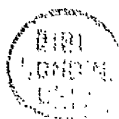


A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BENGALI GRAMMARS OF
CAREY, HALHED AND HAUGHTON

by

MUHAMMAD ABDUL QAYYUM

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London
Thesis presented for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis is to evaluate the three grammars of Bengali of Halhed, Carey and Haughton. Chapter I outlines the history of grammars of Sanskrit and Bengali written both in Sanskrit and European languages, up to 1821, with general observations on trends discernible throughout the period. Chapter II gives the life of Halhed. Chapter III attempts, with the help of his private papers and manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, to reconstruct Halhed's steps in learning Bengali and preparing his grammar, and traces the materials he used and the contribution to his Grammar of his two Bengali informants. The purpose of Chapter IV is to ascertain Halhed's competence in Bengali and Sanskrit. Chapter V shows how Halhed modelled his grammar on the Persian grammar of William Jones. Chapter VI assesses Halhed's grammar comparing it with an earlier Bengali grammar, the Vocabulario, and shows how he was biased in favour of Sanskritic Bengali. Chapter VII considers Halhed's two aims in writing the grammar, assesses its usefulness and also shows how Halhed established the relationship between Sanskrit and Bengali, the first step towards Sanskritisation. Chapter VIII, with the help of letters mostly found in Baptist Mission Society London and Baptist Chapel, Northampton, traces Carey's activities,

his method of learning Bengali, and the role of his informant-teachers up to 1801. Chapter IX analyses the influence of Halhed's grammar on the 1st edition of Carey's Bengali grammar and the impact of Halhed's Sanskritisation on him. The second part of the chapter demonstrates further Sanskritisation in Carey's revised 2nd edition, which was modelled on his Sanskrit grammar. Chapter X and XI attempts to reconstruct Carey's method of compiling grammars and to determine the authorship of Carey's 2nd edition. Chapter XII describes Haughton's life and, in assessing his grammar, shows how most of the materials in it were taken from Halhed and Carey, thus precipitating further Sanskritisation. The conclusion states the significance of Sanskritisation.

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I should also like to express my gratitude to Professor Ahmed Sharif, of the University of Dacca, who helped in procuring photocopy of a manuscript in the Dacca University Library.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Abbreviations

BM	= British Museum, London
BMS	= Baptist Mission Society, London
CBG	= Carey's Bengali Grammar
CBG I	= Carey's Bengali Grammar: 1st edition
CBG II	= Carey's Bengali Grammar: 2nd edition
CBG III	= Carey's Bengali Grammar: 3rd edition
CBG IV	= Carey's Bengali Grammar: 4th edition
CKG	= Carey's Karnatta Grammar
CMG	= Carey's Marathi Grammar
CPG	= Carey's Punjabi Grammar
CSBC	= College Street Baptist Chapel, Northampton
CSG	= Carey's Sanskrit Grammar
CTG	= Carey's Telugu Grammar
DNB	= Dictionary of National Biography
DUL	= Dacca University Library, Dacca, Bangladesh
DUL, BV	= Dacca University Library: Bengali version of Carey's Bengali Grammar
Gentoo Code	= Halhed's 'A Code of Gentoo Laws'

HBG	= Halhed's Bengali Grammar
IOL	= India Office Library, London
IOL,BV	= India Office Library: Bengali version of Carey's Bengali Grammar
IOL,OV	= India Office Library: Oriya version of Carey's Bengali Grammar
JPG	= Jones' Persian Grammar
ODBL	= S.K.Chatterji's 'The Origin and Developement of the Bengali Language'
RBG	= Haughton's 'Rudiments of Bengali Grammar'
Vocabulario	= Manoel de Assumpçam's 'Vocabulario em idioma Bengalla e Portuguez'
WSG	= Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar

Conventions

According to the conventions, Bengali and other non-English words and sentences have been underlined. But, in some long lists of words and in long paragraphs such underlining has been omitted in the interests of clarity.

TRANSLITERATIONSymbols
usedBengali(Sanskrit and
Marathi)
DevanāgarīOriya

VOWELS

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CONSONANTS

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<u>Symbols used</u>	<u>Bengali</u>	<u>Devanāgarī</u>	<u>Oriya</u>
ñ	ঞ	ञ	ଜ
c	চ	च	ଚ
ch	ছ	छ	ଛ
j	জ	ज	ଜ
jh	झ	झ	ଝ
ñ	ঞ	ञ	ଜ
t	ট	ट	ଟ
th	ঠ	ठ	ଠ
d	ড	ड	ଡ
dh	ঢ	ढ	ढ
n	ন	न	ନ
t	ত	त	ତ
th	থ	थ	ଥ
d	द	द	ଦ
dh	ध	ध	ଧ
n	न	न	ନ
p	প	प	ପ
ph	ফ	फ	ଫ
b	ব	ब	ବ
bh	ভ	भ	ଭ

<u>Symbols used</u>	<u>Bengali</u>	<u>Devanāgri</u>	<u>Oriya</u>
m	ম	म	ମ
y	য	य	ସ
r	র	र	ର
l	ল	ल	ଲ
l			ଲ
v	* ব-ধলা	व	ବ
ś	স	श	ଶ
ṣ	ষ	ष	ଷ
s	স	स	ସ
h	হ	ह	ହ
ý	য		ୟ
á	ড		ଡ
áh	ঢ		ঢ
ṁ	ং	.	ଂ
h	:	:	ଃ
~	ঁ		ଣ

* In some cases, anthastha 'ँ' is transliterated, in Bengali, as 'v' where the word is familiar to western readers, e.g. Vidyāsāgar, Vyākaran, etc.

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Chapter I

GRAMMARS OF SANSKRIT AND BENGALI UP TO 1821

I

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE GRAMMARS

1. GRAMMARS IN SANSKRIT

The word ~~from~~^{for} grammar in Sanskrit, vyākaraṇa comes from the root vy-ā-kr meaning to analyse, explain or expound.¹ Etymologically vyākaraṇa is defined as 'the system whereby words are described or their etymology explained'.² It is also said that "before a man can think of beginning the study of any other science he must first study grammar for 12 years".³ Grammar or vyākaraṇa was regarded as the most important of the Vedāṅgas, the six books elucidating the meaning of the Veda; i.e. Śikṣā, Vyākaraṇa, Kalpa, Nirukta and Chanda.⁴ The earliest grammatical speculations were confined to the study of Vedic texts, but later, owing to the emergence of different spoken forms of Sanskrit, the scope of grammatical speculations expanded to include the later developments in Sanskrit literature, and thus a grammatical discipline developed.

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1. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.978.
 2. "Vyākriyante vyutpadyante śadhu-śabda asmin aneneti Vā."
See Visvakoṣ, vol.20 under 'vyākaraṇ'.
 3. M.Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol.III, pt.II,
translated by Shubhadra Jha, p.420 (footnote by translator).
 4. Ibid., p.423 (footnote by translator).

i) Indigenous Sanskrit Grammars.

The oldest grammatical work in Sanskrit is Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, which consists of about four thousand short sutras divided into eight books or chapters.⁵ Scholars like Weber⁶ place Pāṇini at about 350 B.C., whereas Bhandarkar⁷ places him in the 8th century B.C. In his grammar Pāṇini mentions many predecessors, who analysed Sanskrit from the same view-point as himself. Except for a few fragmentary citations, most of their works, are, however, lost to us.

Of Pāṇini's grammar, Bloomfield, a distinguished modern linguist, states it "is one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence" and "no other language, to this day, has been so perfectly described".⁸

Notes, or vārttikas, supplementing and qualifying Pāṇini's rules were composed by Kātyāyana, who, according to Belvalkar, dates from between 500 and 350 B.C.⁹ These vārttikas, comprising some 1,245 sutras, were later incorporated in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, whose period is much disputed. As a 'working hypothesis', Winternitz assigns him to the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰ Among the commentaries on Mahābhāṣya, Bhartṛhari's (7th century A.D.) is the most notable. Save for Bhartṛhari, Keith observes, the time of the great grammarians closed with Patañjali;¹¹ for, though there are over a thousand different

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5. A.Berriedale Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928, p.423.
 6. S.K.Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit grammar, 1915, p.14.
 7. R.G.Bhandarkar, 'Relations between Sanskrit, Pali, the Prakrits and the Modern Vernaculars', Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.XVI, p.341.
 8. Leonard Bloomfield, Language, 1935, p.11.
 9. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.29.
 10. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.430.
 11. A.B.Keith, op.cit., p.429.

treatises on Sanskrit grammar, the later ones add nothing to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.¹² These later grammarians have either rearranged the rules of Pāṇini with the use of vārttikas and of the Mahābhāṣya or tried to amend the sutras with new terminology.¹³ Since brevity was one of Pāṇini's main objectives, some later grammarians, notably Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, understandably expanded his sutras. In his Siddhānta-Kaumudī (C. 1625 A.D.), Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣit arranged Pāṇini's sutras according to subject.

The Pāṇini-school of grammar was later followed by the development of other distinctive schools. Though still dependent on Pāṇini, these later schools attempted to build a new grammatical system.¹⁴ Some of them were sectarian like the Cāndra School and Jainendra School. The Cāndra vyākaraṇa, the grammar of Candragomin (between 470 and 600 A.D.),¹⁵ was popular in Buddhist areas like Kashmire, Nepal and Tibet, and later in Ceylon. On the other hand, the Jains adopted the Jainendra vyākaraṇa which, though attributed to Jinendra, was actually composed by Pūjyapāda Devanandin (C. 678 A.D.).¹⁶ Of the non-sectarian schools, the oldest is that centring on Sarvavarman's grammar, the Kātantra (1st century A.D.),¹⁷ after which the School itself was called. The Kātantra was also known as the Kalāpa. The earliest known commentator on the Kalāpa was

12. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.432.

13. Ibid., p.432.

14. Ibid., p.439.

15. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.442 (footnote by translator).

16. A.B.Keith, op.cit., p.432.

17. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.439.

Durgasiṃha (8th century).

Belvalkar observes that the following improvements were made by Sarvavarman.¹⁸

- i) He dispensed with the artificial arrangement of the alphabet introduced by Pāṇini.
- ii) He introduced simpler saṃjñas, or terms, such as svara (vowel), vyañjana (consonant) and saṃāna (homogeneous).
- iii) In the arrangement of subject-matter, he abandoned Pāṇini's 'old artificial' system and adopted that of the Post-Pāṇini grammarians.
- iv) He compressed his grammar into 1400 sutras in contrast to Pāṇini's 4000.

The Kātantra School of grammar was at first patronised by a Deccan King, but later it spread to remote areas like Kashmir and Ceylon. It is not known when Kātantra grammars were introduced into Bengal, though we find there a number of fifteen and sixteenth century commentators on, and writers of supplements to, the Kātantra such as Kavirāja, Harirāma, Kulacandra, Rāmdāsa, Gopīnātha Tarkācārya, Rāmcandra Cakravarti, Śrīpati and Trilocana.¹⁹ Most of these Bengali writers belong to the Vaidya caste, which is said to descend from Brahmin-fathers and Vaiśya-mothers.²⁰

The Kalāpa or Kātantra grammar seems to have been widely-read in Bengal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for Jayānanda (born 1513),

18. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., pp.86-87.

19. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.90.

20. Jñānendramohan Dās - Bāṅgālā Bhāṣār Abhidhān, 1916, p.1155.

one of the biographers of Caitanya Deb (1485-1533), writes in his Caitanya-Maṅgal that he 'reads the Kalāpa with commentaries' ("saṭika Kalāpa paṭe").²¹

Another non-sectarian school of grammar centred on the 700 sutra Sārasvata. It's author, Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya, dates from sometime between 1250 and 1450 A.D.²² This grammar's circulation was limited mainly to Northern India and is at present studied only in Behar and more particularly Benares.

According to Belvalkar, the Sārasvata managed to combine both brevity and simplicity, due mainly to the adoption of self-explanatory terms like savarṇa (homogeneous) and sandhyakṣara (diphthong), and the retention of old-established, universally-understood terms like taddhita (secondary suffix), ākhyāta (verb), saṃprasāraṇa (substitutions of vowels for semivowels), svara (vowel), vyañjana (consonant), upadhā (penultimate) and kṛdanta (primary suffix).²³

Unlike other schools of grammar, the Vopadeva School is named after Vopadeva, the author of the Mugdhābodha, and not after the grammar itself. Vopadeva (13th century) was born in Maharashtra. In his grammar he not only omits rules of accent, but also deviates from Pāṇini in his arrangement of the syllabary and in terminology. He therefore failed

21. Bimānbiḥārī Majumdār, 'Vaiṣṇab Sāhitye Sāmājīk itihāser upakaraṇ', Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol.XXXI, pt.IV, p.146.

22. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.96.

23. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.94.

to achieve sufficient popularity to be studied throughout India.

In the seventeenth century this school took refuge in Bengal, or, to be precise, in the region of Nadia, far from Mahratta influence.

The Mugdhabodha is said to be "assiduously studied" there even now.²⁴

The scope of this thesis does not permit an elaborate history of Sanskrit grammar. Nevertheless, our brief review of grammatical works in Sanskrit does give some indication of the long, Indian, philological tradition starting from Pāṇini. Generations of hard work were spent on the writing of these grammars. There are thus in existence over one thousand different treatises on Sanskrit grammar, compared with which, Sidney Allen states, "the thousand manuscripts of Priscian's Latin grammar, the pride of... western tradition", was but a drop in the grammatical ocean.²⁵

The Sanskrit word, vyākaraṇa, generally taken to mean 'grammar' may more appropriately be interpreted as 'etymology'; for on examination Sanskrit vyākaraṇas are found to give in the minutest detail the inflections, derivations and composition of words. We may here quote a rough outline plan of a typical Sanskrit grammar. The contents of the Siddhānta Kaumudī²⁶ are as follows:

24. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.107.

25. W.Sidney Allen, Phonetics in Ancient India, pp.1-2.

26. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Siddhānta Kaumudī, translated by Binodlāl Sen, contents.

i) Samjñā - Technical terms treating of the letters or elements and their powers.

ii) Paribhāṣā - The section of the grammar giving the key to the understandings of the sutras.

iii) Sandhi - Permutation of letters: ac-sandhi, the permutation of vowels; hal-sandhi, the permutation of consonants; and visarga-sandhi, the permutation of visarga.

iv) Līṅga or gender - The three genders, masculine (puṁlīṅga), feminine (strīlīṅga), and neuter (Klībalīṅga). This section is divided into two parts: ajanta, or words ending with a vowel; and halanta, or words ending with a consonant.

v) Avyaya - Indeclinables.

vi) Kāraka, or cases, of which there are six: Kartr (nominative), Karma (objective), Karana (instrumental), sampradāna (dative), apādāna (ablative), and adhikarāṇa (locative). Sambandha (possessive) is also included in this section, though in Sanskrit the possessive is not termed a case, since it is unrelated to the verb.

vii) Samāsa, or the compounding of words.

viii) Taddhita, or secondary suffixes.

ix) dvirukta, or the repetition of words.

x) Tinanta, or verbal suffixes. This section dealt with the ten primary verbal conjugations, and the other secondary verbal

conjugations, the active and passive voices (Karmakartṛtiṅ), the quasi-passive voice (bhābkarmatiṅ); and the uses of tenses and moods (lakārārtha) etc.

xi) Kṛdanta, or primary suffixes.

Almost every grammatical work in Sanskrit is seem to be followed by ṭīkāś, or commentaries. These commentaries are necessitated by the complexity and compression of analysis and description in the grammatical treatises, where brevity was regarded as a primary requisite, because of the need to commit the grammar to memory. In this connexion there is a proverb: ardha-mātrālāghavena putrotsavam manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ,²⁷ 'to grammarians abbreviation by half a syllable is as rejoicing as the birth of a son'.

This intricacy and concision in grammatical description may perhaps have led to the Indian tradition prescribing twelve years for grammatical studies; and therefore non-Sanskritists can hardly be expected to acquire sufficient grasp of Sanskrit grammar to enable them to appreciate Pāṇini or later Sanskrit grammarians.²⁸ The acuteness of the grammatical observations in these grammars was such that early European scholars of Sanskrit at first failed fully to understand them, but at present the link between early Indian grammarians and

27. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, Paribhāṣenduśekhara, edited by P.F.Kielhorn, Bombay, 1868, Sutra 122, p.526.

28. W.S.Allen, op.cit., p.2.

modern western linguists is close. Thus Firth writes: "without the Indian grammarians and phoneticians...it is difficult to imagine our nineteenth century school of phonetics".²⁹ Comparative philology and linguistics largely derive from the discovery, interpretation and development of the concepts and analytical techniques inherent in early Sanskrit grammars.

ii) Indigenous Grammars of the Prakrits and non-Sanskritic Languages.

a) Prakrit, Pali and Apabhramsa

Modern linguists distinguish three stages in the development of Indo-Aryan Languages:³⁰

1. Old Indo-Aryan (1200-500 B.C.) - The period of Vedic and Sanskrit.
2. Middle Indo-Aryan (500 B.C. - 650 A.D.) - The period of Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, which further subdivides into three periods:
 - a) Early Middle Indo-Aryan (500 B.C. - 200 A.D.)
 - b) Second Middle Indo-Aryan (200 A.D. - 450 A.D.)
 - c) Third Middle Indo-Aryan (450 A.D. - 650 A.D.)
3. New Indo-Aryan (since 650 A.D.) - The period of the Modern vernaculars.

29. J.R.Firth, 'The English School of Phonetics' quoted in Allen's Phonetics in Ancient India, p.3.

30. See I.J.S.Taraporewala, Elements of the Science of Language, 2nd edition, pp.186-187; Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 'Language in India' in Introducing India, part II, pp.24-25; Dr. Muhammad, Shahidullah, 'Bangla Bhaṣar Itivṛtta' in Sahitya Patrika, vol.II, pt.II, pp.147-148. (Dates are by Dr.M.Shahidullah)

For centuries Prakrit (i.e. Prākṛt, the natural or unsophisticated language) as opposed to Sanskrit (i.e. Samskṛta, the polished or sophisticated language) was the Aryan vernacular language of India. In addition to Sanskrit, the Brahmin literary language, there was during the early Indo-Aryan period a second literary language in use in Northern India, namely Pali, which later in the second Middle Indo-Aryan period (also termed the period of middle Prakrit) crystallised in the hands of Buddhists and ceased to develop as a vernacular, becoming instead the classical literary medium of a single religion, Buddhism. During this period Prakrit also became "stereotyped as literary language" and failed to keep pace with the spoken languages, "both in the scholarly Sanskrit and dramas and in the Prakrit compositions".³¹

In Sanskrit dramas the various Prakrits were used to signify the social classes of the character. The Midland Prakrit, Śaurasenī, for example, denoted the speech of fashionable people, who could not speak Sanskrit. Whereas for songs these same characters would adopt Mahāraṣṭrī, or southern Prakrit. Māgadhi, spoken in North-East India, was used in dramas to represent the speech of the lowest and least cultured classes.³²

31. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, (henceforth O.D.B.L.) Vol.1, p.87.

32. Ibid., p.61.

Commenting on the literary Prakrits, as exemplified by the dramas, Sir George Grierson writes:

"Unfortunately we cannot accept this literature as illustrating the actual vernaculars on which it was founded. To adapt them to literary purposes the writers altered them in important particulars, omitting what they considered vulgar, reducing wild luxuriance to classical uniformity, and thus creating altogether artificial products suited for that artificial literature which has ever been so popular in India."³³

In contrast to these stereotyped, immutable, literary forms of Prakrit, the spoken varieties changed and developed, till finally reaching the point in their evolution called by Hemacandra and subsequent writers Apabhraṃśa (i.e. third Middle Indo-Aryan).

Of the extant grammatical works on the Prakrits the oldest is Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa, which describes Mahārāṣṭrī elaborately in nine chapters, before going on to devote a single chapter each to Paiśācī, Māgadhi and Śauraseni. In the form given these Prakrits probably belong at the earliest to the third century A.D.³⁴ Commenting on Vararuci, Dr. S.K.Chatterji writes:

"Vararuci (5th century?) seems already to be actuated by ideas as to what the Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi, Śouraseni, and Paisaci speeches in a drama ought to be rather than what they actually were in current speech. Later grammarians are much

33. G.A.Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.I, pt.I, 1927, p.123.

34. A.B.Keith, op.cit., p.433.

more influenced by these theories, and later writers of Sanskrit drama follow the grammarians as models more than anything else."³⁵

The next work of significance was Caṇḍa's Prākṛṭalakṣaṇa. The Siddhahemacandra, or Haimavyākaraṇa, a Sanskrit grammar by Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) devotes one chapter to Prakrit and also discusses Apabhraṃśa, quoting some stanzas from an unknown source. Wholly dependent upon Hemacandra is Trivikrama (13th century A.D.), who composed the Prākṛṭasābdānuśāsana and its commentary. In the seventeenth century appeared the Prākṛṭasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra and the Prākṛṭakalpataru of Rāmatarakavāgīśa.³⁶

In contrast to Prakrit grammars, which were all written in Sanskrit, grammars on Pali are written in Pali itself, not Sanskrit. The oldest, extant Pali grammar is the Kaccāyanappakarana, which was probably written round about the 11th century A.D. It was later followed by a large number of commentaries. And in the 12th century Thera Moggallāna wrote a Pali grammar called the Saddalakkhaṇa.

As far as our thesis is concerned, the most significant points to have emerged so far are:

35. S.K.Chatterji, O.D.B.L., Vol.I, p.62.

36. M.Winternitz, op.cit., Vol.III, pt.II, p.450.

1. As their names, Prakrit (unsophisticated) and Sanskrit (sophisticated) imply, both forms of language were regarded as interrelated.
2. As both Chatterjee and Grierson observe, the grammarians of Prakrit largely adopted a normative approach: they were out to describe how Prakrit ought to be, not how it was.
3. Since Prakrit and Sanskrit were interrelated, a single system of analysis and description was deemed adequate for both; i.e. Prakrit was analysed and described in terms of Sanskrit and indeed in Sanskrit.
4. That Prakrit was regarded as being but another form or variety of Sanskrit is revealed by the inclusion in Hemchandra's Sanskrit grammar of a chapter on Prakrit.
5. The implied norm in the normative approach of grammarians of Prakrit was, of course, Sanskrit. "The Prakrit grammarians", writes Subhadra Jhā, the translator of Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, "try to note the aspects and cases in which Prakrit deviates from Sanskrit that they sometimes call siddha, correct."³⁷
6. Though not written in Sanskrit, it should be noted that "in their method they [the Pali grammars] slavishly follow the model of Sanskrit grammar".³⁸

37. Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.447.

38. Ibid., p.451.

b) Non-Sanskritic Languages

We now turn to grammars written in Sanskrit on non-Sanskritic languages.

Possibly the first reference in Sanskrit to Dravidian languages is the mention of 'Andhra-Drāviḍa-Bhāṣā' by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (7th or 8th century A.D.).³⁹

Tamil is the most 'flourishing Dravidian language'. It has a literature dating back to 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.⁴⁰ There is no known grammatical work in Sanskrit on Tamil. The earliest grammars on this language are said to have followed the system of Sanskrit grammars.⁴¹ The earliest work in Telugu, another Dravidian language,

belongs roughly to 1050 A.D.⁴² According to tradition King Andrarāya introduced Sanskrit into the Telugu country and Kaṇva, who lived at the court of the King, wrote a Telugu grammar after the manner of Sanskrit grammarians.⁴³ Kaṇva's work appears to have been composed in Sanskrit, though no copy is known to have been preserved.

The earliest available Telugu grammar in Sanskrit is the Āndhra-śabda-cintā-maṇi of Nannya Bhaṭṭāraka, who lived in the time of Rājaraṇja Narendra reigning at Vengi Nāḍu from 1022 to 1063 A.D.⁴⁴ In the twelfth century A.D., Ātharvaṇācārya wrote a Telugu grammar known as Ātharvaṇa Kārikas.

39. G.A.Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol.IV, p.302.

40. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.667 (appendix by translator).

41. Chintaharan Chakravarti, 'Sanskrit works pertaining solely to vernacular and exotic culture' Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. XXN (1928), p.467.

42. G.A.Grierson, op.cit., vol.IV, pp.579-80.

43. Ibid., vol.IV, p.579.

44. Chintaharan Chakravarti, op.cit., p.468.

The Āndhra-Kaumudi of Maṇḍa Lakṣminarasimha Kavi is a late work, which consists of 426 sutras divided into several sections; viz. paribhāṣā, sandhi, ajanta, halanta, kāraḥ, samāsa, kriyā, avyaya, tadbhavaprakṛyā.⁴⁵

Some Sanskrit grammars on Telegu were also published in the nineteenth century, such as Harikārikā of Śiṣṭu Kṛṣṇamūrti Śāstrī (1800-1880) and Harikārikā-śeṣasarvasva of Bhagavatula Rāmamūrti Śāstrī (19th century A.D.).

Kanarese, another Dravidian language, has a literature dating back to at least the 10th century A.D.⁴⁶ The earliest grammatical work in Sanskrit on Kanarese is the Karṇāṭaka bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa of Nāgavarman (1070-1120 A.D.). This work, also called Karṇāṭaka-vyākaraṇa is divided into ten sections: saṃjñāvidhāna, sandhi, vibhakti, kāraḥ, śabdārīti, samāsa, taddhita, ākhyātaniyama, nipāta and avayanirūpaṇa.

Another grammatical work of this kind is the Karṇāṭaka-śabdānuśāsana (1604 A.D.) of Bhaṭṭa-kalaṅkadeva. Chintaharan Chakravarti refers to this work as "an exhaustive grammar of the Kanarese language in Sanskrit sutras after the manner of Pāṇini".⁴⁸

45. C.Chakravarti, op.cit., p.469.

46. G.A.Grierson, op.cit., vol.IV, p.365.

47. C.Chakravarti, op.cit., p.469.

48. Ibid., p.470.

It is found that the grammars of Telugu and Kanarese languages followed the Sanskrit system of grammars and the grammatical terms used in these grammars were also Sanskrit. On the question how far these grammars were popular, Chintaharan Chakravarti writes:

"These works in Sanskrit, though artificial in the extreme, seem to have enjoyed some amount of popularity as it is testified to by the number of manuscripts that have been found of some and the various editions they have, from time to time, undergone. They are, at best philological curiosities if nothing else."⁴⁹

As well as on Dravidian languages, we find grammars in Sanskrit also on Persian. During the Muhammedan rule in India, Persian was the court language. At the instance of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.), Vihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote a Persian grammar in Sanskrit called the Pārsī-Prakāśa. It seems to have been very popular, for numerous copies of it are found in various parts of India. A critical edition of it by the German scholar, Weber, with detailed explanatory notes in German was published from Berlin in 1888.

The Pārsī-Prakāśa consists of 481 sutras and is divided into eight chapters: samkhyāśabdanirṇaya, śabdaprakarana, avyaya-prakarana, kāraṇaprakarana, saṁāsaprakarana, taddhitaprakarana, ākhyātaprakarana and kṛtprakarana.⁵⁰

49. C.Chakravarti, op.cit., p.468.

50. C.Chakravarti, op.cit., p.470.

During the time of Akbar's son Jehangir (1605-1627 A.D.), one Kavikarnapura from Assam composed a grammatical work on Persian. He also compiled a Sanskrit-Persian dictionary called the Samskr̥ta-Pārsika-Pada-Prakāśa.

A certain Vedāṅgarāya compiled a Persian-Sanskrit vocabulary during the reign of Shahjehan (1627-1658 A.D.). Called the Pārsi-Prakāśa, it contains a vocabulary of Persian terms used in Astronomy and Astrology with corresponding Sanskrit equivalents.⁵¹

It is not known why no Tamil grammars were written in Sanskrit, whereas Sanskrit grammars on other Dravidian languages such as Telugu and Kanarese, 'enjoyed some amount of popularity' giving rise to various editions and commentaries. The Dravidian grammars seem to have been written in the south and the Persian grammars in the north. Possibly the main reason for this was that Southern India was not continuously subject to the Emperors of Delhi: most South Indian states were under independent Hindu rulers; and Persian, the official language of Northern India, was less current in the South.

Though many modern vernaculars flourished and established literature in Modern India, not a single grammar on these languages is known to have been written in Sanskrit. It is therefore evident that grammars in Sanskrit were composed only on such languages as Brahmins

51. Sures Chandra Banerji - A companion to Sanskrit Literature, p.273.

deemed financially worthy of study; i.e. Persian in Northern India and the Dravidian languages in the South. Brahmins presumably studied either Persian or the Dravidian languages, because patronage, or lucrative posts, were available.

Some scholars contend that these Persian or Dravidian grammars were of only 'philological curiosity'. Nevertheless, their popularity, and therefore presumably their utility also, may be inferred from the number of extant copies that has been preserved; for example, the Tanjore Palace Library alone possesses twelve manuscripts of a single grammar the Āndhra-śabda-cintā-maṇi of Nannya Bhaṭṭāraka.

We have seen how the Sanskrit grammarians composed the grammars of Prakrit and non-Sanskritic languages following the same system as in the grammars on Sanskrit, which implies that these Sanskrit scholars may have instinctively entertained a belief in the existence of some universal grammatical framework, into which all languages would automatically slot. Hence, on looking at the contents of these Sanskrit grammars on Prakrit, Pali, Persian or Telugu, one finds the same set of terms such as saṃjñā, paribhāṣā, sandhi, kāraṇa, saṃāsa, etc.

2. GRAMMARS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

i) European Sanskrit Grammars.

The Jesuit Missionaries were probably the first Europeans to study Sanskrit in India. The first translation of a Sanskrit work

by such a European was probably that of some of Bhartṛhari's proverbs by Abraham Roger, a Dutch preacher, in 1651 from a Portuguese version prepared for him by a Brahmin.⁵²

The German Jesuit preacher, Heinrich Roth, studied Sanskrit in 1664 A.D. to render himself capable of "disputing with the Brahmins".⁵³ He also wrote a Sanskrit grammar, the manuscript of which is now found in the National Central Library in Rome.⁵⁴ There is another grammar, which remains in manuscript, the Grammatica Granthamia seu Samscrdumica by a Jesuit, Johann Ernst Hanxleden, who resided in India from 1699 to 1730.⁵⁵

A French Jesuit, Father Jean François Pons (1698-1752), who also worked in India, compiled a manuscript grammar of the Sanskrit language. It now lies in the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.⁵⁶

The most important European Missionary in the eighteenth century was Paulinus a Sanctro Bartholomaeo, an Austrian Carmelite, who spent about fourteen years in India. Within 14 years of his return to Europe in 1790, he published twenty books, including two Sanskrit

52. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.I, p.9.

53. George Smith, 'India and Comparative Philology', Calcutta Review, vol.XXIX, p.242.

54. J.F.Staal (editor), A Reader on the Sanskrit grammarians, p.30.

55. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.I, p.9.

56. J.F.Staal, op.cit., p.30.

grammars, Sidharvbm seu Grammatica Samscrdamica cui accedit
dissertatio historico-critica in linguam Samscrdamicam...(1790) and
Vyacarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae Institutio (1804);
 and a Sanskrit dictionary entitled Amarsinha seu Dictionarii
Samscradimici, sectio prima, de coelo, extribus ineditis codicibus
Indicis manuscriptis cum versione Latina (1798).⁵⁷ His first
 Sanskrit grammar was based on that of Hānẖleden.⁵⁸

By the end of the eighteenth century the early stage of the
 Sanskritic studies, dominated mainly by Jesuit missionaries was over.
 Meanwhile British scholars in India had begun concerning themselves
 with the Indian languages and literatures, as we shall see in the
 following section.

In Europe at the turn of the 19th century the initiative in
 the Sanskrit studies was grasped by German scholars. In 1808 a
 German scholar named Friedrich Schlegel became the father of the
 Indian philology in Germany mainly by virtue of his book Veber die
Sprache und Weisheit der Indien: Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der
Alttertumskunde.⁵⁹ Schlegel was followed by Franz Bopp, whose book
 comparing the conjugational system of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian
 and German entitled Veber das Conjugations-System der Sanskritsprache

57. G.Smith, op.cit., p.243.

58. Alfred Master, 'The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit
 Studies', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
 vol.XI, p.798.

59. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.I, p.15.

in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache paved the way for comparative philology.

He also wrote Sanskrit grammars (1827, 1832 and 1834) and compiled a Glossarium Sanscritum (1830).⁶⁰ His major work on comparative grammar was published in 1833.

Reviewing this early stage of enquiry into the languages of India, we find that though the scholars came from different countries, they mainly belonged to a single sectarian class, the Jesuit missionaries. These missionaries mostly confined to southern India studied Sanskrit and various vernaculars so as to render themselves capable of preaching or 'disputing with the Brahmins'. Their grammars were written mainly for the guidance of fellow-missionaries. Some never reached print, and circulated only in manuscript. Furthermore, these grammars cannot be said to be independent works composed in ignorance of earlier grammars, for, as we have seen, Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar formed the basis of the Sanskrit grammars of Paulinus, whose own grammars certainly remained known in Germany throughout the nineteenth century.⁶¹

During this early stage, as Grierson observes, "There had been laborious accumulation of materials, but hardly any scientific study".⁶² Regarding the Sanskrit works of Paulinus, another scholar remarks that

60. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.I, p.17.

61. Winternitz, op.cit., vol.I, p.14.

62. Grierson, op.cit., vol.I, pt.I, pp.9-10.

"neglecting the linguistic wealth, of which he was in actual possession" he went on absurdly and erroneously theorising and speculating.⁶³ Furthermore, Paulinus also made what is now considered the mistake of using the Tamil character throughout all his works on Sanskrit. Nevertheless, by the end of this period Europe had a fair idea of the names and general characters of the principal languages of India.

The period upto the publication of Bopp's comparative grammar in 1833 may be termed the first phase of the comparative philology, though basically it was "the period of lexical or glossarial affinity" which was followed by "the period of grammatical affinity".⁶⁴

ii) European Bengali Grammars.

The first Europeans to study Bengali were Jesuit Missionaries, who came to Bengal in the sixteenth century. Most of them were from Portugal. Since their main aim was to preach Christianity to ordinary Bengalis, they started learning Bengali, wrote leaflets and books in it, and compiled grammars and dictionaries of it.

On 3 January 1683, a Jesuit father named Marcos Antonio Santucci wrote to the Jesuit Provincial of Goa reporting that he and his colleagues had composed vocabularies and a grammar in Bengali.⁶⁵

63. G.Smith, op.cit., p.243.

64. Ibid., p.238.

65. A.R.Khondkar, unpublished thesis, The Portuguese contribution to Bengal Prose, Grammar and Lexicography, p.35.

Most of these books composed by the earlier Portuguese missionaries appear to have been lost.

The Portuguese missionary Manoel da Assumpçam, who was in Bengal from 1733 to 1757, published a Bengali grammar and a Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary from Lisbon in 1743. The title of the book is Vocabulario Em Idioma Bengalla, E Portuguez. It consists of two parts: a forty page compendium of Bengali grammar and Bengali-Portuguese and Portuguese-Bengali vocabularies comprising in all about 350 pages.

Dr.A.R.Khondkar writes: "the works attributed to Manoel da Assumpçam were in fact merely compiled and edited by him...."⁶⁶

"The grammar was undoubtedly the work of a team: Dom Antônio, Santucci, Gomez, Sarayva, working in close collaboration. We imagine that probably at least three manuscript copies existed, possibly some were mutilated and the final edition was produced by Manoel by amalgamating all three. This may account for slight discrepancies in spelling, terminology and approach in the various parts of the grammar."⁶⁷

This Portuguese grammar of Bengali consists of two parts: a morphological section and a syntactical section. There is no section on phonology. The authors and editor of the books had in mind a framework of universal grammar based on Latin. In addition to so

66. A.R.Khondkar, op.cit., p.244.

67. Ibid., p.209.

many direct references to Latin, there is a profuse use of Latin words also.⁶⁸

It seems that the Jesuit missionaries were inspired by the Jesuit Provincial to compile Bengali grammars and vocabularies, independently or collectively. Manoel's publication was based on some of these grammars and vocabularies. But the discrepancies, errors and inadequacies show that basically no development or improvement in the work was achieved by Manoel himself.

In spite of these drawbacks, as Dr. Chatterji observes the grammar was used in Europe by students of Bengali for at least two or three generations.⁶⁹

iii) British Sanskrit grammars

The first Briton to study Sanskrit was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), a writer in the East India Company. He translated The Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordination of the Pundits (London 1776) from a Persian translation made for him from a Sanskrit compendium of Hindu Laws compiled by eleven pundits. The book includes some plates illustrating the Sanskrit and Bengali syllabaries.⁷⁰ In his preface

68. A.R. Khondkar, op.cit., pp.164-165.

69. S.K. Chatterji, and Priyaranjan Sen (editor) Manoel Da Assumpcam's Bengali Grammar, p.XXIII.

70. Bengali alphabet was printed to show that the character used by the Bramins of Bengal is by no means so ancient, and though somewhat different is evidently a Corruption of the former [i.e. Sanskrit character]'. See Code of Gentoo Laws, p.XXIV.

Halhed gives a brief description of the elements of Sanskrit grammar⁷¹ and prosody, and also quotes extracts from Sanskrit works in Roman transcription together with their English translations. It seems that whilst translating this compendium Halhed gained some knowledge of Sanskrit, though not sufficient to enable him to translate the Gentoo Laws directly from the Sanskrit original.⁷²

The first Briton to compile a Sanskrit grammar was Henry Pitts Forster (1766?-1815). He submitted the manuscript of his An Essay on the principles of Sanskrit grammar, part I, to the "College Council" in 1804. Unfortunately, however, it remained unpublished till 1810, by which time the grammars of Colebrooke, Carey and Wilkins had already

71. "The Shanscrit language is very copious and nervous, but the style of the best Authors wonderfully concise. It far exceeds the Greek and Arabick in the Regularity of its Etymology, and like them has a prodigious Number of Derivatives from each primary Root. The grammatical Rules also are numerous and difficult, though there are not many Anomalies. As one Instance of the Truth of this Assertion, it may be observed, that there are seven Declensions of Nouns, all used in the singular, the dual, and the plural Number, and all of them differently formed, according as they terminate with a Consonant, with a long or a short Vowel; and again different also as they are of different Genders; Not a Nominative case can be formed to any one of these Nouns, without the Application of at least four Rules, which differ likewise with each particular Difference of the Nouns as above stated: Add to this, that every Word in the Language may be used through all the seven Declensions, and there needs no farther Proof of the Difficulty of the Idiom." The Translator's Preface to Gentoo Code, p.XXIII.

72. Later also while rendering Upanisads into English he did not translate it from the original but from the Persian version of Prince Dārā Shikoh (British Museum manuscript - Additional 7006-7016).

73

made their appearance. In its preface Forster mentions his original intention to publish a translation of Vopadeva's Mugdhapodha as a preface to part II, though this part was never published. Forster's Sanskrit grammar was compiled from a number of indigenous Sanskrit grammars, which he lists in the preface.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) published his one and only volume of A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language in 1805. In the preface he tries to trace the origin and development of Sanskrit grammars, giving a long, comprehensive bibliography. He also classifies the Sanskrit grammars according to school.

While writing this grammar, he consulted a large number of Sanskrit grammars, from Pāṇini to Vopadeva, and he was guided sometimes by one, sometimes by another, "as seemed best adapted to the two objects proposed, conciseness and perspicuity".⁷⁴ Sometimes he cites opinions from these other Sanskrit grammars in footnotes to the page concerned.

The next British grammarian to publish a Sanskrit grammar was William Carey (1761-1834), who published his grammar entitled A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language composed from the most esteemed

73. H.P.Forster, An Essay on the principles of Sanskrit grammar, 1810, p.XI.

74. H.T.Colebrooke, A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, 1805, p.VII.

Grammarians to which are added examples for the exercise of the student and a complete list of the Dhatoos or Roots in 1806 from Serampore.

In his preface to the grammar Carey refers to ancient Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini, Vopadeva and Durgādāsa, to whom he was 'chiefly indebted'. He also acknowledges the assistance of Mṛtuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra and Rāmnāth Vācaspati, the first and second pundits in the College of Fort William, "who have been always ready to contribute to this work, and to whose zeal and abilities he is happy to bear this testimony".⁷⁵

Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), who started studying Sanskrit in about 1778 under the inspiration of Halhed, and (incidentally to whom William Jones wrote on 6 October 1787, "you are the first European who ever understood Sanskrit")⁷⁶ published his Sanskrit grammar, A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language from London in 1808. In 1785, long before the publication of this grammar, he demonstrated his scholarship in Sanskrit by publishing an English translation of the Bhāgavat Gītā.

While compiling his Sanskrit grammar, Wilkins either used or consulted several Sanskrit grammars among which he specially mentions the Sārasvata-prakriyā, the Mugdhabodha, the Sutras of Pāṇini, and the Siddhānta-Kaumudī.⁷⁷

75. W.Carey, A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language, 1806, pp.IV-V.

76. Garland Cannon (editor), The Letters of Sir William Jones, Vol.II, p.782.

77. C.Wilkins, A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language, 1808, p.XII.

In 1820, Dr. William Yates published a further Sanskrit grammar, compiled, as he himself acknowledges, from those of Forster, Wilkins, Carey and Colebrooke.

Of these four British grammarians Forster, Wilkins, Carey and Colebrooke, ^{Wilkins} Colebrooke alone published his grammar from London, the grammars of the others being published from Bengal, either Calcutta or Serampore. These four scholars were in Bengal at more or less the same time. Their grammars resulted from researches, in which they were assisted by Indian pundits, and were based on works in the Indian grammatical tradition: Belvalkar observes⁷⁸ that Wilkins's Sanskrit grammar, one of "the easiest of anglo-Sanskrit grammars that was written", was based upon the Sārasvata; and A.H.Wilson, a critic of Carey's Sanskrit grammar, remarks:

"The rules are given in the technical language of the authorities followed, which are especially the works current in the lower Gangetic provinces, or those of Vopadeva, Kramadeswara, Durgadasa and co. To a mere English student the rules are of a somewhat unusual, and therefore unintelligible, character; and to make a satisfactory use of this grammar, a native particularly the Mugdhabodha of Vopadeva, should be read at the same time with it."⁷⁹

Of Forster's grammar, George Smith states that "the whole method and

78. S.K.Belvalkar, op.cit., p.104.

79. H.H.Wilson, 'Remarks of the character and labors of Dr.Carey, as an Oriental scholar and translator', in Eustace Carey's Memoirs of William Carey, 1836, p.592.

classification are thoroughly native, and repulsively difficult".⁸⁰

Colebrooke's grammar is, according to some scholars, "the best, among these early grammars".⁸¹

Though these scholars were mutually stimulated and inspired to study Sanskrit and compile grammars of it, they did so largely independently of each other: Colebrooke in his preface⁸² states that the deficient part of his grammar "may be supplied by the grammars, which Mr. Forster and Mr. Carey will severally publish"; and we learn from the preface to Forster's grammar that he had no intention of improving his grammar with the help of works, which had happened to be published earlier, for his was composed before theirs, and he did not wish to impair the originality of his own work.

Thus we see that there was no developement or improvement to be discerned in the Sanskrit grammars of this period. Their authors did not even critically review each other's works in the hope of achieving any such progressive improvement.

Forster and Colebrooke did not publish the proposed second volumes of their grammars. Nor were these Sanskrit grammars of the four first British scholars reprinted; they remained mere specimens of earlier philological ventures for guidance of later grammarians.

80. G.Smith, op.cit., p.261.

81. J.F.Staal, op.cit., p.33.

82. Colebrooke, op.cit., p.i.

iv) British Bengali Grammars

Though it is the purpose of this thesis to study critically and in depth the grammatical works on Bengali of the first three British Bengali grammarians, it is nevertheless useful at this stage to run our eye briefly over their achievements within the context of this chapter.

The first British scholar to write a grammar of the Bengali language (Grammar of the Bengal Language - 1778) was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, who assumed the task at the suggestion of Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of Bengal. It was in this grammar that Bengali words were printed in Bengali characters for the first time, and long extracts from Bengali poetry were also added in those same characters. The Bengali matrices for those were prepared by Charles Wilkins with the help of a local artisan named Pañcānan Karmakār.

Halhed declares in his preface:-

"The path which I have attempted to clear was never before trodden; it was necessary that I should make my own choice of the course to be pursued, and of the landmarks to be set up for the guidance of future travellers."⁸³

The book consists of eight chapters: 1) Of the Elements; 2) Of Nouns; 3) Of Pronouns; 4) Of Verbs; 5) Of Attributes and Relations;

83. Halhed, Grammar of the Bengal Language, 1778, p.XIX.

6) Of Numbers; 7) Of Syntax; and 8) Of Orthoepy and Versification.

Since Halhed wanted to present in his grammar "the Bengal language merely as derived from its parent the Shanscrit",⁸⁴ he laid down rules for the Bengali language at times in terms of Sanskrit grammar, even adopting at times Sanskrit terminology. At other times he referred to Latin and Greek. Almost all of his examples in support of his rules or statements were drawn from old Bengali poetry.

William Carey (1761-1834) a Baptist Missionary, who spent most of his life in Bengal (1793-1834), published his Bengali grammar entitled A Grammar of the Bengalee Language in 1801 from the Serampore Mission Press. In his preface, when referring to Halhed's grammar, he wrote:

"Much credit is due to Mr. Halhed, except whose work, no Grammar of this language has hitherto appeared. I have made some distinctions and observations not noticed by him, particularly on the declension of nouns and verbs, and the use of particles."⁸⁵

The grammar consists of thirteen sections: 1) Letters, 2) Substantives, 3) Adjectives, 4) Pronouns, 5) Verbs, 6) Adverbs, 7) Prepositions, 8) Conjunctions, 9) Interjections, 10) Compound words, 11) Syntax, 12) Contractions and 13) Numbers.

Carey published a second, enlarged edition of his grammar in 1805. The previous edition had been thoroughly revised, much being added and much altered. New chapters had been added, old ones

84. Halhed, op.cit., p.XXI.

85. W.Carey, Grammar of the Bengalee Language, pp.IV-V.

rearranged and much Sanskrit terminology introduced.

The third edition (1815) too contained additions and corrections, though the fourth (1818) was unmodified, as also, of course, was the fifth, a posthumous edition (1848).

The next Bengali grammar, written by a British scholar, was the Rudiments of Bengali Grammar by Graves Chamney Haughton, the then Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali at the East-India College, Hayleybury. It was published from London in 1821.

The book consists of sixteen chapters: 1) Orthography, 2) Pronunciation, 3) The Article, 4) Nouns, 5) Cases, 6) Adjectives, 7) Pronouns, 8) Verbs, 9) Voices, 10) Tenses, 11) Indeclinables, 12) Numerals, 13) The Junction of Letters, 14) Derivation, 15) Compound words and 16) The Terms of grammar.

At the end of his preface Haughton acknowledged that during its compilation he had consulted Halhed's and Carey's Bengali grammars, Wilkins' Sanskrit grammar and Mohunpersand's Bengalee and English vocabulary.⁸⁶ Appended to it was a long list of grammatical terms from Sanskrit.

Permeating this series of Bengali grammars is a trend of gradual 'improvement'. Carey in writing his first edition, relied heavily on Halhed, though in places attempting improvements. His

86. Haughton, Rudiments of Bengali Grammar, 1821, p.XV.

second and subsequent editions differ markedly from the first: the later editions are so radically revised and redrafted that Carey himself called the second edition 'a new work'. Though consulting Halhed also, Haughton closely followed Carey.

II

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON TRENDS DISCERNIBLE THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD

We noted earlier, that not a single grammar had been written in Sanskrit on any modern vernacular with an established literature in Northern India, though there were some in Persian. In Southern India we find grammars in Sanskrit on some Dravidian languages, though Tamil is excluded. Furthermore, we note that in the South independent literature had developed earlier than in the North, where "Sanskrit literature dominated the intellectual life for a longer period in such a great measure that there was no scope for a literature in the popular language".⁸⁷

As the language, par excell^eence, of intellectuals throughout India, Sanskrit held a dominant position. Scholars from Pāṇini's time

87. M.Winternitz, op.cit., vol.III, pt.II, p.667 (translator's appendix).

till the earlier part of the nineteenth century had all begun their academic careers by first of all mastering Sanskrit grammar, before specialising in any other branch of knowledge. In the reading list of Caitanyadeb and his associate Ācāryya Advaita (16th century), outlined by their respective biographers, grammar is found to come first.⁸⁸ In the Sanskrit college also (established 1824) students had to study Sanskrit grammar for three years, before being allowed to read Sanskrit literature.⁸⁹ Sanskrit was, therefore, the indispensable and prerequisite first step to intellectual enlightenment. As such, its impression on all scholars was deep and lasting. It provided a cast-iron framework in which to view all other indigenous languages and cultures. It was the linguistic and cultural source from which other indigenous languages and cultures were to be enriched. Thus it not unnaturally came to be regarded as the origin from which all subsequent developments in India were to be traced, whether they happened to be related to Sanskrit phenomena or not.

Meanwhile it should also be noted that the following grammars (and dictionaries) of Sanskrit by Europeans were written in Latin.

1. Johann Hanxleden (18th century) - Grammatica Granthamia seu Samscrdumica.

88. Bimānbihāri Majumdār, 'Vaiṣṇab Sāhitye sāmājīk itihāser upakaraṇ', Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol.31 (1331 B.S.) pt.IV, p.146.

89. Brajendranath Bandopadhyaya, Saṃskṛta Kalejer Itihās, pt.I, p.15.

2. Paulinus a Sanctro Bartholomaeo: - Sidharvbm seu Grammatica Samscrdamica cui accredit dissertatio historico-critica in Linguam Samscrdamicam...etc. (1790).

- Vyacarana seu locupletissima samscrdamicae linguae Institutio (1804).

- Amarsinha seu Dictionarii Samscradimici, sectio prima, de coelo, ex tribus ineditis cordicibus Indicis manuscriptis cum versione Latina (1798).

Furthermore, we also find that grammars were written in accordance with the Latin system of grammar. For example, we quote below the pronominal declension of 'it' taken from the Portuguese grammar of the Bengali language, published in 1743.

"	Singular	
N. Ea, vel, Ehi.		<u>Iste, Este</u>
G. Ear, v. Ihar.		<u>Istius</u>
D. Eare, v. Ihare.		<u>Isti</u>
Ac. Eare, v. Ihare.		<u>Istum</u>
Ab. Eate, v. Ihate		<u>Im isto</u>
	Plural	
N. Eara, v. Ihara		<u>Iste, Estes</u>
G. Ear, v. Ihardiguer		<u>Istorum</u>
D. Ear, v. Ihardiguere		<u>Istis</u>
Ac. Ear, v. Ihardigueque		<u>Istos</u>

Ab. Ear, v. Ihardiguete

In istis "90

This tendency did not apply only to Sanskrit or Bengali, of course. Though the European grammatical tradition had begun in Greece, and though Latin was itself first analysed in terms of Greek grammar, the subsequent cultural dominance of Latin throughout Europe lent to Latin the same fundamental position in European culture as that enjoyed by Sanskrit in India. It was, therefore, second nature to European scholars to view linguistic phenomena in terms of Latin, and this accounts for the fact that so many scholars, each acting independently, actually noticed relationships between Sanskrit and Latin. For example we may quote here the observations regarding the affinity of Sanskrit and Latin (or Greek) made by such European scholars:

1. Fillippo Sassetti (1540-1588) in a letter to Pier Vettori wrote (dated 27th January 1885) about the 'similarity of Sanskrit with the classical European language'.⁹¹

2. Francois Pons (1698-1752) identified Sanskrit Horā and Kendra with Greek ῥωη and κεντρον.⁹²

3. N.B.Halhed (1778) - "I have been astonished to find the similitude of Shanscrit words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek: and these not in technical and metaphorical terms, which the mutuaton of refined arts and

90. Chatterji and Sen, op.cit., p.7.

91. A.Master, op.cit., p.799.

92. Albrecht Weber, The History of Indian Literature, p.254.

improved manners might have occasionally introduced ~~some~~; but in the main ground-work of language, in monosyllables, in the names of numbers and the appellations of such things as would be first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization."⁹³

4. Sir William Jones (1786) - "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps, no longer exists."⁹⁴

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly for this thesis, it should be noticed that at the period when our three British scholars, Halhed, Carey and Haughton, were working (c. 1772-1831) Latin was still dominant in Europe as Sanskrit was in Bengal. Halhed and his contemporaries, Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)⁹⁵ and William Jones

93. N.B. Halhed, op.cit., pp.iii-iv.

94. Sir William Jones, 'the third discourse on the Hindoos, delivered on 2nd February, 1786', Asiatick Researches, vol.I, p.422.

95. Johnson, the famous lexicographer, was a strong supporter of Latin. He insisted upon writing the epitaph for Goldsmith in Latin, in spite of the 'round-robin' sent to him by Burke, Gibbon and others, urging him to use English, and finally it was written in Latin (1776). G.Cannon, op.cit., vol.I, p.219 (footnote). #

(1746-1794), for example, could - and indeed frequently did - write fluently in Latin, either notes, entries in journals, or even private correspondence. We find in Halhed's private papers preserved in the British Museum, he wrote interlinear notes in Latin.⁹⁶ Johnson once defending himself for an offence wrote "an account of his case in Latin and laid it before his godfather, Dr. Swinfen, who was so much struck by its ability that, to Johnson's lasting offence, he showed it to several friends".⁹⁷ Indeed, it was Jones who in fact encouraged Halhed to correspond in Latin. Once he wrote to him "but please write in Latin".⁹⁸ Halhed did so from ship-board on the way to India, partly in Latin and partly in Persian,⁹⁹ the language he was learning from Jones's⁵ grammar. Latin had therefore certain international advantages. It was perhaps the key to William Jones's European reputation - the fact that he corresponded regularly with scholars throughout Europe through the medium of Latin. Out of 596 letters published in the collection of letters written by Sir William Jones, we find, 22 are written in Latin.¹⁰⁰ It should not be

96. British Museum MSS, 'Additional 5660E' (ff.27-38) and 'Additional 5660F' (f.5).

97. Dictionary of National Biography, vol.XXX, p.32.

98. Letter to Halhed dated 1 March 1770, the original was written in Latin, English translation is of the editor, G.Cannon (ed) op.cit., vol.I, p.48.

99. William Jones to Viscount Althorp (dt. 18 August 1772): 'I received a letter from him [Halhed] the other day, partly Persian and partly Latin, dated the Cape of Good Hope'. G.Cannon (ed.), op.cit., vol.I, p.115. Cannon also writes in the footnote; 'Halhed's letter is untraced'.

100. G.Cannon, op.cit., vol.I, preface, p.VIII.

supposed however, that Latin was extremely widely known. There is evidence to suggest that in fact publications in Latin were beginning to fail even during our period. Jones once wrote (March 1771) to Hungarian-born orientalist Charles Reviczky (1737-1793) regarding the Latin translation of Hāfiz's poems made by Reviczky, "I doubt whether any printer will provide the cost of publication unless the Hāfiz poems are translated into English or French, since unbelievably few important men in England know Latin".¹⁰¹

Latin (together with Greek) was taught, however, at that time as the foundation of education in Britain's best schools and colleges. Outside such circles, however, knowledge of it was slight, indeed, rare. Carey, coming as he did from humble origins, had to struggle hard for what knowledge he had of the European classical languages, Latin and Greek. Indeed, it was one of the tragedies of the age that a man with such an unquenchable thirst for philology should have had in childhood no European Mṛtyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra to school him in the classical European languages and literatures. This deficiency left him bereft of that disciplined approach to language that enabled even dilettants^e like Halhed and Haughton to turn out workmanlike grammars, while he, through the lack of any European classical counterbalance was to be overtoppled by his Indian pundits, whose contribution to his published works seems to have far out-weighed his own; so that through these grammars by three fundamentally gifted Britons instead of a

101. G. Cannon, op.cit., vol.I, p.86.

balanced synthesis of Indian and European classical traditions, such as one might have expected on the basis of the history of Sanskrit and Bengali grammars outlined in this chapter, one gets instead a steady intensification of Sanskritisation, that was to have unfortunate consequences.

Chapter II

THE LIFE OF NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED

I

Born on 25 May, 1751, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed came of what would now be regarded as the rich and successful upper-middle-class, from which the top échelons of public and professional life are drawn. His grandfather, Nathaniel Halhed, "had been a broker in Exchange Alley, where he acquired a considerable estate....He had married twice: first, Elizabeth, daughter of William Houghton, of Reading, Berks, by whom he had eight children. One of these was Captain of a man-of-war, and was lost at sea. He married secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Mason, of Noke Herefordshire.... By her he had William Halhed of the Noke and of Great George's Street, Westminster, London. He was a Bank Director, and died 30th September, 1786, aged 64."¹

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed was the eldest son of this William Halhed, the Bank Director. Thus on his father's side Halhed came of a family of hard-headed city-men, whilst on his mother's he was "lineally descended from Lenthal, the speaker of the House of Commons"² at the time of Oliver Cromwell.

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1. Dr.J.Grant, 'Warren Hastings in slippers', Calcutta Review, vol.XXVI, p.62.
 2. J.Grant, op.cit., p.63.

Educated at Harrow (1758-68) under the celebrated Dr. Robert Sumner, "Halhed received the principles of a sound classical education",³ "sate on the same form" as Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and also made the acquaintance of other school-fellows, such as William (later Sir William) Jones (1746-94) and Samuel (later Dr. Samuel) Parr (1747-1825). Halhed later went on to Christ College, Oxford (1768-70), where Jones inspired him to study Arabic. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed was at this period "neither conspicuous for extraordinary exertions nor remarked for deficiency of talent".⁴

Halhed's schoolboy friendship with Sheridan matured and deepened into what could have become a life-long bond, stimulating mutual literary enthusiasms, which bore early fruit in a joint publication, The Love Epistles of Aristaenetus translated from the Greek into English metre. "Halhed, "Sheridan's biographer, Fraser Rae, informs us," translated the epistles, and Sheridan revised and edited them."⁵ The first edition in octavo appeared in 1771 and was of sufficient merit to warrant a second edition in 1773 and a third in 'Bohn's Classical Library' in 1848. Halhed also wrote a farce called Ixion. Though recast by Sheridan and renamed Jupiter, it was never performed or published.

Whilst working on the Greek Love Epistles, Halhed and Sheridan were in pursuit of the same fair hand, that of the charming Miss Linley,

3. Ibid., p.63.

4. Ibid., p.63.

5. Dictionary of National Biography (henceforth designated as DNB), vol.LII, p.79.

"who afterwards became Mrs. Sheridan. It was...a generous rivalry, but...Mr. Matthew[a further suiter]'s duel with the young dramatist, demonstrated the hopelessness of any competitor standing a chance..."⁶.
 Sad at heart, Halhed corresponded with Jones, who on 1 March 1770 replied from Nice:

"If it is not too much trouble, I would like you to write more often, since I am eager to learn what you are doing and what is being done by our friends. But please write in Latin, if you will, and in a cheerful vein, since we must remove that sorrow which seems to be troubling you, please keep up your attention to cultivated literature and also be devoted to the arts and dedicated to philosophy..."⁷

By 1771 Halhed had so angered his father, that he deemed it wise to leave England and seek his fortune in India. What precisely angered his father is unknown to us. All we know is what can be gleaned from a letter to Samuel Parr from Calcutta, dated 5th November, 1773, where Halhed speaks of his "own extravagant behaviour" being "one great cause" of his leaving England, and also of "bad habits" deeply rooted in himself and "bad connexions so closely linked" to himself that he "felt no less than a distance of half the globe could separate" him "from them thoroughly".⁸ At all events, he applied for a writership with

6. J. Grant, op.cit., p.64.

7. Garland Cannon (editor), The Letters of Sir William Jones, vol.I, 1970, p.48; italics mine.

8. John Johnstone, The works of S.Parr..., 1928, pp.469-471.

the East India Company, was recommended, perhaps owing to his father's influence, by Mr. Verelst, a Director and former Governor of Bengal,⁹ and received his appointment. He sailed for India immediately and from ship-board evidently continued his correspondence with Jones; for in a letter to Viscount Althrop from Oxford on 18 August, 1772, Jones wrote:

"I do not know whether you ever heard me mention a school-fellow of mine named Halhed: I received a letter from him the other day partly Persian and partly Latin, dated the Cape of Good Hope. He was on his way to Bengal, and gives me a very pleasing description of his voyage; ... he enlarges a great deal upon the leisure which so long a voyage affords for the study of languages, and, above all, for Astronomy."¹⁰

Halhed joined the East India Company's service in Bengal in November 1772 and was stationed in the 'Persian Translator's office'.¹¹

Somewhat surprisingly Halhed failed to make much headway during his first year in India. Indeed, he was decidedly discouraged and in the letter to Parr mentioned above commented gloomily on his condition:

"Give me then leave to inform you that India (the wealthy, the luxurious, and the lucrative) is so exceedingly ruined and exhausted, that I am not able by any means, not with the assistance of my education in England, and the exertion of all my abilities here, to

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9. Harry Verelst (d.1785) was the Governor of Bengal during 1767-1769. In 1770 he returned to England and the following year became a Director of the East India Company.
 10. G.Cannon, Op.cit., vol.I, pp.114-15.
 11. Fort William - India House Correspondence, vol.VI (1770-1772), p.439.

procure even a decent subsistence. I have studied the Persian language with the utmost application in vain; I have courted employment without effect; and after having suffered much from the heat of the climate, spent whatever money I brought into the country, and seen the impossibility of providing for myself for some years to come, I have taken the resolution of quitting so disagreeable a spot, before the necessity of running deeply into debt confines me here for years (perhaps for life)".¹²

In fact, at this time he would dearly have loved to shake off the dust of India from his feet for ever and return to Europe, if not to England. Only his fear of his father kept him in India. Nevertheless, fortune was soon to smile on ^{him} for his versatile talents attracted the attention of Hastings, who was to become his life-long friend. Elijah Barnwell Impey writes:

"Halhed's acquaintance with Mr. Hastings and my father began in India, where he held very important employments, and where his ability and zeal were of incalculable service to the Governor General and the Company. To Mr. Hastings he always professed personal obligations, but it was not singly by the gratitude that he was bound, for life, to that great and good man: he revered Mr. Hastings as an eminent statesman who had saved and enlarged an empire -- and none knew better than Halhed the difficulties with which he had to contend -- also he loved him as the friend of letters, the patron of every elevating pursuit, the pleasantest of companions, the kindest and easiest man to live with, that might be found in the wide world".¹³

12. J. Johnstone, op.cit., pp. 469-70.

13. Elijah Barwell Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt..., 1846, p. 355.

It was Hastings, who set Halhed off on his second major literary venture, A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits. A digest of Sanskrit law books, it was first compiled in Sanskrit by eleven brahmins, who were, Hastings tells us, content to work for a mere subsistence of one rupee per day.¹⁴ It was then translated by a munshi into Persian and thence into English by Halhed. Hastings was delighted with the work. He despatched a copy to the Court of Directors, commenting in an accompanying letter dated 27 March, 1775: it was "executed with great Ability, Diligence and Fidelity by Mr. Halhed...."¹⁵ The Court of Directors received the manuscript-copy¹⁶ of the Code of Gentoo Laws on 1st January 1776, and in a letter to the Governor-General of Bengal they acknowledged and said "we desire you would give him [Halhed] all suitable encouragement".¹⁷ Published in quarto from London in 1776, the Gentoo Code merited a second edition in octavo the following year, 1777, a third edition also in octavo in 1781, and in 1778, the year his Bengali Grammar appeared from Hugli, two translated editions, one in French by J.B.R.Robinet, under the title, Code des Lois des Gentoux from Paris and the other in German by Rudolph Erich Raspe under the title: Gesetzbuch

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14. 'A letter of Warren Hastings on Wilkins' translation of Bhagvat-Geeta, addressed to Nathaniel Smith Esqr' in Asiatik Miscellany, vol.II, 1786, p.315.
 15. N.B.Halhed, A Code of Gentoo Laws (henceforth to be designated as Gentoo Code), 1776, p.iii.
 16. The manuscript of the Gentoo Laws copied by a copyist and corrected by Halhed is now in the India Office Library, bound in two volumes. IOL, MSS, Eur B.11, 12.
 17. IOL, MSS, Eur. E.30. pp.153-177. Quoted in India Office Library Catalogue of manuscripts in European Languages. Vol.II, pt.II, ed. by G.R.Kaye and E.H.Johnston, London, 1937, p.396.

der Gentoos: oder Sammlung der Gesetze der Pundits, nach einer Persianischen Uebersetzung des in der Schanscrit-sprache geschriebenen Originals. Halhed was just twenty-seven years of age and on the verge of a European reputation.

Jones did not have time to review Halhed's book, when it first issued from the press. In a letter from the Temple in May 1777 to Ralph Griffiths, he wrote:

"...I should be very willing to write an account of the Indian laws lately printed, as the translator, Mr. Halhed, is a man whom I particularly love and esteem; but, ... I am so totally engaged in forensick occupations and professional studies, that I have not even time to read my friend's book, much less to review it."¹⁸

Nevertheless, Jones' 'love' and 'esteem' did not prevent him from commenting privately in a letter from 'Crishnanagar', Bengal, on 28 September, 1788, to Arthur Lee:

"I have read the original of Halhed's book, which is not properly a Code but a short compendium, or Digest, compiled about ten or twelve years ago by eleven Brāhmans of whom five only are now living: the version was made by Halhed from the Persian, and that [presumably 'that version', i.e. the Persian one] by a Muselman writer from the Bengal dialect, in which one of the Brāhmans (the same who has corrected my Sanskrit copy) explained it to him. A translation in the third degree from the original, must be, as you will imagine, very erroneous...."¹⁹

18. G.Cannon, op.cit., vol.I, p.235.

19. G.Cannon, op.cit., vol.II, p.821.

Later, H.T.Colebrooke, while compiling a digest of Hindu Laws from the original Sanskrit observed that "the digest [i.e. Halhed's Gentoo Code] might have served as an introduction to a knowledge of the Hindu Law; but, even for this purpose, it is inadequate, the Persian translation from which Mr. Halhed made his version being unfaithful",²⁰ and "Halhed's is no translation of the Sanscrit original".²¹

One should not, however, allow Jones' or Colebrooke's strictures, nor indeed those of George Costard²² on the author's preface to the Gentoo Code to detract from Halhed's achievement. The whole digest was compiled, completed and printed within two years (1774-76) and during those short years Halhed was to become the first Englishman to acquire a smattering of Sanskrit and the beginnings of his later knowledge of Bengali.

At the 'solicitation' of Warren Hastings,²³ Halhed compiled a grammar of the Bengali language completing ^{it} in 1778. Immediately after its publication he returned to England to regain his health, for "his

20. Sir T.E.Colebrooke, The Life of H.T.Colebrooke, 1873, p.84; Colebrooke's letter to his father dated 21 June 1796.

21. Ibid., p.89; letter to his father dated 3 February 1797.

22. George Costard (1710-1782) published a booklet, A Letter to Nathaniel Brassey Halhed Esqr, containing some remarks on his preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, from Oxford in 1778. A manuscript-copy of Halhed's reply to Costard's letter, written in 1779, of 26 folios, is now in the British Museum (Stowe 757).

23. "It [Halhed's Bengali grammar] was begun and continued by my advice and solicitation". Proceeding of the Governor General (Revenue Deptt), dt. 20 February 1778, 'Extracts from Government records', Bengal Past and Present, vol.29, p.213.

constitution [had] suffered very materially from the climate of Bengal and his intense application"²⁴ in compiling two major works within a period of four years (1774-1778).

In England Halhed passed a few years in travelling for health and amusement. Nevertheless, his pen remained active, for he put out from London four pamphlets²⁵ of a politico-historical character. During his stay in England, reviews of his Bengali grammar appeared in three British periodicals.²⁶

The letter cited below from Warren Hastings to Sir John Macpherson, early in 1783 reveals that before his return to England in 1778, Halhed had married:

"If you have read Halhed's pamphlet, pray send it to me. I have promised poor old Ross²⁷ a Sight of it, and he has written to me for it. It will be a Comfort to him to see such a proof of his Son in Law's Ability and Attachment".²⁸

24. Grant, *op.cit.*, p.66.

25. i) 'A Narrative of the Events which have happened in Bombay and Bengal Relative to the Maharatta Empire,' 1779 8vo; ii) 'A Letter to Governor Johnstone...on Indian Affairs', 1783 8vo; signed 'Detector' iii) 'The Letters of Detector on the Seventh and Eighth Reports of the Select Committee', 1784 8vo; iv) The Letters of Detector on the reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider how the British possessions in the East Indies may be held and governed, 1782, 8vo.

These publications mainly concerned British Government policies on India. One of the letters, published in 1782, criticised the "indiscriminate abuse of all Mr. Hastings' motives and measures" (p.12) and commented: Hastings' "policies are of a more stubborn, Roman Texture" (pp.12-13).

26. English Review, 1783, No.I, pp.5-14; New Review, 1783, No.III, pp.156-57, and Critical Review, 1784, vol.LVII, pp.266-69.

27. John Mathias Ross, Dutch Governor of Chinsurah.

28. Henry Dodwell (editor), Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson, 1927, p.187.

"I distinctly remember to have heard," the Rev. Thomas Streatfield recalls, "that he [Halhed] proposed to himself three principles of action, from all of which he deviated. I recollect one only, his determination not to marry in India, whereas he married Helena Louise Ribaut, the daughter of the Governor of Chinsurah".²⁹ This determination not to marry in India would, we imagine, have been formed prior to Halhed's first voyage to India, when still languishing for the fair Miss Linley. Halhed's marriage to Helena Ribaut was certainly no case of love on the rebound, however. Helena was "a very estimable woman as well as a most amiable and excellent wife. In the dark days of her husband's adversity her good qualities shone forth in their full yet modest and benignant lustre, and...her unobtrusive strength of character, proved his chief solace and support."³⁰

In 1784, Halhed returned to Bengal to resume his official functions. A Public letter from the Fort William written to the India Office, dated 28 January 1784, announced that Halhed had been permitted to return to Bengal, and that his "extraordinary abilities" and "past services" were to be rewarded by the "first seat in the Council of revenue at Calcutta which shall become vacant after his arrival; unless before such vacancy happens it should be found necessary, for the benefit of the service to employ his talents some other way".³¹ Unfortunately, Halhed was never able to avail himself of this, either because the seat never fell vacant,

29. J. Grant, op.cit., pp.62-63.

30. Ibid., p.65.

31. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol.IX (1782-85), ed. B.A.Salitore, 1959, pp.146-147.

or for some other unknown cause.

Of Halhed's contemporaries, Hastings at least was aware of the importance of Halhed's contribution as a pathfinder in Indology and of his talent and abilities. Hastings had submitted his resignation to the Directors of the East India Company on 20 March 1783 and was awaiting its acceptance.³² During his last year in India he was therefore trying to do something for his friend Halhed, before leaving India for good. In a letter dated 4 October 1784 to Nathaniel Smith, Chairman of the Court of Directors on Wilkins' translation of the Bhagavat Gītā, Hastings wrote:

"It [the publication of Wilkins' translation] may, in the first event, clear the way to a wide and unexplored field of fruitful knowledge; and suggest, to the generosity of his honorable employers, a desire to encourage the first persevering adventurer in a service in which his example will have few followers, and most probably none, if it is to be performed with the gratuitous labor of years lost to the provision of future subsistence: for the study of the Sanskreet cannot, like the Persian language, be applied to official profit, and improved with the official exercise of it. It can only derive its reward, beyond the breath of fame, in a fixed endowment.³³ Such has been the fate of his predecessor, Mr. Halhed, whose labors and incomparable genius, in two useful productions, have been crowned with every success that the public estimation could give them; nor will it detract from the no less

32. Fort William - India House correspondence, vol.IX, 1959, pp.186.

33. Halhed, for example, received for his Grammar of the Bengal Language the sum of 30,000 Rupees. This was presumably to be shared with Wilkins, who designed, engraved and cut the Bengali punches and superintended the printing of the grammar.

original merit of Mr. Wilkins, that I ascribe to another the title of having led the way, when I add, that this example held out to him no incitement to emulate it, but the prospect of barren applause."³⁴

We would suggest, however, -- and, indeed, it will be one of the main aims of this thesis to demonstrate -- that Halhed had in his studies of Sanskrit and Bengali not been motivated by any desire for "barren applause", but by the genuine hope of achieving spectacular success in the form perhaps of some high office. Hastings' letter was in fact a reminder to the Court of Directors on behalf of his friend of the years Halhed had so unprofitably "invested" in linguistic ventures, when he might through trade have abundantly provided for his "future subsistence".³⁵

Meanwhile Hastings was working out some other plan to help his friend Halhed. In a letter to his wife, dated 20 November 1784, he wrote:

"Halhed is at Lucnow, busied in the Execution of a Plan which I have concerted for his Return to England. I wish he was there, but I hope to precede him. His Talents were always of the first Rate; but they are improved far beyond what you knew them...."³⁶

The result of the 'concerted plan' was that Halhed resigned the service in January 1785³⁷ and the following month sailed for England to take up an

34. Asiatik Miscellany, vol.2, p.314, *italics mine*.

35. (1) See: Sir Charles Lawson, The Private Life of Warren Hastings, 3rd edn., 1911; pp.214-15: "... a writership ... coupled with the privilege of private trading, ... Those were the halcyon days for the enterprising official in India who had an eye to business; ..." It was incidentally the ample provisions for their 'future subsistence' brought back to England by 'Nabobs', that excited such envy in fashionable circles and led, one suspects, to the trials of Clive and Hastings.

36. The Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, introduced and annotated by Sydney C. Grier, 1905, p.357.

37. Fort William - India House Correspondence, vol.IX (1782-5), ed. by B.A.Saletore, 1959, p.529.

assignment as the Nawab Vizier's agent in England.³⁸ Halhed's final return from Bengal coincided with that of Hastings, who himself returned in 1785.

Nothing is known about Halhed's new assignment in England, but it seems that from the beginning of Hastings impeachment in 1786 he was active in Hastings' defence. Hastings' impeachment led to a life-long breach with his school-friend Sheridan, for it was Sheridan who despite Halhed's passionate pleadings opened in 1787 the charge against Hastings concerning the Begums of Oudh.

A glance at Halhed's manuscripts in the British Museum reveals that even during those busy days Halhed managed to make time to read, enjoy and translate Hindu religious literature. He completed the translation of "Upāneeshhad"³⁹ from Dara Shikoh's 331 folio, Persian version in May 1787. His other translations from this period are:

- 1) 'Discipline of the Senyāsees', dated June 1787, ff 10; 2) 'Pooran Arthe Prekash Shastree', ff 36, dated December 1788; 3) 'Sheeve Poorāne', July 1791, ff 27; 4) 'Brehma Vyvertte Pooran', August 1791, ff 16; 5) 'Shree Bhagwet Poorān 10th skende containing most part of the life of Kreeshne translated into Persian by Fyzee' begun 5 October ended

38. Sydney C. Grier, The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife, 1905, p.417.
 39. BM MS, Additional 5658. It seems Halhed had an intention to publish this translation, as the BM copy includes a preface, contents and a collection of the Sanskrit terms employed.

18 November 1791 ff 100; and 6) 'Arrangement and contents of the Mehābhāret' 23 November 1791.⁴⁰

Possibly it was some vague hope of defending Hastings that prompted Halhed to stand for Parliament. Failing at Leicester in the general election of 1790, he obtained the seat for Lymington, when it fell vacant, in May, 1791. Though unable, so far as we know, to do anything for Hastings, he was, however, able to defend Richard Brothers, a man, whose prophetic effusions struck a chord of sympathy in Halhed's own mystical spirit. E.B.Impey writes,

"Among other abstruse questions, Mr. Halhed had devoted much time to the study of prophecy, and the awful mysteries of the Apocalypse. The amount of European, as well as Asiatic lore, which he brought to bear upon these subjects was immense, nor in a less degree was the ingenuity with which he applied it all".⁴¹

Halhed was obviously toying with a kind of synthesis of Hindu and Christian religious experience, as is evident from a sonnet, which merits reproduction here:

"O'er the three worlds when Valis⁷ Empire spread,
Vaman, a holy dwarf, before him bow'd -
 'Take what thou wilt' — exclaimed the monarch proud.
 'Space his three steps to cover', were he said,
 'Enough' — The sovereign's priest opposed, in dread —
 Of latent mischief: but the King allow'd.

40. These translations are bound in one volume, BM MSS, Additional 5657.

41. E.B.Impey, op.cit., p.357.

Vaman strode twice and spann'd (a god avow'd,)
 The Universe. — The third took Vali's head.
 So Christ, a dwarf in reason's lofty eyes,
 Two steps has trod, where Satan's glories swell,
 The first, his cross, o'erstriding death and hell;
 The next his resurrection clear'd the skys.
 For his last step, his second advent know
 To bruise the serpent's head, and chain him down below."⁴²

E.B.Impey continues:

"But [Halhed's] head was heated by this one absorbing and
 inexplicable subject. At this juncture another very inoffensive
 enthusiast — Richard Brothers, commonly called 'Brothers the
 Prophet' — began to utter his wild predictions. Halhed listened,
 examined and became more than half a believer in them. This was
 during the early part of the French revolution, when the British
 Government and people naturally took alarm at every suspicious
 circumstance. Brothers was constantly announcing the fast-
 approaching subversion of all states and kingdoms; but in a far
 different sense from that maintained by the Republicans of France.
 Government, however, chose to couple his religious insanity with
 their political madness; and Richard Brothers, for some supposed
 seditious words, was apprehended and committed to Newgate, as one
 guilty of high treason. Halhed, who rightly thought that he had
 been committed on a very irregular and foolish warrant, resolved
 to stand forward as his champion in the house of Commons and gave

42. J.Grant, op.cit., p.137.

notice of a motion for his discharge. On Wednesday, March 31st, 1795, Halhed made his motion in the House, and delivered his extraordinary oration. Extraordinary, indeed, and startling, and extravagant in its premises, was the the greater part of the speech; yet, so ingeniously and systematically was it constructed, and so eloquently was it delivered, that it was listened to in profound silence for three long hours."⁴³

Elsewhere⁴⁴ it is stated that Halhed delivered his oration on 31 March contrary "to the strong advice of his friend Sir Elijah Impey". He apparently "moved that Brothers' 'Revealed Knowledge' be laid before the House of Commons." And in "defending Brothers from a charge of treason he argued that it was no treason to claim the crown in a future contingency, which involved 'a palpable impossibility'." Furthermore, on 21 April "he moved for a copy of the warrant on which Brothers was apprehended. Neither motion found a seconder, and Halhed shortly after resigned his seat.... Some of his relatives thought him out of his mind, and would have put him under restraint."⁴⁵ Recording his obituary in May, 1830, the Gentleman's Magazine refers to this affair and states: "In 1795 he afforded a melancholy and memorable instance of the occasional eccentricity of men of talent by becoming the avowed champion of the soidisant prophet, Richard Brothers, and publicly professing his

43. E.B.Impey, op.cit., pp.357-358.

44. DNB, Vol.XXIV, p.41.

45. DNB, Vol.XXIV, p.41.

belief in the pretended mission of that wretched fanatic."⁴⁶ In this connexion Halhed published a number of pamphlets.⁴⁷

"Apart from this one aberration," E.B.Impey loyally maintains, "Halhed was as sound in mind, as he was good and generous at heart. His learning, fostered by industry and research, kept steadily on the increase; his intellect was comprehensive and commanding; he ceased not to be consulted and referred to, by the most gifted and clear-headed of his contemporaries."⁴⁸

Sound in mind he may have been, but his fortunes, both literary and financial, were sadly on the wane. He had made with Sir Elijah Impey heavy and unfortunate investments in France. Halhed's losses are put at £30,000, possibly the whole, or most, of what he possessed.⁴⁹ His parliamentary seat was also gone. During this "season of suffering"

46. Gentleman's Magazine, May 1830, p.472.

47. i) 'The whole of the testimonies to the Authenticity of the Prophecies of Richard Brothers, and of his Mission to recall the Jews'; ii) 'A Word of Admonition to the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, in an Epistle occasioned by the Prophecies of Brothers! iii) 'Two Letters to the Right Hon. Lord Loughborough'. iv) 'Speech in the House of Commons....March 31, 1795, respecting the confinement of Mr. Brothers, the Prophet'. v) 'A calculation of the Millenium with Observations on the pamphlets entitled second Arguments...and the 'Age of Credulity' together with a speech delivered in the House of Common, March 31; an original Letter written by Brothers in 1790 to P.Stephens, Esq; and also a paper pointing out those parts of his prophecies that have already been fulfilled'. vi) Liberty and Equality: a sermon, or essay, 1795. vii) 'Answer to Dr. Horne's second Pamphlet, entitled 'Occasional remarks. viii) 'Second speech in the House of Commons, April 21, 1795, respecting the detention of Mr. Brothers, the Prophet.'

48. E.B.Impey, op.cit., p.359.

49. J.Grant, op.cit., p.67.

(from 1796 to 1808)⁵⁰ his state of mind can be gathered from two letters and an unpublished poem. Apparently his loyalty to Hastings never wavered. In a letter to him dated 20.12.1804, Helena Halhed wrote:

"The sentiments of his heart are so in union with mine, that I never need apply to him to assure you of the grateful attachment with which it glows; and with what ardour we not only at this season, but at all times, offer up our prayers to the Almighty to pour his choicest blessings on you."⁵¹

Halhed's thoughts, ever more melancholy, turned more and more to God:

"I ask not life, I ask not fame,
I ask not gold's deceitful store;
The charms of grandeur's wealth and name
Thank heaven, are charms to me no more.
To do Thy will, oh God I ask,
By faith o'er life's rough sea to swim.
With patience to work out my task,
And leave the deep result to him."⁵²

Possibly the sentiments of the above poem dated 3rd July, 1806, were sincere. At all events, however, sheer poverty eventually forced Halhed to stir himself and seek employment. In a letter to Hastings dated 11.9.1808 he wrote:

"Among the crowd of unhappy beings whose aggregate composes the commonwealth of wretchedness, there is not perhaps an

50. J. Grant, op.cit., p.74.

51. Ibid., p.81.

52. J. Grant, op.cit., p.75.

individual with sufferings so truly acute, and distress so unutterable as the decayed gentleman. Such is the person who now ventures to obtrude himself upon your notice. Possessed of considerable property, but all locked up in France from the very commencement of our hostilities with that country, all his other means having gradually melted away during this terrible interval, he is now reduced to the necessity of seeking from his exertions that maintenance which he has been used to derive from his fortune.... If there exists at present, or should providently occur, any opening through which the services of such a man might be rendered useful at once to Government and to himself, I most anxiously solicit the preference..."⁵³

Hastings replied promptly (16.9.1808):

"I thank you for allowing me to be the first of your friends (the first in heart I do believe I am) to whom you have preferred to break through your long reserve..."⁵⁴

The following year, 1809, Halhed was appointed Civil Assistant Secretary in East India House and was given charge of the revenue and judicial department. This appointment "from outside the India House was a complete break with tradition and gave rise to trouble among those India House clerks who had been superseded."⁵⁵ Halhed retired from this post in about 1818 and lived a retired life till his death on 18 February, 1830, at the age of 78.

53. J. Grant, op.cit., p.95.

54. Ibid., p.100.

55. C.H. Philips, The East India Company, 1787-1834, 1940, pp.17-18.

Halhed's obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine describes him as a "gentleman, who in early life was regarded as an individual with more than ordinary talent".⁵⁶ The Dictionary of National Biography says of him: He "had some peculiarities, due to excessive sensitiveness, but endeared himself to his many friends. His imitations of Martial [published in four parts, London, 1793-94], suppressed on account of personal allusions, show a keen power of epigram".⁵⁷ "He had," Dr. Grant declares, "a curious facility of translating from or into Latin. His version of Martial illustrated the former, and his transposition of the burlesque of 'Midas' the latter."⁵⁸ The Dictionary of National Biography adds: "Halhed was apparently the first to call public attention to the affinity between Sanskrit words and 'those of Persian, Arabic and even of Latin and Greek'".⁵⁹ And E.B.Impey effuses: "Our family friendship, and, subsequently, my own personal intimacy with that extraordinary man, enable me to confirm all that has been recorded of the versatility of his talents. In my long walk through life, I have seldom met the man who knew so much of so many things, or who had so ready a command of all he knew. In him the brightest of intellects was accompanied by the kindest of hearts. His principles were as

56. Gentleman's Magazine, May 1830, p.471.

57. DNB, Vol.XXIV, p.41.

58. J.Grant, op.cit., p.136.

59. DNB, Vol.XXN, p.41.

sound as his erudition, and his friendship not less steady and enduring than his conversation was attractive and admired."⁶⁰ "Of him", Dr. Grant adds, "much less is known now in the republic of letters, than his eminent talents and splendid acquirements deserve."⁶¹ It has perhaps rightly been observed that all Halhed's failings stemmed from talents and excellences insufficiently disciplined.

II

In compiling the above outline of Halhed's life the testimony of friends and admirers, contemporary and near-contemporary, was regarded as being of importance to our purpose; for we were concerned largely with the identity of his friends and Halhed's effect upon them, and to a lesser extent upon less favourably inclined contemporaries.

We would hope that by now the following facets of Halhed's personality and accomplishments will have been established: he was a warm, passionate and loyal friend; he could be charming and persuasive; he was an eloquent orator, a talented translator, a writer of politico-historical tracts; he was a gifted linguist, his best foreign language being Latin, his second Greek, his third Persian⁶² though he also had some knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit and Bengali; but he was

60. E.B.Impey, op.cit., p.355.

61. J.Grant, op.cit., p.60.

62. It should be noted that he was translating the Upanisad and other Sanskrit religious works after leaving India not from Sanskrit or Bengali, but from Persian, as he did with the Gentoo Code.

also impulsive, impetuous, head-strong and determined, as his defence of Brothers showed; and, when once his enthusiasms had been roused, he was a gambler throwing all his eggs rashly into one basket of either investment (£30,000 lost in France) or advocacy (a brilliant career wrecked over Brothers). And in his advocacy of a case he would ignore even the advice of those best qualified to judge. (In the Brothers' case he set aside the wise counsel of Sir Elijah Impey to desist from delivering his impassioned plea in the Commons on 31 March, 1795.) And, having taken up the case, he waded in with oratory and tracts, even when it was clear that not a single member of the Commons was prepared to second any of his motions. It was obvious to all but him that he must fail, and he failed magnificently, exhausting himself and withdrawing from society and friends into total obscurity until poverty finally goaded him into humbly soliciting the aid of Hasting in securing a job at East India House.

Failure, so magnificent and overwhelming, could stem only from confidence born of birth into "an old Oxfordshire family", a country family with city and parliamentary connexions; of privileged education at Harrow and Christ College, Oxford; of meriting the friendship of the outstanding men of his day, Sheridan in literature, Hastings in administration, Impey in law, Jones in Philology, and Wilkins, 'the Caxton of Bengal', in printing; and finally of being endowed with quite

unusual personal gifts of his own; so that even his failures give some indication of the measure of the man, of his stature in the eyes of his contemporaries and himself. And finally it should be noticed that this crushing failure was, however, only a failure of personal self-confidence. He withdrew from society of his own accord. He was not pushed out or hounded down. And his talents, accomplishments, and standing in the eyes of his friends remained such, that within ten months of appealing to Hastings for a job he obtained one, commensurate with his status, even at the age of fifty-eight, when most men are considered past their best, even if they have remained in employment and not rotted in retirement for almost thirteen years, as Halhed had done.

Halhed then was of no meagre influence. He was born in an age when men of his talents, training and background, could aspire to the highest posts in the land. He belonged to an age when poets, men of flowing eloquence, like Sheridan, Burke and himself, could captivate Parliament with long speeches, that took up to three hours, or several days, to deliver. The 'poetic', the 'academic', the 'classical', the 'learned' and 'scholastic' had not in that age yet earned those connotations of 'irrelevance' to the mainstreams of public life that characterise our own. There was, we would urge, no inconsistency in composing in that glorious age a Bengali grammar and at the same time aspiring to an exceedingly high post in a Government, that under Hastings was beginning to acquire mastery over India, especially when that author shared, as Halhed decidedly did, the same conviction about the coming empire as Hastings himself felt.

Chapter III

A RECONSTRUCTION OF HALHED'S STEPS IN LEARNING BENGALI AND
PREPARING HIS GRAMMAR: materials, informants and
working method

I

Availability of Materials

One is fortunate in having access to some of the materials used by Halhed in acquiring his knowledge of the languages of the Indian sub-continent, though admittedly not all of them appear to have been preserved. Three consignments from Halhed's collection were acquired by the British Museum: the first by purchase in May, 1795, comprising sixty-nine volumes of manuscripts from Mr. Foulder, a book-seller, who had bought them from Halhed; the second also by purchase in May, 1796, comprising twenty-four manuscripts directly from Halhed; and the last as a gift from Mr. M. B. Williamson in 1829 comprising a number of rare manuscripts collected by Halhed. Two further manuscripts, which once belonged to Halhed, have been preserved: one in the India Office Library, a copy of Vidyāsundar, acquired in 1837, prior to which it had been in the possession of Charles Wilkins¹

1. A number of Halhed's manuscripts bear the initials, C.W. (e.g. British Museum MSS. Additional 5581, Additional 5595 and Additional 5596).

and the other in the British Museum, a copy of the Mahābhārat, which had been in the possession of Max Müller.²

II

The Contribution of Halhed's East Bengali Muslim Munshi

i) Informants

Our information on Halhed's informants rests on deductions and inferences drawn from a study of his materials and Grammar: the colophons of his manuscripts; the handwriting in which they were written; their dates; their diction; the way they were read aloud to Halhed, as revealed by his rough phonetic transcriptions; his glosses in Latin, Persian, and English; and his occasional comments and additions. The information thus gleaned tends to suggest that Halhed had two main informants:

1. An East Bengali Muslim Munshi; and
2. An 'intelligent bramin' pundit,

both of whom were well versed in Persian, but the second of whom was also a Sanskrit scholar.

ii) Persian Manuscripts

We would suggest that the East Bengali Muslim Munshi was the man first hired by Halhed on his arrival in India to serve as his Persian

2. See infra, p.83.

Munshi. We would further suggest that it was either from this man or at his suggestion that Halhed acquired a number of Persian manuscripts. We list below only those, which are linguistically significant:

1. A Persian Lexicon by Mir Jamaluddin Husain Injū Bin Fakhruddin Hussain; written in 'Nashki' with gold-ruled margins, dated Kashmir 1655 A.D. (Additional 5647, Foll 618).
2. A Dictionary of Persian and Arabic words by Abdur Rahim Bin Ahmad Sur. In Nastalik with ruled margins, 'written apparently in the 17th century'.³ (Add. 5612, foll 577)
3. 'A versified Persian-Hindustani vocabulary, divided, according to subject, into 20 sections'⁴ (Add. 5629 II, Foll 18-28).
4. 'Khalik Bari': 'A short rhymed vocabulary containing familiar Arabic and Persian words and short sentences, explained in Hindustani'⁵ (Add. 5629 III, Foll 31-33).
5. 'An alphabetical vocabulary of Persian verbs, conjugated through all the tenses, with Hindustanti equivalents'.⁶ (Add. 5629 VII, Foll 54-63)

3. Charles Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscript in the British Museum, Vol.II, London, 1881, p.495.

4. Ibid., 797.

5. Ibid., p.516.

6. Ibid., p.797.

All these manuscripts appear to be indigenous teaching aids intended to be memorised as a means of improving fluency in Persian. They are precisely of the type which the East Bengali Muslim Munshi himself probably acquired his knowledge of Persian.⁷ If so, it would be only too natural for him to suggest that Halhed might by the same means improve his own Persian, which, it will be remembered, he had acquired on ship-board (1772) from a study of William Jones' Persian Grammar.

iii) Hindustani Works

Since these Persian vocabularies were explained in Hindustani, it was only natural that Halhed's curiosity should have been excited by this language also. Thus we find amongst his collection a couple of works in Hindustani:

1. A printed book: the new testament in Hindustani: 'Novem Testamentum in Linguam Indostani cum translatum'; by B. Schultzio. Hala, 1758.
2. A manuscript; A Grammar of the Hindustani Language (Add. 5656); written by a European hand with Hindustani words inserted in a native hand. The grammar is anonymous.

7. It should be noted that, where explanations are given, they are in Hindustani, a language we presume Halhed's munshi to have been familiar with; for Hindustani was at this period known as 'Moor's'; i.e. the language of Muslims.

This grammar was obviously one of the means, by which Europeans like Halhed acquired a knowledge of Hindustani. It was intended to be taught at least partly with the aid of a Persian Munshi, for a second copy of the same work is preserved in the British Museum (Add. 7045). This second copy bears on the fly-leaf the title: "The Persian Moonshee's Manual for teaching the rudiments of the Hindoostanee language. Hindoostanee and English". Presumably Halhed studied it, for Gilchrist remarks⁸ that Halhed's comments on Hindustani in his Grammar⁹ are substantially correct. It may possibly have been with the aid of the same East Bengali Munshi that Halhed studied Hindustani.

iv) Hindi Manuscripts

The step from Hindustani to Hindi is short. Indeed, Halhed identified both as the same language, which presumably is the case, referring to them as 'Hindostanic', and distinguishing only the heavily Perso-Arabised variety, written in the Persian script, as 'Moor's'. At all events, Halhed acquired two vocabularies in Hindi:

1. 'Anekārtha'; and 2. 'Nāmamālā',

both being bound in the same manuscript, Add. 5585, Foll 1-13b, and Foll 13b-14 respectively.

8. J.B.Gilchrist, A Dictionary, English and Hindoostanee..., Vol.I, 1787, p.XX (footnote).

9. Halhed, A Grammar of the Bengal Language (henceforth designated as HBG), 1778, pp.ix-xii.

v) Tamil works

It was presumably during this early period of linguistic investigation and research that casting wide his net Halhed fished up a South Indian work:

A printed grammar, 'Grammatica Latino Tamulica', by P.Const.

Jos. Beschio, Trangambaria, 1738.¹⁰

Browsing through it presumably helped to confirm Halhed in his later contention¹¹ that:

"The grand Source of Indian Literature, the Parent of almost every dialect from the Persian Gulph to the China Seas, is the Shanscrit..."

vi) First Glimmerings of Halhed's interest in Bengali: 1772-74

Shortly after his arrival in India and presumably via his East Bengali Muslim Munshi Halhed came to realize that Bengal possessed a peculiar dialect of its own, namely Bengali.

"This subject has hitherto been utterly disregarded in Europe; and it is scarcely believed that Bengal ever possessed a native and peculiar dialect of its own, distinct from that idiom which, under the name of Moor's has been supposed to prevail over all India".¹²

10. Halhed later acquired a further work on Tamil: A Malabar and English Dictionary, wherein the words and phrases of the Tamulian language, commonly called by the Europeans the Malabar language, are explained in English, by J.P.Fabrieus and J.C.Breithaupt, Wepery near Madras, 1779.

11. HBG, p.iii.

12. HBG, p.ii.

We are personally inclined to believe however that there may at this time have existed manuscript grammars of Bengali much in the manner of the 'Persian Moonshee's Manual for teaching the rudiments of the Hindoostanee language'. We are furthermore inclined to believe that Halhed studied them. In this connexion the following, oft-quoted, and oft-misunderstood passage from Halhed's Grammar is significant:

"The path which I have attempted to clear was never before trodden; it was necessary that I should make my own choice of the course to be pursued, and of the landmarks to be set up for the guidance of future travellers. I wished to obviate the recurrence of such erroneous opinions as may have been formed by the few Europeans who have hitherto studied the Bengalese; none of them have traced its connexion with the Shanscrit, and therefore I conclude their systems imperfect."¹³

The originality claimed by Halhed in this passage is not of producing the first grammar of Bengali, but of attempting the first one to break entirely new ground by tracing the 'connexion' of Bengali with Sanskrit.

Of course, at the time of which we are writing, namely 1772-74, Halhed was far from making this discovery. He was merely casting about for a means of acquiring some knowledge of Bengali. Possibly his East Bengali

13. HBG, p.XIX, italics mine.

Muslim Munshi, as we presume he may well have done, brought to his attention some manuscript manual of Bengali. Indeed, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that the Portuguese 'Vocabulario',¹⁴ was placed in his hands. Halhed may have seen the copy of this Bengali grammar and vocabulary, which was in possession of Charles Wilkins,¹⁵ though it is not known whether Halhed could understand Portuguese or not. At all events, with the aid of his East Bengali Muslim Munshi Halhed definitely commenced his study of Bengali, for amongst his papers we find in this Munshi's hand:

1. A Bengali-Persian vocabulary (Add. 5661A, Foll 50), arranged in Bengali alphabetic order, (though towards the end some letters are omitted) and written in two columns, Bengali on one side and Persian on the other, and both apparently in the same hand. The words listed under each letter are not themselves arranged alphabetically, however, and some occur more than ^cone in variant spellings.¹⁶

2. 'The Hindoo castes and Tribes', (Add. 5661B, Foll 29-30), Forty-one names of various Hindu castes and tribes on Indian handmade paper. The Bengali names and the Bengali title of the list ('sakal

14. I.e. Manoel da Assumpçam, Vocabulario em idioma Bengalla e Portuguez. Lisbon, 1743. Supra chapter I, p. ~~200~~ 23.

15. The Manuscript copy of William Marsden's 'A catalogue of Dictionaries, and Grammars of all Languages and Dialects', shows that a copy of the Vocabulario was in possession of Charles Wilkins (p.229). Infra, Chapter VI, p. 123.

16. We find in this vocabulary examples of:

1. Variant spellings, e.g., "chelām/selām; chāph/sāph; chepāhi/sipāi; pusphu/phuspha."

2. Typical East Bengali words, e.g., kāuā [crow], kelā [banana], kēthā [quilt], jād [cold], chaphri am [guava], thosa [blister], thotma [chin], bakri [goat], kaitar [pigeon], godara [ferry], khāṭṭā [sour],
(contd. on next page....)

goro')¹⁷ were written by the East Bengali Munshi. The Roman transcription of the Bengali entries together with their English meanings were probably written by Halhed. The reverse side of folio 30 bears a list of the twelve Bengali months written by the Munshi and transcribed with comments by Halhed. The examples below indicate that Halhed was transcribing phonetically, (as he continued to do till possibly after 1776) the way his East Bengali Munshi pronounced the entries with typical anaptyxis, rather than transliterating them, for he could not read Bengali with ease till much later.

- 'caitra' is transcribed as 'chaytirroh';
- 'śrābaṇ' is transcribed as 'sirabun'; and
- 'agrān' [i.e. agrahāyaṇ] as 'ogirran'.

(.....contd. from previous page)

dublā [grass]

3. Some phonetic peculiarities of East Bengali dialect like anaptyxis (dākāit < dākāt, kaillān < kalyān), epenthesis (cāir < cāri, āij < āji), disaspiration (bandu < bandhu, sadu < sādhu), nasal consonants in place of vowel nasalisation (cand < cād, bāndar < bādar).

4. Words related to Muslim culture and religion, e.g., hājī, namāj, dadī, selām, tupī, jummā, gunā, kābin, kāphon, mollā, darga, pir.

17. 'sakal goro' means 'all the tribes'. 'goro' is not a Bengali word. It derives from the Persian 'garoh', meaning 'tribe'. Its use here in preference to the Bengali Hindu words, 'Jāti', 'jāt', and 'varṇa' indicates that this East Bengali was Muslim.

Halhed's comments contain incidentally two slips: he states that the Bengali year is of 360 days (whereas, in fact, it is of 365); and that it "begins with first of Cheytirroh [Caitra]", whereas it ends at the close of Caitra and begins on 1st Baisākh.

3. 'Tribes of the Mussulman' (Add. 5661B, Foll 31); a list of Muslim 'tribes and castes' written on Indian handmade paper in four columns, Persian, Bengali, Roman phonetic transcription, and English translation. Again the Persian and Bengali were written by the Munshi, whose pronunciation of the Bengali is reflected in Halhed's rough transcription.

4. 'The Bengal names of affinity, (Add. 5661B, Foll 32-33); Halhed's introductory note to this list of Bengali kinship terms reads:

"There are no people in the world more attentive to their Relations, or more strict observers of the ties of blood than the Bengalese. The aged are always assisted, and if past their work entirely supported by the young, and the interest of every individual is employed for the service of the whole family -- This intimate alliance has produced among them a great number of names for the various degrees of kindred, much exceeding those of any European language -- of which I have given a tolerably accurate list; ... '18

Though the list finds no place in the Grammar, it nevertheless reveals that even as early as 1772-4 Halhed was planning some form of publication on the

18. BM MS, Add. 5661B, f.32.

language and people of Bengal.

The list is only in Bengali and once again is recorded first in Bengali characters by the Munshi, then in Roman phonetic transcription and English translation by Halhed. The list is interesting in that it furnishes mostly Muslim kinship terms, their Hindu counterparts being omitted presumably due to ignorance; which again provides a further clue to the identity of the Munshi, indicating that he was definitely Muslim.

Some of the exclusively Muslim terms furnished by the list are:

	<u>English equivalent</u>	<u>Hindu Bengali equivalent</u>
cācā	'Uncle on the father's side'	kākā
phupā	'Father's sister's husband'	pisā
dāmād	'Son-in-law'	jāmāi
cāci	'Father's brother's wife'	kākī
phupi	'Father's sister'	pisī
khālu	'Mother's sister's husband'	meso
māmu	'Mother's brother'	māmā
khālā	'Mother's sister'	māsī
cācāsāsur	'A wife's father's brother'	kākāsāsur

We include equivalents in English and Hindu Bengali for purposes of comparison.

Besides this Persian-Bengali vocabulary and these lists of castes, tribes and kinship terms, Halhed's Muslim Munshi during the years 1772-74 also supplied him with other papers, which could have been useful to him in learning Bengali and compiling a teaching manual of the language:

5. A Prose Specimen: 'Instructions to the Ameen and Gomasteh' Add. 5660F, Foll 1-2. The paper is European. Each page is divided into two halves. On the righthand half of each page are recorded the 'Instructions' in Bengali, written by Halhed's Muslim Munshi. The heading is in Halhed's hand. It reads: 'Instructions to the Ameen and Gomasteh at Hurrypaul (a true translation -- N.B.H.)' We presume it to have been translated from Persian and that this is why Halhed was required to initial it. It may possibly have formed part of his official work in the Persian translator's office, since for the first time it is recorded on European rather than Indian paper. In this connexion the following extract from the Grammar may be relevant:

"....and if any public notices are to be dispersed through the country, or affixed in the great towns, they are always attended with a Bengal translation..."¹⁹

6. A specimen of Dobhāṣī literature: 'The story of the generosity of the Caliph Ali in verse' (Add. 5660 E, Foll 40-47). Composed in dobhāṣī i.e. Bengali interlarded with Perso-Arabic diction, the poem is incomplete and unaccompanied by any English translation. It may have been beyond Halhed's powers of comprehension at this early period.

7. Specimens of letters and documents, bonds and leases pertaining to tenancy and land tenure. (Add. 5660 E, Foll 27-38). All are

19. HBG, p.xvii.

written in the hand of Halhed's Muslim Munshi and annotated interlinearly in Latin (except one in Persian) in the hand of Halhed. Ten bear titles in Persian. All are dated between 1772 and 1773.

These dates, 1772-73, the handwriting of the scribe, the specimen of dobhāṣī he supplied, the Muslim kinship terms, and the East Bengali pronunciation reflected in Halhed's phonetic transcription constitute almost all we have been able to glean about the identity of this East Bengali Muslim Munshi, who served as Halhed's linguistic informant during his first year or so in India. Whether he remained in Halhed's employ till 1778, when the Grammar was published, we do not know. He could have done, for Halhed's Grammar, the Appendix, contains a plate in his hand; but, if he did, then from sometime in 1774 he will have had a colleague and rival, who eventually ousted him from Halhed's affections. This rival was, of course, the Bengali Brahmin pundit referred to earlier.

III

The Contribution of Halhed's Brahmin pundit from Krishnanagar

How Halhed and his Bengali Brahmin pundit first met remains a mystery. We can only conjecture that Halhed made his acquaintance sometime in 1774, possibly through Warren Hastings or perhaps even through

Hastings' friend, Johnson, a banker, who is known to have been a collector of Bengali manuscripts.²⁰ At all events, it must have been this Brahmin, who furnished Halhed with a list of 'the most Ancient and Authentic Bengal Books' (Add. 5660 F, Folio 18). It was compiled in a Bengali hand on Indian handmade paper. The following folio in European paper bears Halhed's translation of the list together with his comments. On Bharatcandra's Annadāmaṅgal he adds "written within 25 years", which presumably is his rendering of the Brahmin compiler's information about the work, provided, we would guess, in Persian.

Halhed's translation runs:

"A list of the most Ancient and Authentic Bengal Books.

Kobee or Poet

- i - Cashee Dass -- wrote the Joymoonnee Bharot or a translation of the Shaster Mahabharat Shanskrit.
- ii - Kirtee Bash -- the Ramayan or Fabulous account of Ram.
- iii - Mookendo / Kobeekangon or poet / - Mongol Chundeer Geed or Hymns in praise of Mungul Chandee -- a Dewta.

20. The collection including twelve Bengali MSS belonged to Richard Johnson, a supernumerary member of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta in 1783, were acquired by the India Office Library in 1807. One Bengali manuscript Mahābhārat (IOL MS S 2144) was copied in 1773 for him by a native scribe Atmaram Dās, who also copied Kālikāmaṅgal (BM MS - Add. 5660) in 1776 found in Halhed's collection.

- iv - Khyemanand -- Monoshar Geed or Hymns in praise of Manosha
a female deity the daughter of Mahadev called Shev.
- v - Govinda Dass - Kaleeka Mangal -- or the odes for Kaleeka or
Brwammy.
- vi - Deejo Mādhobo -- Krishna mongul or odes for Kishen.
- vii - Bharat Chaunder - Annada Mangal -- The odes for annada, a
female deity, a wife of Mahadev. - Written within 25 years."²¹

It should be noticed that Halhed's transcription remains phonetic, rather than being a transliteration. He was still unable to read Bengali in 1774, but he was aware of aspiration and could identify it; e.g. 'Bharot', 'Mahabharat', 'Khyemanand', and 'Mādhobo'. He obviously caught it each time this Brahmin with his careful, sophisticated pronunciation uttered it. He also caught one or two features that one would not expect to find in the pronunciation of the average, educated, middle-class Bengali even today.

The average, educated Bengali of the present day would pronounce the Sanskrit words 'Mahādeva', 'Śiva', and 'Devatā' as 'Mahādeb', 'Shib', and 'Debatā'; the Skt voiced labiodental 'v' becomes in Bengali a voiced labial plosive 'b'. In the 'Ancient and Authentic' book list, however, Halhed transcribes these words phonetically as 'Mahadev', 'Shev', and 'Dewta', thus retaining a suggestion of the 'v' pronounced by the Bengali Brahmin,

21. BM MS, Add. 5660 F, f.19.

whose speech undoubtedly bore the deep imprint of his long training in Sanskrit. Furthermore, in the list Halhed transcribes 'Kṣemānanda' as 'Khyemanand'. This is extremely interesting, for in his Grammar he also recommends that the cluster 'kṣ' be pronounced 'khy'. Thus the man who compiled this list and read it out to Halhed was in all probability the same man who taught Halhed the Bengali syllabry and how to pronounce it.

In his Grammar we find Halhed making meticulous statements about pronunciation, which obviously originated in the mouth of this same Bengali Brahmin pundit. On precisely this point of the pronunciation of 'v', Halhed pontificates:

"व wo, in the Shanscrit language is always used with the sound of w, but in the Bengalese it is never distinguished from ब bo either in form or utterance."²²

Halhed following this Bengali Brahmin pundit was careful in his transcriptions in certain sections of the Grammar to retain the Sanskritic pronunciation; e.g. 'aashwaash' [āsvās]²³, 'neeshwash' [niśvās]²⁴, 'dweeteeya' [dvitīya]²⁵ etc.

It is, therefore, clear that the Bengali Brahmin pundit, who supplied the list of 'Ancient and Authentic' Bengali books, became Halhed's chief

22. HBG, pp.13-14.

23. HBG, p.15.

24. HBG, p.19.

25. HBG, p.19.

informant from 1774 onwards. Since he provided the list of books, it is reasonable also to assume that he was also the original source of the comment on Bharatcandra's 'Annadāmaṅgal' "written within 25 years". The comment was accurate; for, if we take 1774 to have been the date of the 'Authentic' book list, then 1749 would be the upper limit for the commencement of Bharatcandra's trilogy, 'Annadāmaṅgal', which, S.K.Sen informs us was completed in 1753.²⁶ The accuracy of the comment suggests that this Bengali Brahmin informant may have had personal knowledge of Bhāratcandra, who spent his last years at the Court of the Raja of Krishnanagar, Kṛṣṇacandra Rāy. Would it not be reasonable to conjecture that this Brahmin came from Krishnanagar? It is interesting to notice in this connexion that Halhed's Grammar contains a fulsome reference to Raja Kṛṣṇacandra Rāy:

"The Raja of Kishenagur, who is by much the most learned and able antiquary which Bengal has produced within this century, ... "²⁷

Is it not possible that this piece of fulsome praise originated with much else in Halhed's grammar in the mouth of this Bengali Brahmin?

We would urge that such was indeed the case. We would suggest most earnestly that this Brahmin was once at the Court of Krishnanagar, that that was the reference he gave Halhed, when entering his employment,

26. S.K.Sen, History of Bengali Literature, 1960, p.166.

27. HBG, p.v.

and that he so enchanted Halhed with his learning and erudition that Halhed accepted all he said as absolute truth. That Halhed had a high opinion of him can be easily proved. Halhed had earlier, it will be recalled, acquired from his East Bengali Munshi a list of 'The Hindoo castes and Tribes'.²⁸ He now got his Bengali Brahmin pundit to supply a further one. The title is significant: 'A list of the Jentoo tribes or Castes, by an intelligent Bramin'²⁹ (*Italics mine*). Halhed particularly remarks the Brahmin's intelligence.

i) Bengali works studied by Halhed

Halhed's Bengali Brahmin pundit evidently selected from his list a number of works that he thought Halhed might profitably study, if he were ever to master Bengali. The full list of acquisitions was obviously too ambitious.³⁰ Eventually, Halhed's reading of Bengali was concentrated principally on three works, the most popular ones of the period, the Mahābhārat of Kāśirām Dās, the Rāmāyaṇ of Kṛttibās, and Bhāratcandra's Vidyāsundar.

a) Mahābhārat by Kāśirām Dās

Halhed appears to have confined his reading mainly to the Mahābhārat. When discussing the source of the extracts in his Grammar

28. Supra, p. 71.

29. It may be noticed that Halhed used here 'Jentoo' whereas in his Code of Gentoo Laws it was 'Gentoo' which suggests that the list was compiled before 1775, possibly in 1774.

30. Out of the seven 'ancient and authentic books listed by the pundit four are found in Halhed's collection in the British Museum Library. The four books are Mahābhārat by Kāśirām Dās (incomplete, 5 cantos only), Rāmāyaṇ by Kṛttibās, Candimangal by Mukundāram and three copies of Annadamangal by Bhāratcandra (part II of the trilogy called Vidyāsundar).

he states:

"It will not be supposed that in the continual hurry of a life of business I could have had much leisure to turn over voluminous compositions for the meer purpose of selecting poetical expressions: I generally took those which first occurred, and for the most part confined my reading to the Mohaabhaarot, which is reckoned one of the most classical writings."³¹

Halhed has in his collection six individual parvas or cantos from the Mahābhārat. Five of the cantos, copied at various times between 1773 and 1778 by various copyists, are bound together in European book-form, size 5" by 13¹/₂", and preserved in the British Museum (Add. 5595). The cantos are:

1. Sabhā Parva, Foll 1-73, copied in 1773 (3rd Caitra, B.S. 1179).
The copyist is not named.
2. Bhīṣma Parva, Foll 74-105, copied in 1778 (16th Phālgun, B.S. 1184) by Tārācandra Ghoṣ of the village of Malaṅgā, Calcutta.
3. Nāri Parva, Foll 106-134, copied in 1774 (17th Jyaiṣṭha, B.S. 1181) by Sheikh Jāmāl Māhāmud of Kalinga.
4. Śānti Parva, Foll 135-153, copied in 1774 (11th Māgh, B.S. 1180), by Sheikh Jāmāl Māhāmud, whose colophon states that the manuscript was copied 'for himself' ('nijer kāraṇ likhilām).

31. HBG, pp.189-190.

5. Āsram Parva, Foll 154-181, copied in 1773. The scribe is not named, though the handwriting is that of Sheikh Jāmāl Māhāmud.

The brief illustrative extracts appearing in Halhed's Grammar on pages 58 (three extracts), 60, 62 (three extracts), 65 (two extracts), 73 (three extracts), 85, 91, 94, 95, 100, 109, 112, 117 and 184 were probably drawn from the five cantos listed above, though we have not deemed it in any way profitable to trace them, since the origin of other extracts are more readily accessible and reveal all we need to know of Halhed's working methods.

Halhed also acquired a copy of the Drona Parva, another canto of the Mahābhārat. This copy was previously in the possession of the great German orientalist, Max Müller. It is now in the British Museum (Oriental 4741, Foll 47, incomplete). Halhed appears to have got a Bengali scribe to copy two extracts from this Max Müller Mahābhārat. The extracts were probably selected by Halhed's Bengali Brahmin pundit. They are:

A. The 'Lamentation of Orjon for his son, extracted from the Drona perbb, or 5th book of the Mahabhārot in the ... verse called treepudee'; Additional 5660 F, Foll 16-17, gives the Bengali text in a Bengali hand on the left-hand side of each folio, whilst on the right appears Halhed's transcription and English translation. The transcription of this extract follows the spelling of the Bengali text and the system

of transcription is almost the same as that of the grammar.³² The Bengali text has also been corrected in a few places showing that by the date of this extract (presumably between 1776 and 1777), Halhed was aware of the need for editing the manuscripts because of their variant spellings etc, which suggests that by now Halhed could read and write the Bengali script. The corrections seem to be written by Halhed in the same ink used in writing the transcription and English translation. The text of the extract greatly resembles that of the Max Müller manuscript;³³ we therefore presume it to have been copied from there. The corrections are as follows:

<u>Line</u>	<u>Scribe's text</u>	<u>Correction</u>
8	dukṣa kari mor	dukṣa kari mor man
9	putra mahābir	putra mahābīr
17	bidare hrīday	bidare hr̥day

The scribe's first error was lipographical, and the second and third orthographical. Extracts from this 'Lamentation' were utilized in Halhed's Grammar to illustrate various grammatical points on pages 58, 186 and 203.

32. The same set of English letters are used for different Bengali letters in this transcription and also in the grammar:

33. BM MS, Oriental 4741, f. 16 verso.

B. A further, longer section of the Drona Parva of the Mahābhārat is quoted on pages 37 to 42 of Halhed's Grammar. Couplets from this same quotation are re-quoted on pages 81, 85, 94, 95, 99, 100, 111, 113, 114, 155, 156, 185 and 199 of the Grammar. The text of this lengthy quotation tallies with that of the Max Müller Mahābhārat, except for a few differences in spelling, where Halhed has presumably effected emendations in his text prior to the publication of the Grammar. The beginning and ending of the quotation are marked in the Max Müller Mahābhārat, the words 'Begin' and 'end', presumably in Halhed's hand, appearing in the margins of folios 23 verso and 24 verso respectively. Further extracts from the Drona Parva in the Max Müller Mahābhārat appear on pages 55 (two extracts), 56, 57, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71 and 79 in Halhed's Grammar.

b) The Rāmāyaṇ by Kṛttibās

The manuscript Halhed used is preserved in the British Museum. It is complete in two volumes, Additional 5590 and 5591, Foll 263 and 350; written by a native scribe in book-form folio; size 9" by 6" approx; no colophon. Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇ appear in Halhed's Grammar, pp. 98, 147, 151, 182 and 198.

c) The Vidyāsundar by Bhāratcandra

Halhed's collection contained at least three copies of Bhāratcandra's Vidyāsundar. He also had the use of Charles Wilkins's copy, which was acquired by the India Office Library in 1837.

A. Additional 5593: Kālikāmaṅgal, a trilogy of which Vidyāsundar forms a part, by Bharatcandra; complete; Foll 62; written in European book-form, 9" by 6"; no colophon. The first folio bears Halhed's signature.

B. Additional 5560: Kālikāmaṅgal, by Bhāratcandra; Foll 24; size 17" by 5½"; colophon states that it was copied by Ātmārām Dās Ghoṣ, a kāyastha, from Calcutta, by the order of Nandarām, son of Giridhar Bosāk, in 1776 A.D. (1183 B.S.).

C. Additional 5660BI, Vidyāsundar by Bhāratcandra; Foll 9; incomplete; first page missing; end missing; size 14" by 14½".

D. Charles Wilkins's Vidyāsundar by Bhāratcandra: India Office Library manuscript: S.2811A; Foll 284; size 9" by 5½"; bound in European book form. Bengali text on the left-hand side of the page only, the right being left blank, presumably for transcription and English translation. Some pages bear interlinear annotations; e.g. on p.8:

- line 1: over the Bengali word 'raṅge' appears the Persian gloss 'khusi';
- line 2: over the Bengali word 'tuṣṭa' appears the Persian gloss 'khusi';
- line 2: over the Bengali work 'kaṣṭa' appears the English gloss 'hard';
- line 5: over the Bengali word 'Khuradhār' appears the English gloss 'razor'.

On the same page there are also a few interlinear emendations; e.g.

line 3: 'binayete' instead of 'binaye';

line 3: 'dvāri' instead of 'dvārike';

line 4: 'bujhilām' instead of 'bujhila'.

Besides these four copies of Vidyāsundar at Halhed's disposal there must, we presume, have been at least one further copy, which we have failed to trace, for the extracts from Vidyāsundar in Halhed's Grammar on pages 90, 92, 125, 145, 149, 153, 155 and 187 came from none of the known manuscripts but from a single folio Additional 5660F, Folio 12, specially copied for him from some elusive manuscript, which like the Max Müller Mahābhārat somehow strayed from his collection.

Additional 5660F, folios 13-14 constitute a "'Bāramāsyā" -- a poetical description of the twelve months by Bhāratcandra', and Additional 5660F, folio 15 its English translation by Halhed. Both the Bengali text and English translation were written on European paper. The Bengali text was, of course, in the handwriting of a Bengali scribe. The translation is complete. Its fourth line runs: "forsaking the water of life Poorandar desires to eat them (for the syntax)".³⁴ The bracketed comment is interesting, since it indicates that, even while translating Halhed was conscious of the purpose for which he intended to use the piece of his Grammar. In the margin by the side of the Bengali text, where the word 'mān' occurs, Halhed has written the question: 'What

34. BM MS, Add. 5660F, f.15.

is "mān"? The word 'mān' is in the Bengali script, which, together with the absence of a transcription of the whole piece, indicates that Halhed could now read and write the Bengali script.

When couplets from this extract finally appeared in print in the Grammar, its spelling had been 'improved', according to Sanskrit orthography. The words, 'nidāge', 'edese', 'jei', 'jubā' and 'sunāiba' from the manuscript appear in the Grammar as 'nidaghe', 'edese', 'yei', 'yubā' and 'sunāiba'.

IV

Halhed's working method, as revealed so far

It ought by now to have become clear that Halhed was an extremely methodical man. In learning Bengali he used Persian as his contact language, since this was the most universally understood at the time amongst Bengali intellectuals and British officials. He improved his knowledge of Persian through indigenous teaching aids, acquired some facility with Hindustani, glanced at Hindi and Tamil and finally settled on Bengali. He ordered specialised lists from his Bengali Muslim informant that would increase his understanding of Bengali society, both Hindu and Muslim, and collected specimens of official Bengali prose and some literary mixed diction. Within a year or so of commencing his study of Bengali, he had realized through his newly-appointed Bengali Brahmin pundit that a purer form of Bengali could be found in 'Ancient

and Authentic' books. He sought to discover it. He had a list of such books compiled by the Brahmin pundit, who selected from it the three most popular, the Mahābhārat, the Rāmāyan, and Vidyāsundar, that he considered Halhed ought to study first. Realizing that this was too ambitious, Halhed got the pundit to select passages from each, had copies made of these selections, leaving room for transcription and translation, and also for interlinear emendations and annotations in the Bengali text. Then with the pundit as his tutor, Halhed studied the Bengali script and gradually mastered it. It had been Halhed's practice, even before engaging the pundit, to read through his material with his informant. He had done this with the Munshi, going through the official documents, making at first interlinear annotations in Latin, then, presumably realizing the wastefulness of this, he had begun to annotate, if necessary, in Persian, the language in which the Munshi answered his queries. Halhed had later continued this practice with the pundit, still annotating, where unavoidable, in Persian, though preferring now, if possible, to annotate directly in English. And now afterwards, alone and at his leisure, he began re-reading his selections, translating them into English, and leaving, where necessary, blanks in his English text for the later insertion of the meanings of strange words, or putting queries in the margin of his Bengali text; e.g. "What is 'mān'?" His big difficulty remained, of course, vocabulary and spelling. He presumably had access to some form

of Persian-English, or possibly even Persian-Latin dictionary,³⁵ which was why he left glosses in Persian, but he had no Bengali-English or Sanskrit-English dictionary. Halhed was, therefore, dependent on his Bengali Brahmin informant both for the meanings of individual words and also for their spellings, which means that ultimately much of the quality of his Grammar was to rely on this man; for, being unable as yet, for lack of experience and knowledge, to select texts, weigh their value as literature, and edit them, Halhed was compelled to rely on his major informant, the Bengali Brahmin pundit. This overdependence was, we think, to have unfortunate consequences.

35. Halhed might have access to Castellus' or Meninski's dictionaries:

- a) Edmund Castellus, Lexici Orientalis Heptaglotti pars altera: Seu Dictionarium Persico-Latinum, London 1669.
- b) F.A.M. Meninski, Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, ... 1680-87.

Chapter IV

HALHED'S COMPETENCE IN BENGALI AND SANSKRIT

Introductory Remarks

The extent to which Halhed studied Bengali can be measured in pages rather than books. As we have seen, his reading of Bengali all told probably did not exceed 200 folios.¹ That on the basis of so meagre a sampling of Bengali literature -- and indeed that even whilst still in the act of sampling it -- a man should embark upon compiling a grammar of that language says much for his self-confidence, and one must pay tribute at least to this, if to nothing else. Having done so, however, one cannot help but wonder how far the man was competent to accomplish his self-imposed task. In this chapter, therefore, we shall pose two questions:

- i) How far was Halhed competent in the Bengali language; and
- ii) How far was he also competent in Sanskrit?

In seeking answers to these questions we shall examine two aspects of his Grammar that seem likely to be elucidating: the degree of accuracy

1. This has been estimated on the basis of his private papers referred in chapter III and examples used in the grammar. In view of the time spent in learning the language it is an achievement, nevertheless the number of folios is not great.

of the translations of his Bengali illustrative couplets; and two, his Sanskrit grammatical terminology.

I

HALHED'S COMPETENCE IN BENGALI

Below we list a number of words and phrases mistranslated by Halhed as contrasted with what we believe to be the true meanings.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Word or Phrase</u>	<u>Halhed's mistranslation</u>	<u>Our translation</u>
23	'dambha'	cunning	pride, arrogance, vanity
27	'uparodha'	compliment	persistent request, importunity
51	'prabodha karila'	satisfied	consoled
72	'kāy'	at heart	in ... body
92	'sañcār'	figure	advent
107	'cali'	hastening	moving
110	'tapasyā karite'	to pray	to perform austerities
113	'pane'	in the conditions of the marriage	in the wager
114	'bāne'	with ... scymetar	with arrows
115	'kariyā yatan'	upon mature consideration	carefully
125	'kheyuḍā'	sacred odes	vulgar, ribald songs
142	'mane mane'	with hearty goodwill	to oneself, within one's mind
143	'mane mane'	of his own accord	within his mind
146 } 189 }	'biraha'	of perfidy	of separation
146	'kon abhilāse'	how eagerly	with what intention or desire
159	{ 'prān' 'kaṇṭhete'	life in ... body	breath in ... throat

184	'agnibān pūṛila sandhān'	aimed weapon of fire	loaded his bow with a fiery arrow
187	'sukh' 'uthalila' 'parapār'	inclinations boiled vehemently	happiness overflowed both banks
189	'bhejāiyā diyā'	having set to it the spark of desire	having closed it
197	'ban madhye balātkār kaila'	in the deserts committed violence	in the woods raped
204	'bhaji'	I ... would obey	I would worship
204	'yoginī'	pilgrim	female ascetic

Some of these mistranslations may have resulted from the failure of Halhed's informant to supply accurate Persian glosses for the words Halhed could not understand. We saw in the previous chapter,² for example, how both 'raṅge' and 'tuṣṭa' were glossed with the single Persian word 'khusi'. Such glosses were bound to result in vagueness: 'khusi' denotes 'pleasure, whim', whereas 'raṅge' signifies 'merrily, sportively, frolicsomenely' and 'tuṣṭa' 'contented or satisfied'. The mistranslation of 'Kheyudā'³ as 'sacred odes' rather than 'vulgar ditties' must have resulted from a similar kind of vague gloss, signifying 'song', which Halhed, hazarding a guess, attempted to render more specific. The translation of 'ban madhye' as 'in the deserts' rather than 'in the forests' undoubtedly resulted from a poor Persian gloss. The informant was probably trying to convey to Halhed 'ban's' connotations of loneliness and desolation, which in the Middle East is found 'in the desert' and in Bengal 'in the forest or jungle'.

2. Supra, chapter III, p.86.

3. HBG, p.125.

Sometimes one feels that the informant may have supplied an idiomatic rather than literal rendering of the original, or possibly Halhed used to guess at the meanings of words on the basis of context, as his training in the classics may have inclined him to do. This could account for his rendering of 'kāy' as 'at heart' in

--'duryodhan rājā haila ānandita kāy', which he translates as

"And Raja Doorjodhon was elated at heart",⁴ whereas the literal

meaning is 'King Duryodhan was delighted in his body';

and of 'kaṇṭhete' as 'in ... body' and 'prān' as 'life' in

-- 'yābat kaṇṭhete āmār rahe prān', which he translates as

"While life remains in my body",⁵ whereas the literal meaning is

'While breath remains in my throat'.

Naturally no one can insist upon being given literal translations, but in a teaching grammar, which contains no glossary, some literal translations would appear essential.

Instead of literal translations, however, one receives, one must confess, at times nothing but wild guesses. What else but wild guesses could account for such renderings as:

--'biṣay āsay bujhi' 'without a doubt I am convinced';⁶

--'karibār mān-bhaṅga' 'to dissipate his passion';⁷ and

4. HBG, p.72.

5. HBG, p.159.

6. HBG, p.115.

7. HBG, p.116.

--'uthalila sundarer sukh pārāpār' 'The inclinations of Soondor boiled vehemently'⁸ (literally 'Sundar's happiness overflowed both banks')?

Indeed, when one sees the mutilation of the following couplet, one perceives with dismay how little of the beauty of the original Halhed was capable of appreciating:

'dukher gharete bandi kariyā Anāṅga ānāl
bhejāiyā diyā kon abhilāse biraha
bātāse jālāilā jubatī'

Halhed renders this as

"Having enslaved me in the house of affliction; and having set to it the spark of desire,
How eagerly did you inflame a young girl with the breath of perfidy."⁹

The literal meaning would run roughly as follows:

'Cupid imprisoned me in this house of wretchedness.
Having closed it, with what intention did you inflame me,
a young girl, with the winds of separation?'

The image inherent in these haunting, sensuous lines escaped Halhed; as indeed, we only too freely confess, it evaded our literal rendering too. There was no concrete prison-house. There was only the bondage to her beloved engendered in her by Cupid. From this she was powerless to escape, for the locks were fastened; yet insidiously through the bars of her Cupid-imposed prison blew the winds of her yearnings to torment her with longing for her beloved.

8. HBG, p.187.

9. HBG, p.189.

To descend once more to the level of the prosaic, however, one finds it difficult to imagine how Halhed could have translated 'bāne' as 'with ... scymetar'.¹⁰ 'Arrows' (bān) are let fly in every other lines of the Mahābhārat. Even in his Grammar the word occurs thirteen times¹¹ and is successfully translated. Indeed, on page 66 it is even declines in both Bengali and Sanskrit. Mistranslations such as this set one wondering whether Halhed ever seriously attempted to learn Bengali at all. Was he merely analysing the language on paper for the purpose of producing some kind of descriptive account of the language?

Some of Halhed's mistranslations result from false analogies or false derivations; e.g. he takes 'saha' in 'sahacarigan'¹² as cognate with the Skt 'saḥ', meaning 'that', whereas actually 'saha' means 'with' or in compounds such as this 'com-': 'sahacarigan' = 'female friends or companions' or 'maids-in-waiting'. Similarly he takes 'sabh' in 'sabhe' and 'sabhākāre'¹³ as cognate with 'sabhā' 'assembly', whereas 'sabhe' is merely a pronoun meaning 'all (animate)' and 'sabhākāre' is its accusative form. Again he identifies 'pāt' in 'nipāt'¹⁴ with the Bengali word 'pāt' < Skt 'patra' meaning 'leaf', whereas 'nipāt' (which he interprets literally as 'leafless'), is a Skt

10. HBG, p.114.

11. On pages 56 (2 times), 57 (2 times), 58 and 66 (8 times).

12. HBG, p.91.

13. HBG, p.93.

14. HBG, p.149.

grammatical term signifying 'indeclinable'. Similarly he identifies the 'dur' in 'durācār',¹⁵ as 'dūr' ('distant') rather than 'duḥ' ('bad'). Then he takes the prefix 'sam' as signifying a superlative; e.g. 'pūrṇa' 'full', 'sampūrṇa' 'very full'.¹⁶ 'balābali' he wrongly derives from 'bal' ('strength') interpreting it as 'mutual exertion of strength',¹⁷ whereas it derives from 'balan' ('to say') and means 'mutual conversing'.

Besides mistranslations due to ignorance of vocabulary, Halhed also occasionally misconstrued sentences, showing his failure fully to grasp Bengali syntax. We cite a few examples below:

-- 'bāha bāha balyā ḡāke dui bāhu pasāri'. This Halhed translates as

"He hath summoned us, crying out, 'row, row, and stretch wide both your arms'".¹⁸

Halhed obviously construed 'dui bāhu pasāri' as part of the sentence 'bāha, bāha' ('row, row'), whereas it forms part of the sentence 'balyā ḡāke' ('he calls out'). The correct translation is, therefore, :

"'Row, row,' he called, throwing wide his arms.'

-- 'pañcajānya śaṅkha kṛṣṇa bājān āpane'. This Halhed translates as

"Ponchojonyo, the shell of Kreeshno, sounded of itself."¹⁹

15. HBG, p.150.

16. HBG, p.152.

17. HBG, p.141.

18. HBG, p.64.

19. HBG, p.88.

There are several errors here. 'bājān' is honorific. It would be unusual to find, as one does in Halhed's translation, an inanimate noun governing an honorific verb. Furthermore, his translation implies that 'kṛṣṇa' is genitive, yet it is not inflected for this case, nor does it precede its noun, the thing possessed, as it ought in Bengali.

The natural rendering of the sentence would be:

'Kṛṣṇa himself sounded his conch, Pañcajañya,' where 'kṛṣṇa', a god governs the honorific verb.

-- 'dekhi kṛṣṇa arjun duhe kare pranipāt'. This Halhed translates as

"Orjoon seeing Kreeshno they both gave a salutation."²⁰

Halhed seriously misconstrued the Bengali. The subject of 'dekhi' (dekhiyā) is not 'arjun' alone, but 'kṛṣṇa arjun duhe', which is the normal way of saying 'both Kṛṣṇa and Arjun'. Thus the true rendering would be:

'Seeing [this] Kṛṣṇa and Arjun both saluted'

-- 'das bān binddhilek karṇer hr̥day'. This Halhed translates as:

"He shot ten arrows into Korno's body",²¹ but 'binddhilek' means not 'shot' but 'pierced', in which case 'das bān' ('ten arrows') should logically govern it, as in fact it does. The natural translation is, therefore:

'Ten arrows pierced Karṇa's body'.

20. HBG, p.94.

21. HBG, p.116.

-- 'Ki karan diyā giyāchila se ṭākā'. Here Halhed wrongly interprets 'diyā giyāchila' as passive and translates the sentence as

"On what account had those rupees been given?"²² 'diyā giyāchila' is however active and is governed by 'se', which is the pronoun 'he' and not, as Halhed assumes, the demonstrative adjective, 'that' or, as here, 'those'. Therefore, the true translation is:

'Why did he give the money?'

-- 'abīrānta paḍe coṭ kare hānāhāni'.²³ Halhed wrongly interprets this as a single sentence and translates it as:

"Wounds fall without ceasing and inflict reciprocal gashes".²⁴

Firstly, 'coṭ' means 'blows', not 'wounds'. Secondly, 'kare hānāhāni' is a separate sentence. The true meaning is:

'Blows fall ceaselessly. They strike each other.'

-- 'ār rathe kari tabe dronere laila'. Halhed wrongly translates this as:

"He then brought another carriage to Dron."²⁵

'rathe', however, is plainly locative, and 'rathe kari' (< kariyā) is the idiomatic Bengali for 'by carriage'. 'Dronere' is therefore not dative, but accusative. The true translation is:

'He then brought Drona by another carriage'.

Another error Halhed made was in taking 'nā' as negative rather than emphatic in

22. HBG, p.122.

23. HBG, p.142.

24. HBG, p.142.

25. HBG, p.56.

-- 'ki kari bala nā'. He mistranslates this as:

"You tell me not what I must do ... ", whereas it should be

'Do tell me what I am to do ... ',²⁶

Furthermore, he sometimes misunderstood reduplications; e.g.

-- 'kāndite kāndite'.²⁷ This he interpreted as "by repeated

weeping", whereas 'while weeping' would be the more normal

rendering, since reduplication here implies not repetition, but continuity.

-- 'choṭa choṭa',²⁸ and 'baḍa baḍa'.²⁹ Halhed interpreted reduplications of adjectives like this are intensifying the adjectives' meaning, whereas actually here reduplication signifies the plurality of the noun qualified. Thus 'baḍa baḍa min' should mean not 'a very large fish', but 'big fishes'.

Moreover, Halhed did not realize that a verb, though causative in form, need not necessarily be causative in meaning; e.g.

-- 'śīsu sāṅge berāila rākhite godhan'. This Halhed translates as:

"He conducted the children to tend the cattle".³⁰ Though 'berāila'

appears to be causative, in fact it is not. It derives from 'ber'

(< bāhir) and the verb 'haon' ('to become') and means 'to go out'.

26. HBG, p.117.

27. HBG, p.109.

28. HBG, p.152.

29. HBG, p.152.

30. HBG, p.110.

It is therefore intransitive. 'sisu' cannot therefore be its object. It forms part of the phrase 'sisu saṅge', 'with the child'. Thus the true translation is:

'He went out with the child to tend the cattle'.

Finally, Halhed misunderstood compound verbs, invariably translating them as two simple verbs occurring together; e.g.

-- 'yāo re rajani tumi mariyā'. Here he translates this as

"O Night, do thou, having perished, depart".³¹

On page 63 he translates the same sentence as

"O Night, perish and depart from us".

And on page 183 he translates it as

"Go thou O night, having perished."

-- 'rath cālāiyā deha ati sigratar'. This he translates as

"Having caused the car to hasten, give it me with all expedition."³²

And on page 152 he translates it correctly as

"Cause the chariot to come hither most expeditiously."

-- 'lakṣa lakṣa bīrer kāṭiyā pāḍe mātā'. This he translates as

"Having cut off the heads of thousands of heroes, he throws them down."³³

-- 'judhiṣṭire dhari deha'. This he translates as

"Seize and give me Yudhiṣṭir."³⁴

31. HBG, p.113.

32. HBG, p.125.

33. HBG, p.180.

34. HBG, p.58.

A full discussion of compound verbs in Bengali could in itself occupy a whole thesis. We do not propose ^{to} ~~on~~ enter~~ing~~ on it here. We will state merely that 'mariyā yāo', 'cālāiyā deha', and 'kāṭiyā pāḍe' are all examples of compound verbs, whose respective meanings are: 'die!', 'drive!', and 'he cuts off' (in modern Bengali, 'kāṭiyā phele').

II

HALHED'S COMPETENCE IN SANSKRIT

a) Sanskrit works available to him

Halhed's interest in Sanskrit persisted at least until 1790, six years after his final return from India, for we find amongst his collection Paulinus's Grammar of the Sanskrit language in Latin:

'Sidharvham, seu Grammatica Samsrdamica' by

Paulinus A.S. Bartholomaco, Roma, 1790.

What use he made of it is unknown to us, however.

Of greater relevance to our thesis, however, are the manuscripts he acquired in India. Below we list and describe them. There were three Grammars:

1. 'Mugdhabodha', the Skt grammar by Vopadeva (Additional 5596, Foll 108); written in the Bengali script; first page bears a title: "Moogddha Bodha - a grammar of the Sanskrit language used in Bengal ... C W", presumably in the hand of Charles Wilkins; an additional folio at the

end gives some rules about verbal roots, and on one margin appears the signature: 'Sebak Rādhāraman Sārbhabhaum', who may have been the scribe;

2. 'Siddhānta Kaumudī', the Sanskrit grammar by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit; written on folios bound in European book-form (Additional 5581, Foll 262, 167); it bears a title in English followed by the initials C W (presumably Charles Wilkins); no colophon;

3. 'Sārasvata Sūtras', the Sanskrit grammar by Anubhūtiśārūpācārya; written on folios bound in European book form; no colophon (Additional 5584, Foll 254).

There were also three other works:

4. 'Mahābhārat', in eight volumes (Additional 5569-76); copied in Benares in 1776;

5. 'Dvādaśamahābhākyabaraṇa', a philosophical treatise by Śaṅkarācārya; and

6. 'Kāvyaaprakāśa', a Sanskrit treatise on rhetoric by Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa (Additional 5582). The colophon to this manuscript states that it was copied for Halhed by the Kashmirian pundit, Kāśinātha.

A study of the handwriting of the above works reveals that all but the first were in fact copied by Kāśinātha.

Kāśinātha also furnished Halhed with:

7. 'A list of the Jentoo Casts or tribes as taken from Shanskrit Books' (Additional 5661B, Foll 28). The Sanskrit words occupy the left-hand side of the folio whilst on the right appears Halhed's Roman transcription.

8. A Sanskrit śloka and its translation (Additional 5660F, Folio 21).

On the top of the page sits Halhed's title in his own hand: "An Ashlogue anushtope chhand or regular of 8 syllables in each line". The śloka is written in Kāśinātha's hand in the Devanāgarī script, and Halhed's English translation follows it. The śloka and its English translation both appear in Halhed's printed Gentoo Code, which also contains in Kāśinātha's hand plates illustrating Devanāgarī.³⁵

b) The Sanskrit Grammatical terms adopted by Halhed in his Grammar

In his Grammar Halhed adopts forty indigenous,³⁶ grammatical terms; thirty-eight Sanskrit and two Bengali, namely 'phalā' and 'bānān'. The chapter on versification contains a further twenty-one indigenous, prosodical terms. It is probable that a high percentage of these terms were drawn from the three manuscript grammars (IIa, 1-3) and the work on rhetoric (IIa, 6) referred to above, though we are certain that they were not drawn from those sources by Halhed himself, but by his informants, the Kashmirian Brahmin, Kāśinātha, and the Bengali Brahmin pundit from Krishnagar.

35. See Gentoo Code, plate no.III, p.XXVI. Translation of the śloka appears on page XXVIII.

36. Viz, "Dhātu, śabda, avyay, Kaṇṭhya, tālavya, dantya, oṣṭhya, nāsikya, murddnanya, phalā, siddhi, Siddhirastu, anusvar, visarga, bānān, hrasva, dīrgha, puṇḍrīṅga, strīṅga, napuṃsak, klībalīṅga, nāmbācyā, nipāta, parasmaipada, ātmanepada, ardhadhatuka, kṛdanta, biśeṣaṇ, kartā, kriyā, karma, śabda-biśeṣaṇ, śabdayog, kriyābiśeṣaṇ, pada, sakarmmak, akarmmak, dvikarmak, kṛt and śabda."

The proof of this statement lies largely in Halhed's system of transliteration adopted in the Grammar. Most of his adopted indigenous grammatical terms conform to this system, but eight fall outside it. These eight terms, as will be seen in the chart below, not only fail to conform to the system of transliteration adopted in the Grammar, but also that in the Gentoo Code.

The eight terms as transcribed in the Grammar	As they should be according to the Grammar's system	As they should be according to the <u>Gentoo Code</u> system	Our trans- literation
1. Dhaat	dhaat <u>oo</u>	dhāto <u>o</u>	dhātu
2. Shubd	shob <u>do</u>	shebde	śabda
3. Evya	oby <u>oy</u>	ebyey	avyay
4. Kungtee	kon <u>thyo</u>	kenthye	kaṇṭhya
5. Taaloopee	taal <u>oby</u> <u>o</u>	talebye	tālavya
6. Dunttee	don <u>tyo</u>	dentye	dantya
7. Ooshtanee	os <u>hthyo</u>	oshthye	oṣṭhya
8. Naasikaa	naasik <u>yo</u>	nāsikye	nāsikya

The system adopted in the Grammar (where o = the inherent vowel) and that in the Gentoo Code (where e = the inherent vowel) were obviously based on the respective pronunciations of the Bengali Brahmin pundit and the Kashmirian Pundit, Kāśinātha. The 'system' adopted for the eight terms under discussion conforms to neither.

It will be recalled that, when first transcribing Bengali, before learning the Bengali script, Halhed did so phonetically, capturing in so doing some characteristics of his informants' pronunciations. These eight terms seem to have been transcribed in the same way, suggesting that

Halhed had learned them by ear, before knowing how they were written. Since they are phonetically transcribed, it should be possible to deduce which informants he learned them from. Our transcription shows that 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 contain either 'v' or 'y', or both. We know from the list of 'Ancient and Authentic' books that, when pronouncing such words, the Bengali Brahmin pundit enunciated these consonants so distinctly that Halhed was able to transcribe them. Of the eight odd phonetic transcriptions under discussion, only 'Evya' reflects such careful enunciation: the remainder by their loss of aspiration and blurring of these consonants 'v' and 'y' suggest that they were acquired from the East Bengali Muslim Munshi. This was very likely the case for on inspection these eight terms turn out to be about the commonest grammatical terms in the language: one could scarcely learn even the script without acquiring them; i.e. all Bengalis would come across them even in the indigenous primary schools, the so-called pāṭhśālās. We, therefore, suggest that Halhed learned these terms by ear, when being given brief explanations in Persian about the grammatical nature of the Bengali language and its script by his informants.

That Halhed acquired the indigenous grammatical terms from his informants rather than from the original Sanskrit grammars is further substantiated by the fact that the terminology is incomplete: it covers only certain aspects of grammar; not all aspects. The Sanskrit equivalents of even such common terms as 'letter', 'vowel', 'consonant', 'singular',

'plural', 'tense', 'present', 'past' and 'future' are omitted. We would, therefore, suggest that Halhed acquired and adopted only such terms as turned up in the course of discussion: he had no means of asking his informants via Persian for the equivalents of English grammatical terms; nor, so it would seem, of checking terms acquired by ear from one informant (the Muslim Munshi) with the other (the Bengali Brahmin).

Had Halhed acquired his Sanskrit grammatical terminology from the original sources, he would have been capable of doing a number of things, of which he was plainly incapable:

- i) He would have been able to spell Bengali words according to Sanskrit orthography: his Grammar shows that he could not;
- ii) He would have been thoroughly consistent in transliteration: his Grammar shows that he was not;
- iii) He would have been more specific when referring to Sanskrit Grammarians, distinguishing them by Schools for his collection contained grammars from three different ones: he was not specific, however;
- iv) He would have been able to disentangle internal sandhi: his Grammar shows that he could not;³¹
- v) His translation of Sanskrit grammatical terms would have been accurate: in fact, they read like translations of vague definitions given probably in Persian.

37. I.e. "durācār = dur + ācār" (p.150) rather than 'duḥ + ācār'; "adhomukh = adho + mukh" (p.150) whereas it should be 'adhaḥ + mukh'.

So far in this chapter only internal evidence from the Grammar and from Halhed's collection of books and manuscripts has been adduced. If one adds the external evidence of the known facts of his life, what conclusions can be reached on Halhed's competence in Bengali and Sanskrit?

As we know, Halhed's strongest oriental language was Persian,³⁸ which served as the medium from which he translated the Gentoo Code and through which he gathered his information about Bengali and Sanskrit. This fact alone suffices to indicate that Halhed was probably incapable of gaining information through the medium of Bengali and Sanskrit themselves; i.e. whatever knowledge he possessed of either language was passive rather than active. This is not surprising. There were not even dictionaries in existence to encourage even passive knowledge in either language, let alone English-Bengali or English-Sanskrit dictionaries to foster an active knowledge. In this sense then Halhed genuinely was the pioneer he always claimed to be.

That Halhed's knowledge of both Bengali and Sanskrit was entirely passive is borne out by the Grammar. Nowhere does Halhed construct a single sentence in either language: all his examples are drawn from written sources and are translated from the target language into English, never the other way round.

38. This may here be noted that most of the MSS collected by Halhed are in Persian, e.g. out of 93 MSS in the BM Library (Nos. Add. 5569-5637), 53 are in Persian and others include Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, Hindustani, Arabic, etc.

As far as we are able to ascertain, Halhed's first year or so in India (1772-74) was spent with his East Bengali Muslim munshi in perfecting his knowledge of Persian. During this time he gathered a smattering of Hindusthani, Hindi and Bengali. Up to 1774 Halhed had probably no more than transcribed a few Bengali words and gathered their English meanings. The number of such words probably did not exceed 130. From 1774 he probably worked in association with Kāśinātha and the Bengali Brahmin. By 1775 he had gathered some information about Sanskrit grammar; transcribed about 222 more words from Bengali phonetically; studied the Devanāgarī script and devised a fairly accurate method of transcribing it; and had possibly begun to master the Bengali script. From 1775 to 1778 he was probably preparing his Bengali Grammar. Part of his preparations included getting selected passages from the Mahābhārat, the Rāmāyaṇ and Vidyāsundar copied on separate folios ready for annotation, translation and transcription.³⁹ Whilst translating he was also analysing the Bengali language both morphologically and syntactically.

39. Supra, chapter III, pp. 81-8.

And what of this approach? We answer this question with another:

What was his background? By background Halhed was a classicist. As such, he found three impediments to learning the Bengali language:

- the great number of letters;
- the complex mode of their combination; and
- the difficulty of their pronunciation.⁴⁰

These are the impediments one would expect a classicist to find; for, once having learned the script, he would rely on his own innate linguistic abilities to analyse the language. His major concern, as a classicist, would be in ensuring that the texts to be analysed were, in fact, by reputable authors of impeccable and acknowledged styles⁴¹ and that they were adequately edited and free from corruption and distortion. Using his pundits wisely this Halhed ensured. Furthermore, he was aware, as his experience in Latin and Greek had taught him to be, that each language was likely to have a peculiar genius⁴² of its own, that was best analysable and stateable in terms of itself; e.g. the grammatical terminology of Latin and Greek derives from Latin and Greek themselves: 'nominative', 'accusative', 'dative', 'genitive', 'reduplicated', 'periphrastic', 'Aorist', 'pluperfect', etc. are all etymologically

40. HBG, p.3.

41. "Throughout this work I mean to confine myself to examples taken from Poetry only; as we are sure, that Verse must have cost the author some time and study in the composition; and is therefore likely to be most conformable to the true genius and character of the language; and the regularity of the measure is a great check upon the ignorance, or carelessness of the copyist". HBG, p.36.

42. See the quotation referred above.

derivable from Latin or Greek roots and are thus self-explanatory.

Realizing that Bengali derived from Sanskrit, Halhed also sought out such grammatical terms in Sanskrit as the quickest known short-cut to analysis. In this respect Halhed's linguistic abilities are fully displayed, and his results are remarkable.

The fact unfortunately remains, however: Halhed probably never learned either Bengali or Sanskrit. He had certain linguistic techniques with which his classical background had endowed him, and he applied them to the analysis and description of Bengali. In this respect he may be termed the first modern student of the discipline of Linguistics: he never learned to speak Bengali; he had no intention of ever doing so; he merely wished to analyse and describe it on the basis of a limited selection of 'Authentic' data.

CHAPTER V

HALHED'S BENGALI GRAMMAR WAS MODELLED ON THE PERSIAN GRAMMAR OF
WILLIAM JONES

In writing his Bengali Grammar, Halhed was seeking to emulate William Jones. Not only does he praise Jones in his Preface, but the whole arrangement of his book, and indeed at times, even the very wording of sentences echo Jones with such remarkable fidelity, that one is justified in stating that Halhed modelled his Grammar on that of Jones. Below we adduce evidence in substantiation of this statement.

Halhed's preface contains three direct, and extremely complimentary, references to Jones:

- i) "...The accurate and elegant grammar composed by Mr. Jones does equal honour to the cause of learning, and service to his countrymen in Asia."¹
- ii) "For if the Arabic language (as Mr. Jones has excellently observed) be so intimately blended with the Persian..."²
- iii) "When the learner has made some proficiency in the first rudiments, he cannot follow a more able or expeditious guide than Mr. Jones: who in the preface to his Persian Grammar has prescribed an admirable system of study, the utility of which is abundantly proved by the wonderful extent of his own attainments."³

1. HBG, p.ix.
2. HBG, p.XIX.
3. HBG, p.XX.

Jones' title page bears the following brief bibliographical statement in Persian:

Kitāb Shakristān
dar naḥwi zabān Pārsī
Tasnīf
Yunus Oxfordī

which means

"Book of the land of Sugar",
On the Grammar of the Persian language
written by
Jones of Oxford

Halhed's title page bears a similar brief statement in Sanskrit:

Bodhaprakāśaṃ Śabdaśāstraṃ⁴
Phiringānāṃ Upakārārthaṃ
Kṛyate Halhed Aṅgrejī

which means:

"Diffusion of Intelligence": A Grammar⁴
For the benefit of Europeans
Made by Halhed, the Englishman.

4. Śabdaśāstraṃ does not, of course, mean 'grammar'. The nearest Sanskrit equivalent of 'grammar', as we saw in Chapter I, is 'vyākaraṇa'. Śabdaśāstraṃ would mean roughly 'Word Treatise'. Since this title was probably translated by Halhed's Bengali Brahmin informant, the use of sabdaśāstraṃ here provides a useful comment by him on what he thought Halhed's book was. On the other hand Halhed knew that in Sanskrit, the grammar is called 'Beeākerun' (see Gentoo Code, p.XXIV).

On his title-page Jones quotes a Persian couplet in the Persian character: Halhed similarly prints a Sanskrit couplet, in the Bengali character.⁵

Below we list the distribution of subject in the two grammars:

Jones' Persian Grammar

Halhed's Bengali Grammar

Of letters
Of Consonants
Of Vowels

Of the Elements

Of Nouns
Of Genders
Of cases
Of the Article
Of Numbers

Of Nouns
Genders
Of cases

Of Adjectives
Of Pronouns

Of Pronouns

Of Verbs
Of Tenses
Of Irregular Verbs

Of Verbs
Of Conjugations
Of Attributes and Relations
Adjectives

Of the Composition and
Derivation of Words

Of Persian Numbers
Ordinals
Adverbs
Conjunctions
Prepositions
Interjections

Of Numbers
Ordinal numbers

5. "Inrādayopi yasyāntam nayayuh śabdavāridheḥ Prakriyāntasya Kṛtsnasya Kṣamovaktum narah Katham"

It means 'Indra and others did not go to the end of the ocean of the words, how a man would be able to tell entire process of that whole (ocean of the words)'.

^S
Jones's Persian Grammar

Of the Persian Syntax

Of Versification

Halhed's Bengali Grammar

Of Syntax

Of Orthoepey and Versification

Both Jones and Halhed used poetry to illustrate their grammatical rules. Jones states that he did so to "give some variety" to a dull and barren subject, to present a "specimen of the oriental style" and because verse was easier to retain" in the memory than rules delivered in mere prose."⁶

Halhed states:

"Throughout this work I mean to confine myself to examples taken from Poetry only; as we are sure, that Verse must have cost the author some time and study in the composition; and is therefore likely to be more conformable to the true genius and character of the language."⁷

Later, probably conscious of the inelegance of many of his illustrations Halhed begs to be forgiven (presumably by future reviewers) "for the number of insipid instances which I have been obliged to insert".⁸

Jones ends his first chapter with a piece of Persian poetry in both European and 'Asiatick' character: Halhed at the close of Chapter I quotes extensively from the Drona Parva in Bengali script, transliteration and translation. When describing the vocative in Persian, Jones quotes an ode by Hafiz in both Persian character and translation:⁹ similarly

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- 6. JPG, p.21.
 - 7. HBG, p.36.
 - 8. HBG, p.189.
 - 9. JPG, p.20.

Halhed also quotes a lyric in Bengali character and in translation, when describing the vocative use of 're'.¹⁰

Both Jones and Halhed make frequent references to Greek and Latin;¹¹
e.g. Jones

"The Reader, who has been used to the inflexions of European languages, will, perhaps, be pleased to see an example of Persian nouns, as, they answer to the cases in Latin".¹²

Halhed:

"Every Shanscrit noun is capable of seven changes of inflexion, exclusive of the vocative: and therefore comprehends two more even than Latin".¹³

At times Halhed seems to be unconsciously echoing Jones' remarks;

e.g. Jones

"... provided he have some tincture of the Arabick language, without which he will never be a perfect translator..."¹⁴

Halhed

"But I would advise every person who is desirous to distinguish himself as an accurate translator to pay some attention both to the Persian and Hindostanic dialects; ..."¹⁵

10. HBG, p.64.

11. a) References to Greek: JPG, pp. 31, 70, 71, 120, 122 and 123; HBG, pp. 46, 47, 48, 51, 67, 68, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 126, 127, 138, 139 and 159.

b) References to Latin: JPG, pp. 19, 31 and 48; HBG, pp. 47, 48, 51, 52, 67, 91, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 118, 126, 127, 138, 146, 149, 156 and 159.

12. JPG, p.19.

13. HBG, p.53.

14. JPG, p.104 (Italics mine).

15. HBG, p.XXII (Italics mine).

Jones:

"The inflexions of ... auxiliaries must be here exhibited; and must be learned by heart, as they will be very useful in forming the compound tenses of active verbs."¹⁶

Halhed presents a paradigm of an auxiliary verb, deeming it "necessary to the formation of various tenses in all the other verbs."¹⁷

Jones:

"The particles 'nā' not 'kam' little, and 'be' without, are placed before nouns to denote privation."¹⁸

Halhed states that negative particles 'ā', 'ni', 'nir', and 'bi' when prefixed to words formed adjectives of privation."¹⁹ Jones in his

Grammar of Persian makes frequent references to Arabic:

- i) "A few men of parts and taste, who resided in Bengal, have since amused themselves with the literature of the East, and have spent their leisure in reading the poems and histories of Persia; but they found a reason in every page to regret their ignorance of the Arabick language, without which their knowledge must be very circumscribed and imperfect."²⁰
- ii) "...he must necessarily learn the Arabick tongue, which is blended with the Persian in so singular a manner, that one period often contains both languages wholly distinct from each other in expression and idiom, but perfectly united in sense and construction."²¹

16. JPG, p.35.

17. HBG, p.103.

18. JPG, p.80.

19. HBG, p.148.

20. JPG, p.xii-xiii.

21. JPG, p.xxi-xiii.

iii) "This is one argument out of a great number to prove the impossibility of learning the Persian language accurately without a moderate knowledge of the Arabick; and if the learner will follow my advice, he will peruse with attention the Arabick grammar of Erpenious before he attempts to translate a Persian manuscript."²²

iv) "Since one of the nouns in a compound word is often borrowed from the Arabick, a man who wishes to read the Persian books with satisfaction, ought to have a competent knowledge of both languages."²³

In all Jones refers to Arabic no less than ~~thirty-eight~~^{SEVEN} times.²⁴

This frequent reference to Arabic, may, we believe, have prompted Halhed to seek out the languages, on which Bengali was dependent for loan words or phrases,²⁵ and with which it was related; i.e. Sanskrit. Halhed writes:

"For if the Arabic language (as Mr. Jones has excellently observed) be so intimately blended with the Persian as to render it impossible for the one to be accurately understood without a moderate knowledge of the other; with still more propriety may we urge the impossibility of learning the Bengal dialect without a general and comprehensive idea of the Shanscrit: as the union of these two languages is more close and general; and as they bear an original relation and consanguinity to each other, which cannot even be surmised with respect to the Arabic and Persian."²⁶

22. JPG, p.24.

23. JPG, p.70.

24. On pp. 4, 5, 6 (twice), 7, 8 (three times), 15, 16, 17 (twice), 24 (twice), 41, 58, 69, 70, 80, 81, 83, 86, 90, 100, 101, 104, 110 (twice), 111, 112 (twice), 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120.

25. As, for example, Persian, Portuguese and English on pp.VIII-IX and XX-XXI.

26. HBG, pp.XIX-XX.

Like Jones, therefore, Halhed mentions ~~Sanskrit~~ and cites ~~Sanskrit~~
 Like Jones, therefore, Halhed mentions ~~Sanskrit~~ and cites ~~Sanskrit~~
 examples at every suitable opportunity throughout his book. In all
 he refers to it no less than 65 times.²⁷

Jones describes Persian speech sounds in terms of the pronunciation
 of English letters: Halhed describes Bengali sounds in the same way.
 When describing the pronunciation of Persian sounds, Jones also refers
 to the pronunciation of the same characters in Arabic; e.g.

"'dhāl' which the Arabs pronounce dh, has in Persian the sound of
 j, z; ..." ²⁸

Similarly Halhed, when describing Bengali speech sounds, refers to the
 original pronunciation of the same character in Sanskrit; e.g.

"... w, in Shanscrit is pronounced as w, but in Bengali is the
 same as b ... " ²⁹

Jones was convinced of the usefulness of his Grammar. He writes:

"I am persuaded that whoever will study the Persian language
 according to my plan, will in less than a year be able to translate
 and to answer any letter from an Indian Prince, and to converse with
 the natives of India, not only with fluency, ^{but} ~~with~~ with elegance." ³⁰

Similarly Halhed, commending Jones' method of study to his students,
 writes:

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27. On pages 3, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 46, 51, 52,
 54, 56, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 89, 90, 96, 100,
 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, 117, 118, 126, 127, 128, 130, 136, 137, 138,
 139, 143, 145, 157, 160, 165, 167, 168, 178, 179, 186, 190, 191, 194,
 196, 200, 205 and 207.
28. JPG, p.6.
29. HBG, p.14.
30. JPG, p.XXI.

"By an adherence to his plan this language may soon be acquired so far as to open the way to conversation and short correspondence with the natives; after which the progress of knowledge will ever be proportionate to the assiduity of the student."³¹

It should be noted that Halhed, who had actually studied Jones' Grammar with close attention with the express purpose of mastering Persian, is less ambitious in his claims: he speaks not of 'elegance', nor even of 'fluency', but merely of opening "the way to conversation and short correspondence with the natives" (*Italics mine*).³²

Thus, as the evidence adduced tends to suggest, Halhed not only used Jones' Grammar as a model, when planning and drafting his own, but also, we feel sure, he deduced from it various techniques of analysis and description: a kind of 'General Linguistic' outlook and awareness. It was, we are convinced, Jones' insistence on the need for a grounding in Arabic before Persian could be thoroughly mastered, that engendered in Halhed a readiness to accept the claims of his Bengali Brahmin pundit about the intimate relationship of Bengali and Sanskrit, which was

31. HBG, p.XX.

32. We may here quote an anecdote about Jones' fluency in Persian. This anecdote was from one William Dick's letter to Sir Walter Scott of 23 August, 1819: 'Shortly after arriving in Calcutta, Jones found himself using his Persian. He was sitting beside a Persian scholar when several learned Indians came to pay their respects. He addressed them in his 'Persian', which was so incomprehensible that they thought it was English' (see Garland H. Cannon, 'Sir William Jones's Persian Linguistics' in Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol.78, 1958, p.272).

This story may be apocryphal, and may not even refer to Jones, but it could be indicative of the contemporary level of attainment of Englishmen in Persian and other Indian languages.

to become the most original feature of his Grammar. Furthermore, Halhed, we suspect, envied a little Jones' success with his Persian Grammar and through emulation conceived a desire to bestow upon Jones' twin audiences, the East India Company and the intellectuals of Europe, a similarly elegant and 'original' grammar.³³

³³ 34. "...yet I flatter myself that my own remarks, the disposition of the whole book and the passages quoted in it, will sufficiently distinguish it as an original production." JPG, p.XIV.

Chapter VI

WAS HALHED'S GRAMMAR AN INDEPENDENT WORK?a) Had Halhed seen the Vocabulario?

There is a probability of Halhed's having had access to the Vocabulario em idioma Bengalla e Portuguez.¹ As we saw in chapter III, Halhed was systematic and thorough in his preparation for learning Oriental languages. He collected a large number of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian, Hindostanic, Hindi etc. and also, where possible, acquired printed grammars and dictionaries. It is, therefore, unlikely that he would have overlooked the Vocabulario, which would have been so relevant to his purpose.

A number of books and manuscripts, that were of value to other scholars, either because of intrinsic merit or because of their legibility etc., found their way from Halhed's collection into those of other scholars; e.g. Halhed's Vidyāsunder ended up in Wilkins' collection² and his Mahābhārat in Max Müller's.³ Halhed may well have collected a copy of the Vocabulario, which suffered the same fate as his Vidyāsunder, and Mahābhārat.

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1. Manoel Da Assumpçam, Vocabulario em idioma Bengalla e Portuguez (henceforth Vocabulario), 1743.
 2. Supra, chapter III, p.64 and 86.
 3. Supra, chapter III, p.65 and 83.

Wilkins' son-in-law, William Marsden,⁴ published a list of grammars and dictionaries available in London in 1796. The manuscript copy⁵ of the list shows that in 1796 a copy of the Vocabulario was in the possession of Charles Wilkins. This copy, bearing Wilkins' signature, is now in the British Museum Library. Now we know that Wilkins was inspired to study Sanskrit by Halhed, and some of Wilkins' Sanskrit manuscripts⁶ now reside in the Halhed's collection in the British Museum, still bearing the initial C.W. (i.e. Charles Wilkins). Furthermore, we glean from a page in Wilkins' notes that both of them worked in a spirit of mutual cooperation:

"Dear Halhed,

The above is my morning's work and contains all the most material writing upon the Hindu system [of Astronomy].

E. [errors] Excepted,

C.W.⁷"

It can, therefore, be assumed that Wilkins' copy of the Vocabulario was

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4. William Marsden (1754-1836), a writer of the East India Company, collected a large number of grammars and dictionaries with an intention to publish a study on the comparison of languages but later abandoned the idea. Most of his collections are now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
 5. William Marsden, A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies and Grammars of all Languages and Dialects..., etc., 1796.
The draft manuscript copy of this catalogue is now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, where books in the possession of Charles Wilkins were marked but later, when printing the catalogue, reference to Wilkins' collection was dropped.
 6. BM MSS, Additional 5581, 5595 and 5596.
 7. BM MS, Additional 5661B, f.1.

either originally in Halhed's possession, or readily available to him.

There are two copies of the Vocabulario in the British Museum: one bears Wilkins' signature; and the other Bolts'.⁸ Wilkins' copy⁹ is incomplete, as the first six pages (pp. 41-46) of the Bengali-Portuguez dictionary are missing. A number of pages bear English glosses written in ink: e.g.

On page 47 -

- "A bucket" written beside the printed line: "Ari - Balde".
- "A frying pan" written beside the printed line: "Ari - Fregideira".

On page 104 -

- "Lime" written within the line: "chuná, v. chun, Cal, ou chonombo".
- "To lime" written within the line: "Chuna lagaite, Cayar".

On page 307 -

- "To cover oneself" beside the line: "Abafar-fe. Appone dhaghite, Ghurité".
- "To cover" beside the line: "Abafar, i, cobrir, Dhaghité; Ghurité".

On page 308 -

- "To look down" beside the line: "Abaixar os olhos, chouc lamaite, Hentt carité".

8. Possibly William Bolts, who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1759 to 1766, and who is said to have begun a grammar of the Bengali language, which he was unable to complete.

9. BM Library, Vocabulario numbered 826 a.8.

Three pages also bear a number of Bengali glosses written in Bengali characters: viz., on page 175 nun, nun dite and nirāsā; on page 259 upakār and upāy; and on page 261 uttorite. What can one deduce from these glosses? Let us take the English ones first. These were obviously based on the meanings of the Bengali words as given in Portuguese, for in the first two examples only one Bengali word occurs, namely 'ari', which in Portuguese is glossed firstly as 'Balde', and secondly as 'Fregideira'. The two English glosses can only refer to the two Portuguese ones, which show a distinction: i.e. Balde 'a bucket' and Fregideira 'a frying pan'. Obviously, the writer of these English glosses did not know Portuguese, yet was attempting to use it as a means of access to the Bengali. To do so, he presumably took the assistance of an informant, bilingual in English and Portuguese. Naturally enough, the Bengali glosses are added in the same ink as the English glosses, though possibly at a later date.

The only surprising thing about these glosses is that they were, judging by the handwriting, written not by Halhed, but by Wilkins. This need not surprise us too much, however. Both were, as we have seen, known to have worked together. Indeed, both were engaged together on the Bengali Grammar. Wilkins was to design and cut the Bengali types. To do so, he would obviously need to know something of Bengali, at least the script. In view of the haste with which the Grammar was compiled and the pressure under which Halhed must undoubtedly have been working what could have been more natural than that he should have enlisted the aid of his friend Wilkins in ascertaining the degree of usefulness to his purpose of the Vocabulario?

In assessing the usefulness of the Vocabulario Wilkins seems first to have tried with the aid of a Portuguese-speaking informant to gloss Bengali words listed under 'A' in the Vocabulario. At first he did this on the actual pages of the Bengali text itself. Then possibly realizing that more space was needed, he began copying the Bengali words from the Vocabulario leaving space for the insertion of their English equivalents. He then began inserting the English glosses in pencil.¹⁰ By the time he had reached folio eight, however, a decision had presumably been reached to abandon the project. The interesting thing is: why was this crucial decision reached?

Our answer to this question can only be speculative, but, since it accords with much else that is already known, we think it will be convincing. What we suggest is that the Vocabulario, like much else, was over-hastily abandoned by Halhed because of his preoccupation with 'pure' Bengali as exhibited in 'Authentic' books. Halhed's major problem with the Vocabulario was how to read it. He presumably did not understand Portuguese, otherwise the English glosses would have been unnecessary. The English glosses were needed in order to enable him to read the peculiar form of transcription used in the Vocabulario to record Bengali. The glosses in Bengali character of one or two common Bengali words show that

10. The bound copy of this MS is available in the India Office Library, Charles Wilkins' collection, S.2802.

he eventually managed to discover how the transcription was to be read. Actually, the key to this transcription is simply to get a Portuguese speaker to read it aloud in accordance with Portuguese phonology. When this is done, it sounds like an East Bengali dialect, mainly that of Faridpur, as it strikes a Portuguese ear. We presume that Halhed eventually realised this and got his Portuguese informant to read the Bengali entries to his Bengali Brahmin informant, whose opinion he would have been seeking in regard to the type of Bengali recorded in the Vocabulario. In which case the Bengali Brahmin would have informed Halhed that this was not a list of 'pure' Bengali words: it contained both learned and vulgar words jumbled side by side and all more or less marred by the intrusion of East Bengali speech dialects. It was, therefore, we should imagine the Brahmin said, unworthy of further study.

Above we described the decision to abandon further interest in the Vocabulario as 'crucial'. We did so advisedly. As we shall show in the remaining pages of this chapter, the Vocabulario did not deserve to be dismissed so lightly. Halhed could have benefited by a close study of it. Admittedly, his comparatively rapid rejection of the Vocabulario strengthens Halhed's claim to having produced an independent work, but his work was undoubtedly poorer for it.

b) What similarities obtained between Halhed's Grammar and the Vocabulario?

As one would expect in view of the hastiness with which Halhed rejected the Vocabulario, the similarities between it and his grammar are slight:

indeed, no more than one could expect by chance; (which, in fact, is a further indication, if such were needed, the over-hastiness, with which Halhed had rejected it). The two works agree in only two respects: firstly, both classify nouns according to whether their stems terminate in consonants or vowels; and secondly, both complain of the excessive use of compounds involving the verb 'to do' in place of simple verbs.

Though both classifying nouns according to stem termination, the two grammars differ in the number of declensions they establish: the grammatical compendium in the Vocabulario establishes four declensions; Halhed only two. We presume that both classifications ultimately derive either from Sanskrit or Latin, for the chances of their doing so were about equal. Santucci and his colleagues (the authors of the original Vocabulario) were as at home in Latin as Halhed was, and they, like Halhed, had an informant familiar with Sanskrit (in their case, the Bengali convert, Dom Antonio). Only Halhed, however, added an example of a noun declined in Sanskrit for comparative purposes, though this was to be expected, since Halhed's aim was deliberately to trace resemblances between Sanskrit and Bengali.

Both the Vocabulario and Halhed complained of the excessive use of compounds involving the verb 'to do':

- i) "[The Bengali Language] lacks many proper verbs in place of which the natives express themselves by the addition of words. v.g. for 'to doubt', they say to make doubt' 'xondhe carite', for 'to destroy', they say 'to

make destruction' 'noxtto carite' - (Vocabulario).¹¹

- ii) "The verb Karan has swallowed up every faculty, and engrossed every action to which the form of verb is applicable: and had it not happened that the infinitive of a verb is always considered and used as a noun, we might have attributed to the poverty of the language, or to a defect in its system, that dull uniformity of expression, which is now become its principal characteristic" (HBG).¹²

The Vocabulario also devoted a further paragraph to similar compounds involving the verb 'to be' or 'to become' [haite]. Since, however, the comments of both works agree here only in substance and not in form, we conclude that the similarity was probably due to pure chance: the grammatical features concerned were after all common place and such as to strike almost any person with the slightest knowledge of Bengali.

- c) Ways in which Halhed could have improved his grammar, if only he had taken the trouble to study the Vocabulario

If Halhed had taken the trouble of studying the Vocabulario with the aid of an interpreter, he could, we think, have improved his grammar in several ways. Firstly, the Vocabulario clearly distinguished the 3rd person honorific (Tini, ini, uni) from non-honorific (se, e, o) forms, whereas Halhed failed to do so, mentioning ini as if it were a mere alternative

11. Vocabulario - p.38 (English translation by A.R.Khondkar), op.cit., p.208.

12. HBG, p.128 [Italics are mine].

to se. Secondly,¹³ the Vocabulario gave complete and (though at times dialectal) accurate nominal and pronominal declensions, whereas Halhed's declensions were misleading. The Vocabulario gave the accusative singular forms correctly as tore, tomāke, āmāke/āmāre, whereas Halhed was, we presume, supplied by his Brahmin informant with old poetical forms, tomā and āmā, which were no longer current even in the poetry Halhed himself cited, for there tore, āmāre, tomāke etc. occur. Halhed was similarly misled in regard to the accusative plural forms repeating āmā and tomā, the nominative forms, instead of the correct forms, āmārdigere and tomārdigere. Thirdly, the verb 'to do' in the Vocabulario is for its period¹⁴ correctly conjugated, whereas Halhed's conjugations are misleading and at variance with their usage as exemplified in his own citations from poetry. We presume that these conjugations were supplied to Halhed by the Brahmin informant, who attempted to explain their significance, but whose explanations were misunderstood by Halhed. Halhed labelled Karis and Kare 'singular', and Kara and Karen 'plural'. The fact is, however, that all four forms can be either singular or plural, depending on the singularity or plurality of the subject governing them. What the informant presumably told Halhed was that Karis and Kare were the non-honorific and Kara and Karen honorific, which is indeed to some extent so. Fourthly, the Vocabulario was aware of the

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13. The declensions in the Vocabulario were formal and complete in the sense that all formal variations in terminations were accounted for. They would not have been regarded as complete by a Sanskrit grammarians because two Sanskrit cases, the Instrumental and the Locative, were omitted.
14. Two tenses are omitted: the present and past continuous. These were only just emerging when Santucci was writing in the 1680s and were probably then regarded as sub-standard and inadmissible in literature. Examples occur only in Xrepar xaxtrer Orthobhed and never in Dom Antonio's Dialogo.

existence of the Future Imperative, Halhed was not.

In many respects then the Vocabulario was better than Halhed's Grammar. The one presumably damning aspect of the Vocabulario in the eyes of Halhed and his Brahmin pundit was, however, its extremely slight reference to Sanskrit,¹⁵ the 'parent language' of Bengali. This presumably justified Halhed in pointedly commenting "few Europeans have hitherto studied Bengalese" and "none...have traced its connexion with the Shanscrit". Hence Halhed concluded their systems "must be imperfect".

d) Assessment of Halhed's Grammar

i) Respects in which Halhed's grammar excelled the Vocabulario

Published from Hughli in 1778, Halhed's grammar, the second printed grammar of Bengali, was nevertheless the first one to be written in English, to contain Bengali extracts printed in Bengali characters, and to have been written at the behest of a ruler of Bengal, Warren Hastings, the Governor General. The first printed grammar of Bengali, Vocabulario, edited by Manoel da Assumpçam and published from Lisbon in 1743, was composed for the purpose of propagating Christianity in Bengal,¹⁶ but the second grammar was allegedly composed for political purposes.¹⁷

The Vocabulario comprised a brief compendium of Bengali grammar 40 printed pages long and Bengali-Portuguese and Portuguese-Bengali vocabularies

15. Though there are some Sanskrit slokas quoted in the appendix of the book, in the grammar section reference to Sanskrit is found only on page 38.

16. Vocabulario, 'Prologo', p.v.

17. Infra, Chapter VII.

of about 266 and 286 pages respectively, but Halhed's grammar, consisting of 216 pages, was expressly intended not to be a brief compendium or treatise.¹⁸ Manoel's grammar dealt with the morphology¹⁸ of the language without any reference to phonology, and was then followed by some statements on syntax. Being modelled on Jones' Persian grammar,¹⁹ Halhed's Bengali grammar covered all the aspects of grammar, Letters, Nouns, Pronouns, Cases, Verbs, Syntax, Prosody, etc., then normally included in English grammars. Thus the Vocabulario's grammatical compendium was brief and sketchy, whereas Halhed tried to make his grammar complete and comprehensive. Though to some extent defective and at times inconsistent^S Halhed's grammar was at all events the earliest attempt to impose on Bengali a basic grammatical structure.

Compared with the Vocabulario Halhed effected the following improvements:

Firstly, the Vocabulario was silent on Bengali phonetics and phonology, whereas Halhed described the phonetic qualities of all Bengali speech sounds, identified the inherent vowel in the consonants, demonstrated the use of the vowel-signs together with their phonetic realisation, formulated rules for compounding Bengali characters and also gave examples of common Bengali abbreviations.²⁰

Secondly, the declensional system found in the Vocabulario strikes a Bengali eye as defective due to the absense of the Instrumental and Locative

18. "...my principal aim has been to comprehend everything necessary to be known, not contenting myself with a superficial or partial view, nor confining my observations to the more obvious particularities." HBG, p.iii.

19. Supra, Chapter V.

20. See HBG, Chapter I.

cases.²¹ Halhed established all the seven cases, excluding the vocative, which are generally found in traditional Bengali grammars, and also listed all the case inflexions.²²

Thirdly, the Vocabulario over-simplified Bengali verbal conjugation, reducing it to two conjugations, the simple and the causative.²³ Realising that simple Bengali verbs cannot be classified into one conjugation, Halhed made a workable classification²⁴ of two conjugations, one with a consonant as its penultimate letter and the other with a vowel. Halhed's third conjugation was the causal or causative. Furthermore, Halhed declared some verbs irregular (e.g. Jāon, deon).²⁵

Fourthly, though in his appendix to the grammar Manoel gave a list of Bengali numerals from 1 to 100, Halhed wrote a complete chapter on the subject, listing numerals and ordinals, and describing in details the Bengali system of arithmetic.²⁶

ii) The ways in which Halhed was hampered in compiling his grammar.

A) By inadequate knowledge of Bengali.

When assessing Halhed's competence in Bengali and Sanskrit,²⁷ we found his knowledge of both to be slight, and even in the case of Bengali entirely passive. Halhed's lack of active knowledge in Bengali led him:

21. Vocabulario, pp.1-11.

22. HBG, pp.52-68.

23. Vocabulario, p.33.

24. HBG, pp.105-6.

25. HBG, pp.122-4.

26. HBG, chapter VI, 'Of Numbers', pp.159-177.

27. Supra, Chapter IV.

- firstly, to mistranslate Bengali words and expressions;
- secondly, to misunderstand compound verbs and construe them as two simple verbs occurring together;
- thirdly, to fail to distinguish honorific and non-honorific pronominal forms;
- fourthly, mistakenly to describe plural accusative forms of personal pronouns as the same as the nominative, āmra, tomrā;
- fifthly, to accept tomā and āmā as the accusative singular in place of tomāke and āmāke;
- sixthly, to fail to identify the future imperative, and
- seventhly, to mislabel verbal paradigms as 'singular' and 'plural', instead of 'non-honorific' and 'honorific'.

In contrast to Halhed's efforts, the first printed grammar of Bengali, the Vocabulario, will be seen to have resulted from a team effort by a group of Portuguese linguists, who had studied Bengali with determination and success in order to achieve a specific purpose. The Vocabulario was composed by dedicated men, who had disciplined and subordinated themselves to a single overriding purpose: the propagation of Christianity. Every sentence and example in the Vocabulario tended to lead in this one direction. Santucci and his team undoubtedly possessed an active knowledge of the Bengali language. They were able to converse with Bengalis in the normal, spoken language of Faridpur and even to compose Christian literature in prose. All the grammatical examples of Santucci and his team were in prose and framed from the spoken language. Though some examples penned by the

Portuguese themselves may perhaps have been slightly defective syntactically, at least their meaning was clear. The literary citations in the Vocabulario are all from relevant Christian literature and thus conducive to their missionary purpose.

By contrast, one must confess that Halhed had not such compelling purpose: his aim in writing the grammar was, as we hope to demonstrate in the next chapter, linked with his personal ambitions. He, unfortunately, never learned Bengali. His competence in Bengali was confined to a mere passive knowledge of a few folios in three Bengali manuscripts of poems composed between fifteenth and eighteenth centuries and to information gleaned in note-form from informants. Most of his rules and principles, formulated on the basis of poetry, unfortunately fail to apply in prose and speech; e.g. the pronominal forms tomā, āmā in the accusative, and case-inflexions -e and -re in the accusative and dative, do not occur in Bengali prose or speech. Furthermore, through following verse he framed a false syntactical rule regarding word-order; e.g. 'Object-verb-agent', whereas the correct syntactical order is: 'agent-object-verb'. The sentence²⁸ illustrating syntactical order in Halhed's grammar, in fact exemplified poetic license, intended to break the monotony created by the constant occurrence of verbal terminations at the end of each line. Halhed failed to realize this, since, lacking an active spoken knowledge of Bengali,

28. 'jalete pūrṇa haila sangrāmer sthal'
 (with water) (full) (became) (of battle) (place)
 The proper prose-order is - sangrāmer sthal jalete pūrṇa haila
 (The place of battle with water became full) HBG, p.186.

he was unaware of the normal word-order.

B) Halhed was hampered by his bias in favour of Sanskritic Bengali

Besides being hampered by his inadequate knowledge of Bengali, Halhed was also hampered by his bias in favour of Sanskritic Bengali. We have seen already in this chapter the way this bias probably led Halhed to abandon the Vocabulario. We suspect that it was this same bias that gradually turned Halhed against his Bengali Muslim Munshi informant in favour of his Bengali Brahmin informant. This change of attitude was crucial.

The Bengali Brahmin was obviously Halhed's dominant informant. All the arguments in favour of Sanskrit recorded by Halhed issued, we suspect, from this Brahmin's lips. The whole of the chapter 'On Elements', where the Bengali syllabry is described came from this man, as is shown by the meticulous Sanskritic pronunciation of words like niśvās as 'niswas'. But 'niswas' in no way represents Bengali pronunciation: the consonant cluster śv would in Bengali be realised as a geminated palatal sibilant. What is actually happening in this chapter is this: Bengali spelling and pronunciation is being deliberately regulated according to Sanskrit. Bengali may have derived from Sanskrit, but in the course of its evolution through Māgadhi Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa the Sanskritic phonological system had been considerably modified. The distinctions between long and short vowels exhibited by Sanskrit, though preserved in Hindi, had ceased to be registered in Bengali. Thus in medieval Bengali manuscripts characters and signs signifying 'i' and 'ī', and 'u' and 'ū', occur as non-distinctive

variants, used indiscriminately according to the mere whim of the author.

Furthermore, ^{consonant}~~constant~~ clusters, though written as conjuncts, were considerably simplified in phonetic realisation. The sibilants 'ś', 'ṣ' and 's' of Sanskrit had become again virtually non-distinctive graphic variants, which phonetically were all realised as palatals, except in clusters involving labial, retroflex, or dental unvoiced plosives, where before dentals and labials the sibilant becomes dental and before retroflexes retroflex. The vargiya 'j' and antahstha 'y' of Sanskrit have in Bengali become non-distinctive graphic variants of the same phoneme, and alternated indiscriminately in medieval manuscripts. Under the influence of his Bengali Brahmin informant Halhed deliberately attempted to set the clock back, ignoring most of the phonological developments that had taken place in Bengali via Māgadhi Prakṛt and Apabhraṃśa.

Not only did Halhed attempt to regulate Bengali spelling and phonology according to Sanskrit, however; he also attempted to rid Bengali of words whose Sanskrit origin could not be traced. This purist attitude was aimed primarily at borrowings from Persian and Arabic, but Halhed carried it further: he even abandoned Bengali words! The Bengali Persian Vocabulary he collected listed 150 verbs. Of these, 32 are retained in the list of verbs incorporated in his grammar. Significantly, and undoubtedly due to the Bengali Brahmin's directions, all those simple

Bengali verbs, whose links with Sanskrit could not be traced, were dropped.²⁹

Halhed's complaints about the over-use of verbal compounds involving 'karan' ('to do') shows that he himself was not fully aware of the implications of the process of verbal impoverishment of Bengali that he was endorsing by these omissions. He had obviously not fully worked out the consequences of the purification of Bengali policy he was advocating. As we shall see in later chapters, 'purification' ultimately destroyed the simplicity of Bengali, which was one of the features Halhed himself admired. His complaints about compound verbs shows he favoured simplicity. He may perhaps have naively and fondly imagined that purification would bring simplicity. In theory, of course, it ought to. His ideas on Sanskrit were, we imagine, fired by the possibilities of simplification. He talks of deriving words from simple roots. It is an attractive idea that instead of learning alien diction, which falls outside the etymological patterns of one's mother-tongue, one should learn a few simple roots, which by mutation and combination may express all the most subtle concepts and speculations of which the human mind is possible. Nevertheless, the fact remains, Sanskrit was far from being the epitome of such idyllic simplicity. Only Halhed's ignorance sustained him in the delusion that it was. In fact, it was Bengali that was the simplification; phonologically, morphologically and

29. This, of course, accounts for the over-use of compound verbs in Bengali involving the verb 'to do' and 'to become' complained of in the Vocabulario and in Halhed's grammar. It shows that the purist movement in Bengali has a considerable history. Halhed merely endorsed it; he did not invent it. Nor did Halhed's Bengali Brahmin pundit. It was in fact 'sādhū Bhāṣā', the language of the Brahmins, which had had a long history in their hands.

syntactically: Sanskrit by contrast was the epitome of complexity.

Nevertheless, it must, we think have been Halhed's search for the positive purity and simplicity of Bengali that set him against the mixed diction that at that period characterised the so-called Munshi style of Bengali. Though giving a detailed and accurate ready-reference list of abbreviations³⁰ to enable future civilians to read this type of prose, Halhed undoubtedly condemned it, attributing its emergence to the alleged 'tyranny' of Muslim officials, who had compelled Bengalis to 'debase the purity' of their mothertongue.³¹ At one point in his grammar he refers to business letters and petitions in this style and comments they are "written without measure or rythm: I might almost have added, without Grammar".³² The example he quotes in his appendix, however, is devoid of grammatical irregularity.³³

C) Halhed was hampered by his ignorance of Sanskrit

Roughly speaking, Halhed's grammar consists of an ^{fusion} ~~intrusion~~ of several diverse elements. These elements are: thoughts on the antiquity and diffusion of Sanskrit and the culture embedded in it; declensions, paradigms, conjugations and lists of verbs etc. originally written for him by his Bengali Brahmin informant; one or two notes derived from his Muslim Munshi and a specimen of his hand and composition; Halhed's comments on general grammar and the interrelations of most languages from Turkey to China with Sanskrit; his comments on the role of Bengali in the British

30. HBG, pp.194-6.

31. HBG, pp.207-8.

32. HBG, p.36.

33. HBG, pp.207-16.

Empire in Bengal; and his citations from verse together with his transliterations, translations and comments on their grammatical significance. To have been successful, such a grammar would have needed a superintending intelligence to impose upon it uniformity and consistency. That superintending intelligence would of necessity have had to be competent in Bengali and Sanskrit. Unfortunately Halhed did not possess that competence.

Consequently, there are inconsistencies between the notes and papers supplied by the informants and Halhed's own contributions. The most marked inconsistency is in spelling. The parts of the grammar supplied by the Brahmin pundit are correctly spelt in accordance with Sanskrit orthography, (which is why we state that it was he who set Halhed off on the idea of tracing the connexion of Bengali with Sanskrit). The verse citations are on the other hand characterised by typical medieval Bengali misspellings and inconsistencies, which demonstrate that certain phonological distinctions had ceased to be registered in Bengali, which was therefore embarrassed by a surplus of unnecessary characters. Halhed was clearly unaware that this was so. Having made such a point of tracing the connexion of Bengali with Sanskrit, it is difficult to imagine that he would deliberately have introduced these very inconsistencies, which undermined his whole thesis. The only possible explanation is: his knowledge of Sanskrit was too inadequate to enable him to spell correctly in accordance with Sanskrit principles. Obviously, when revising the proofs,

he eventually showed them to his Bengali Brahmin pundit, who must have been aghast at the profusion of spelling errors. Halhed's explanations is lame:

"As the letters 'j' and 'y' - 'ś' and 'ṣ' are convertible in Bengalese, the reader must not be surprised that I have used either of them in the same word indiscriminately: A Knowledge of their true application belongs only to Shanscrit, and will be of no use whatever in reading the popular dialect of Bengal."³⁴

His explanation totally ignores errors due to vowel quantity ('i' as against 'ī' etc.). As we have pointed out earlier, there were other, more minor inconsistencies between the paradigms and actual usage in verse citations, but those inconsistencies in spelling are the most damning, for in a single explanation he dismisses the one feature of his grammar upon which its originality rested; namely, the importance of the connexion of Bengali to Sanskrit.

34. HBG, 'Errata', p.XXIX. (Italics mine)

CHAPTER VII

HALHED'S AIMSA. The Two Purposes for which the Grammar was written

We could never decide what was the more important to Halhed: his career (which would be a means of pleasing his father);¹ or, his academic achievements and literary ventures² (which may have satisfied something more deeply important to him as a man). There were after all two sides (at least) to his nature: he wanted to succeed and achieve distinction, which might have been something implanted in him by his family tradition;³ but he was also of contemplative cast of mind. He could have become a priest;⁴ he was interested in spiritual things;⁵ he seemed to have had definite intellectual interests.

His grammar seems, therefore, to have been written to serve two purposes: firstly, it was presumably intended to help in fostering relations between the British Government and its Indian subjects in India and especially

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1. It seems from his letter to Dr. Parr (dt. 5 November 1773) that he never wanted to displease his father: "I have in several letters promised my father that I will not return to England without his consent; therefore, till I obtain that, I am determined to remain abroad". See Johnstone, op.cit., p.471.
 2. Apart from Gentoo Code and Grammar he wrote some literary works, i.e. Love Epistles (1771), Martials (1793-94), and also composed a farce called Jupiter, which was not published. See Chapter II, p.
 3. For his family tradition see Halhed's biography in Chapter II, pp.41.
 4. Once in a letter dated 5 November 1773 to Dr. Parr he wrote "I have already requested him [Halhed's father] to permit me to take orders". Johnstone op.cit., p.471.
 5. We have seen earlier (in Chapter II, pp. 55-6.) how the prophetic effusions of Richard Brothers struck a chord of sympathy in Halhed's own mystical spirit.

Bengal, which the establishment of a Supreme Court had, Halhed claimed, incorporated in the British Empire;

secondly, it appears to have been intended as some kind of treatise for the intelligensia of Europe.

- i) Halhed's first aim: to serve the East India Company by facilitating intercourse between the British and their Bengali subjects

In the first sentence of his preface Halhed praised the British Parliament for incorporating the 'Kingdom of Bengal' in the British Empire "by the most formal act of authority in the establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice".⁶ He added, however, that much remained to be done for the proper establishment of Britain's Imperial Role. The "most important" was "the cultivation of understanding and of a general medium of intercourse between the Government and its Subjects".⁷ The only feasible means of communication between the ruler and the ruled and of facilitating the establishment of good government was the Bengali language.

"The English,...masters of Bengal, may, with more ease and greater propriety, add its language to their acquisitions: that they may explain the benevolent principles of that legislation whose decrees they enforce; that they may convince while they command; and be at once the dispensers of Laws and of Science to an extensive nation."⁸

Halhed realized that apart from Sanskrit there were three languages current in Bengal: Persian, Hindostanic and Bengalese; "each of which...

6. HBG, p.i.
7. HBG, p.ii.
8. HBG, p.ii.

[had] its own peculiar department in the business of country, and consequently neither of them...[could] be universally adopted to the exclusion of the others".⁹ As the Persian was introduced in Bengal by the 'Mogul conquerors' and "being the language of the court [it had] naturally gained a footing in the law and in the revenues".¹⁰ Nevertheless Halhed strongly urged the importance of Bengali and its role in the British Empire in Bengal:

firstly, it was impossible for the Board of Commerce at Calcutta and its subordinate factories to conduct 'mercantile correspondence and negotiations, without the intermediate agency' of a Bengali interpreter;¹¹ secondly, Bengali interpreters were required in law courts, and Bengali translation of notices were as necessary as Persian;¹² thirdly, Bengali was better suited for revenue, commercial and legal purposes than Persian, as it was "much better calculated both for public and private affairs by its plainness, its precision and regularity of construction, than the flowery sentences and modulated periods of the Persian";¹³ fourthly, the Bengali arithmetical system was well suited to accounts;¹⁴ and finally, Bengali was easy to learn, since its grammar was simple, "its rules" "plain, and its anomalies few".¹⁵

9. HBG, p.VIII.

10. HBG, p.VIII.

11. HBG, p.XV.

12. HBG, p.XVII.

13. HBG, p.XVII.

14. HBG, p.XVIII.

15. HBG, p.XVIII.

Halhed returned to the theme of the benefits of Bengali to the British Empire towards the end of his preface when discussing printing:

firstly, the printing of Bengali characters would prevent the forgery of title deeds to property and of legal and administrative documents;¹⁶ secondly, printing in Bengali would facilitate "the means of intercourse" or communication;¹⁷ thirdly, printing in Bengali would also facilitate the "liberal communication of Arts and Sciences" so "that her new subjects should as well feel the benefits, as the necessity of submission"¹⁸ (i.e., to consolidate the conquests already made by placating the people with the communication of European Arts and Sciences).

Thus we find that one of Halhed's aims was to serve the East India Company, by pointing out how the study of Bengali and the introduction of printing in Bengali could benefit the Company by helping to consolidate its hold on its territories in Bengal. This was not his only aim, however; for, had it been, the whole plan and arrangement of the rest of the Grammar would have been different. If, as Halhed suggests, the British were to master Bengali, and rule Bengal, without the assistance of interpreters, what kind of course would they have required? They would surely have required a course of study of some considerable length. It would have had to teach them the spoken language of Bengal and equip them with all the terms needed for the

16. HBG, p.XXIV.

17. HBG, p.XXV.

18. HBG, p.XXV.

administration of the country. Furthermore, they would have needed to know about the customs of the country, the peoples of the country, the structure of society, and the social, domestic, and religious life of the Bengalis etc. In fact, they would have required Fort William College and Hailybury College as well. Halhed's preface might have been one of the documents that persuaded the East India Company of the need for establishing such institutions to provide such a system of training, but the question remains: how far would Halhed's grammar itself have gone in fulfilling this need?

No one at that time seemed to have thought it worthwhile to ask such a question. The reviews of Halhed's Grammar in 1783-84 all seem merely to reiterate points from Halhed's preface without any reference to the text of the Grammar itself. One reviewer spent about seven pages (pp.6-12) out of the total ten (pp.5-14) citing a long extract from Halhed's preface, the opinions of which he thoroughly endorsed:

"Without an easy and general intercourse with the natives, through the medium of language, no system of regulation,...can promise any solid, rational, or permanent establishment of authority and power".¹⁹

Indeed, in reading these reviews, one wonders whether Halhed did not have a hand in stage-managing their appearance. Halhed's Grammar itself was published in 1778, yet the reviews of it did not appear till five years later, when Halhed was considering returning to India. Significantly, one reviewer

19. The English Review, January, 1783, vol.I, p.5.

mentions Halhed's 'reward'.²⁰ The mention of 'reward' here and in Hastings' letter about Wilkins' translation of the Bhagavat Gitā,²¹ convince one that the attainment of this 'reward' was one of the reasons why the Grammar was written: the Grammar was virtually an application by Halhed for promotion in the East India Company's administration. Everything in the preface about Empire and Britain's imperial role was, we suspect, directly inspired by Hastings, Halhed's life-long friend. It was not, we think, Halhed's own reasoning, for it forms too slight a part of the preface,²² whose greater part is occupied with other matters.

Furthermore, the very nature of the Grammar, the part never reviewed by its critics, demonstrates that facilitating intercourse between the British and Bengalis could not have been the actual purpose why the Grammar was written:

firstly, Halhed made no attempt to describe contemporary speech, for all his examples were drawn from old Bengali texts composed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ He did of course make passing reference to the contemporary speech, however; e.g.

"....In the modern and corrupt dialect of Bengal the syllable rā... is sometimes added to the nominative of a singular noun to form a plural."²⁴

20. "The consciousness of having laboured to promote the interests of Britain in Bengal may of course prove Mr. Halhed's sole reward." Ibid., pp.13-14.

21. See Supra, Chapter II, pp. 51.

22. Only pp.i-iii out of a preface of 25 pages.

23. Supra, Chapter III, pp. 81-8.

24. HBG, p.75.

"In common discourse....plural termination diger is frequently contracted to der...."²⁵

But these passing references were on the whole disdainful towards the contemporary language,²⁶ which he generally characterised as 'corrupted'.²⁷

secondly, Halhed took a purist view of language, regarding contemporary Bengali as 'vitiated' by alien accretions, rather than enriched. The following quotations from the Grammar will be sufficient to support this statement:

- a) "I might observe, that Bengal is at present in the same state with Greece before the time of Pherecydes; when poetry was the only style to which authors applied themselves, and studied prose was utterly unknown. Letters of business, petitions, public notifications, and all such other concerns of common life are necessarily, and of course, written without measure or rythm: I might almost have added, without Grammar".²⁸
- b) "Little indeed can be urged in favour of the bulk of the modern Bengalese. Their forms of letters, their modes of spelling, and their choice of words are all equally erroneous and absurd. They can neither decline a word, nor construct a sentence: and their writings are filled with Persian, Arabic and Hindostanic terms,

25. HBG, p.83.

26. It is interesting to note that not only was he disdainful towards Modern Bengali but also contempuous towards Bengalis:

"The modern Bengalese, equally careless and ignorant of all arts but those of gain, indiscriminately give the sound of sh to each of the three characters...." (HBG, p.15).

"....but are never attended to by the illiterate and careless race of modern Bengalesē....." (HBG, p.23) - Italics mine.

27. See HBG, pp. 65, 75, 137, 178 and 179.

28. HBG, p.36.

promiscuously thrown together without order or meaning: often unintelligible, and always embarrassing and obscure."²⁹

- c) "...I have selected...[a short petition] to show how far the modern Bengalese have been forced to debase the purity of their native dialect by the necessity of addressing themselves to their Mahommedan Rulers."³⁰

thirdly, Halhed was naive in presuming that the pristine state of 'purity' of Bengali could be restored. The list of Bengali verbs³¹ in the grammar shows how far Halhed was motivated in his 'purification' of the language. The list included those 'insufficient' number of 'pure verbs' which were 'scrupulously' collected from the 'authentic books',³² and discarded "the most common, and popular verbs of the Bengalese; which... [were] more corrupted in passing through ignorant hands, and therefore... [bore] less analogy to the Shanscrit...."³³

Halhed did not realise that discarding common Bengali verbs and borrowing Sanskritic ones would not purify the Bengal language, but rather hinder its natural development. To replace Perso-Arabic technical and legal terms with Sanskrit ones would have taken years, and the replacement would have served no practical purpose; in fact, their replacement has still not been achieved even now.³⁴ Halhed's ideas would have necessitated massive

29. HBG, p.178.

30. HBG, pp.207-8. (Italics mine)

31. See HBG, pp.129-138.

32. HBG, pp.129-30.

33. HBG, p.137.

34. Dr. Chatterji maintains that some 2,500 words of Persian origin are 'permanently' added to the Bengali vocabulary of which 600 words related 'to revenue and administration and to law'. See S.K.Chatterji, ODBI, vol.I, 1926, pp.206-7. No replacement has been found for many Arabic Persian legal terms; e.g., ukil, ejāhār, sarkār, elākā, jerā, jamā, jamī, makaddamā, bājeapta, munseph, rad, ray, ruju, sanakta, hakim, hajat, hulia, daroga, khajna, etc.

training and educational schemes. He obviously could not have considered how long it would have taken to teach both the British and Bengalis the purified form of Bengali he advocated. In trying to estimate this, one might, for example, bear in mind that it took two whole generations studying English, before English, a full developed language, could be introduced as the official language in Bengal.³⁵ Rammohan Roy was the only realist in this respect. He had seen that under the Muslims their mother tongue, Persian, had inevitably been introduced as the official language. Under the British it was equally inevitable that English must come, especially when the British policy was opposed to the idea of Britons settling permanently in India. One must remember that Halhed was writing at the time when the North American Empire was being lost because of the break-away of British settlers there. The British would naturally fear the repetition of this type of break-away movement by settlers. Under those circumstances Bengalis were bound to learn more English, than the English could learn Bengali.

35. English became the official language of Bengal in 1835. Before that the first educational establishment for English education was Hindu College, established in 1817. Rammohan Ray was the first Bengali who learnt English and also wanted his fellow country men to get the opportunity to acquire Western scientific education. He learnt English from John Digby, a civilian in the first decade of the 19th century. Between 1780 and 1817, a large number of private schools were established offering tuition in English.

ii) Halhed's second aim: to satisfy the 'curious and intelligent'.

Halhed was wise enough to realize that both the Gentoo Code and the Grammar would find a market in London. William Jones' Grammar of Persian had been published in 1771 and went through nine editions by 1828.³⁶ Arabic was taught in Oxford, as indeed presumably were Hebrew and Persian. Halhed must have been supposing that his work would appeal to the same kind of audience or readership to which Sir William Jones' Grammar had appealed. The fact that his Grammar was modelled on Jones' shows that he was inspired by him and was seeking to emulate him.

One important aspect of Halhed's aim to satisfy the intelligensia was his desire for originality. As we have shown in earlier chapters,³⁷ his originality was not as great as he appeared to have claimed: firstly, the 'path' was not 'untrodden': there had been the Vocabulario; secondly, his Grammar had been modelled on that of William Jones; thirdly, though it was true as he claimed that no one had traced the connection of Bengali with Sanskrit, Jones, had, however, shown that one language could be heavily dependent on another, as Persian was on Arabic. This at least had provided the seminal idea of what was to be the most original feature of Halhed's Grammar.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out how greatly concerned Halhed was with originality. We may here refer to some relevant passages

36. London, 1771, 1775, 1783, 1797, 1801, 1804, 1809, 1823 and 1828.

37. See Chapter V.

in this regard:

firstly, he claimed that 'the path' he 'attempted to clear was never before trodden', and that it was necessary for him to make his 'own choice of course' to be pursued and of the landmarks to be set up for the guidance' of 'future travellers';³⁸

secondly, he claimed that "I have not been guided or assisted in my researches by those of any preceding Author";³⁹

thirdly, he disparaged one of his predecessors, Mr. Bolts, who had been "supposed to be well versed in Bengali" and who had "attempted to fabricate a set of types for it", but whose published "specimen"⁴⁰ of the "primary alphabet" had convinced Halhed that this "project when completed, would [not] have advanced beyond the usual state of imperfection...";⁴¹

fourthly, Halhed has also disparaged another of his predecessors, the

Jesuit Dupont, alleging Dupont's observations on Sanskrit to be erroneous;⁴²

fifthly, indeed, one of Halhed's declared aims had been to remove the

errors his predecessors might have engendered: "I wished to obviate

38. HBG, p.XIX.

39. HBG, p.XXII.

40. The 'specimen' referred to is perhaps the specimen of Bengali letters published in 1773 by Mr. Jackson who cut them 'for Mr. William Bolts, Judge of the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. This was a part of a scheme of writing a Bengali grammar by Mr. Bolts, but 'his models as copied by Jackson, failed to give satisfaction, and the work was.... abandoned'. See T.B.Reed, A History of the old English letter Foundries, London, N.ed. 1952, pp.312-3.

41. HBG, p.XXIII.

42. HBG, p.VI.

the recurrence of such erroneous opinions...formed by the few Europeans who...hitherto studied the Bengalese....";⁴³

sixthly, Halhed wanted to produce a definitive work beyond any possible reproach: "My principal aim has been to comprehend everything necessary to be known",⁴⁴ i.e. to produce a comprehensive grammar, not a 'short treatise', 'judicious abstract', or 'elegant compendium' (presumably aimed at the vocabulario, which contains a 'compendium'⁴⁵ of Bengali grammar). At all events, he was plainly afraid of criticism and wished to disarm critics in advance.

seventhly, he was out to 'convince', as his occasional asides reveal: "to the curious and intelligent this will probably be the most interesting part of the work".⁴⁶ This implies his awareness of what he was producing: i.e. not a teaching grammar, but a kind of thesis; especially telling in this regard is the phrase: "...and I was willing to omit nothing that might tend to instruct or to convince";⁴⁷ i.e. he was arguing a case; he was advocating something. He also remarked: "I have been scrupulously minute in the insertion of examples to every rule, and prolix in my observations upon general grammar".⁴⁸

43. HBG, p.XIX.

44. HBG, p.iii.

45. "Breve Compendio Da Grammatica Bengala", Vocabulario...etc., p.1.

46. HBG, p.XIX.

47. HBG, p.XIX (Italics are mine).

48. HBG, p.XIX (Italics are mine).

We would suggest that this was Halhed's aim: to present a kind of descriptive grammar of Bengali that would be of interest to those of an intellectual frame of mind. Note the phrase: "if I have been in the smallest degree instrumental in attracting the attention of the curious, or in gratifying the taste of the discerning".⁴⁹ Would this not have been an odd phrase to find in a teaching course? We would suggest that it was to some extent this desire to cater for the general intellectual reader, to excite his imagination with a picture of an exotic language that was in some measure related to his own European mother-tongue, that destroyed the Grammar's usefulness for Halhed's allegedly and professedly supreme purpose in providing a Grammar useful to the East India Company in facilitating intercourse between the ruler and the ruled.

A person who is concerned with originality and discoveries is more preoccupied with the establishment of reputation than anything else. Halhed's ambitions appear to have been an odd mixture of the scholarly and academic, and the administrative and political. He wanted to be brought to public notice. He was always quick and eager to publish.⁵⁰ So his professed aim of serving Government, though not actually insincere, may not have been entirely whole-hearted. The Grammar appears to us mainly an

49. HBG, XXII.

50. The Gentoos Code was written in two years (1784 and 1785), and the Grammar in three years (1786-1788). Though most of his other publications were pamphlets or booklets, he nevertheless published one in 1779, 3 in 1782-83, and 6 in 1795. See Chapter II on Halhed's biography.

attempt at self-advertisement. Its main purpose seems to have been to bring Halhed to the attention of the Government. He wanted to establish a quick reputation by creating a minor furore in intellectual circles with the originality of his discoveries. Thus this second aim of producing a startling thesis or treatise seems to have taken precedence over his alleged aim of serving the Government by facilitating intercourse between the British and their Bengali subjects through the medium of Bengali. It can, as we argued earlier, be demonstrated from the actual text of the Grammar that the design of it was unsuited to such a purpose. Had this aim been seriously ^upersued Halhed would surely have used the Bengali translation of the Gentoo Code (which according to Jones existed).⁵¹ He could have used the public notices he spoke of; official correspondence etc; i.e. the type of material that Government servants would have been called upon to handle; and also he could have used actual conversation. Instead, however, he took the language of poetry. He tried to study, as the material for analysis and for the illustration of his grammatical rules, the language directly derived from Sanskrit, a kind of classical Bengali that was, he believed, exhibited only in 'Authentic' books; failing altogether to realize how difficult it would be, firstly to gain an idea of Bengali vernacular from his Grammar, and secondly, how impossible it would have been for someone studying the language through this method to speak normal Bengali and write Prose. Though he did point out that it was necessary to read

51. Jones' letter to Arthur Lee, dt. 28 Sept. 1788. For an extract from the letter, see supra, p. 47.

Persian and Hindostanic in order to understand the modern jargon,⁵² he nevertheless seemed to advocate that this modern jargon should be abandoned as soon as practicable, being totally unaware of the impracticality of his ideas; for they would have involved two kinds of education: firstly, British Government servants would have had to be educated in Bengali; and secondly, Bengalis would also have had to be educated in their own mother-tongue, so as to be able to write this purified form of language that he was advocating; since, under the influence of his Brahmin pundit informant, Halhed definitely rejected the current form of language, the mixed Perso-Arabic jargon. Thus, in fact, the two aims were incompatible: the second defeated the first.

B. The Relationship between Bengali and Sanskrit

This is by far the most important aspect of Halhed's grammar. His concern right from page one was to plead the importance of Bengali: one, it was the language of Bengal; two, it was related to Sanskrit; and three, Sanskrit was the root of all the languages of Asia from Turkey to China. Throughout the Grammar these themes were developed. Though aware of the use of Persian and Hindustanic in Bengal, Halhed strongly urged the importance of Bengali, declaring it "the vernacular language of Bengal".⁵³

52. "But I would advise every person who is desirous to distinguish himself as an accurate translator to pay some attention to both the Persian and Hindostanic dialects; since in the occurrence of modern business, as managed by the present illiterate generation, he will find all his letters, representations and accounts interspersed with a variety of borrowed phrases or unauthorized expressions". HBG, p.xxii.

53. HBG, pp.ii-iii.

Though writing a grammar of Bengali, Halhed rooted most of his observations on its relationship to Sanskrit, "from whence the dialect of Bengal immediately proceeds".⁵⁴ His preface states categorically "that a grammar of the pure Bengal dialect cannot be expected to convey a thorough idea of the modern jargon of the kingdom".⁵⁵ He indicated "the connection and resemblance between Shanscrit and Bengal noun"⁵⁶ and also was "enabled to trace the greatest part of the original Bengal verbs from the roots of the Shanscrit".⁵⁷ Furthermore, following Jones,⁵⁸ he urged the impossibility of learning Bengali "without a general and comprehensive" idea of the Sanskrit, to which he constantly referred. Such was the importance of Sanskrit, that not only was it the "grand source of Indian Literature", but also the Parent of almost every Asian language from Turkey to China.

Furthermore, Halhed placed Sanskrit on an equal pedestal with Greek and Latin, the very foundation of European culture. Not only did he indicate the 'similitude' of Sanskrit words with those of Persian, Arabic, Latin and Greek, in his preface, but he continued to dwell on the affinity of Sanskrit with Greek and Latin throughout the Grammar. At one point, however, he observed, that Sanskrit was more closely akin to Latin than to Greek:

"Let me here cursorily observe, that as the Latin is an earlier dialect than the Greek, as we now have it, so it bears much more resemblance to the Shanscrit, both in words, influxions and terminations".⁵⁹

54. HBG, p.3.

55. HBG, p.XX.

56. HBG, p.65.

57. HBG, p.128.

58. See Supra, Chapter V, pp. 118.

59. HBG, p.157.

We have seen in the first chapter that some earlier European scholars had hinted at the affinity of Sanskrit with Latin and Greek, but Halhed throughout his Grammar demonstrated this resemblance with examples. He was confident that his "learned reader will not fail to be convinced of the similitude".⁶⁰

Bengali the language that, Halhed claimed, immediately proceeded from Sanskrit, was, he implied, of equal potential importance with cognate European languages like Italian and French. It had an equally rich mine of classical roots to draw on, i.e. Sanskrit the 'grand source of Indian Literature'. It was simple in grammatical structure and, it is implied, capable of an equally glorious development as that of European languages.

Halhed was a classical scholar. He was concerned to study not the modern 'debased' form of Bengali, but its 'pure' classical form, before the decay of learning. What he had in mind was the possibility of a renaissance! He was, therefore, the first to blow on that trumpet too!

His grammar is, therefore, important not as a description of Bengali, allegedly written to teach Bengali to East India Company servants, but as a prophetic statement of his passionate belief in the importance of Bengali and its potential role; and it ought to be judged in these terms. To judge it in terms of a grammar is to find it wanting. It had innumerable defects, but to judge it in its own terms as a tract on the statement of the case for

60. HBG, p.127.

Bengali - a piece of passionate advocacy - is to judge it aright and to find it superb.

Chapter VIII

CAREY: ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS UP TO AND INCLUDING 1801Introductory Note

We have written at length on Halhed. This was necessary for several reasons. Firstly, little has been written on him in recent times. It was therefore intrinsically interesting to gather together information on his life, his interest in Indian languages, his relationship with Hastings, his working methods, competence and so forth. Secondly, it was of immediate relevance to our thesis to indicate the various factors which came together in the life of Halhed so as to initiate the process which is to be the main theme of this thesis, namely Sanskritisation.

We needed to establish a number of points:

Firstly, Halhed was a gifted linguist: otherwise, Hastings would never have selected him for the task of translating the Gentoo's Code.

Secondly, his linguistic competence was mainly in Latin, Greek and Persian, not Sanskrit and Bengali. Thus, though his linguistic gifts and competence were such as to give to his opinions an air of impressive authority, his competence in the languages of most relevance to this thesis was inadequate for the task he imposed upon himself. For without informants he could not possibly accomplish them. The quality of his work therefore depended partly on his linguistic competence as a philologist and descriptive

linguist, but mainly on the skill and advice of his informants. As we have seen, the skills and counsel of the second of his informants, the 'intelligent' Brahmin, came ultimately to be valued by Halhed more than those of the East Bengali Munshi. The reasons for this are not far to seek: the backgrounds and trainings of the Brahmin and Halhed were essentially the same, in that both of them were classicists, Halhed being a student of Latin and Greek and the Brahmin of Sanskrit; and, furthermore, what Halhed gleaned from the Brahmin accorded with the line of his ambitions; i.e. to establish himself in Europe as a distinguished scholar and thus demonstrate his worthiness for preferment within the service of the East India Company. Halhed, therefore, rejected the Munshi style of Bengali, as exemplified in the Appendix of his Grammar, and strove to analyse and describe 'pure' Bengali; i.e. the language derived from Sanskrit. Thus, by the end of our discussion of Halhed the main theme of this thesis, namely the Sanskritisation of Bengali in the sphere of grammatical analysis, has emerged.

Since this theme has now emerged, much less need be written on Carey; for, firstly much is already known about him; and secondly, we need only concentrate on bringing out those factors in his life, which ultimately inclined him to follow Halhed's lead, and the characteristics of his work, which show positively the way, in which, due to Carey, the process of Sanskritisation intensified.

i) A brief outline of the life of Carey

William Carey was born on 17 August 1761 at Pam^ulerspury, Northamptonshire. His father Edmund Carey, who was working as a weaver at the time of Carey's birth, later became a schoolmaster in a local free school. At the age of fourteen, Carey was apprenticed to a shoemaker at Hackleton.

During his childhood, though 'rustic and uncouth', as J.C. Marshman observes,¹ Carey showed great interest in books of science, history and travel. It is said that when he was twelve, he obtained a copy of 'Dyche's Latin Vocabulary', committed almost the whole of it to memory, and also carefully studied the brief sketch of the grammar prefixed to it. Among the other books found in the shoemaker's shop, he came across a commentary on the New Testament, interspersed with Greek words. Whenever he had any occasion to visit his father, he copied down these Greek words and took them to a certain Tom Jones, living in his home village, to obtain their translation.

After he was baptized in October 1783, he met Dr. John Ryland² and Mr. Sutcliffe,³ who both encouraged his learning the classical languages. Carey worked hard at Greek, Latin and Hebrew, chiefly with

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1. J.C.Marshman, The Life and times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, vol.1, 1859, p.2.
 2. John Ryland (1753-1825) was the Baptist Minister at Bristol and Secretary of the BMS from 1815 to 1825.
 3. John Sutcluff (1752-1814) was the Baptist Minister at Olney. He, along with his other friends, Ryland and Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), supported Carey's missionary projects in Bengal.

a view to the interpretation of the scriptures. After the formation of the Baptist Mission Society, Carey and John Thomas were both chosen to be the first baptist missionaries to India. Carey and his family, together with his colleague, Thomas, arrived in Calcutta on 11 November 1793. The Baptist Mission Society had decided to provide Carey and Thomas with subsistence⁴ until they were able to support themselves. Initially Carey suffered much hardship. Finally, however, he settled at Madnabati near Malda, where in 1794 he was appointed superintendent of an indigo-factory. It was in Malda that he began concentrating on learning the Bengali language, though his study of it had probably commenced right from the moment he set out for Bengal. He also started the translation of the New Testament. After about five years in Madnabati, Carey moved to Serampore, a Danish Colony, where missionaries were encouraged. Later Carey and his colleagues, Ward and Marshman, established there the Serampore Mission, and a printing press. It was from this Serampore press that the translation of the scriptures and books in many Indian languages were later published.

In 1801, the year after the establishment of the College of the Fort William, Carey was appointed Professor of Bengali. Later, in 1807, he was made Professor of Bengali, Sanskrit and Marathi. Carey occupied this post till his retirement in 1831.

4. The subsistence was meagre. Thomas mentions in a letter that Carey paid his munshi Rs.20 per month, i.e. half of his subsistence (Thomas to the Society dated 26 October 1793, quoted in Periodical Accounts, vol.I, p.79).

In the year of his first appointment to the professorship at Fort William, 1801, Carey published his translation of the New Testament, Dharmapustak, his Grammar of the Bengalee Language, and the Dialogues or Kathopakathan. He subsequently published grammars of the Marathi (1805), Sanskrit (1806), Punjabi (1812), Telugu (1814), and Karnata (1817). His other important work was the Dictionary of the Bengalee Language in 2 volumes (1818-1825). Another Bengali work, 'Itihāsmālā (1812), was also attributed to him. Besides these he was actively associated with the translation of different Indian versions of the scriptures.

Carey died on 9 June 1834.

It will be seen from this brief sketch that Carey's life comprised two distinct phases:

- a) The first 40 years from 1761 to 1801, the years of his striving and struggling for an opportunity to expend his immense energies in linguistic research and the propagation of Christianity; and
- b) The final 33 years, the years of his achievements.

Through both periods, however, two dominant drives were motivating Carey:

- c) A thirst for linguistic knowledge and competence in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Bengali and Sanskrit; and
- d) An overwhelming desire to utilize that knowledge in the interpretation and translation of the scriptures for evangelical purposes.

Though appointed by Wellesley to Fort William College in 1801, and though conscientious in the discharge of his duties, Carey's main aim would seem to us to have remained religious: first and foremost he was a missionary, not a Professor of Bengali; his activities at Serampore took precedence over his activities at Fort William; indeed, it would seem to us that Fort William was important to him as a means of subsidising, in finance and labour, his missionary endeavours. In support of this view we quote below two letters: the first indicates Carey's genuine reluctance to write grammars of any language; and the second indicates his motivation in writing them.

On 17 March 1802 Carey wrote to Sutcliff:-

"I have...been obliged to publish several things and I can say that nothing but necessity could have induced me to do it - They are however Grammatical works - and certainly the very last thing I should have written if I could have chosen for myself."⁵

On 5 February 1812 Carey again wrote to Sutcliff:-

"I have of late been much impressed with the vast importance of laying a foundation for Biblical criticism in the East, by preparing grammars of the different languages into which we have translated the Bible or may translate it."⁶

5. CSBC MS, letter no.12, italics mine.

6. BMS MSS, Carey to Sutcliff, dated 5 February, 1812.

J.C.Marshman also substantiates our view that the College was, in Carey's eyes, subordinate to the Serampore Mission, and merely a source of skilled labour:-

"[We, the missionaries,] were in a position, by Carey's connection with the College, to obtain the assistance of learned men" from different parts of India.⁷

ii) Carey's Learning of Bengali

Carey's study of Bengali comprised four phases:

- i) His study of Bengali under John Thomas, 1793
- ii) His study under Rām Rām Basu, 1793-96
- iii) His study under Golaknath Sharma, 1796-1801
- iv) His study under Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāṛ, 1801-1816.

iii) Carey's informant-teachers

a) John Thomas

John Thomas may have been senior to Carey. He had begun his study of Bengali in Bengal, probably in 1787, when Rām Rām Basu, on the recommendation of William Chambers, the Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court, was appointed his munshi, or interpreter. Thomas continued his study of Bengali till the time of his departure for England on 10 December 1791.

We would find it difficult to imagine that, since John Thomas was studying Bengali in Bengal, within nine years of the publication there of Halhed's Bengali Grammar, he would have failed to secure a copy of it.

7. J.C.Marshman, op.cit., vol.I, pp.193-4.

We are convinced that he must have secured one. We are further convinced that he used it to teach the rudiments of Bengali to Carey on board ship during their voyage to Calcutta. Indeed, it would seem to us that initially Carey's studies of Bengali and even Sanskrit were guided and superintended by Thomas, who was instrumental in appointing both Ram Ram Basu and later Golaknath Sharma as Carey's teachers.

b) Rām Rām Basu

A Kāyastha by caste, Rām Rām Basu was born in 1753. He was thus Carey's senior by eight years. In 1780 Basu was appointed Munshi to William Chambers, Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court. This appointment indicates the high level of Basu's achievement in Persian. In 1787 on Chamber's recommendation he was appointed Munshi to John Thomas, to teach him Bengali. This recommendation indicates Basu's efficiency in the discharge of his duties to Chambers. In 1793, at the age of 40, Basu was appointed Munshi to William Carey. This appointment once more indicates Basu's success in satisfying his employers.

These successive appointments, each one on personal recommendation, demonstrate that Rām Rām Basu was undoubtedly a talented linguist and teacher. In the course of his thirteen years in the service of Englishmen, prior to his appointment by Carey, he had picked up a considerable working knowledge of English. We would suggest in fact that Basu was by 1793 quite capable of instantaneous translation from English into either Persian or Bengali, and that it was this facility which underlay his successive appointments.

Basu's initial usefulness to Carey was, therefore, great. Carey acknowledged the fact. Carey's letters home are full of his enthusiasm over the progress he was making in his studies under Basu, for whom at this period Carey was full of praise.

On 4 December 1793, less than a month after his arrival in Calcutta, Carey wrote:-

"I have no doubt but I shall soon learn the language. Ram Boshoo, my munshi or interpreter, is a very sensible man, and, I hope, a very pious man."⁸

Subsequent letters chart Carey's progress in speaking and preaching in Bengali:-

15 February 1794: ... "I can so far converse in the language, as to be understood in most things belonging to eating and drinking, buying and selling,...my ear is somewhat familiarized to Bengali sounds."⁹

27 January 1795: ... "But God has enabled me so far to speak the language, as to preach intelligibly for sometimes half an hour together; and with the assistance of Moonshee, at other times we continue an hour."¹⁰

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8. Carey to his sister, 4 December 1793, E.Carey - Memoirs of William Carey, 1836, p.124.
 9. Periodical Accounts, vol.I, 1800, pp.73-74.
 10. CSBC MS, Carey to Ryland, letter no.2.

30 January 1795: ... "I am able now to preach a little in Bengalee:

or rather, I mix Bengalee and Hindostanee together, but can be understood tolerably well; much better than I can understand them."¹¹

14 June 1795: ... "I have also, for the purpose of exercising myself in the language, begun translating the gospel by John, which Moonshee afterwards corrects."¹²

13 August 1795: ... "I often exhort them [the Bengalis], in the words of the apostle,...which I thus express in their language:

<u>Bāhēeree</u>	<u>aisho</u>	<u>ēbūng</u>	<u>ālādā</u>
Forth	come	and	separate
<u>hō</u>	<u>ēbūng</u>	<u>āpōbeettūr</u>	<u>bōstō</u>
be	and	unclean	thing
<u>spōrso</u>	<u>kōrēō nā;</u>	<u>ēbūng</u>	<u>ammi</u>
touch	not;	and	I
<u>kōbōol</u>	<u>kōribō</u>	<u>tomārdigkēe,</u>	
accept	will	you:	
<u>ēbūng</u>	<u>tōmra</u>	<u>hōbēe</u>	<u>ammar</u>
and	you	shall be	my
<u>pōotregōn</u>	<u>ēbūng</u>	<u>kūnēeagōn,</u>	<u>ai</u>
sons	and	daughters:	thus

11. BMS MSS, Carey to Fuller, dated 30 January 1795.

12. Periodical Accounts, vol.I, p.200.

mottobōolenshērbbōskōckto

says

the

Almighty

Bhōgābōn¹³

God

The above piece of translation was probably the result of a joint effort by Carey and Basu. A sentence from one of the above letters is particularly illuminating here:

"God has enabled me...to preach intelligibly for...half an hour...; and with the assistance of monshee...we continue for an hour."

This is a clear indication that Basu was at times simultaneously translating for Carey. The word order in the piece of translation Carey quotes also betrays evidence of such simultaneous translation, in that the Bengali word order to some extent reflects that of English. Further evidence of Basu's skill in translating from English to Bengali may be gleaned from the following letter:-

"[Rām Rām Basu] is certainly a man of the very best native abilities that I have ever found among the natives, and being well acquainted with the phraseology of the scripture was peculiarly fitted to assist in the translation."¹⁴

The italicized phrase is particularly illuminating. What 'scripture'

13. BMS MSS, Carey to BMS dated 13 August 1795.

14. Carey to Fuller, dated 17 January 1796, quoted by E.Carey, op.cit., 1836, pp.264-5. Italics mine.

does this refer to? Hindu? No, not very likely, because Rām Rām Basu was deficient in Sanskrit. Muslim? Basu could possibly read muslim works in Persian, but hardly the Koran in Arabic, and in any case Carey would not be interested in that. No, the obvious and only answer is: the English Bible. Basu must have read the Bible with Thomas when learning English. It is also known that Carey taught Basu English. What else but the Bible would Carey read with him? Obviously, the first draft of the Bengali translation of the Bible was that by Basu; Carey's concern then, as indeed always, would merely have been supervisory, trying to ensure fidelity to the original as best he could.

In view of Basu's immense service to Carey, we deem Carey's treatment of him to have been shabby. In 1796 Carey dismissed Basu for having an affair with a young widow. At a time when many Europeans were living openly with Bengali mistresses, this treatment seems excessive prudery. But then, of course, Carey was a missionary: his sole purpose was to raise moral standards in Bengal; Basu's lowering of such standards right beneath Carey's nose must to a person of his temperament have been trying. In fairness to Carey it must also be stated that in May 1800 he did reinstate Basu at the Serampore Mission and also got him a post at Fort William. Basu's influence, however, remained slight. His Pratāpādīya Carit (1801) which may well have laid the foundations of the historical novel in Bengali, appeared from Fort William only once,

whilst the compositions of Carey's favourites enjoyed several editions.¹⁵

Carey's cooling towards Basu may have had other causes. Carey may have been disappointed that Basu never came forward to avow Christ; i.e. was never converted to Christianity. Furthermore, Carey's translation of the New Testament, the Dharmapustak, was severely criticized. One of the grounds of criticism was word-order, which in Carey's Dharmapustak was often the reverse of the usual order in Bengali. Carey may have attributed this to Basu's knowledge of English. Much later (1827) Carey was to write:-

"The circumstance of their [Bengali teachers'] having a smattering of English is a matter of disadvantage rather than otherwise, as the vanity of imitating English composition, almost invariably leads them to adopt a similar phraseology [i.e. word-order] which is diametrically opposed to the proper formation of Bengali sentences."¹⁶

c) Golaknath Sharma

Golaknath Sharma was the Sanskrit pandit appointed by Thomas. In 1786, after the dismissal of Basu, Sharma assumed Basu's duties as assistant translator of the New Testament, and also took up the fresh task of teaching Carey Sanskrit. As regards the translation of the New Testament, Carey writes:

15. Note the number of editions enjoyed by Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra's works. See infra., p. 232

16. Home Miscellaneous file: letter to the Council dated 28 February 1827, cited by S.K.Das, 'Fort William College-r Kayek̥ṭi ābedanpatra', Desh, Vol.40, no.32, p.630.

"....The New Testament...is now translated...it has undergone one correction, but must undergo several more. I employ a Pundit merely for this purpose: with him I go through the whole in as an exact a manner as I can. He judges of the style and syntax, and I of the faithfulness of the translation.

I have, however, translated several chapters together, which have not required any alteration whatever in the syntax; yet I always submit this article entirely to his judgement."¹⁷

We presume that 'style and syntax' in the above letter refer mainly to word-order. As we saw, Basu's word-order was defective, due to the influence of English. Sharma with no knowledge of English would be free from such influence. Hence his limited role. The remainder of the translation, except for the correction of grammatical slips and word-order, would have been almost entirely Carey's. It is clear from the above letter that Sharma confined most of his corrections to the earlier sections by Basu. We would suspect his motive in doing so was merely to destroy Basu's reputation. Similarly his refraining from correcting Carey's efforts will in all probability have been a form of indirect flattery. Carey was later to realize he had been flattered in this way. On 9 August, 1808, he wrote to his sister:

17. BMS MSS, Carey to Fuller, dated 23 March 1797.

"...I recollect that after I had preached, or rather thought I had, for two years, a man one day came to me and declared that he could not understand me; and this, long after my flattering teachers had declared that everyone could understand me. I feel the impression which that poor man's remark made on me to this day. I laboured long, and saw no fruit."¹⁸

In regard to his study of Sanskrit, Carey wrote to Sutcliff on 16 January 1798:

"I am learning the Sanscrit language; which, with only the helps to be procured here, is perhaps the hardest language in the world. To accomplish that, I have nearly translated the ~~Sanskrit~~ grammar and dictionary into English."¹⁹

The italicized phrase is suggestive. In learning Bengali, Carey had at first used Halhed's grammar. That, together with his two first teachers, Thomas and Basu, had given him a good start. But for Sanskrit there were no teaching aids available in English. He had, therefore, of necessity to begin translating an indigenous Sanskrit grammar into English. Through what medium? Presumably through the medium of Bengali, for, as far as we know, Sharma knew no English.

18. Carey to his sister, quoted by E.Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.503.

19. BMS MSS, Carey to Sutcliff, dated 16.1.1798.

From his later references to it, we now know that the Grammar Carey chose to translate was Vopadana's Magdha Bodha. Carey was despondent about his ~~won~~ progress, however. On 28 September 1799 he wrote to Fuller:

"...I have been near three years....learning the Sanscrit language, yet know very little of it."²⁰

iv) Carey's achievements up to and including 1801

a) Dharmapustak (1801)

Carey probably commenced his translation of the New Testament (Dharmapustak) in 1795. The first draft was completed in 1797, but, because of correcting and redrafting, it was not published till 1801. Nevertheless, it was the first of Carey's publications both in point of time and of importance. It was probably the fulfilment of a life-long ambition. Though it remained, even after so many redraftings, so defective as later to be severely castigated by theological critics, it nevertheless served an unexpected and unusual purpose: it was Carey's translation of the New Testament that earned him his appointment as Professor of Bengali in 1801.

b) Carey's Bengali Grammar

Carey's Bengali Bible was published early in 1801. And on the strength of it, 'a record which no other nominee could match', David

20. E.Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.343.

Brown proposed Carey's name to Lord Wellesly for appointment as Professor of Bengali at Fort William College. Brown sounded Carey on the possibility of the appointment on 8 April 1801. Carey must have jumped at the chance, for the preface to the first edition of his Bengali Grammar is dated, 22 April, 1801; i.e. a fortnight after the proposal was first put to him and eight days before he actually assumed his appointment on 1 May 1801. By 15 June 1801 Carey was writing to Ryland:

"When the appointment was made, I saw that I had a very important charge committed to me, and no books to assist me - I therefore set about compiling a grammar, which is now half printed."²¹

The italicized word is illuminating: it describes exactly the manner, in which the first edition of Carey's Grammar was produced; i.e. by compiling a number of components: parts of Halhed's Grammar, rigorously abridged; parts of the Mugdha Bodha, which he had translated; the addition of a number of grammatical notes of Carey's own, which he had compiled over the years; and also of some observations made by Forster. Of the process by which this grammar was produced we shall say more later: for the present we wish to confine ourselves to a few observations.

Firstly, though Carey's process of learning Bengali had been similar to Halhed's, the similarity was produced as much by accident

21. CSBC MS, letter no.11, italics mine.

as by deliberation.²² Carey, like Halhed, had begun learning Bengali from a Munshi. This was because at the time it was fashionable for Englishmen to employ Munshis (Persian interpreters), since Persian was the official language. Halhed later came to prefer the services of an 'intelligent' brahmin. This was because the brahmin's ideas accorded with his own: both of them preferred a more classical form of language free from modern decay and accretions. When Carey turned for help to the brahmin pundit, Golaknath Sharma, however, it was not because he rejected Ram Ram Basu's form of Bengali. Only the contrary, up to 1801 Carey disagreed with Halhed on this point. Carey asserted

".....a multitude of words, originally Persian or Arabic, are constantly employed in common conversation, which perhaps ought to be considered as enriching rather than corrupting the language."²³

The italicized word, enriching, indicates that in regard to Perso-Arabic vocabulary Carey was diametrically opposed to Halhed. Halhed considered them corrupting. Carey rubbed his point in with a further telling sentence: a language was distinguished from another 'in its formation' and 'not in the source from which [its] words are derived';²⁴

22. There is however, evidence of deliberation in that like Halhed, Carey too translated from the Mahābhārat as a linguistic exercise, when learning Bengali.

23. W.Carey, A Grammar of the Bengalee Language, 1801, p.iii.

24. Ibid., p.iii.

i.e. languages differ morphologically and syntactically, and not necessarily etymologically. Bengali and 'Hindustanee' (i.e. Hindi) Carey argued, drew most of their words 'from the same source', Sanskrit, yet 'the formation [i.e. morphological and syntactic structure] and genius of the two languages' differed.²⁵ Unlike Halhed, Carey rejected his Munshi, Rām Rām Basu, because his morals needed purifying, not his language!

Carey's rejection of much of Halhed's reasoning at this period is also mirrored in his rigorous exclusion from his own first edition of Halhed's long disquisitions. Carey pointedly stated in his preface that he had "studiously avoided all disquisitions which merely relate to it [Grammar] as a science" and had laid down rules in "as concise a manner as possible".²⁶ This barb was surely aimed at Halhed who had omitted "nothing which might tend to instruct or convince" the "curious and intelligent".²⁷ In short, Carey was out to produce a concise teaching grammar, not a treatise on the relation of Bengali to Sanskrit.

Curiously, however, though not at this stage whole heartedly subscribing to Halhed's theories, Carey nevertheless, incorporated

25. Ibid., p.iv.

26. Ibid., p.iii.

27. HBG, p.XIX.

in his Grammar several sections from his translation of the Mugdha Bodha; i.e. though not believing in Sanskritisation as a doctrine like Halhed, he, nevertheless, contributed to it. The source of this piece of curious inconsistency may have been Golaknath Sharma, though we are inclined to believe that on the need to know Sanskrit in order to learn Bengali properly, Carey agreed with Halhed, even before starting^{the} study of Sanskrit under Golaknath Sharma.

The grounds for this belief are these:

- 1) Carey readily submitted the correction of his translation of the New Testament to Golaknath Sharma, in whose domain 'style and syntax', as far as Carey was concerned, rightly lay; i.e. by 1796 Carey had concluded that the standard of stylistic and syntactical excellence in Bengali could only be determined by a Brahmin pundit versed in Sanskrit.
- 2) Carey had reached this conclusion because of the difficulties he himself had experienced in learning Bengali. Despite much searching he had, by 1801, still failed to find any universally accepted standard of language in Bengal. The first edition of his Grammar to some extent reflects this failure: it contains forms, which would now be considered substandard and dialectal; e.g. tenāke, tenārā; khāoīmu, karimu, hamu, āilām, kailām, āilen, etc. Like Halhed, he was aware that the higher castes

spoke one kind of language (Carey termed it Bengalee), whilst 'the common language of the country' was 'jargen', full of Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, Armenian and Hindustani words. To further complicate matters 'every ten or twelve miles' presented the traveller with a fresh local dialect, different from the last. In such a state of linguistic uncertainty and confusion, Carey, like Halhed before him, cried out for some universally accepted standards.

c) Kathopakathon or Dialogues (1801)

Carey's publication of Kathopakathan in 1801 is a further indication of his failure by that date to find a universally accepted form of Bengali. Nevertheless, though unable as yet to resolve Bengal's linguistic problems, Kathopakathan at least demonstrates Carey's full awareness of them. There is controversy over the authorship of Kathopakathon. S.K.Das has tried to determine precisely which of the dialogues Carey himself wrote and which were written for him. We are not prepared here to take issue with him. Carey himself never claimed to have written all of them. We would find it reasonable to suppose that the dialogues in which a European participates were written by Carey himself. On examination, however, it would seem that these particular dialogues exhibit stylistic features followed by Basu in his Lipimālā, and suggesting at first sight that Basu may have had a hand in their composition. This need not necessarily be so, however. Just as a child picks up linguistic mannerisms from his parents and teachers, so a pupil or student of a foreign language picks up similar

mannerisms from his language teacher. What would be more natural than that Carey, who had studied, as it were, at Basu's knee, should employ some of Basu's favourite expressions?

Be that as it may, the question of the authorship of the Dialogues lies strictly outside this thesis. Even if it could be proved, that Carey failed to write a single one of the Bengali sentences that appear in the book, the fact would remain that the book resulted from his planning and conception; and more importantly, that that planning and conception resulted from Carey's direct experience. What then was Carey's experience?

It was that the styles of Bengali adopted by different sexes, classes and occupational groups differed markedly. Gentle folk spoke in a 'grave style', characterized by heavy Sanskritic borrowings. Others employed a more racey patios replete with foreign borrowings. There were dialogues with women gossiping and quarrelling, men arranging loans, men fixing up marriages, men talking about fishing and so forth. In the preface Carey freely admits to having "employed some sensible natives to compose Dialogues upon subjects of a domestic nature, and to give them precisely in the natural style of the persons supposed to be speakers".²⁸ The italicized word is important: Carey wanted a series of dialogues

28. W.Carey, Dialogues, 1801, p.VII. Italics mine.

from a world from which he was expressly excluded; i.e. Bengali homes. As a foreigner, he will have penetrated few homes. The women and men he will generally have met and conversed with will have been low caste or working class. He will have had some idea of their speech. The range of vocatives alone in the 1st edition of his Grammar demonstrates that. He will have mixed with them as much as he could. The dialectal, substandard verbal and pronominal forms in his Grammar indicate that he must have done. But it would have been pointless to have learned to speak like any one of them. He needed to be able to understand them passively: what he wanted was some means of communicating with them actively which would serve not only in one small locality, but throughout Bengal, with people of all classes. As far as he could see, the only style of speech that would serve his purpose was the 'grave style' of 'the higher ranks of Hindoos'. By 1801 Carey was beginning to turn towards this style, but the Kathopakathan, the conception and planning of it, together with his translation of it, showed that Carey understood the Bengali masses, even if only passively, and had not yet become too lost in the clouds to forget them.

Chapter IX

CAREY'S GRAMMARIntroductory Note

The first edition of Carey's A Grammar of the Bengalee Language was published in 1801 and a further three editions appeared (1805, 1815 and 1818) within his life time. A further, posthumous edition came out in 1843. The second edition was practically rewritten, being much enlarged and emended. The third and the subsequent editions are more or less reprints of the second edition with only minor modifications. Thus when comparing the first and the second editions, we find the second edition to be virtually a new book. We have, therefore, classified the various editions of Carey's Grammar into two groups: the first comprises only the first edition; and the second comprises the remainder.

I

CAREY'S 1ST EDITION (CBGI)¹i) Carey learned Bengali initially from Halhed's Grammar

We have reason to believe that Carey had a copy of Halhed's

L. Carey's first edition will be referred to as CBGI.

Grammar beside him, when he began to learn Bengali. It is even not unlikely that he procured a copy in England before his departure to Bengal and read it with Thomas on the ship. On 2 October 1795, he wrote to S. Pearce, (who had presumably asked Carey to send him a grammar of the Bengali language):

"The day I received your letter, I set about composing a grammar and dictionary of the Bengal language, to ^{be} sent to you. Perhaps you may obtain 'Halhed's Bengal Grammar in England: it will be a great help.'"²

i.e. Carey was aware that Halhed's Grammar was available in England.

In a letter to Sutcliff, dated 3 January 1794,³ Carey gives a specimen of the Bengali alphabet together with a short description of it. He first of all gives the list of Bengali letters, which follows the list of phalās, i.e. kya, kra, kna, kla, etc., in the same order as in Halhed's grammar.⁴ As an example of 'anko' phalā, he quotes the first column of the phalā chart given by Halhed.⁵ He even quotes in full the ska phalā from Halhed.⁶ Next he gives the list of Bengali vowels copied from Halhed⁷ in even the same transliteration as Halhed used, e.g. 'o' for a, 'aa' for ā, 'ee' for i, etc. followed by twelve vowel sounds.⁸ In his short description he writes:

2. Letter to S. Pearce, quoted in E. Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.247. (Italics mine).

3. BMS MSS., Carey to Sutcliff, dt. 3.1.1794.

4. HBG, pp.9-16 and 18.

5. HBG, p.21.

6. HBG, p.22.

7. HBG, p.24.

8. HBG, p.29.

"They have....no plural number to anything but pronouns."⁹

Halhed had written "Bengal nouns have neither dual or plural numbers"¹⁰ and gave the declension of nouns in singular only, but the declension of pronouns in both singular and plural. The order in which the Bengali alphabet is described in Carey's letter shows that he copied them from Halhed's Grammar page by page.

The date of this letter suggests that Carey had presumably had a copy of this grammar with him aboard ship and had read it with Thomas.

While learning the Bengali language, Carey definitely made use of Halhed's Grammar, and it was of 'great help' to him, as incidently he mentions in the letter to S.Pearce.¹¹ In his early phase of learning Bengali, therefore, we find that he was very much influenced by Halhed's Grammar. We may refer here to a letter from Carey to Sutcliff, dated 9 August 1794:

"The language [Bengali] is very copious and I think beautiful...

Indeed there are two distinct languages spoken all over the country; viz. the Bengalee, spoken by the Brahmans, and higher Hindoos; and the Hindoostanic, spoken by the Mussulmans, and lower Hindoos; and is a mixture of Bengalee and Persian."¹²

9. BMS MSS, Carey to Sutcliff, dt. 3.1.1794.

10. HBG, p.68.

11. Supra, p.184.

12. BMS MSS, Carey to Sutcliff, dt. 9.8.1794. This letter was quoted in Periodical Accounts, vol.I, 1800, pp.88-93, but the date was printed wrongly as 5 August 1794.

Here he even adopts the same spellings of Hindoostanic and Mussulman as Halhed. He also spelt 'Sanskrit' as Shanscrit,¹³ as Halhed did. The word 'copious' too was taken from Halhed's grammar, where the word 'copiousness', is used in reference to Bengali.¹⁴

Carey once wrote to Pearce:

"So different is the language called Bengalee (which is spoken by the higher ranks of Hindoos) from the common language of the country which is a mixture of Bengalee, Hindostanee, Persian, Portuguese, Armenian, and English, that is a mere jargon."¹⁵

This comment echoes Halhed, who described current Bengali as 'modern jargon', deploring the absorption into it of Arabic, Persian, Portuguese and English words.¹⁶ It was probably Halhed's influence that induced Carey to learn Sanskrit, for Halhed had urged "the impossibility of learning the Bengali dialect without a general and comprehensive idea of the Shanscrit".¹⁷

Halhed's Bengali grammar had also presumably inspired Carey to translate the Mahābhārat into English as an exercise when learning the Bengali language:

-
13. BMS MSS, Carey to Fuller, dt. 30 January 1795. We find that Carey later changed the spelling of 'Hindoostanic' to 'Hindostanee' and 'Shanscrit' to 'Sangskrito' in his Bengali grammar (1st edn., 1801, p.III-IV).
 14. HBG, p.130.
 15. Letter to Mr. Pearce dt. 31 December 1795, quoted in Periodical Accounts, vol.I, p.222.
 16. HBG, pp.XX-XXI.
 17. HBG, p.XX.

"I have been trying to compose a compendious grammar of the language, which I send you, together with a few pages of Mahabharat, with a translation, which I wrote for my own exercise in the Bengalee."¹⁸

As we saw earlier, Halhed took most of the illustrations in his Grammar from the Bengali epic, the Mahābhārat.

Halhed's grammar was not only Carey's companion to Bengali, but it also played a great part in Carey's Bengali grammar published in 1801, as we shall see later.

The two letters from Carey to S. Pearce, quoted above, show that Carey began to write a 'compenious grammar' of the Bengali language for Pearce in October 1795. By the end of December he seems to have finished writing the grammar and sends it to Pearce with the letter, dated 31 December 1795. We have failed to find any trace of that grammar anywhere. We presume, however, that it was not a complete grammar written independently of Halhed, but merely a short compendium, possibly only a few pages long; for the interval of time between the two letters referred to above is no more than three months. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Carey compiled that short grammar for Pearce from Halhed's Grammar, as he had done when sending

18. Letter to Mr. Pearce dt. 31 December 1795, quoted in Periodical Accounts, vol. I, p. 223.

the specimen of the Bengali alphabet to Sutcliff. In the same letter to Sutcliff, dated 9 August 1794, Carey had intended, he said, soon to send to Sutcliff 'a small vocabulary and grammar of the language in manuscript'.¹⁹ This also we have failed to trace. Nor, however, is it mentioned again in any of Carey's letters to Sutcliff.

Regarding the compilation of the Bengali vocabulary, or dictionary, we imagine, that Carey may have compiled one for his own use, by writing down every new word he came across; for when giving a 'word of advice' to future missionaries in Bengal, Carey wrote:

"They will do well, to associate, as much as possible, with the natives, and to write down every word they can catch, with its meaning."²⁰

ii) Where Carey followed Halhed

We have seen that Carey read, admired and followed Halhed's grammar, while learning Bengali. We will also find that Carey followed Halhed in writing his Bengali Grammar, where in his preface, he accords 'much credit' to Halhed, "except whose work, no Grammar of this language has hitherto appeared".²¹ In the following pages we shall try to determine how far Carey depended on Halhed. Did he, for example, follow him completely, or did he effect an

19. BMS MSS, Carey to Sutcliff, dt. 9 August 1794.

20. Carey to Pearce, quoted in E. Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.246.

21. CBG I, p.IV, Carey possibly did not know about Manoel's Vocabulario.

improvement on him? Firstly, let us consider, how far Carey depended on Halhed, or in what way he was influenced by him:

- a) The arrangement of Carey's first chapter on letters is the same as Halhed's. It begins with the alphabet, then comments on the pronunciation of letters, then describes the conjunct letters, and finally lists the contracted letters.
- b) When describing the pronunciation of letters, Carey follows Halhed's mode of description; e.g.

Halhed -

"ko, has the sound of k, as karan to do

k,ho, the same k aspirated as maakhon butter.

go, is pronounced like g hard, as gomon to go ...

gho, the same g followed by an aspirate, distinctly uttered...

ngoo-o ... is never found but in words of Shanscrit origin

and then is constantly compounded with some other letter;

and has the sound of un or ung, as in unko..."²²

Carey -

"kaw sounds exactly as the English k

khaw is the same letter aspirated. The sound will be best

expressed by the junction of k and h in the English

word 'brick-house'.

22. HBG, pp.9-10.

gaw is g hard as in gate

ghaw the same letter aspirated

gnioo this letter is seldom used in its simple state,

but is commonly compounded with another letter, as

ungkaw.²³

c) Most of the materials of Carey's first chapter are taken from Halhed. Carey gives the same set of contracted letters, (e.g. 'kraw' 'oktaw'), as in Halhed's book. The following charts are also copied from Halhed's grammar:

- chart of the 34 anka phalās
- chart of the 34 ska phalās
- siddhee or the twelve phalas.

d) Like Halhed, Carey establishes seven cases, three genders and two numbers. Following Halhed, he also gives two declensions of nouns: one ending with a consonant; and the other with a vowel.

e) Carey establishes the same set of rules for genders as Halhed does. He even takes seven of his thirteen examples. from Halhed; i.e.

Bāgh-bāghā-bāghni, harin-hariṇā-hariṇai, bheṭā-bheṭī, hasti-hastinī, āryā-gāi, pitā-mātā and mānuṣ-strī, though with some minor modifications.²⁴

By following these rules, however, Carey produces a number of forms, which are never used in Bengali; e.g. the masculine forms Biḍālā (cat),

23. CBGI, p.9.

24. In place of bāghni and harinṇi Carey correctly writes bāghini and hariṇī.

Bulbulā (a bird), mrigā (deer).

f) Like Halhed, Carey also gives examples of words, signifying mutual acts. Two examples are common to both grammars; viz., ^hpanāhāni (mutual wounding) and māramāri (mutual smiting). Carey's additional examples are defective; e.g. Carey derives gālāgāli (mutual abuse) from gāl (cheek), but this is properly derived from gāl, meaning 'abuse'; and Carey also derives the word tādātādi (a 'pursuit' or 'quickly') from tādan (a 'pursuing'), though actually it derives from tvarātvari (quickly).

g) Carey, following Halhed, gives a long description of the formation of adjectives. The following suffixes for the formation of adjectives are found in both the grammars: -bat, -ā/-atī, -bān, -banta, -mān, manta, -ī, -a, -ni, -nir, -tar, tama, -ati, -āṅkar, -tulya and -sama. Some of the examples given by Carey are the same as a member of Halhed's; e.g. yubā, yubati, punyabān, pāpī, nipāt, nirbhaṣ and bhaṣāṅkar.

h) Like Halhed, Carey also gives the conjugation of the verb āchi (I am) and then those of other verbs. Halhed calls the verb āchi as 'auxiliary verb', but Carey calls it an 'imperfect verb'. Halhed justifies the placing of the conjugation of āchi, before the regular conjugations, on the grounds of its being "necessary to the formation of various tenses in all the verbs", though Carey gives no reason.

i) Carey classifies Bengali verbs according to Halhed's system of classification. The only difference is that Halhed incorporates both

verbs like Karān (to cause to do) and khāoān (to cause to eat) in one conjugation, which he labels the third, whereas Carey divides these verbs into two separate conjugations, namely the third and fourth. Halhed was justified in doing so as the conjugations of these two types of verbs are the same. Like Halhed Carey also observes irregular verbs, which do not follow the regular conjugation. Halhed distinguishes two irregular verbs, yāon and deon, but Carey only one, yāon.

j) Like Halhed, Carey gives examples of contracted verbs, such as āilām < āsilām, Kailām < karilām, etc.

k) Following Halhed, Carey classifies adverbs as 'adverbs of time', 'adverbs of place', etc. Carey's list of adverbs is more exhaustive than Halhed's.

l) Carey copies the list of contractions commonly used in writing in Bengali from Halhed's grammar in its entirety. The original words, their contractions, meanings and order are all the same in both the grammars.

m) Carey, like Halhed, also includes a section called 'of Numbers', though compared to Halhed's detailed description, Carey's was much abridged. Unlike Halhed, Carey does not give Bengali numerals and ordinals, but only an outline of the Bengali accounts system, and money and weight tables, both presumably taken from Halhed.

In his first chapter, Carey, seems to have followed Halhed completely, though in subsequent chapters he follows him completely on only one or two specific points.

iii) Where Carey deviated from Halhed

We saw above that Carey had studied Halhed's grammar thoroughly, and used its materials, wherever he thought it useful to do so.

Even so, Carey arranges his chapters and subsections, to suit his own purposes. The distribution of subjects in the two Grammars are set out below:-

<u>Halhed</u>	<u>Carey</u>
Of the Elements	Letters
Of Substantives	Substantives
Of cases	(Cases-genders-enclytics)
Of Numbers	Adjectives
Of Pronouns	Pronouns
Of Verbs	Verbs
	Adverbs
Of Attributes and Relations	
	Prepositions
	Conjunctions
Of Numbers	
Of Syntax	
Of Orthoepey and versification	
	Compound words
	Syntax
	Contraction
	Of Numbers

Halhed includes Particles, Prepositions, Adjectives, Adverbs, etc. in a single chapter, called 'Of Attributes and Relations', but Carey, on the other hand distributes them in separate chapters. It seems that in the distribution of subjects Carey was thinking in terms of Parts of Speech, as then commonly done in contemporary English grammars.

iv) Where Carey improved on Halhed

Apart from the first chapter, where he relied heavily on Halhed, Carey effected considerable improvements in his Grammar, especially in the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. Carey himself mentions this in his preface:

"I have made some distinctions and observations not noticed by him [i.e. Halhed], particularly on the declension of Nouns and Verbs, and the use of particles."²⁵

Compared to Halhed's to a Bengali Carey's declension of Nouns seems correct, extensive and useful. He states that the declensional inflexions for masculine and feminine nouns are identical whilst those of the neuter differ. He particularly observes that in neuter nouns no inflexions are used for the accusative. To make the declension complete, he adds the relevant post positions, such as diyā in the Instrumental and haiṭē in the Ablative. Halhed does not give any plural declension, but Carey does. In addition to vocatives mentioned by Halhed, Carey gives also lo, ore, ohe, olo, oṭe, oṭi, ogo, bho, etc.

25. CBGI, p.V.

Though Carey's declension of pronouns is not entirely correct, he does correctly establish two kinds of personal pronoun: the honorific and non-honorific. Halhed had failed to distinguish them.

Carey also considerably improves the conjugation of verbs. He established two sets of inflexions agreeing with the 'pronouns of respect or honour' and 'the pronouns of inferiority or contempt'. He correctly observes that in verbs there is no distinction between singular and plural, Halhed, mistaking honorific and non-honorific verbal inflexions for singular and plural endings, had maintained that there was such a distinction.

We also find that in the use of particles, Carey makes some distinctions not observed by Halhed. At the end of his chapter called 'Of Substantives', Carey gives a list of enclytics. The first few of these are diminutives and definitives, which are followed by particles to form substantives including abstract substantives and substantives of action. To demonstrate the formation of adjectives, Carey adds thirty more suffixes, besides seventeen he takes from Halhed. For prepositions Carey writes completely a new chapter.

v) The influence of Forster

In making these distinctions, Carey may perhaps have been inspired by Forster's English Bengali Vocabularies.²⁶ Forster felt the necessity of "a new edition of Mr. Halhed's excellent Grammar, with

26. Henry Pitts Forster, A Vocabulary in two parts, English and Bengalee and vice versa. 1799-1802, 2 parts.

some supplementary chapters, on the formation of abstract nouns, nouns of action, adjectives, concrete nouns, and the like, from their roots; and to have exhibited them under the various predicaments to which they are subject, whether diminution, increment, or similitude, or dissimilitude, which is a branch of Grammar that could not fail to be highly useful to the student".²⁷ As these matters pertained properly to grammar, rather than vocabulary, Forster had to content himself with subjoining a short note at the end of his Introduction, entitled 'Rules for forming Substantives from Adjectives'. Some of these rules and examples are common to both Forster's introduction and Carey's Grammar:

a) Forster - "Whenever the adjectives takes a yo, the first vowel is changed into the corresponding vowel of its class...thus from ..pondito, learned, comes..pandityo, .. from ..dheer, patient, ..dhyrjyo, patience; from ..sthir, steady, ... sthyrjyo, steadiness...".²⁸

Carey - "Some ending in ra, ta, na form substantives by making syllable long and adding ya; thus from sthir steadfast, sthairya steadfastness, dhīr slow dhairya patience....pandit learned, pāṇḍitya learning."²⁹

b) Forster - Adjectives ending in oo, make the Substantive by changing the first vowel into its ...briddhi, and the...oo into

27. Ibid., part I, 1799, pp.ii-iii.

28. Ibid., p.X.

29. CBGI?, pp.33-34.

a...bo at the end; thus, from ...mridoo, mild, is formed
 ...mardobo, mildness; from loghoo, light, laghobo, lightness".³⁰
 Carey - "Adjectives ending in i or ī form substantives in ya;
 ... those ending in u or ū by changing u into ba and lengthening
 the syllable, as laghu small, lāghab smallness, mr̥du mild,
mārdab mildness".³¹

The list of the subscribers given at the end of Forster's
 vocabularies shows the name of William Carey as the subscriber of one
 copy. Carey in one of his letters to Ryland³² refers to Forster's
 vocabulary as useful for the students of the College of the Fort
 William.³³

vi) Additional features in Carey's Grammar

Two additional features appear in Carey's Grammar:

one, examples of colloquial Bengali speech; and

two, a number of sections from the Mugdhabodha.

The examples of current colloquial speech are exemplified
 below:

30. Forster, op.cit., pt.I, p.X.

31. CBGI, I, pp.35-6.

32. CSBC MS, letter to Ryland dated 15 June 1801, letter no.11.

33. A copy of Forster's vocabulary (2 parts) 'completely interleaved
 with many notations within the text and on the interleaves at the
 first part, but fewer and fewer as the text continues' is to be
 found in the 'William Carey Historical Library of Serampore College
 (est. 1818)'. The hand-writing has not been identified. See,
 Katherine Smith Diehl, Early Indian Imprints, 1964, p.94.

- i) Vocatives like go, re, lo, te, hāre, etc.³⁴
- ii) Sentences with an idiomatic use of particles, like nā³⁵ (tumi kena bala nā), re³⁶ (kenre^a re balis nā), to³⁷ (āmi to kariba), niko³⁸ (āmi kariniko).
- iii) Example of colloquial forms besides the sādhu ones³⁹ are:
bhrātā-bhaginī, bhāi-bahin; hasti-hasīnī, hāti-hātnī; yakhan-takhan,
yabe-tabe.
- iv) Typical colloquial Bengali enclytics, gaṭā,⁴⁰ khān,⁴¹ gulu.⁴²
- v) Examples of non-Sanskritic Compound words, peṭkāṭā,⁴³ sonāmudā,⁴⁴ kukathā.⁴⁵
- vi) Echo-words like bāsan-kusan,⁴⁶ jal-ṭal.⁴⁷
- vii) Along with these examples of colloquial Bengali forms, there have also crept a number of dialectal words and forms:
- a) Dialectal pronominal forms,⁴⁸ tenāke, tenārā, etc.
- b) Dialectal verbal forms: khāoāimu,⁴⁹ karimu,⁵⁰ hamu,⁵¹

34. CBGI, pp.25-26. Of these, Carey states te, go and lo are used by women. See, the Dialogues: oṭe (p.104), go (p.106), hālo (p.122).

35. and 36. CBGI, p.27.

37. and 38. CBGI, p.74.

39. CBGI, pp.29-30.

40. CBGI, p.30.

41. CBGI, p.31.

42. CBGI, p.32. The proper spelling should be gulo, but here the example suggests that he learnt this from common people speaking with dialectal pronunciation. Another example like this is elumelu (p.41) instead of elomelo.

43, 44. and 45. CBGI, p.86.

46. and 47. CBGI, p.88.

48. CBGI, pp.44-45.

49. CBGI, p.67.

50. CBGI, p.53.

51. CBGI, p.58.

āilām,⁵² kailām,⁵³ āilen.⁵⁴

Apart from the additions referred to above, Carey includes three additional sections, or chapters. These are: a) A chart of the Bengali letters according to their place of articulation; b) An description of the euphonic combination of letters; c) Prepositions; and d) Compounds. All these additions are taken from a Sanskrit grammar, called Mugdhabodha, by Vopadeva.

Halhed states that Sanskrit grammarians classify letters according to their place of articulation, as Kungthee...duntee...etc.,⁵⁵ without specifying the source of his information. This bold statement inspired Carey to utilize the Mugdhabodha, a popular Sanskrit grammar then used in Bengal.⁵⁶ Carey classifies Bengali letters, according to the organ of articulation, into five groups. His classification is the same as that of the Sanskrit letters in Mugdhabodha. The distribution of letters in both Grammars is virtually the same; e.g.

Mugdhabodha's classification:

"Three 'a's and e, h, k, kh, g, gh, ṅ - kanṭhya

52. and 53. CBGI, p.69.

54. CBGI, p.70.

55. HBG, p.14.

56. One of the earliest printed editions of Mugdhabodha in Bengali was published from Serampore Press in 1818. It was edited by Mathurānāth Datta and comprised only the 1st chapter of Mugdhabodha, called sandhi, with text (in Bengali script) and Bengali translation.

Three 'i's and c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ś, e, ai, y - Tālabya

Three 'r's and ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, r, ṣ - mūrdhdhanya

Three 'l's and t, th, d, dh, n, l, s, b - dantya

Three 'u's and p, ph, b, bh, m, v, o, ou - ouṣṭhya"⁵⁷

Carey's classification:

"Kanṭhya or Gutturals - a, ā, e, h, k, kh, g, gh, ṅ

Tālabya or Palatals - i, ī, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ś, e, ai, y

Murddhanya or Cerebrals - ṛ, ṝ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, r, ṣ

Dantya or Dentals - l, l̄, t, th, d, dh, n, s, n

Oṣṭha or Labials - u, ū, p, ph, b, bh, m, v, o, ou"⁵⁸

In the classification of Bengali letters Carey puts two vowels in each group, i.e. a-ā, i-ī, etc., as against three in the Sanskrit (i.e. short or hrasva, long or dīrgha and extra-long or plūta). Like Vopadeva, he even inserts the vowel 'e', both in the 'Gutturals' and 'Palatals', without explaining why. In the list of the Dentals the final letter, n, is wrong, for there the Mugdhabodha gives b. Carey also misspelt the word ouṣṭhya as oṣṭhya.

The rules for the euphonic combination of letters, generally known in Sanskrit grammar as Sandhi were also taken from the Mugdhabodha. Carey even names the Mugdhabodha in the following citation:

57. Vopadeva - Mugdhabodha, edited by Mathuramohan Datta, 1818, Sutra 9, p.4.

58. CBGI, p.8.

"...[The short and long vowels] are often changed one for another by two rules in the Moogdhabodha which I shall here transcribe, because they will be of much use in the compounding of Bengalee words, and ought invariably to be adhered to."⁵⁹

He then gives the two rules, called guna and brddhi (which Carey transcribes as briddhi). The first rule given by Carey, is wrong.

According to Mugdhabodha⁶⁰ it is: 'r̥ is changed to ar' and

l̥ is changed to al'

But Carey gives it as:⁶¹

'r̥ is changed to al

l̥ is changed to ar"

All the four examples illustrating guna in Carey's Grammar are taken from Mugdhabodha: hr̥ṣīkeś, dāmodar (< dām + udar), mādhābarddhi and śibalkār.⁶² Mādhābarddhi and śibalkār are correct according to the rules found in Mugdhabodha, though naturally they do not correspond to Carey's rule, for, as we demonstrated above, he misquoted it. His analysis of the word dāmodar is also wrong. According to Mugdhabodha, the structure of the word is dāman + udar,⁶³ where the an of dāman is dropped, according to another rule, called subanta.

The second rule⁶⁴ along with its examples are also taken from Mugdhabodha. The examples are culled from various sutras ^e elucidating brddhi:

59. CBGI, p.19.

60. Vopadeva, Mugdhabodham Vyākaranam, edited by Benimādhav Bhattacārya, 2nd edition, 1894, Sutra 6, p.7.

61. CBGI, p.19.

62. CBGI, p.19; Vopadeva, op.cit., ed. B.Bhattacārya, sutra 21, p.15.

63. Vopadeva, op.cit., ed. B.Bhattacārya, p.15.

64. Ibid., sutra 7, p.7.

- śītārtta, paramārtta - sutra no.27.⁶⁵
- prauṇha - sutra no.30.⁶⁶
- svairam, akṣauhinī - sutra no.29.⁶⁷
- preṣa - sutra no.31.⁶⁸
- murāri, lakṣīṣa, biṣṇut[sa]ba - sutra no.20.⁶⁹

The chapter called 'Prepositions' is also written according to the rules of gi of upasarga in Mugdhabodha.

Carey gives the same set of twenty particles as in Mugdhabodha⁷⁰ but he makes a mistake in his list. He lists para⁷¹ as a preposition, and states that parākram (power) is formed by prefixing it to ākram (strength). But the proper preposition is parā,⁷² which, when prefixed to kram makes parākram. All the examples of words showing the use of participles are supplied by Carey himself.

Following the Mugdhabodha, Carey adds to his Grammar another chapter called 'Of compound words'. In the Mugdhabodha Vopadeva names the six forms of compounds, or samāsa, as dvanda, bahubrihi, karmadhāraya, tatpuruṣa, dvigu and avyayībhāb.⁷³ Carey adopts them all together with their names, though instead of avyayībhāb, he calls the sixth form avyaya.⁷⁴ Some of his examples, such as pitāmbar⁷⁵

65. Ibid., p.18.

66. Ibid., p.19.

67. Ibid., p.18.

68. Ibid., p.19.

69. Ibid., p.14.

70. Ibid., sutra no.8, pp.7-8.

71. CBGI, p.80.

72. Vopadeva, op.cit., ed. B.Bhattācārya, pp.7-8.

73. Ibid., sutra 726, p.581.

74. CBGI, p.87.

75. Vopadeva, op.cit., ed. B.Bhattācārya, p.595.

('clothed in yellow'), tribhuban⁷⁶ ('the three worlds') and caturyug⁷⁷ ('the four joogs'), are taken from the Mugdhabodha.

Most of his examples of compounds are tatsama, or Sanskritic words, though he does give a few pure Bengali compounds, such as petkāṭā⁷⁸ ('cut in the middle') and sona-murā⁷⁹ ('overlaid with gold'). One of his examples of the second class of compounds is digāmbar ('clothed with the points of compass'). This is wrongly spelt. The correct spelling is digambar. This mistake may have been due to his confusing it with pītāmbar ('clothed in yellow'). Due to confusion with pītāmbar, he classifies Bāghāmbar ('clothed with a tiger skin') as belonging to the second class of compounds, called bahubrihi, whereas it is generally classified as belonging to the fourth group; i.e. tatpuruṣ. Two other words, kāpuruṣ ('evil man') and kukāthā ('bad words') should also be classified as belonging to the third class, Karmadhāraya, instead of tatpuruṣ.

We have seen that Carey, in following the Mugdhabodha, makes a number of slips or spelling errors, such as 'ḡ', 'oṣṭha', 'ar', 'al', 'briddhi', 'avyāya' and 'digāmbar' instead of 'h', 'ouṣṭhya', 'al', 'ar', 'br̥ddhi', 'avyāyibhāb', 'digambar'; mistakes in analysis, e.g.

76. and 77. Ibid., p.639.

78. and 79. CBGT, p.86.

dāmodar and parākram; and false classifications of compounds (e.g. bāghāmbar, kāpuruṣ and kukathā). Presumably in quoting from Mugdhabodha he did not take the assistance of his Sanskrit pundit, Golaknāth Sharmā, or consult the original Mugdhabodha. We know that, while learning Sanskrit, he translated a Sanskrit grammar into English. It is, therefore, highly probably^e, that the grammar he translated then was the Mugdhabodha, and, as his knowledge of Sanskrit at that time was imperfect, these mistakes crept into his translation.

Thus we find that in compiling his grammar Carey relied heavily on Halhed. Sometimes he modelled his chapter entirely on Halhed, and sometimes he merely took as many examples, as suited his purpose. The modifications, or additions, which he made, were based mainly on his active knowledge of Bengali, and on his translation of the Mugdhabodha.

Halhed's influence on Carey's Grammar is seen not only in his materials, but also to some extent in the idea of purification, or in other words Sanskritisation. The notion of Sanskritisation was gradually inculcated in Carey, as he studied and used Halhed's Grammar. In the transition period between Rām Rām Basu and Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra, Golaknāth Sharmā may also have played some part in the inculcation of this idea. While correcting the translation of the New Testament, Golaknāth must obviously have showed Carey, how Basu's non-Sanskritic language was at fault.

In the preface to his Grammar Carey writes:

"The language in which the classical books of the Hindoos are written is principally derived from the Sangskrito.

This is called pure Bengali."⁸⁰

The term 'pure Bengali', is Halhed's coinage. Halhed maintained that Sanskritic Bengali was 'pure'.⁸¹ Where Halhed stopped, Carey began. Halhed just contented himself with his thesis that to learn Bengali properly one should also learn Sanskrit. Carey made a further leap forward, by including in his Grammar, materials directly borrowed from the Mugdhabodha, three more chapters, or sections from there, namely Sandhi, Upasarga and Samāsa.

Carey did not, however, take all his terminology from Halhed: he also borrowed a few grammatical terms⁸² from the Mugdhabodha.

It would be wrong to state that by 1801 Carey was totally committed to Sanskritisation. The inclusion of colloquial Bengali in his Grammar and his compiling of the Kathopakathan show that by then Carey was only at the crossroads. It would still have been possible for him even then to retrace his steps and choose to concentrate his energies on a thorough study of current speech, which he had still not entirely abandoned. Unfortunately as we have seen, he later assumed that his missionary interests would be better served by concentrating on Sanskritised Bengali.

80. CBGI, p.iii (Italics mine). By 'classical books of the Hindoos', Carey probably means the same as Halhed did with his 'authentic' books.

81. Supra. p. 157.

82. Abyāy, Karmadhāray, Gun, tatpuruṣ, dvigu, dvandva, briddhi, bahubrihi.

Just after the publication of the Bengali Grammar in 1801 Carey wrote to his friends in England informing them of its publication, and sending copies to some of them. But his idea of achievement faded within a short period of his association with Pundit Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāṛ. In 1802 he probably began to correct his translation of the New Testament. In a letter, dated 23 June 1803, he states that he is preparing for a second edition of the New Testament, and that 'the alterations in the construction will be very numerous'. He hopes "to be 'able to correct' most of the 'inaccuracies'".⁸³ In the same letter he writes that he is preparing a second edition of the Bengali grammar "which will be so enlarged and altered as to be a new work" and also requests his friends not to show any one his first edition:

"I hope you will not present the Bengalee grammar to any one, except a few friends who will apologise for the inability of the writer and the haste with which I was obliged to write it."⁸⁴

83. CSBC MS, letter no.15.

84. CSBC MS, letter no.15.

II

Carey's Second and Subsequent Editions of his GrammarIntroductory Note

Carey's second edition⁸⁵ of the Grammar of the Bengalee Language was published in 1805. The title-page stated 'The second edition with additions'. In his preface Carey writes:-

"Since the first edition of this work was published, the writer has had an opportunity of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this language. The result of his application to it he has endeavoured to give in the following pages, which, on account of the variations from the former edition, may be esteemed a new work."⁸⁶

i) Distribution of subject-matter in CBG I and CBG II compared

The distribution of the different sections in CBG II is as follows:

Section I - Of Letters (Of letters, On the pronuntiation of letters)

II - Of Compounding Letters.

(Of compounding letters, Of compounding a consonant with a vowel, Of compounding consonants, Of the Union of letters or words, The Sandhi of vowels, Of the Permutation of consonants.)

85. Carey's second edition of his Bengali Grammar will be referred to as CBG II.

86. CBG II, p.IV.

III - Of Words.

(Of words, Of Substantives, Observations on the Nouns)

IV - Of Patronymics, Gentiles, Derivatives, etc. (Of Patronymics, Of Gentiles, Of Abstract Substantives, Of Verbal Nouns, Of Nouns of Government, Agency, etc.).

V - Of Adjectives (Of Adjectives, Of the comparison of Adjectives, Of the formation of Adjectives).

VI - Of Pronouns.

VII - Of Verbs (Of Verbs, Participles, Of the Negative verb, Of the Passive voice, Of impersonal verb, Remarks on the verb).

VIII - Of Indeclinable Particles (Of Indeclinable Particles, Of Adverbs, Of Prepositions, Conjunctions, Interjections).

IX - Of Compound words (Of compound words, Rules to direct in the pronunciation of the Inherent vowel at the end of a word).

X - Of Syntax (Of Syntax, Of Numerals, Of Money, weights and measures, Times, Days of the week, Of the Hindoo months, Contractions).

The complete tables of contents of CBG I and CBG II may now be compared. Those of CBG I were quoted earlier.⁸⁷ On comparing them,

87. See Supra, p. 193.

one concludes that the whole structure and arrangement of the grammar has been changed.

ii) Correction of Errors which had occurred in CBG I

In evaluating CBG II we find that the following corrections have been made in the original material of CBG I:

- a) We observed earlier that in borrowing material from the Mugdhabodha, Carey had made some slips; e.g., n in place of b in the chart of letters; the preposition para instead of parā; and the calling one kind of samāsavyāya instead of avyāyibhāb.⁸⁸ These slips are rectified in CBG II.
- b) Some of the spelling errors in CBG I, such as tir,⁸⁹ ānandadāyik,⁹⁰ karmmasur,⁹¹ sākhyāte,⁹² have been corrected in CBG II; e.g. tīr,⁹³ ānandadāyak,⁹⁴ karmmaśūr,⁹⁵ sākṣāte.⁹⁶
- c) Though the postposition haite⁹⁷ was referred to in CBG I being used in the Ablative case, it was omitted from the nominal declensions cited as illustrations. In CBG II all the declensional paradigms include this post-position haite in the Ablative case.

88. Supra, p. 202-4.

89. CBG I, p.31.

90. CBG I, p.31.

91. CBG I, p.31.

92. CBG I, p.77.

93. CBG II, p.49.

94. CBG II, p.68.

95. CBG II, p.69.

96. CBG II, p.140.

97. CBG I, p.25.

d) Carey, following Halhed, in CBG I made mistakes in the rules governing the change of gender;⁹⁸ i.e. genus + ā = masculine (biḍāl + ā = biḍālā) and genus + ī = feminine (biḍāl + ī = biḍālī). In CBG II the rule is correctly stated as masculine + ī = feminine (biḍāl + ī = biḍālī).⁹⁹

e) In CBG I, we find an example of faulty syntax; i.e., āpni kariāchen tāhā.¹⁰⁰ But in CBG II this is corrected to āpni tāhā kariyāchen.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, a rule is added to the syntax section demonstrating the proper word order in Bengali sentences, i.e., 'agent-object-verb'.¹⁰²

f) In CBG I a rule is given stating that substantives like saundaryya and dhairyya take the enclytic tā and "form a noun signifying the essence itself"; e.g. saundaryyatā and dhairyyatā.¹⁰³ But in CBG II this rule is emended to read: 'we frequently meet with such words as ... dhairyyatā patience saundaryyatā beauty itself etc. but this form though common, must be esteemed a corruption arising from an affectation of learning among the ignorant'.¹⁰⁴

98. CBG I, p.29.

99. CBG II, p.46.

100. CBG I, p.43.

101. CBG II, p.74.

102. CBG II, p.159.

103. CBG I, pp.33-4.

104. CBG II, p.56.

g) The use of ke suffix in the dative, according to CBG I, was improper,¹⁰⁵ but CBG II emends this to read: "The dative of masculine and feminine nouns sometimes ends in ke like the accusative".¹⁰⁶

iii) The Relationship between CBG II and Carey's Sanskrit Grammar (CSG)

Undoubtedly the corrections, effected in CBG II, aimed to achieve a definite improvement. Apart from these improvements, however, most of the additions and alterations to CBG II appear to have been based on Carey's Sanskrit Grammar (which we shall henceforth term CSG). CBG I was compiled and published in 1801. Immediately afterwards the compilation of CSG commenced, though this was not published till 1806. After the compilation of CSG, CBG II was started. In these circumstances, not unnaturally, a considerable similarity is discernible between certain passages of CSG and CBG II. Below we note some of these similarities:-

- a) The first similarity is in the classification of the first 25 consonants in the Bengali and Sanskrit alphabets, or syllabries. Though the wording of the two passages quoted below is not identical, the spirit is.
- i) CSG: "The first twenty five consonants are regularly arranged, the first and third of each series being simple articulations, the second and fourth their corresponding aspirated letters, and the fifth the nasal, which is pronounced with the same

105. CBG I, p.24.

106. CBG II, p.40.

organ. These five series are called 'bargas', and are denominated from the first letter of each, thus k-barga, c-barga, ṭ-barga, t-barga and p-barga."¹⁰⁷

ii) CBG II: "The first five classes of letters are called bargīya, (belonging to a class from barga, a class, and are respectively denominated k-barga, c-barga, ṭ-barga, t-barga and p-barga, from the first letter of each class. The other nine letters are called abargīya or miscellaneous. The first and third letters of each class are unaspirated (alpaprāṇ); the second and fourth are aspirated (mahāprāṇ), and the last of each class is a nasal (sānunāsik)."¹⁰⁸

b) The classification of letters as samān, or similar, and asamān, or dissimilar, in CBG II¹⁰⁹ also follows the classification in CSG.¹¹⁰

c) In the chart showing the classification of letters according to the organs of articulation the words 'Palatals' and 'Cerebrals' in CBG I¹¹¹ are changed to 'Palatines' and 'Linguals' in CBG II¹¹² following CSG.¹¹³

d) Following the examples of double letters (as 'kku'...'chchu'...'ddu'), given in CSG,¹¹⁴ CBG II adds that 'all the letters may be

107. CSG, p.2.

108. CBG II, p.2.

109. CSG, p.2.

110. CBG II, p.3.

111. CBG I, p.8.

112. CBG II, p.4.

113. CSG, p.10.

114. CSG, p.8.

doubled as kka, cca, dda, etc'.¹¹⁵

e) The section on the union of letters or words in CBG II also follows CSG. The artificial permutation of letters given in CBG II¹¹⁶ is the same as that in CSG.¹¹⁷ The wording of the rules is also identical; e.g.

CSG: "The changes of i to e, u to o, r to ar and l to al are called goon... The changing of a to ā, i to ai, u to ou, r to ār, l to āl, e to ai and o to ou is called vriddhi."¹¹⁸

CBG II: "The change of i to e, u to o, r to ar, and l to al is called goon. The change of a to ā, i to ai, u to ou, r to ār, l to āl, e to ai and o to ou is called vriddhi."¹¹⁹

Sometimes, however, two rules from CSG are amalgamated into one in CBG II.¹²⁰ The order, in which the rules are given in CSG and CBG II, sometimes differs; e.g. the first two 'Preliminary Rules' given at the beginning of the chapter on Sandhi in CSG¹²¹ appears at the end of the section on Sandhi in CBG II.¹²²

f) In CBG I, Bengali nouns were declined in seven cases, 'answering', as Carey states, 'to the Sangskrito cases', and

115. CBG II, p.17.

116. CBG II, p.21.

117. CSG, p.9.

118. CSG, pp.16-7.

119. CBG II, p.22.

120. i) CSG, p.18, rules 11 and 12; CBG II, p.23, rules no.3.

ii) CSG, p.24, rules 1 and 2; CBG II, p.25, rule 7.

121. CSG, p.15.

122. CBG, p.29.

'placed in the same order'.¹²³ But in CBG II without mention of Sanskrit, the Sanskrit names of seven cases are also added.

The relevant passages in CSG and CBG II run as follows:

CSG: "These cases as they respect the relation of a noun to a verb, are called karttā, the agent; karmma, the object; karaṇ, the instrumental cause; sampradān, the giving to; apādān, the taking from; sambandha, the connecting, or possessing; and adhikaraṇ, the containing."¹²⁴

CBG II: "When considered as in construction with verbs, they are called karttā, the agent, karmma, the object, karaṇ, the instrument, sampradān, the giving, apādān [sic], the taking away, sambandha, the connecting, and adhikaraṇ, the possessing form."¹²⁵

g) The additional section, 'Of Patronymics, Gentils^e, Derivatives etc', in the CBG II is also based on a big chapter, called 'Of Derivative words', in CSG. As in CSG, there are sections entitled 'Of Patronymics',¹²⁶ and 'Of Abstract Substantives',¹²⁷ are to be found in CBG II also.

h) The chapter on adjectives in the CBG II is also remodelled following CSG. The chapter divisions in CBG II are virtually

123. CBG I, p.21.

124. CSG, p.35.

125. CBG II, pp.31-2.

126. CSG, p.624; CBG II, p.54.

127. CSG, p.745; CBG II, p.55.

the same as CSG. It comprises three sections:

- 1) without any heading,
- 2) 'Of the comparison of Adjectives' and
- 3) 'Of the Formation of Adjectives'.¹²⁸ Some of the rules in CBG II can be traced in CSG; e.g.

A) CSG: "Those of the...words which end in a form their feminines in ā."¹²⁹

CBG II: "The feminine of almost all adjectives ending in a is made by ā."¹³⁰

B) CSG: "Adjectives, and pronouns when used adjectively, make the comparative by affixing tar, and the superlative by tam."¹³¹

CBG II: "Adjectives are compared by adding tar for the comparative, and tam for the superlative."¹³²

i) The chapter on indeclinable particles in the CBG II is arranged following the last section ('Of indeclinable Particles') of the chapter, called 'Of Derivative words' in CSG and includes in the same order,¹³³ Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions and

128. The chapter 'Of Adjectives' in the CSG is divided into 3 sections, section I - without any heading (p.78), II - 'Of the Comparison of Adjectives' (p.101) and III - 'Rules for forming the Feminine Gender' (p.105).

129. CSG, p.80.

130. CBG II, p.81.

131. CSG, p.101.

132. CBG II, p.62.

133. Adverbs - CSG, pp.755-769, CBG II, pp.137-141;
Prepositions - CSG, pp.769, CBG II, pp.142-147;
Conjunctions - CSG, p.770, CBG II, pp.147-148;
Interjections - CSG, pp.770-772, CBG II, pp.148-9.

Interjections. But most of the examples of Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions and Interjections remain the same as CBG I.

iv) Further examples of Sanskritisation in CBG II.

We saw above how CBG II was rewritten following CSG in respect of materials, rules, examples and even occasionally the wording of certain passages. This remodelling of CBG II in accordance with CSG indicates a considerable degree of Sanskritisation. Apart from this, however, further examples of Sanskritisation in CBG II may be cited:-

a) In CBG I Carey stipulated that in Bengali the word "niśvās is not pronounced 'nishwas' but 'nishshas'", but in CBG II this is emended to read "niśvās, generally pronounced nishshas should be pronounced nishwas".¹³⁴ Here the Sanskrit pronunciation of the letter y¹³⁵ is preferred to the actual Bengali pronunciation.

b) The majority of words used as examples in CBG II are Sanskritic, and most of them are rarely used in Bengali; e.g. sauti ('a descendant'),¹³⁶ daśārṇa ('a loan of ten..')¹³⁷

¹³⁴. CBG I, p.14; CBG II, p.14.

¹³⁵. On the pronunciation of the letter y CSG states that it 'is pronounced as v at the beginning of a word, but when compounded with a preceding consonant it has the power of w'. CSG, p.6.

¹³⁶. CBG II, p.54.

¹³⁷. CBG II, p.23.

tabaustha ('thy lip'),¹³⁸ nababadhvāgaman ('coming of a new wife'),¹³⁹ apchayan ('lying in water'),¹⁴⁰ bāghanan ('a wounding by words'),¹⁴¹ habirbhoktā ('a ghee eater').¹⁴²

c) Some, though not all, of the examples of colloquial, or non-Sanskritic words and sentences in CBG I have been dropped in CBG II; e.g., bal nāre, kara na he and khāo nā go,¹⁴³ petkāta and kukathā.¹⁴⁴

d) In CBG I Carey wrote that 'the Sanskrit grammarians reckon six ways of compounding words, of which some faint shadow is to be found in the Bengalee.'¹⁴⁵ CBG II omits this statement.

The Bengali compounds are classified into the six categories found in CSG without any reference to Sanskrit.

e) Another important feature of CBG II is the massive increase in Sanskrit grammatical terms. In addition to the terminology already used in CBG I, eighty further grammatical terms

138. CBG II, p.23.

139. CBG II, p.24.

140. CBG II, p.27.

141. CBG II, p.27.

142. CBG II, p.28.

143. CBG I, p.27.

144. CBG I, p.86.

145. CBG I, p.85.

are added in CBG II.¹⁴⁶ Of these some also occur in CSG,¹⁴⁷ and others are borrowed from indigenous Sanskrit grammars.

v) A marked change in attitude towards Perso-Arabic diction in CBG II

Another interesting feature may be noted in the preface of CBG II.

We saw earlier, that in the preface to CBG I, Carey remarked that

146. Akṣar, atīśayārtha, atītkāl, adyatanabhūt kāl, adyatanādyatanabhūt, adhikarṇ, anukaraṇ śabda, anumatyārtha, apatyārtha śabda, aparokṣabhūt kāl, apādān, abargīya, abyayibhāb, aprāṇibācak, alpaprāṇ, asamān, anadytanabhūt, ārambhārtha, āsaṃsartha, icchartha, uccaraṇ, ekbacan, karaṇ, karttā, kartrbācyā, kartrrtha, karma, karmabācyā, kāl, kriyābācak, klībalīṅga, guṇabācak, gaurabokti, caturtha [caḥurthī], janārtha, jātipācak, taddhit, tālabya, tr̥tīya [tr̥tīyā], dvitīya [dvitīyā], drabyabācak, dhātvartha, napuṃsak, nāmbācak, nityaprabhṛtta bartamān, nīcokti, nimittārtha, pañcam [pañcamī], puṃlīṅga, prerāṇārtha, prāṇibācak, pratyāhar, pratham [prathamā], bartamān, bacan, barga, bargīya, bahubacan, bhābhakti, biśeṣya, biśeṣan, byañjan, byabadhān, bhabīṣyat, bhūt, bhābbācak, bhābbācyā, bhābārtha, mahāprāṇ, yukta-akṣar, līṅga, śaktyārtha, suddhabartamān, suddh bhūtkāl, ṣaṣtha [ṣaṣthī], saptam [saptamī], sandhi, samān, samas, samāhar, sampradān, samvandha, samvodhan, sarbanām, sānūnāsik, strilīṅga, svar, svartha.

147. e.g. - akṣara, byañjana, barga, hrasva, dīrgha, samāna, asamāna, yukta akṣara, karthā, karma, karaṇ, sampradān, apādān, sambandha, adhikarāna, ekabācana, bahubācana, līṅga, bhābhakti, sambodhana, sarbbanāma, kartrbācyā, karmabācyā, etc.

"....multitudes of words, originally Persian or Arabic, are constantly employed in common conversation [in Bengali] which perhaps ought to be considered as enriching rather than corrupting the language".¹⁴⁸

In the preface to CBG II, the clause, 'it ought to be considered as enriching rather than the corrupting the language', is omitted, CBG II merely states that the Bengali language 'contains many words of Persian and Arabic origin, yet the far greater number are pure Sungskrit'.

vi) Carey's third and fourth editions, CBG III/IV

Carey published the third edition of his Bengali Grammar in 1815. The fourth edition of the Grammar, published in 1818, is identical to the third edition (i.e. CBG III). He did not revise his previous edition. He did not even rewrite the preface for the fourth edition (i.e. CBG IV), but merely reprinted the whole preface to CBG III, including its title, 'Preface to the Third edition'. The only change made was in the date at the end of the preface. In his preface he mentioned that 'the writer has had an opportunity of studying.... [the Bengali] language with more attention, and of examining its structure more closely than he had done before' and 'on account of the variations from the former editions', this edition 'may be esteemed a new work'.¹⁴⁹

148. CBG I, p.iii.

149. CBG IV, p.vii.

In the arrangement of chapters, Carey in the CBG III/IV, made some alterations; e.g.

- a) The section of 'Union of letter of word (sandhi)' in the CBG II, was a part of a chapter (II), but in the CBG III/IV this is a new chapter (X) placed before the chapter on syntax.
- b) The section IV of the CBG II, 'Of Patronymics, Gentiles, Derivatives etc.' is dropped in the CBG III/IV and the materials on patronymics etc. are included in a new chapter (VII) called 'Of the formation of words'. This new chapter corresponds with a chapter in CSG by the same name, which includes similar sections; e.g. 'derivative words (taddhit)', 'Patronymics', 'Abstract Substantives' etc.
- c) In some cases new subheadings are added, e.g. 'Of the Gender of Nouns',¹⁵⁰ 'Of Enclitic particles'.¹⁵¹
- d) In CBG II, the chapter on 'indeclinable particles' preceded the chapter on 'compound words' but in the CBG III/IV it followed the chapter on 'compound words'.

Apart from this new arrangement of chapters many minor corrections, additions and alterations were effected within the chapters. We note some of these modifications:

150. CBG IV, p.20.

151. CBG IV, p.21.

a) A new rule is added in the chapter on substantives to the effect that "the feminine of those words ending in ī, which in Sungskrita have a final in, is constantly made by affixing ī to the original Sungskrita form of the masculine'.¹⁵²

b) Another addition in the 'Adjectives' section:

"Sungskrita adjectives with a final in end with ī in Bengalee. The feminine of these is made by affixing ī to the Sungskrita form. Exam kāri, doing, acting, fem. kāriṇī."¹⁵³

c) CBG II establishes 8 modes, but the later CBG III/IV has only three: 'the Indicative, Subjunctive and the Imperative'.

d) In CBG III/IV, the new chapter, 'Of the formation of words', begins:

"A very large proportion of the words in the Bengalee language are formed from the Sungskrita roots, with which, and the manner of forming words from them, every student of the Bengalee, and other languages derived from that source, ought to be well acquainted."¹⁵⁴

Thus we find more rules are introduced from Sanskrit and it is stressed that anyone learning Bengali should also learn, how Bengali words

152. CBG IV, p.20.

153. CBG IV, p.24.

154. CBG IV, p.60.

are formed from 'Sanskrit roots'. Thus we find that in the redrafting of the Grammar more space is progressively devoted to features of Sanskrit.

vii) Carey's Dictionary : his final verdict on Bengali

The third edition of the grammar was published in 1815. In the same year Carey finished his Bengali dictionary. In the preface to the 1st volume of the dictionary (1818), Carey declared that "The Bengalee language,...is almost entirely derived from the Sungskrita: considerably more than three-fourths of the words are pure Sungskrita."¹⁵⁵ In other words we can say that this was Carey's final verdict, as the most active part of his life is almost finished.

If we consider what service Carey's Bengali Grammar would have been to the Europeans wishing to learn Bengali, we find that this over-Sanskritisation would mislead them. Carey's Grammar follows the grammatical pattern devised for the analysis and description of a dead, classical language; i.e. Sanskrit. The early nineteenth century in Bengal was a period of transition. New ideas and words of many diverse origins were constantly creeping into the Bengali language. Anybody, who wanted to know the idiomatic genius of this living language, would have been disappointed by Carey's Grammar. Nevertheless, during Carey's service at the College, a period of about thirty years,

155. Carey - Dictionary of the Bengalee Language, vol.1, 1818, p.iv.

his Grammar was published four times. The main reason for this was that, as long as Carey remained in the College, it continued to be used as a textbook. The other reason was that at that time books were printed in very limited editions. In his Grammar, as we have seen, Carey tried to give as many rules as he could, sometimes without proper explanations or examples. This was because he thought, the rules could be supplemented in class. The Grammar was, therefore, not useful as a self-taught book. For this reason, we find that in 1830, when the professorship and posts of other pundits were abolished in the College, the Council of the College decided to commission a fresh Grammar of the Bengali language 'with exercises prepared on an easy and simple plan'.¹⁵⁶ The work of preparing such a grammar was assigned to Lieutenant Todd and the Reverend T. Proctor; even though Carey was then living.

156. Proceedings of the Council of the College, Vol.XIII, p.465, as cited by G.S.A. Ranking - 'History of the College of Fort William', in Bengal Past and Present, Vol.XXII, Nos.43-44 (Jan-June 1921), p.139.

Chapter X

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE METHOD BY WHICH CAREY'S GRAMMAR
WAS WRITTEN AND REVISED

Introductory Note

The theme of this thesis is the gradual intensification of sanskritisation in the early grammars on the Bengali language that were published in English. As we hope to have demonstrated, this trend of sanskritisation began in Halhed's Grammar. During the compilation of this Grammar Halhed turned away from his East Bengali Munshi, whose Perso-Arabised style of Language he had come to deplore, to the 'intelligent' Brahmin pundit, who had managed to persuade him of the dependence of Bengali upon Sanskrit; without which it was impossible to learn Bengali.

It is our belief that Carey's experience was ultimately parallel to that of Halhed. Halhed began to learn Bengali from a Munshi: Carey also began to learn Bengali from a Munshi, Rām Rām Basu. Halhed began to compile a series of papers with the help of his East Bengali Munshi. These papers may ultimately have led to the compilation of a Grammar, but, quite early on, he came in contact with the 'intelligent'

Brahmin pundit, and from then on his ideas began to change. Carey's treatment of Rām Rām Basu was not quite the same.

Carey, as we say, started to learn Bengali from Rām Rām Basu, using Halhed's Grammar to some extent as a textbook. Carey to some extent agreed with Halhed. The extent to which he agreed with him in 1801 is apparent from what he retained from Halhed in CBG I and what he rejected. Halhed in learning Bengali had translated into English largely from the Mahābhārat. Carey too had thought it useful to do the same. Halhed had not been able to converse in Bengali. His contact language with informants had almost certainly been Persian. This was the oriental language in which he was most competent. He had translated the Gentoo's Code, not from a Bengali version, nor from the original Sanskrit version, but from a Persian version. Many of his glosses, it will be remembered, had been in Persian. Halhed had therefore had to treat Bengali as a dead language. Once he had got hold of a knowledge of the script and a basic vocabulary, he had relied upon his intuition when translating from Bengali and analysing its morphological and syntactic structure. This had led him into error.

In comparison to Halhed, therefore, Carey was better placed. Firstly, the initial contact language between Rām Rām Basu and Carey was English; not Persian as had been the case between Halhed and his informants. (Persian, furthermore, was the mother-tongue of none of the participants: this was a further source of possible confusion in Halhed's case.)

Secondly, Halhed's East Bengali Munshi and Brahmin pundit probably had no experience of teaching Bengali to foreigners: Rām Rām Basu had. He had successfully taught Bengali to Thomas, otherwise Thomas would not have recommended him to Carey.

Thirdly, Carey was eventually able to speak Bengali: Halhed had had only a passive knowledge of Bengali; Carey had acquired an active knowledge.

Fourthly, Carey's active knowledge of Bengali, (which by 1796 was sufficient to enable him to work with an informant with no knowledge of English, namely Golaknāth Sharmā,) plus Rām Rām Basu's active knowledge of English, placed Carey in a position, where he could to some extent see Halhed's errors.

Halhed had therefore failed to convince Carey. So instead of a steady intensification of sanskritisation in the Grammars of Halhed and Carey we get at first a retracing of Halhed's footsteps. Carey does the things recommended by Halhed: he translates from the Mahābhārat into English; and he tries to learn Sanskrit; but by 1801 Carey remains unconvinced by Halhed's thesis. He disagrees with Halhed over important points:

Firstly, Halhed favoured 'pure' Bengali, which derived entirely from Sanskrit: he rejected Perso-Arabic diction as an unwarranted accretion. Carey, however, considered such diction, not as 'corrupting' Bengali, but rather 'enriching' it.

Secondly, Carey rejected the Sanskrit pronunciation of Bengali recommended by Halhed. Carey favoured the current Bengali pronunciation. Their disagreement here is exemplified in the contrasting pronunciations of 'niśvās' that each of them recommends.

Though disagreeing with Halhed over these important points, however, Carey did attempt to learn Sanskrit from Golaknāth Sharma; and he did incorporate part of the fruit of his studies, namely extracts from the Mugdhabodha, in his first edition, together with other sanskritic recommendations culled from the introduction to Forster's Dictionary. So by 1801, the publication date of CBG I, Carey was only half way to agreeing with Halhed. By 1803, however, the date at which the manuscript of CBG II is known to have been complete, Carey was in full agreement with Halhed. Indeed, he had not only accepted all Halhed's opinions: he had also apparently acted on them; for CBG II had considerably intensified the process of sanskritisation, which had started with the publication of Halhed's Grammar in 1778. In this chapter we shall therefore try to reconstruct the manner in which Carey's Grammar was compiled, in order to try to reveal how the trend of sanskritisation came to be intensified.

i) How we imagine CBG I was composed

In 1800 Carey and his colleagues, Ward and Marshman, were struggling with their mission at Serampore, where they were trying to set up a printing press. We imagine money was short. Earlier we

stated that at one time Carey's income had been forty rupees a month. Of these he had spent twenty on the services of an informant. He and his family had lived on the other twenty. This shows the immense sacrifices Carey was prepared to make in order to propagate the Christian faith in India. It even mitigates to some extent his severity in sacking Basu in 1796 for his illicit affair with the widow: Carey's principles had to be rigid to justify the hardships he imposed on himself and his wife.

In 1800 advertisements were published for posts at Fort William College: The Rev. Hugh Pearson writes:

"Towards the close of the formal year [1800] an advertisement was published in different parts of India announcing the establishment of the college [of Fort William], and inviting men of learning and knowledge, moulvis, pundits and moonshees, to Calcutta, for the purpose of submitting to an examination with a view to the choice of some of them as teachers in the college. About fifty natives, and subsequently a larger number, were in consequence attached to it."¹

Some of these advertisements must have been in Indian languages, since Moulvis, Munshis and Pundits cannot automatically be assumed to know English. Indeed, as we know, Pundits without a knowledge of English, came eventually to be preferred, at least by Carey.²

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1. Rev. Hugh Pearson, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., 2 Vols; 2nd ed., 1817, p.212.
 2. Letter, quoted later in Chapter XI, pp. 250-1.

Carey must, therefore, have known of the proposed opening of Fort William College. He must also have realized that here was a golden opportunity for the Baptist Mission at Serampore. If they could just get a foothold in the College, their financial troubles would be over: there would be a princely salary from a professorship;³ a series of commissions for printing textbooks; and the possibility of a pool of skilled linguists as informants, such as the missionaries could never have dreamt of affording on their present meagre earnings. The problem was: how to gain the first foothold. Something stupendous was needed: a publication that 'no other nominee could match'.

Carey, it will be remembered, had been working in 1899 with Golaknāth Sharmā, who knew no English. Carey's own knowledge of Bengali was still far from perfect. His Sanskrit, as he had confessed, was virtually non-existent. He could, however, communicate in Bengali, for in his dealings with Sharmā Bengali was his only possible contact-language. Nevertheless, if he were to work swiftly, he needed the services of Rām Rām Basu; for Basu could translate rapidly from English into Bengali. He would therefore be useful in compiling a new grammar of the Bengali language, for Carey, as CBG I shows, plainly considered Halhed's grammar inadequate.

3. Professors at the College got Rs.1000, though Carey, a non-conformist missionary, was hired at only Rs.500. Even so, to Carey, who had been satisfied with Rs.40, this Rs.500 would have seemed princely.

Thus we imagine 1800 to have been a year of frantic activity for Carey. The Dharmapustak, whose translation into Bengali had been started by Basu and completed by Carey under Golaknāth's supervision, was now rushed through the press; and the first edition of Carey's Grammar was meanwhile compiled. The preface was dated 22 April 1801. Though the preface appears at the beginning of a book, it is not the first thing to be written, but the last. Carey's Grammar was completed then by 1801, even before he got the post at Fort William College; which, therefore, to some extent substantiates our view that it was compiled by Carey and Basu, pupil and master, working flat out to land the chance of a life-time: the Professorship in Bengali at Fort William College in May 1801.

ii) Carey's "'intelligent' Brahmin Pundit", Mrtyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra

A Kulin Brahmin by caste, Mrtyunjay Vidyālaṅkar was born in Midnapore and educated at Natore. There is no evidence of any contact between Mrtyuñjay and Carey prior to Mrtyuñjay's appointment in the Bengali department at Fort William College in 1801. Presumably Mrtyuñjay stood first in the examinations and was selected as Chief Pundit in Bengali.

Mrtyuñjay is said to have "made a difference to Carey's Bengali".⁴ Carey acknowledges the "great assistance" in the compilation of his

4. S.P.Carey, William Carey, London, 1934, p.219.

Sanskrit Grammar (CSG) of Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālakār and Mr̥tyuñjay's colleague, Rāmnath Vācaspati.⁵

In 1805 a post for a Sanskrit pundit was created. Carey successfully recommended Mr̥tyuñjay for it.

"I take the liberty to recommend Mr̥toonjaya Vidyālunkar who till the present time has been first Pundit in the Bengalee language, to be the Sangskrit Pundit, under the new arrangement. He is one of the best Sangskrit scholars with whom I am acquainted..."⁶

In 1816 Mr̥tyuñjay was appointed to the post of Pundit in the Supreme Court. When he resigned from Fort William that year to take up his new post, Carey wrote of him:

"I beg leave on this occasion to observe that the conduct of Mr̥toonjaya during the long time in which he has held his office in the College, has conducted himself to my entire satisfaction. In point of learning very few are his equals, and no one with whom I have any acquaintance exceeds him."⁷

It is of significance that all Carey's important linguistic work was accomplished during the fifteen years of Carey's collaboration with

5. CSG, p.iv.

6. 'Proceedings of the College of Fort William', dated 4 September 1805, quoted by B.Bandopadhyay in Mr̥tyunjay Vidyālakār, 4th edition, 1369, B.S., p.14.

7. Home Dept. Miscellaneous, No.564, p.181, quoted in B.Bandopadhyay, Mr̥tyunjay Vidyālakār, p.16 (italics mine).

Mṛtyuñjay. After Mṛtyuñjay's retirement in 1816, Carey published only his two-volume Bengali Dictionary in the years 1818 (volume I) and 1825 (volume II). Nevertheless, the compilation of even this was achieved during Mṛtyuñjay's time at the College of Fort William. When one adds to this that Mṛtyuñjay's works were all published at least twice and some even four times,⁸ whilst Rām Rām Basu's Pratāpāditya Carit appeared only once in 1801, it will easily be appreciated that in relation to Carey Rām Rām Basu came to occupy the same position as the East Bengali Muslim Munshi had in relation to Halhed, whilst Mṛtyuñjay occupied the position in relation to Carey that the 'intelligent' brahmin had occupied in relation to Halhed.

iii) Mṛtyuñjay's probable criticisms of CBG I

When, as we imagine, the 'intelligent' Brahmin perused the unbound leaves of Halhed's Grammar and compiled a list of errata, Halhed must, we think, have been aghast at the magnitude of his errors. His Grammar was, as we have said, a compilation of three main parts: the information and examples he had secured from his East Bengali Munshi, whose Perso-Arabised diction he had come to deplore; his own thesis on the relationship of Bengali to Sanskrit, his translated extracts from the Mahābhārat and elsewhere, and his grammatical analysis

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8. i) Batris Simhāsan, 1st ed. 1802, 2nd 1808, 3rd 1816, 4th 1818.
 ii) Hitopades, 1st ed. 1808, 2nd 1814.
 iii) Rajabali, 1st ed. 1808, 2nd ed. 1814.

based on these extracts; and finally the lists and paradigms he had secured from the 'intelligent' Brahmin pundit. The final compilation, as printed and as shown, we think, in an unbound state to the Brahmin pundit, was marred by a lack of homogeneity in spelling resulting from Halhed's inadequate command of either Bengali or Sanskrit. It was probably much too late to do anything about it. Wilkins had probably cut very few Bengali types; sufficient, we imagine, only to set up, say, ten to twenty pages at a time; so that when one batch of pages had been printed, the type had to be broken up and reset for the following batch. Halhed's impulsiveness and overconfidence must have led him to leave consulting the Brahmin pundit till, as we say, the printing of the Grammar was almost over: the paper and ink was virtually all used up; it was too late to start again. Hence the humiliating admission Halhed was forced to make, throwing away his whole thesis.⁹

We imagine Carey had a similar humiliating experience, when Mrtyuñjay presented Carey with the list of errata in CBG I. We do not know the precise date of this experience, but, we would suggest, that it was obviously before Carey sent out the letter, which 'screamed out' to his friends in England, like a cry of pain and anguish, not to

9. See Chapter VI , p. 141 .

show CBG I to anyone and to apologise for it, saying that its defects were due to the 'hastiness', with which it was written. Like Halhed's humiliating admission, that threw away the whole of his elaborate thesis, this letter of Carey's abandoned CBG I as completely worthless.

What evidence do we have to substantiate this statement?

Firstly, the letter we quoted earlier.¹⁰

Secondly, the nature of the errors in CBG I. They are of the type that a man with deficient knowledge of Sanskrit would have made; i.e. Rām Rām Basu (though admittedly some of the errors were left-overs from the bits of Halhed's Grammar that Carey had retained.). Indeed, the point about deficient Sanskrit knowledge is rubbed home in one comment: 'an affectation of learning among the ignorant';¹¹ which we take to be Mrtyuñjay's verdict on Rām Rām Basu.

Thirdly, one of the errors consisted of faulty word-order due to a knowledge of English: Rām Rām Basu was prone to such faults.

Fourthly, the marked change in attitude in CBG II towards Perso-Arabic diction; i.e. the type of diction characterising Rām Rām Basu's Pratāpāditya Carit.

10. See Chapter IX, p. 206.

11. CBG II, p. 56.

Fifthly, the pronunciation of niśvas. In CBG I the Sanskrit pronunciation recommended by Hālhed was rejected. A Bengali pronunciation was recommended instead. CBG II again recommended the original Sanskrit pronunciation.

Sixthly, the colloquial examples in CBG I were greatly reduced in CBG II, which was heavily sanskritised. Indeed, in parts CBG II echoed CSG, at times almost verbatim.

Thus in the transition period of two years or less between the publication of CBG I in 1801 and the completion of the manuscript of CBG II in 1803, Rām Rām Basu, like Hālhed's East Bengali Munshi, was rejected in favour of Mṛtyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra, who, we imagine, not only pointed out all the errors due to Basu in CBG I and corrected them in CBG II, but also actually prepared the first draft of CBG II in Bengali, so that Carey could later translate it into English. This last point is a large claim. On the available evidence we can only put it forward as a strong possibility; though we ourselves are personally convinced of its truth. We shall discuss all the available evidence in the next chapter.

Chapter XI

THE AUTHORSHIP OF CBG II

I

CAREY'S PROCESS OF WORK FROM 1801i) Carey's Output

As soon as Carey joined the College of Fort William in 1801, he started the compilation of the Bengali Dialogues, which appeared that same year. From then on the most laborious and active part of his life began. His alleged output was prodigious. Below we list the works attributed to him:

Title	Mss completion date	Publication date
CSG	1802 ¹	1806
CBG II	1803 ²	1805
CMG ³	1804 ?	1805

1. 'I am writing a grammar of [the Sanskrit] ... language.' Letter of Ryland, 15 July 1801, CSBC MS, Letter No. 11. 'I am going to put a Grammar of the Sungskrit Language to Press and in about a fortnight, ...' Letter to Sutcliff, 17 March 1802, copy to Ryland, CSBC MS, letter No. 12.
2. Letter to Ryland, 23 June 1803, CSBC MS, no.15.
3. Grammar of the Maratha Language. Marathi was introduced in Fort William in 1804. J.C.Marshman (op.cit., Vol.I, 1859, p.194) tells us that the Grammar was commenced in 1804. Since it was published in 1805, it must presumably have been completed in 1804.

Title	Mss completion date	Publication date
<u>Rāmāyana</u> , pt.I ⁴		1806
<u>Dialogues</u> , 2nd edn.		1806
<u>Rāmāyana</u> , pt.II		1808
<u>Rāmāyana</u> , pt.III		1810
<u>Dictionary of the Maratha Language</u>		1810
<u>Itihāsmālā</u> ⁵		1812
CPG ⁶		1812
CTG ⁷		1814
Bengali Dictionary		1815, ⁸ 1818 (Vol.I), 1825 (Vol.II)
CBG III		1815
CKG ⁹		1818
CBG III, Plus <u>Dialogues</u> , in combined edition		1818

Of the works listed above only the Bengali Grammar and Dialogues ran into several editions, the remaining works appearing only once, presumably through the lack of student demand. Actually only

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4. A prose translation from Sanskrit.
 5. A prose work in Bengali.
 6. Grammar of the Punjabee Language.
 7. Grammar of the Telinga Language.
 8. First volume try-out. The typography was too large. The whole project was therefore revised.
 9. Grammar of the Kurnata Language.

Bengali, Marathi and Sanskrit were taught, Bengali since 1801, Marathi since 1804 and Sanskrit since 1805. The remaining grammars, Panjabi, Telugu and Kanarese, were compiled because of their usefulness to Carey in his desire to translate the Gospels.

The compilation of these textbooks at Fort William only occupied part of the time of Carey and his Indian assistants. Naturally as a missionary Carey's main aim was the propagation of Christianity. His translation work at Serampore therefore probably took precedence in his mind. After the publication of the Bengali New Testament, Dharmapustak, in 1801, the translation of the Testament into other languages was undertaken, initially Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindustani (Hindi). Early in 1804 the Serampore missionaries submitted for approval to the Baptist Missionary Society in England a plan to translate the Bible into the principal languages of India. Though Carey himself is usually credited with translating the whole Bible into Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Assamese and Sanskrit,¹⁰ the names of some of the pundits who 'assisted'¹¹ him are known: Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkāra in Bengali and Sanskrit; Vaidyanāth in Marathi; and Parsurām in Oriya. Following the publication of the

10. S.P.Carey, William Carey, 1934, p.416.

11. We shall attempt to show that the word 'assisted' in Carey's vocabulary was often equivalent to 'prepared the first draft' in the appropriate Indian language'.

Bengali New Testament in 1801, the Bengali translation of the different parts of the Old Testament were published in subsequent years. The wholly revised second edition of the Bengali New Testament was published in 1806. The publication of the New Testament in other languages followed: Sanskrit in 1808; Oriya in 1809; Hindi and Marathi in 1811; Punjabi in 1814-15; Telugu in 1818; and Kanarese in 1822.¹² Carey supervised the whole scheme of the translations. He revised and modified the different translations made by pundits and also corrected the proofs. He even went through the proofs of other publications printed in the Serampore press, that had been written by other scholars.¹³

Though Carey continued with his missionary work and the translation project till his death, we find that most of the grammatical works, attributed to him, the Marathi and Bengali dictionaries, and the translation of the New Testament into Bengali, Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi and Oriya were finished by 1815. Within this period of fifteen years he is alleged to have produced a prodigious number of books. One naturally asks how he could possibly have managed to do all these things in only fifteen years and what was his process of work?

12. G.A.Grierson, 'The Early Publication of the Serampore Missionaries' in Indian Antiquary, vol.XXXII, pp.248-254.

13. 'A Dictionary of the Sanscrit, which is edited by Mr.Colebrooke, goes once, at least, through my hands.' Carey to Mr.Sutcliff - dt. 22 August 1805, E.Carey, 1836, p.474.

ii) Carey's Working method

a) The translation of the scriptures

First let us consider his process of work in translating the scriptures. J.C.Marshman has pointed out that the missionaries 'were in a position, by Mr. Carey's connection with the College, to obtain the assistance of learned men' from different parts of India.¹⁴ We know that before joining the College, Carey had studied Sanskrit with Golaknath Sharma, but later in the College his private tutor in Sanskrit was Mrtyuñjay.¹⁵ With the assistance of this Pundit Carey is said to have begun to write a Sanskrit Grammar, to revise and modify the Bengali translation of the Testament and to translate it into Sanskrit. Later in 1803 Carey found a pundit named Vaidyanāth, who 'was well acquainted with the Marhatta, Bengalee and Hindostanee language, and...[had] a tolerable knowledge of Sanskrit, the Persian and the Oorea.'¹⁶ Carey is said to have first begun to translate the scripture into Hindustani with the assistance of this pundit; and,

14. J.C.Marshman, op.cit., vol.I, pp.193-4.

15. S.K.De, Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century, 2nd edn., 1962, p.184.

16. Carey's letter to the Council of the College recommending Vaidyanāth for the post of chief Pundit in Mahratta in the college, dt. 23.1.1804. Home Miscellaneous no: 559, p.307, quoted in Dr.A.K.Majumdar's article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.I, no.I, 1959, p.237.

'being a Marhatta', Vaidyanāth also assisted 'in translating the scripture into the Mahratta language'.¹⁷

The pundits selected by the Missionaries were generally polyglots and preferably 'good Sanskrit scholars'. In a letter to Ryland Carey wrote that as all of the pundits employed on translation were 'good Sanscrit scholars', it facilitated greatly 'the accomplishment of the work' and contributed 'not a little to its perfection'.¹⁸

In producing their first draft of the translations in the various vernaculars, the pundits generally translated directly from the Sanskrit version of the Bible into their own languages, Carey clearly considered the Sanskrit version useful for this purpose.¹⁹

In a letter to Ryland, he defended this process of translation from the Sanskrit version and asserted his own ability 'to judge of these translations'.²⁰

The plan to use the Sanskrit version did not always work. Two other versions, the Bengali and Hindustani, had, therefore to be used. We quote below a letter describing the process of translating the scriptures:

17. Carey to Ryland, dt. 14.12.1803, Periodical Accounts, vol.II, p.450.

18. Carey to Ryland, dt. 10 December 1811, CSBC MS, letter no.35.

19. Letter from Carey to Fuller, dt, Calcutta 15 May 1806, quoted in E.D.Potts - British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1967, p.86.

20. Dated 24 May 1810, CSBC MS, letter no. 33.

"We have now collected at Serampore a large body of men from all parts of India, who are employed in translating the word, and who, if dismissed, could be easily obtained again. These men write out the rough copy of the translation into their respective languages; some translating from the Bengalee, others from the Hindostanee, and others from the Sangscrit, as they are best acquainted with them. They consult with one another, and other Pundits who have been employed for several years in correcting the press and copy, and who almost know the Scriptures by heart. They, therefore, form the idiom; after which I examine and alter the whole, where necessary, and upon every occasion have men born and brought up in the countries themselves to consult."²¹

Carey is said to have revised all the versions of the scriptures made by the Pundits. Carey claims to have had to 'learn all these languages...., 'so as to be able to read them and judge the justness of every sentence.'²² Every translation, except for the Burmese and Chinese, passed through Carey's hands. Indeed, he is said to have wished, that he 'could learn languages faster' so that the various

21. Carey to Dr. Ryland, dt. 4 Oct. 1815, CSBC MS, letter no. 29. This letter quoted in E.Carey's book (op.cit., 1836) gives the wrong date as 14 October 1815, see p.538.

22. Carey to Ryland, dt. 10 December 1811, CSBC MS, letter no. 35.

versions could pass more rapidly 'through the press'.²³ Sometimes he is said to have had to supervised simultaneously so many translations, that the 'chief part' of the revision was 'done as the sheets pass[ed] through the press'.²⁴

Buchanan has recorded a list of works in Oriental languages, prepared, or under preparation, by the members of the College staff. It includes the following two works, which were to be 'ready for the press':

"30. The New Testament, in the Mahratta language; translated by Vydynath, Mahratta Pundit; revised and compared with the original Greek, by Mr. William Carey..."²⁵

32. The New Testament, in the Orissa language, translated by Poorosh Ram, Orissa Pundit, in conjunction with Mr. William Carey."²⁵

Thus though the Marathi and the Oriya versions of the Testament, were translated by Vaidyanāth and Parsurām respectively, they were nevertheless attributed to Carey, because of his having revised and compared them with the original Greek; e.g. S.P.Carey has credited Carey with their

23. Carey to Ryland, dt. 17 November 1813, CSBC MS, letter no. 38.

24. Carey to Ryland, dt. 25 March 1812, quoted in E.Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.527.

25. C.Buchanan - College of Fort William in Bengal, 1805, p.230.

authorship along with that of other versions.²⁶ On the other hand, however, most of the blame for mistranslation was accorded to the Pundits. Indeed, the reliance of the missionaries upon the Pundits has frequently been criticised.²⁷

Carey, of course, always defended the employment of the local Pundits; e.g. he once wrote to Fuller: 'I do not commit any judgement to any one' of the Pundits.²⁸ To Sutcliff he wrote that he was 'as able to judge' the translations as anyone then in India.²⁹

b) The compilation of the grammars

We suspect that in compiling the various grammars a similar process was followed. Admittedly our evidence may not at first appear conclusive. Some of the links in the chain of evidence may seem at the moment to be weak, but we are convinced that further research will ultimately verify our conclusions. Below we set out what we think to have been the chronological scheme of events.

i) 1801

CBG I was prepared for the press by Carey and Rām Rām Basu. It was published that year and began to be used as a textbook at Fort William College. Mr̥tyuñjay expressed dissatisfaction with it

26. Supra, p.238.

27. E.D.Potts in British Baptist Missionaries in India has given a brief survey of the different criticisms of the different versions of the Bible. See pp.79-90.

28. Carey to Fuller, dt. 20 April, 1808, BMS MSS.

29. Carey to Sutcliff, dt. 4 May 1808, BMS MSS.

and suggested that with a knowledge of Sanskrit a better Bengali grammar could eventually be produced. The idea of a Sanskrit Grammar was ⁰⁰myth. Carey's Sanskrit, which Carey himself had admitted in 1799 to be virtually non-existent, was inadequate to the task. Mṛtyuñjaya thereupon suggested that he himself would prepare the first draft of a Sanskrit Grammar in Bengali with the help of his colleague Rāmnāth Vācaspati. He would then explain the Grammar to Carey, and Carey could then translate it into English. It was a bold plan. Possibly the idea for it came from Carey himself. After all he had translated the Mugdhabodha into English by a similar method. His competence in Bengali was increasing. He could understand Bengali and make himself understood in it. He was also particularly good in reading the Bengali script. Provided the text were read over with him and explained clearly, he could translate it into English. He agreed to the plan and it was executed.

Unfortunately we have very little evidence to adduce in substantiation of this theory. Only two pieces of evidence seem to us significant. The first is that CSG reads to some extent like a translation from an Indian language, not an original composition in English. Consider the following passage, for example,

"These cases, as they respect the relation of a noun to a verb are called karttā, the agent; karmma, the object; karan, the instrumental cause; sampradān, the giving to; apādān, the

taking from; sambandha, the connecting, or possessing;
and adhikaran, the containing."³⁰

There are perfectly good English words to designate these cases: nominative; accusative; instrumental; ablative; genitive and locative. If the original thought had been in English, why did Carey use such clumsy circumlocutions instead of the precise terms derived from Latin? Carey is reputed to have studied Latin and Greek. Surely he was aware of these terms. Why did they not occur to him when writing this passage? We would suggest that it was because he did not fully understand what he was writing, because he was translating into English, not composing in English. H.H.Wilson severely criticised Carey's Grammar. His criticism too seems to imply that Carey had been translating, rather badly, into English. Wilson writes:

"...to make a satisfactory use of this grammar, a native grammar particularly the Mugdhabodha of Vopadeva, should be read at the same time with it."³¹

Wilson clearly considered CSG to be not an original grammar based on an analysis of Sanskrit by a European, but a compilation of 'native grammars'

30. CSG, p.35.

31. H.H.Wilson, 'Remarks on the character and Labours of Dr. Carey, As an Oriental Scholar and Translator' in E.Carey, op.cit., 1836, p.592.

somehow done into English, and so badly, that the main native grammar needed to be read in conjunction with it in order to make sense of it; i.e. it read, Wilson appears to us to be implying, like a poor translation of a compilation of Indian grammars of Sanskrit. Furthermore, Wilson even considered the 'system' on which the compilation was based to have been 'peculiar to Bengal, and ... [of] comparatively local and limited currency';³² a remark, which we take to support our contention that CSG was compiled by Bengali scholars of Sanskrit; i.e. Mr̥tyuñjaya and Rāmānāth, whose 'very great assistance' Carey acknowledges.

ii) 1802

Carey translated CSG into English, as best he could, retaining, however, technical terms which were untranslatable. The press copy was sent to the press round about the beginning of April 1802. The idea of CBG II was then ⁰⁰ ~~my~~ted. It was to be prepared by a similar method. It was to be drafted first in Bengali by Mr̥tyunjay Vidyānāth and then translated into English by Carey.

This time we have rather more evidence. Firstly, CBG II again reads like a translation. This time it is possible to reproduce the passage in CBG II, which duplicates that from CSG quoted above:

32. Ibid., p.592.

"When considered in construction with verbs, they are called karttā, the agent; karmma, the object, karan, the instrument, sampradān, the giving, apadān [sic], the taking away, sambandha,³³ the connecting, and adhikaran, the possessing form."

Since this was finalised by June 1803, we can only assume that Carey still had not realised that here he was describing cases, for which there are precise terms in English. The rendering of adhikaran is a particularly damning error on Carey's part; for it implies that it is the possessive case, whereas in fact it is the locative. How could he have made an error like this, if he had really understood what he was writing? Yet, on the other hand, how was it possible for a man, who could not supply the precise English terms for Bengali cases to supply the precise Bengali words for technical terms needed to describe Bengali, such as 'aspirated', 'unaspirated' and 'nasal'? And why does he put the Bengali terms in brackets? Is this not the practice when one is translating from Bengali? Consider the following passage:

"The first and third letters of each class are unaspirated (alpaprān); the second and fourth are aspirated (mahāprān); and the last of each class is a nasal (sānunāsik)."³⁴

33. CBG II, pp.31-2.

34. CBG II, p.2.

We believe that Carey was in fact translating from Bengali and that he retained in brackets these Bengali terms, because by 1803 it had been decided that Bengali was to be taught largely by Bengali pundits through the medium of Bengali. The students would therefore need to know the precise meanings of the terms the Bengali pundits would use.³⁵ Since the students would be using CBG II, as translated and published in English by Carey, and since the Bengali pundits would be using the original Bengali version of CBG II, as originally composed by Mrtyunjay, these conditions would be met.

How do we know that Bengali was taught largely by the pundits through the medium of Bengali? The treatment of the Munshis and Pundits described by Das in Des in the footnote "to the ~~previous~~ page" is one indication. If the teachers were not alone with their English students, unsupervised by any English professor, how could such deplorable incidents have occurred? And if an English professor were present, why was no explanation demanded from him? Furthermore, it is known that Carey did not spend the whole of the working week at Fort William, but only two or three days. The remainder of his time was spent at Serampore. Furthermore, in view of Carey's massive output, it is unlikely that he spent much time in the classroom. We

35. Some evidence recently brought to light by S.K.Das demonstrates how in the interests of their own safety pundits needed to ensure that their English students understood them. In 1806 a student in the Hindustani department whipped his Munshi Nazarullah for sitting on a chair in his presence. A student in the Bengali department slapped Anandacandra Sarma for giving the meaning of a word he could not find in Forster's Dictionary. In 1811 a student hit Munshi (Contd. on next page....)

believe that Carey was available only for a few hours for students' question time, and that for the remaining classes the students were left under the tuition of native teachers.

Furthermore, we have managed to trace a letter which substantiates much of what we say. The original was in Bengali. It was addressed to the College Council and dated 28 February 1827. Its authors were objecting to the appointment of Rājendra Mukhopādhyāy and Rāmmohan Cakrabarti as private tutors to Civilian students of the College, since the two of them possessed a smattering of English, which was considered undesirable, and no knowledge of Sanskrit, which was deemed essential to the teaching of pure (śuddha) Bengali. The letter runs:

"By studying with them [the Bengali tutors] through the medium of English, the Sahebs will be harmed rather than helped. For their minds will constantly lean towards English. How then can they gain rapid practice in Bengali? And their teachers do not know pure (śuddha) Bengali. For the Sanskrit śāstras, which are

(....contd. from previous page)

Golam Hussein for failing to clarify something in Urdu. When asked for an explanation, the student wrote:

"he was not aware that these people were entitled to be considered as Gentlemen." See S.K.Das, 'Fort William College-r kayeti bangla abedanpatra', Des, Vol.40, no.32, 9th June 1973.

the root of the Bengali language, has not entered their ears. How then can they teach pure (suddha) [Bengali]? And if in some places they [the students] cannot understand except through English, then, if they ask their professor, Sri Sri William Doctor Carey, their wishes can easily be fulfilled. And one can be enlightened as to whether the Sahebs will be helped or harmed by studying with them, by asking Sriyukta Carey Saheb."³⁶

Carey forwarded their appeal, which was signed by eleven pundits, to the Council with the note, which we quoted earlier in reference to Rām Rām Basu.³⁷

What information do we glean from this letter and Carey's endorsement of it?

Firstly, the pundits in Carey's department at Fort William College knew no English;

Secondly, the pundits did know Sanskrit; and

Thirdly, Carey desired that this should be so.

The only question is: when did Carey form this opinion? We presume that he formed it at the time when his sympathies switched from Rām Rām Basu, who knew English, but whose knowledge of Sanskrit was slight,

36. Home Miscellaneous file. Letter to the Council, dated 28.2.1827, cited by S.K.Das, 'Fort William Colleger...ābedanpatra', Des, Vol.40, No.32, p.630.

37. Supra, ~~CHANDANPATRA~~, p.172.

to Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālañkāṛ, who knew no English, but whose knowledge of Sanskrit was unchallengable. That switching of sympathies took place, we think, sometime before the completion of CBG II in 1803.

What further evidence do we possess for stating that CBG II was originally composed in Bengali and then translated into English by Carey? One or two small points first. CSG and CBG II are interrelated. Some passages in CSG were probably reproduced verbatim in CBG II, even though this is not necessarily apparent from the English renderings by Carey, because Carey, being only the translator, would not have realised when Mr̥tyuñjay was quoting from the Bengali version of CSG. For Mr̥tyuñjay to quote from CSG in certain passages would be almost inevitable, for we imagine that Mr̥tyuñjay was in fact consciously modelling CBG II on the Bengali version of CSG, because of his conviction, (later endorsed by Carey, as he endorsed the letter quoted above,) that pure (suddha) Bengali could not be taught without reference to Sanskrit. CBG II was expressly intended to vindicate that view. The second small point is this: Mr̥tyuñjay published a Bengali prose work in 1802, Batris̥ Simhāsan. Just as it was natural for him to quote from the Bengali version of CSG, when composing the Bengali version of CBG II, so it was equally natural for him to quote from his own Batris̥ Simhāsan, when in need of illustrative material for CBG II. Another small point. We presume that Mr̥tyuñjay, like the authors of the letter we quoted earlier, favoured pure (suddha) Bengali. If this were so, then we would also presume that the aversion to Perso-Arabic diction detectible in

CBG II is also traceable to Mrtyuñjay. We believe there is actual evidence of this³⁸. Consider the following passage:

"A very large proportion of the words in the Bengalee language are formed from the Sungskrita roots, with which, and the manner of forming words from them, every student of the Bengalee, and other languages derived from that source, ought to be well acquainted."³⁸

We feel that the original of this must have been in Bengali. It is from CBG III/IV. Obviously the English of it is Carey's, but is it really English? We have heard much talk of the effect on word order of translating from English to Bengali. Does not the above passage exemplify the result of translating the other way; from Bengali into English? We believe that it does. We believe that the original draft was Mrtyuñjay's in Bengali, and that the English betrays Carey's dependence on him, and also Carey's tiredness through long years of over-work.

If what we have said is true, would not trace of the original Bengali drafts of CSG and CBG II have been found? We believe that they would have been found, had it not been for the disastrous fire which took place in Serampore in 1812. The original Bengali drafts of both CSG and CBG II were probably destroyed then, though we do possess

38. CBG IV, p.60.

transcripts of the Bengali version of CBG II, which may have been used in teaching at Fort William College. We shall describe and discuss them later in this chapter.

iii) 1803

Carey translated Mṛtyuñjay's Bengali draft of CBG II into English, adding certain things necessary to teach it to English people. He then prepared the press copy and published it. It appeared in 1805.

iv) 1804

Marathi was introduced at Fort William College. Carey was charged with the teaching of it. In view of all his other activities and commitments, how was he to manage it? Where was he even going to find time to learn the language, let alone teach it? 1804 was, we think, a year of profound discovery for Carey. It was that year that he confidently proposed to translate the Bible into the principal languages of India. Surely in order to make such an audacious proposal he must have made some important discovery. We believe that it was in 1804 that Carey was finally convinced of the deep interrelation of Indian languages through their common derivation from Sanskrit. He must have heard the idea spoken of frequently, but in 1804 personal experience must have convinced him of its validity. We do not know how the idea was first proposed to him, but we are convinced that in 1804 it was conclusively demonstrated to Carey that it was possible to compose a grammar of the Marathi language largely by the process of translation. The idea was not entirely new to him, of course. That had, after all, been the basis of the method by which CSG and CBG II had been produced.

The only novel feature of this proposal was that Vaidyanāth should first of all translate the Bengali version of CBG II into Marathi, making only those modifications to the translation rendered absolutely necessary by Marathi morphology and syntax. Vaidyanāth would then teach Carey the script, so that he could read the Marathi grammar in Marathi. Then with the aid of the English version of CBG II, Carey would be able to understand immediately most of what was common to Marathi and Bengali; and since both derived from Sanskrit, quite a high percentage ought to have been common. Then Vaidyanāth could explain the unique features of Marathi to Carey in Bengali, for Vaidyanāth was fluent in this language. Carey could then translate the Marathi version of CBG II into English.

What proof have we that this is what actually happened?

Firstly, CMG can be demonstrated to have been modelled on CBG II.

The distribution of subjects is virtually identical in both grammars, the sole exception being that in CMG the section entitled 'Of indeclinable Particles' follows, rather than precedes 'Of compound words'.

Secondly, except for extremely minor modifications the

wording of both grammars is virtually identical; e.g.

CBG II:

- "The first and third letters of each class are unaspirated (alpaprāṇ); the second and fourth are aspirated, (mahāprāṇ),

- and the last of each class is a nasal (sānunāsik).³⁹
- y, r, l, v, and h are the semi-vowels...⁴⁰
 - Any letter of the fourth class preceding l is changed to l.
Ex. sat, good and lok, a person, form sallok, a good man.⁴¹
 - The first letter of any class if followed by a vowel, a semi-vowel, a nasal, or the third or fourth letter of any class, will be changed into the third letter of its own class.
Ex. tat that, and par above, form tadupar upon that, sat, good, and gun, a quality, form sadgun, a good quality.⁴²
 - The first letter of any class followed by a vowel is changed into the nasal of its own class. Ex. tat that and madhye in the midst, form tanmadhye, in the midst of that.⁴³

CMG:

- "The first and third letters in each class of the consonants are unaspirated (alpaprāṇa), the second and fourth are aspirated (mahāprāṇa), and the last letter is the nasal (sānunāsik).⁴⁴
- y, r, l, v and h are the semi-vowels.⁴⁵
- Any letter of the fourth class followed by l is changed to l.
Ex. sat and lok form sallok, good people.⁴⁶

39. CBG II, p.2.

40. CBG II, p.3.

41. CBG II, p.26.

42. CBG II, p.26. In the example par is wrong, it should be upar, the Mahratta grammar shows the correct form upar.

43. CBG II, p.27. The word 'vowel' in this quotation is also incorrect. The Mahratta grammar give the correct word as 'a nasal'.

44. CMG, p.7.

45. CMG, p.7.

46. CMG, p.9.

- If the first, second or fourth letter in any class (barga) be followed by the third or fourth letter in its own or any other class, or by a vowel, a semivowel, or a nasal, it is changed to be the third letter of its own class. Ex. sat and gun form sadgun, a good quality. tat and upar form tadupar upon that.⁴⁷
- The first letter of any class followed by a nasal, is changed into the nasal of its own class. Ex. tat and madhye form tanmadhye in the midst of it.⁴⁸

Thirdly, the grammatical terminology in both grammars is virtually identical, being almost entirely derived from Sanskrit grammars current in Bengal. The two Bengali terms, phalā and bānān, do not occur in CMG, however. But this was predictable, if our theory is correct, for it would have been one of the essential modifications necessary for Marathi. Nevertheless, though the word phalā itself is not used in CMG, the examples of phalās given in CBG II do occur in CMG in the same order as in CBG II; e.g. Kya, Kra, Kna, Kla, Kva, Kma and rka. The classification of adverbs in CMG is the same as in CBG II, as also are the prepositions or upasargas, and the classification of compound words or samasas. Naturally, however, certain differences were inevitable. The syntactical examples in CBG II were drawn from Mr̥tyuñjay's Bengali prose work, Batris̥ Simhāsan. Since these examples were out of the question, Vaidyanāth did what Mr̥tyuñjay

47. CMG, pp.8-9.

48. CMG, p.9.

had done: he drew his examples from his own prose writings, which in his case were the translations of the scriptures that he was making at the time. Furthermore, and probably at Carey's suggestion some 'Dialogues on familiar subjects' were appended. These would have been the equivalent of the Dialogues in Bengali that were inspired by Carey and which in 1818 were to appear as an appendix to CBG III.

Fourthly, the process by which we postulate CMG to have been composed was parallel to that by which the Marathi version of the Bible was being composed in 1804: Vaidyanāth was preparing the first draft by translating from a Bengali version. Translating Vaidyanāth's Marathi version of CBG II from Marathi into English would have served to familiarise Carey with Vaidyanāth's handwriting and with the rudiments of Marathi grammar and thus enabled him later to check Vaidyanāth's translation of the Bible in Marathi.

Fifthly, Carey acknowledges in the preface to CMG 'the very great assistance' of Vaidyanāth in its composition. This is the extent of acknowledgement usually granted by Carey to the authors of the original draft. At least, so we think. Our thinking is, however, strengthened by an entry in the Proceedings of the Council of the College dated 20 September 1804 referring to a Marathi grammar being prepared for the press by Vaidyanāth 'in conjunction with

W.Carey'.⁴⁹ Buchanan has also cited this same statement.⁵⁰

As regards the authorship of CMG, Dr. Majumdar suggests that 'as the scheme and final decision' was Carey's, Carey 'could claim the authorship'. Majumdar further suggests that 'possibly no Englishman in the days of Lord Wellesley would be disposed to associate his name' with natives.⁵¹

Sixthly, the transcripts we possess of CBG II demonstrate how it would according to our theory have been possible for Vaidyanāth to have produced CMG by translation.

II

THE BENGALI TRANSCRIPTS OF CBG II

In the interests of clarity before going any further it might be best if one were to recapitulate the arguments so far. Our theory is this: Carey's output between 1801 and 1815 was too great for him to claim the sole authorship of all the works attributed to him. The first drafts of all the works attributed to him after 1801 must therefore have been prepared for him. It is easy to see how this could have been achieved with the translations of the Bible in Sanskrit, Oriya, Hindi, Marathi, Panjabi, Telugu, and Kanarese, for once key versions in Sanskrit,

49. Home Miscellaneous Series no.559, pp.352-3, cited by Dr.A.K. Majumdar, 'William Carey and Pundit Vaidyanāth', Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol.I, n.I, 1959, p.236. Dr.Majumdar feels that 'this statement must have been supplied to the College Council by Carey', p.236.

50. C.Buchanan, op.cit., 1805, pp.229-30.

51. Dr.A.K.Majumdar, op.cit., p.236.

Bengali and Hindi had been produced, the remainder would be a simple matter of retranslation by Carey's polyglot assistants. It is a little more difficult at first to envisage how grammars could be produced by the process of translation. Nevertheless, it is possible. The basic requirement is merely a contact language between Carey and his polyglot assistants. That contact language was Bengali. Since the contact language was Bengali, the next thing that was required was a model grammar in Bengali on which all the other grammars could be based. But the essential feature of that model grammar was that it had to be highly sanskritised; for only a highly sanskritised grammar would fit in with the long Indian brahmanical tradition of analysing and describing all Indian languages, if they bothered to do so at all, in terms of Sanskrit grammar. Carey, under Mrtyuñjay's guidance, had, therefore, to start from Sanskrit. Their first joint production was CSG, a grammar of Sanskrit in English based on a compilation of indigenous Sanskrit grammars used in the Bengal delta. Their second joint production was CBG II, an analysis and description of sādhū bāṅglā, or literary Bengali, which is highly sanskritised, in terms of Sanskrit grammar. Their third joint effort was CMG, the Marathi grammar, produced by translating CBG II into Marathi and making only those modifications to it which were rendered essential by Marathi morphology and syntax. We have not deemed it necessary to go beyond this point, because if the process used for Marathi can be demonstrated to be the one we postulate, then it follows that the grammars of Panjabi, Telugu and Kanarese were probably produced in the same way.

Let us now consider the Bengali transcripts of CBG II. We have so far managed to trace only two: one in the Dacca University Library; and one in the India Office Library. Let us take the Dacca version first.

i) DUL, BV (Dacca University Library, Bengali Version)

The discovery of the Bengali MS version of CBG II was first reported in Indian Culture in 1945-6 by G.C.Basu.⁵² The manuscript was found in Nadia by Subodh Candra Banerji. It consists of 28 folios, 13.8" x 3.2", of 8 lines per page. It bears a colophon:

"Bhāṣākathākram grantha samāpta haila. mestār William Carey sāheber racita. likhak śriramākānta dev śarmanah puṣṭakam idaṃ svākṣaranca. Ingrejī san 1810 sāl tārikh 16 āgast Bāṅglā san 1217 sāl tārikh 1 bhādra śukrabār moṃ khidirpur."⁵³

(The book 'Bhāṣākathākram' ends. Composed by Mr. William Carey. Scribe Sri Ramakanta Dev Sarman. The signature is his. English year 1810 dated 16 August; Bengali year 1217, dated 1 Bhadra, Friday. Home Khidirpur.)

52. G.C.Basu, 'Earliest Bengali Grammar written in Bengali', Indian Culture, Vol.XII, (1945-6), pp.145-158.

53. DUL, BV, NO. 343E, f.28.

ii) IOL, BV (India Office Library, Bengali Version)

This India Office Library Manuscript was recently edited and published by Dr. Tarapad Mukhopadhyay.⁵⁴ It consists of 22 folios, 9¹/₄" x 6¹/₄", of about 30 lines per page. It bears no colophon. Dr. Mukhopadhyay did not realise it was a Bengali version of CBG II. He assumed it was an original composition by Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyānkar. It was bought by the India Office Library in 1824 as part of the Leyden Collection, 'Bibliotheca Leydeniana'.⁵⁵

It is possible to demonstrate an almost line-by-line correspondence between either IOL, BV or DUL, BV and CBG II. Below we point out the correspondence between IOL, BV and CBG II.

iii) CBG II

"The first and third letters of each class are unaspirated (alpaprāṇ), the second and fourth are aspirated (mahāprāṇ) and the last of each class is a nasal (sānunāsik)."⁵⁶

IOL, BV

"Barger madhye pratham barṇṇa āṛ tṛtīya tāhāke alpaprāṇ bali ebaṃ dvitīya caturtha tāhāke mahāprāṇ bali, pañcamke sānunāsik bali."⁵⁷

54. Dr. T. Mukhopadhyay, Bāntā Bhāṣār Byākaran, 1970.

55. S. C. Sutton, Guide to the India Office Library, London, 1967, p. 33 (footnote).

56. CBG II, p. 2.

57. IOL, BV, S. 2895 a, f. 1.

b) CBG II

"The vocative (sambodhan) is not reckoned a distinct case, but it is denoted by go, bho, he, re, lo, te, ti, ge, hāre or here, constructed with the nominative.

go is used in addressing parents, teachers, an elder brother, or any person to whom we intend respect.

bho is seldom used, but is indiscriminately applied to all genders.

he is used in addressing an equal: and re a near friend, or an inferior."⁵⁸

IOL, BV

"Sambodhanbācak ei śabda hay. Go, bho, he, re, lo, ke, ti, ge, hāre, here ityādi. ei sakal śabda prathmār yoge hay. Pitā mātā guru dādā ityādi mānya loker sambodhane go śabda hay, bho śabda baḍa prasiddha nahe kintu tin linger sambodhane, hay. samān loker sambodhane he śabda hay. ātmīyaloker kimba nicloker sambodhane re śabda hay."⁵⁹

CBG II and IOL, BV do not correspond in every particular. We shall discuss these differences later. IOL, BV and DUL, BV do not correspond in every particular either. The one is not the copy of the other, but both are transcripts of the original autograph, which we presume to have been destroyed in the Serampore fire.

58. CBG II, p.42.

59. Dr.T.Mukhopadhyay, edn. of IOL, BV, p.12.

iv) Both IOL,BV and DUL,BV are transcripts: the proof

A comparison of IOL,BV and DUL,BV reveals lipographical errors in both texts: e.g.

IOL,BV

"Prāṇibācak bhinna yata bastu o yata bhāb sakali klībalinga
hay [byañjanānta o akārānta jatibācak kimba puṁbācak
śabder par strīlinge i kimba ini hay] udāharan ei biḍāl
biḍāli ityadi. [ikār ikārānta śabder par strīlinge ini
hay udāharan ei hastinī kāṅgālinī ityadi] ukārānta
śabder pūrbe puṁlinga jñān kārāṇ puruṣ śabda hay..."⁶⁰

The sentences in brackets in the above quotation only appear in DUL,BV.⁶¹ This instance of haplography resulted from the similarity in the sentence endings: 'hay' in the first omission; and 'ityadi' in the second.

Similar instances of haplography occur in DUL,BV; e.g.

"ātmiya loker kimba nīc loker [sambodhane] 're' śabda hay
[ār bālaker sambodhane ti śabda hay] sneha sambodhane 'ore'
śabda hay..."⁶²

"yāhāke sambodhan kari se yadi dūre thāke tabe [sambodhanbācak
śabda nāmer pūrbba hay ebaṁ 'o' śabda hay ei] udāharan..."⁶³

60. Ibid., pp.13-14.

61. DUL,BV, No.343E, f.7.

62. Ibid., f.6.

63. Ibid., f.7.

These variations in IOL,BV and DUL,BV prove that they are not directly related to each other, but are transcripts of other copies, which are now presumably lost. There are further variations:

Firstly, in IOL,BV the Bengali equivalent of the auxiliary verb

'are' in the sentence corresponding to the one in CBG II which reads:

'Vowels are similar or dissimilar.'

is 'han'; i.e. honorific. In DUL,BV it is 'hay'; i.e. non-honorific.

Secondly, in the section on 'Combination of Letters' in CBG II and in

IOL,BV, the consonant used in the illustrations is b; e.g. ba, bi, bi, etc.

In DUL,BV the consonant used is k; e.g. ka, ki, ki, etc.

Thirdly, there are variations in the vocabulary used in the texts:

in DUL,BV saṃyog, katak, kimbā, sthāne, sthale, and samānākṛti appear; whereas in IOL,BV yukta, kathak, athaba, ṭhāi, stāne and saman ākṛti appear.

Fourthly, the examples vary:

in IOL,BV

sadgun

bhojan

sukriyā

mātā

in DUL,BV

tadgun

gati

śuklimā

mā

Obviously there must have been at least enough copies of the Bengali version of CBG II for each of the Bengali pundits in Fort William College to have had one to conduct classes with: the pundit using the Bengali version and the English student the English version.⁶⁴ The fact that DUL,BV was found in Nadia, an area noted for grammatical teaching suggests that possibly the Bengali version of CBG II was also useful in teaching Bengali in its pure (suddha) form even to Bengalis.

v) The use to which IOL,BV was probably being put by John Leyden
John Leyden (1775-1811) joined the East India Company in 1803. He was posted to Madras as a physician. In 1806 he transferred to Calcutta and on 28 September 1807 was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council of Fort William College. He was also appointed to the College as 'Public Examiner' in both Hindustani and Persian.⁶⁵ Later in 1809 he took the post of a Commissioner of the Courts in Calcutta, and, while holding that office, he undertook grammars of Malay and Prakrit. Leyden not only collected MSS in different Oriental

64. The gap between publication and composition in Fort William College was such that MSS must have been used frequently. Even the English version of CBG II was used in MSS, both prior to publication and after. See BMS MS, Grammar of the Bengalee Language by William Carey, whose errors of omission and commission, and whose additions, all indicate that it was a copy of the printed edition of CBG II, copied and used by a student. One would like to think it was the MS used by Leyden, but there is no proof of this.

65. Roebuck, Annals of the College of Fort William, 1819, pp.52-3.

languages, but also materials for the compilation of grammars and vocabularies in various languages: Marathi, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Panjabi, Oriya and Brajbhasa. In 1811 Leyden accompanied Lord Minto to Java, where he fell a prey to premature death.

IOL,BV was found bound together in the same manuscript volume as an Oriya manuscript. This Oriya manuscript⁶⁶ (IOL,OV) bears a colophon which reads:

"Utkala bhāṣā granthaṃ śri Leyden sāhebasya ājñāy etad
racitaṃ gadādharena..."

This means that this book on the Oriya language was written by Gadādhara at the request of Leyden. The MS consists of 16 folios (ff. 23-38), 9¹/₄" x 6¹/₄" of about 18 lines per page. Beneath the Oriya manuscript there was a further manuscript (ff 39-46), consisting of a comparative vocabulary in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Bengali and Oriya. The Oriya word 'racitam' in the colophon to the Oriya manuscript, IOL,OV, indicates that Gadādhara was the author of the manuscript, which is, therefore, not a transcript, but an autograph.

The correspondence between IOL,OV and IOL,BV is great; e.g.
IOL,BV: "Bāṅgālā pañcāś akṣar...ihār madhye ṣola svar cautriṣ
byañjan - tāhār madhye a-kārādi bisargānta svar -
kakārādi kṣakārānta byañjan - byañjaner madhye prātham
ye ka-kārādi ma-kārānta pañcaviṃśati bargaṇa ehārā pāc
pāc haiyā barga saṅgā han prātham k-barga dvitīya ca-barga

66. Henceforth to be termed: 'India Office Library, Oriya Version' of CBG II; i.e. IOL,OV.

tṛtīya ṭa-barga caturtha ta-barga pañcam pa-barga -
 abaśiṭṭa ye nay barṇṇa tāhāke a-bargīya bali"⁶⁷

IOL,OV: "Oḍiyā pañcaśa akṣara ei...eḥi bhitare soḷa svara
 coutrisa byanjana - tahīre akārādi viṣargānta svara;
 kakārādi kṣa-kāranato byañjana - byañjana madhyare
 prathamaye ka-kārādi ma-kārānta pañcabisati barṇa
 emāne pāñca pāñca hai barga saṃgā huanti - Prathama
 ka-barga dvitīya ca-barga tṛtīya ṭa-barga caturtha
 ta-barga pañcama pa-barga - Abaśiṭṭa ye na barṇa tāhāku
 a-bargīya kahi."⁶⁸

Though obviously IOL,OV is not a complete Oriya Version of IOL,BV,
 because of the difference of length between them, IOL,BV consisting
 of twenty-two folios of thirty lines each is more than twice as long
 as IOL,OV, which consists of only sixteen folios of eighteen lines each.

What was the purpose of IOL,OV? We believe it was intended as some
 kind of test to discover whether it would be possible to compile an
 Oriya Grammar by the method of translation that we described for Marathi.
 The Bengali version (IOL,BV) was copied by Gadādhara from one of the
 Bengali MS versions of CBG II used in teaching Bengali in Fort William
 College. (The handwriting of IOL,BV and IOL,OV was the same,
 indicating that Gadādhara did the copying himself.) Then he translated

67. IOL,BV, S2895, f.1.

68. IOL,OV, S2895, f.23.

parts of the Bengali version into Oriya, making only such changes as were necessitated by the morphology and syntax of Oriya. This translation was double-spaced, whereas the Bengali original from which he was translating was single-spaced, indicating that Leyden would have been able to read the Bengali version without difficulty. He would also have had no difficulty in understanding the Bengali version because of the English translation available in CBG II. The initial difficulty would be in understanding the Oriya script. That was why IOL,OV was double-spaced. It enabled Leyden to write in the transliteration of the Oriya over the top of each Oriya word, when Gadādhara read the Oriya aloud for him. Then having read the Oriya version, Leyden would merely need to translate it into English, partly by the help of the English and Bengali versions, and partly by getting Gadādhara to explain to him any of the marked differences between the Oriya and the Bengali. The fact that no such grammar ever appeared in English need not trouble us. Firstly, Leyden died prematurely. That is one possible explanation of why the plan was never completed. Secondly, it may have been noticed that so far in this chapter we have mentioned only a translation of the Bible being made into Oriya by Parsuram and published in 1809. There was no mention of any grammar. The same had proved possible for Hindi. There was a Hindi version of the Bible in 1811, but no corresponding Hindi grammar. We believe that this was a result of the short cuts

discovered by Carey. Carey must have been aware of the extremely great similarity between Bengali and Oriya at the literary level, especially when dealing with a highly sanskritised form of language. He must have deemed it unnecessary to produce an Oriya grammar. He must have felt the same about Hindi because of the strong similarity between Hindi and Marathi when dealing with highly sanskritised forms of these languages. So we feel that here Leyden was only discovering something already known to Carey. Indeed, we would even hazard the guess that Carey was fully aware of what Leyden was doing, because: Firstly, Leyden and Carey belonged to the same institution; and Secondly, Leyden was using as his informant a member of Carey's own department, Gadādhara Tarkavāgīś, who joined Carey's staff in November, 1805, just one year before Leyden moved to Calcutta.

Though never publishing a single book Gadādhara remained in the Bengali Department at Fort William College till 1830, when he retired.⁶⁹ Gadādhara seems to have helped Leyden in a number of his unfinished projects. He prepared further worksheets modelled on part three of the manuscript in which IOL,BV and IOL,OV appear. This third part constituted a comparative vocabulary of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Bengali and Oriya. These worksheets would have enabled other polyglot informants

69. G.S.A.Ranking, 'History of the College of Fort William', Bengal Past and Present, Vol.XXII, nos.43-44. Jan-June 1921, pp.138-9.

like Gadādhara to fill in the equivalents of the same words as were listed in this third part of the India Office MS.⁷⁰ They would obviously have provided the groundwork for some kind of comparative study of the languages concerned.

vi) A possible source of error on Carey's part

Before leaving Gadadhar, it is of interest to point out the dangers Carey was running in employing polyglots the way that he did. The danger was that these ^{or} mastery of their second or third language may not have been as perfect as Carey imagined. Admittedly Carey generally tried to get people to translate into their mother-tongue. This would have minimised the possibility of error. But sometimes it was not possible apparently to get the services of a native speaker. In these cases, he must have had his informants translating into their second language. This was the case when Vaidyanāth translated the Bible into Hindi. It was also the case when Gadādhara translated IOL, BV into Oriya for Leyden. There are a number of grammatical imperfections in Gadādhara's Oriya. These incidentally were the ones that helped us to identify where he came from. We list them below: Firstly, the Oriya word for 'sixteen' is either 'ṣoḥaḷa' or 'ṣoḍaśa'.

The word used in IOL, OV was 'ṣoḷa'. This is probably dialectal.

It resembles the Bengali word 'ṣola'.

70. See BM, MSS, Add. 26,595; 26,594; and 26,596. The Bengali hand of Gadādhara is discernible on one side and on the other are entries in 'Tipura', 'Kuki' and 'Khāsi'.

Secondly, the Oriya word for the relative adjective, 'which', is

'yeu'. Sometimes this is used in IOL,OV. But sometimes 'ye' occurs. This is probably dialectal. It resembles the Bengali word 'ye'.

Thirdly, the Oriya word for 'to say' is generally 'kahibā'.

Sometimes this is used in IOL,OV. But sometimes 'boliba' is used. 'boliba' generally means 'to sing'. Its use in the sense of 'to say' is probably dialectal. It resembles the Bengali verb, 'bala', 'to say'.

Fourthly, Oriya has two lateral consonants: 'ḷ' a retroflex; and 'l' a dental. In IOL,OV 'ḷ' seems to have been used throughout. This indicates that in Gadādhara's speech the distinction 'ḷ'/'l' was not registered. Bengali does not register this distinction either.

Fifthly, the antastha 'y' is used in Bengali as a conjugational inflection in the third person. Its phonetic realisation is the same in such contexts as that of the Bengali vowel 'e'. This usage is foreign to Oriya. There are many examples of it in IOL,OV, however; e.g. 'thāy', where Oriyas would write 'thāe'.

There is no need to multiply examples. Sufficient has been said, we feel, to indicate that Gadādhara was not an Oriya. His mother-tongue was probably Bengali. We was probably born in Midnapore. In parts of Midnapore district at this period, particularly in the South, there were many Oriya speakers. Oriya was taught in the local schools. We do not think Gadādhara learnt Oriya at the local primary. We think he picked

it up as a second language, because of its being so close to his own regional dialect of Bengali.

III

Which version of CBG II came first, the English or the Bengali?

Though we are convinced in our own minds that the Bengali version preceded the English one and that the English was in fact a translation of the Bengali, we feel that we must nevertheless review the arguments and evidence that inclined us to form this opinion.

If IOL,BV and DUL,BV were transcripts of an original translation into Bengali of Carey's English of the second edition of the Bengali grammar, then who did the translation? Only Carey and Rām Rām Basu knew English. There is no evidence of any other pundit knowing English. Now Carey and Basu had been responsible for the original Bengali translation of the New Testament that was ultimately corrected by both Golaknath Sharma and Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālakār. If CBG II had been translated into Bengali by the same process, then the quality of the translation would presumably have been the same in both cases. But were they?

Let us consider one or two criticisms of the Bengali Bible. Here, for example, is J.C.Marshman in 1859. Marshman, it should be remembered, was Carey's colleague, and presumably had no cause to feel any particular disloyalty to Carey, yet he writes:

"The construction of the sentences in the first edition, which the flattery of the Pundits had pronounced to be perfect, was so entirely at variance with the idiom of the language that the work was barely intelligible."⁷¹

Here is the Rev. G.H.Rouse sixty years later reviewing Bengali translations of the Bible in Bengali in the Missionary Herald:

"Carey began his efforts at translation as soon as he felt he had enough knowledge of the language to begin with. Of course beginning when his knowledge was so immature, he made many mistakes. It has been said that in the first draft of the translation of the words, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump', the Bengali ran thus, 'A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump'. Whether the statement is correct or not, it easily might have been -- the two Bengali words might easily have been mistaken for one another."⁷²

Personally we are inclined to dismiss this type of criticism as too fanciful. Here, however, is a critic deserving of respect: Dr.S.K. Das in Early Bengali Prose. Das has demonstrated by a detailed analysis that 'the word order in the sentences of the Bengali Bible' was 'of an English pattern', with words used in 'collocations' 'foreign to Bengali',

71. J.C.Marshman, op.cit., Vol.I, p.180.

72. Rev.G.H.Rouse, 'Bengali Bible', The Missionary Herald, Vol.91, No.2, February 1909, p.45.

thus giving to the whole text an 'unidiomatic appearance'. Das singles out Rām Rām Basu for particular blame for the 'obscure' and 'incomprehensible' language of the Bengali Bible translated by him and Carey.

Let us turn back now to another critic we respect: John Wenger, a theologian and student of Bengali, who, when reviewing Carey's final version of the New Testament in Bengali, (the 8th edition, which appeared in 1832), wrote:

"Dr. Carey's knowledge of Hebrew and Greek appears not to have been such as to give him an independent critical judgement; hence he followed some English authority, even when it was wrong.... I would point out chapters in Jermiah, for instance, where it is utterly impossible to make out the drift of large sections, until the English version is consulted. In short, it was not possible that Dr. Carey's version ever should become permanently popular as an acceptable translation."⁷³

Thus we see even the basis by which Carey claimed the authorship of so many Indian versions of the Bible. His Greek was not adequate to allow him to compare the first drafts of his assistants with the Greek Bible, as he is said to have done.

73. John Wenger, 'Brief Historical view of the Indian Biblical translations', London, 1860, p.3; as cited by E.D.Potts, British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1967, p.86.

Be that as it may, the point we wished to establish was: no one has ever mistaken Carey's Bengali Bible for an original composition in Bengali. Indeed, the quality of the translation has been almost universally condemned, especially as the knowledge of Europeans of the Bengali language and the knowledge of Bengalis of the English language gradually deepened during the last century and in modern times. Yet the surprising thing is: a scholar with seventeen years experience of teaching Bengali to Englishmen never suspected for one moment that IOL,BV was a translation. The thought never even occurred to him. Upon examining it closely, Dr. Tarapad Mukhopadhyay immediately and without question accepted it as an original composition. When publishing it, he stated firmly that this was the first Bengali grammar to be written in Bengali and that in all probability its author was Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālañkāṛ. G.C. Basu did not do so, probably because of the colophon to DUL,BV, which named Carey as the author. Nevertheless, Basu did state that Mr̥tyuñjay might have had 'some hand in the execution of the work'.

We examined the opinions of Basu and Mukhopadhyay carefully. Basu in accepting DUL,BV as a Bengali version of CBG II seemed to disprove Mukhopadhyay's thesis. We too were at first afraid that Mukhopadhyay must have been wrong, until it occurred to us to pose the question: supposing Mukhopadhyay to be right, what was the only logical

explanation? The only one was: Carey must have translated into English, not from English. Now, if this were so, then we had to examine the quality of Carey's translation into English. On the whole, of course, it is good. Carey could translate Bengali accurately into good, idiomatic English. It, therefore, seemed possible. The English translation of the Dialogues demonstrates Carey's ability when translating into English. His skill in the opposite direction was more doubtful. He could obviously make himself understood, but we doubt whether his fluent Bengali was always completely grammatical and idiomatic. It therefore seemed unlikely that Carey could have had a hand in translating CBG II into Bengali.

It then occurred to us to examine the quality of the translations issuing from Fort William College at this period. On the whole, their quality is such that not only are they immediately identifiable as translations, but the language from which they are translated is also largely discernible in the syntactic structure of the sentences. S.K.Das had observed that in the early Bengali prose works 'blind imitation of Sanskrit word-order resulted in confusion and ambiguity'.⁷⁴

The only Bengali translation remotely comparable to that of IOL, BV (assuming, for the sake of argument, that it is a translation, that is,)

74. S.K.Das, Early Bengali Prose: Carey to Vidyasagar, 1966, p.46.

is Rammohan's Bengali Grammar which he published in 1833. Compare these two extracts:

Rammohan's Grammar

Bīśeṣya padke nām kahi, arthāt e pūp bastur nām hay yāhā amāder
bāhirindriyer gocar haiyā thāke, yeman nām, mānuṣ ityādi.
Athabā yāhār upalabdhi kebal antarindriyer-dvārā hay tāhākeo
eirūp nām kahen, yeman bhay, pratyāśā, kṣudā ityādi.
ai namer madhye katipay nām bīśeṣ bīśeṣ byaktir praati
nirdhārita hay, tāhāke byakti samjñā kahi, yeman Rāmcaran.
Rāmbhadra ityādi."⁷⁵

DUL, BV

Śabda tin prakar hay nām kriyā abyay. tāhār madhye nāmer bīśeṣ ei
nām prathamata tin prakār hay. Drabyabācak arthāt sakal drabyer
nām guṇabacak arthat sakal guṇer nām o anukaraṇ arthāt jhanat
khaḍat ityādi. Tāhār madhye drabyabācak tin prakar hay.
Prathamata nāmbācak arthat manuṣya debatā nadī parbbat naḡar
deś paśu ityādi bīśeṣ bīśeṣ nām."⁷⁶

Rammohan's Gauḍīya Byākaran, from which the above extract is taken, is known to be a translation of his own, Grammar of the Bengalee Language in the English Language (1826). This translation has the same simple

75. Rāmmohan Rāy, 'Gauḍīya Byākaran', Rāmmohan Granthābali, ed. Brajendranāth Bandopādhyāy and Sajani-Kanta Das, 1943-1952, p.11.

76. DUL, BV, f.4.

lucidity as IOL,BV, and, we suspect, for a similar reason: the author in each case was expressing his own thoughts in his own language, not translating. Even if the English version of CBG II preceded the Bengali version, (and we find the thought incredible) then the original thought for it came from Mr̥tyuñjay and he later rewrote them in Bengali for the convenience of his other Bengali colleagues in teaching. But we think it far more likely that Mr̥tyuñjay actually made the first draft in Bengali.

The final arguments in favour of our theory are these. Firstly, the Bengali versions, IOL,BV and DUL,BV would be far more useful to Bengalis, who already have a knowledge of their mother-tongue, but who wish to learn to write and spell it correctly in its pure (śuddha) form as prescribed by Sanskrit-educated pundits, than the English version, CBG II, would ever have been for Civilians wishing to learn to speak colloquial Bengali and to communicate with the Bengali subjects of the East India Company; i.e. in short, CBG II, whether in English or Bengali, was essentially written, it seems to us, by Bengalis for Bengalis, and not by an Englishman for Englishmen. That is, CBG II had essentially the same defects as CSG, which had so irritated the English scholar of Sanskrit, H.H.Wilson.

Secondly, the Bengali versions were actually more accurate than the English version of CBG II. Possibly some translations do surpass their originals in precision and perspicuity, but this is not an accusation usually levelled at Bengali translations of English works at this period! CBG II, for example, falsely states:

'all the letters may be doubled'.⁷⁷

IOL,BV correctly qualifies this statement, adding:

'except the letter h'.⁷⁸

CBG II states:

'the word ending in ak makes the feminine with ika';⁷⁹

but IOL,BV correctly lists a number of exceptions: nartak (dancer), khanak (digger), and rajak (washerman). IOL,BV also states a rule not found in CBG II that

ⁱⁿ
'masculine ending in i makes feminine ending in ini, e.g.
dayākāri -- ^e~~feminine~~ ⁿdayākārini."⁸⁰

We do not think there would be much point in multiplying our examples. We believe sufficient has been said to establish our point.

Since the main theme of this thesis is sanskritisation in the early grammars on the Bengali language published in English, and since we have already demonstrated how the trend of sanskritisation was ultimately intensified in Carey's Grammar,⁸¹ then, even if our findings in the last two chapters are not accepted, it ought not, we feel, to

77. CBG II, p.17.

78. IOL,BV, Mukhopādhyāy, edn. p.3.

79. Ibid., p.18.

80. Ibid., p.18.

81. See Chapter IX.

invalidate our thesis. We realise that our findings may at first appear bolder than the available evidence permits. We ourselves are naturally convinced of our opinions, but we realise that a truth, which to some extent diminishes, or rather revolutionises, one's conception of an important figure like Carey, takes time to gain acceptance. After all, it took us two and a half years to finally accept the opinion of Dr. Mukhopadhyay in regard to IOL, BV. It seemed to go against the tide of the evidence. Yet, as we hope to have demonstrated, his work can be the basis for a bold interpretation of Carey's working methods and achievements. And what we have said does not really diminish Carey: it merely reduces him to human scale. The quantity of work attributed to him would have required superhuman qualities to achieve. We have merely tried to explain how it was possible for him to superintend such a prodigious output. Nor does what we have said really affect his reputation as a linguist: on the contrary, it embellishes it. To have used Bengali as his contact language in such an immense scheme of interrelated projects demonstrates a mastery of Bengali that few Europeans can have equalled since, even given the benefit of modern teaching aids. If Carey had a fault, it was ultimately in becoming too much of a Bengali in falling in with brahmanical Bengali traditions of over-sanskritising Bengali instead of striving for a compromise or synthesis between European and Indian traditions of grammatical analysis.

Chapter XII

HAUGHTON'S GRAMMAR

I

Short Life of Graves Chamney Haughton

Graves Chamney Haughton¹ was born at Dublin on 17 March 1788.² He was descended of ancient and good parentage. 'The Irish branch of the Haughton family traces its descent to the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower, who are reputed to have settled in Lancashire since the conquest'.³ In the reign of Charles I, a branch of the family settled in Ireland. G.C.Haughton's grandfather, Richard Haughton, "held the lands of Cool-a-Kirke in the parish of Newcastle, Co, Wicklow, on the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam".⁴ Richard's second son, John Haughton, was the father of G.C.Haughton, a physician in Dublin. G.C.Haughton's mother was "Jane, the daughter of Edward Archer,...of Mount John, Co. Wicklow".⁵ His elder brother became Professor of Oriental languages

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1. The Dictionary of National Biography (Vol.XXV) gives Haughton's second christian name incorrectly, as 'Champney', possibly misled by the obituary in Gentlemen's Magazine (1849, pt.ii, p.420), where this misspelling occurred.
 2. Major V.C.P.Hodson - List of the Officers of the Bengal Army (1758-1834), 1928, pt.II, p.405.
 3. Major A.C.Yate, Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton, 1900, p.14.
 4. Ibid., p.15.
 5. Ibid., p.16.

at Addiscombe, the Military College of the East India Company.

No details of Haughton's early education is known, but according to the Dictionary of National Biography he 'was educated principally in England', and Horace Hayman Wilson was his 'fellow-student'.⁶

Haughton obtained a military cadetship on the Bengal establishment in 1808 and arrived in India on 27 October 1809.⁷ He was commissioned on 13 March 1810 and, later on 16 December 1814, promoted to a lieutenancy. Because of ill-health he returned to England on furlough towards the close of 1815. While in England, he learnt that a teaching post in Hindustani was vacant at Haileybury College. On 27 September 1816 whilst still on furlough he applied for it;⁸ and was subsequently appointed by the General Court of the College on 15 January 1817⁹ as an Assistant European Professor in the department of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani. During this period, the professorship in Sanskrit and Bengali at Haileybury was held by Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824). On 2 May 1818, however, Hamilton resigned.¹⁰ On 5 May 1818 Haughton offered 'to take the charge of the department' of Sanskrit

6. DNB, Vol.XXV, 1891, p.167.

7. Major V.C.P.Hodson, op.cit., pt.II, p.405.

8. Haughton's application dt. 27 September 1816, IOL Records, J/1/32, f.41.

9. 'Memorandum on the present state of the Oriental department at the College' - IOL Records, J/1/35, ff. 267-270.

10. IOL Records J/1/33, ff.217-8. Hamilton's resignation letter.

and Bengali as Professor.¹¹ On 3 June 1818 "Hamilton was permitted to resign his situation on a pension and on the 12th of that month Lt. Haughton was appointed till the expiration of his furlough to fill the vacancy occasioned by Hamilton's resignation".¹² After a few months on 12 February 1819¹³ Haughton resigned his commission. The confirmation¹⁴ of his appointment as Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali followed on 10 March 1819,¹⁵ and he remained in that post till his retirement in 1827.

Haughton was created an honorary M.A. at Oxford on 23 June 1819 and elected an F.R.S. on 15 November 1821. In 1831 and 1832 he acted as honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1822 he was elected a foreign member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, in 1837 a corresponding member of the Royal Society in Berlin and in 1838 a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.¹⁶

In 1832, he was a candidate for the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford, though withdrawing later in favour of Mr. Wilson, his 'old fellow-student',¹⁷ and 'on this occasion he received a complimentary

11. IOL Records, J/1/33, ff.219-20. Haughton's application.

12. 'Memorandum on the present state of the Oriental department at the College'. IOL Records, J/1/35, ff.267-270.

13. Major V.C.P.Hodson, *op.cit.*, pt.II, p.405.

14. Haughton solicited the confirmation in a letter to the Committee of College, dt. 10 February 1819. IOL Record J/1/34, ff.218-9.

15. IOL Records, J/1/35, ff.267-70.

16. *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1849, pt.ii, p.420.

17. *DNB*, Vol.XXV, p.167.

address from 200 graduates, including seven heads of houses'.¹⁸

He was knighted in 1833, and on 28 August 1849 at St. Cloud, Paris, he died of cholera.

Haughton studied five Oriental languages; viz, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Sanskrit and Bengali. He is known to have taken his first lessons in Oriental languages at the Military institute in Barasat, near Calcutta, though nothing is known about the particular languages he took lessons in. This institution may have been abolished in 1811; for William Scollay, a cadet of the 1st Battalion 12th N-1 Barrackpore applied to the Lieutenant-General Sir George Nugent Bart, Commander in Chief, to be allowed to avail himself of "the tuition given at the College of Fort William, in as much as by the abolition of the Seminar at Barasat he...[had] been 'deprived of those facilities for an acquisition of the Hindustani language which that established formerly afforded".¹⁹ When permission was duly accorded, Haughton too made a similar request. That also received sanction, and Haughton was admitted to the College as 'military student' in March 1812. Gaining admission in March, he sat the examinations in June that year along with the other regular students and brilliantly secured ~~3d~~ place and a

18. Gentlemen's Magazine, 1849, pt.ii, p.420.

19. G.S.Ranking, 'History of the College of Fort William' in Bengal Past and Present, Vol.XXIII, July-December, 1921, p.7.

medal in Hindustani; 1st prize and a medal in Nagri Writing; and 4th place in Persian. In his discourse, delivered on 30 September 1812, Lord Minto, the Visitor of the College, praised Haughton in the following words:

"Ensign Haughton was permitted to attend lectures at College so lately as March of the present year, and the progress he has made has been the fruit of only three month's application. His preparation at Barasut, before the abolition of that institution, cannot be thought to have given him any advantage over those who had the benefit of a full course of study at Hertford College."²⁰

In the examination held in June 1813 he also secured 'Degrees of Honour' in Arabic, Persian and Hindustani; and a medal of merit in Sanskrit.²¹ He continued his studies in Sanskrit the following session and sat the final examinations in June 1814, this time securing 3rd place in the first class.²²

He participated in disputations in 1812, 1813, and 1814. In June 1813 he was the sole speaker in the Sanskrit disputation on 'the elegance, and precision of the Sanskrit language'.²³ William Carey was the Professor chairing the disputation. Haughton was also a 'Respondent'

20. 'An Account of the eleventh Public disputations in the Oriental languages held on 30th September 1812...' in T.Roebuck, The Annals of the College of Fort William, 1819, p.305.

21. 'An Account of the twelfth Public Disputations in the Oriental languages held on the 20th September, 1813' in T.Roebuck, op.cit., p.349.

22. T.Roebuck, op.cit., p.434.

23. Ibid., p.345.

in the Arabic disputation, at which the moderator was M.Lumsden.

The subject of the disputation was: 'The Arabic language is one of the most copious, comprehensive, and energetic in the world'.²⁴

The references to Barasat in William Scollay's letter and Lord Minto's discourse, suggest that Hindustani was taught at the Barasat Seminary. Haughton is not reported to have studied Bengali at the Fort William College, though he was in fact the only military student studying Sanskrit there. All other military students studied Arabic, Persian and Hindustani. The study of Sanskrit and Bengali was not thought useful for military students. In 1816 the Governor General proposed to the Court of Directors that military students studies should be 'restricted to Persian and Hindee or Bruj Bhukha', Arabic and Sanskrit being excluded as of no practical value 'for the purpose of Interpreters in the Company's army'.²⁵ In the light of these statements we conclude that Sanskrit and Bengali were not taught at the Barasat Seminary. In that case, the question arises: where did Haughton learn the Bengali language? It is difficult to say whether he studied Bengali anywhere, before being admitted to the Fort William College. Presumably Haughton studied Sanskrit to some extent through the medium of Bengali with College pundits.

24. Ibid., p.345.

25. G.S.A.Ranking, op.cit., p.19.

At the Haileybury College Haughton taught both Sanskrit and Bengali. Sometimes he had more students in Sanskrit than in Bengali,²⁶ because the selection of languages by the students was not optional. On the contrary, it was clearly defined that the students destined for the 'Bengal Presidency' should learn Persian, Bengali and Hindustani; students for Madras Sanskrit and either the Hindustani or Persian; and the students for Bombay Persian and Hindustani.²⁷ Hamilton published anonymously three Sanskrit text books: The Hitopadēsa in the Sanscrita Language (1810); Grammatical Analysis of the Sanskrita Hitopadesa (1810-11); and Terms of Sanskrit Grammar (no date). Both the Hitopadesa and the Grammatical Analysis were criticised by various scholars 'with too much severity'.²⁸

For Bengali classbooks, Hamilton mainly depended on books printed in Bengal. Between 1809 and 1810, 29 Bengali grammars and other works were sent from the Library of the East India Company to the East India College for Hamilton's classes.²⁹ But these were not sufficient to conduct classes with; for, we later find Haughton drawing the attention of

26. As for example in 1820, he had 22 students in Sanskrit and 16 students in Bengali. IOL Records, J/1/35, ff.391-3.

27. 'Directions for the guidance of the students of the East India College', 1814, section IV as cited by Rosane Rocher, Alexander Hamilton, 1968, p.66.

28. Rosane Rocher, op.cit., pp.75-79.

29. Ibid., p.67.

the authorities to the fact of his having found only three copies of Forster's Bengali dictionary in the College Library.³⁰ To meet the need for textbooks, Haughton published the following:

- a) Rudiments of Bengálí Grammar (1821)
- b) Bengálí Selections, with Translations and a Vocabulary (1822)
- c) A Glossary, Bengálí and English, to explain the Tótá-Itihás, the Batrís Singhásan, the History of Rájá Krishna Chandra, the Purusha-Paríkhya, the Hitopadésa (translated by Mrityunjaya) (1825)
- d) A Dictionary, Bengálí and Sanskrit, explained in English and adapted for students of either language (1833)

(As soon as he joined the department of Sanskrit and Bengali, Haughton began compiling his Dictionary,³¹ but it took him fourteen years to complete and publish it.)

- e) Institues of Manu, 2 vols. (1825)

'Institutes of Manu' was meant for Sanskrit students which included text in Sanskrit and Sir William Jones' translation.

All these five books were published with financial assistance from the Company, since almost all the copies of each of them were subscribed for by the Company at a rate proposed by Haughton.

30. 'Mr. Haughton also states that one of the most serious difficulties attending the study of Bengalee arises from the want of Dictionaries, there being only three copies of Forster's Bengalee Dictionary in the College Library' - Abstract of Report contained in the Answer of the College Council dated the 29th February 1820'. IOL Records, J/1/45, ff.391-3.

31. "I have already been two years in gathering the materials [of the Bengali dictionary] and two more years will be necessary to get the work through the Press", Letter to G.A.Robinson, Chairman, East India Company, dt. 6 June 1820, IOL Records, J/1/35, ff.294-295.

In 1832 Haughton printed 'A short inquiry into the Nature of Language, with a view to ascertain the original meanings of Sanskrit prepositions, elucidated by comparisons with the Greek and Latin for private circulation. This was later reprinted as part of the preface to his dictionary (1833).

He published Inquiry into the Nature of Cholera, and the Means of Cure in 1833; and ironically it was as a victim of this very disease that he died (1849).

In later life Haughton published some books on philosophy: e.g. Prodromus; or an Inquiry into the first Principles of Reasoning, including an Analysis of the Human Mind (1839).

We find that, like Halhed, Haughton also came of good parentage, but, compared both with Halhed or Carey, the distinctions he achieved were great. During his working career he secured quick promotion: within five months of his arrival in India he was commissioned and within four years, two of which were spent at Fort William as a student, became a Lieutenant; and in Haileybury College within eighteen months he was promoted from assistant professor to a professor. Apart from that he was created honorary M.A. at Oxford; elected an F.R.S.; became a foreign member of Asiatic Societies of Paris, Berlin and Calcutta; and finally, at the age of forty-four, was knighted.

Foresight and promptitude were the secret of his success:

Firstly, when William Scollay, a cadet, was permitted to avail himself of the tuition given at the College of Fort William, Haughton immediately made a similar request and was granted permission to do so,

Secondly, we find that he applied for the post of an Assistant European Professor in the Haileybury College before the post was even created. On the 1st February 1815 the Court of the College appointed Richard Carr Glyn of the Bengal Civil Service, who was then in furlough, as a temporary assistant.³² At the invitation of the Chairman of the East India Company, Charles Wilkins, the Oriental visitor at the College, submitted (on 24 October 1816) his opinion about the need for a further European to assist the Professor in Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani languages. Wilkins' suggestion was approved by the General Court of the College, at the recommendation of the Committee of College, on 30 October 1816.³³ The date in Haughton's application was 27 September 1816,³⁴ however. Haughton had apparently scented the possibility of a post, even before Wilkins had submitted his opinion, and had immediately applied for it. He may have learnt such a post was in the offing from someone at the College, and we presume that the source of his information was Glyn,³⁵ a fellow-student of Haughton's in the Fort William College during the 1812-13 session.

32. 'Memorandum on the present state of the Oriental department at the College', IOL Records, J/1/35, ff.267-270.

33. Ibid., ff.267-270.

34. IOL Records, J/1/32, f.41.

35. R.C.Glyn was a student of the Fort William College from 24 August 1812 to 20 September 1813. He stood 1st in Bengali, 1st in Sanskrit and 2nd in Persian.

Thirdly, he applied for the post of the professor of Sanskrit and Bengali before Hamilton's resignation was officially accepted. Hamilton submitted his resignation on 2 May 1818 which was approved on 3 June 1818 and Haughton applied on 5 May 1818.

Fourthly, his ^{C S}decision of resigning from the military service and soliciting the confirmation of his appointment as Professor was almost simultaneous. He sent the application, soliciting the confirmation^f, on 10 February 1819 and he resigned on 12 February 1819.

Finally Haughton applied for the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1832 and in the same year, to strengthen his candidature, published a book for private circulation,³⁶ called "A short Inquiry into the nature of Language, with a view to ascertain the original meanings of Sanskrit prepositions; elucidated by comparisons with the Greek and Latin."

In almost all the instances, referred to above, Haughton got what he wanted. He had of course other qualities, which helped in achieving his goal. These qualities came to our notice, when reading some of his applications and letters in the Haileybury file at the India Office Library.

His first application for the post of an assistant professor in the department of Hindustani was well documented. Along with his

36. In his preface he stated that 'he was induced, with a view to Election pending at Oxford for a Sanskrit Professor' to reprint the remarks on prepositions made in his grammar 'with some remarks on the nature of Nouns, Verbs and prepositions in General'. (p.i)

two-folio application he submitted documents covering about 16 folios. We have seen earlier that Halhed had to write a complete grammar to achieve recognition as a scholar and get his 'reward'. But in Haughton's case the 8 documents he submitted sufficed. They comprised a degree of honour in three languages; certificates from three professors at the Fort William College, Taylor, Carey and Lumsden; a general certificate from the members of the College Council in Calcutta; a letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal Presidency; and a copy of the disputation for the year 1813 with extracts from Lord Minto's speech praising Haughton.

These documents established Haughton as a scholar in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Sanskrit, and later when applying for either promotion, or confirmation of his post, he needed to say nothing of his scholarship in these languages. It is interesting to note that all of his applications are well prepared and convincingly persuasive.

We may cite at this point his application for the post of professor in Sanskrit and Bengali. The situation was delicate; for after serving in one department for 18 months as an assistant professor he was now applying for the post of professor in another department. His application was masterly. Firstly he solicited an extension for another year giving reasons for the continuation of his furlough and stating how he enjoyed his present situation.

Then, provided the Honourable Court allowed him to remain another year, he begged to offer his services in whatever way they thought fit to employ him, either by remaining in his present post, or by endeavouring 'to supply the situation made by the retirement of Mr. Hamilton'. Of his own qualifications Haughton then stated:

"I do not presume to think myself fully equal to being the successor of so eminent a man; but aware how very few Sanscrit and Bengallee scholars are to be found in this country, whose views would allow them to turn their attention to such a situation..."³⁷

By deliberately putting the word fully, Haughton suggested that he was at least to some extent 'equal' to Hamilton. Then intelligently and directly he intimated his own rare scholarship in Sanskrit and Bengali. He then directly offered to 'take charge of the department, till the court shall come to some determination about a Professor'. It may, of course, have been objected that his scholarship in Arabic, Persian and Hindustani created a hindrance to his appointment in the department of Sanskrit and Bengali. He therefore, offered the following explanation:

"My principal attention in India had been directed toward the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany languages, considering them more available for the purpose of forwarding my views in that country."³⁸

37. IOL Records, J/1/33, ff.219-20. (Italics mine)

38. Ibid., f.220.

The court might, however, have appointed him as assistant professor (for that situation too was vacant) in the department of Sanskrit and Bengali. To obviate this undesirable eventuality, he straightway asked to be given the 'temporary rank of professor', provided 'they commit Mr. Hamilton's department' to his charge. Finally he reminded the Court that 'the title of Professor would be requested for the sake of duly managing the classes'.

Though we know nothing of Haughton's early education in England, it appears likely that he had received a grounding in the classics: Greek and Latin; for in his grammar he refers to Latin twelve times and to Greek eight.³⁹ He learnt Arabic, Persian and Hindustani in the Fort William College; for those languages were thought to be militarily useful. One wonders, however, why he learnt Sanskrit, which was considered of no advantage to an Army officer. We presume that this resulted from the same proclivity, which had led to study Arabic after Persian. In his first year at the College he studied Hindustani and Persian and in his second Arabic and Sanskrit. Just as his knowledge of Persian inclined to learn the classical language to which it was so heavily indebted, so presumably his knowledge of Bengali inclined him to study Sanskrit. In his dictionary Haughton offered a similar encouragement to his students of Bengali.

39. References to Latin on pp. 59, 64, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119 and 120; to Greek on pp. 111, 112, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120 and 121.

Placing before them 'a mass of Sanskrit words' with their genders, he "hoped that by showing the Bengali student, who had made much progress in the language, what an extensive basis he had laid for the acquisition of the Sanskrit', the student "might be encouraged to extend his studies to that interesting and primeval tongue."⁴⁰

We have also seen earlier that Haughton continued his Sanskrit studies during his third year too. We presume that Carey encouraged him to study Sanskrit, 'the parent language of almost all the vernaculars of India'. The most interesting thing to note is that in disputations in 1814, Haughton praised both Arabic and Sanskrit. We saw earlier that this was the age, when Sanskrit was discovered in England and Europe. So, naturally with a medal of merit in Sanskrit in his bag he aspired to something greater than a military career. Possibly his elder brother, already an Oriental professor at the Addiscombe military institute, may have influenced him in this regard. Thus before leaving India for England in 1814, he carefully collected all the testimonials, certificates and letters, which he subsequently submitted in support of his application for the post of assistant professor in the East India College.

40. G.C.Haughton, A Dictionary, Bengali and Sanskrit, explained in English, 1833, p.vi.

II

Haughton's Bengali Grammari) Haughton's proficiency in Bengali

Most of the books on Oriental languages compiled or edited by Haughton were textbooks specially prepared for the students of East India College at Haileybury. His later works, published after his retirement, were on other matters and bore no relation to oriental languages.

Of his oriental works, his Grammar of the Bengali language was the first and his dictionary the last. These were the only two originally compiled by Haughton; the remainder he merely edited. He edited Bengali Selections (1822) with extracts from three Fort William College textbooks, Totākahini, Batrīs siṃhāsan and Puruṣparīkṣā, appendixes by translations and a vocabulary. In 1825 he published A Glossary, Bengali to English to explain the Tótā-Itihās, the Batrīs Singhāsan, the History of Raja Krishna Chandra, the Purusha-Parikhyā, the Hitopadēsa. This included the vocabulary previously appendixes to his Bengali Selections together with words compiled from two further works, the History of Raja Krishna Chandra and the Hitopades (of Mṛtyunjay Vidyānāṅkar). These additional works were, however, compiled by John Panton Gubbins, a student of the

College.⁴¹

Haughton also edited a Sanskrit work 'Mānava-Dherma-Śāstra or the Institutes of Menu'. It was published in 2 volumes, the first consisting of the Sanskrit text prepared by Haughton, appendix by notes and the second the complete translations made by Sir William Jones. Even his privately circulated book, 'A short Inquiry into the Nature of Language with a view to Ascertain the Original meanings of Sanskrit Prepositions' (1832), was not a completely original work. More than half of it (17 pages out of 29 pages) was reprinted from his Bengali grammar (1821).⁴²

His Bengali and Sanskrit dictionary was compiled from a number of other works, all of which are listed in the preface, where he also mentions that the dictionary was 'under continual obligations' to the 'labours of Sir Charles Wilkins, Mr. Colebrooke, Professor Wilson, Dr. Carey, Professor Bopp, etd., even when no allusion is made to their works'.⁴³ He also acknowledged the 'kind assistance' of some of his friends, one of whom, John Shakespear,⁴⁴ 'read over nearly the whole

41. "About half the present work has been compiled by my friend Mr. John Panton Gubbins, a student of the College; and it affords me peculiar pleasure to be thus enabled to make known this gentleman's great proficiency as an Oriental scholar. The remaining portion has already appeared in print, forming the vocabulary to the Bengali Selections, printed by me in the year 1822," Haughton, A Glossary, Bengali and English, 1822, Introduction, p.XI.

42. The Rules numbered 182 to 189, 291 to 292, 298 to 318 and 320 to 325 were reprinted in the 'Short Inquiry' on pp.10 to 13 and 20 to 32.

43. G.C.Haughton, A Dictionary, Bengali and Sanskrit, explained in English, 1833, p.vii.

44. John Shakespear was Oriental professor at the Addiscombe Military College, where Haughton's elder brother was also an oriental professor.
(Contd. on next page....)

of the sheets as they passed through the press'.⁴⁵

We shall also demonstrate in the following section that Haughton compiled virtually the whole of his Grammar with the help of other works. Thus his original contribution in Oriental languages was slight. Indeed, he composed nothing in Bengali, not even a single illustrative sentence in his Bengali Grammar. All his examples of Bengali composition were quoted from either Halhed's or Carey's grammars; or from Fort William College textbooks. The translations of these extracts provided by Haughton are, however, correct, which shows that his passive knowledge of Bengali was good. But there is no evidence that he could either converse or compose in Bengali. It is not unlikely that like Halhed, Haughton possessed only a passive knowledge of Bengali.

The most interesting point to note is that in his original application for the post of assistant professor in the East India College, Haileybury, Haughton made no mention of his knowledge of Bengali. Among the documents submitted in support of his application

(....contd. from previous page)

Shakespeare published his Hindustani Bengali dictionary in 1817. A copy of the Bengali Grammar was presented to Shakespeare by Haughton 'with the highest regard and esteem'. This copy, now in my possession, reveals some 25 mistakes corrected presumably by the hand of Shakespeare. These mistakes were mostly in Bengali spelling. Some may have been misprints.

45. Haughton, A Dictionary, Bengali and Sanskrit...., p.vii.

there was no mention of Bengali by anyone; indeed, even Carey mentioned only Haughton's study of Sanskrit.⁴⁶ Even in his application for the post of Professor in Sanskrit and Bengali, Haughton refers only to the rarity of Sanskrit and Bengali scholars,⁴⁷ without actually claiming to be one!

ii) Haughton's process of compilation

Haughton published his Rudiments of Bengali Grammar⁴⁸ in 1821. He 'prepared' it 'for the use of the classes' in the East India College, as it was difficult for him to continue 'to teach the language by rules delivered viva voce'.⁴⁹ In his letter to the Chairman dated 13 August 1821, he submitted his grammar 'for approbation' and also offered to the Honorable Court 450 copies (out of 500 printed) of the grammar at the rate of 'one Guinee a copy'.⁵⁰ In the same

46. Carey's certificate, dt. 5 May 1814, IOL Records, J/1/32, f.47.

47. Supra, p.294. See the extracts from his application.

48. It may be noted that he significantly used the word 'Rudiments' which refers to the need for a student to attain 'a competent knowledge of the rudiments of each language, before he left the College, mentioned in the 'Statutes and Regulation' of the College. See Directions for the Guidance of the students of the East India College, 1814, pp.9-10.

49. Letter from G.C.Haughton to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dt. 13 August 1821. IOL Records, J/1/36, f.425.

50. IOL Records, J/1/36, ff.425-6.

letter he also mentioned that the grammar had been prepared 'during the vacation' despite illness.⁵¹ The grammar was sent to Charles Wilkins for his perusal. Wilkins approved it and added that 'judiciously arranged and executed in a manner highly creditable to the author' and that it promised 'to be of the greatest importance' to both teacher and students.⁵²

In his preface to the Grammar Haughton urged, 'in extenuation of the defects' in it, that when 'first undertaken, it was not designed for publication, but merely for distribution among the students of the language', as Carey's Bengali Grammar was not available in England.⁵³ Initially it had been, he said, prepared with 'elementary rules of orthography and pronunciation together with a short example of the declension of nouns and pronouns, and the inflection of a verb', but later the author had thought that 'it would be better to attempt an entire grammar and hence he requested the readers 'indulgence' as 'the sheets were generally written overnight, and printed the next day'.⁵⁴ He also wrote that 'for this hurry the only apology that can be offered and accepted' was the 'circumstance that there existed the immediate pressure of a want which hardly admitted of delay'.⁵⁵

51. Ibid., f.426.

52. Charles Wilkins's report on the Rudiments of Bengali Language, IOL Records, J/1/36, f.427.

53. G.C.Haughton, Rudiments of Bengali Grammar, 1821 (henceforth RBG), p.XIII-XIV.

54. RBG, p.XIV.

55. RBG, p.XIV.

He also acknowledged his debt to four books, Halhed's Bengali Grammar, Carey's Bengali Grammar, Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar and Mohanprasād's Bengali and English Vocabulary, all of which he had consulted during the compilation of the grammar, deriving 'advantage from their remarks whenever they suited his purpose'. He, therefore, thanked these authors 'for whatever aid he has derived from their labours'.⁵⁶

It is to be presumed from Haughton's above statements, that the Grammar was first written merely for use in class, and not with any intention of publishing. Since it was not meant for publication, the first draft was prepared with materials taken without hesitation from Halhed, Carey and Wilkins, 'wherever they suited his purpose'. Even when deciding to publish the grammar Haughton had had to add materials with great 'hurry'. Since these additional materials were 'written overnight' and 'printed the next day', he had had to depend on others and derive aid 'from their labours'.

Of the four works mentioned by Haughton in his preface, one, the 'Bengalee and English vocabulary' by Mohanprasad Thakur, has eluded us. We have compared Haughton's Bengali Grammar with the other three; i.e. Halhed's 'Bengal' Grammar, Carey's 'Bengalee' Grammar and Wilkins' 'Sanskrita' Grammar. Instead of depending on

56. RBG, p.XIII and XV.

any one of these completely, Haughton compiled materials from all three, though mostly from Halhed and Carey.

In the following sections we shall show how Haughton compiled his materials from these three Grammars.

a) Materials taken from Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar

It seems that while writing the first chapter of the Grammar, On Orthography, Haughton depended heavily on Wilkins.⁵⁷ He did not classify the compound letters into twelve phalās, as Halhed and Carey had done, but instead, like Wilkins, inserted three plates showing 'compound consonants'.⁵⁸ The examples of 'double letters' in Haughton's Grammar are similar to those in Wilkins' Grammar⁵⁹ and the plates in both Grammars are engraved from Wilkins's script.

Some of the rules in the Haughton's Grammar are taken directly from Wilkins; e.g.

i) Wilkins' Grammar: "All languages of the Hindu class are read from left to right."⁶⁰

Haughton's Grammar: "The Bengali alphabet, like those of the Hindu class, is read from left to right."⁶¹

ii) Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar: "Read a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; etc. ka, kha; ga, gha; etc.

In speaking of the letters individually, it is the practice to use the term kārah (make, form) after each of their names as

57. Charles Wilkins, A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language (henceforth WSG), 1808.

58. RBG, plates II-IV.

59. WSG, plates III-V.

60. WSG, p.2.

61. RBG, Rule, 1, p.1.

here exhibited: thus the vowel a is called a-kārah, and the consonant ka, kakārah..."⁶²

Haughton's Bengali Grammar: "Read o, ā; i, ī; u, ū; etc.

ko, kho; go, gho; etc... In speaking of the letters

individually, it is the practice to use the term kāroh (make, form) after each of their names as here exhibited. Thus the

vowel o is called o-kāroh, and the consonant 'ko', 'ko-kāroh'..."⁶³

iii) Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar: "The simple vowels are reckoned five, for which there are ten characters: a, i, u, ri, lri to denote the short sounds; and ā, ī, ū, ri, lri, their corresponding long sounds, which are directed to be held twice the time of the short.

The compound vowels, or diphthongs, are ē, ai, o, au, which, in prosody, should never be short..."⁶⁴

Haughton's Bengali Grammar: "The simple vowels are five, for which there are ten characters: o, i, u, ri, li, to denote the short sounds; and ā, ī, ū, ri, lī, their corresponding long sounds, which are directed to be held twice the time of the short, in pronunciation. The compound vowels, or diphthongs, are ē, oi, ō, ou, which, in prosody, should never be short..."⁶⁵

62. WSG, p.2.

63. RBG, p.2.

64. WSG, p.3.

65. RBG, p.3.

Like Wilkins, Haughton also lists numerous indeclinable words.⁶⁶
Most of them are Sanskritic and from Wilkins' Grammar; of the first
37 words in the list, 20 are in Wilkins.

b) Materials taken from Halhed's Grammar

We do not think it useful to mention all the similarities between
Halhed's Bengali Grammar and Haughton's. We shall, therefore, mention
only those sections, where Haughton's dependence on Halhed is greatest.

In the first chapter of the Rudiments of the Bengali Grammar the
following sections are taken from Halhed's Grammar:

- a) Few marks found in Bengali writing - Rules 6-9.⁶⁷
- b) Utterance or omission of the inherent^e vowel - Rules 35-43.⁶⁸

At the end of the chapter, Haughton like Halhed also prints a
specimen of Bengali text together with its transliteration.⁶⁹

In the chapter on verbs the influence of Halhed is great. Here
Haughton adopts Halhed's system of conjugation; e.g.

Halhed's Grammar

"Definite Present

Singular		Plural	
<u>Karitechī</u>	I am doing	<u>Karitechī āmarā</u>	We and co.
<u>Karitechis</u>	thou art doing	<u>Karitechā</u>	ye are doing
<u>Karitechē</u>	he is doing	<u>Karitechēn</u>	they are doing." ⁷⁰

66. WSG gives a list of indeclinable words covering 13 pages (pp.543-555)
in 2 columns and RBG covers 8 pages in 2 columns (pp.125-132).

67. HBG, pp.34-35; RBG, p.5.

68. HBG, pp.192-193; RBG, pp.9-10.

69. HBG, pp.37-42; RBG, pp.12-13.

70. HBG, p.118.

Haughton's Grammar"Present Definite

Singular		Plural	
<u>Karitechī</u>	I am doing	<u>Karitechī āmarā</u>	we are doing
<u>Karitechis</u>	thou art doing	<u>Karitechā</u>	you are doing
<u>Karitechē</u>	he is doing	<u>Karitechēn</u>	they are doing." ⁷¹

Though the idea of demonstrating the verbal inflections before introducing the complete conjugation of the verb karā (to do) is taken from Carey,⁷² the scheme adopted in RBG⁷³ follows Halhed's erroneous system, which confuses second and third person non-honorific and honorific forms with singulars and plurals.

In the section called 'Of the numerals' Haughton, following Halhed,⁷⁴ gives cardinal numbers from 1 to 100 both in Bengali and Sanskrit.⁷⁵ Halhed gave the Sanskrit ordinal numbers up to 20, but Haughton gives the Sanskrit ordinals up to 100.⁷⁶

Most of the examples in RBG are in prose and taken from the Fort William College textbooks, but five are in verse and all these five are taken from HBG.⁷⁷ The translations of four of these are also Halhed's. In one case Haughton even adopts Halhed's translation, when it is incorrect. Abisrānta padē cot kare hānānāni is translated as 'wounds fall without ceasing and inflict reciprocal gashes', which is taken directly from Halhed.

71. RBG, p.85.

72. CBG II, p.89 and 94.

73. RBG, pp. 80-86.

74. HBG, pp. 118-120.

75. RBG, pp. 133-7.

76. RBG, pp.133-7.

77. RBG, p.27, HBG, p.41; RBG, p.28, HBG, p.39; RBG, p.27 (Contd. on next page...)

Sometimes Haughton takes not only rules from Halhed, but also the examples used by Halhed to illustrate them; e.g.

HBG: " Chaandboonda, is a mark put over certain letters to give them a very forcible nasal expression; as bās baas a bamboo, to be pronounced baangs, with the nasal strongly uttered."⁷⁸

RBG: " Chondro-bundo, a symbol written over vowels, and which coalesces with them, and has a strong nasal sound, as in bās bāngs, a bamboo."⁷⁹

Apart from these materials taken from HBG, Halhed's indirect influence may also be traced in a number of chapters, especially those on verbs and prepositions. In these sections Haughton follows Halhed in attempting to exhibit his erudition. To the section on verbs he writes a scholastic introduction 'under the hope of putting the matter in a clear and consistent light to the learner; for the Verb is the very life of language; the Noun is what it describes, and the Preposition defines its tendency' as these 'three are the basis of all language'.⁸⁰ The other section, on prepositions gives a similar introduction and, in describing Bengali prepositions, compares them with those of Greek and Latin.⁸¹

(...contd. from previous page)

HBG, p.114; RBG, p.62, HBG, p.91; RBG, p.161, HBG, p.142.

78. HBG, p.35.

79. RBG, p.5.

80. RBG, p.65.

81. Most of this section on prepositions were reprinted in his book 'A short inquiry into the nature of Language, with a view to ascertain the original meanings of Sanskrit prepositions (1822). See Supra, p. 298.

c) Materials taken from Carey's Bengali Grammar

Haughton, while writing his Grammar, used the second edition of Carey's Bengali Grammar (1805), though he may also have seen Carey's 3rd (1815), or its identical, 4th edition (1818); as in the latter two editions Carey discarded the eight-mode verbal system of CBG II and established in its stead the three-mode system, which is adopted in RBG.

When comparing RBG with CBG II, we observed the following points:

i) Haughton's section, 'Of Genders' (Rules 66-72) together with its illustrations, is based on Carey. Even the erroneous example of kākī, the feminine form of kāk, a crow is included.⁸²

ii) Also while writing the section on numbers (Rules 73-77) Haughton followed Carey, even appropriating Carey's examples of lok, barga, etc.⁸³

iii) In the section on cases also Haughton follows Carey. Following CBG II he inserts in his paradigm of nominal terminations⁸⁴ an additional one: ke in the dative. Carey termed ke optional,⁸⁵ but Haughton correctly establishes it and comments elsewhere that re is 'rarely employed in prose'.⁸⁶

82. RBG, pp.17-19; CBG II, pp.45-47.

83. RBG, p.19; CBG II, p.29.

84. RBG, p.21; CBG II, p.52.

85. CBG II, p.40.

86. RBG, p.28.

iv) The section 'Of Vocatives (Rules 107-115) is also based on CBG II⁸⁷ with minor modifications.

v) The section on adjectives is also based on CBG II,⁸⁸ though Haughton distributes Carey's materials in various sub-sections; e.g. 'Of Gender', 'Of possessives', 'Of comparison' and 'Of epithets'.

vi) The declension of pronouns in RBG also follows CBG II, though Haughton correctly establishes the singular pronouns, sei, ei and ai, in place of the tiha, iha and uha given in CBG II.⁸⁹

vii) The section 'Of expletive particles' is also based on Carey.⁹⁰ Examples including some colloquial forms are the same in both RBG and CBG II; e.g. cāulguccār, jaltuki, āmi kariniko, etc.

viii) The other materials taken from Carey are 'Fractional Numbers'; 'Divisions of money', 'Names of the months' and 'Contractions of current words'.⁹¹

d) Materials taken from any other source

We find that apart from the four books mentioned in the preface,

87. RBG, pp.32-34, CBG II, pp.42-3.

88. E.g. CBG II, Rules 1-7 (pp.61-2), RBG, Rules 117-122, 124-126 (pp.34-37); CBG II, Rule 14 (p.65), RBG, Rule 132 (p.42) and 138 (p.45); CBG II, Rule 15 (p.65), RBG, Rule 137 (p.45); CBG II, Rule 20 (p.67), RBG, Rule 139 (p.45).

89. RBG, pp.53-55; CBG II, pp.78-80.

90. RBG, Rules 327-339 (pp.122-124), CBG II, Rules 22-25 (pp.48-50), 29 (p.51), 32 (p.52), 33 (pp.52-3), 69 (pp.134-5), 72 (p.136).

91. RBG, pp.140-146.

one small booklet was also used by Haughton. It was the 'Terms of Sanskrit Grammar' anonymously published by Alexander Hamilton and used in class at Haileybury College. As the students were required to have a 'thorough acquaintance with the terms of grammar as used by the Persians and Hindoos',⁹² Hamilton compiled that booklet for his students. Haughton also included a new section in his grammar on 'Terms of Grammar'.⁹³ Of the 134 terms listed, 96 from HBG and CBG II; and of the remainder 33 terms are, we find, from Hamilton's book, 'Terms of Sanskrit Grammar'.⁹⁴

The above description of materials taken from different sources shows that almost the entire book is a compilation. In most cases Haughton depended on Carey but sometimes he wrote a section based on both Halhed and Carey; e.g., the section on verbs shows the influence of both. While describing the materials taken from Wilkins' Grammar, we saw that over-dependence on others led Haughton even to copy others virtually verbatim, though he mostly wrote the rules in his own language, adopting the materials and examples of other scholars to his own uses.

92. Directions for the guidance of the students of the East India College, 1814, pp.9-10, as cited by R.Rocher, Alexander Hamilton, 1968, pp.66-67.

93. RBG, pp.165-1681

94. I.e. aghoṣa, anunāsika, antyastha, anvaya, ardhacandra, asabarna, asmad bacya, agama, udaharana, upadha, upasarga, karmmakartha, karmmanibacya, karttaribacya, kara, guru, ghoṣa, dvibacana, dhatu, pratyaya, plut, barna, barnamala, byakarana, yusmada bacya, reph, laghu, lop, sabda, sandhyakṣara, sabarna, svara sandhi, byanjana sandhi.

Apart from the illustrations taken from Halhed and Carey, Haughton quoted examples mainly from contemporary prose works;⁹⁵ i.e. the tota Itihās of Candīcaran Munshi (Serampore 1805, London 1811), the Batris̥ siṃhāsan of Mr̥tyuñjay Vidyālaṅkar (Serampore 1802, London 1816), and the Puruṣ Parīkṣā of Haraprasād Rāy (Serampore 1815). It may also be noted that Haughton compiled his Bengālī Selections (1822) from these three works.

Though most of his materials were derived from others, Haughton nevertheless added distinct observations of his own; e.g.

- 1) He established ke as the regular inflection for the dative and also observed that its variant re was not used in prose.
- 2) He also established the singular pronominals, sei, ei and oi.

Haughton had passive knowledge of Bengali. The errors in his Grammar also suggest that he was unable to detect them even after the Grammar had been printed; for the printed list of corrections numbers only nine,⁹⁶ whereas a contemporary scholar detected 25 mistakes.⁹⁷ Even when taking materials from Halhed or Carey, Haughton incorporated rather than corrected, their mistakes. We saw earlier that he appropriated Halhed's mistranslation of extracts,⁹⁸ and his misspellings of the words bās and candrabindu.⁹⁹ Further errors

95. E.g. examples quoted in RBG on pp.13, 15, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 36 and 104 are taken from Tota Itihās.

96. RBG, p.XXIV.

97. Supra, pp. 298-9. f.n.

98. Supra, p. 306.

99. Supra, p. 307.

of a similar nature could be cited, but the most glaring is in the conjugation of verbs, which Haughton took over from Halhed. While discussing HBG, we saw¹⁰⁰ how erroneous this conjugation system was, for it falsely distinguishes singular and plural terminations, when in fact Bengali makes no such distinction.

This fundamental error in RBG renders the whole section on verbs unacceptable. One wonders, however, how this could have happened. Haughton could at least read and comprehend Bengali; for his translations in his Bengali Selections are more or less correct. Was this error due perhaps to the 'hurry' in publication, 'for which the indulgence of the reader' was sought by Haughton in the preface? This may have been one of the reasons, but the other reason was undoubtedly Haughton's over-reliance on Halhed and Carey. It is not unlikely that Haughton's limited competence in Bengali drove him to such over-reliance.

iii) Sanskritisation in Haughton's Grammar

We have noted in the previous section Haughton's over-dependence on Halhed and Carey. ^৯ Though this same channel he also came to inherit their process of Sanskritisation. Statements like the following in his preface are nothing but the echoes of Halhed and Carey:

To....[Sanskrit, the Bengali language] has, perhaps a closer affinity than any other of the many derivative languages spoken

100. Supra, p. 130.

throughout India. It is to the Sanscrit what the Italian is to the Latin."¹⁰¹

We saw how Haughton borrowed grammatical terms from the book called 'Terms of Sanskrit grammar', and how he compiled indeclinable particles from Wilkins' Sanskrit grammar. Not satisfied with Sanskrit ordinal numbers up to twenty, as Halhed had been, he furnished instead a list of Sanskrit ordinals up to one hundred.

According to Haughton, Bengali, 'like its parent, the Sanscrit, delights in compound,¹⁰² and so he furnished a long list of compound words, most of which compounded according to Sanskrit rules, are unfamiliar in Bengali; e.g.:

'svāmyā^upārjjita acquired through a husband, marital, conjugal.'¹⁰³

'upakārsalī disposed to assistance, beneficent.'¹⁰⁴

'upakārdhvamsī destroying kindness, ungrateful.'¹⁰⁵

'dīrghadarsī seeing long (before): provident, cautious.'¹⁰⁶

'ānuroddhakaraṇak effected by complaisance: compaisant; kind.'¹⁰⁷

'catuṣṭhayātmak consisting of four: quadruple.'¹⁰⁸

Apart from these, his examples in the section 'Of the Junction of letters' are also mostly Sanskrit, e.g. tabedaṃ, gaṅgodak, tabaiṣa, tabaudan, tabardhi, tabalkār, bhabati, tabhiha, etc.¹⁰⁹

101. RBG, p.xii.

102. RBG, p.37.

103. RBG, p.39.

104. RBG, p.43.

105. RBG, p.43.

106. RBG, p.43.

107. REG, p.46.

108. RBG, p.46.

109. RBG, p.149.

To find out ^{the} ~~the~~ nature of Sanskritisation in RBG, we shall also compare Haughton's observations on the Bengali Past and Passive Participles with Carey's:

- CBG II:

"The passive participle is formed like that of the Sungskrit, by affixing ta or ita and, in some instances na to the root. It would be difficult to lay down rules for forming it without a previous knowledge of the roots; but it may generally be known by attending to the termination. Ex. hata, killed ksīna, weakened."¹¹⁰

- CBG IV:

"The passive participle of a great proportion of the Sungskrita root is employed in this language, even though their use in a verbal form be not admitted. These participles are exactly the same as in the Sungskrita, even if they are anomalous in that language....

The verbal noun in ā is often used for the passive participle. Exam. lekha, written."¹¹¹

- RBG:

"This language has no Past and Passive Participles formed after the analogy of its own grammar, except in the causal verb; but the deficiency is remedied by borrowing freely those of the Sanscrit. As they are derived from Sanscrit roots, no compendious rule can be laid down for their formation; but they will be found always to

110. CBG II, pp.92-3.

111. CBG IV, p.38.

terminate in ta, dha, na or na, as kṛta made; kruddha angered; lagna joined; and ksīna emaciated."¹¹²

Evidently Haughton's rule on the past and passive participles is based on Carey's in CBG II, the main difference being that Haughton categorically states that the past and passive participles are not formed according to the rules of Bengali grammar, but to those of Sanskrit. Carey in CBG II stated that Bengali passive participle was formed like that of Sanskrit without any reference to the rules of Bengali grammar. Later Carey discovered the Bengali passive participle and in CBG IV he modified his rule on the passive participle to 'the verbal noun in ā is often used for the passive participle'. Haughton followed CBG II. It is also highly probable that he also saw either CBG III or CBG IV, for, though he took the terminology for his eight modes from CBG III, he established only a '3 modes system', as in CBG III and CBG IV; in which case we assume that he either overlooked, or ignored, the addition, mentioned above. Haughton did not mention this Bengali passive participle. His rule suggests that all the passive participles used in Bengali are from Sanskrit. He further furnishes a list of Sanskrit passive participles, where we find participles like āṅkita (marked), abagata (known), āgata (come), krīta (purchased), chinna (cut off), jita (conquered), datta (given) and dr̥ṣṭa (seen). The usual Bengali passive participles for these are:

112. RBG, pp. 77-8.

akā (marked), jānā (known), āsā (come), kenā (purchased), chedā (cut off), jetā (conquered), deoā (given) and dekhā (seen).

Thus Haughton palpably exceeds Halhed and Carey in the process of Sanskritisation. He even fused the two languages, Sanskrit and Bengali, into a single Dictionary; i.e. Dictionary, Bengālī and Sanskrit, explained in English (1832). In the preface to this he refers to the two styles of Bengali, one colloquial and the other Sanskritic, which 'borrows freely, at the will of the writer, from the Sanskrit'.¹¹³ To Haughton the non-Sanskritic words used in the colloquial language were 'corrupt terms'. He writes that if 'the corrupt terms employed in the colloquial dialect' were withdrawn from his dictionary, 'the remainder would prove a very servicable Sanskrit dictionary'.¹¹⁴ To secure that purpose 'in the most effectual manner' he included all the terms contained in the Sanskrit Amara-Koṣa.¹¹⁵ Haughton's RBG is a grammar of that Sanskrit language, which 'borrows freely both grammar and idiom from its parent the Sanscrit'.¹¹⁶

Like Halhed,¹¹⁷ Haughton begins his preface stressing the need to cultivate Bengali in the interests of the East India Company. He writes:

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113. Haughton, A Dictionary, Bengālī and ^{Sanskrit} English, explained in English, 1832, p.V.
 114. Ibid., p.V.
 115. Ibid., p.V.
 116. RBG, p.XII.
 117. Supra, Chapter VII, p. 143.

Without an intimate knowledge of the language, and through it of the manners, customs, and religious prejudices of any people, it will be impossible to maintain, far less to promote their interests; but where such efforts have been made to increase the happiness of so large a portion of the British Empire by the influence of a mild and benevolent system of government, it would be surprising indeed if the cultivation of the native languages had been overlooked."¹¹⁸

Next he praises the executive branch of the East India Company as they have realised the importance of the Bengali language for 'those civil servants destined for Bengal' and have made the Bengali language 'an indispensable requisite' for them in the East India College.

He had written this book, i.e., RBG, for the benefit of the students in the College. But we find that RBG deals with the Sanskrit language without any reference to colloquial, or spoken, Bengali. So the language taught in the Grammar is useless in common discourse, and ultimately fails to fulfil the purpose for which the language was required by the civil servants destined for Bengal.

118. RBG, pp.VII-VIII.

CONCLUSION: SANSKRITISATION

A glance at the transliteration system at the beginning of this thesis will reveal that Bengali, Oriya and Sanskrit correspond exactly in their syllabries. This is of course the result of the process of Sanskritisation that we have been attempting to describe in this thesis.

One of the benefits of Sanskritisation is, or rather was, the uniformity in orthography and diction, that prevails, or rather did prevail, throughout the Indian sub-continent in the writings of educated men. This enables scholars from various parts of India to appreciate the literature of other regions, once they have mastered the relevant scripts. This was evidently the reason why Carey was able to 'master' so many Indian languages. It also helps translators to translate swiftly from one Indian vernacular into another. It is also of value to journalists and broadcasters contributing to vernacular papers or broadcasting in regional languages.

The concept of Sanskritisation was evidently attractive. These benefits in swift and ready communication were evidently what scholars such as Mr̥tyuñjaya were aiming at. Being Sanskrit

scholars they were evidently aware of an all-India tradition of scholarship, in which Sanskrit served as a lingua-franca at least at the written level, if not at the spoken. They were thus out to revive this tradition as far as possible.

As we hope to have demonstrated in our opening chapter Sanskrit pundits have been analysing and teaching Sanskrit grammar since the days of Pāṇini and had devised a system of analysis and description based on Sanskrit which they could use effectively in analysing and describing the Prakrits, some Dravidian languages and even Persian.¹ Thus when Mrtyuñjay under the patronage and encouragement of Carey began to analyse and describe Bengali in terms of Sanskrit for the purpose of compiling CBG II he was merely continuing a long established tradition; i.e. there was nothing original in what he was doing. It could have been done at any time since the emergence of Bengali as a separate modern language. The only innovation was that now it was profitable at last to analyse and describe Bengali. What had been lacking upto this point had been merely patronage for such a venture.

Even if the process of Sanskritisation in the Grammars written in English had never taken place, it is probable that the kind

1. Supra, Chapter I.

of Bengali prose that is now in use would have emerged independently. Sanskritisation had already been taking place in Bengali long before the foundation of Fort William College. The kind of Sādhū Bhāṣā employed at Fort William can be traced in the poetry of Alāol² and Bharatcandra and in the prose of Dom Antonia³ in his Dialogo. Evidently in writing such prose and composing such poetry these authors had been guided by their knowledge of Sanskrit. Provided one knew Sanskrit, one could write Bengali 'Sādhū Bhāṣā' correctly. This was why it was insisted in Carey's department that his pundits should know Sanskrit.⁴

The question is: what would happen if one did not know Sanskrit? This, of course, was the condition of the vast majority of Bengalis. Evidently it would have been impossible to teach the whole nation Sanskrit merely in order that they should learn to spell correctly. What was needed was a grammar and a dictionary of the type that Carey under Mrtyuñjay's tutelage eventually produced. It was, in fact, commonplace for Sanskrit pundits to write even to newspaper-editors suggesting

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2. Alāol (17th century), a Bengali poet, was reknowned for his Sanskrit scholarship. His famous work, 'Padmāvatī', includes some ślokas translated from Sanskrit and also it was full of Sanskrit diction.
 3. Dom Antonio composed his Dialogo in prose c.1680, and it too contained Sanskrit diction.
 4. Supra, chapter XI, p. 251.

that they, the pundits, be engaged to correct the editors' Bengali.⁵ That was why the copy of CBG II was found in Nadia,⁶ the centre of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. It was useful to Bengalis who wished to learn to write Bengali 'correctly'.

The significance of Sanskritisation in the Grammars we have described is this: Fort William College was the birth-place of the Bengali textbook. Through the foundation of the School Book Society and the gradual diffusion of vernacular education in Bengal Fort William College was ultimately linked with every village in the length and breadth of Bengal, which is why 'justifiably' Carey is acknowledged by some scholars as the Father of Bengali Prose. He is, in fact, honoured, because he contributed to a Bengali tradition of Sanskritisation by conferring upon it the full support of the British administration. What Carey did Bengalis wanted to do, at least the orthodox Hindu community. The kind of grammar Carey produced in his second editions is mirrored in the spelling book produced by Rādhākānta Dev,⁷ who, it should be noted, played a vital role on the Committee of the School Book Society and who spent much

5. 'Samācār Darpan', dt. 5 July 1828, as cited by Brajendranāth Bandopādhyāy, Sambādptra Sekāler Kathā, Vol.I, 3rd edn. 1949, p.58.

6. Supra, chapter XI, p.261.

7. 'Bāṅgalā Śikṣāgranthā...A Bengalee spelling-book with reading lessons....adapted both for European and natives, 1821. The contents of the book resemble those of any Sanskrit grammar and in the preface he writes "it is said Sadhubhāsā is that what is Sanskritic and without the knowledge of Sanskrit it is not possible to write, read or speak properly" (translation is mine), p.VIII.

of his time in the compilation of a Sanskrit dictionary for Bengalis.⁸ Following the trend of Carey or Rādhākānta Dev, so many Bengali grammars were written by the Bengalis in the nineteenth century stressing the fact that, as Sādhubhāṣā was based on the Sanskrit language, Bengali grammar should be based on Sanskrit grammar.⁹ Most of the Bengali dictionaries compiled in the nineteenth century were also translations of Sanskrit dictionaries.

Little need be said here of the reasons why Halhed, Haughton and Carey contributed to this process of Sanskritisation. We have treated this in the preceeding pages. All that we wish to say here is this. Their grammars delayed rather than hastened the acquisition of Bengali by Britishers. Sanskritisation was aimed at suppressing Bengali rather than describing it. The vowel harmony inherent in the phonological system of Bengali as now spoken in sophisticated society is totally ignored by the present Sanskritised spelling system. On the other hand, the spelling system confers on Bengali a series of long and short vowels, which are totally unnecessary. It will have been noted how Halhed deliberately omitted from his grammar Bengali verbs which could not be derived from Sanskrit roots.¹⁰ It will also be

8. Sabdakalpadruma, 7 vols., 1819-1851.

9. E.g. Bhagatcandra Visārad in his preface to Bengali Grammar Sukhbodh: 'This Sādhū Bhāṣā is Sanskritic, the Sanskrit grammar is very hard and so the grammar of the language Bengali may also be hard'. Translation is mine, 3rd edn., pt.II, 1861.

10. Supra, pp. 137-8.

noted that many of the colloquial Bengali forms found in CBG I were suppressed, i.e. omitted, in CBG II.¹¹ Haughton also similarly omitted the Bengali passive participles which Carey did mention in his CBG III/IV.¹²

We have neither time nor space now to expaciate on these points. We would merely say this. It was as if grammarians of French, aware of its derivation from Latin, not only imposed upon French Latin spelling but, where possible, suppressed common French words and deliberately replaced them by Latin ones. This process of suppression in Bengal began even at the primary school level. The moment the alphabet was mastered with the aid of actual, common, spoken Bengali words, children were forced to learn Sanskrit equivalents and encouraged to adopt those equivalents,¹³ wherever possible, in writing.

The unfortunate consequence of all this Sanskritisation has been that, though educated Bengalis found it possible to recognise and understand large amounts of vocabulary in cognate languages, which had been Sanskritised to the same level as their own, uneducated Bengalis found the speech and writings of the educated only a shade more intelligible than Sanskrit.

11. Supra, pp. 216-7.

12. Supra, Chapter XII, pp. 314-16.

13. 'Every child in Bengal that learns to read has to learn the Sanskrit equivalents of the commonest names' - Syamacharn Ganguli, 'Bengali, Spoken and Written' in Calcutta Review, Vol.LXV, 1877, p.405.

There were, of course, reactions against Sanskritisation even at the time of Carey. Rām Mohan Ray published in 1866 for the benefit of Europeans his Bengali Grammar in English¹⁴ where he discarded the Sanskrit system of cases and compounds.¹⁴ Kāsiprasād Ghos in 1830 severely criticised the books written by Mrtyunjay vidyalankar, Haraprasad Ray, etc., as those were not written in simple Bengali.¹⁵ In 1838 we find that in one newspaper, Bengal Herald, owned by Dvārkānāth Thakur, submitted a proposal for the reform of the Bengali alphabet, but unfortunately it was not put into effect.¹⁶ Shyāmācaran Sarkar published his Bengali Grammar in 1852. It did not follow the trend of Sanskritisation. He was said to be well-versed in English literature and knew Greek and Latin, but the pundits satirised him as 'the fancyman of eighteen courtesans of languages'.¹⁷ Vidyasagar and his pundits contemptuously rejected Sarkar's grammar.¹⁸ Interestingly enough, it may be noted at this point that Vidyasagar, who conferred upon Sanskritised Bengali a final

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14. See Rāmmohan Roy, Bengalee Grammar in the English Language, 1826, pp.19-25 (Of cases) and pp.38-41 (Compound Nouns).
 15. Extracts of the criticism was printed in 'Samacar darpan', dt. 6 February 1830 as quoted by B.Bandopahyāy, Sambādpātre Sekaler Katha, Vol.I, 3rd edn., 1949, pp.59-62.
 16. Bengal Herald, dt. 22 April, 1838 as quoted in The Friend of India, 26 April, 1838.
 17. Bipin Bihari Gupta - Puratan Prasāṅga, 2nd edn., 1967, p.30.
 18. Ibid., p.30.

eloquent form, spoke in private, and indeed even wrote, when in satirical mood, an extremely rustic and slangy form of Bengali.¹⁹ And even Tagore, who brought out from Sanskritised Bengali all the musical enchantment of which it was capable, nevertheless spearheaded the movement towards the adoption of colloquial Bengali in literature.

Tagore in 1901 also spearheaded the movement against Sanskritised Bengali grammars. Tagore, Haraprasād Śāstrī, Rāmendrasundar Trivedi and other scholars urged the reform of Bengali grammar. In a sēminar, arranged by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat, Tagore read a paper entitled 'Bangla Vyākaran', in which he reminded one that the "Bengali language follows the rules of Bengali grammar, and that that grammar is not completely subject to Sanskrit grammar".²⁰ It is an unfortunate historical fact that more than a century elapsed after the compilation of Halhed's Grammar, before distinguished Bengali men of letters initiated a movement to reform Beng^ali grammar so radically as to free it completely from the influence of Sanskrit. Needless to say, the movement did not bear fruit: Sanskritisation was already too deeply rooted.

19. Ibid., p.28.

20. R.Tagore - Rabindra Racanabali, Vol.XII, 1960, pp.564-578, and p.630.

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