the administration of the government of British possessions in the East Indies.

III. A suitable building shall be erected for the College, containing apartments for the superior officers, for the students, for a library, and for such other purposes as may be found necessary.

IV. The Governor-General shall be the Patron and Visitor of the College.

V. The members of the Supreme Council and the Judges of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and of the Nizamut Adawlut, shall be the Governors of the College.

VI. The Governor-General in Council shall be trustee for the management of the funds of the College; and shall regularly submit his proceedings in that capacity to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

VII. The Comptrolling Committee of Treasury shall be the Treasurers of the College.

VIII. The Accountant General and Civil Auditor shall be respectively accountant and auditor of the accounts of the College;

IX. The Advocate General and the Honourable Company's Standing Council, shall be the law officers of the College.

X. The immediate government of the College shall be vested in a Provost and such other officers as the Patron and Visitor shall think proper to appoint, with such salaries as he shall deem expedient. The Provost, Vice-Provost, and all other officers of the College, shall be removable at the discretion of the Patron and Visitor.

XI. The Provost shall always be a dergyman of the Church of England, as established by Law.



XII. Every proceeding and act of the Patron and Visitor shall be submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and shall be subjected to their pleasure.

XIII. The primary objects of the Provost shall be, to receive the junior civil servants on their first arrival at Fort William, to superintend and regulate their general morals and conduct, to assist them with his advice and admonition, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline, and rites of the Church of England, as established by law.

XIV. The Patron and Visitor shall establish such professorships with such endowments as shall be judged proper.

XV. Professorships shall be established as soon as may be practicable, and regular courses of lectures commenced in the following branches of literature, science, and knowledge:

Languages: Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindoostanee, Bengali, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamul, Canara, Mahomedan Law, Hindoo Law, Ethics, Civil Jurisdiction, and the Law of Nations, English Law.

The Regulations and Laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Governors in Council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, for the civil government of the British

territories in India.

Political Economy, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company.

Geography and Mathematics.

Modern languages of Europe.

Greek, Latin and English Classics.

General History, Ancient and Modern.

The History and antiquities of Hindoostan and the

Decan. Natural History. Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy.

XVI. The Patron and Visitor may authorise the same professor to read lectures in more than one of the enumerated branches of study, and may at any time unite or separate any of the said professorships or may found additional professorships in such other branches of study, as may appear necessary.

XVII. The Provost and Vice-Provost, after having remained in the government of the College for the complete period of seven years, and any professor after having read lectures in the College for the complete period of seven years, or of twenty-eight terms, and after having respectively received, under the hand and seal of the Patron and Visitor, a testimonial of good conduct during that period of time, shall be entitled to an annual pension for life, to be paid either in Europe or

in India, according to the option of the party.

XVIII. All the civil servants of the Company who may be hereafter appointed on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal, shall be attached to the College for the first three years after their arrival in Bengal, and during that period of time the prescribed studies in the College shall constitute their sole public duty.

XIX. All the civil servants now on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal, whose residence in Bengal, shall not have exceeded the term of three years, shall be immediately attached to the College for the term of three years, from the date of this regulation.

XX. Any of the junior civil servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this Presidency or to that of Fort St. George, or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefits of the institution by order of the Governor-General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations as may be deemed advisable.

XXI. Any of the junior military servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this presidency, or that of Fort St. George, or of Bombay, may be

admitted to the benefits of the institution by order of the Governor-General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

XXII. In the College of Fort William, four terms shall be observed in each year; the duration of each term shall be two months. Four vacations shall also be established in each year; the duration of each vacation shall be one month.

XXIII. Two public examinations shall be holden annually, and prizes and honorary rewards shall be publicly distributed by the Provost, in the presence of the Patron and Governors, to such students as shall appear to merit them.

XXIV. Degrees shall be established, and shall be rendered requisite qualifications for certain offices in the civil Governments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay; and promotion in the civil service shall be the necessary result of merit publicly approved, according to the discipline and institutions of the College.

XXV. Statutes shall be framed by the Provost of the College, under the superintendence of the Governors of the College, respecting the internal regulation, discipline and government of the College; but no Statute shall be enforced until it shall

have been sanctioned by the Patron and Visitor. The statutes so sanctioned shall be printed, according to a form to be prescribed by the patron and visitor.

XXVI. The Patron and Visitor shall be empowered at all times, of his sole and exclusive authority, to amend or abrogate any existing statute, or to enact any new statute from the regulation, discipline and government of the College.

XXVII. A regular statement of all salaries, appointments, or removals of the officers of the College; shall be submitted by the Patron and Visitor of the College at the expiration of each term, to the Governor General in Council, and by the Governor General in Council to the Honourable Court of Directors; printed copies of Statutes enacted by the Patron and Visitor shall also be submitted to the Governor General in Council and to the Honourable the Court of Directors, at the same periods and time, and in the same manner.

Grammars and Dictionaries  
of  
Hindī and Hindustānī.  
(1676 - 1846 A.D.)

APPENDIX II.GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES.

Grammar is the science of language. A grammar deals with the phonetic, inflexional and constructional features, while a Dictionary lists the words of a language, their orthography, pronunciation and meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Both are essential for the conscious development of a standard language and for any attempt to correlate or compare languages .

A grammar can be classified as descriptive, historical, comparative and general.<sup>2</sup> Grammars of the period under review are mainly of descriptive and pedagogical nature. They are not historical or comparative.

From the 17th century grammars began to be composed by servants of Dutch and English East India Companies and by missionaries for administrative and evangelical purposes.

The following works, arranged in chronological order,

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1. Also see; Chamber's Encyclopaedia, New Edition, Vol.VI, London, 1950. p.467.
  2. H. Sweet, New English Grammar, Part I, pp.2, 3.

demonstrate the prevalence of 'Braj Bhākhā', 'Hindustānī' and Kharī Bolī respectively.

- I. "A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā" (1676 A.D.) a portion of "Tuhfātu-l-Hind" (pp.34-49) by Mirzā Khān. 'The Persian text critically edited from original Manuscripts with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, together with the contents of the "Tuh-fātu-l-Hind" by M. Ziauddin.'

4

Mirza Khan Ibn Fakhru-d-Din Muhammad composed "Tuhfatu-l-Hind" which includes 'the Grammatical Laws of Bhākhā' forming Section II of Chapter IV of the Introduction of this big work. According to Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī, 'the Braj-bhākhā grammar in the "Tuhfāt" would appear to be the oldest grammar of a Modern Indo-Aryan Vernacular that has so far come to light.

In the Introduction, the author deals with the characters of Hindī Alphabet, its orthography and some of the grammatical rules of the 'Bhākhā' and the scheme for transliteration of Hindī letters into Arabic.

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3. Three of them are available, viz., a) The India Office Libr. London, b) The Asiatic Society of Bengal, c) The Oriental and Public Library of Patna.
  4. Lecturer in Persian, Visva-Bhāratī, Sāntiniketan.
  5. This work deals with a variety of subjects, viz, Palmistry, Dancing, Music, Prosody, Rhetoric, Lexicography, etc.
  6. See "A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā", Forward p. XI.



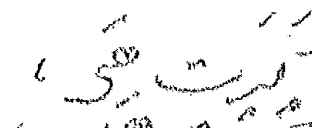
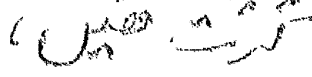
In Section II, on the 'Grammatical Laws of the Bhākhā', the author gives the definitions of 'Sahaskirt' (Sanskrit), 'Parakirt' (Prākṛt) and 'Bhākhā'. The last name, says Mirzākhān 'is the language of the world in which we live.... It is particularly the language of the 'Birj' people.'

Section II is divided into ten subsections. The author starts with 'Śabd' (Śabda), 'Parts of Speech'. Then he defines 'Śabda' and classifies it as of three kinds namely 'Sampadan' 'Kartab' and 'Karta'.

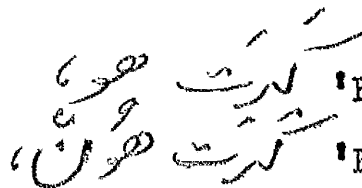
By 'Kartab' (the verb) he means 'the performing of an action.' The three tenses, the past, the present and the future, he calls 'Tirkal' (Tṛkāl) which are of five kinds:

1. Bhut (Bhūta) The Past
2. Bartman (Vartamāna) The Present.
3. Bhavikkh (Bhaviṣya) The Future.
4. Kirya (Kriyā) The Potential.
5. Kirt (Kṛta) Particles.

The present tense has four variations of inflection.


 'Karat hai' 3rd and 2nd pers. Sg.  

 'Karat hai', 1st and 2nd pers. Pl.

7. It is 'the name of a country in India (eighty)four kos round, with its centre at Mathura. On Fol.195 b, the author


 'Karat ho', 2nd pers. Pl.  
 'Karat hū', 1st pers. Sg.

The author speaks of three genders viz. 'Puling' (Punlinga) 'Astri-linga' (strilinga), 'Nipunsakling' (Napunsaka-linga).

The verb forms indicate a tendency towards Kharī Boli or Hindustānī. The Sanskrit Grammatical terms are used in the text

II. "Miscellanea Orientalia" (pp.455-601),  
 Dissertationes Selectae, (8), varia s. Litterarum  
 et Antiquitatis Orientalis Capita (edited ) by  
 David Millins (1743).

The next attempt at a grammar of Hindustānī language seems to have been made by Joan (Joannes) Josua Ketelaar, who wrote his grammar "Grammatica Hindustanica" (1698) a manuscript of which is preserved in the "Rijks - Archief", at the Hague.

The title runs thus,

"Instructie off onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse Talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugative, als mede vergeleykinge der Hindoustanse med de Hollandse maat en gewichten mitsgaders beduydingh ecnieger morrse namen etc. door Joan Josua Ketelaar, Ellingensem en gekopieert door Isaacq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght. Tot Geckenawue. A.1698.

- 
7. contd. adds, Gwalior, to the territories in which Bhakha is spoken'. See "A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā", p.35.  
 8. A copy if available in I.O.L.

"Instruction or Tuition in the Hindustānī and Persian Languages, besides their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindustānī with the Dutch weights and measures likewise the significance of sundry 'Moorish' names, etc. by Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem, and copied by Isaac Van der Hoeve of Utrecht, At Lucknow. A.1698.

A Latin translation of this grammar under the title "Miscellanea Orientalia" included in "Dissertationes Selectae," by David Millius, a professor of "Sacred Antiquities and Asiatic languages at Utrecht, published in 1743.

Millius has devoted pp.455-488 to 'De Lingua Hindustanica' preceded by tables of Nāgarī character, viz. 'Akar Nagari', 'Balabandhu II', 'Alphabetum Brahmanicum' III A." It is followed by 'Rudimenta' or grammar of Persian (pp.489-503) as used in India at that time. A short vocabulary of verbs in Latin, Hindustānī and Persian is also included. (pp.503 -509), eg.

	12	
'Verba primae conjugationis,		
Latin	- Hindustānī -	English
Decipio	Me deggabasi karte	I deceive.
Tremo	Me kante	I tremble.

The last portion is of 'Etymologicum Orientale Harmonicum' (i.e. a comparative vocabulary of Latin, Hindustānī, Persian, Arabic) (pp.510-601).

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9. A German was born at Elbing on the Baltic, Dec.25,1659 A.D., as the eldest son of the book binder Josua Kettler.

e.g.

Hindustānī	Latin	English
'ghendhek'	Sulphur	Sulphur
'haweli'	domus	house
'Tawela'	equile	stable

Except for the tables of Nāgarī characters, all the Hindustānī words are given in Roman character. The grammatical terms of Latin have been adopted and the text is in Latin. Transliteration is given in 'Belgic' or Dutch. The spelling of the Hindustānī words is based upon the Dutch pronunciation, e.g.

## 'Futurum'

## 'Singularis'

## 'Pluralis'

Hind.	Latin	Hind.	Latin.
Me hunga -	ero	Ham hunge -	erimus
Toe hunga -	eris	Tom hunge	eritis
Whe hunga	erit	Inne hunge	erunt

14

III. Benjamini Schulz Missionari Evangelici,  
Grammatica Hindostanica (15) HalaeSaxonum, 1743 (pp.63).

- 
9. contd. 'In 1696, he was employed first at the Company's head office at Surat, subsequently as deputy in the factory at Ahmadabad and from 1700 as chief of the factory at Agra.' He became a Director and Ambassador in 1711 and died on May 12, 1718.
10. a. Grierson, L.S.I. Vol. IX, Part I, p.6. assumes that it was in 1715. b. Also see: Dwidedi Abhinandan Granth, Banaras 1933, pp.194-203.
11. Alphabeto Brahmanica III A. cum maxime incolae Banaras uti; characters vero Brahmanicos, in Tab. III B. exhibitos, in usu esse, toto in regno Hindustan, imprimis in Bengala, Bahaar at que lingua Hindustanica, incolae Indo praximi ethnici vide licet,

Schulz (or Schultz) was aware of the existence of Ketelaar's Grammar and mentioned it in his preface (p.2).

Writing about the language, he says, 'the language has hitherto been known to our Europeans as the 'Mohra' or Maurice' (i.e. Moors) language. Its proper name is Hindostan', the inhabitants call themselves 'Hindostani' and the language which they use 'Hindustanica'. Further he adds, 'Lingua Hindostanica' is a language peculiar to itself being neither Persian nor Arabic and agrees with Tamil and Telygy in certain respects. Schulz's grammar is in Latin. Hindustānī words are given in Perso-Arabic character with transliteration. Tables of some of the nominal and verbal stems of the contemporary Hindustānī are given at some length.

IV. "Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language", (pp.336)  
by J. B. Gilchrist, Calcutta, 1796.

The author writes, "the present work being expressly

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11. contd. utuntur (See Dissertationes Selectae, Praefatio, p.2)
  12. See <sup>I</sup>bid, 'Rudimenta', p.503.
  13. Ibid; 'De Lingua Hindustanica', p.467.
  14. See Chapter III, p.97.
  15. A copy is available in I.O.L.

designed for the improvement and advantage of British subjects only, a general or continental pronunciation has been little attended to; such foreigners, however, as may honour the orthographical table and notes with a careful perusal, will perceive that they are by no means neglected.

Writing about 'Hinduwee' <sup>17</sup> Gilchrist says, 'it is like European languages, the reverse of Persian, being written and read from left to right, in a character called 'Naguree'.

Thus, the basis of this grammar was that of "Hinduwee" but Perso-Arabic synonyms were preferred in the text hence Persian character was employed. Specimens of Hindustānī were selected from the writings of Wali, Dard, Mir, Sauda and Bedār.

"Hindoostanee Grammar" was later supplemented by "Oriental Linguist" <sup>18</sup> (1798) in which the author has defined "Hindustanee" <sup>19</sup> and "Hinduwee", as distinct languages and gives his reasons for the employment of the former term in preference to the latter. In "Oriental Linguist", grammatical remarks cover pp. XXXVIII followed by a vocabulary English and Hindustānī

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16. Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language, p.3 See Chap.II, p.35.  
 17. Also see; the definition in Chap.II, Footnote  
 18. II Ed. (pp.160) 1802, I.O.L.  
 19. See Chap.II, F.48.

(pp.116) including Dialogues, Anecdotes and Tables, Articles of War and Odes in Hindustānī. (pp.117-160).

- V. "General Principles of Inflection and Conjugation in the Braj Bhakha (pp.38) by Lalloo (Lallu) Lal Kuvī, Bhakha 'Moonshee' in the college of Fort William, Calcutta 1811.

This grammar was composed for the use of Hindustānī students of the college. The grammar is preceded by an introduction (pp.16) in which the author says precisely, what is meant by 'Bhākhā' <sup>20</sup>. How it is distinguished from Kharī Bolī. <sup>21</sup> He also gives the Geographical boundaries in which this particular Bhākhā was used.

The grammar starts with Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives with their Substantives. The author also deals with the verbs - making a distinction between Principal and Auxiliary Verbs; the book ends with a detailed distinctive paradigm of tenses, moods and voices.

Latin and Arabic terminology has been adopted by the author for the simple reason that the grammar was also meant for Hindustānī students who were more acquainted with Arabic and Persian terms. Conjugations and declensions have been given

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20. See Ibid, p.62.

21. Ibid, p.78.

in Nāgarī character with an English version on the opposite page. The following specimen will illustrate: (p.1).

पुत्री		(Daughter)		
सेगुसे वाहिद - सेगुसे जमज		<u>Case.</u>	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>Plu.</u>
फाइल - पुत्री	- पुत्री	Nom.	A or the daughter daughters	
इजाफत - पुत्री कौ,	- पुत्रीन, पुत्रियन	Gen.	Of a or " " of daughts.	
	के की, कौ, के, की	Acc.	A or the daughter daughters	
मफुल्ल - पुत्री कौ,	- पुत्रीन, पुत्रियन कौ	Voc.	O, daughter. O daughters.	
निदा - हे पुत्री	- हे पुत्रियो			

VI. "Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections," to which are prefixed 'The Rudiments of Hindoostanee and Braj Bhakha Grammar (pp.128), in two vols. by Capt. W. Price, Cal. 1827.

This grammar was compiled for the use of the 'Interpreters to the Native Corps of the Bengal Army.'

Price appears to be one of the first European scholars (after Colebrooke) who has distinguished Hindi<sup>22</sup> from Hindustani in the modern sense of the term.

He covers the Alphabet, Orthographical marks, Pronunciation of Hindi words with Perso-Arabic synonyms, Verbs, Numerals, Formation of Derivatives and Syntax. He quotes the 'Bruj-Bhakha' and Hindi inflectional forms, using Latin Terminology.

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22. See Chap. II, p.60.



A list of Indeclinables, e.g. Prati, tāi, anusār, hetū, kāraṇ, adadhik, sāth, bic, is also included.

VII. "Hindee Grammar" (p.70), by M.T. Adam, Calcutta 1827.

This grammar would appear to a very distinctive stage as it seems to be the first written in Hindī in Nāgarī character. It was primarily meant for young students, therefore, it is modelled in the form of questions and answers. The composition of such a work leads us to the belief that Kharī Bolī was being recognised by the students as it is now.

This grammar had adopted the Sanskrit Grammatical terms and is divided into many chapters, covering nouns, pronouns with their declensions, adjectives, adverbs and particles. The verb has been dealt with at length in all its many variations. A few pages have been devoted to conjunction 'Sandhi' in a very elementary manner, followed by a small vocabulary (pp.65-70).

Hindī specimens have been given from the text books of the C.S.B.S.

VIII "Elements of Hindī and Braj Bhākḥā Grammar" (pp.38)  
 by James Robert Ballantyne, London, 1839.  
 23

This grammar was intended as an elementary one for the use of the East India College at Haileybury.

The grammar starts with Devnāgarī alphabet followed by an exercise in Hindī from 'Premsāgar.'<sup>24</sup> It appears to be a systematic grammar, divided into chapters on different parts of speech with their definitions. Part two of the grammar is devoted to the syntax of the noun, pronoun and particles. For the first time Perso-Arabic characters have been abandoned, the author relying entirely on Nāgarī and Roman characters.

To assist students unfamiliar with this approach the author has appended a parallel syllabery of different letters in Persian character.

IX. "Rudiments De La langue Hindoui" (pp.100) par  
 M. Barcin De Tassy, Paris 1847.

Tassy denominates 'Braj Bhākḥā' as 'Hindoi' like Gilchrist<sup>25</sup>  
 in the following lines,

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23. He was sent out to India in 1845, on the recommendation of Professor H.H. Wilson to superintend the reorganization of the Government Sanskrit College at Banaras. He was principal for sixteen years (i.e. 1861) and then he was appointed Librarian to the India Office. He died on 16th Feb. 1864. See: The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. III, Ed. by

'C'est de l'hindoui, dont un dialecte s'est conserve jusqu'a ce jour, sous le nom de Braj-Bhakha ou langue de Braj, dans le pays que la legende de Krischna a rendu celebre, que s'est forme a son tour l'hindoustani moderne, adopte a la fois par les Hindous et par les Musulmans. Ces derniers ont repandu l'hindoustani dans tout l'hinde a tel point, qu'on assure que le chinois **excepte**, cette langue est celle qui est parlee par un plus grand nombre d'(hommes.'

26

The author gives an introduction (pp.1-14-) followed by an extract which he describes as 'Hindoui' and translates this into 'Hindi' and French

Hindoui

'Hindi'

" दोगे जान पहचान मिलके भ्रमन कीं  
निकले ओ चले चले नदी के तीर पे  
पहुंचे तद अक मैं दूसरे सों कहयो जो  
भाई तुम यहां खड़े रहो तो मैं शीघ्र  
अक डुबकी मार लीं .....

दो आशना मिलकर सेर को निकले और  
चले चले दर्या कनारे पर पहुंचे तब अक ने  
दूसरे से कहा कि भाई तुम यहां खड़े रहो  
तो मैं जल्दी से अक गोतः लगाऊं .....

'Deux amis allerent se promener ensemble. Apres avoir marche quelque temps, ils arriverent au bord d'une riviere. Alors un d'eux dit a l'autre: "Mon frere, restez ici un instant, et je plongerai lentement dans l'eau." ' (pp.15, 16).

23. contd. Leslie Stephen, London, 1885. pp.81,82.

24. The text book which was prescribed for the students of East India College.

25. See Chapter II, f.48.

26. Rudiments De La Langue Hindoui, p.2.

Subsequently he renders the "Parable of the Prodigal Son" from the French New Testament into 'Hindoui' and 'Hindi'.

From the specimens it is obvious that what Tassy calls "Hindoui" is a mixture of Braj and Hindi with a much greater percentage of the former. Similarly his "Hindi" is more or less "Hindustānī."

The Grammar is written in French with examples of "Hindoui" (in Nāgarī character). The book was intended for French students interested in the Hindoui language and contains a systematic description of the parts of speech and syntax, and concludes with extracts from classical Indian literature into poetic French prose.

X. "Bhāṣā Cadrodaya" or Bhāratvarṣiya Hindi Bhāṣā ka Vyākaraṇ" (pp.73) by Paṇḍit Śrīlāl, Agra 1851.

This grammar is much more comprehensive and detailed a work than Adam's.

The author starts by giving a definition of grammar, followed by a description of the nature of Hindi vowels and consonants and their pronunciation. To classify nouns, he employs the Sanskrit terms 'Ruphi, Yangik, Yogrurhi' and then proceeds to deal with genders, cases and their postpositions.

A considerable number of declensions of nouns and pronouns is given. The verb has received special attention from the author, and the mode of conjugation is fully explained. Cases "Kāraks" have been defined and illustrated. The last chapter deals with prosody and compounds "Samāsas" in a very elementary manner.

The language throughout is almost indistinguishable from modern Hindī prose. This was prescribed as a text for the Hindī Schools of North Western Provinces, and ran through as many as nine editions <sup>27</sup> (1857-1879). The first two editions were brought out in Agra, the third in Lahore and the rest from Allahabad.

XI. "Hindī Bhāṣā kā Vyākaraṇ" (pp.55) By Pādri Budden, Agra, 1855. (II. Ed).

28.

In the preface to the Grammar, the author says that this grammar was composed for the students of Almorā School and was revised and republished for the students of Banaras College.

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27. See Catalogue, Hindi, Panjabi, Pashto and Sindhi Books, Vol.II, Part III, I.O.L. p.70.

28. Sekandera Orphan Press. Two more editions (1872-1878) were published.

The author defines grammar and describes its various components as before. The importance of his work lies in his treatment of six compounds, three conjunctions, and for this purpose he borrows Sanskrit terminology 'Samās' for the former, and 'Sādhi' for the latter.

### Dictionaries.

- I. "Anekārthmājarī Aur Nāmamālā" was composed by Nādadās in A.D. 1567 (Sam.1624)

In "Anekārth", verses have been composed on each word but in Nāmamālā, only synonyms have been given.

The oldest MS. (dated 1778 A.D.) now existing, is to be found in I.O.L. Both the works are said to have been based upon the Sanskrit texts, "Anekārthasamuccaya", and "Amarkośa"<sup>30</sup>.

- II. According to Hāfiz, Mahmud Shirānī, Ziyā-al-Din, Khusrau was the author of "Khāliq-Bārī", (1621), a persian hindī Dictionary which has been generally attributed to Amir Khusrau.

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29. See University of Allahabad Studies, Hindī Section, Allahabad 1939.

30. Ibid, Introduction, 'dha' 'na'.

Mr. Shirāni calls this MS. the 'editio princeps' from the style of its writing. It was written in 'Gwāliari Hindī', i.e. Braj Bhāṣā. A few specimens will illustrate:

हालिक बारी	---	सिरजनहार
वाहिव-अक	---	बदा-करतार
इसमुला	---	खुदा का नाम
गरमा-धूप	---	साया-छाँह

(See Folio 1 of MS. of I.O.L.)

III. "Tuhfātu-l-Hind" (1676) includes a Hindī Dictionary.

According to Dr. S.K. Chatterji, this is the 'oldest Hindī Dictionary' which contains 'more than three thousand words all spelt according to the given system of transliteration

31

IV. "Grammatical Remarks on the Indostan Language", commonly called "Moors" with a Vocabulary English and Moors (pp.133) by Capt. George Hadley, London, 1772.

The author states that he composed brief grammatical remarks (pp.30) for his own use and afterwards developed the appended list of words into the vocabulary as it now stands. (pp.31-133).

A few specimens of words with their meanings given below:

'Accounts -	Hissaube
Abode -	Theekannah, the place where any person is either a sojourner or inhabitant, Howelley, a dwelling in the most extensive sense, comprehending the house, garden, Mokaun, a lodging for a time.
Wall -	Dewaul.

V. "Dictionary of the Hindoostan Language" in two parts (I) English and Hindoostan (pp.106) (II) Hindoostan and English to which is prefixed a Grammar of the Hindoostan Language" (pp.58), by John Ferguson,<sup>32</sup> London, 1773.

32.

The author emphasises the necessity for an understanding of the Eastern peoples and their culture, and says:

'to render the language of Hindoostan familiar to the inhabitants of this country (England), is the most natural and effectual means of obtaining this end.'  
(see preface p.1.)

Writing about the language of the country he says:

'In this extensive continent there are three principal languages, the shanscrit, the Persick and the Hindoostan. The Shanscrit is the language of the Brahmins.... The Persick is confined to the Court, to Public treaties and negotiations, and to the learned. The Hindoostan is the general language of the country, equally understood by all ranks and professions of men, by the learned and ignorant, by the courtier and peasant, and by the Hindoo and Mohomedan: it is therefore the language most useful to a stranger.....

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32. Captain in the service of the Honourable East India Company.



The Hindostan has a much wider range, being understood from the one end of this extensive empire to the other. 'The Nagaree' is the proper character of the Hindostan language.'

Ferguson is the first Englishman to use a six case declension <sup>33</sup> with Latin Terminology.

Another innovation is that his dictionary gives short etymological notes, e.g.

"Abatement	-	F. Kummie
Acidity	-	F. Kutty
Able	-	adj. Sukht, Muzboote
Absence	-	f. Hajernega

A further advance may be observed by comparing a few specimens taken at random from Hadley (see p.17) and Ferguson, the former occasionally gives a detailed explanation, for the most part he contends himself with simply translating, whereas the latter attempts some grammatical categories and interesting synonyms.

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33. e.g.

Grandfather.

Nom.	Dada	-	A Grandfather.
Gen.	Dadaka	-	of a Grandfather.
Dat.	Dadako	-	to a Grandfather.
Acc.	Dada ) Dadako)	-	A grandfather.
Voc.	O Dada	-	O Grandfather.
Abl.	Dada se	--	with Grandfather.

VI. "Dictionary English and Hindoostanee", by John Gilchrist, in two parts, Calcutta, 1787.

In this dictionary words are marked with their distinguishing initials as "Hinduwee", "Arabic" and "Persian". Meanings are given in Roman, and Persian characters, e.g.

Abolished	-	A	-	Mouqoof
Ablution	-	A	-	ghoosl
Abomination	-	A	-	nufrut.

Percentage of Persian and Arabic words is much greater than Hindustani.

VII. "Dictionary Hindoostanee and English" originally compiled by Capt. Joseph Taylor, revised and prepared for the Press, with the assistance of learned Natives in the College of Fort William by W. Hunter, Calc. 1808.

In this dictionary the words are marked with the distinguishing initials of their respective languages and are given in Persian character with their meaning and etymology in English. Some of the 'Tatsam' words are marked 's' and a few words in Nagari character are given.

This dictionary was primarily meant for Hindustānī students particularly for those familiar with Persian character. The percentage of Perso-Arabic words is greater than Hindustani.

VIII. "A Vocabulary Khuree Bolee and English " <sup>34</sup> of  
the principal words, occurring in the Prem Sāgar  
(pp.159) By Capt. W. Price, Calcutta 1825.

The words given in Nāgarī and Roman characters are distinguished according to their derivations by the initial 's' (Skt.) and 'k' (Kharī Bolī), e.g.

's अंकवतर unkwar, f. An embrace, the boosom,  
unkwar bhurna, v. to embrace.

k अंधेरा Undhera ( अंधकर )  
adj. Dark.

s अन्न unn, m. food, grain.

k. अचानक uchanuk, Adv. suddenly, unawares. unexpectedly.

Thus, not only is the signification of each word given, but in some cases that of related and compound derivatives

IX. "Hindī Koṣa" or A Dictionary of the Hindee Language  
(pp.374) compiled by the Rev. M.T. Adam. Cal.1829.

The author selects some 20,000 words from contemporary Hindi text books listing them in Hindi alphabetical order and

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34. See B.P.C. Feb. 1, 1815.

giving their signification and etymology in Hindi on the following lines,

" अंकबार - सं. स्त्री.	गोदी, कौला
अंगरखा सं. पु.	पहने का एक प्रकार का कपड़ा
अंगीकार सं. पु.	स्वीकार
अकथ गु.	जो कहने योग्य नहीं
अंधेर सं. पु.	अन्याय, उपद्रव
सहाय सं. स्त्री.	सहारा

The percentage of Tatsam words is greater than Tadbhav and Desaj.

'This was certainly a great benefit conferred on the students of Hindee, both native and European,' says Thompson.

35

X. "Dictionary in Hindee and English" (pp.498 by J.T. Thompson, Calcutta 1846.

In the preface to his compilation, the author says that his undertaking was meant 'for the benefit of European students of Hindee in general and of the junior branches of the Military Service in particular.'

He has included all the words compiled by Price and Adam.

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35. Dictionary in Hindee and English, Preface P.IV.

The author states that 'Hindee is almost entirely derived from Sunskrit: that considerably more than three fourth of the words are pure Sanskrit: and that those composing the greatest part of the remainder are so little corrupted, that their origin may be traced without difficulty.'

This probably explains why he has not given a specific derivation in any case, e.g.

अगूढ	Ugoorh, adj. easy, manifest, evident.
अमनस	Ugoorh Bhhao adj. open, honest, candid.
अगवा	Ugwa, adj. Foremost, s.m. A guide. A forerunner, harbinger one who adjusts a marriage.'

Thus, this outline demonstrates that from the 17th century onwards the ultimate aim of Grammars and Dictionaries however, or by whomsoever compiled, was the acquisition and diffusion of Hindi or/Its variant styles - 'Braj Bhākha'; 'Hindustānī' were stressed from time to time by individual writers, for their literary and colloquial importance.

The basis of the grammars is that of Hindi but Latin Terminology and Roman and Persian characters were adopted by the majority of European authors. The motive implied was to acquaint Europeans with the grammatical rules of the popular language of

the country, the "Hindustānī."

Adam and Budden were exceptions since they employed Sanskrit Terminology and Nāgarī character, as did the Indian author Śrīlāl whose grammar rendered a valuable service for a period of forty years.

Dictionaries were compiled with a large proportion of Arabic and Persian words, and the characters employed were Roman and Persian.

Again, Adam showed Originality. His "Hindī Koṣa" was the only work undertaken for the development of a standard language. Although some of the meanings have not been adequately explained, yet his pioneering effort in the cause of Hindī is indisputable.

## APPENDIX III.

HINDI.

1. (Aksharadipika). A Primer, compiled by Visitor General of Schools, and Pandit Shri Lal; 26 pp., type; 1 ana; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, published in 1850, 1,500 copies; 2nd edition, 3,000; 3rd edition, 2,000; 4th edition, 10,000. Disposed of, 4,649 copies.

2. (Balopdesh). An illustrated Hindi Primer, compiled by Manohar Lal, superintended by Mr. J.P. Ledlie, Government Curator of Books; 40 pp. lithographed; 3 anas; Mr. Ledlie's Press at Agra. 1st edition, published in 1851, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 2,000; 3rd edition, 3,000; 4th edition, 3,000. Disposed of 3,590 copies.

3. Balbodh). Easy reading lessons, translated from Mr. W. Edwards' (C.S.) English manuscript, by Babu Shewa Prashad; 16 pp. type; 9 pies; Sikandra Orphan Press Agra. 1st edition, published in 1852, 2,000 copies; 2nd edition, 5,000. Disposed of 1,453 copies.

4. (Bhasha Chandrodaya). A Hindi Grammar, compiled by Pandit Shri Lal; 81 pp. type; 4 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition published in 1851, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 1,118 copies.

5. (Sarth Siddho). An Elementary Sanskrit Grammar, prepared for the press by Seth Biddhi Chand, Visitor of Schools in zila Muttra; 21 pp. lithographed; 1 ana; Bhavani-benod Press, Muttra. 1st edition, published in 1851, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 3,000. Disposed of 853 copies.

6. (Chandodipika). A treatise on Hindi Prosody, by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 34 pp. type; 2 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 1,000 copies.

7. (Ganit Prakash Pahila bhag). Arithmetic, up to Rule of Three, prepared by Pandits Shri Lal and Mohan Lal; 79 pp. type; 4 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1850, 2,000 copies; 2nd edition, 1,000; 3rd edition, 3,000 4th edition, 5,000 copies. Disposed of 4,715 copies.

8. (Ganit Prakash Dusrabhag). Arithmetic up to Cube Root, prepared by Pandits Shri Lal and Mohan Lal; 55 pp., type; 3 anas Allahabad Mission Press. 1st edition, issued in 1852, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 3,000. Disposed of 2,622 copies.

9. (Ganit Prakash Tisrabhag). Arithmetic from Practice to Double Fellowship, translated from the Urdu Treatise, "Mubadi-ul-hisab," Part III, by Pandit Bansi Dhar, 57 pp., type; 2 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1852, 2,000; 2nd edition, 5,000. Disposed of 1,582 copies.



10. (Ganit Prakash Chouthabhag). Arithmetic up to Geometrical Progression, translated from the Urdu Treatise, "Mubadi-ul-hisab," Part IV, by Pandit Bansi Dhar, 62 pp. type; 3 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 5,000. Disposed of 337 copies.

11. (Lilavati, Pahila bhag). An indigenous and ancient treatise of Arithmetic, by Bhashara Acharya; 83 pp., type; 6 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press. 1st edition issued in 1851, 1,000 2nd edition, 1,000. Disposed of 1,244 copies.

12. (Lilavati, Dusrabhag). 99 pp. type; 8 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press. 1st edition issued in 1854, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 1,000. Disposed of 648 copies.

13. (Kshetra-chandrika) A treatise on Mensuration on the Native system, prepared by Visitor General of Schools, North Western Provinces; 39 pp. type, 4 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1850, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition 1,000; 3rd edition, 2,000. Disposed of 1,585 copies.

14. (Kshetra-chandrika, Pahila bhag). As above; in the Press, as also

15. (Ksetra-chandrika, Dusrabhag). The work has been re-

15. contd. re-written. The 2nd part gives in detail, rules and instructions for Plane Table surveying, and preparation of records, connected with the system.

16. (Rekha-ganit, Pahila bhag). The 1st and 2nd books of Euclid's Elements of Geometry, translated from the English, by Pandits Mohan Lal and Shri Lal; 182 pp., lithographed, 8 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1852, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 941 copies.

17. (Rekha Ganit, Dusrabhag). 3rd and 4th books of Euclid's Elements of Geometry, vide No.16; 144 pp. lithographed, 8 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 1,000 copies, Disposed of 298 copies.

18. (Rekha Ganit, Tisra bhag). 6th, 11th and 12th books of Euclid's Elements of Geometry, translated from the English by Pandit Mohan Lal. In the Press.

19. (Rekha Ganit Siddhiphalodaya). Geometrical Exercises on the first four books and sixth book of Euclid, translated from Chamber's Geometrical Exercises, by Pandits Mohan Lal and Bansi Dhar; 306 pp. lithographed; 1 rupee; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 1,000 copies.

20. (Bij Ganit, Pahila bhag). Algebra, up to Simple Equations, translated and adapted from Lund's Easy Algebra, by Pandit Mohan Lal; 155 pp., lithographed; 8 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 381 copies.

21. (Bij Ganit Dusrabhag). Algebra, from Simple Equations to Geometrical Progression, translated as the preceding, 152 pp., lithographed; 8 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 160 copies.

22. (Sulabh-bij). A treatise on Algebra, translated from Mr. Tate's Algebra, made easy (on Pestalozzian principles) by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

23. (Rekha-mitti-tatwa). Principles of Geometry translated from Mr. Tate's "Principles of Geometry", by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

24. (Erikon-mitti) Plane Trigonometry, translated from Mr. Tate's work, by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

25. (Kal-vidyodaharan). Exercises on Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, translated from Mr. Tate's work, by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

26. (Bal-vidya-sar). Epitome of the Science of Forces, translated from Mr. T. Baker's "Statics and Dynamics", (Weale's series) by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

27. (Bijatmak-Rekha-Ganit). A treatise on Conic Sections, translated from Mr. Hann's Conic Sections, (Weale's series) by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

28. (Khagolbened). Recreations in Astronomy, translated from Rev. L. Tomlinson's work, by Pandit Kunj Behari Lal. In the Press.

29. (Siddhi-padarth-vigyan). Mechanics. Compiled chiefly from the late Mr. Fink's Urdu translation of the S.D.U.K. Treatise, by Pandits Mohun Lal and Krishn Datt; 79 pp. type; 6 anas, Sikandra Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 151 copies.

30. (Ganit-nidan) Principles of Arithmetic, translated and adapted from Mr. Tate's work, (on the Pestalozzian plan) by Visitor General of Schools, North-Western Provinces, and Munshi Mohan Lal. In the Press.

31. (Dashamlab-dipika). Treatise on Decimal Fraction, compiled by Visitor General of Schools, North Western Provinces. into Hindi by Pandit Bansi Dhar. In the Press.

32. (Surajpur-ki-kahani, Part I). The Annals of Surajpur, a village tale by Visitor General of Schools, North Western Provinces, 128pp. type; 9 pies, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra, 1st edition issued in 1851, 3,000 copies, 2nd edition, 2,000 3rd edition, 1,000, 4th edition, 5,000. Disposed of 2,925 copies.

33. (Dharm Singh-ka-vrittant). Passages in the life of an upright zamindar, by Mr. John Muir, late B.C.S. 20 pp., lithographed; 1 ana, Masdar-ul-Nawadir Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1851, 2,000 copies; 2nd edition, 2,000; 3rd edition 3,000. Disposed of 2,042 copies.

34. (Buddhi-phalodaya) A story detailing the career of an idle and an industrious Hindu youth, adapted from the Mahrati, by Visitor General of Schools, North Western Provinces, translated into Urdu by Pandit Krishn Datt; 19 pp., lithographed, 1 ana; Jafari Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, <sup>2,000;</sup> 2nd edition 3,000. Disposed of, 932 copies.

35. (Buddhi-vidyodwot). Advantages of learning and education by Pandit Shri Lal, 19 pp. type; 1 ana; Sikandra Orphan Press Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1851, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 1,000. Disposed of 1,003 copies.

36. (Vidyankur). Rudiments of Knowledge, compiled from

36. contd. Babu Sheva Prashad's "Bhugol-vrittant," and "Mahimat", by Pandit Shri Lal, 69 pp. type; 4 anas; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1851, 2,000; 2nd edition, 1,000; 3rd edition, 3,000. Disposed of 1,273 copies.

37. (Patra-malika) A letter writer, compiled by Pandit Shri Lal; 12 pp., lithographed, 9 pies, Bhavanibenod Press, Muttra. 1st edition, issued in 1850, 2,000 copies; 2nd edition, 1,000, 3rd edition, 3,000 Disposed of 1,939 copies.

38. (Gyan chalisi) 40 moral couplets in Bhasha verse, by Pandit Shri Lal; type; 6 pies; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1852, 1,000 copies; 2nd edition, 2,000 Disposed of 677 copies.

39. (Gyan-chalisi) As above, but printed on one sheet, lithographed; 8 pies, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 861 copies.

40. (Gyan-chalisi-bibaran) The same as the preceding (38) with a commentary in Hindi prose, also by Pandit Shri Lal; 24 pp., lithographed, 1 ana, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition issued in 1853, 10,000 copies. Disposed of 1,328 copies.

41. (Shiksha-shatarddh) 50 moral couplet in Bhasha verse, by Gopal student of the Agra Central School; 8 pp. lithographed; 6 pies, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in June 1854, 2,000 copies.

42. (Shuddhi-darpan) A treatise on Cleanliness, translated from the Mahrati, by Seth Biddhi Chand Narayan, Visitor of Schools in zila Muttra, 24 pp. type; stitched cover, 1 ana, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1852, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 791.

43. (Shalapaddhati) Advice to Sanskrit Teachers, prepared by the Visitor General Of Schools, North Western Provinces, 44 pp., type; 1 ana, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition issued in 1852, 1,000 copies. Disposed of 832 copies.

44. (Alasi-Dewaliyon kaupdesh) Advice to the indolent and spendthrift, translated from the Mahrati, by Seth Biddhi Chand Narayan, Visitor of Schools in zila Muttra; 19 pp., type ; stitched, 1 ana; Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 1,000 copies. Disposed of 129 copies.

45. (Samaya prabodh) Book of the Calendar, prepared by Pandit Shri Lal; 64 pp. type; 4 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press. Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 1,000 copies. Disposed of 316 copies.

46. (Pushpa-batika) or 11th chapter of the Gulistan, translated by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 35 pp. lithographed, 2 anas, Jafari Press Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 3,000 copies. Disposed of 200.

47. (Khagol-sar). An epitome of the Solar System, illustrated with diagrams, translated from the Urdu "Nizam Shamsi" by Pandit Shri Lal, 46 pp. lithographed, 2 anas, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition issued in 1852, 2,000 copies; 2nd edition, 1,000, 3rd edition, 5,000. Disposed of 1,740 copies.

48. (Bharatvarshi-yittihās) History of India, translated from the Urdu "Tarikh-e-Hind" by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 120 pp., type; stitched cover, 5 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 5,000 copies. Disposed of 289 copies.

49. (Shiksha-manjari Pahilabhag) Hints on Self Improvement translated from the Urdu "Talim-ul-nafs," Part I, by Pandit Bansi Dhar, 58 pp. lithographed; stitched, 3 anas, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 2,000 copies.

50. (Shiksha-manjari, Dusra bhag) As above; 50 pp. lithographed, stitched, 4 anas, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 2,000 copies.



51. (Saty-anirupan) An essay on Truth, translated from the Mahrati, by Pandit Krishn Datt; Assistant Hindi teacher, Central School, 79 pp. lithographed; stitched, 4 anas, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 2,000 copies.

52. (Jivi-ka-paripati) A treatise on the first principles of Political Economy, translated from the Urdu "Dastur-ul-maash" by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 53 pp, type; 3 anas, Sikandra Orphan Press Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 5,000 copies. Disposed of 141 copies.

53. (Kisan-opdesh) Advice to Cultivators, translated from the "Pandnamah-i-kashtkaran" by Pandit Bansi Dhar, 27 pp., lithographed, stitched, 1 ana, Agra Jail Press, 1st edition issued in 1852, 2,000 copies, 2nd edition, 5,000 copies. Disposed of 1,652 copies.

54. (Gramya<sup>5</sup>kalpadrum) Explanatory of the constitution of villages, mode of keeping village accounts, etc. etc. translated from the "Kitab-i-halet-dehi," by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 102 pp., lithographed, 6 anas, Madar-ul-Nawadir Press. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 269 copies.

55. (Mahajani - sar) An abstract of the "Mahajani Pustak" in the Sarrafi character, prepared by Pandit Shri Lal, 17 pp.,

55. contd. lithographed, 1 ana 6 pie, Jam-i-Jamshed Press. 1st edition, issued in 1851, 500 copies; 2nd edition, 500. Disposed of 546 copies.

56. (Mahajani-sar-dipika) As the above, but in the Nagari character; lithographed, 1 ana 6 pie, Jam-i-Jamshed Press. 1st edition, issued in 1851, 500 copies; 2nd edition, 500 copies. Disposed of 504 copies.

57. (Bidyarthi-ki-pratham-pustak) A Primer and compendium of Arithmetic and Mensuration, prepared by J.P. Walker, Esq. Superintendent Central Prison, North Western Provinces, 48 pp., lithographed, 4 anas, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 10,000 copies. Disposed of 947 copies.

58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70. Extracts from the Settlement Administration Papers of Villages in parganah Kosi, zila Muttra, in 13 separate pamphlets, prepared by Sayyad Imdad Ali, Tahsildar of Kosi; lithographed, price varying from 9 pie to 3 anas, Agra Jail Press 1st edition, 200 copies of each, issued in 1854. Disposed of 602 copies.

71. (Ishwarta - nidarshan) Translated from the Urdu "Mazhar-i-kudrat", by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 35 pp. type; 1 ana 9 pie, Sikandra Orphan Press Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1854, 3,000 copies. Disposed of 133 copies.

72. and 73. (Siksha-patra). Directions to Teachers of Tahsili Schools, by Visitor General of Schools, North Western Provinces, 1 ana 3 pie. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 1,000 copies. Disposed of 131 copies.

74. (Mapa-prabandh) A treatise on Khasrah Mensuration, translated from the Urdu "Risala-i-paimaish" (published at Rurki) by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 53 pp. type, stitched, 3 anas, Sinkandra Orphan Press, Agra. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 5,000 copies. Disposed of 152 copies.

75. (Jantri Sumbat 1854) Almanac for 1854, compiled by Pandit Shri Lal, 12 pp. lithographed, stitched 1 ana 3 pie, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition, issued in 1854 2,000 copies. Disposed of 255 copies.

76. (Chitrakari-sar) Elements of Linear Drawing, translated from the "Risalah-i-usul-i-ilm nakkashi", (q.v.) by Pandit Bansi Dhar; 20 pp. lithographed, 2 anas, Allahabad Mission Press. 1st edition, issued in 1853, 2,000 copies. Disposed of 230 copies.

77. (Khulasah-i-Khagol-sar) An abridgement of the Khagol-sar (q.v.) one sheet lithographed, 4 pie, Agra Jail Press. 1st edition issued in 1853, Disposed of 512 copies.

78. (Haizah-ka-gutka) A treatise on Cholera by Hugh Sande-  
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12. Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajpūtānā (New Series)  
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13. The Indian Antiquary, Vols. XLIII (1914) , XXXII (1803.)
14. Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies. Vols.III  
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17. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1919.
18. East India Register 1835 - 39.
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