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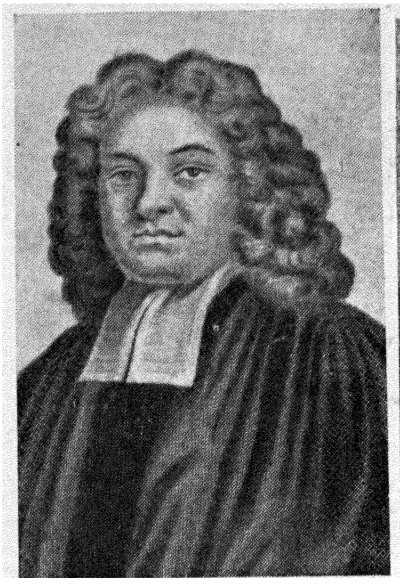
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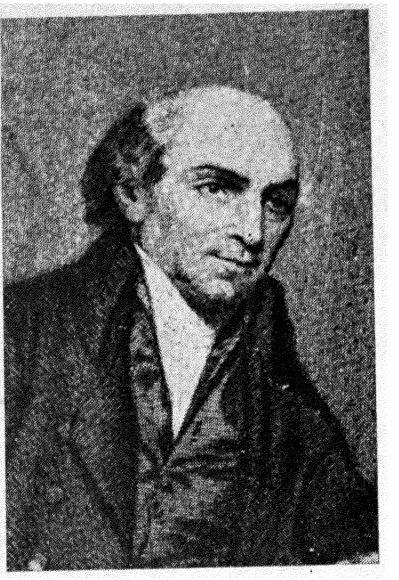
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THE PRINTING PRESS IN INDIA

ITS BEGINNINGS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT



Bartholemew Ziegenbalg
(See p. 36)



Dr. William Carey
(See p. 56)



Javji Dadaji
(See p. 103)

THE PRINTING PRESS IN INDIA

ITS BEGINNINGS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

BEING
A QUATERCENTENARY COMMEMORATION STUDY
OF THE ADVENT OF PRINTING IN INDIA (IN 1556)

BY
ANANT KAKBA PRIOLKAR
(*Director, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, Bombay*)

WITH
A FOREWORD BY
SHRI CHINTAMAN D. DESHMUKH
(*Chairman, University Grants Commission*)

AND
AN HISTORICAL ESSAY ON THE KONKANI LANGUAGE
BY
J. H. DA CUNHA RIVARA
(*The Late Chief Secretary to the Government of Goa*, 1855-1870)
TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE
BY
FR. THEOPHILUS LOBO

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FOREWORD

TO any reader of Marathi literature a work by Prof. A. K. Priolkar is an assured display of scholarly diligence and scrupulous accuracy as well as unquestionable balance and fairness of matter and presentation. Since 1932 he has published a stream of research papers and edited with learned introductions a number of books, mostly in Marathi. He and I can fairly claim some credit for putting out the idea of establishing the Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal, a Research Institute for Marathi language and literature, and ever since its inauguration, under the kindly and understanding support of the late Shri B. G. Kher over twelve years ago, Prof. Priolkar has been the Institute's Chief Executive, and for most of this period its Director.

This book: *THE PRINTING PRESS IN INDIA—Its Beginnings and Early Development*, commemorating the quatercentenary of the introduction of printing in India, would in the ordinary course have been composed and published in Marathi, and as Prof. Priolkar states in the Introduction the original intention was to that effect. I am glad that it was ultimately decided to bring out the book in English. Prof. Priolkar is in my opinion undoubtedly right in expecting that the material presented in this volume might prove of interest to a wider public in India and abroad, if presented in English.

It was in China, it is now agreed, that the first book was printed in 868 A.D. The Arabs learnt paper-making from the Chinese, and paper was made for the first time in Baghdad in 793 A.D. and in Cairo in 900 A.D.; and the coming of paper spelt the practicability of book-making on a wide scale. With the advent of printing, that is multiple book-making by means of movable type, learning assumed a new dimension. Although paper thus made its appearance among the arts of mankind in the Middle East towards the end of the first millennium after Christ, it was not till more than 200 years later that it began to be manufactured in Europe. Although block printing was known in Europe much earlier, printing with the use of movable types began in that region only in the fifteenth century. Thereafter, as is stated in this

volume, the art spread rapidly over different countries of Europe, reaching Russia in 1553. That its advent in Goa in India followed in 1556 is an illustration of the old adage : It is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

The theory and practice of printing have developed enormously in the world during the last five hundred years, although the rate of development reached in the first fifty years after its advent was hardly or rarely equalled until the invention of the steam-engine. It is this invention and its successors that have led to the predominant position which printing holds in the world of industry today, and the progress achieved during the last 150 years has been remarkable, helped as it was by the discovery of more efficient ways of making paper, by the invention of mechanical type-setting, photography, the discovery of electricity and its application to industry and generally the evolution of industrial ideas, systems and methods.

/ But mechanical efficiency is only one aspect of printing. Not less important are the æsthetic aspects, of typography and binding, to name the most important two. These receive due attention and show characteristic excellence in the advanced countries of the world, but have not yet been attended to with any understanding or care in India. Norman Ellis of the Baptist Mission Press, which is in direct line of succession to the famous Serampore Press founded by William Carey, has bemoaned the utter neglect of typography (type-design and display for books and other printed matter) in India, a neglect sadly in contrast with the wealth of opportunity furnished by India's many languages and scripts. The size of the average Indian language alphabet is no doubt a handicap ; nor can the Indian printing industry, inspite of its size, be called wealthy. But the potentialities for the type designer in the shape of variety of alphabet and artistic expression of the genius of the country in other fields are immense, and there is no reason why India should not evolve her own national style of printing.

However, Prof. Priolkar, as a language scholar, has drawn attention, in the fascinating account he has given of the early growth of printing in this country, to aspects still more funda-

mental from the cultural point of view. Whilst it might not be a surprise to many that printing came to India in the wake of proselytization by Christian missionaries, it was some of the early British administrators that recognized in printing an instrument of unsurpassed potency for spreading knowledge, as understood in the West, amongst the people of India. Some of them also doubted the wisdom of permitting the Christian missions of those days to run printing presses without some sort of control from the administration, their fear being that immoderate aspersions on Indian religions might offend the Indian public and create political difficulties for the administration.

How the early fortunes of the Printing Press in India were determined by political considerations, both under the Portuguese and the British, will be abundantly clear to the readers of this volume.

Interesting as is the meticulously scholarly account of the growth and expansion of printing activities in India given in the first five chapters of the book, Chapter VI ' Opposition to the Printing Press ' will be found to be of absorbing interest by many. The early struggle for the freedom of the press was fought not between the British rulers and the Indian public, but between the British bureaucracy and the British non-officials, mostly journalists or missionaries. In the account of these struggles certain historical names stand out, *e.g.*, that of Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the reader will I am sure linger over and ponder the passage from Elphinstone's minute to the Court of Directors on the control of the press, quoted on page 116.

The historical value of this volume has been greatly enhanced by the inclusion in it of an English translation of J. H. da Cunha Rivara's Essay on Konkani Languge, published in 1858. Rivara was a well-known writer and scholar, whose learning was enriched by extensive academic and administrative experience, the latter extending over 15 years in Goa as General Secretary to the Portuguese Governor-General of India. His finding that Marathi and Konkani have close affinities will be of some topical interest ;

but it should be observed that the extracts which he gave as of Konkani were actually of Marathi, as will be clear from Part III of this book. Of far greater interest, however, is his vivid description of the vicissitudes of the culture of " Konkani " under ecclesiastical pressures.

Prof. Priolkar deserves our thanks for bringing out this book, the fruit of years of painstaking research. It will have served its purpose if it draws attention to the importance of the printing press, and stimulates thinking about its power for good or evil, according to as it is free or trammelled, in the consolidation of our national freedom.

New Delhi,
24-5-1958. C. D. DESHMUKH

INTRODUCTION

IN 1953, at the request of the late Fr. Heras, S.J., I contributed an article on "Early Marathi Books on Doutrina Christã" to his *Indica*, a volume published to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Historical Institute of Bombay. In the concluding paragraphs of that article I pointed out that in 1956 four centuries would have elapsed since the date on which the Jesuits brought the printing press to India, and suggested that it would be appropriate on that occasion to bring out reprints of selected works published by the Christian missionaries in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1956, as a modest effort in that direction, the Marathi Post-graduate Research Institute published a *Devanāgarī* transliteration of the *Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, written in Marathi verse by Fr. Antonio de Saldanha, S.J., and originally published in the Roman script in 1655 in Goa. Since then, through the efforts of Fr. Staffner, S.J., a *Devanāgarī* transliteration of the *Christian Puranna* of Fr. Stephens has also been published. The present volume is intended to commemorate the quatercentenary of the advent of the printing press in India in a somewhat different manner.

Although the Jesuit missionaries brought the printing press to India in 1556, their printing activity came to an abrupt end towards the middle of the seventeenth century before the efforts of these missionaries could find their natural fruition in the spread of the art of printing to all parts of India. Recently, Fr. J. Wicki, S.J. and Fr. Schurhammer, S.J. of Rome and A. da Silva Rego of Lisbon have published contemporary correspondence relating to conditions in India in the 16th and 17th centuries. This provides a clear and authentic picture of the circumstances in which the printing activity in India started, but it does not help us to understand the reasons for the cessation of this activity. The only sustained attempt to examine all the phases of the literary activity of the missionaries in Goa was made by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Portuguese India, in his "Historical Essay on the Konkani Language" published in 1857-8. This admirably well-documented essay is of unique importance for our present purpose, as it provides

the background against which the vicissitudes of the printing activity of the missionaries in Goa can be fully understood. An English translation of that essay has therefore been included as Part II of this volume. As stated above, the efforts of the missionaries did not lead to the general development of printing in various parts of India, and other beginnings had to be made by other pioneers in different centres. For completeness, an account of the efforts of these other pioneers has therefore been included as Part I.

The Marathi Post-graduate Research Institute mainly interests itself in research in Marathi language and literature. The vast literature in Marathi and its dialect published by the missionaries in Goa in the 17th century has naturally claimed the attention of the Institute. The beginnings and development of printing in Marathi can also be said to fall within the legitimate sphere of interest of the Institute. But the early printing activity at Tranquebar and Bengal preceded similar activity in Bombay, and the activities of pioneers in various centres were inter-related. The development of the art of printing in India is in a sense a single story. It was, therefore, decided that the present volume should present a succinct account of the beginnings of printing in various parts of India. The original intention was to bring out the volume in Marathi. But it was ultimately decided to publish it in English, as it was felt that the material presented in this volume might prove of interest to a wider public in India and abroad, if presented in that language.

I had started on an English translation of Cunha Rivara's Historical Essay more than a decade ago; but I did not succeed in making much progress therein. Recently my friend the Rev. Fr. Theophilus Lobo kindly offered to undertake this intricate and laborious work, and the Institute owes him a debt of gratitude for the perseverance and ability with which he has carried it out. I would also like to express my appreciation of the help given by Principal A. Soares, who agreed to check the English translation with the original and made some valuable suggestions. A special word of thanks is also due to Mrs. Cecilia D'Souza who helped in reading the proofs of this part of the present volume.

Cunha Rivara was a foreign savant who was deeply interested in Indian history and culture. He was pained at the apathy and indifference to Indian languages which was universal among the Christian community in India, but he was not himself acquainted with any Indian language. His ignorance of local languages has led him into some serious errors. He wrongly assumes that some of the Marathi works written by Jesuits from which he quotes profusely are written in " Konkani." However, although he was himself not able to discriminate between writings in literary Marathi and " Konkani," he asserts with some emphasis that Marathi and Konkani are distinct languages. In actual fact, in Goa as elsewhere, a standard literary language, Marathi, has always co-existed with a spoken dialect which shows considerable regional and communal variations. In recent times this dialect has come to be described as Konkani. The Christian missionaries who produced literature both in the literary language and the spoken dialect, describe the latter as the "*Bramana*" or "*Canarim*" language, or "*lingoa da terra corrente*" or "*lingoa Bramana vulgar.*" It is amusing to note that, although the missionaries have published literature in *Canarim* (Konkani), the passages drawn from printed works which are quoted by Cunha Rivara as specimens of Konkani, are almost without exception taken from works written in Marathi. In Part III of this volume, I have included passages from printed works written in standard Marathi as well as in dialect, as I feel that passages of either type should prove of interest to the student of languages. Some of the passages from Marathi works quoted by Cunha Rivara in his Essay appear to have been selected in a somewhat haphazard manner. I have therefore replaced them by other more significant passages. Readers who are conversant with the Marathi language and the Goan dialect will easily appreciate that passages numbered I(1), III, IV(*b*), are written in Marathi, and those numbered I(2), II, IV(*a*), V and VI in Goan dialect.

In the passages from the Purāṇas of Frs. Stephens and Croix which are included in Part III, the authors state explicitly that they are writing in Marathi. Fr. Stephens writes: "All this is written in the Marathi Language" (Hē *sarua Maratthiye Bhassena* lihilē ahe). Fr. Croix writes: " The language is Marathi and the composition is in the *Ovī* metre " (Bhassa *Maratthy ghaddita*

vouiyāchē). The reference to Marathi in the following passage from the petition presented by Franciscan friars in 1767 which has been quoted by Cunha Rivara, is also significant: "The common idiom which is current among the really intelligent natives (of Goa) is Marathi, the vernacular of the region (*...o idioma commum, que ha entre os naturaes da verdadeira intelligencia da Lingua marasta, que he a vernacula*)." Ignoring this conclusive evidence as to the status of Marathi in Goa, some Goan scholars have preferred to follow Cunha Rivara in his errors. Dr. Gerson da Cunha is an outstanding example of such misguided Goan scholars. In his *Origin of Bombay* (1900) he writes: "He (Father Stephens) wrote a Life of Jesus in Portuguese and then translated it in 1614 into Konkani which language he called Lingua Marasta Brahmana" (p. 164). In an article on *Konkani Language and Literature* (1881) written for the *Bombay Gazetteer* he writes: "Stephen's Purana has more interest in it as a specimen of classical Konkani, which it seems, was once spoken but became in time confined to sacred or religious purposes. The Konkani now spoken differs considerably from that used even at the present day by priests in their sermons. It appears to be an intermediate stage between the Puranic and the current language. On this ground one may divide Konkani into those two dialects into which have, from time immemorial, been split up the more ancient tongues, viz. hieratic and demotic, the former employed in worship and the later in the common speech of the people. Stephen's Konkani of the Puraṇa is entirely hieratic" (p. 29). One can readily accept Dr. Gerson da Cunha's view that the language of Stephen's Purāṇa is Hieratic Konkani. But his contention that this Hieratic Konkani is a language distinct from Marathi is obviously based on a misconception, as Stephens himself states that the language in which he writes is Marathi. Recently Professor Pandurang Pissurlencar, Director of Historical Archives in Goa, has demonstrated conclusively that all pre-Portuguese literature in Goa was written in Marathi (*Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Goa No. 73, 1956).

It may be mentioned that although an error arising from confusion between Marathi and Konkani has crept into the Essay by Cunha Rivara—a type of error for which a foreigner unacquainted with local languages may readily be forgiven—there is no doubt at

all about the authenticity of the historical material presented in the Essay, and the account of the literary activity given therein may be considered as authoritative. Cunha Rivara's deep erudition and his competence to write on this subject will be apparent from the biographical note attached to the translation of the Essay. (Part II).

No effort has been spared to make the account of the beginnings of printing activity in various centres in India given in Part I of this volume as authentic as possible. For this purpose it has been based mainly on contemporary documents and information contained in books which may be considered as most authoritative. Moreover, the relevant passages from the original documents or books have been quoted verbatim, so that the account is presented largely in the words of the original writers. When the original passage was in a language other than English, an English translation is, however, given. It was felt that this plan would be appropriate, as many of the documents and books which have been drawn upon may not be easily available to the average reader for reference. It is hoped that this method of presentation will meet with the reader's approval.

During a recent visit to Benares, I came across the story of a printing press " at least one thousand years old ", discovered at Benares during the period when Warren Hastings was Governor General. This is referred to in a passage from a paper read by Dr. Jogendranath Ghosh under the auspices of the National Society in 1870 which has been reproduced by Babu Radhakrishna Das in his Hindi book " *Hindi Bhāṣāke Sāmāyika Patroṁkā Itihāsa,*" published in 1894. My attention was drawn to this book by the Editor of the Hindi daily *Āja* of Benares. The passage referred to above runs as follows : " An extraordinary discovery was made of a press in India when Warren Hastings was Governor General. He observed that in the district of Benares a little below the surface of the earth was to be found a structure of a kind of fibrous woolly substance of various thicknesses in horizontal layers. Major Roebuck, informed of this, went out to the spot where an excavation had been made, displaying the singular phenomenon. In digging somewhat deeper for the purpose of further research, they laid open a vault which on

further examination proved to be of some size; and to their astonishment they found a pair of printing presses set up in a vault and movable types placed as if ready for printing. Every inquiry was set up on foot to ascertain the probable period at which such an instrument could have been placed there, for it was evidently not of modern origin; and from all, the Major could collect, it appears probable that the press had remained there in the state in which it was found for at least one thousand years."

The story is obviously beyond the bounds of credibility. Nevertheless I made an unsuccessful attempt to get some further information in this connection during my subsequent brief visit to the National Library in Calcutta. Unfortunately Babu Radhakrishna Das does not state where Dr. Ghosh's paper was published.

The object of the present volume is to present a bird's eye view of the early stages of the printing activity in various Indian languages. Detailed and comprehensive accounts of the development and growth of printing in different Indian languages would no doubt be of great value. But such work will have to be undertaken by persons thoroughly conversant with the respective languages and literatures. It is proposed in due course to review the development and growth of printing in Marathi in a separate volume. I shall be glad if the present effort provides an impetus to persons competent to deal with other Indian languages to bring out similar reviews.

I wish to thank the Bombay State Government for the liberal grant given to the Institute for the publication of this volume. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by us from the University towards the cost of publication of this work. But for their generous financial assistance its publication would have been beyond the resources of the Institute.

I am grateful to Shri Chintaman D. Deshmukh for acceding to my request to contribute a Foreword to this volume, in spite of his numerous preoccupations.

I am also glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following gentlemen and institutions :

To Fr. Joseph Wicki, S.J. and Dr. Mariano de Saldanha, who helped by sending microfilms of books available in Rome and Portugal respectively.

To Shri C. E. Abraham, Principal of Serampore College, who gave me free access to the valuable collection of books owned by the College and allowed photostat copies to be taken of some of the rare books contained therein.

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The Asiatic Society, Bombay ;

The Bombay University Library, Bombay ;

The Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay ;

The Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore ;

who allowed full access to their libraries.

I also acknowledge the great debt which I owe to various authors on whose works I have drawn freely.

Bombay,
20-3-58. A. K. PRIOLKAR

PART I

THE PRINTING PRESS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE PRINTING PRESS IN GOA: 1556

Work of the Jesuit Missionaries

Early History

THE concept of "reduplication" which lies at the basis of the technique of printing has been known in India since ancient times. Pictures of artistic seals five thousand years old found in the excavations of *Mohenjo-Daro* are given in the third part of *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* edited by Sir John Marshall.[1] Signet rings (*Mudrās*), which also illustrate the same idea, have been known in India from ancient times. The word *Mudrā*, meaning a seal, appears in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[2] (*circa* 400 B.C. to 400 A.D.). The evolution of this idea into the actual technique of printing did not however take place in India.

The origin of the art of printing can be traced back to China, where it was the need for religious literature and pictures in connection with the propagation of Buddhism that was the mother of this invention. Block printing is believed to have been used for printing portraits of the Buddha in 650 A.D. In 1907 Sir Aurel Stein discovered in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in China a book entitled *Hīraka Sūtra* which dates back to 868 A.D. This is believed to be the oldest printed book so far known. It consists of six sheets of text, each of which is 2½ ft. long and about 1 ft. wide, and one shorter sheet with a woodcut, which are all pasted together to form a continuous roll 16 ft. long. In 1041 Pi Shang made types of China-clay which were fitted into an iron frame. It is stated that he also made tin types. The next step was taken in 1314 by Wang Chang who prepared wooden types. The Korean King General

1. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (Plates cii-cxvi), London 1931.

2. *Arthasastra of Kautilya*, Edited by R. Shama Sastri (University of Mysore) Mysore 1919, p. 110.

Yi is stated to have started a foundry of metal types in 1392, and a book printed in 1409 with Korean bronze-types is known to be extant.[3]

In Europe, printing with the use of movable types began in the fifteenth century, although block printing was known much earlier. It is a matter of controversy whether this was an independent European invention or whether it was inspired by the earlier Chinese invention. Even in Europe the credit for the invention of movable types is variously ascribed to Gutenberg of Mainz (Germany), Coster of Haarlem (Holland), Johannes Brito of Bruges (Belgium), Pamfilo Castalde of Feltre (Italy), etc. The first available book in which the date of printing is mentioned was printed in 1457 by Fust & Schoeffer. Roughly, the art of printing can be said to have spread over Europe as follows: Italy (1465), France (1470), Spain (1474), England (1477), Denmark (1482), Sweden (1483), Portugal (1495) and Russia (1553). As we shall see later on, the art of printing came to India in 1556. The first book believed to have been printed in America is the "*Bay Psalm Book*" which was printed in 1640. But it appears that in Latin America books were printed earlier. For instance, reference to a book printed in 1627 in Mexico and bearing the title *Cathecismo en Lengua Timuquana y Castellane* by Francisco Paneja, is found in *Biblioteca Marsdeana*.[4]

Advent of the Art of Printing in Goa

The art of printing entered India for the first time on September 6, 1556. Its advent was in the nature of a happy accident. Generally it was as an aid to proselytisation that the printing press was taken outside Europe. We find, for instance, St. Francis Xavier in a letter written in 1549 expressing a desire that Christian literature should be printed in the Japanese language.[5] In Goa, however, it appears that no urgent need for the printing press was felt at this time and there was a tendency to place exclusive reliance on political power to help the spread of Christianity.

3. *Vide* T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward*, New York 1931.

4. *Biblioteca Marsdeana*, London 1827, p. 145.

5. Georgius Schurhammer and Josephus Wicki, *Ephistolae S. Francisci Xavierii II*, Rome 1945, p. 211.

The printing press which eventually arrived in Goa was intended to help missionary work in Abyssinia; but circumstances conspired to detain it in Goa on its way to that country.

It is interesting to note, however, that even in Goa thinking minds were already coming to realise the potential educative value of Christian literature in Indian languages. This is illustrated by a letter addressed to his superiors in Rome on 20-11-1545 by Father Joannes de Beira, a Jesuit priest attached to the *Casa de Santa Fé* in Goa. This was an institution for indoctrination of new converts to Christianity. At that time in this college " there lived 52 students, *viz.* 8 Goans, 5 Canarese, 9 Malayalees, 2 Bengalese, 2 Pegus, 6 Malays of Maleca, 4 Macasas, 6 Gujeratis, 2 Chinese, 4 Abyssinians, 4 niggers."[6] Fr. Johannes de Beira wrote :

> " In this College, known as the House of Holy Faith, live sixty young men of various nationalities and they are of nine different languages, very much distinct one from another ; most of them read and write our language, and also know to read and write their own. Some understand Latin reasonably well and study poetry. Due to the absence of books and a teacher they cannot derive as much profit as they need. The Christian doctrine could be published here in all these languages, if Your Reverence feels that it may be printed."[7]

A letter believed to be written in 1526 by the Emperor of Abyssinia to D. Manoel, the King of Portugal, requesting the latter to send to Abyssinia some artisans " skilled in preparing books " (" *mestres para a forma de livros* "), has been published in the *Lendas da India* by Gaspar Correia.[8] As D. Manoel died before this letter was received, the same request for " *mestres para fazer Livros* " was repeated to his son D. João. Many Portuguese writers hold that the request made in these letters was for technicians in the art of typography, and that the request was granted in 1556. From a letter written on April 30, 1556

6. Josephus Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Vol. I, Rome 1948, p. 120.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
8. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, Tomo III, Lisboa 1862, p. 58.

by Fr. Gaspar Calaza to St. Ignatius, it appears that some ships carrying a printing press and some technicians left for the East in 1556. This letter is published in the tenth volume of Jesuit Letters edited by Fr. Beccari.[9] As the original volume is not available to the present writer, a synopsis of this letter as given by Fr. C. G. Rodeles is reproduced here :—

> " The first batch of Jesuit Missionaries embarked at Belem on the Tagus, and left for Ethiopia on March 29, 1556, four months before the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola. It consisted of Fr. John Nunes, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr. Andrew de Oviedo, Bishop of Hieropolis, and appointed as successor to the Patriarch ; Fr. John Gualdames, three Brothers of the Society, and some young men who were soliciting admission into it. One of the Brothers was Juan de Bustamante, who knew the art of printing.
>
> King D. João, the royal family and other friends had been munificent towards the members of the expedition. The King adjoined to the Patriarch an Indian of good character, an able and experienced printer, to help Brother Bustamante, who was taking with him a printing press to Goa. An eye-witness gives us this information."[10]

Contemporary documents indicate that most of the 14 Jesuits who embarked on this occasion were on their way to " *Preste* " or Abyssinia.[11] The Patriarch designate of Abyssinia accompanied the printing press. As the Suez canal did not then exist, persons going to Abyssinia from Portugal followed the Cape route to India, touched Goa, and thence proceeded to Abyssinia. The Patriarch with the printing press accordingly halted at Goa. In January, 1557, when the Patriarch was busy making preparations for leaving for Abyssinia, the Governor of Goa asked him in view of certain justifiable considerations to continue his stay in Goa. He accordingly stayed in Goa, where

9. *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptures Occidentales Inediti a seculo XVI and XIX*, Rome 1903-1910.

10. C. G. Rodeles, " Early Jesuit Printing in India," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 4, April 1913, pp. 154-155.

11. Wicki, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Rome 1954, p. 473.

he died on December 22, 1562, and neither he nor the press which he was carrying ever left Goa. It appears that the relations between the Emperor of Abyssinia and the missionaries were somewhat strained at this time. The printing press was perhaps being sent to Abyssinia in 1556 in compliance with the demands of the missionaries rather than those of the Emperor. These strained relations might provide an explanation for the delay in the departure of the Patriarch from Goa.

We find, however, that the demands from the missionaries in Abyssinia for a printing press continued. The following passage appears in a letter addressed to the Cardinal Protector in Rome towards the end of the 16th century :

> "As we find ourselves obliged to compose many treatises, and distribute a great number of copies of the same, and this cannot be done easily unless we print them, we beg of Your Most Illustrious Lordship to send us a press with the Ethiopic types that are found in Rome, as also one or two persons knowing the art of printing."[12]

A similar request was made in 1628. But we find no evidence of a press being started in Abyssinia. On the other hand, we find that printed literature was being supplied to that country from Goa. We shall also have occasion to mention a work entitled *Magseph assetat*, which was printed at St. Paul's College in Goa in 1642 for use in Abyssinia.

There is ample evidence to show that it was the printing press which was originally meant for Abyssinia that came to be established in Goa. In letters written in 1559, we find the printer Bustamante referred to as " of Preste " (Abyssinia).[13] There is also a letter written from Goa by the Patriarch designate himself on November 26, 1559, in which he clearly states that he had arranged to be prepared moulds and matrices of types

12. Goana-Malab. Epist 1580-89. Fol. 2 Doc. 143 (Quoted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 155-6).

13. Wicki, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Rome 1956, pp. 302, 460, 473.

of Abyssinian characters for use in a press which he intended to take personally to that country :—

> " He here prepared moulds and matrices and other art types, and other things in round lettering and in characters current in the kingdom of *Preste*, in which their books are written, in which I should be very glad to compose Christian doctrines, manuals for confession, and other necessary books ; because such a vast land could not be taught the doctrine without many printed books in their language, which I shall have printed there in the matter which I have now ready."[14]

There is, however, some confusion in contemporary documents regarding the precise date on which the ships carrying the printing press reached Goa. According to Francisco de Souza, the well-known Jesuit historian, Fr. Balthesar Telles originally wrote in his *Chronica* that they reached Goa in the beginning of August 1556, but later in his *Historia de Ethiopia* he fixed the correct date as September 3.[15] Andre Gualdames, who was himself a passenger, writes in a letter dated November 4, 1556, that they reached Goa on a Sunday on September 3.[16] September 3, however, was not a Sunday. Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, another passenger, states in a letter written from St. Paul's College in Goa on November 2, 1556, that they reached Goa on September 6 :—

> "...because we departed two days before the end of March from the city of Lisbon and reached this city of Goa on the 6th of September, *i.e.* within five months and 8 days ; and of these we enjoyed at Moçambique 18 or 19 days, so that our voyage lasted a little over four months and a half. The maritime route we followed was about 4000 leagues long ; four ships arrived together, three of them carrying all the personnel of our Society. If the voyage is completed within six months it may be considered as reasonable, it is worse if one takes longer, and better if the duration is less."[17]

14. *Ibid.*, p. 465.
15. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo.* Con. V-2-22, Bombay 1881, p. 499.
16. Wicki, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 508.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 490-1.

As this date fell on a Sunday, it may be concluded that September 6, 1556, was the date of advent of the printing press in India.

Fr. João Nunes Barreto, the Patriarch designate of Abyssinia, describes in a letter dated November 6,1556, how soon after its advent in Goa the press started functioning. He writes :—

> " There were public discussions of theses which appeared as though they were held at Coimbra and were attended by a large concourse of people and Priests.
>
> John printed these theses (" *conclusões* ") and other things, which are doing good and will produce yet more fruit later on. The Indian is well behaved and is fond of going for confessions often ; at sea he helped us a lot in the kitchen and has proved here to be competent in press-work, and Father Francis Rodrigues is happy over it and desires to have another (press) in this College. Now they want to print Master Francis' Christian Doctrine, and I have hopes that this work will do much good in Ethiopia."[18]

It appears that it was not until the middle of October that printing operations actually started. Aires Brandão, a Jesuit priest, describes in a letter written on November 19, 1556, how certain theses on logic and philosophy were printed in this press on October 19 :—

> " Now in October Father (Joseph) Ribeiro had a public discourse in the church, on the importance of the study of literature, at which the Governor and many other people were present. This was in the morning on Monday (19 Oct. 1556), one day after the day of St. Luke. As immediately in the same evening were to take place discussions on theses (*conclusões*) on logic and philosophy, which were ordered to be printed there, the governor did not wish to return before seeing them. The *conclusões* were ordered to be printed here in the house and to be affixed to the Church doors, thereby giving to the Friars of St Dominic and the Friars of St. Francis and other people desiring to be acquainted with them an occasion of reading them. Those on logic

18. *Ibid.*, p. 514.

> were defended by a Brother, known as Francis Cabral, who received them here, and those on philosophy were defended by brother Manoel Teixeira. Father Antonio de Quadros presided on the occasion."[19]

Students of contemporary history have expressed doubts whether the theses printed on this occasion were in the form of a book or loose sheets.[20] As they were affixed to the gates of churches they were probably loose sheets. In that event, the first known book printed in Goa would be the *Doutrina Christã* by St. Xavier. This was printed in 1557. Francisco de Sousa mentions that a tract on *Doutrina Christã* was composed by St. Xavier for the benefit of children, and printed in Goa in 1557.[21] No copies of the theses on logic and philosophy referred to above, nor of St. Xavier's *Doutrina Christã* are at present available anywhere in the world. There is, however, contemporary evidence in a letter written by Luis Frois on November 30, 1556, which shows that the latter work *Doutrina* was actually printed. Frois writes :—

> "The Patriarch and Father Francis Rodrigues and Fr. Antonio de Quadros ordered during this Lent some *Confecionarios* to be printed, and a respectable gentleman, devoted to the Society, offered to give the paper free for the love of God, and requested that the printing be carried out by the college at home ; and for the love of God placed them into the hands of those desiring to have them, and forwarded to all the Fortresses to be distributed among the Priests of the Society residing therein together with copies of the *Doctrina* which the Father Master Francis, who is with God, ordered to be printed here."[22]

João de Bustamante, a Spaniard, came to India with the printing press, and he must therefore be considered as the pioneer of the art of printing in India. He was born in Valencia in Spain round about 1536. In 1556 he joined the Society of Jesus and was ordained in 1564. According to information recently furnished by

19. *Ibid.*, p. 574.
20. Amancio Gracias, *Os Portuguezes e o Estabelecimento da Imprensa na India*, Bastorá (Goa) 1938, p. 16.
21. Souza, *op. cit.*, Con. I-1-23, p. 18.
22. Wicki, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 711.

Fr. Wicki from Belgium, Jesuit records show that in 1563 his name was changed to João Rodrigues. He died on August 23, 1588.

It is known that a person of Indian origin was sent by the King of Portugal to help Bustamante in setting up the press. Jesuit writers speak of him as an " able printer " (*Habil Impressor*); but although they are generally meticulous in interspersing their writing with all manner of details, they have never mentioned the name of this Indian collaborator of Bustamante. Amancio Gracias, himself an official of the Portuguese Government in Goa, asks whether the reason for this omission was the fear that the mention of the name of this Indian might detract from the merits of their compatriot Bustamante.[23]

The First Types of an Indian Script

The credit for preparing the first types of an Indian script goes to João Gonsalves, another Spaniard who accompanied Bustamante to Goa. He was an expert blacksmith specially skilled in the manufacture of clocks. Fr. Souza writes :—

> " He was the first who made in India types of Malabar letters with which the first books were printed."[24]

These types were used for the printing of *Doutrina Christã* in 1578 of which Fr. Souza writes : " This was the first printed book, which India saw born in its own land."[25] As St. Xavier's *Doutrina Christã* had already been printed in India in 1557, what Fr. Souza probably means to say is that the *Doutrina* printed in 1578 was " the first book printed in an Indian language."

There was at one time considerable controversy whether the types prepared by Gonsalves were those of Tamil or Malayalam characters. The confusion in this regard arose as a result of a reference to the work of another printer made by Fr. Souza in

23. Gracias, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
24. Souza, *op. cit.*, Con. I-2-33, p. 81.
25. *Ibid.*, Con. I-2-12, p. 67.

the course of his account of the happenings of the year 1582 in the following passage :—

> "Died at Goa the Rev. João da Faria, who built the arches of St. Paul, and who was the first to start the press at the Fishery Coast for the great glory of God, engraving and casting alphabets of Tamil Language."[26]

As it is stated in this passage that Faria was the pioneer in the preparation of types of Tamil characters, it was assumed that the " *Malabar language* " of which types were prepared by Gonsalves must be the Malayalam language. Father Schurhammer in an article published in the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, wrote in this connection as follows :—

> " These accounts therefore imply two contemporaneous centers of Indic printing in Southern India, employing different alphabets. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese applied the term 'Malabar' both to the Tamil and the Malayalam languages. Here, however, since ' Tamul ' is specified for Faria, the ' Malabar ' of Gonsalves must be intended to refer to Malayalam."[27]

Fortunately the controversy has been laid at rest as a result of the discovery of a copy of the *Doutrina Christã* printed in the Malabar types in 1578. A description of this has been given by Fr. Schurhammer himself in his article mentioned above. He has also given photographic reproductions of some pages of this book in his article. An examination of these makes it clear that the book was published at Quilon in *Lingua Malabar Tamil.* It is hence seen that the ' *Lingua Malabar* ' of which types were prepared by Gonsalves and the Tamil of which types were prepared by Faria were identical. In fact the types prepared by Gonsalves as well as those prepared by Faria appear to have been used in the printing of this book. It is clearly stated on page 16 of the book that the types used in the first 8 lines were prepared in Goa in 1577 and those used in the subsequent lines were prepared

26. *Ibid.*, Con. II-2-3, p. 157.

27. Georg Schurhammer and G. W. Cottrell, " The First Printing in Indic Characters," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Spring 1952, p. 148.

in Quilon in 1578, and it appears reasonable to assume that the former types were prepared by Gonsalves and the latter by Faria. In a contemporary letter, dated December 24, 1576, we find that Pero Luis, a Brahmin convert, was sent to Goa for arranging for Tamil printing.[28] One may imagine that he was sent to Goa to acquaint Gonsalves with the nature of Tamil characters, and Faria who had learnt the art from Gonsalves then went to Quilon and prepared improved types of the same script there. The *Doutrina Christã* printed in 1578 consists of 16 pages and is a Tamil translation by Henrique Henriques of St. Xavier's Portuguese book of the same name.

It appears that the press in which the above work was printed was soon shifted from Quilon to Cochin. For Schurhammer, in his article mentioned above, gives an account of a book on *Doutrina Christã* by Henrique Henriques printed at Cochin in 1579. This is not a second edition of the *Doutrina* printed in 1578, but an independent work, which is a translation extending over 120 pages of a Portuguese work by Marcos George published in 1566. Another Tamil book *Flos Sanctorum* by H. Henriques, printed at "*Pescaria*" (Punicale?) in 1586, is available in the Vatican Library.

It will thus be seen that the first Indian script of which types were prepared was Tamil, and not Malayalam. At that time Malayalam was considered as a subsidiary branch of Tamil, and it was not until a much later date that Malayalam was reduced to print. There is a grammar of this language in the Bombay University Library printed in 1799 at the Courier Press of Bombay.[29] In the library of the Serampore College there is a copy of a Malayalam translation of the New Testament printed at the same Courier Press in 1811. It appears that the name Malayalam for this language was brought into general vogue by the Europeans during the early years of the 19th century. A book called *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malayalam Language* was published in Madras in 1839.[30]

28. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

29. Robert Drummond, *Grammar of Malabar Language*, Bombay 1799.

30. F. Spring, *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malayalam Language* as spoken in the Provinces of North and South Malabar and the Kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin, Madras 1839.

It is interesting to examine why types of the local language of Goa (Marathi) were not prepared at this stage. Fr. G. C. Rodeles writes that Gonsalves did actually think of preparing " Canarese " types, but did not pursue the idea on account of the clumsy shapes of the characters, the irregularity of pronunciation and the limited area in which the language was spoken.[31] In a recent article Fr. Schurhammer points out that Gonsalves had actually started preparing types of the *Devanāgarī* script. He writes :—

> " By the end of the year 1577 there were cast about 50 letters in the Devanāgarī script, but brother João Gonsalves who prepared them died in the following year, and his companion Fr. João de Faria also having expired in the year 1582, there was none who was able to undertake the work. For this reason the Puranna was printed in Latin characters in the College of Rachol in the years 1616 and 1649 and in the College of St. Paul in the year 1654."[32]

Fr. Schurhammer has made the above assertion on the authority of Fr. Chutte who writes in this connection :

> " The first attempt to start a press for the *Kanarim* language had for a while miscarried, although about 50 letters or moulds were already prepared. The multiplicity and difficult reproduction of letters, also the meagre prospects of a wide publicity of books (printed) in *Kanarim* types however finally scared away the Brother printer."[33]

It will be seen that Fr. Schurhammer has understood the *Kanarim* types mentioned by Fr. Chutte to mean *Devanāgarī* types, and he is probably right in doing so. It must be remembered, however, that in Goa the *Kannaḍa* or *Canarese* script was also in common use for writing Marathi. The fact that there were no subsequent attempts in this direction indicates that the

31. Rodeles, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

32. Georg Schurhammer, " Uma obra rarissima impressa em Goa no ano 1588," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 73-1956, p. 8.

33. Schutte, " Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder und Druckblatter in einem unbekannten Vatikanischen codex aus dem Jahre 1591." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu.* Vol. IX, Rome 1940, p. 268. (I am thankful to Prof. H. D. Velankar for this translation from German).

need for *Devanāgarī* types was not felt with sufficient urgency at this time.

As we have stated above, the art of printing was meant to serve as an aid to proselytisation, and contemporary history shows that in Goa the need for this aid was not very much appreciated for some time. During the early years reliance was placed almost entirely on political coercion, and on the power of the Inquisition, after it was established in Goa in 1560, to achieve this end. When the converts showed a tendency to revert to the practices of their old faith, they were hauled up before the Inquisition, their property confiscated and in extreme cases they were sentenced to be burnt at the stake. But experience soon demonstrated that force alone could not bring about the desired end. This belated realisation led to a reorientation of the policy, which is evidenced by the emphasis placed on the value of religious education of the converts in the resolutions of the *Concilio Provincial* at its sessions of 1567, 1575, 1585, 1592 and 1606.[34]

In the programme for religious education the indigenous languages were assigned an important role. It was enjoined that every parish priest should be conversant with the local languages, and that Christian literature should be produced in those languages for the benefit of the converts. It was under the impetus provided by this new policy that Fr. Stephens, Croix, Saldanha and others produced their Christian *Purāṇas* and other works. These are written in the literary and spoken languages of Goa, but printed in the Roman script. Recently evidence has come to light that Fr. Thomas Stephens, the foremost of these writers, had himself desired that such literature should be produced in the *Devanāgarī* script, and had given thought to the practical aspects of that question. In a letter addressed from Salsette in Goa on December 5, 1608, to his superiors in the Society of Jesus in Rome, he wrote as follows :—

> " Before I end this letter I wish to bring before Your Paternity's mind the fact that for many years I very strongly desired to see in this Province some books printed in the

34. *Vide* J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo* IV, Goa, 1862.

language and alphabet of the land, as there are in Malabar with great benefit for that Christian community. And this could not be achieved for two reasons ; the first because it looked impossible to cast so many moulds amounting to six hundred, whilst the characters are syllables and not alphabets, as our twenty-four in Europe. The other because this holy curiosity could not be put into execution without the order and concession of the Provincial, and they have so many things to look after that they have no time to attend to this, much more to take it in hand. The first difficulty has its remedy in this that these moulds can be reduced to two hundred. The second will vanish if Your Paternity thought it fit to write to Father Provincial, recommending him that he may do it if he feels that it will be for the greater glory of God, and edification and benefit of this Christian community."[35]

Fr. Stephen's *Purāṇa* was however published in 1616 in the Roman script. It therefore appears that his appeal for the intervention of his superiors at Rome in favour of his plans for preparing types of the *Devanāgarī* script did not meet with a favourable consideration.

Particulars of literature known to have been printed in the 16th Century in Goa are given here :—

(*i*) 1556. *Conclusões e outras coisas* (Theses and other things) (No extant copy recorded).

(*ii*) 1557. St. Francisco Xavier. *Doutrina Christam* (No extant copy recorded).

(*iii*) 1557. *Confecionarios* (No extant copy recorded).

(*iv*) 1560. Gonçalo Rodrigues. *Tratado...contra os erros scismaticos dos Abexins* (A Tract against the Schismatic Errors of the Abyssinians). (No extant copy recorded). Reference to this book is

35. A. K. Priolkar, " Two recently discovered letters of Fr. Thomas Stephens," *The Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XXV, Part II, September 1956, p. 123.

found, as mentioned by Mr. Primrose,[36] in Barbosa[37] (ii, 402).

The four books mentioned above were printed by João Bustamante.

(*v*) 1556-1561. *Doutrina Christã.* In a letter written by Fr. Luis Frois from Goa on December 4, 1561, we find mention of the use of printed booklets on Christian Doctrine in an Indian Language for the purpose of imparting religious instruction to Indians : " Thereafter a little of the *Doutrina* is taught which is also recited to them in their own language with the help of booklets which are printed here in the house."[38] (No extant copy recorded).

(*vi*) 1561. Gaspar de Leão. *Compendio Spiritval da Vida Christãa.* (Spiritual Compendium of the Christian Life). A copy of this work is available in the New York Public Library. It was bought by James Lenox in a public sale in London in July, 1862.[39] The printers of this book are João de Quinquencio and João de Endem. This is the earliest book printed in Goa which is available at present.

(*vii*) 1563. Garcia da Orta. *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas mediçinaes da India.* (Conversations on Indian plants and drugs referring to the medicine of India). Printed by João de Endem. The author was the Lessee of the Island of Bombay four centuries ago. A copy of this book is available in the British Museum. It was also translated into English by Sir Clements Markham and published by H. Sotheran (London) in 1913.

36. J. B. Primrose, *The First Press in India and its Printers*, London 1940, p. 265.

37. Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca Lusitana, Historica Critica e Chronologica*, 4 Vols. Lisboa 1741-59.

38. A. da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a historia das missões do Padroado portugues do Oriente*, Vol. VIII. Lisboa 1952, p. 415.

39. Primrose, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

(*viii*) 1565. *Tratado que fez Mestre Hieronimo...cõtra os judeos.* (A tract against the Jews) Printed by João de Endem. A copy is available in the National Library of Lisbon.[40]

(*ix*) 1568. *Constitvciones do arcebispado de Goa, Approuadas pello primeiro cõcilio prouincial.* Anno 1568. (Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Goa. Approved by the First Provincial Council in 1568). The only known copy is available in the National Library of Lisbon.[41]

(*x*) 1568. *O Primeiro Concilio Prouincial çelebrado em Goa, no anno de* 1567. (An account of the First Provincial Council—an assembly of ecclesiastics to regulate doctrine or discipline—which met in Goa in 1567). A copy is available in the Public Library of Evora and another is owned by Mr. C. R. Boxer.[42]

(*xi*) 1573. Gaspar de Leão. *Desenganos de perdidos.* (Disillusionment of the Lost). Reference in Barbosa (ii, 385). (No extant copy recorded).

(*xii*) 1581. *Compendivm Indicvm.* (Indian Compendium, containing faculties and other privileges granted to the Society of Jesus in India). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa. The only known copy is available in the Pei-T'ang Library, Peking.[43]

(*xiii*) 1588. *Oratio Habita à Fara D. Martino.* (Lecture delivered by D. Martino à Fara, a Japanese in the College of St. Paul). Printed at the Society's College, Goa. Japanese types were cast at this time by the Japanese printer Constantino Dourado[44] who was taught the art of preparing types

40. C. R. Boxer, "A tentative check-list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints, 1556-1674," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 73-1956, pp. 22-23.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
44. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

by João Bustamante. A copy of this book is available in the Jesuit Archives at Rome.

We do not find any trace of any book published in Goa during the next twenty-seven years until we come to 1615.

Books known to have been Printed in Goa in the 17th Century

Early in the 17th Century Fr. Stephens commenced writing his books in Indian languages and getting these printed in the press attached to the College of St. Lourenço at Rachol in Salsette (Goa). It appears possible that this was the same press as was operated at the College of St. Paul in the island of Goa, and that it was moved between that island and Rachol as required from time to time.

Such information as is available about the literature known to have been printed in Goa during the 17th Century, is given below:—

(*i*) 1616. Thomas Stephens. *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jusu Christo Nosso Salvador ao Mundo* (Discourse on the Coming of the Christ to the World). (No extant copy recorded).

This is the famous *Purāṇa* by Fr. Stephens which is written in literary Marathi. The next two editions of this work were printed in 1649 and 1654. But none of these have survived to our day. The text of the fourth edition, printed in 1907 at Mangalore,[45] was prepared from some manuscripts.

(*ii*) 1622. Thomas Stephens. *Doutrina Christam.* This work on Christian Doctrine in the form of a dialogue is written in the dialect spoken by Goa Brahmins. This was written by the author before the *Purāṇa*, but was published after the *Purāṇa*. A copy is available in the Government Library

45. Thomas Stephens, *The Christian Puranna* (Edited by J. L. Saldanha) Manglaore 1907.

in Lisbon and another in the library of the Vatican in Rome. A facsimile edition prepared by Dr. Mariano Saldanha was published by the Portuguese Government in Lisbon in 1945.

(*iii*) 1632. Diogo Ribeiro. *Declaracam da Dovtrina Christam.* (A statement of the Christian Doctrine) This was written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa. A copy is available in the Government library in Lisbon.

All the three works mentioned above were printed at the Rachol College.

(*iv*) 1629-34. Etienne de la Croix. *Discvrsos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro.* (Discourses on the Life of the Apostle St. Peter). This work written in '*Bramana Marastta*' language was printed at the *Casa Professa* in the island of Goa. A copy is available in the Government library in Lisbon. A mutilated copy is also available in the Government library in Goa.

(*v*) 1636. *Relacam de hum prodigioso Milagre qve o Glorioso S. Francisco Xauier Apostolo do Oriẽte obrou na Cidade de Napoles no anno de* 1634. (Narrative of a prodigious Miracle performed by St. Francis Xavier in the City of Naples in 1634). Printed at the Rachol College in 1636. The only known copy is owned by Mr. C. R. Boxer.[46]

(*vi*) 1640. Thomas Stephens. *Arte da Lingoa Canarim* (Grammar of *Canarim* Language). This was originally written by Fr. Thomas Stephens and revised and enlarged by Fr. Diogo Ribeiro. The language spoken by the common people in Goa is here styled as *Lingoa Canarim.* The book was printed at St. Ignatius College, Rachol. A second edition of this book was published by Mr. Cunha Rivara in 1858 in Goa. A copy of the

46. C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

first edition is available in the National Library of Lisbon.

(*vii*) 1641. *Fala, qve fes o P. Fr. Manoel da Crus* ..(A speech delivered by Fr. Manoel da Cruz when D. João IV was proclaimed King of Portugal). Printed in Goa.

A copy is available in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, and another is owned by Mr. C. R. Boxer.[47]

(*viii*) 1642. *Jornada que Francisco de Souza de Castro... fez ao Achem com hũa importante Embaixada inuiado pelo V. Rey da India Pero da Sylua no anno de* 1638. (Journey by Francisco de Souza de Castro to Achem as an Ambassador of the Viceroy of India in 1638).

The only available copy is in the Public Library of Porto (Portugal).[48]

(*ix*) 1642. Antonio Fernandes. *Magseph Assetat Idest Flagelvm Mendaciorvm contra Libellum Aethiopicum.* (A whip against falsehoods, a treatise against the Ethiopean Libel). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

The only copy available is in the National Library of Lisbon.[49]

(*x*) 1643. *Relacam do que socedeo na cidade de Goa...na feliçe acclamação del Rey Dõ Ioão o IIII de Portugal* ...(A narrative of what happened in the city of Goa...at the happy acclamation of D. João IV of Portugal). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa. A copy is available in the British Museum.[50]

(*xi*) 1643. *Constituições do Arcebispado de Goa, aprovados pelo primeiro Concilio Provincial* (Constitution of the Archbishopric of Goa, approved by the First

47. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

Provincial Council). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

Two copies are in the Government Library of Goa.[51]

(*xii*) 1644. *Sermaõ qve o Padre Diogo de Areda...pregou no acto da Fee que se celebrou na Cidade de Goa, domingo 4. dias do mes de Setembro do anno de* 1644. (Sermon preached by Fr. Diogo de Areda at the Act of Faith celebrated in the city of Goa on September 4, 1644). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

Two copies are reported to have been sold by Maggs Bros. Ltd. (London), in 1946-56.[52]

(*xiii*) 1649. The Second edition of Fr. Stephens' *Christian Purāṇa* whose first edition was printed in 1616 as mentioned above. (No extant copy recorded).

(*xiv*) 1649. *Constitvicoens do Arcebispado de Goa.* This appears to be the second edition of the work mentioned above, No. xi. (1643). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

The only copy available is in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro.[53]

(*xv*) 1652. *Vida da Santissima Virgem Maria May de Deos* (Life of the most Holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God). Printed at St. Paul's College in Goa. This is a Portuguese translation by Patriarch Alphonso Mendez of a book written by Antonio Fernandes in the Armaranic language.[54]

A copy is available in the Public Library of Porto (Portugal).[55]

(*xvi*) 1654. The third edition of Fr. Thomas Stephens' *Christian Purāṇa* (For earlier editions see under

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
54. Rodeles, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
55. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

1616 and 1649 above). No printed copy is known to exist, but a manuscript copy of this is available in the Convent of St. Cajetan in Goa.

(*xvii*) 1655. Antonio de Saldanha. *Padva mhallalea xarantulea Sancto Antonichy Zivitua catha* (Life of St. Anthony of Padua). This book was written in verse in Marathi and also in prose in the spoken dialect of Goa. Both were printed in Roman script, like all other contemporary literature in Goa languages. A transliteration into *Devanāgarī* script of the Marathi version, edited by Mr. A. K. Priolkar, was published by the Marathi Samshodhana Maṇḍaḷa, Bombay, in 1956.

A copy of the original is available in the Government Library, Lisbon. Mr. Cunha Rivara mentions two more vernacular works of the same author: (1) *Rosas e boninas deleitosas do ameno Rosal de Maria e seu Rosario*...Rachol 4° " and (2) *Fructo da arvore da vida a nossas almas e corpos salutifero*...Rachol 4° " with a remark " *sem anno de impressão* " (without year of impression).[56]

There is no record of printed copies of these works, but a manuscript copy of the latter work in Marathi verse, is available in the School of Oriental and African studies, London. It is probable that Mr. Rivara had not seen any printed copies, but relied on some catalogue of books.

(*xviii*) 1658-59 Minguel de Almeida. *Jardim dos Pastores.* (Garden of Shepherds in five volumes). This is written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa.

In an article published in the *Examiner* of Bombay in 1922, by Fr. H. Hosten, a detailed description is given of what is believed to be the first volume, which was in the possession of a priest (Conego Francisco Xavier Vaz) of Velha Goa. It bore

56. J. H. Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concanim*, Goa 1858, p. 127.

the following words on its vernacular title—page, indicating that it was printed in 1658 at St. Paul's College, Goa :—

EANCHEAN
ONVALLEACHO MALLO, ZO
JESVchc Sangantichea, Pandry Minguel de
Almeidana Bamana Bhassena
Ghaddunu lihunu,
udeguilo
Pauitra Inquisiçanua anny ordi-
narichea niropana Goya, S.
Paulache Collegintu, sollassi
atthavanavea varussa
lihitamanddapi tthassila.[57]

The efforts of the present writer to trace the copy mentioned herein at Anjuna Goa, the native place of Fr. Vaz, were however unsuccessful. The present writer has seen a copy of what appears to be the third volume of this work, in the Government Library of Goa.[58] This lacks the title-page.

The fifth volume printed in 1659 is listed in the *Biblioteca Marsdeana*.[59] Probably this is the same

57. *The Examiner*, Vol. 73, Bombay, 1922, p. 29. Printed in *Devanāgarī*, this will read as :—

यांच्यान्
वनवाळयाचो मळो, जो
जेजुचे सांगांतिच्या, पाद्री मिंगेल द
आल्मैदान बामन भासेन
घडुनु लिहुनु
उदेगिलो
पवित्र इंक्विझिसांवा आणी ओर्दि-
नारिच्या निरोपान गोया, सां
पावलाचे कोलेजितु, सोळासि
अठावनाव्या वरुसा
लिहितमंडपि ठामिला.

58. J. A. Ismael Gracias has given a detailed description of this book : "Um Sermonario." *O Oriente Portuguez*, Vol. II, Nova Goa 1905, pp. 290-301.

59. *Biblioteca Marsdeana. op. cit.*, p. 203.

copy as is now in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

(*xix*) 1660. João de Pendroza. *Soliloqvios Divinos* (Devine Soliloquies) translated from the "Castelhana" language into the Bramin language and printed at the New St. Paul's College, Goa.

A copy of this book is in the Government Library, Goa. This is the last of the books printed in Goa, which the present writer has been able to see.

(*xx*) 1667-69. A. P. Prospero Intorcetta. *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis.* 36 leaves in Chinese characters printed at Canton in 1667 and 20 leaves in Roman types at Goa in 1669.

A copy of this book is available in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.[60]

(*xxi*) 1674. *Regras da Companhia de Jesu* (Rules of the Society of Jesus). Printed at Rachol in 1674. A copy is available in the Pei-T'ang Library, Peking.[61]

From the review of the printed literature given above it is evident that the press continued to function in Goa till 1674.

The End of Printing Activity in Goa

The establishment of the printing press in Goa was intended to serve as an aid to effective evangelisation. Printing activity continued to prosper so long as the importance of local languages for the purpose of proselytisation was fully appreciated. As we shall presently see, circumstances arose in which certain interested elements succeeded in persuading the ruling powers that Indian languages were not only not helpful but were actually a hindrance in the work of proselytisation. As a consequence, the printing press in India suffered an eclipse.

During the early period so great an importance was attached to the role of Indian languages in the work of evangelisation that the

60. C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Concilio Provincial of 1606 ordered that no cleric should be placed in charge of a parish unless he learnt the local language ; and that parish priests who were ignorant of local languages would automatically lose their positions if they failed to pass an examination in the local languages within six months.[62] The earlier generations of Christian missionaries who came to India were fired with genuine religious zeal, and were willing to make the effort necessary to master a foreign tongue in the interests of their faith. Their successors were, however, more interested in a life of luxury and comfort, and were incapable of such effort and self-discipline. As a result, they tried to displace the Indian languages from their place of importance. Cunha Rivara, in his *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, gives a vivid account of the background of this prolonged struggle and its course.[63] In a petition addressed to the King of Portugal in 1672, complaints were made that the foreign clergy in Goa led a life of vice and corruption and lived with their women and children in open disregard of the vows of celibacy. Such complaints referred mainly to Franciscans and not to Jesuits. But in a letter addressed to the king, the Viceroy himself speaks of the arrogance and insubordination of the Jesuits and of the wide-spread ignorance of local languages among the parish priests in Salsette. In fact it appears that while the Franciscans had earned a bad name by their loose living, the Jesuits had become notorious for their avarice and greed. Dr. John Fryer, an English traveller who was in India during the period 1672 to 1681, describes the conditions in Goa in the following words :—

" The Policy as well as the Trade of this place is mostly devolved from private persons on the Paulistins wherefor this saying is in everybody's mouth :—

A Franciscano guardo minha mulier ;

A Paulistino guardo minha denier."[64]

(The Franciscan guards my wife ;

The Jesuit guards my money).

62. Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Historico* etc., *op. cit.*, p. 19.

63. *Vide* Part Second of this book.

64. Dr. John Fryer, *New Account of East India and Persia*, London 1698, p. 150.

Abbé Carré, a French traveller, who visited Goa in 1672, writes about the Portuguese priests as follows :—

> "...You must indeed go into the Portuguese convents if you still want to find riches and treasures : there you will see brokers, merchants, and other country people, who trade only with Portuguese priests. All the commerce of that nation is thus in their hands."[65]

It may be mentioned that this deplorable demoralisation among the ranks of foreign missionaries was by no means confined to Goa. The following information regarding conditions in Macao and China appears in the contemporary correspondence of Danish missionaries :—

> " I have been fourteen Voyages to China and carried many of the French Mission to Emoy and Canton ; have discoursed them often and found most of them loved the Riches and Grandeur of China, more than the Souls of the Poor Pagans ; and accordingly made earnest Application to advance themselves to Places of Dignity, more especially the Jesuits. It must be acknowledged they lived unblameable in other Respects. The Portuguese Padres at Macoa are scandalous beyond Expression and are great obstacle to the propagation of Christianity."[66]

The reasons for the hostility of the foreign missionaries to the Indian languages can be easily understood against the above background. Their zeal for missionary work was at a low ebb, and they were not at all keen about learning a foreign language ; and so long as the knowledge of a local language continued to be considered as an essential qualification for appointments to churches, they would be at a disadvantage as compared with the clerics of Indian origin who would be preferred for such appointments. They therefore carried on a continuous struggle for the abolition of the decrees which made knowledge of Indian languages compulsory, the vicissitudes of which are described by Cunha Rivara. At last their efforts were crowned with success in the promulgation of the notorious decree of 1684. The object of this decree was to

65. *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East.* Translated by Lady Fawcett and edited by Sir Charles Fawcett, London 1947, pp. 213-4.
66. *Propagation of the Gospel in the East.* Part III, London 1718, p. 50.

root out the local languages from Goa and to replace them with Portuguese. The said decree required that within a period of three years Goans should abandon the use of the local languages and take to the use of Portuguese. It is obvious that this drastic measure removed the *raison d'être* of Christian literature in Indian languages and struck at the very root of the printing press in India.

There is evidence that an attempt to revive the press in India was made about a century later. In 1754 the Secretary of State, Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real, ordered the Viceroy of (Portuguese) India to refuse his consent to requests for the establishment of a printing press in India irrespective of the source from which such requests emanated, whether from convents or colleges or other communities however highly privileged.[67] It must be remembered that Marques de Pombal was at the helm of the affairs of the state in Portugal during 1750-1777; and there is some justification for the conjecture that it was Pombal's fear that the Jesuits would use the press for their own ends, which was responsible for the ban against the establishment of the press in India. Sir Panduranga Pissurlencar, the Director of Government Archives, Goa, has recently brought forward authentic evidence to show that the practice of reading passages from the Christian *Purāṇa* on certain occasions in the churches of Goa ceased in 1776, when it was forbidden by the Archbishop D. Francisco da Assunção.[68]

It was not before 1821 that the press reappeared in Goa. On 16th September of that year the Viceroy Conde Rio Pardo was removed after a popular struggle, in which Bernardo Pires de Silva played a prominent role and the oppressive rule of the former gave place to a liberal regime. The Government at this time took the initiative in bringing a press to Goa from Bombay and started a weekly called *Gazeta de Goa*. There was, however, a reversal of policy within five years, and the new viceroy D. Manuel de Camara put an end to the existence of the press as well as of the *Gazette* by an order dated August 29, 1826. In the said order the Viceroy remarked :

67. J. C. Cunha Rivara, *Chronista de Tissuary*, tomo II, p. 95 (quoted by Gracias, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

68. Panduranga S. S. Pissurlencar, " A Proposito dos Primeiros Livros Maratas Impressos em Goa." *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 73, Goa 1956, p. 69.

"The Government continued to exist without a press and without the *Gazette* until the unhappy epoch of the revolution, and during these disastrous times they only produced evil results. Therefore, if at present the types are found to be unusable there would be no inconvenience in suspending the publication of the *Gazette*."[69]

The second government weekly paper published in Goa was the *Chronista Constituicional de Goa*. It was started on the 13th of June 1835 and its publication was suspended after two years on the 30th November 1837. It was followed by the third Government paper, *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, which started on the 7th of December 1837.

Printing in the *Devanāgarī* characters in Goa started only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1853, the Government press purchased *Devanāgarī* types from Bombay, for use in printing advertisements and other notices in the Government paper, *Boletim do Governo*. The first notice printed in Marathi characters appeared in this periodical on May 27, 1853. Some of the earliest books printed in *Devanāgarī* script in this press are mentioned hereunder :—

(*i*) 1854. *Codigo dos Usos e Costumes dos habitantes das Novas Conquistas* (Usages and Customs of the inhabitants of the *Novas Conquistas*).

(*ii*) 1861. Second edition of the above book.

(*iii*) 1867. *Abecedario em Marata* (A Marathi Primer).

(*iv*) 1867. *Issapa-Niti-Cathá* (Aesop's Fables in Marathi).[70]

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the first press entered Goa four centuries ago. It is sad to think that but for the narrow and shortsighted policies of the Portuguese rulers, the brief but glorious period of creative activity in Goa could have continued to our times and the press in Goa could have been the forerunner of printing activity all over India.

69. Antonio Maria da Cunha, "A Evolução do Jornalismo," *A India Portuguesa*, Vol. II, Nova Goa, 1923, p. 508.

70. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

CHAPTER II

THE PRINTING PRESS IN BOMBAY: 1674-75

The Efforts of Bhimjee Parekh

THE late V. K. Rajwade, the well-known Marathi historian, in the course of a comparison between the cultures of Europe and Maharashtra, had occasion to censure the Marathas for their failure to learn the art of printing. He wrote :—

> "A primary deficiency in the culture of the Marathas was their ignorance of the art of printing and their failure to make an effort to learn it. During the period between May 11, 1498, the date on which Gama discovered India, and 1760, the Portuguese and the Marathas established contacts on many occasions. They are known to have met in Goa, Sawantwadi, Bassein, Cochin, Dabhul, Diu, Daman and many other places. The Marathas were also acquainted with the Dutch and the Danes. With Frenchmen like M. Bussy the Marathas had close contacts. The Marathas had come to know the English in places like Bombay, Surat, Bankot, Vijayadurg, Rajapur and Dabhol. Some communities like the Parbhoos, Shenvis, Parsis and Bhatias, some priests of the temple of Walkeshwar like Chhatre and Bhatkhande, and some *Bairāgīs* had frequent dealings with the English. Some of them could speak and write English well, and there is no doubt that they had seen printed books. Maps in English are found even to this date in the records of Nana Fadanavis. A list of books contained in the private library of Morobadada shows that it included a book in English. It is therefore indeed surprising that inspite of all this, that is to say, inspite of the fact that people from various European countries were standing at their very gates, the Marathas did not adopt the art of printing. The advent of this art in Maharashtra was essential for sowing the seeds of right ideas within the growing Maratha empire. Until the end of the Peshwa regime and even subsequently, many

> Maratha chiefs like Ghorpade, Shinde, Holkar, Bhonsale, the chiefs of Kolhapur, Sawant, Angre, employed a number of Portuguese, Frenchmen and other Europeans. The fact that inspite of this they did not pick up the art of printing detracts greatly from the reputation of the Marathas for their ability to imbibe new ideas. Little wonder that a people who could not appreciate the patent virtues of the art of printing should be found to have had a very inadequate knowledge of history and geography."[1]

The foregoing criticism of Rajwade was directed primarily against the Marathas of the Peshwa period. It is possible that he was not aware that the printing press had already entered India a long time earlier. It is to be expected that if he had known of this, his condemnation of the Maratha character would have been still more severe.

While inaugurating the fifth session of the All India Library Conference in Bombay in 1942, Shri K. M. Munshi made the following observations, which, if correct, would absolve Shivaji from the charge of sharing in the failings of the Marathas mentioned by Rajwade :

> " Shivaji Maharaj set up a printing press, but as he could not get it worked he sold it in 1674 to Bhimaji Parekh, an enterprising Kapol Bania of Gujerat, who not only set it up but called out an expert printer from England."[2]

Unfortunately, it appears doubtful whether the information given by Shri Munshi rests on fact. In making the statement that Shivaji had set up a printing press, it is probable that Shri Munshi relied not on his own researches, but on the information contained in another paper contributed to the Conference.[3] The author of that paper, Shri S. B. Vaidya, when requested by the present writer to disclose the source of his information, was not

1. V. K. Rajawade, *Marāṭhyāncyā Itihāsācīṁ Sādhaneṁ* Part I, Poona 1898, p. 100.
2. *Proceedings of the fifth All India Library Conference held in Bombay*, Bombay 1942, p. 56.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

able to do so. Attempts to find some evidence, in support of this alleged pioneering activity in the realm of printing on the part of Shivaji, in the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, French and English records or records of a later date also proved fruitless. On the other hand there is evidence to indicate that Bhimjee Parekh imported a printing press on his own initiative. The following extracts from contemporary English records should clarify the real situation :—

(1) Extract from a letter addressed from Surat on January 9, 1670, to the East India Company:

"*Bimgee Parrack* makes his humble request to you that you would please to *send out an able Printer to Bombay*, for that he hath a curiosity and earnest Inclynation to have some of the Ancient Braminy Writings in Print and for the said Printer's encouragement he is willing to allow him £.50 sterling a year for three years, and allso to be at (bear ?) the charges of tooles and Instruments necessary for him, and in case that will not be sufficient he humbly referrs it to your Prudence to agree with the sayd Printer according as you shall see good, and promises to allow what you shall enorder, 'its not improbable that this curiosity of his may tend to a common good, and by the industry of some searching spirits produce discovery out of those or other ancient manuscripts of these partes which may be usefull or at least gratefull to posterity, wee recommend his request to you and intreat your pardon for his and our boldness therein."[4]

(2) Extract from a letter dated April 3, 1674, from London to Surat :—

"Wee have also entertained Mr. Henry Hills a printer for our Island of Bombay at the salary of £.50 per annum and ordered a printing press with letters and other necessaries as also a convenient quantity of paper to be sent along with him, as you will perceive per the Invoice all which is to be charged upon Bhimgee from whome you are to receive it."[5]

4. *English Records on Shivagy*, Vol. I (Doc. 253), Poona 1931, p. 187.
5. *Ibid.*, (Doc. 450), p. 327.

It is interesting to note that one of the considerations which led the Company to accede to Bhimjee's request was the hope that the printing press might ultimately be helpful in the propagation of the Christian faith. This finds expression in the following passage in a letter addressed from London to Surat on March 8, 1675 :

> " We should gladly heare that *Bingees* design about the *printing* do take effect, that it may be a means *to propogate our religion* whereby soules may be gayned as well as Estates."[6]

It will be seen that the technician sent by the Company in compliance with Bhimjee's request was an expert printer but was not able to cut types in the " *Banyan script.*" The following extracts show that Bhimjee therefore asked the Company to secure for him the services of a founder :—

(1) Extract from a letter addressed from Surat on January 23, 1676, to the East India Co. :

> " The *Printing designe* doth not yett meet with the successe as expected by Bimgee Parrack, who hath taken great paines and been at noe meane charges in contriving ways to cast the *Banian Characters* after our English manner ; but this printer being wholly ignorant therein, and not knowing anything more than his owne trade, is noe wayes usefull to this designe ; wherefore Bimgee hath desired he may bee imployed in the Companys service, and soe indeed he hath bin ever since he came, and he will be very usefull to your Island Bombay, whither wee intend to send him to stay there till your further order. Wee have seen some papers printed in the Banian Character by the persons employed by Bimgee which look very well and legible and shews the work is feasible ; but the charge and teadiousness of these people for want of better experience doth much discourage, if your Honours would please to send out a founder of (? or) Caster of letters at Bimgees charge he would esteem it a great favour and honour, having already made good what

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II (Doc. 148), p. 83.

wee can reasonably demand of him for the printers charge hitherto."[7]

(2) Extract from a letter dated March, 15, 1677 from the Company to Surat:

"Wee wish the Printing business may take effect, if wee can procure a Founder of letters he shall be sent by these ships."[8]

In the Gazetteer of the Bombay Island it is stated that the Company did actually provide a founder to help Bhimjee. The relevant passage in the Gazetteer runs as follows:

"Bhimji was disappointed to find that Hill, albeit an expert printer, was not a founder and was quite unable "to cut the Banian letters," and he therefore wrote once again to the Court of Directors *who replied by sending out a typefounder in* 1678."[9]

The sources of this information are stated in the Gazeteer to be "India Office Records. Bombay Gazette, 1st July, 1906". A reference made to the India Office Records, on behalf of the present writer, showed that there is no ground to believe that the typefounder ever came to India. As regards the *Bombay Gazette*, there is no issue dated 1st July 1906, which was a Sunday. Its issue of Monday, July 2nd, contains an article about Bombay's first printing press, but it does not contain any evidence to show that the typefounder had actually arrived.

We have seen that the printing press was brought to the island of Bombay for the first time in 1674-75. Bhimjee Parekh's intention to use this press for printing literature in Indian characters did not materialise. But it would be reasonable to assume that some English types had been brought with the press and used to print literature in English. If this assumption is correct, it is possible that some specimens of such printed material would be available in the contemporary records of the Company relating to Bombay.

7. *Ibid.*, (Doc. 200), p. 109.
8. *Ibid.*, (Doc. 211), p. 114.
9. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. III, Bombay 1910, p. 145.

The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island states in the following passage, that the establishment of a printing press was one of the innovations introduced by General Aungier, Governor of Bombay :—

> " Other innovations of more or less importance were the establishment of a Mint...the opening of a printing press, the building of houses..."[10]

The Gazetteer does not however provide any clue as to the source or basis of this information.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, who travelled in India on business during the period 1688 to 1723, mentions in the course of an account of his travels that he saw certain *printed* documents during his stay in Bombay :

> " The General (John Child) granting Passes to all who required them about the latter End of the year 1687, he laid down a Complaint and Grievance before the Governor of Surat, and demanded Redress, and Satisfaction. The Articles of his Grievances I saw in a printed copy and were as follows, in 35 Articles."[11]

> " Now we may see the Mogul's style in his new *Phirmaund* to be sent to Surat, as it stands translated by the Company's Interpreters which runs thus in the printed copy annext to Sir John Child's 35 Articles of Grievances."[12]

It is probable that these documents were printed in India and copies of the same may perhaps still be available in the India Office records.

Block Printing in Maharashtra

The late Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis, another Maratha historian, has brought to light facts which prove that

10. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, Bombay 1909, p. 61.
11. Alexander Hamilton, *Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, Edinburgh 1727, p. 200.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Rajwade was not entirely justified in censuring the Marathas for their indifference to the art of printing. Parasanis writes:—

> "Nana Fadanavis of Poona is known in history as a famous statesman. Original documents show that he took keen interest in a variety of fields such as learning, arts and crafts, agriculture etc. He had started a school of painting and sculpture at Poona with the cooperation of Sir Charles Mallet, who was then the Resident. He first conceived the idea of printing the *Bhagavadgītā* by getting moulds of Marathi letters prepared by a coppersmith student who was trained at this school. The practice of making copies of the *Bhagavadgītā* in beautiful hand-writing and offering them to Brahmins was at that time much in vogue. Nana Fadanavis had collected a number of such beautifully written manuscripts of the *Gītā* from centres like Jaipur, Kashi and Mathura. He felt that it would be useful if such books were printed like English books by preparing moulds of letters. He therefore started the attempt to get moulds of letters prepared by skilled technicians at Poona."[13]

The procedure followed was to prepare copperplates of uniform shape and size and to fix on them copper-letters of each verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Impressions of these plates were then to be taken on a wooden press. The process of preparing plates was obviously a difficult one and took a long time. Before the work was completed Bajirao II became the Peshwa (1796), and the fortunes of Nana Fadanavis suffered a decline. Owing to the unsettled conditions in Poona many skilled artisans migrated elsewhere. The technician entrusted with the work of preparing blocks of the *Gītā* left Poona for Miraj, where he succeeded in securing the patronage of the Chief of Miraj, Gangadharrao Govind. The work initiated by Nana Fadanavis was thus completed under the patronage of the Chief of Miraj, and an edition of the *Bhagvadgītā* was printed on wooden press at Miraj in 1805. There exists a copy of this *Bhagavadgītā* in the possession of Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Patankar, of the Rajapur Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā (Dist. Ratnagiri). Of the plates used for this purpose, which number

13. D. B. Parasanis, "Marathi Mudraṇakalecā Saṁśodhaka Koṇa?" *Navayuga*, Vol. II, No. 8 (June 1915), Bombay 1915. pp. 569-70.

about 350, nearly a half have been preserved at the Bhārata-Itihāsa Samshodhaka Maṇḍaḷa at Poona. There are two of these blocks also at the Parasanis Museum at Satara. This edition would appear to be one of the oldest instances of block printing in India.

We find that there is no reference in this edition to the initiative taken by Nana Fadanavis in bringing it out. The Chief of Miraj, however, is referred to in the colophon in the following words :—

अगयुग्मागभूतुल्ये १७२७ शाके क्रोधनवत्सरे ।
मार्कंडेयमुनिक्षेत्रे पट्टवर्धनसंज्ञकः ।
निगमागमधर्मज्ञः श्रीगोविंदतनूद्भवः ।
विदुषामंतरायासं दिव्यां कृती गंगाधरो मुदा ।
तज्जन्यं पुस्तकं यत्तद्विजेभ्यो दत्तवानसौ ।
गोपालकृष्णचरणप्रसादज्ञानलब्धये ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

CHAPTER III

THE PRINTING PRESS AT TRANQUEBAR (MADRAS): 1712

Work of the Danish Missionaries

CREDIT for the third attempt to set up a printing press goes to the Danish missionary Bartholemew Ziegenbalg. He was born on June 24, 1683. His parents died in his infancy and he was educated by friends of his family at Halle (Saxony). Here he came into contact with Dr. Lutkens who was the Chaplain to the King of Denmark, Frederick IV. Dr. Lutkens had plans to spread the Protestant faith in India, and in pursuance thereof some land had already been purchased from the King of Tanjore. He succeeded in persuading Ziegenbalg and the latter's friend Henry Plutschau to join the mission. As we have already seen, Catholic missionaries had started their labours in India a long time earlier. The Danish mission's work can, however, be considered to mark the beginning of Protestant missionary activity in India.

In a letter written on July 12, 1706, soon after his arrival at Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg gives an account of his voyage to India. Letters written by him during the period (till 1715)[1] are also extant, and in them we find a wealth of information regarding contemporary social conditions, religious beliefs, the languages and culture of India, as also a report on the fortunes of his missionary activity and in particular the opposition from Catholic missions which such activity provoked.

At this time many persons of Portuguese descent had taken up residence in South India, and the Portuguese language was widely known in that region. The Danish missionaries therefore began to equip themselves with a means of communicating with the Indians by learning Portuguese while they were on their way to India. In India they engaged the services of a Portuguese-

1. *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* (3rd Edition), London 1718.

knowing Indian Pundit, and with his help succeeded in obtaining an insight into local conditions. In his letter dated September 16, 1706, Ziegenbalg speaks of this Pundit in the following terms :—

> " I must confess, that my School-Master, being a Man of Threescore and Ten Years, has often put such *Philosophical* Questions to me, as really made me believe, that in searching their Notions, one might discover things very fit to entertain the curiosity of many a learned Head in *Europe*...Truly, the *Malabarians* being a witty and sagacious People, will needs be managed with a great deal of Wisdom and Circumspection. Our School-Master argueth daily with us, and requireth good Reasons and Arguments for everything. We hope to bring him over to the Christian Knowledge ; but he is confident as yet, that one time or other we shall all turn *Malabarians*, and in this Hope, he takes all the Pains imaginable, to render things as plain and easie to us as possibly he can."[2]

As regards the missionary objectives, the following account of how the corrupt mode of life of the Portuguese in India, and the questionable means by which the Catholic missionaries " decoyed " Indians into their fold, had proved a major hindrance in the way of the spread of Christianity in India, would be found valuable :

Extract from Ziegenbalg's letter dated October 1, 1706 :—

> " I must freely confess that it is very hard to make any Impression upon their Minds, or to bring 'em over out of the gross Blindness that overspreads 'em, to the glorious Light of the holy Gospel. The chief Reason of their Aversion from Christianity is caused by *the scandalous and corrupted Life of the Christians*, conversing with and residing among them. This has inspired 'em with a more than ordinary Hatred and Detestation of anything that savours of the Christian Religion ; counting it a great Sin, if any of 'em should make bold to eat or drink with a Christian. Nay, they look upon Christians as the very Dregs of the World, and the general Bane of Mankind."[3]

2. *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 30-31.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

He further states :—

> " Their Conversion is also very much obstructed by the *Conduct of the Roman-Catholics*, who use to decoy 'em into Christianity (so called), by all manner of sinister Practices and Underhand Dealings. Hence they are afraid of us as of designing Men, ready to steal in upon 'em, by some Project or other contrived for that Purpose."[4]

We have seen how in South India the printing press had been established as early as 1578, but the printing activity came to an end owing to a gradual decline in the religious zeal of successive generations of missionaries. Fr. Hosten observes :—

> " Somehow the Tamil printing seems to have stopped after 1612 ; for the Nobili's and Manoel Martin's numerous writings lay unpublished in 1649 and 1660."[5]

It appears probable that there were some subsequent attempts to revive printing in India, but they proved short-lived. We find, for instance, a reference to a Latin-Tamil grammar by Father Beschi, a Sanskrit scholar, having been printed in Ziegenbalg's press as desired by the Bishop of Mylapore.

Ziegenbalg has explained in a number of his letters that books prepared in the Malabar language to help in the propagation of the Christian faith, were initially written in Portuguese and then translated into the " Malabarick language " with the help of Indian assistants. The following passage in his letter dated October 16, 1706, may be quoted in this connection :—

> " Their *Language* is both hard and variable ; whatever of the *Fundamental Points of Christianity* is necessary for 'em to know, must first be put into the *Portuguese* language, and out of that into *Malabarick*. And whereas the Art of Printing is not known in these Parts, *Transcribing* must supply the Place of the Press. Upon the whole, you see, that as our Charity-School cannot well go forward without taking

4. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
5. H. Hosten, *Catholic Herald of India*, (New Series Vol. XIV, No. 3), Calcutta. January 19, 1916, p. 42.

in some Men to assist us ; so the whole Design can't advance, without employing more Hands, first to translate and then with some Iron Tools to print upon Leaves of *Palm-Trees* such things as are thought useful for Edification."[6]

Incidentally, it will be seen from the above extract that at that time paper had not appeared in Malabar. A more explicit reference to this situation is available in the following passage from a letter dated June 14, 1709 :—

"As for the *Outside* of these Books, they are of a quite different Dress from those in Europe. There is neither Paper nor Leather, neither Ink nor Pen used by the Natives at all, but the Characters are by *Iron Tools* impressed on a Sort of Leaves of a Certain Tree, which is much like a Palm-Tree. At the End of every Leaf a Hole is made, and through the Hole a String drawn, whereby the whole Sett of Leaves is kept together ; but then they must be untied or loosened, whenever the Prints of these Characters shall appear and be read."[7]

As a further stage in their activities in India, the Danish missionaries attempted to learn the Malabar Language themselves, and proceeded to formulate a grammar and vocabulary of that language as a first step in the systematic study of that language. This is described by Ziegenbalg in his letter dated September 12, 1707, as follows :—

"Our Chief Care was now to learn the *Malabarian* Language, after being pretty well-versed in the *Portuguese*. To facilitate this Design, we maintained a *Malabarian* School-Master in our House ; but still we were in the Dark, as to the Words themselves, and the genuine *Construction* thereof ; he being only able to teach us to *read* and *write* ; but knowing nothing of the *Portuguese* he could not give us any satisfactory Inlet into the hardest Constructions of this Language. Soon after we fell acquainted with a *Malabarian*, who heretofore had serv'd the *East Indian* Company ; and besides his own Language, he spoke *Portuguese*, *Danish*, *High* and *Low Dutch*

6. *Propagation of the Gospel*, etc., *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 61.
7. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 17.

fluently enough. This Man we hired, to be our Translator; and by this Means we made a choice Collection of some thousands of *Malabarian* Words, which we got presently by heart. Soon after we fell to the *Declensions* and *conjugations*, and began to read Books in this Language."[8]

In the absence of a printing press, the books prepared so far had to be transcribed by hand, and this proved to be a slow, laborious and expensive process. With the object of facilitating a wider and faster dissemination of Christian literature, Ziegenbalg in his letter of August 22, 1708, put forth a demand for a "Malabarick and Portuguese Printing Press." He wrote :—

"We heartily wish to be supplied with a *Malabarick* and *Portuguese* Printing Press to save the expensive Charges of getting such Books transcribed as are necessary for carrying on this Work. I have hitherto employed Six *Malabarick* Writers in my House; which, however, considering our present Circumstances will prove too chargeable in Time. 'Tis true, those Books which we get from the *Malabar* Heathens must be entirely transcribed, or else bought up for ready Money, if People will part with them; but such as lay down the Grounds of our holy Religion, and are to be dispersed among the Heathens, must be carefully printed off for this Design."[9]

The task of the Christian missionaries was two-fold : they had to propagate the doctrines of the new faith and at the same time attempt to wean away people from their old religious beliefs and practices. Ziegenbalg devoted considerable attention to collecting manuscripts of Indian literature, as this would help him to understand the old beliefs of the Hindus which he proposed to refute. In this connection he wrote as follows :—

"I have often sent some *Malabarick* Writers a great way into the Country, in order to buy up Malabarian Books from the Widows of the deceased *Brahmans*. But there are a

8. *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 66-67.
9. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 7.

great many more of those Books, which being grown very scarce, are not so easily found out. However, I do what I can to get 'em into my Hands, and to purchase 'em at any rate, that so I may be able to unravel the better, the Mysteries and fundamental Principles of their Idolatrous Religion. Which I hope to lay open in time, in all its black and odious Colours, and to confute it out of their own Writings. And on this Account a good Store of Books, you know, will do me much service. However, my present Design is chiefly bent upon *Translating* the Word of God into the Language of the Heathens."[10]

In a letter written in 1708 Ziegenbalg speaks of 26 sermons delivered by him at the Church of Tranquebar and two vocabularies of Malabar language prepared by him. The first vocabulary contained 26,000 words in common use, and had three columns, the first giving the word in Malabar characters, the second its transliteration in Latin and the third its meaning in German. The second vocabulary contained words used in poetry. Ziegenbalg states that it took him two years to complete the first vocabulary and he had to read two hundred authors for that purpose. For the second he not only laboured strenuously himself but enlisted the assistance of Indian scholars and poets who remained at his house for four months.

In a letter dated October 19, 1709, Ziegenbalg gives a vivid account of the popular commotion caused by the conversion of a well-known Hindu poet to Christianity.[11] He does not give the name of the poet, but it is mentioned elsewhere as Kanabadi.[12] It is understood that this poet has written in the Malabar language on the life and work of Jesus Christ; but it is not known if any of his works are extant. Ziegenbalg made an appeal to all Protestant countries to support the work of propagation of Christianity undertaken by the Danish missionaries.[13]

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-37.
12. Jesse Page, *Schwartz of Tanjore*, London 1921, p. 19.
13. *Propagation of the Gosepl* etc., *op. cit.*, Part II. p. 50.

Ziegenbalg was keenly aware that he could not achieve his object without the help of the printing press. (" This I can't promise to accomplish without the conveniency of a Printing Press."[14]) We find him and his colleagues making repeated demands for a printing press. His collaborator F. E. Grundler wrote in his letter dated April 20, 1709, as follows :—

> " If a *Founder* and *Printer* could be sent over in time, and readily provided with a Sett of *Latin* Types, it would effectually, and without any Delay, further our present Design ; For the *Portuguese* Language being of so ample a Use, true and practical Christianity might be scattered by this Means throughout most of these Eastern Countries."[15]

The demand is repeated in a letter dated June 14, 1709 :—

> "...Our present Efforts are chiefly bent upon *Translating the New Testament* into *Malabarick*; in Hopes, that such Work may prove the Foundation of a plentiful Blessing, if once it should happen to see the light. A Malabarick and Portuguese Printing Press, you know, would be highly serviceable for the whole Design, the Transcribing of Books being attended with almost insuperable difficulties."[16]

The " Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge " had been established in England about a decade before this. Rev. A. W. Boehme, the German Chaplain to the Prince George of Denmark, forwarded to this Society translations of the letters written by the Danish missionaries from India, and this helped to publicise their work. The Society arranged in 1711 to send to the mission some copies of the Bible in Portuguese as well as a printing press with pica type and other accessories and a printer. The ship carrying them was however held up by the French near Brazil, and the printer Jones Finck was arrested and later released. Finck died of fever near the Cape of Good Hope soon thereafter. A detailed letter written by him on October 20, 1711, soon after his release from captivity, is extant.[17] The printing press reached

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
15. *Propagation of the Gosepl*, etc., *op. cit.*, Part II, p.15.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
17. *Ibid.*, Part III, pp. 1-17.

India in the following year unaccompanied by the printer. In a letter of thanks written on January 11, 1713, receipt is acknowledged of the press, 100 reams of paper, 213 copies of the New Testament in Portuguese, etc.[18]

From a letter written from Tranquebar on June 11, 1713, we find that the press started functioning with the help of a German printer-cum-compositor :—

> " Of what we have been printing hitherto, we send some copies for Satisfaction to our Benefactors. The Press being set up, proves so helpful to our Design, that we have Reason to praise the Lord for so signal a Benefaction. Our Printer, a Native of *Germany*, is in the Danish Company's Service here ; being Printer and Composer too at the same time."[19]

In the beginning printing was confined to the Portuguese language. Types of Malabar characters were obtained from Europe later on. The following statement appears in a letter dated September 12, 1713, written from Tranquebar :—

> " In a little time we hope to enter upon the impression of a Book in the Damulian Language for which we are now making the necessary Preparation."[20]

Reference to the first book printed in Malabar Language is found in the following passage in a letter dated October 6, 1713 :

> " We return our most hearty thanks...for the Present of Paper transmitted for Printing the same (the New Testament) in the *Damulian* Tongue. As soon as we have revis'd and mended our *Malabarick* Translation, which shall be done with all possible Care, we design to put it without Delay to the Press, so that we may be able the next Year to return some Copies to *Europe*. In the mean time, we have made an Experiment of the *Malabarick* types, and have sent enclosed a copy of a small Tract in that Language, entitled : *The*

18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Abomination of Paganism, and the Way for the Pagans to be sav'd."[21]

The above letter also gives a list of five books printed in Portuguese. The first of these bore the title "*Explication of the Christian Doctrine, after the Method of Catechism.*"

A foundry of Malabar types was also established soon thereafter, to which there is a reference in a letter dated December 11, 1713 :—

> "The *Malabar-Press* and *Foundry* is now in pretty good Forwardness, and we are entering with all possible Expedition upon the Impression of the *New-Testament* in this Pagan Language. We are likewise going about the Translation of the *Old-Testament*, both into Portuguese and *Damulian.*"[22]

A letter dated April 7, 1713, contains a list of 32 books in the Malabar language, original works as well as translations, and 22 books in Portuguese prepared by the missionaries. It is stated that the books in the Malabar language included a vocabulary written on paper and another written on palm leaves.

The beginning of the work of printing the New Testament in Tamil is referred to in a letter of January 3, 1714, and it is stated in a letter of September 27, 1714, that "the four Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles" were already printed. This letter also makes an interesting reference to the possibility of manufacturing paper in India :—

> "The Scarcity of Paper has hindred us from pursuing the Impression to the End of the Epistles : For of the *Seventyfive* Ream of the largest Paper you were pleased to send us last year, only six remain ; but of the lesser Size, which made up your first Present of Paper, we have *thirty* Ream left in our Store. For the setting up a *Paper-Manufacture* here, though we do not think it altogether impracticable, yet our perpetual want of Money has not permitted us hitherto to attempt any such thing. The *Malabar*-Types which were sent from

21. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

Germany, proved so very large, that they consumed Abundance of Paper: To remove this Inconveniency, our Letter-Founder has, about two months since, cast another type of a smaller Size, wherewith we design to print the remaining Part of the New Testament."[23]

Towards the end of the year 1714, Ziegenbalg returned home for a two years' rest. In order to help to keep the knowledge of the Malabar language fresh in his mind, he took home with him a young Indian from Malabar. In a letter written from the Cape of Good Hope on January 15, 1715, he expresses his intention to write during his journey home a concise grammar of the Malabar language for the use of Europeans and to get it printed in Germany. In a letter written from Halle (Saxony) on October 20, 1715, he states that he had already completed this work, and in a letter written on the following November 1, that he was busy getting it printed. This Grammar of the Tamil language explained in Latin was published at Halle in 1716, and there is a copy of the same in the Serampore College Library. The oldest Tamil book printed at Tranquebar, seen by the present writer, is "*The Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles*" printed in 1714, a copy of which is available in the Serampore College Library. With the completion of the work of printing of the New Testament which is referred to in a letter of J. E. Grundler dated August 28, 1715, the printing activity in Tamil started in full swing.

We have already quoted above a passage which mentions the scarcity of paper as a major factor limiting the spread of Christian literature in India. A reference to a scheme to manufacture paper in India is found in a letter written as early as in December, 1713, but the scheme was implemented two years later. In a letter dated January 16, 1716, Grundler writes as follows:—

"We are now very busie in building a *Paper-Mill*, for the Benefit of the Mission. Our Honourable Governor defrays Half the *Expense*, and I, on the Mission's Account, the other Half. The Timber-work belonging to this Fabrick is finished

23. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

> and a few Days after we begin the Edifice itself. If this Design under God meets with Success, it will be very advantageous both to this Mission and to all India."[24]

It was the intention of Ziegenbalg and his collaborators that their printing work should become known in all parts of India. This finds expression in a letter of January 9, 1713, in which Ziegenbalg and Grundler write :—

> "The Great Scarcity of *Almanacks* in this part of the World, moved us to Print a *Sheet Almanack*, which will not be vended on the Coast of *Coromandel* but also on that of *Malabar* and in *Bengall*. By this Means, we hope, our Printing-Press will come to be known to other Nations and Countries hereabouts."[25]

The Danish missionaries did not play a direct part in the history of printing in the Marathi language. It is interesting to note however that a Danish missionary, Christian Frederick Schwartz, came to be the guardian, tutor and guide of Sarfoji Bhonsle, the King of Tanjore (1799-1833). He influenced that enlightened chief to establish a press in Tanjore in which some Sanskrit and Marathi books were printed. During a recent visit to Tanjore the present writer saw in the Saraswati Mahal Library the following books printed in this press during the early years of the 19th century :—

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa by Yekanātha 1809.
Śiśupālavadha by Māgha 1812.

Besides these, it is stated that two other works printed in this press, viz. *Kārikāvalī* and *Muktāvalī*, are found in this library.[26] A copy of a book bearing the title *Bālbodha-Muktāvalī* (1806 ?) printed in this press is available in the British Museum Library. The *Devanāgarī* types used in this press were cast by Sir Charles Wilkins.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
26. V. Srinivasachari, "Maharajah Serfoji—The scholar Prince," *The Journal of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library*, Vol. I No.2 (1939-40). Tanjore, p. 14.

The beginning of printing in Madras proper took place under somewhat curious circumstances which are described by Mr. W. H. Warren as follows :—

> " In 1761 Sir Eyre Coote captured Pondicherry from the French and in the Governor's house was found a printing press and some types. These were brought back to Madras as part of the loot, but the Fort St. George Authorities were unable to make use of them as they had no printer. Fabricius, the great Tamil Scholar, was then living at Vepery, and the equipment was handed over to him on condition that if at any future time the Company should require any printing done, he would do it for them...It was at Vepery that Fabricius printed his hymn-book, and also his Tamil-English Dictionary (1779)."[27]

Copies of the Tamil-English Dictionary mentioned above and of an English-Tamil dictionary printed in 1786, were to be seen at the exhibition organised on the occasion of the 1955 session of the All India Oriental Conference at Annamalainagar. The Tamil types used in the printing of this Dictionary continued to be used until 1870.

Printing in Kannada and Telugu

It appears that the beginnings of printing in Kannada and Telugu languages took place in the city of Madras in the press of the College of Fort St. George. The present writer has in his collection a copy of the second edition of " *A Grammar of the Teloogo Language* " by A. D. Campbell which was printed in this press in 1820. In the " Advertisement " appearing at the beginning of this book, the author describes in the following words the role which the College of Fort St. George was expected to play in the cultivation of the languages of South India :—

> " Since the establishment of the College of Fort William by Marquis Wellesley, the labours of many distinguished individuals have added much valuable information to the knowledge before possessed of oriental literature, and afforded

27. *Memoirs of the Madras Library Association*, Madras 1941, p. 42.

> many facilities to the attainment of an improved acquaintance with the several dialects peculiar to the provinces immediately subject to the Supreme Government. A similar Institution (on a modified and less extensive scale) has more recently been established at Fort St. George, and may be expected, in course of time, to produce the same favourable results as regards the languages of the South of India; respecting which very little has as yet appeared before the public through the medium of the press, though the languages themselves had, even before the establishment of the college, been cultivated with considerable success by individuals."

As stated above, the College of Fort St. George intended to function on lines similar to those on which the College of Fort William at Calcutta did. A Board for this College was created by government in 1812. The Board maintained a sales depot and a library of oriental works. In 1820 regular rules for its observance were framed. The College trained civil servants in the languages of the province, and supervised the instruction of munshis and persons appointed as law-officers and pleaders in the provincial courts.[28]

The first edition of Campbell's Grammar which appeared in 1816[29] was probably also printed in the same press. It has been stated that a book in Telugu bearing the title " A Grammar of the Gentoo Language as it is understood and spoken by the Gentoo People residing north and north-westwards of Madras " by a civilian (W. Brown ?) was printed in Madras earlier in 1807.[30] Another *Grammar of the Telinga language* by Dr. William Carey was published at Serampore near Calcutta in 1814.

An English-Kannada dictionary compiled by the Rev. William Reeve, a protestant missionary belonging to the London Missionary Society, was printed in the press of the College of Fort St. George in 1824. A copy of this work is available in the library

28. C. S. Srinivasachari, *History of the City of Madras*, Madras 1939, p. 216.

29.. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, Calcutta 1906, p. 582.

30. *Ibid.*

of the University of Bombay. In the prefatory "Advertisement" in this book the author gives the following information regarding its genesis :

> "One of the author's principal objects in coming to India being to assist in translating the Holy Scriptures into Carnataca, he was necessarily led to pay particular attention to that language...To accomplish this object with a language that had never been brought into general notice, was, as may be easily supposed, rather a formidable task. The paucity of materials to furnish the needed data upon which to proceed, suggested the importance of attempting the formation of a Grammar and two Dictionaries, the one English and Carnataca, and the other Carnataca and English. When the first of these works had made some progress, the Grammar of J. M'Kerrell, Esq. was given to the public, and the author, therefore, from that time laid his aside. The present work was finished in 1817, after which the Dictionary Carnatica and English was commenced."

"*A Grammar of the Carnatic Language*" by J. M. M'Kerrel which is referred to in the above passage, was published in Madras in 1820.[31] It can be said, therefore, that printing in Kannada in Madras started in 1820 or earlier. However, in Serampore, the Baptist Missionaries, on whose printing activities we shall have occasion to dwell at some length in the next chapter, had started printing in Kannada even earlier. "*A Grammar of the Kurnata Language*" by Dr. W. Carey was printed in 1817 and a translation of the Bible in the same language was printed by them for the first time in 1823. It appears that the Kannada types used in the Madras College press were prepared locally, as they are somewhat different in style from those used in Serampore publications.

Although as stated above the beginnings of printing in Kannada took place in the city of Madras, Christian missionaries operating in Bellary, Bangalore and Mangalore were responsible for its subsequent development. Credit for bringing the forms of letters in Kannada type to its present state of elegance is

31. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

generally ascribed to Anantacharya, who belonged to the Achari community of blacksmiths in Mangalore.[32]

Till 1835 there were stringent restrictions on the freedom of printing, but they were removed by Sir Charles Metcalfe in that year. As a consequence, the number of printing presses in Madras gradually increased. In 1863 there were ten printing presses owned by Indians in the City of Madras ; all these presses were made of wood. Iron printing-presses came into use at a later date. The American Mission established a new printing press at Broadway and one of their printers P. R. Hund prepared elegant types of an improved design. These were used in the printing of the Tamil-English Dictionary of Rev. Miron Winslow. This in brief is the story of the beginning of printing in Madras. In an article on this subject Mr. W. H. Warren, Secretary to the Diocesan Press of Madras, remarks as follows :—

> " We can recall with pride that 100 years ago a Madras press was the equal of any press in the world, and in the difficult art of cutting punches by hand, Madras workmen were probably superior."[33]

In the next section we shall review the magnificent achievements in the field of printing of Dr. William Carey at Serampore. Serampore was also a Danish settlement, and Dr. Carey drew the inspiration for his work from Ziegenbalg. The Bishop of Tranquebar aptly remarks : " Without Ziegenbalg there could be no Carey ; Without Tranquebar no Serampore."[34]

32. *Tenkanaḍu* (Cannaḍa Sahitya Sammelana) Mangalore 1947, pp. 114-116.

33. *Memoirs of the Madras Library Association, op. cit.*, p. 43.

34. Rt. Rev. J. Sandegreen. *From Tranquebar to Serampore* (Carey Lecture 1955), Calcutta 1955, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINTING PRESS IN BENGAL: 1778

Work of Sir Charles Wilkins

WE have seen that it was as an aid to proselytisation that the printing press was brought to Goa and to the Presidency of Madras. In Bengal, on the other hand, political considerations were responsible for the advent of the press. The first book printed in the Bengali language and script is a Grammar of the Bengali language prepared by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), a civil servant of the East India Company. This was printed at Hoogly (near Calcutta) in 1778. During a recent visit to Calcutta, the present writer searched in vain in the libraries of the St. Xavier's College, the Asiatic Society, the University and the *Baṁgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* as well as in the National Library, for a book printed earlier than 1778 in Bengal, whether in Bengali or in English. In the opinion of Buckland, the press at Hoogly was " the first printing press in India."[1] While this statement is not correct, this was probably the first printing press established in Bengal. We find that two years before the publication of the Grammar mentioned above, another book by the same author bearing the title "*A Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordinations of the Pundits*"[2] was printed in London, presumably for want of printing facilities in Bengal. Long before this, as early as in 1743, the Portuguese had brought out books on Bengali Grammar and vocabulary, as also books of Catechism written in Bengali. But these were printed at Lisbon in the Roman script, and it is not necessary to describe them here.

A Protestant Danish missionary named John Zacharia Kiernander (1711-1799) came to Calcutta in 1758 from Tranquebar, and established a protestant mission at Calcutta. He was not himself conversant with Bengali or Hindustani and used Portuguese as the vehicle for his teachings. He succeeded in converting to

1. C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London, 1906, p. 185.
2. A copy of this book is available in the Bombay Asiatic Society.

Protestantism a Goan Catholic named Berto de Silvestre (1728-1786). It is believed that a Catechism and a Book of Common Prayer written in Bengali by Silvestre were printed in London.[3] But these are not extant today, and as they were printed outside India they need not concern us here.

In 1772 the East India Company assumed responsibility for the governance of Bengal, and the need for learning the language of the governed was felt soon thereafter. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (mentioned above) undertook the task of preparing books for this purpose. In 1768, Halhed met Sir William Jones in London, and under the latter's influence was attracted to the study of Oriental languages. Later he entered the service of the East India Company and came to India. On the advice of Warren Hastings (1774) he published a translation of the *Gentoo Code* from the Persian. During his sojourn in Bengal he learnt Bengali and prepared a Grammar of that language for the use of his compatriots. This was printed in 1778 at Hoogly, as mentioned above. While it may not be possible to assert positively that this was the first book printed in Bengal, there is no doubt that this was the first book printed with Bengali movable types.[4] For this purpose, types of Bengali characters were cast by Charles Wilkins on " the advice and even solicitations of the Governor-General." In the introduction to the Bengali Grammar, Halhed speaks of Wilkins' achievement in glowing terms as follows :—

> " The advice and even solicitations of the Governor-General prevailed upon Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman who has been some years in the India Company's Civil service in Bengal, to undertake a set of Bengal types. He did, and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from all connexion with European artists, he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the Metallurgist, the Engraver, the Founder and the Printer. To the merit of invention he was compelled to add application of

3. S. K. De, *History of Bengali Literature*, (1800-1825), Calcutta 1919, p. 78.

4. *Cf.* " We have come across a MS., nearly 200 years old, which was printed from engraved wooden blocks. But the art was not in general use." Prof. D. D. Sen. *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta 1954, p. 718.

personal labour. With a rapidity unknown in Europe, he surmounted all the obstacles which necessarily clog the first rudiments of a difficult art, as well as the disadvantages of solitary experiment; and has thus singly on the first effort exhibited his work in a state of perfection which in every part of the world has appeared to require the united improvements of different projectors, and the gradual polish of successive ages."[5]

We shall see presently that Wilkins can be considered as the pioneer in the art of preparing types not only of the Bengali alphabet but of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet as well. Wilkins taught the art to an Indian blacksmith Panchanana Karmakar by name, who in turn taught it to other Indian technicians.

Charles Wilkins was born sometime during 1749-50. He came to Bengal in 1770 as a clerk in the service of the East India Company. He was the first Englishman to learn Sanskrit, and he translated the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Hitopadeśa* and *Śākuntala* into English. It is stated by C. E. Buckland that he published a Grammar of Sanskrit in 1779. In this book Sanskrit words were probably printed in Roman characters. The present writer, however, has not been able to see a copy of this work. His (second) Grammar of Sanskrit was published in 1808, and for the printing of this he prepared a fount of types of *Devanāgarī* characters. In the introduction to this Grammar he speaks of his work in the following words:—

"About the year 1778, my curiosity was excited by the example of my friend, Mr. Halhed, to commence the study of Sanskrit....At the commencement of the year 1795, residing in the country, and having much leisure, I began to arrange my materials, and prepare them for publication. I cut letters in steel, made matrices and moulds, and cast from them a fount of types of the Dēva-nāgarī character, all with my own hands; and with the assistance of such mechanics as a country village could afford, I very speedily prepared all the other implements of printing in my own dwelling-house; for by the

5. N. B. Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengali Language.* (Introduction), Hoogly (in Bengal), 1778, pp. XXIII-IV.

second of May of the same year, I had taken proofs of sixteen pages, differing but little from those now exhibited in the first two sheets. Till two o'clock on that day everything had succeeded to my expectations; when, alas! the premises were discovered to be in flames, which spreading too rapidly to be extinguished, the whole building was presently burnt to the ground. In the midst of this misfortune I happily saved all my books and manuscripts, and the greatest part of the punches and matrices; but the types themselves having been thrown out and scattered over the lawn were either lost or rendered useless.

As one accident is often followed by another, so it was with me; and so many untoward circumstances, unnecessary to relate, succeeded each other to prevent my resuming the prosecution of this work, that at last I resolved to give up thoughts of it. But within these two years, the establishment of the East India College at Hertford, by the wise policy of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, induced me to change my mind. The study of the Oriental languages was one of the principal objects of this magnificent institution, and that of the *Sanskrit* a desideratum. But as there was not any grammar of this to be procured, I was called upon, and highly encouraged to bring forward that which I had been so many years preparing. I accordingly had other letters cast from my matrices, and sent it immediately to press; from which it now issues, not the worse, I hope, for the delay."[6]

Wilkins was appointed in 1800 as the first Librarian to the India Office and later in 1806 as the Visitor to the Department of Oriental Studies at the Haileybury College. The latter appointment served as an incentive for the writing of a Grammar of Sanskrit for the use of his students. He was knighted in 1833 and died in 1836.

Earlier in Chapter III, we have mentioned the printing activity at Tanjore during the early years of the 19th century. Books in

6. Charles Wilkins, *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, (Preface pp. XI-XIII), London 1808.

Marathi were also published in Bombay during the same period under government auspices. The types prepared by Wilkins came handy at both centres. Wilkins was not only the pioneer of printing in the Bengali and the *Devanāgarī* alphabets, but he was also responsible for training technicians who applied their newly acquired art to other Indian scripts.

We find that by the end of the 18th century a number of printing presses had been established at Calcutta. During a recent visit to Calcutta the present writer saw in the library of *Baṁgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* a copy of an English-Bengali vocabulary prepared by A. Upjohn bearing the title "*Ingaraji and Bengali Vokabilari*," which was printed at the Chronicle Press (Calcutta) in 1793. The Bengali types used in this appear to be different from those used in Halhed's Grammar, and they were perhaps prepared by Panchanana Karmakar. The present writer has in his collection "*A New Persian and English Work after the Method of Boyer and others*" by Robert Jones, which was printed in the Hon. Company's Press at Calcutta in 1792. In the same press were printed in 1785 the Bengali translation by Jonathan Duncan (who was later appointed as Governor of Bombay) of Sir Eliza Impey's Code, and in 1793 the Bengali translation by H. P. Forster of the Cornwallis Code. The Bengali types used in the latter work appear to be somewhat different from those used for Halhed's Bengali Grammar, and the same were used for the printing of Forster's English-Bengali Vocabulary in 1799 and Bengali-English Vocabulary in 1802. Copies of these vocabularies exist in the National Library at Calcutta. Henry Pitts Forster (born 1761) was a Senior Merchant on the Bengal Establishment. It is evident from his "*Essay on the Principles of Sanskrit Grammar*" (1810) that he was a student of Sanskrit as well as of Bengali. He states in the introductions to his works that the main purpose of his writings was to promote administrative efficiency.

Work of the Serampore Mission

Although printing in Bengal owed its origin to political rather than religious considerations, the needs of religion helped considerably its development at a later stage. Towards the end of the

18th and the commencement of the 19th centuries, the policy of the East India Company was to steer clear of missionary activity, as it was held that entanglement in this might prove detrimental to the political interests of the Company. Missionary activity was forbidden within the confines of the Company's Indian dominions. This position obtained when William Carey (1761-1834), a worker of the Baptist Mission, arrived in Calcutta on November 11, 1795. He had therefore to carry on his missionary work secretly. He was quick to appreciate the immense value of the knowledge of Indian languages for his missionary work, and he started learning Bengali for the purpose. He was helped in this by a Bengali gentleman named Ram Basu. Carey took up employment as the manager of an Indigo factory at Madnavati (near Calcutta), and devoted his leisure to translating the New Testament into Bengali. The first draft of this translation was completed by 1797, as is clear from the following passage from a letter written by him on March 25, 1797 :—

> " I have been with the printer, at Calcutta, to consult him about the expense of printing the New Testament, which is now translated, and may be got ready for the press in a little time. It has undergone one correction, but must undergo several more. I employ a Pundit merely for this purpose, with whom I go through the whole in as exact a manner as I can. He judges of the style and syntax, and I of the faithfulness of the translation."[7]

To equip himself adequately for his work of rendering the Christian scripture into Bengali, he had to follow up his study of Bengali with the study of Sanskrit. In April 1796, he wrote :—

> " I have read a considerable part of the *Mahabharata*, an epic poem written in most beautiful language, and much upon a par with Homer ; and was it, like his *Iliad*, only considered as a great effort of Human genius, I should think it one of the first productions in the world."[8]

7. Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.*, London 1837, p. 305.
8. George Smith, *The Life of William Carey*, D.D., London 1885, p. 101.

Again, in a letter written early in 1798, he wrote :—

> "I am learning the Sanskrit language, which, with only the helps to be procured here, is perhaps the hardest language in the world. To accomplish this, I have nearly translated the Sanskrit Grammar and dictionary into English, and have made considerable progress in compiling a dictionary, Sanskrit including Bengali and English."[8]

When the manuscript of the Bengali translation of the New Testament was ready for the press, he had to turn his attention to the ways and means of getting it printed. For this purpose he placed a demand for a press, a printer and paper before the Mission Society, London. In the meanwhile, in 1778, he came across a notice in the press that a wooden printing machine was for sale in Calcutta, and he bought it for £.40. When this was set up in his house at Madnavati, local residents gathered to gaze in wonder at this Englishman's 'idol'!

It was much more difficult to obtain types of the Bengali alphabet than to buy a printing press. Initially Carey's intention was to get punches of the Bengali alphabet prepared by the famous London founder Caslon. He had estimated that the punch of each letter would cost five shillings, but eventually it turned out that the cost would be as much as a guinea per punch. However, he learnt in the meantime that a foundry had been established at Calcutta for casting types of Indian scripts. He could not trace the whereabouts of this factory, but he learnt that a technician who had received his training in the art of making types of Indian alphabet from Sir Charles Wilkins was available for employment. He therefore abandoned the idea of getting such types prepared in London, and decided to utilise local talent for the purpose.

In the beginning of 1799 Marshman, Ward and two other missionaries came to India to assist Carey. They succeeded in finding accommodation at the Danish settlement of Serampore. The indigo business was at that time in a state of depression

8. George Smith, *The Life of William Carey*, D.D., London 1885, p. 101.

owing to floods, and Carey had planned to move to a neighbouring centre, Kidderpore, where he intended to build houses for himself and his collaborators. This plan did not materialise, as new missionaries were not allowed to settle down within the Company's dominions. He therefore decided to migrate to Serampore himself, and came there with his printing press in the beginning of the year 1800. In letters written during this period he explains the reasons for the choice of Serampore, and gives an account of his early activity there. The relevant passages are reproduced below :—

Extract from a letter dated February 5, 1800 :—

> " The setting up of the press would have been useless at Mudnabatty, without brother Ward, and perhaps might have been ruined, if it had been attempted. At this place, we are settled out of the Company's dominions and under the government of a power very friendly to us and our designs."[9]

Extract from a letter dated October 11, 1800 :—

> " Had we staid at Mudnabatty, or its vicinity, it is a great wonder whether we could set up our press; government would have suspected us, though without any reason to do so; and would, in all probability, have prevented us from printing; the difficulty of procuring proper materials would also have been almost insuperable. We have printed several small pieces, which have been dispersed; we have circulated several copies of Matthew's gospel, I suppose near three hundred. We have printed the New Testament, as far as the Acts of the Apostles, and it will be wholly printed before this reaches you, unless some unforeseen obstructions lie in the way."[10]

Although it is not clearly stated in the passages quoted above that the booklets mentioned therein as printed during this period were written in Bengali, it appears from the following passage from a letter dated November 23, 1800, that this was in fact the case :

9. Eustace Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 356.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

"Yesterday Ram Boshu was here to revise his piece against Brahmans, in order to its being printed. It is very severe; but it must be so to make them feel....Today they are printing off as far as I Corinthians XI Chapter, 26 verse. I have had convincing proofs that the translation is well understood by those who read it. I was at a village one day, when a man read the sixth and part of the seventh of Matthew to a good number of people, who understood it well."[11]

There is reason to believe that the Bengali types were prepared before Carey came to Serampore. A historian of the Serampore mission (Mr. Marshman) asserts that the founder Panchanana met Carey only after the latter had settled down at Serampore:—

"At the beginning of 1803, the missionaries had made considerable progress in the preparation of a fount of Deva Nagree types. The Deva Nagree is the parent of all the various Indian alphabets, and, according to mythological tradition, the special gift of the gods. This was the first fount of this type which had been attempted in India. Soon after the establishment of the press at Serampore, the native blacksmith Punchanon, who had been instructed in the art of punch cutting by Sir Charles Wilkins, came to the Missionaries in search of employment. Mr. Carey was then contemplating a Sanskrit Grammar, for which it was necessary to obtain Nagree types, and Punchanon was immediately engaged for the work."[12]

The following is a list of Bengali books printed within the first five years after the establishment of a press at Serampore, and at present available in the National Library in Calcutta:—

1801. *Bible.* Bengali.
Dharma Pustaka, Serampore, Mission Press.
Added title-page in English with imprint date 1802.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 392-3.
12. J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, embracing the History of Serampore Mission.* Vol. I, London 1859, pp. 178-9.

1801. Ram Ram Basu.
Rājā Pratāpāditya Caritra...Serampore, Mission Press.

,, Carey, William.
Dialogues, intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali language. Serampore, Printed at the Mission Press.

1802. *Mahābhārata*, Bengali.
The Mahabharat, a poem, in four volumes; translated from the original Sanskrit by Kashee Ram Dass. Serampore, Mission Press.

,, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar.
Batriśa Siṁhasana. Serampore.

,, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bengali.
The Ramayunu, a poem; in five volumes; translated from the original Sanskrit, by Kirtee Dass (Ojha). Serampore.

1803. *Bible O.T. Psalms.* Bengali.
Dauder geet...Serampore.

1805. Chandicharan Munshi.
Totā Itihāsa. Serampore.

In 1801 Carey was appointed as the Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit at the Fort William College of Calcutta. The main objective of Carey's printing activity so far was the printing of the Bengali translation of the New Testament. His new appointment induced him to turn his attention to printing books on non-religious subjects for the use of his students. In the following passage taken from a letter dated June 15, 1801, he refers to his new appointment as "a very important charge," and indicates how his duties in that connection made it necessary for him to set about preparing text-books for the use of his students :—

"You must know, then, that a college was founded, last year, in Fort William, for the instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company who are obliged to study in it three

years after their arrival. I always highly approved of the institution ; but never entertained a thought that I should be called to fill a station in it. The Rev. D. Brown is provost, and the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost ; and, to my great surprise, I was asked to undertake the Bengali professorship. When the appointment was made, I saw that I had a very important charge committed to me, and that I had no books or helps of any kind to assist me. I therefore set about compiling a grammar, which is now half printed. I got Ram Boshu to compose a history of one of their kings, the first prose book ever written in the Bengali language ; which we are also printing...

I am appointed teacher of the Sunscrit language ; and though no students have yet entered in that class, yet I must prepare for it. I am, therefore, writing a grammar of that language which I must also print, if I should be able to get through with it ; and perhaps a dictionary which I began some years ago."[13]

We have seen that Carey had to get *Devanāgarī* types prepared for use in his Sanskrit Grammar. The following passage from a letter dated September 7, 1803, shows that the same types came to be utilised for printing literature in Marathi and Hindustani :—

" We...are about to publish some of our little pamphlets in the Hindusthani language. Dear Pearce's address to the Lascars is put into that language. We have also some thoughts of the Mahrattas. A Mahratta pundit, whom we have retained, had made a beginning of some small portions of the scripture in that language and the Devnagur letter will answer for that tongue and the Hindusthani as well as the Sanscrit."[14]

It has been stated that " Matthew's Gospel in Mahratta, Nagri type (quarto), 180 pages " was printed in 1805.[15] The present writer, however, has been unable to trace a copy of this work either in Calcutta or at Serampore. He has in his collection a Grammar of the Marathi language of the authorship of Carey,

13. Eustace Carey, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-17.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
15. George Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

which was printed at Serampore in the same year, 1805. This was prepared for the use of students of Marathi at the Fort William College. From the following passage in a letter dated February 8, 1805, it appears that classes in Marathi were started at this College in 1804 :—

> " Within the last year the Mahratta language has been taught in the college. This was placed under me."[16]

Carey was paid a salary of Rs. 500/- per month for teaching Bengali and Sanskrit. When the work of teaching Marathi was added to his duties his salary was increased to Rs. 1,000/- per month. It appears possible that in fixing his salary at this generous figure the management of the College intended to help indirectly his missionary work. He himself writes on February 11, 1807, that his salary " will much help the mission."[17] In January 1805 five students passed an examination in Marathi at this College.

Although Charles Wilkins had prepared types of *Devanāgarī* script as early as in 1795, his grammar of Sanskrit in which these were used was published in London in 1808. Prior to this, Carey's grammar of Marathi had been published in 1805 and his grammar of Sanskrit in 1806, in both of which *Devanāgarī* types were used. We find that even before this, in 1802, *Devanāgarī* types were used for the printing of a thesis prepared by the students of the Serampore College, a copy of which is available in the National Library in Calcutta. There is also another book in this Library, *Grammar of the Hindustanee Language* by John Gilchrist, printed at the Chronicle Press in Calcutta in 1796, in which the *Devanāgarī* types are used. This is probably the earliest instance of *Devanāgarī* printing in India.

In Europe, printing in *Devanāgarī* script dates back much earlier. In the private collection of Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee there exists a book printed in Europe in 1743 in which the *Devanāgarī* alphabet was used.[18] On inspecting the copy, however,

16. Eustace Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 442.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
18. *Davidis Millii Dissertationes* (Tract XV—Miscellanea Orientalia), Rome 1743.

the present writer felt that plates, and not movable types for separate letters, were used in this book for the purpose of printing the *Devanāgarī* passages. In the library at Shantiniketana there is a book printed in Rome in 1771 in which also *Devanāgarī* script is used.[19] Another copy of the same book exists in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. Wooden movable types appear to have been used in this work. The same types also appear to have been used in the abovementioned Hindustanee Grammar by Gilchrist, and in a Grammar printed in 1804,[20] a copy of which is available in the National Library in Calcutta.

We have seen that in 1608 Fr. Stephens had estimated that for printing in *Devanāgarī* script it would be necessary to prepare 600 separate punches, but he considered that it would be possible to reduce this number to 200. The fount prepared at the Serampore press consisted of 700 separate punches. The historian of the Serampore mission speaks of this work as follows :—

> " Owing to the large number of compound letters in the Deva Nagree, the fount required seven hundred separate punches, of which about one half had been completed at the beginning of the present year (1803). To accelerate the progress of the work, Punchanon was advised to take an assistant, a youth of the same caste and craft, of the name Monohar, an expert and elegant workman, who was subsequently employed for forty years at the Serampore press, and to whose exertions and instructions Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful founts of the Bengalee, Nagree, Persian, Arabic, and other characters which have been gradually introduced into the different printing establishments."[21]

Panchanana died soon thereafter. In a book entitled "*Memoir Relative to the Translations* " printed in 1807, a generous tribute is paid to Panchaṅana's skill :—

> " Soon after our settling at Serampore the providence of God brought to us the very artist who had wrought with Wilkins in that work, and in a great measure imbibed his

19. *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum*, (Types Sac. Congregationis de propaganda Fide), Rome 1771.
20. Paulino A. S. Bartholomœo, *Vyacarana*, Rome 1804.
21. J. C. Marshman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

ideas. By his assistance we erected a letter-foundry; and although he is now dead he has so fully communicated his art to a number of others, that they carry forward the work of type-casting and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of accuracy which would not disgrace European artists."[22]

Among the technicians to whom Panchanana "had communicated his art," Manohar was the ablest. Smith speaks of him as follows :—

"Punchanana's apprentice, Monohur, continued to make elegant founts of type in all Eastern languages for the mission and for sale to others for more than forty years, becoming a benefactor not only to literature but to Christian civilization to an extent of which he was unconscious, for he remained a Hindoo of the blacksmith caste. In 1839, when he first went to India as a young missionary, the Rev. James Kennedy saw him, as the present writer has often since seen his successor, cutting the matrices or casting the type for the Bibles, while he squatted below his favourite idol under the auspices of which alone he would work. Serampore continued down till 1860 to be the principal Oriental type-foundry of the East."[23]

We have observed how the Portuguese missionaries failed to record even the name of the able Indian collaborator of the first printer in India, João de Bustamante. The generous manner in which the Baptist missionaries have acknowledged with gratitude their indebtedness to their Indian technicians provides a refreshing contrast to the attitude of their Portuguese predecessors.

The size of the *Devanāgarī* types originally prepared was so large that it resulted in adding to the cost of paper required for printing. Types of smaller size were therefore subsequently prepared. "*Memoir Relative to the Translations*" (1807), which has been referred to above, describes the *Devanāgarī* type prepared at Serampore as follows :—

"Of the Devanagari character we have also cast an entire new fount, which is esteemed the most beautiful of the kind

22. Quoted by George Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-43.
23. George Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44.

in India. It consists of nearly 1,000 different combinations of characters."[24]

Although types of *Devanāgarī* alphabet were available for use, we find that *Moḍī* script was used at Serampore for the printing of books like the second edition of Marathi Grammar, Marathi Bible and Marathi Dictionary. The reasons for this are explained in the following passage :—

> "Although in the Mahratta country the Devanagari character is well known to men of education, yet a character is current among the men of business which is much smaller, and varies considerably in form from the Nagari, though the number and the power of the letters nearly correspond. We have cast a fount in this character, in which we have begun to print the Mahratta New Testament, as well as a Mahratta dictionary. This character is moderate in size, distinct and beautiful. It will comprise the New Testament, in perhaps a less number of pages than the Orissa. The expense of casting etc. has been much the same. We stand in need of three more founts; one in the Burman, another in the Telinga and Kernata, and the third in the Seek's character. These, with the Chinese characters, will enable us to go through the work."[25]

Mr. Smith in his book referred to above gives a list of the translations of the New Testament in various languages which were prepared by Dr. Carey.[26] This is reproduced here, as it gives an indication of the various scripts for which Carey had prepared types :—

First Published in :

1801	Bengāli—New Testament;		Old Testament	in 1802-9.
1811	Ooriya	,,	,,	in 1819.
1824	Maghadi	,, only.		
1815-19	Assamese	,,	,,	in 1882.
1824	Khasi.			

24. Quoted by George Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 243.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
26. George Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-39.

1814-24 Manipoori.
1808 Sanskrit New Testament; Old Testaments in 1811-22.
1809-11 Hindi ,, ,, in 1813-18.
1822-32 Bruj-bhasa* ,, only.
1815-22 Kanouji ,, ,,
1820 Kosali—Gospel of Matthew only.
1822 Oodeypoori—New Testament only.
1815 Jeypoori ,,
1821 Bhugeli ,,
1821 Marwari ,,
1823 Bikaneri ,,
1824 Bhatti* ,,
1822 Haraoti ,,
1832 Palpa* ,,
1826 Kamaoni* ,,
1832 Gurwhali ,,
1821 Nepalese ,,
1811 Marathi—New Testament : Old Testament in 1820.
1820 Goojarati ,, only.
1819 Konkani ,, Pentateuch in 1821.
1815 Panjabi ,, only; and Historical Books in 1822.
1819 Mooltani ,,
1825 Sindhi* Gospel of Matthew only.
1820 Kashmeeri—New Testament ; and Old Test. to 2nd Book of Kings.
1820-26 Dongri*—New Testament only.
1819 Pushtoo
1815 Baloochi
1818 Telugoo ,, and Pentateuch in 1820.
1822 Kanarese ,, only.

SIX EDITED AND PRINTED ONLY BY CAREY

Persian. Burmese—Matthew's Gospel.
Hindostani Singhalese.
Malayalam Chinese (Dr. Marshman's).

The books in the above list which are marked with an asterisk are those which the present writer could not find in the Serampore

College library. On the other hand, he found in that library translations in languages described as Bhutuner (1824) and Oojein (1824), which are not included in the above list. It is interesting to note that in these translations not only different types were used for scripts which are really distinct, but even for different styles of the same script; for instance, different types were prepared for printing Sanskrit, Hindi, Kanoji, Marwari, Bikaneri and Magadhi, which are usually written in scripts which are really different styles of the *Devanāgarī*.

Another important achievement of the Serampore mission was the preparation of the first movable metal types of Chinese characters. This was the first time in the history of Chinese printing that block-printing (xylography) was replaced by real typography. Marshman describes in the following passage this achievement which "forms an era in the history of Chinese literature":—

> "In the report of Translations in the present year (1813), especial reference is made to the important improvement which had been effected in Chinese typography. The first version of the Gospels was printed on one side, in accordance with the immemorial usage of China, from wooden blocks, on which the characters were engraved by native workmen. But it was soon apparent that this mode of printing would render the publication of new editions of the Scriptures very expensive and very dilatory. The cost of engraving the blocks must be renewed at each successive edition. It became advisable, therefore, to make an attempt to introduce the more expeditious and economical system of European printing with movable metallic types. To effect this, blank cubes of type metal were cast of the usual height of the types, on which the workmen engraved the Chinese character. The metal type was found to give five times the number of impressions which could be obtained from wooden blocks, without impairing the delicacy of the stroke. The use of separate types, moreover, gave the translator the inestimable advantage of making successive corrections in the proof sheet. Where the character was of frequent occurrence, a

steel punch was engraved, from which any number of characters could be cast. The native punch cutter had executed a considerable number of these punches before the arrival of Mr. Lawson; but under his direction the punches were greatly improved in beauty and accuracy. This is one of the most memorable improvements made in Chinese printing since its invention twenty centuries ago; not only because it admits of the revision of a work as it passes through the press, but also on the ground of economy. When the requisite punches are once cut, founts may be multiplied to any extent, and at much smaller cost than a continuous succession of wooden blocks. This improvement, which originated and was to a considerable extent matured at Serampore, before it was taken up by other missionary bodies, forms an era in the history of Chinese literature; and it will, doubtless, be adopted by the Chinese themselves, when their stationary civilisation, of which the block printing is a very apt emblem, begins to yield to the impulse of European improvement."[27]

Marshman gives the relative costs of preparing founts of Oriental characters in India and in London, to illustrate the economy effected by utilising the services of Indian technicians :—

"The progress which had been made in the preparation of founts of types in the Oriental languages was also very satisfactory. In the middle of 1807, the missionaries had completed four founts, which, with the Persian fount received from England, enabled them to print the scriptures in seven languages. On the ground of economy alone, the importance of the foundry they had established at Serampore will be apparent from a reference to the expense of Oriental founts in London; and at this distance of time it may not be without interest. The Persian fount, which Mr. Fuller had sent out, cost 500 *l.* The missionaries had also desired him to ascertain whether Telinga and Nagree founts might not be obtained more cheaply and expeditiously in London, where Fry and Figgins, the eminent founders, had been employed in preparing Oriental punches for the East India Company. Their reply satisfied the missionaries of the wisdom of having

27. J. C. Marshman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 63-64.

made the establishment of a foundry and the training of native artists one of the first objects of their attention at Serampore. Mr. Figgins offered to supply them with 407 matrices for the Telinga, he retaining the punches, for 641 *l.* Regarding the Nagree, a consultation was held with Dr. Charles Wilkins, the great Orientalist, who had cut the first Indian types with his own hand thirty years before, and it was found that the punches required for printing in that character might, by various contrivances, be reduced to 300; but the expense of preparing even this contracted fount was estimated at 700 *l.* At Serampore the missionaries had been able to obtain from their native workmen a complete fount of Nagree, consisting of 700 characters, for about 100 *l.* In the course of the first ten years of their labours the difference between the expense of their own foundry, and the sum which would have been required for the preparation of the founts in London, fell little short of 2000 *l.*"[28]

At this time the paper manufactured in India was of poor quality and durability. On the other hand, paper imported from Europe was more expensive, and as its supplies were irregular printing work was often held up when supplies ran short. After " many a long experiment," the Serampore mission set up a factory in India to be operated by a steam engine. Smith writes of this pioneering project as follows :

" Hardly less service did the mission come to render to the manufacture of paper in course of time, giving the name of Serampore to a variety known all over India. At first Carey was compelled to print his Bengali Testament on a dingy, porous, rough substance called Patna paper. Then he began to depend on supplies from England, which in those days reached the press at irregular times, often impeding the work, and was most costly. This was not all. Native paper, whether mill or hand-made, being sized with rice paste, attracted the bookworm and white ant, so that, as Mr. J. Marshman confesses, the first sheets of work which lingered in the press were often devoured by these insects before the last sheets were printed off. Carey used to preserve his

28. *Ibid., op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 420-21.

most valuable manuscripts by writing on arsenicated paper, which became of a hideous yellow colour, though it is to this alone we owe the preservation in the library of Serampore college of five colossal volumes of a polyglot dictionary prepared by his pundits for the Bible translation work. Many and long were the experiments of the Missionaries to solve the paper difficulty, ending in the erection of a tread-mill on which relays of forty natives reduced the raw material in the paper-engine, until one was accidentally killed.

The enterprise of that pioneer of manufactures in India, Mr. William Jones, who first worked the Raneegunj coal field, suggested the remedy in the employment of a steam-engine. One of twelve-horse power was ordered from Messrs. Thwaites and Rothwell of Bolton. This was the first ever erected in India, and it was purely missionary locomotive. The "machine of fire," as they called it, brought crowds of natives to the mission, whose curiosity tried the patience of the engineman imported to work it; while many a European who had never seen machinery driven by steam came to study and copy it. The date was the 27th March 1820, when "the engine went in reality this day." From that time till 1865 Serampore became the one source of supply for local as distinguished from imported and purely native handmade paper. Even the cartridges of *Mutiny notoriety* in 1857 were from this factory, though it had long ceased to be connected with the mission. It stopped only when the Secretary of State for a short time ordered the official indents for stationery to be supplied from London, an unjust policy which has been denounced and given up as unfair to the native and local industries and to the tax-paying public."[29]

It will be seen from the foregoing survey that although printing activity had started in India earlier at Goa and Tranquebar, when one takes into account the volume and variety of the achievements of the Serampore mission in that field, printing in India could be said to have had its origin at Serampore.

29. George Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-45.

CHAPTER V

THE PRINTING PRESS IN BOMBAY: 1780

RUSTOM CARESAJEE

THE first book printed in Bombay of which reliable information is available, is a "Calendar for the Year of Our Lord 1780, printed by Rustom Caresajee in the Buzar." Mr. George Buist, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, wrote as follows in this regard:

> "*Old Papers*: A valued native friend has sent us the originals of some papers illustrative of the early history of Bombay, which, though not of very great importance, appear to us well deserving of preservation. The first of these is a "*Calendar for the year of Our Lord* 1780, *printed by Rustom Caresajee in the Buzar*"—price two rupees. It consists of thirty-four pages of rather openly printed matter....It is printed on strong English Official foolscape, identifiable by the watermark and some of the official letters of the same date accompanying it. The circumstance is noticeable as Government were the only parties at this date making use of English paper, and that only for scroll purposes—the bulk of the ordinary office, and nearly all the printing work, having up to within these thirty years been on China paper. We have met with no information anywhere as to the original establishment of a printing press at Bombay, but the production before us shows that we in this matter anticipated Calcutta, which first boasted of a printing press in 1780. The Calendar of course must have been set up in 1779, and it seems reasonable to be presumed that the enterprising Parsee must have opened his establishment not later than the end of 1778. At this date, as appears by the list of inhabitants, there were some scores of Englishmen residing in Bombay under the designation of "free mariners," with the permission, but not belonging to the service, of the East India Company; and it is particularly creditable under these circumstances to the Parsees, who have always shown themselves the most enterprising of our natives, that one of the number should have

provided us with the first printing Press established in India."[1]

Mr. Buist's claim that Caresajee's press was the first printing press established in India, is, as we have seen, not correct. It is also unfortunate that he does not appear to have made adequate arrangements for preserving the book which he considered to be " well deserving of preservation."

The Bombay City Gazetteer states that the first periodical published in Bombay was the *Bombay Herald*, started in 1789.[2] Unfortunately the present writer has not been able to discover any issue of this journal anywhere, nor any independent reliable evidence of its existence. The periodicals next to appear in the city were the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*, which according to the Gazetteer were started in 1791 and 1790 respectively.[3] The first years' issues of neither of these journals are available today. But judging from the issues of subsequent years, it appears that the *Bombay Gazette* must have been actually started in 1790 and the *Bombay Courier* in 1791.[4]

The earliest book printed in Bombay which is at present available is one published in 1793 under the following title : " *Remarks and Occurrences of Mr. Henry Becher, during his imprisonment of two years and a half in the Dominions of Tippoo Sultan, from whence he made his escape.*"[5] This book does not bear the name of the press where it was printed. It is clearly stated in the introduction of this book that "It is the first book ever printed in Bombay."

It will be seen from the foregoing notes that the art of printing might be said to have been firmly established in Bombay by the last decade of the 18th century. The English types used at this

1. *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*, Vol. VI, No. 1172 (Tuesday, Dec. 4, 1855).
2. *The Bombay City Gazetteer*. Vol. III, Bombay 1910, p. 140.
3. *Ibid.*
4. A. K. Priolkar, *R. B. Dādobā Pāṇḍuraṁga* (Autobiography and biography), Bombay 1947, p. 459.
5. A copy of this book is available in the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay.

time for printing were imported from Europe. The Courier Press was then the most important printing press in Bombay. For some years it continued to enjoy a monopoly of government printing and advertisement. The need for types in Marathi and Gujerati characters was soon felt. The first advertisement printed in Gujerati characters appeared in the issue of the *Bombay Courier* dated January 29, 1797. The types used in this were cast by an employee of the Courier Press.

Fardunji Marzaban established the first Gujerati press in Bombay in 1812. It has been stated that he was inspired in this enterprise by a printer in the Courier Press, Jijibhai Chhapghar by name. Marzaban's biographer writes :—

> " At this time the Bombay Courier's was the only English printing press in Bombay. Fardunji used to visit this press often, as a printer therein, Mr. Jijibhai Chhapghar by name, was a close friend of his. These frequent visits served to open the eyes of astute Fardunji, and he decided to open an Indian printing press."[6]

It is stated in the "*Parsi-Prakash*" that the same Jijibhai cast types of Gujerati characters for the Courier Press.[7]

Jijibhai also cast types of Malayalam characters. Dr. Robert Drummond in the preface to his "*Grammar of the Malabar Language*" (Bombay, 1799) speaks of Jijibhai's achievements in terms of unstinted praise :—

> " Being compelled by bad health to relinquish, for the present, my professional duties in this country, I intended to commit the following sheets to the press in England. On my arrival in Bombay, however, I had the satisfaction to find a font of types, in the Malabar character, executed in an unexceptionable manner by Bheramjee Jeejebhoy, a Parsee inhabitant of this place, the ingenious artist who, without any other help or information than what he gleaned from Chamber's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, succeeded in completing a font of Guzzeratty types a few years ago : and

6. K. B. Marzaban, *Fardunji Marzabanji*, Bombay 1898, p. 47.
7. B. B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, Bombay 1888, p. 97.

has, on this occasion, again displayed his genius in a manner equally new and useful to society in general, and to Government in particular, of which the subsequent work is a sufficient testimony."[8]

The Problem of the Choice of Script for Printing

It is necessary to remember that both Marathi and Gujerati languages were at this time written in two different scripts. For writing classical poetical works in both languages the *Devanāgarī* script was used. This was called in Marathi the *Bālabodha* script and in Gujerati the *Shāstrī* script. On the other hand, for day-to-day correspondence and commerce, different scripts which facilitated speedy writing were used. The one used for Marathi was known as the *Moḍī* script, and that used for Gujerati, as the *Mahājana* script. However, we find old Gujerati poetical classics occasionally written in the *Mahājana* script. Recently, in Madras, Kumbhakonam and Tanjore, the present writer came across old manuscripts of Marathi classics written in the *Moḍī* script.

Towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the Gujerati speaking residents of Bombay were mostly Parsis and Gujerati Hindu businessmen. Their day-to-day needs could be met adequately by the *Mahājana* script, and perhaps they were not familiar with any other script. The first Gujerati advertisement in the *Courier* which has been mentioned above, was therefore printed in the *Mahājana* script. In this script there used to be an unbroken line connecting the various letters at the top, as is used in the *Moḍī* script to this day. A special rule was used for printing this line. It appears that later this practice was found to be inconvenient and unnecessary, and the line at the top was eliminated in printing. This innovation is seen for the first time in a Gujerati advertisement appearing in the issue of the *Courier* dated July 22, 1797. The practice of inserting the line at the top however continued to be in vogue in lithographed writings until recently. The line, however, gradually disappeared from use, and today it is abandoned even in writing by hand.

8. Robert Drummond, *Grammar of the Malabar Language*, Bombay 1799. (Preface).

The first advertisement printed in Marathi in the *Bombay Courier* appeared in the issue dated July 17, 1802 (Vol. XI, No. 512). It is interesting to note that this was printed in the *Moḍī* script. The same types of *Moḍī* characters were used for printing the "*Illustrations of the Grammatical parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Languages*" by Dr. Drummond, which was printed in the Courier Press in 1808.• In the preface to this work Dr. Drummond states the reason for using this script as follows :—

> "The Mahratta Grammar by Reverend Dr. Carey is in very few hands here, and in fact only a small proportion of that nation can read the Balbodh or Nagree character in which its parts are illustrated."[9]

Dr. Carey himself in the first edition (1805) of his Grammar had mentioned that although *Moḍī* was the more commonly known script, he had to resort to *Devanāgarī* since types of *Moḍī* script were then not available. He wrote in this connection :—

> "Books in the Mahratta language are generally written in the Devunaguri character, but the character commonly used in business is the Moorh. The system of that alphabet and the Devunaguri is the same. Types in the Moorh character not having yet been cast in Bengal, the Devunaguri will be used in this work"[10]

The two subsequent editions of Carey's Grammar published in 1807 and 1825 were printed in the *Moḍī* script, and so was his Marathi translation of the Bible (1807) and other works.

It should be remembered that printing in Indian languages at this time was mainly used either for the purpose of business and commerce, or for religious propaganda among the common people. It was therefore natural that the script in common vogue should have been selected as the vehicle of printing.

9. Robert Drummond, *Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Languages*, Bombay 1808. (Preface)

10. W. Carey. *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language*. Serampore 1805. p. 1.

In 1822 the " Bombay Native School Book and School Society " came to be established.[11] Its object was to evolve an efficient system of education in Indian languages, and to establish schools and prepare text-books for that purpose. Having borne in mind the literary, cultural and educational aspects of the problem, the Society decided to adopt the *Devanāgarī* script, not only for printing books but also for ordinary private and business correspondence. This has been brought out in the following passage in the third annual Report of the Bombay Education Society (for 1825-26), which refers to the qualifications of teachers :—

> " The qualifications of all these men consist : 1st, in reading and writing correctly their mother-tongue, both in Balbodh, as it is called on this side of India, or Deb Nagree, as it is termed in upper Hindoostan, which is the character the Committee have decided on adopting for all their printed books ; and also in their written or current hand for letter writing and general business, respectively used in Maharashtra and Goojrat..."[12]

We find that during the early years, in pursuance of the policy of the Society, the *Devanāgarī* script was used for printing both Marathi and Gujerati books published under government auspices. The use of *Devanāgarī* for printing Gujerati books, however, failed to achieve popularity, and in course of time the *Mahājana* or current script came into general vogue for this purpose. The reasons for this can be found in the circumstances prevailing at that time. The Parsis then formed the predominant section of the Gujerati speaking population of Bombay, and their interest in the language was more of a utilitarian and practical, than a cultural and literary character. The Gujerati Hindu community on the other hand were markedly lukewarm in the cause of education, a fact which has been pointedly referred to in the abovementioned Report of the Bombay Education Society in the following words :

> " The *Central Goojratee School* has much improved since the unfavourable report of it was made in September 1825. An

11. This was afterwards named as the " Bombay Native Education Society." *The Third Report* of the Bombay Native Education Society (1825-26), Bombay 1827, p. 7.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

intelligent master has been found to conduct it, and its reputation and utility are daily more and more appreciated by the people in Bombay, by whom the Goojratee language is spoken. The numbers which amount to seventy-four boys, are chiefly Parsees, a circumstance still evincing a continuance, among some of the Hindoo Goojratees of this Island, of that lukewarmness in the cause of education, so much lamented at the last general meeting, and still so much to be deplored."[13]

A fuller account of these circumstances has been given by the present writer in a paper read before the Forbes Gujerati Sabhā in 1948 under the title "*Gujarātī Mudraṇanu Ādi-Parva.*"[14] During recent years some Gujerati writers apparently have come to realise that it was a mistake to have abandoned the *Devanāgarī* script, and some of them are taking recourse to that script for printing their books. Mahatma Gandhi brought out a special edition of his Autobiography in the *Devanāgarī* script, and in a prefatory note he described the object of the special edition as follows :—

"There is a twofold object in printing this edition in *Devanāgarī* characters. The first and foremost object is to see how far a Gujarati reader can follow the *Devanāgarī* script. I for one have always held, since my residence in South Africa, that all the languages that have developed from Sanskrit, ought to have a common alphabet and that is the "*Devanāgarī.*" But it has remained only an ideal as yet. There is no doubt a considerable movement in favour of a common alphabet, but the question is 'Who is to bell the cat?'—in other words, 'Who is to take the lead?' The Gujeratis say, 'Our Gujarati alphabet is beautiful and withal simple, how can we give it up?' Of late the opinion has sprung up—an opinion shared by me—which maintains that the *Devanāgarī* itself is imperfect and inconvenient and that, therefore, it must be improved and made perfect first. But if we wait till such perfection is attained, we may have to wait till eternity. We cannot do that. Hence by way of experiment we have issued this edition in *Devanāgarī.* If it is

13. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
14. A. K. Priolkar, "Gujarātī Mudraṇanu Ādi-Parva," *Shri Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traimāsika*, Vol. XI Nos. 1-2 (April-September 1949), pp. 31-80.

welcomed by the public we shall try to issue other books—of the 'Navajīvana Prakāśana Maṁdīra' also in *Devanāgarī*.

The other object of this experiment is that thereby the Hindi speaking population may get a Gujerati book in the *Devanāgarī* script. I am of the opinion that if books written in Gujerati and other languages are printed in *Devanāgarī*, it will considerably reduce the difficulty of learning these languages."[15]

The First Vernacular Press in Bombay

Credit for establishing the first vernacular printing press in Bombay goes to Fardunji Marzaban. He was born at Surat in 1787. He loved knowledge since childhood, and at the age of eighteen went to Bombay to learn Persian and Arabic languages under the guidance of Mulla Feroze. He started a bookbinder's shop in 1808 and later sold postal stamps. While engaged in this business, as a result of his association with Jijibhai Chhapghar, as stated above, he was attracted to the idea of setting up a Gujerati printing press. He managed to secure a small printing press, but it was more difficult to obtain Gujerati types. He prepared such types himself with considerable effort, taking the help of women of his family for polishing types. The types are somewhat clumsy as compared with the elegant types in use today, but it must be remembered that Marzban's was the pioneering effort in this field. Marzaban succeeded in setting up his Gujerati press in 1812. The first book was printed in 1814. This was an Almanac for the Hindu Saṁvat Year 1871, no copy of which is available today. A Gujerati translation of the Persian book *Dabestāna*, prepared by Marzaban himself, was printed in this press in 1815. This was priced at Rs. 15 per copy. In 1817 a Gujerati translation of *Khorde Avestā* was also published. A number of Gujerati books were thus brought out by Marzaban. He extended his activities to a new field by starting a periodical called the *Bombay Samachar* on July 1, 1822. This was a weekly paper at the outset, and it was turned into a daily in 1832. It continues to be published to this day. Although deeply religious

15. M. K. Gandhi, *Satyanā Prayogo Athavā Ātmakathā*, Ahmedabad. 1940. (I am thankful to Mr. J. S. Zariwala for this translation from Gujerati).

by temperament, Marzaban was progressive in his social outlook. He died at the age of 60 on March 23, 1847, at Daman.[16]

It can be said that the objectives of the early printing activity in Bombay, as in Calcutta were political and administrative. Dr. Drummond has clarified these objectives in the following passage :—

> "...following pages chiefly intended to assist the studies of his young countrymen, who are destined to sojourn in these parts, and to preserve the blessings of a pure administration to all orders of society, and also to encourage those liberal minded Natives who admire our laws and aspire to learn our language, are inscribed,"[17].....

However, in 1813 the American Christian Missionaries appeared on the scene, and they had recourse to the art of printing in pursuance of their religious objectives. They were responsible for considerable progress in this art in the course of their activities.

The Work of the American Missionaries

In February, 1812, five missionaries of the American Board came to Calcutta. They were, however, refused entry there, as it was feared that in their religious zeal they might provoke popular resentment and unrest, and endanger the stability of the British rule. As a consequence one of them went to the Isle of France and two others to Burma. The remaining two also started for the Isle of France, but on their way they turned their steps to Bombay, in the hope that they might succeed in securing entry there. The Government of Bombay had, however, received strict orders that they should be refused admission. Moreover, England and America were at that time at war and there was therefore some risk in allowing American citizens to settle in Bombay. However, Sir Evan Napier, who was then the Governor of Bombay, considered their appeal with sympathy and allowed them to stay in Bombay pending the receipt of final orders from the Court of Directors. After considerable discussion, the Court of Directors left the

16. For details read Marzaban, *op. cit.*
17. Drummond, *Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts* etc., *op. cit.*, (Dedication).

decision to the discretion of the Bombay Government, and with the latter's approval the American mission started functioning in Bombay in 1813.[18]

Even while the American missionaries were still uncertain as to whether they would be permitted to stay on in Bombay, they had started the study of Marathi. They opened a Marathi school for the common people in 1814. By 1815 they had made sufficient progress in Marathi to enable them to preach in that language. In 1816 they translated a part of the New Testament into Marathi. It has been stated that in 1817 they printed a translation of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*.[19] It is clear therefore that before this date they had established a printing press in Bombay. But there are differences of opinion among students of the subject as to the precise date when the press was started.

Govind Narayan Madgaonkar, in his book *Mumbaīcem Varṇana* (Description of Bombay), writes that in 1813 the American missionaries had established a printing press and started producing lithographed literature on the Christian religion in Marathi.[20] On the other hand, we find it stated in the *Dnyānodaya*, a periodical published by the American missionaries, that "in December 1817 the American missionaries established a press for publishing literature relating to the Christian religion."[21] As we have seen above, in 1813 the American missionaries had not succeeded in securing a firm foothold in Bombay. We shall also see that lithography did not appear in India until a later date. It appears probable, therefore, that the date mentioned in the *Dnyānodaya* is the correct one, especially as both the month and the year are given therein.

The first Marathi book was printed in the American press in 1817. The present writer has not been able to see a copy of this book. It has been described as follows :

18. J. Murray Mitchell, *In Western India*, Edinburgh 1899, pp. 42-43.
19. *Memorial Papers of the American Marathi Mission*, 1813-1881. Bombay 1882, p. 77.
20. Govind Narayan, *Mumbaīcem Varṇana*. Bombay 1863, p. 246.
21. *Dnyānodaya*, Vol. XII No. 12 (15th June 1853), Bombay, p. 188.

"1817. A Scripture tract.—Probably by Rev. Gordon Hall. Issued March 10, 1817, 1500 copies. The first Christian publication in the Marathi Language, 8vo. pp. 8."[22]

The present writer has in his collection a book printed in the same press in 1818. Its title-page in Marathi and English is reproduced in the fourth part of this book.

In 1881 the semi-centennial anniversary of the Ahmednagar mission was commemorated. The following account of the achievements of the mission in the field of printing, which is reprinted from the book "*Memorial Papers of the American Marathi Mission* (1813-1881)" published on that occasion, may be considered as authoritative :—

The American Mission Press

1. *Establishment of the Press*—The Mission Press was established near the close of 1816. It was found to be a necessity, to enable the Missionaries to carry on their operation with any degree of efficiency. At that time there were no means in Bombay, nor on this side of India, for printing the Scriptures, or school-books or tracts, in the Marathi language. The object of the Missionaries at first was to print only what was required for their own use. Their operations commenced with a single *wooden* press, and they had only a *single fount* of Marathi type, which they had obtained from Calcutta. There was at first no intention of having any English department in the office. But it was found that the Mission would sometimes have work to be done for its own use in English, and that other Missions and Societies would also wish to have English work done for them. It was found, also, that the superintendence required for doing work in the native languages could easily be extended to English work, and it was therefore determined to add an English department to the office. The establishment was afterwards enlarged from time to time, in order to meet the demands that were made upon it.

2. *Superintendents of the Press*—The Press, which was obtained in 1816, was made available to the Mission by the arrival of Rev. Horatio of Bardwell on the 1st November of that year. He had

22. *Memorial Papers* etc., *op. cit.*, p. 112.

learned the art of printing, and for this reason had been sent to Bombay instead of to Ceylon, where he had been previously designated. As soon as he had gained sufficient knowledge of the Marathi alphabet and language, the wooden press was set at work, and, on the 10th of March, 1817, a scripture tract of eight pages was printed. This is supposed to have been the first Christian tract ever printed in the Marathi language. During that year also the Gospel of Matthew and a Harmony of the Gospels were printed. Mr. Bardwell remained in charge of the Press until near the beginning of 1821, when failing health compelled him to return to America. Mr. Newell then took charge of the Press for a few months, until the arrival of Mr. Garrett, a professional printer, on May 9th, 1821. The following list will show who were in charge of the Press from the time of its establishment, in 1817, to the time when it was given up in 1856 :—

Rev. Horatio Bardwell ...			1817		1820
Rev. Samuel Newell			1821	May	1821
Mr. James Garrett		May	1821		1831
Rev. Cyrus Stone			1831		1833
Mr. Wm. C. Sampson		Jan.	1834	Oct.	1835
Mr. Elijah A. Webster... ...		Oct.	1835		1842
Rev. D. O. Allen, D. D. ...			1842		1850
Rev. S. B. Fairbank			1850		1855
Rev. A. Hazen			1855		1856

3. *Growth of the Establishment*—The little wooden press, and the single fount of Marathi type, could not long meet the demands that were made upon them. It became a necessity to add more presses and more types, not only in Marathi, but also English, Guzarati and Hindustani. These were added from time to time as occasion required, until, in 1844, it was reported that the establishment contained "materials for printing to any extent required, in English, Sanskrit, Marathi, Guzarati, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, Zend and Pelvhi, besides several small founts of other kinds of type to be used in printing extracts, quotations, criticism, &c." A lithographic press was obtained, and a bindery was added, which was of sufficient extent to bind all the books printed in the office. A type foundery was also established, in which nearly all the types used in the office were made.

When in full working order the establishment employed about 125 men and boys. These generally attended the Marathi Sabbath services, and there was a short exercise of reading the Scripture and prayer at the opening of the press every day, just after the roll was called.

The following inventory of the principal stock was prepared by Rev. S. B. Fairbank in 1854. He says :—

" The Establishment contains 7 Hand Presses, 1 Lithographic Press, 1 Embossing Press, 2 Standing Presses (for smoothing the printed paper), 2 Cutting Machines (for trimming the edges of books), 7 Furnaces and other Foundery apparatus. It possesses the moulds and matrices for casting these founts of English type, of the sizes called Small Pica, Long Primer and Bourgeois : the moulds, punches, and matrices for 7 Marathi founts, Balbodh character, 1 Marathi fount Modi character, 3 Guzarati founts, and one Zend fount. It has two small founts for printing Hindustani. The above founts enable us also to print Sindhi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. It has a fount of Music type. It has English type of various kinds, plain and fancy, sufficient for carrying on job printing to the extent that one proof-reader can manage."

4. *Introduction of Type Founding.*—No attempt was made to introduce type founding for many years after the Press was established. In 1825, a new fount of Marathi type was obtained from Calcutta, and this was probably the fount that was used in printing the New Testament of 1830. The history of the introduction of type founding extends back several years before the first types were actually cast. An East Indian lad, Thomas Graham by name, was living with Mr. Hall for some time, and was employed in daily visiting the Marathi schools. He accompanied Mr. Hall on his last tour, in the vicinity of Nasik, and was with him when he died. Young Graham afterwards lived with Mr. Graves, and was employed about the Printing Press. For a time he was the Bellowsboy in the Blacksmiths' shop, where the necessary repairs for the Press were made, but this did not continue very long. He was a very observant lad, and possessed the imitative and inventive faculties in an unusual degree. Seeing

this, Mr. Graves suggested to him that he should try his hand at cutting punches for a new Marathi fount of type. Mr. Graves could give him no instruction as to how the punches should be made. He only knew that the letters were cut on the end of a piece of steel. Graham resolved to try, and taking some type for a pattern he attempted to imitate it. He struggled hard and was determined not to give it up until he succeeded. It took him a full week to make his first letter, which was a plain English T. But the experience of that week taught him how to do work, and further practice added to his skill. Soon after he cut a whole fount of several hundred punches. This was done before Mr. Graves went to America in October 1832. Mr. Graves took the punches with him in order to have matrices and moulds made for casting the type. But on his return voyage to India, in 1833, the whole fount of punches was completely destroyed by rust. Nothing further was done in this direction for some time. While Mr. Sampson was in charge of the Press it was very much enlarged, and Mr. Graham, knowing what an advantage it would be for them to make their own type, suggested to Mr. Sampson that he should send for the necessary moulds and other tools for that purpose. He was himself ready to undertake the cutting of the punches. This suggestion was favourably considered, and Mr. Sampson accordingly wrote to America in regard to it. Soon after Mr. Webster was sent out (arrived October 11, 1835) to take charge of the Press, and he brought with him all the plant and appliances for the proposed type-foundery. Mr. Graham cut the punches, and Mr. Webster made the matrices and moulds. The first fount was cast and brought into use in 1836, and it was a great improvement on the founts that had been previously in use. In cutting the Marathi founts Mr. Graham considerably reduced the number of double letters, by making half-letters, or sections of letters. This was also done in the Guzarati founts. These founts are in use up to the present time.

5. *Improvement in Type.*—The greatest improvement which Mr. Graham and Mr. Webster made in their new founts of type was in reducing the size of the letters and giving them a more attractive form. This was so apparent that it soon began to attract the attention of all who had occasion to use it. The Report of the Bible Society for 1842 says :

"It is here just that the Society should be made aware of the great benefits which have resulted from the attention which the American Mission Press has constantly and skilfully directed to typographical improvements in printing vernacular languages; in both of which (Marathi and Guzarati), they have had remarkable success, considerably reducing the size of the types, without any loss of clearness, or injury to its distinctive character. To those unacquainted with the subject, this may appear to be a subject of very sincere congratulation, but when they shall learn that it reduces the cost of printing nearly one-half, that it renders the volume more portable and therefore more acceptable, and has other obvious advantages, the immense importance of these improvements, the result of their care and skill, will appear in the fact that it just doubles the Society's means of usefulness, doubles the number of Bibles, doubles the seed which it is their privilege to sow. More need not be said to show the value of such diligence, nor the fitting acknowledgments which are due."

6. *Profits of the Press.*—After the successful introduction of the type foundery, as just described, the operations of the Press were greatly enlarged. It was able to turn out a larger amount of work, and that much more rapidly than it had ever done before. For many years there was no other Press in Bombay that could compete with it. Under the management of Dr. Allen it was brought to such a high state of efficiency that its profits were sufficient for several years to meet the entire expenses of the Mission in Bombay. In eight years previous to 1853 it had realized a profit of Rs. 93,000. This profit was mainly, if not entirely, derived from job printing. Besides the printing done for profit, the Press had done all the printing of the Mission since its establishment, and for many years had done all the printing of the Bombay Bible and Tract Societies. The whole amount of work turned out by the Press, from first to last, was about 136,000,000 pages.

Objections have sometimes been made against Missions having printing establishments, as partaking too much of a secular character, and requiring care and time for their superintendence.

These objections were referred to in the Mission Report of 1844, as follows :—

> " It is necessary that Missionaries have the Scriptures, Tracts and School-books in the language of the people for whose spiritual good they are labouring. In some places these can be procured in no other way than by printing them. Such were the circumstances of the first Mission in Bombay. And when this exigency has ceased, from the native population having acquired some knowledge and skill in printing, Missionary printing establishments are still desirable, if not necessary, in order to a due regard to the economy and efficiency of Missionary operations. Such establishments should be devoted as far as practicable to the Missionary cause generally, and the charge for work for different Missions and religious and benevolent Societies, which are auxiliary to the Missionary cause, should be no more than is necessary to cover all the expenses of the establishment. On this principle our Press has always been carried on, and whatever profits have resulted from any kind of work, have always been appropriated towards the expenses of the Mission."

7. *Reasons for giving up the Press.*—The important position which the Press had gained, made it a means of exerting a very wide Christian influence in Western India. But there were dangers connected with it as a Mission agency. It involved heavy responsibilities. There was a centralizing power in it that needed to be guarded against. There was danger of its absorbing too much Missionary labour ; of its " employing young members of the church at a trade, who might else be useful as teachers or catechists," and " of its collecting those who would be more influential if left in their own villages." Moreover, there was no longer a need of maintaining such an establishment. Other presses had become so numerous in Bombay that the work of the Mission could be easily done elsewhere. And it being the usage of the Board not to be encumbered with such establishments, except where they are a necessity, it was resolved, at the time when the Deputation from the Board visited the Mission in December 1854, that the establishment should be given up. Accordingly the

English Department was sold in 1855, and three years later the Vernacular Department was also sold." [23]

The Printing Activities of the Bombay Government

We shall next review briefly the printing activity started in Bombay under government auspices with the object of promoting the education of the masses. By 1818 the British power had replaced the Peshwa regime in Maharashtra. The new rulers realised the need of promoting the education of the people through the medium of their own mother tongue. In 1815 the *Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay*, better known as the *Bombay Education Society*, was started. Its main objective was to provide for the education of the children of mixed descent born of European soldiers and sailors and Indian mothers. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, became the President of this institution, and he extended the scope of its activities by establishing in 1820 the *Native School and School Book Committee*, with the larger objective of promoting the education of the children of the Hindu, Parsi, and Muslim populations. The original institution used English as the medium of instruction. But it was evident to the Committee that the education of the general population must be imparted through the medium of the mother tongue. In the following resolution the Committee asserts this with great clarity and force, and also brings out the need for preparing suitable text-books as an effective means to improve the indigenous system of education then prevailing in the country :—

> " In imparting to the natives useful knowledge to any extent, and with the hope of any good and permanent effect, it is evident the language of the country must be the *chief* and proper vehicle. The English language is almost confined to the island of Bombay, and here is principally to be found among those natives who are anxious to acquire it for the furtherance of mercantile pursuits, or for facilitating their intercourse or employment with Europeans ; the great body of the people of the province have no occasion for its use, and are entirely ignorant of it. However advantageously therefore

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-96.

the English language may be taught to many at the Presidency, and to some of a higher class at the outstations, yet it is impossible to look, with any hope of success, to imparting knowledge generally and usefully in a language which must remain to the greater portion a foreign one. But in the languages of the country, it is remarkable, there are few if any, books of a good moral tendency, and fewer still which can be offered in their present state for the education of children. Schools are frequent among the natives and abound everywhere, but the instruction in them is of the lowest kind, and amounts to little more than a simple knowledge of the alphabet and figures, with a complicated mode of common arithmetic; reading is not practised, nor orthography acquired; whilst as regards general knowledge, or an acquaintance of their religion and moral duties, the children are entirely without instruction.

One of the first objects therefore towards improving the education of the natives, must be the preparing and publishing some unexceptionable school-tracts in the native language. These languages will be for the most part the Mahratta and Guzerattee, the former of which prevails through the extensive provinces of the late Paishwa to the Southward and Eastward of Bombay, and the latter to the Northward."[24]

The work of preparing text-books in the Marathi langua.ge was originally entrusted to the Secretary of the Committee, Dr John Taylor. Owing to his prolonged illness, which ultimately resulted in his death, he could make only limited progress in this task. His achievements are summarised in the seventh annual report (for 1822) of the Society as follows :—

"The Committee however have made some progress in publications both in Guzerattee and Mahratta. In Guzerattee they have prepared and printed, 1st Set of large letters; 2nd Short sentences; 3rd A selection of Fables. In Mahratta they are publishing the same, and they had also resolved to print the Pancho Pakhyan, but they are most happy to say

24. *The Sixth Annual Report* (1821) *of the Bombay Education Society*, Bombay, pp. 20-26 (*Selections from Educational Records* (Bombay) Part II (1815-1840) by Shri R. V. Parulekar and C. L. Bakshi, Bombay 1955, p. 27).

that the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, anticipating the wishes of the Committee, has directed one thousand copies of this work to be printed at the public expense, under the superintendence of W. H. Wathen, Esq., who had readily consented to undertake the office of Secretary to this Committee.

The Hon'ble the Governor in Council has also obtained from England an entire new fount of Mahratta types, from which the above work will be printed, and Mr. Wathen is engaged under the sanction of Government in selecting other unexceptionable native tracts, and in translating such English publications as it is thought will be more immediately useful."[25]

As we have seen earlier, the fount of Marathi types obtained from England, to which reference is made in the above passage, was prepared by Sir Charles Wilkins. These types were used for printing the *Pañcopākhyāna* at the Courier Press in 1822. This is the first book printed in Bombay *entirely in Marathi*. As this was then a rare performance, Elphinstone presented copies of the book to various distinguished gentlemen of the time. A letter from Sardar Madhav Anant Raste, dated October 22, 1822, acknowledging the gift with thanks, is extant. In this the Maratha Sardar wrote :—

"*Pañcopākhyāna* has been printed on the machine in the island of Bombay for reading in Marathi in the *Bālabodha* script. A copy of this was sent to us so as to enable us to observe this wonderful feat. We note your request that we may accept the same and peruse it with care. The book has been duly received and we have great pleasure in accepting the same."[26]

After the *Pañcopākhyāna* another Marathi book *Vidura-Nīti* was published in 1823. An advertisement appearing in the issue of the *Bombay Courier* dated October 4, 1823, runs as follows :—

"We have for sale a number of copies of Marathi books *Pañcopākhyāna* and *Vidura-Nīti* The price of the former

25. *The Seventh Annual Report of the Bombay Education Society.* Bombay, pp, 24-27. (Parulekar & Bakshi, *op. cit.*, p. 34).

26. G. S. Sardesai, *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, (Vol. 42) Bombay 1934, p. 52.

is Rs. 8 for Europeans and Rs. 3 for natives and that of *Vidura-Nīti* Rs. 6 for Europeans and Rs. 2 for natives. Anyone who wishes to purchase copies at the above rate may come to the Courier office and obtain the same from the head clerk Pandurang Dalvi. Dated October 3, 1823."

The same types were also used to print the *Siṁhāsana-Battisī* in 1824, the third book to be printed in Marathi in Bombay.

Some copies of these books, which were published under active encouragement from Elphinstone, were kept at the latter's residence. The following incident, which bears testimony to Elphinstone's sense of duty and political vision, has been recorded by John Briggs, the British Resident at Satara :—

> " On my observing in the corner of his tent one day a pile of printed Mahratta books, I asked him what they were meant for ? ' To educate the natives ', said he ; ' but it is our high road back to Europe '. ' Then ', I replied, ' I wonder you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot '. He answered. ' We are bound, under all circumstances, to do our duty to them '."[27]

It appears that the quantity of types obtained from England was inadequate. A need was also being felt for Gujerati types prepared on the pattern of the " new Balbodh " used for the Marathi books. This finds expression in the following appeal to the Government made on October 4, 1823, by George Jervis, the Secretary to the Native School Book and School Society :—

> " The Society deems it a great object to obtain a larger supply of Mahratha Types and a new font of Guzerathee ; the latter to be executed like the new Balbodh ; drawings of the letters might be sent home. They might afterwards be disposed of on moderate terms to the Native Presses, as then the works could be most conveniently printed. The Society would solicit moreover a lithographic Press..."[28]

27. *Journal of the East India Association.* Report for 1867-68 (No. 1. Vol. II), p. 103.
28. *The Bombay Secretariat Records,* G. D. Vol. 8(63) of 1824, pp. 93-94,

Consideration of the suggestion to import types of Marathi and Gujerati characters from England and to sell them to private printers at concessional rates was deferred, as it provoked opposition in certain quarters. The alternative suggestion to import a lithographic press was however acceded to by the Government who by their letter of March 10, 1824, informed the Society as follows :—

> " Several Lithographic presses having been applied for from the Court of Directors, one of them will be supplied to the Society."[29]

It would be appropriate at this stage to clear up one popular misconception. It is often believed that lithography was an early phase in the development of the art of printing, and that typography came later. This is not correct. It was only in 1796-9 that lithography was invented at Munich by Alois Senefelder (1772-1834). It was not until 1817 that lithography was popularised in England. In this connection Charles Rosner writes as follows :

> " Senefelder's invention was introduced to England in 1800 by the inventor himself, but it is Rudolf Ackermann who started his Lithographic Press in 1817, who may be regarded as the real popularizer of Lithography in Britain."[30]

Six lithographic presses, three large and three small, were received at the outset from the Directors. In the beginning there was an idea to supply one such press to each government department for being operated through their regular staff or with very nominal additions thereto. But it was soon realised that this would not be feasible, and the idea was therefore given up. This is referred to in the following official memorandum :—

> " At the time the Lithographic presses were applied for from England it seems to have been under the idea that a press could be sent to each office where it might be most required, and worked by the regular establishment of such office, or at all events with very little addition. In this manner however there is reason to apprehend they would not be long efficient nor so extensively useful as they might be rendered.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
30. Charles Rosner, *Printer's Progress*, London 1951. (No paging).

Considerable care and attention and an understanding of the principles of the invention are requisite ; in short, a more able superintendence than is likely to be obtained from Natives and a more constant employment than would thus be ensured is essential to render the establishment expert. One European Superintendent would be required for one press but the same person would be able to superintend the whole six presses received...

Saving in printing at the Courier office and receipts from printing from others when the presses are not required for Government duty would cover the expense—the printing of the Native School Book and School Society being done gratis...

It will be a part of the duty of the Lithographist at the presidency to instruct others to send up the country. His salary is fixed at 350 rupees per month, but no part of it to be paid until the person appointed shall be reported by a Committee composed of the Chief Secretary and the two other secretaries to be so perfectly capable of performing the duty. Mr. MacDowall of the Secretary's office is appointed Lithographist."[31]

The suggestion to appoint an expert lithographer to supervise the working of government lithographic establishment was approved by the Governor on June 26, 1824, and Mr. MacDowall was soon appointed in that capacity. He was given assistance of the following staff:- For large presses: One head pressman (salary Rs. 12 p.m.) and two pressmen (salary Rs. 6 p.m.). For small presses : One head pressman (salary Rs. 8 p.m.) and two pressmen (salary Rs. 6 p.m.). Particulars of the following early appointments are available in Government records[32] :—

Name	*Designation*	*Date of appointment*
Maddoo Bappoo	Head Pressman	15-7-1824
Abia Nammajee	do.	do.
Rama Ragu	Pressman	28-7-1824
Shaik Ally	do.	1-8-1824

31. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G. D. Vol. 14/70 of 1824, pp. 57-59.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

By a circular issued by Government on August 26, 1824, various government offices were directed to send their printing requirements to the government lithographic printing presses. The actual wording of the circular is as follows :—

> " The Court of Directors having sent out a set of Lithographic printing presses, I am directed to inform you that advertisements in the English or Native languages or Circular letters etc., etc., which it may be requisite to issue from your office, and which it would have been necessary to print at the charge of Government, are henceforward to be sent to the Lithographic office to be printed.
>
> 2nd. If it be thought desirable, the letter or other document should be a facsimile of the handwriting of any clerk in your office, you will be pleased to direct him to attend with the draft of the letter that it may be printed from his manuscript."[33]

The following passage extracted from the second annual Report (for 1824-25) of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society should serve to give an idea of the Society's printing activities during 1824-25 :—

> " The slowness, also, of printing at the only press which it was in the power of the Committee to employ, has prevented them from printing during the last year, all the works which were prepared for publication. But this obstacle to the speedy and extensive circulation of books, which is indispensable for promoting the objects of this Institution, has been in a great measure obviated by Government, having, with its wonted liberality, presented to the Society, four Lithographic presses, and by two fonts of Types, which have been ordered from Bengal and are daily expected, besides ordering Printing Presses and Types (English and Balbodh) from England for its use. By these means the Committee are persuaded that the Printing Department of the Society will be conducted with cheapness and expedition. A short time, however, must elapse before all the advantages derivable from them can be produced, as it is previously necessary to instruct persons in the

33. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

different processes of Lithography and Printing; but the natives evince an admirable capacity for acquiring the requisite knowledge, and for applying it with all the exactness that can be wished.

During the last year, therefore, there has been printed only the Gunnit, or System of Arithmetic on the European Plan, in Goojratee, and four hundred copies of each of the Folio Tables, for the use of the Schools, according to Lancaster's System, in Marat'ha. But there are now in the press the copies of Lancaster's Tables in Goojratee; the stories in Marat'ha for Children; a translation into Marat'ha and Goojratee of Colonel Palsey's Practical Geometry, and Hutton's Mensuration of Planes and Solids; and a treatise on Plane Trigonometry, with Tables of Logarithms, Log: Sines, &c. in Marat'ha; a translation into Marat'ha of Esop's Fables; and Hindoostanee Stories translated from the Jumu ool Hikayat. There are moreover prepared and merely waiting for the means of being printed, Gunnit, Second Part, in Marat'ha and Goojratee. A Grammar and a Dictionary of the Marat'ha language, in *Mahratta only*, for the use more particularly of natives, are in course of preparation by the Pundits of the Society. A Goojratee and English, and English and Goojratee Dictionary, now in progress, has been tendered to the Society, and also the translation into Marat'ha of an Abridged History of England. Works similar to the Dictionary and Grammar of the Marat'ha language, above referred to, are intended to be prepared in Goojratee, and their utility will be obvious; for these two languages have hitherto been employed merely for the purposes of intercourse and business, and have never been either fixed or refined by writers in prose. The rules of Grammar, therefore, on analysed and definite principles, and the capacities of these languages, are unknown, even to the native themselves; and consequently, until these essential points are ascertained, the composers of original treatises, and particularly translators, from having no acknowledged rules of standard works to refer to, must labour under the greatest difficulties."[34]

34. *The Second Report of the Proceedings of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society*, (1824-25), Bombay 1825, pp. 13-14.

The name of the Native School Book and School Society was changed to the *Bombay Native Education Society* at a meeting held on January 20, 1827. In a report for the year 1825-26 read at this meeting we find detailed particulars of the literature printed or being printed during this period, as also an account of the difficulties in the way of publication of the books then experienced. The relevant passage is given below :—

(1) "The printing of the following works has been completed since the last General Meeting :—

MARAT'HA

Bod'h Wuchun, or Advice to Children, 2nd edition	1000 copies
Translation of Dr. Hutton's Arithmetic, 1st Part, or Integral, 2nd edition	1000 ,,
Balgoshtee, or Stories for little Children ...	1000 ,,
Translation of Dr. Hutton's Arithmetic, 2nd Part, Fractional, &c. to the end of Practical Questions	1000 ,,
Leepeed'hara or Spelling Book, 2d edition	2000 ,,
Translation of Colonel Pasley's Practical Geometry	1000 ,,
Tables of Logarithms, with descriptive account	2000 ,,
Translation of Pleasing Tales, from the Bengalee edition of Tarrachund Dutt ...	1000 ,,

GOOJRATEE

Advice to Children, 2d edition	1000 ,,
School Tables, folio, on Lancaster's plan, 361 in each set	400 Sets
Translation of a Selection from Dodsley's Tables	1000 Copies
Spelling Book, for the use of Adults ...	1000 ,,
Translation of Dr. Hutton's Arithmetic, 2d Part, Fractional, &c. to the end of Practical Questions	1000 ,,
Translation of ditto ditto 1st Part Integral, 2d ed.	1000 ,,

Translation of Colonel Pasley's Practical Geometry ... ... 1000 Copies

HINDOOSTANEE

A Translation of Stories, selected from the Persian work entitled *Jumu ool Hikayat* 200 Copies

(2) The works at present in the press are—

MARAT'HA

Aesop's Fables.

Elements of Geometry, translated from Dr. Hutton's Course of Mathematics.

GOOJRATEE

Elements of Geometry, translated from Dr. Hutton's course of Mathematics.

PERSIAN

The Deewan of Hafiz.

Anwari Sohili.

(3) The Books compiled and awaiting the means of publication are, in

MARAT'HA

Elements of Algebra, translated from the works of Hutton and Bonnycastle.

Treatise on Plane Trigonometry and Mensuration of Heights and Distances, with Tables of Logarithmic Sines, Tangents, &c.

Treatise on Mensuration of Planes and Solids.

GOOJRATEE

Treatise on Plane Trigonometry and Mensuration of Heights and Distances, with Tables of Logarithmic Sines, Tangents, &c.

Treatise on Mensuration of Planes and Solids.

Elements of Algebra, translated from the works of Hutton and Bonnycastle.

4) The undermentioned works are in preparation—

A Marat'ha Grammar, for the use of the natives—this is compiled and nearly revised.

Questions and Answers on Marat'ha Grammar—this is compiled, but requires revision.

Ditto ditto on Goojratee Grammar—this is compiled, but requires revision.

A Marat'ha Dictionary, for the use of the natives.

A Goojratee Dictionary, for ditto.

An English and Marat'ha, and Marat'ha and English Dictionary.

A Marat'ha and English Grammar.

An English and Goojratee, and Goojratee and English Dictionary.

A Goojratee and English Grammar.

Marat'ha translation of Morrison's Book Keeping.

Marat'ha translation of selections from the Beauties of History.

Marat'ha translation of Marcet's conversations on Natural Philosophy.

Idiomatic Exercises in Marat'ha and English.

Idiomatic Exercises in Goojratee and English.

Berquin's Children's Friend in Marat'ha.

It will be perceived from the foregoing list, that the works already issued from the press, are of an elementary character ; but the Committee contemplate that more successful progress will attend education by due care, in the first instance, to such treatises. The books in the course of printing are of a higher stamp, and those in preparation mark the gradual development of the Society's utility, and the increasing taste among the natives for compositions of a superior class.

The scanty means, however, possessed hitherto by the Society, for printing, did not admit of meeting the demands for its publications with the rapidity and success desired. On referring to the list of works in the press at the commencement of the year, it will be seen that only five could be lithographed at the same time. Six others, of great importance to the advancement of education, approved and accepted by the examination Committee, were of necessity set aside,

awaiting either the completion of the foregoing, or an accession of implements and artificers in the printing department; whilst the new works coming in, and the second editions called for others, continued to add to the number of books of which the printing was thus delayed in consequence of the inadequate powers of the press. In assigning reasons for any apparent inactivity in this department of the Society's duties, it is necessary to notice the inconvenience and hindrances that have been felt for want of paper for printing. The shops in the market have been nearly exhausted to meet our requisitions; the prices demanded have become extravagant, and the consequences are more felt as they oblige the committee to put a higher price on their publications than they could wish. Notwithstanding these obstacles, it is hoped that the subscribers will not be disappointed, either with the extent or quality of what has been produced since the last general meeting. To prevent the operations of the printing department from falling heavily in arrears before the arrival of the large supplies of presses, types, paper &c. from the Honorable the Court of Directors, indented for by Government, in August, 1825, for the Society's use, the precaution has been adopted of commissioning paper from England (the receipt of which is daily expected) to the value of £.200, to be paid for from the funds of the Society; and the Government, besides giving orders for the construction of three new lithographic presses in this country, for the use of the Society, and issuing instructions to different public functionaries in the interior to search in their respective districts for stone adapted to the purposes of lithography, has rendered the whole of its Lithographic Establishment available for the printing of native works."[35]

At this time, printing ink was being manufactured in India, but the stones required for lithographic presses had to be imported from Europe. Official inquiries were therefore instituted as to whether the type of stone required for this purpose was available in India. As a result of such inquiries stones actually superior in quality

35. *The Third Report of the Proceedings of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society*, 1825-26, Bombay 1826, pp. 10-13.

to those imported from Europe were discovered at Kurnool in Bellary District of the Madras Presidency. W. Garrad, the Chief Engineer at Fort St. George, conveyed this information to the Governor at Fort St. George, in the following words, in a letter lithographed from a Kurnool stone :—

> " I do myself the honour to submit to you this specimen of Lithography from a Kurnool stone, the existence of which I had the honour to bring to the notice of Government in my letter bearing date 15th November, 1826, and I have the further gratification of adding that the article is to be obtained in any quantity, it is much denser and of finer grain than any I have yet seen from Europe, and may be considered as so far superior for manuscript copies, and every description of fine work where clearness and minuteness of character are required."[36]

The following letter addressed on November 24, 1830, by H. Willis, Superintendent, Government Lithographic Department, to Willoughby, the Secretary to the Bombay Government, shows that the stones required for the lithographic presses in Bombay were also obtained from Kurnool :—

> " Serjeant Jebb now attached to the Oriental Lithographic Department who was sent sometime ago to Carnoul for the purpose of procuring Lithographic stones for Government having returned to Poona, with upward of one hundred, of which forty are destined for this Establishment, may I request that Captain George Jervis be directed to deliver that number of stones to the commissariat at Poona, and also that instructions be sent to that Department to forward them to Bombay with the least possible delay."[37]

The impressive progress made by the Government lithographic presses served as an incentive to private businessmen to enter this field. As an instance, we reproduce hereunder an application

36. *The Bombay Secreteriat Records*, G. D. Vol. 10/143 of 1827, p. 185.
37. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G. D.. Vol. 207 of 1830, p. 314.

dated November 8, 1826, made by " Ferdunji Sorabjee Dastoor, inhabitant within the fort walls of Bombay" :—

> " Your poor Petitioner had opened a Lithographic Press to print the book or paper for commercial Nature. Therefore your Honorable Board will be pleased to order the Chief Secretary to Government to give the certificate to your petitioner for the same purpose, and that the Honorable Company had published the Regulation for Printing Office in this year, 1825."[38]

A suggestion was made by Mr. Warden that as private lithographic presses had been established, Government should hand over its own set of presses to the Native School Book and School Society, so as to provide larger scope to the working of the private presses. The suggestion was, however, turned down by Elphinstone on the ground that the Society would not be able to meet the cost of running the presses.[39]

At the annual meeting of the Society held on March 8, 1828, Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, praised the progress in lithography achieved in the Government Presses. This is recorded in the Society's annual Report for 1827 in the following passage :—

> "...Sir John Malcolm said he had to notice (which he did with sincere satisfaction) the progress in Lithography. From this expeditious and economical mode of printing he desired no further proof of the excellent state of the press of the Institution than that furnished by a book before him (the Anwari Sohili) in Persian. He was informed that the Society was enabled to dispose of this work for 25 rupees, and he stated his belief that such a copy in Persia would cost nearly two hundred."[40]

After the death of the first lithographer MacDowall, Francisco de Ramos was appointed to that position on September 18, 1826.

38. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G. D. Vol. 10/118 of 1826, p. 553.
39. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G. D. Vol. 10/143 of 1827, pp. 81-85.
40. *The Fourth Report of the Proceedings of the Bombay Native Educaiotn Society*, for 1827, Bombay 1828, p. 6.

Captain Jervis writes in a letter that he was placed in charge of the Government lithographic establishment in 1829.[41] In 1830, the Engineering College, with which Captain Jervis was associated as a teacher, was moved to Poona. In an address presented to Jervis on this occasion by some prominent residents of Bombay, they eulogise his work in connection with lithography.[42] Jervis took a lithographic press with him to Poona. This was probably the first printing press established in Poona. When Jervis returned to England in 1831, the Society's lithographic press establishment at Poona was closed down and it was decided to get all printing work done at the Government press in Bombay.

In the press of the Society, although lithography was preferred as more economical, facilities were also available for typographical printing. We have already referred to books published by the Bombay Government by using types prepared by Sir Charles Wilkins in England. The size of these types was, however, very large, and as a consequence their use entailed excessive expense on paper. Types of small size were therefore obtained from Calcutta. This is referred to in a letter written on May 29, 1824, by the Society's Secretary to the Government :—

> " With a view, at present, to economy in printing the smaller tracts of the Society, the Committee have resolved to obtain a Supply of Types from Calcutta, similar to those used in Yate's Sanscrit Grammar, that the Table work for them may be arranged by compositors in our own employ, and be sent for publication to one of the printing presses on the Island."[43]

It is seen from the above extract that at least at this stage the Society's press did not own a typographical printing machine.

We have seen that Fardunji Marzaban cast types of Gujerati letters and set up a printing press. The types prepared by him were, however, very clumsy and crude in form. Credit for improving the types of Gujerati and *Devanāgarī* characters almost

41. W. P. Jervis, *Life of Colonel T. B. Jervis*, London 1898, p. 33.
42. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G. D. Vol. 6 of 1830, pp. 328-330.
43. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G.D. Vol. 8 (63) of 1824, p. 365.

to the point of perfection goes to Ganpat Krishnaji and Javji Dadaji, two gentlemen who occupy a very high place in the subsequent history of *Devanāgarī* and Gujerati printing in the Bombay Presidency.

Govind Narayan Madgaonkar, in his work *Mumbaīcem Varṇana* (1863), gives the following interesting account of the pioneering work of Ganpat Krishnaji :—

> " The American missionaries established a printing press in 1813 and began to produce books on Christian religion printed lithographically. The late Ganpat Krishnaji, on seeing these books, conceived the idea in 1840 of establishing a printing press to bring out literature on Hindu religion and other subjects. He did not, however, possess any printing material or machinery, nor could this be obtained in Bombay at that time. He therefore began his experiments to construct a printing press by the use of his own ingenuity and observation of the work of the American Missionaries. This gentleman belonged to the Bhandari caste. He was skilful, intelligent and far-sighted, and had a deep faith in the Hindu religion. At first he devised a wooden machine with his own hands, and collected small pieces of stone from various places to see how letters could be printed therefrom. He then began experimenting with different processes of preparing printing ink, and by his own techniques prepared different kinds of ink...
>
> He then got an iron press constructed locally, purchased large stones and began to print small books. In 1831 he prepared and printed a Marathi Hindu Almanac (*Pañcāṁga*) for that year. Prior to that date a printed Marathi Hindu Almanac was a thing unknown. He sold the Almanac at a price of 8 annas per copy. His Almaňac was accurate and neatly printed. At that time Brahmins were reluctant to use printed books. But they purchased these Almanacs willingly, and used them on the Hindu New Year's Day for reading the astrological forecasts for the ensuing year. Ganpat Krishnaji showed some of the books printed by him to Dr. Wilson, Father Garrett and Father Allen. These European gentlemen were greatly pleased with his work and

praised him for his intelligence. To encourage him in his activities they also offered him some printing jobs. His press thus came to be known far and wide, and his activities increased progressively.

In 1843 he began his experiments in the technique of preparing types. With considerable labour he prepared punches and set up a foundry to cast types. He prepared a complete fount of all the types and established a typographical press. He thus used both kinds of printing presses to print thousands of Gujarati and Marathi books. There is probably no other Marathi press which can compare with his press as regards the quality of printing."[44] Ganpat Krishnaji died in 1861.

Javji Dadaji (1839-1892) brought about a veritable revolution in the art of printing and type-casting. The following brief review of his life and work is taken from an obituary note published in the *Times of India* in 1912 :—

" Having been born of very humble parentage, he had not the benefit of any school education. When a boy of 10 years he obtained employment in the *American Mission Press* on a salary of Rs. 2 per mensem. The Press was subsequently amalgamated with the *Times of India Press*,[45] and Javji was transferred to it on an increased salary of Rs. 6 per month. Afterwards he joined the staff of the *Indu-Prakash Press*[46] on a salary of Rs. 13. While at the American Mission press, Javji obtained some knowledge of type-casting, and he had an opportunity of extending it while at the *Indu-Prakash Press.* In 1864 he opened a small type foundry on his own account, and in 1869 he established the *Nirnaya-Sāgara Press.* His types are used in the whole of India and also in America, and the Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindustani and Guzerati books printed at his press have a name amongst scholars for accuracy and elegance. Mr. Javji was a man of very amiable disposition and was held in high esteem by all who had an opportunity

44. Govind Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 246-248.
45. In 1859. *Vide Jāvaji Dādāji Coudharīṁcem Caritra,* Bombay 1909, p. 48.
46. In 1862. *Vide Ibid.*

of knowing him. He was lately created a Justice of the Peace. His death is a great blow to the art of printing and type-casting."[47]

The Gujerati and Marathi types prepared by Javji Dadaji stand unsurpassed for all-round excellence even to-day. His friend and collaborator, Ranoji Raoji Aru, also deserves mention here, as he contributed in a large measure to the success achieved by Javji Dadaji.

We have briefly surveyed so far the entry and early development of the art of printing in different major centres in India. It is not proposed to give an account of the various developments which took place after the printing industry had been placed on firm foundations in India and had become an indispensable part of our national life. Although there are many subsequent advances in the techniques of printing and type-casting after this date, which were in due course adopted by the printing industry in India, they do not therefore find a place in the present survey.

47. *The Times of India*, Bombay, 9th April 1912.

CHAPTER VI

OPPOSITION TO THE PRINTING PRESS

During the early period of British rule in India, the administrators tended to look askance at the growth of the printing press in this country. Indians had not sufficiently advanced at this stage to participate effectively in journalism, and the press was in the hands of the compatriots of the rulers. But these people were often extremely critical of the administrators. This was not only embarrassing at the moment, but it was feared that it might result in accelerating the growth of political consciousness among Indians, a prospect which many administrators were not prepared to view with equanimity. Fortunately, there were far-sighted statesmen like Elphinstone, who held that the immediate practical advantages of the press as an instrument of popular education far outweighed the remote political risks, and they sought a solution of the difficult problem in the establishment of a controlled press. There was also opposition to the printing activity of the missionaries on political grounds. It was felt that the religious zeal of the missionaries might outrun discretion and political propriety, and give rise to popular discontent; and that Government support of the missionary activities might be taken to run counter to their policy of non-interference in religious matters.

The first journalist who stands out as a fearless critic of the administration is James Augustus Hicky. In Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, which was started by him in 1780, he indulged in virulent personal attacks against Warren Hastings (the Governor General), and Sir Elizah Impey (the President of the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*). In 1781 Hicky was arrested and fined under orders from Sir Elizah Impey, but this did not change his attitude. It is believed that he was secretly supported and encouraged by Hasting's adversary Sir Philip Francis. He was again prosecuted in 1782 and imprisoned for 19 months, and his press was confiscated. The *Bengal Gazette* then ceased publication.

Mr. Bruce, editor of the *Asiatic Mirror* of Calcutta, is known for his outspoken criticism of Lord Wellesley, who became the Governor General in 1797. Wellesley ordered him home by the first available ship, so that "public security might not be exposed to constant hazard." Wellesley wrote to Sir Alured Clarke (whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras):

> "If you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe."[1]

Censorship of the press was soon brought into being, and stringent regulations were formulated for the guidance of editors and printers. Breach of these regulations entailed cancellation of the permission to remain in the British dominions in India and deportation from the country. These regulations did not, however, succeed in their purpose of muzzling the press. The fetters on the freedom of the press continued even after Wellesley. In this connection Kaye observes as follows:

> "During the administration of Lord Minto this dread of the free diffusion of knowledge became a chronic disease, which was continually afflicting the members of Government with all sorts of hypochondriacal day-fears and night-mares, in which visions of the Printing Press and the Bible were ever making their flesh to creep, and their hair to stand erect with horror. It was our policy in those days to keep the natives of India in the profoundest possible state of barbarism and darkness, and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge among the people, either of our own or the independent states, was vehemently opposed and resented. Whilst the Press was regarded almost in the light of an infernal machine, of course the censorship was continued. The duty of emasculating the editor's sheets was entrusted to one of the Government Secretaries...."[2]

1. J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward.* Vol. I, London 1859, p. 119.
2. J. W. Kaye, *The Life and correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe,* Vol. II, London 1854, p. 247.

In pursuance of the liberal policy of Lord Hastings, the censorship of the Press was abolished on August 16, 1818. The following rules of conduct were, however, framed for the guidance of the press:

> "They were forbidden to publish animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the India authorities in England, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of council, or the judges of the Supreme Court, or the lord bishop. They were likewise forbidden to admit discussions having a tendency to create alarms or suspicions among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances, or to republish from English or other newspapers passages coming under any of the above heads, as well as private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society. Government was empowered to visit any infraction of these rules by a prosecution in the Supreme Court, or by cancelling the license of the offender and ordering him to return to Europe."[3]

It will be seen that the foregoing rules are so wide and severe that if they had been strictly enforced there would have been little freedom to the press. Lord Hastings, however, was reluctant to enforce them, and as a consequence there was ample freedom of thought and expression in the country during his term of office.

The Court of Directors were not happy at the abolition of the censorship, and they continued unsuccessfully to press Mr. Canning, the President of the Board of Control, to get it revived. On the retirement of Lord Hastings, Mr. John Adam, the senior member of the Governor General's council, acted in his place. An administrator of the old school, he honestly believed that "a free press was incompatible with the institution of a despotic government like that of India." His regime therefore provided an opportunity to the enemies of a free press. During this period, James Silk Buckingham edited the *Calcutta Journal*, the leading periodical

3. Marshman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 184.

in Calcutta. He had gathered around himself a band of able and fearless young men who were outspoken in their criticism of government. Hastings had been frequently approached with requests to put a stop to the activities of these journalists, but he had refused to take effective action. At this juncture the *Calcutta Journal*, in its issue of February 1823, ridiculed the appointment by the government of a favoured presbyterian chaplain, Rev. Dr. Bryce, to a clerical post in the Stationery Department. This provoked the government to banish Buckingham from India. They also took this opportunity to promulgate a Press Act which laid down :

> "...No person should print any newspaper or book containing public news, or information, or strictures on the proceedings of government, without a licence ; that this licence was liable to be revoked, and that if any newspaper or work should be printed either without a licence, or after its recall, any two justices of the peace might inflict a penalty of 40 *l.* for each offence."[4]

Subsequently, the Press Act was extended to other areas under the Company's rule, the amount of fine was enhanced to £ 100, and any magistrate was empowered to confiscate the press, type and other printing accessories in the event of a breach of this law.

The deportation of Buckingham did not result in putting an end to the existence of the *Calcutta Journal*. He was succeeded by Mr. Arnott, a gentleman of mixed descent born in India. Although during his tenure of office the *Journal* continued to criticise government with the same vehemence, he could not be banished from India without due legal processes. Lord Amherst, who had recently arrived in India on August 1, 1823, however, allowed himself to be persuaded to approve of Arnott's deportation, and the latter was accordingly sent to England. In England he sought relief from the Court of Directors against the alleged illegality of the order. They decided in his favour and awarded him £ 15,000 as damages. They also took this opportunity to lay down that no servant of the Company should be connected

4. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

with any newspaper in any capacity. Marshman writes in this connection :

> " The Court, at the same time, interdicted every person in the public service, civil, military, medical, or ecclesiastical, from being in future connected with any newspaper, as editor, proprietor, or shareholder, on pain of dismissal ; and allowed six months for the dissolution of any existing engagements."[5]

In Bombay at this time, as we have seen earlier, there were two leading periodicals, viz. the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*. Of these, the *Bombay Courier* received a substantial income from official advertisements and notices. The official patronage resulted in making it practically a semi-official publication. On the other hand, the *Bombay Gazette*, which was edited by Mr. Fair, was often highly critical of government. Elphinstone was pressed by his superiors to send Mr. Fair back home. An incident at this time provided an opportunity to Elphinstone to comply with their wishes. Sir Charles Chambers, a judge, complained to Elphinstone that reflections had been cast on himself in a report of a case before the court, which was published in the *Bombay Gazette*. Mr. Fair had been previously warned in connection with similar incidents. On this occasion, he was asked to apologise to Sir Charles. On his refusal to do so Elphinstone ordered that he be sent home. In a letter written from Khandala to Mr. Strachey on November 17, 1824, Elphinstone gives particulars of this incident, and also clarifies his general approach to the question of the freedom of the European Press in the circumstances then prevailing :

> " It is strange I should think I had nothing to say, when I have a step so repugnant to your ideas as sending home a printer to defend. Of course you admit that a free press and a foreign yoke are incompatible with each other ; but I dare say you think (what was true formerly) that the natives have nothing to do with the press, or it with them. If this were true it would destroy all the interest of the subject, for it signifies little whether 25,000 European soldiers and 2,500 free merchants have a free press or not; but some of the

5. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

natives at the Residencies now read our papers, have papers of their own, talk of liberty and Whigs and Tories, and are in a rapid progress of improvement which nothing but some convulsion can check. Such a convulsion could be produced by too early excitement to exert their national independence. The vast mass remain in their original ignorance, and look up to Government with blind respect because they are used to it. All, however, are ready to trample on it if they see it despised by their superiors. The Sepoys in particular, who have had so many lessons, are ready enough to observe the opinion their officers have of the Government, and to acquire confidence in themselves and contempt for all classes of their superiors, when the example is set them by those superiors themselves. The European part of the army like the stimulus of Buckingham's morning dose, but it would not get into their heads unless connected with some question about batta, tent contracts, promotion, or, in short, some of those topics which have more than once shaken the Government, even when the foundations had not previously been loosened by the press. The remaining portion of the Europeans, though probably at least two-thirds of them can read, are not of sufficient importance to make it expedient to risk an empire for the sake of furnishing them with amusing newspapers. All this, however, does not concern me; for all I have to do with the restriction consists in my adopting Lord Hasting's rules when I did away with the censorship. The first of those rules forbids reflections on the judges. Our chief justice quarrelled with the whole bar, and formed a strong party against him in the society. One of the newspapers belonged to that party, and published reports by members of the bar, which the Chief Justice, Sir E. West, complained of in March last, as reflecting on him. Warning was given to both the editors on that occasion; but in August the Chief Justice complained that he was attacked as usual. Threats were then addressed to the editor complained of, who was told he would be sent home if he again offended. Next day, he did again offend by an attack on the second judge, Sir C. Chambers. Instead of being sent home he was required to apologise; he would not, and he was sent home. The truth is, he was before under orders from the Court of

Directors to be sent home unless a licence arrived for him by a certain day, which had elapsed."[6]

Opposition to the Missionary Press

The British rulers feared that missionary activity might endanger the stability of the British rule. We have seen that Carey had to establish his press in the Danish settlement at Serampore, as the British did not permit missionaries to enter their dominions. The Britishers felt that it would be positively dangerous to place the printing press in the hands of the missionaries. There was a Mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore in 1806, which resulted in the massacre of Col. Fancourt and nearly a hundred other officers. A section of the British administrators in India attributed the Mutiny to the exacerbation of feelings caused by the activities of the missionaries. Marshman writes in this connection as follows :—

> " The anti-missionary party, which was never so strong either in England or in India as at this period, affirmed that the alarm and the massacre were to be traced to missionary labours, and that to preserve the lives of thirty thousand Europeans in India it was necessary to recall all the missionaries who were there, and to prevent the resort of others to that country. This feeling was exhibited in a war of pamphlets in England, and in a crusade against the Serampore missionaries in India."[7]

In 1807 the attention of Government was drawn to some pamphlets decrying the Hindu and Muslim religions, printed at the Serampore Mission Press, and they called upon Dr. Carey to account for their publication. Some passages from a letter dated 8th September, 1807, addressed to Dr. Carey by the Secretary to Government in this regard, are given below :

> " Since the day of your attendance at the Chief Secretary's office, various pamphlets and treatises in the Bengalee and Hindustani languages, containing strictures on the religions of the Hindus and Mussulmans, and purporting to have

6. T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone* Vol. II, London 1884, p. 165.
7. Marshman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1859, p. 264.

issued from the press at Serampore, have been submitted to Government; among them are two pamphlets, one in the Bengalee, the other in the Hindustani language, addressed exclusively to the class of Mahomedans; containing the same or similar abuse of the doctrines, books and founder of the Mahomedan religion, as is contained in the Persian pamphlet from which I read to you a translated extract...

The Governor General in Council also deems it his duty to prohibit the issue of any publications from the press, superintended by the Society of Missionaries, of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives, or directed to the object of converting them to Christianity; observing, whatever may be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Mussulman religions to persons of those persuasions who may solicit instruction in the doctrines of the Christian faith, it is contrary to the system of protection which Government is pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country, and calculated to produce very dangerous effects, to obtrude upon the general body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations necessarily involving an interference with those religious tenets which they consider to be sacred and inviolable.

The Governor General in Council further observes, that the press now established at Serampore being intended for the promulgation of works within the limits of the Company's dominions, it is indispensably necessary that its production should be subject to the immediate control of the officers of Government. With this view, I am directed to desire that you will signify to the missonaries the expectation of the Governor General in Council that the press be transferred to this Presidency, where alone the same control that is established over presses sanctioned by the Government can be duly exercised.

I am further directed to desire, that you will ascertain and report to Government in what manner and in what places the pamphlets and treatises to which this letter refers, or any other of a similar description which may not yet have come under the observation of Government, have been distributed;

and also that the missionaries will employ every effort in their power to withdraw them from circulation."[8]

It will be seen from the above that the British Government desired that the missionary press should be transferred to Calcutta, so that government could exercise an effective control over its activities. Dr. Carey considered that this would mean an end to the work to which he had dedicated himself, and it is said that he wept bitterly when he received this directive.

A week after the above letter, another letter on this subject was addressed to Col. Krefting, the Danish Governor at Serampore, under the signatures of Lord Minto, the Governor General, and two members of his Council; in this it was pointed out that "it appeared obviously regular and highly expedient that the press of the missionaries should be placed under the direct control of the Government of India." Col. Krefting resented the arrogant tone of this official communication addressed to the representative of an independent country, and he informed the missionaries that he would in no circumstances comply with the suggestion contained therein, as to do so would be derogatory to the dignity of his country. Dr. Carey and Marshman were inclined to leave Col. Krefting to deal with the situation in his own way. But Mr. Ward, Dr. Carey's another colleague, was of the opinion that in the larger interests of the missionary work they could not afford to antagonise the British, and it would therefore be desirable to "entreat their clemency and endeavour to soften them." Mr. Ward's views were as follows:

> "I have a great deal of hesitation in my mind respecting our remaining in sullen silence after the English Government have addressed us through Brother Carey and the Governor. As it respects ourselves, even if we are not compelled to go to Calcutta with our press, the having them as our avowed and exasperated enemies is no small calamity. They may deprive us of Brother Carey's salary, with which we can hardly get on now, and without which we must put an end to translations, and go to jail in debt. They can shut up the new meeting at Calcutta; they can stop the circulation of our

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

> Grammars, Dictionaries, and everything issued from this press in their dominions ; they can prohibit our entering their territories. As it respects Col. Krefting, we ought to deprecate the idea of embroiling him with the English Government, if we can possibly avoid it. I think, therefore, as we can now officially through him address the British Government, we should entreat their clemency and endeavour to soften them."[9]

A memorial was, therefore, submitted to the Governor General in accordance with Ward's views, and it did have the desired effect. The British withdrew their demand that the Press should be placed under their control, but the missionaries had to agree to submit all publications for the approval of the British Government.

In Bombay the American mission had established a press in 1816. It did not attract unfavourable attention from Government, possibly because it was " at the seat of the Government and under control of its officers." A mission was established at Surat and in 1820 a press was started there by the mission.[10] On August 17, 1821, the Court of Suder Adawlut at Surat asked the permission of the Bombay Government to get some warrants printed at this press. This served as an occasion for a controversy regarding the desirability of permitting the existence of this and similar missionary presses. Mr. G. L. Prendergast, the Chief Secretary to the Government, wrote as follows in a minute on this subject :

> " I think establishing a printing press at Surat without the authority of Government, is improper on many accounts ; and so decidedly objectionable that it ought not be allowed."[11]

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.

10. Messrs. W. Fyvie and Skinner, two Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, came to Surat in 1815 and by 1817 they had translated the whole New Testament into the Gujerati language. In 1820 they set up a printing press and before the end of 1821 they printed the Gujerati New Testament in eight parts. It seems that the Gujerati types used for this Bible were brought from Cacutta. The second edition of this New Testament was published in 1827, for which it is stated in the report of the Bombay Bible Society for 1825, that " they expected a new fount of Gujarati type from Calcutta." *The Oriental Christian Spectator*, Vol. XXIV, (September), Bombay 1854, pp. 399-401.

11. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G.D. Vol. II, 1821-23, p. 401.

The Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone thereupon observed :

> " We have already acquiesced in the establishment of a press; the only question now is, whether we shall avail ourself of its services so far as to print some blank covenants. I should not agree to printing anything for circulation which might confound the publications of the Government with those of Missionaries,but I see no reason in this."[12]

Mr. Prendergast, however, insisted that the matter should be placed before the Court of Directors and remarked as follows :

> " Never having myself acquiesced in the establishment of a missionary printing press at Surat, I wish my present short minutes to be recorded, and also the minute I wrote on the back of the letter from the Chief of Surat on this subject, dated the 23rd April 1819, and would further beg to suggest that the subject be brought to the notice of the Honorable the Court in our next Despatch."[13]

The earlier minute of Mr. Prendergast referred to in his above remarks is reproduced below :

> " I imagine it cannot be usual under any of the Presidencies to allow printing presses at Subordinates, or anywhere within British territory in India, excepting at the seat of Government and under the control of its officers. I think it a wise rule in all cases, and if necessary in regard to newspapers and political pamphlets, it would surely be more decidedly indispensable in regard to religious subjects : because the zeal of missionaries, however laudable in their own immediate calling, for the extension of the blessings of Christianity amongst the misguided idolatrous natives of India, might very naturally lead them, without their being themselves aware of it, beyond the bounds of prudence and political propriety ; *an order would not perhaps be sufficient to restrain them, if the power is left in their hands* ; we might discover too late that the order was disobeyed—and in a city filled, as Surat is, with bigoted Mahomedans, a sensation might be

12. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

caused by an indiscreet issue of religious tracts, the extent of which cannot well be calculated."[14]

As the question was to be referred to the Court of Directors, Elphinstone set out in detail his views on this important subject in the following minute :

" As our proceedings are to be brought to the notice of the Honorable the Court of Directors, I am desirous to state more explicitly my sentiments on this extensive question. I am far from recommending the establishment of an uncontrolled press. I think that a medium through which a Missionary might inveigh at discretion against the abomination of idolatry or a Hindoo against the disgrace of a foreign rule, would be entirely unsuited to our situation in India. But the present question is, whether we are to allow a press under the complete control of Government, and to it I should certainly reply in the affirmative. It is by such means alone that ever the art of printing can be introduced among the natives. I look on that art as too great a blessing to be withheld without the clearest and most incontrovertible reasons, and I see no such reasons in the case of India. That the press may in a long succession of ages cause the natives to throw off our yoke is possible and even probable, but it will in the first place destroy the superstitions and the prejudices of the natives and remove the pressing dangers created by the entire and marked separation between them and their conquerors, and this effect is certain while the other is problematical. The establishment of printing presses therefore (viewed without reference to the subject with which it is accidentally connected) is highly desirable. As connected with the Missionaries it may be reviewed in another light. If it were employed to vilify the religion of the country, or even if it were enabled to diffuse our own doctrines with such energy as to give it the appearance of a national institution, it would doubtless produce the most pernicious effects. There is some danger in it even on its present footing,but that danger is more than compensated by the advantages of facilitating the means of knowledge to the natives, and for that reason it ought not

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 407-8.

to be discouraged. The chief should be told that the press is authorised, but that he and the magistrates are answerable for reporting to Government in case of its publishing anything of dangerous tendency, for which purpose they ought to be careful to purchase publicly every production that issues from it, a mode of proceeding which I think less objectionable than calling on the missionaries to submit their works previous to publication; all authorities should be enjoined to avoid every proceeding that may even it (in) appearance at all connect the missionary press with the Government. To mark this line the more distinctly, I withdraw my proposal that the Suder Adawlut should even be allowed to print its blank warrants at the Missionaries' press, and beg to substitute an order that they should be printed at Bombay. But with these preventions and restrictions I would tolerate the press at Surat, and should be glad to see presses multiply in other parts of our dominions."[15]

Elphinstone's suggestions in the above minute met with the approval of the Commander in Chief Mr. Bell and other members of his council, and the following decision was therefore arrived at on 20th October 1821 :

"...the Governor in Council is pleased to authorise the missionary printing Press at Surat; but the Chief and magistrate of the city and zillah are answerable for reporting to Government in case of its publishing anything of a dangerous tendency, for which purpose they are to be directed to purchase publicly every production that issues from it."[16]

Government had always to be watchful to prevent an impression from gaining ground that they were in any way associated with the activities of the Christian missionaries in India. The printing activity of the missionaries was a frequent source of such confusion in the popular mind. An interesting illustration of this is provided by the incident described in the following letter addressed

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 409-412.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

on February 3, 1823, by the Police Commissioner of Poona to the Commissioner of Poona :

> " I have the honor to inform you, that I have apprehended the persons who brought the accompanying paper, and attached their books in consequence of their being on religious matters and lent for circulation here evidently with the design of turning the Hindoo religion into ridicule and of essaying the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity. The Bearers of the notification issued by Mr. Hall were going about the Bazars of Poona distributing their loads, which amount to about Six Thousand Volumes of various kinds.
>
> Although nothing might give me greater pleasure than to see all the Hindoos converted to Christianity, yet as I consider it incumbent on me to maintain the tolerant principles of the British Government towards its subjects here, I was called upon not to permit, by a procedure which might evince that I entertained a doubt on the question, a belief that had been propagated in the city, that these religious books were distributed by Government to gain ground. I have, therefore, publicly imprisoned these men and intend to send them and their books down the Ghauts without delay, with an injunction not to return on similar Errand without a special permission from yourself or Government, otherwise that I shall be obliged again to imprison them until Government determines the policy of allowing or preventing a system of bigoted zeal to be pursued in this newly acquired Territory.
>
> I am hopeful that the belief that has been engendered that Government are the propagators of these books and doctrines will be checked by the measures I have taken, notwithstanding the ready handle it gives to persons disaffected to our interests to excite fear and alarms on topics of the deepest interest to our subjcts here."[17]

We have already referred to a suggestion made by Mr. Jervis, Secretary to the Native Education Society, that government may import printing type and sell it at concessional rates to private

17. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

presses in India (see page 91). This suggestion was not implemented, as it was opposed by Mr. Warden, a member of Governor's Council. This gave Elphinstone another occasion to set forth in a clear and forceful manner his views on the role of the printing press in India.

Mr. Warden's objections to Jervis' suggestion are contained in the following remarks :

> " If types are to be bought and distributed throughout the country, Boys ought to be attached to the different presses at Bombay to learn the duty of composing. Whatever may be my own views on the subject, a most important question which has been much discussed under the Presidency of Bengal presents itself, what would be the effects of the power and influence of the Press in the present State of the country ; if the Natives are to be taught the art of printing, the dissemination of whatever they choose to publish would of course immediately follow..."[18]

Mr. Elphinstone's views on the subject are reproduced here :

> " Mr. Jervis' suggestion which I brought forward, is not for distributing types about the country, but for selling them cheap at the Presidency. Printing will thus become more common, but a very long period must elapse before we can expect to see a press set up by a native beyond the limits of this Island. Even when printing becomes general, I confess I do not look on it with any such alarm as to induce me to discourage its commencement. I certainly do not propose that we would set up the inconsistency of a free press and an enslaved people. Whenever the natives are thought prepared to receive a free constitution and a share in their own Government, a free press should be added as the most powerful weapon by which those privileges can be defended ; but as long as it is necessary to keep up arbitrary Government, and that in the hands of Foreigners, common reason must restrain us from introducing among the natives a principle, of which it is the chief glory that it invariably communicated both the

18. *The Bombay Secretariat Records* G.D. Vol. 8/63, 1824, p. 192.

power and the inclination to throw off the yoke. But I am far from thinking that unless we have a free press we must have no press at all. If that were the case the condition of the natives would be hopeless indeed ; since it is chiefly by means of the press that they can be prepared for the enjoyment of any share of freedom. But an useful press may exist and has often existed without its being unrestrained, and much may be taught through the medium of it even though political discussion were forbidden. There are not many countries even now in Europe where the press is unrestrained, and most of these have become so within the last 30 years. I will not deny that the introduction of printing among the natives must ultimately lessen our power to keep them in subjection ; but the same is true of education, of an impartial administration of justice, and of everything that tends to better their conditions.

The dangers of the press, however, are remote and speculative ; the advantages even to ourselves are immediate and practical : at all events, as we have assumed the Government of the natives, it is our duty to assist in their improvement, and we should be no more justified in withholding the art of printing than in adopting any other mode of degrading the minds of the natives with a view to maintain our own ascendency."[19]

Government Attitude to the Native Press

We have seen that the prospect of the evolution of the native press in India was viewed with serious misgivings by the British rulers. In July 1825, occurred an incident which brought out the urgency of the need of formulating a definite policy in this regard. This was a dispute between the Brahmins and Kayastha Prabhus of Baroda regarding the latter's right to perform certain religious ceremonies. The nature of the dispute, which is popularly known as the *Vedokta* incident, will be clear from the following account published in the issue dated August 2, 1825, of the *Bombay Gazette* :

" The origin of the present dispute appears to be in a Coyest Prubhoo named Wittoba Devanjee the minister of Barodra

1.6 *Ibid.*, pp. 224-26.

(*sic*) who being desirous of obtaining the rights of a Brahmin for himself and caste, by underhand means, was, with others, invested with the privilege by a Shastree of note at Poona, and which on becoming known to the principal Brahmins induced much ferment among them; the Shastree was disgraced and a Vakil sent to Barodra, demanding from the heads of Caste there the expulsion of the intruders from Society and the punishment of the Brahmins who supported him. In consequence an assembly was held at Wittoba's pagoda at Barodra, the members of which, who were exceedingly numerous, resolved not to break up until satisfaction was obtained; and such was the zeal that they abstained from food for five days, at the end of which time a message was sent to the Sircar demanding the Devanjee should be obliged to abandon the celebration of the Vedockt, and resume his proper habit, which was refused, in consequence, it is reported, of Devanjee having bribed the Guicawar and his Mother with a Lac of rupees to order the instant dispersion of the assembly, and threaten, in case of refusal, to expel them from the place. The Brahmins refused compliance, and started their determination of starving themselves rather than resign their claims."[20]

It will be seen that the *Bombay Gazette* mentions a report that the Gaekwar and his mother received a bribe of one lac rupees for their interference in the dispute. The same report was also published by the Gujerati paper "*Mumbayī Samācār*" in its issue dated August 29, 1825, and the attention of the Gaekwar was thus drawn to it. The Dewan of Baroda complained to the British Resident Willoughby, regarding the publication in the British territory of these reflections on the character of a ruler in alliance with the British Government, and Willoughby immediately addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government pressing the latter to place the complaint before the Governor in Council.[21]

It may be noted that prior to this incident Elphinstone had been seriously perturbed by a virulent attack in the *Bombay*

20. *The Bombay Gazette*, Vol. 36, No. 1838 (Wednesday 24th August 1825), p. 435.
21. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G.D. Vol. 14/98 of 1825, pp. 329-33.

Gazette against the Duke of York, as is seen from the following minute from his pen :

> " I some time since received a letter from His Excellency the Commander in Chief (which he has since authorized me to mention officially) calling my attention to a Paragraph in the *Bombay Gazette* of Wednesday 17th, which contains a virulent attack on His Royal Highness the Duke of York.
>
> On referring to the Bengal Orders of 1818 which were adopted here in the end of 1819 and are those now in force, I was surprised to find that they are so exclusively confined to subjects connected with India as to contain no prohibition against reflections on the Royal family.
>
> We have therefore only the choice of allowing this libel to pass unnoticed or to direct a prosecution in a Court of law.
>
> This last course has never that I know of been adopted by any of the Governments in this Country, and I am clearly of opinion that it never should be resorted to.
>
> The next question is whether we ought to alter the Rules so as to prevent similar attacks again. A rule against reflections on the King and the Royal family has been introduced into the rules of 1823 in Bengal, and I should think it desirable here ; but as those Rules are still under discussion at Home, it seems best to wait the decision, and in the meantime to retain the Rules of 1818, although occasional inconvenience as at present may be experienced from their defects."[22]

The above incident gave rise to even more serious concern, as it was the first complaint received against the Native press. Elphinstone realised that as compared with the European press in India, the native press " if ever it came in to full operation must be far the most powerful and most dangerous instrument," and felt it was necessary to formulate a definite policy to keep it under restraint. He therefore placed the matter before the Court of Directors in the form of a minute which is reproduced here :

> " This is a case very much of the same nature as the late complaint regarding the attack on His Royal Highness the

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.

Duke of York, but it is one which we cannot so easily avoid noticing.

There are three points liable to serious objection in this publication. Any Newspaper discussion on the present acrimonious dispute between the Brahmins and the other castes that claim a right to perform the same religious ceremonies, is unfortunate.

The calumny against His Highness the Gykwar and his mother affords His Highness the justest ground of complaint.

And the last paragraph in which he is falsely represented as a subordinate authority waiting for orders from Bombay in a matter of internal Government, though not complained of, is likely to be deeply felt both by the Gykwar and his subjects.

At the same time it must be admitted that there is nothing in the existing rules which has been infringed by this publication. We cannot take any steps against the European Editor in a case neither alluded to in the rules nor flagrantly seditious in itself; and with respect to the Native he is entirely beyond our reach even if this case were within the rules. A prosecution in Court might of course be had recourse to; but, independent of the general objections to that mode of redress in India (where it never fails to give rise to more discord, faction and contumely than it was designed to repress) we only yesterday received the opinion of our solicitor that a prosecution by the Gykwar was attended with so many difficulties that it was better for him to renounce a claim to a considerable sum of money than to attempt one.

The present is, however, a question on which the European Editor with whom the Paragraph originated can have neither personal nor party feeling, and I have no doubt but both he and the Native Editor would be willing to correct their mistakes on their being pointed out to them.

All I should propose for the present would therefore be, that a letter to the effect of the accompanying Draft should be sent to the Editor of the Gazette, and that the Persian Secretary should make a similar communication to the Native Editor.

The Resident at Baroda should be directed to express to the Gykwar the regret of the British Government at the calumny of which he has been the object, to explain to him the nature of the Press at the Presidency and the little control exercised over it by the Government, but to assure him that such measures as can be taken consistently with the British laws and the practice of the Government will be resorted to, to protect him from similar attacks in future.

But as it (is) by no means unlikely that similar complaints may be made hereafter, and perhaps in different circumstances from the present, I think we should point out to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors the deficiencies of our present system; so that in the event of its being decided on the appeal against the Calcutta Press Regulations that the law as it now stands does not admit of such restraints, they may take measures to procure a legislative enactment investing the Indian Government with powers suited to their peculiar situation.

This is the first complaint we have received against the Native press, and it is one which shows that publications at the Presidency are by no means confined in their effects to this Island, or to our own possessions. It seems therefore a suitable occasion to draw the attention of the Court of Directors to the subject. Though the abuse of the European Press may be attended with most immediate danger from its indirect effect on the Natives and especially the Native Army, yet the Native Press, if ever it come into full operation, must soon become by far the most powerful and most dangerous instrument of the two ; and, as its advances are likely to be rapid, it is necessary that we should only determine in what manner we are to conduct ourselves toward it.

There appear to me to be only three lines of conduct which we can possibly adopt. 1st, To check the diffusion of knowledge and the introduction of printing so as to keep the Natives in their present state and confine the effects of the Press as hitherto to the Europeans. 2nd, To allow perfect freedom to Native Press and to offer no resistance to the natural tendency of such freedom to dispose the Native to attempts at establishing a national Government. 3rd, To promote

learning and to encourage printing, but to keep the Press under the same degree of restraint which was maintained in England for more than two centuries after the invention of printing and which is still enforced in all countries where the Government does not rest on a popular basis. The first of these plans would be criminal if it were practicable. The second would only lead to the premature removal of the British Government, without a chance of its being succeeded by a better; the third alone appears to me to offer any prospect of improvement and rational liberty to the Natives. Under it we might safely do our duty in communicating to them all the sciences of Europe; and at some distant period the two nations might be sufficiently on a footing to determine the relation they were thenceforth to bear to one another. At that stage the people might be admitted to a share of the Government and then or at a later period the freedom of the Press might be permitted without control.

There is nothing more in these opinions than I have long since recorded, (on the press at Surat in 1821), but as the question is both important and urgent I make no apology for entering on it again."[23]

The draft letter prepared by Elphinstone on 14th October 1825 to the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* runs as follows:

"To The Editor of the
Bombay Gazette.

Sir,

I am directed to acquaint you that an application has been made by His Highness the Gykwar to this Government complaining in very strong terms of the imputations thrown on his character in your paper of August 24th.

The passage particularly complained of is that where it is asserted that His Highness and his mother had received a bribe of a lack of rupees for their interference in the dispute between the Bramins and the Purvaes. His Highness observes with great justice that this assertion, which has no

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-51.

foundation in fact, has already been republished in the Guzerattee paper and will be repeated in every paper, Native and European, in India.

As subjects of this nature are not mentioned in the rules communicated to the Editors in December 1819, the Governor in council is willing to make every allowance for the publication; but he must observe that the assertion of such a charge against an ally of the British Government was in itself obviously objectionable and is in effect open to prosecution in a court of law.

The Governor in Council is not disposed to resort to any further measure, unless it should be deemed necessary by His Highness the Gykwar; but he conceives that His Highness is entitled to expect a contradiction of a report which seems to have been introduced on slight authority, and he directs me to caution you against similar reflections in future on Princes in alliance with the British Government. M.E." [24]

In the records of the Bombay Government we find a draft of the press regulations which eventually were published on April 19, 1825, as Regulation I of 1825, and registered at the Supreme Court on May 11, 1825.[25] This draft is given in the Appendix, as a copy of the printed Regulation is not available in the records of either the Bombay Government or the Bombay High Court.

By a Government resolution of 1826, the Bombay Government prohibited its servants from being connected in any capacity with any newspaper or other periodical. The text of this resolution is given below:

"The Honourable the Court of Directors having resolved to prohibit all persons in the Service of the Hon'ble East India Company from connecting themselves with any Newspaper or other periodical Journal unless devoted exclusively to literary and scientific objects whether as Editor, sole Proprietor, or Sharer in the property, notice thereof is hereby given to all persons in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 363-365.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 283 and p. 297.

> on this establishment, either Civil, Naval or Military-Surgeons and Chaplains included : and all persons concerned are further apprized that this order will be enforced if necessary on the part of the Honourable the Court of Directors by dismissing from their service those by whom it may be contravened."[26]

Government servants who were already connected with newspapers were given a period of six months within which to sever such connection. In the Bombay Government records there is a representation made in this connection on May 27, 1826, by Mr. Francis Warden, who explains how his association with the *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette* grew by stages, and pleads that the period of six months was insufficient to terminate it.[27] There is also a letter written by Mr. James M. Laden, the editor of the *Courier*, at the instance of the proprietor of the Courier Press, which throws interesting light on the history of that press.[28]

Sir Charles Metcalfe, who succeeded Lord William Bentinck in 1835 as Governor General in an acting capacity, adopted a liberal policy towards the Press in India, and abolished many of the restrictions on the freedom of the Press which were then current. The day on which the measure removing such restrictions came into force and a free press was born, viz. September 15, 1835, was celebrated with great enthusiasm by the European and Indian citizens of Calcutta, who also raised contributions to build the "Metcalfe Hall" on the banks of the Hoogly in honour of its author.[29] Since then the development of the press in India has been rapid.

How the existence of the printing press even in the native states was dreaded by the foreign rulers, is seen from the following incident in the Hyderabad Residency narrated by Mr. Kaye :

> "Captain Sydenham, who then (during the administration of Lord Minto, 1807–1813) represented our interests at that court, wishing to gratify a desire expressed by the Nizam to see some of the appliances of European science, procured

26. *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G.D., Vol. 13/121 of 1826, pp. 7-8.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-32.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-52.
29. J. W. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

for him three specimens, in the shape of an air-pump, a printing press, and the model of a man-of-war. Having mentioned this in his demi-official correspondence with the Chief Secretary, he was censured for having placed in the hands of a native Prince so dangerous an instrument as a printing press. Upon this the Resident wrote back that the Government need be under no apprehensions, for that the Nizam had taken so little interest in the Press, that he had not even made a present to the compositors who had come round from Madras to exhibit the application to practical purposes of the implements of their craft. But he added, that if the Government still felt any uneasiness about the presence of this dangerous instrument of civilisation at the Court of the Nizam, he could easily obtain admission to the Tosha-Khana (or Treasure-house), and there so cripple the press as to ensure its never being in a fit state to do duty again!"[30]

Opposition to the Press by the Indians

It must be remembered that there was considerable opposition to the development of the press on the part of Indians too. This was part of their general reaction to the impact of western influences which it was feared would weaken the hold of tradition and religion on the minds of the young. One interesting instance of the prejudice against the printing press may be mentioned here, especially as we find that it was shared by some leaders of the new intelligentsia, who were otherwise appreciative of western culture. This prejudice had its origin in the fact that printing ink contained animal fat as an ingredient. Many orthodox Hindus felt that printing of holy texts by the use of such ink would result in defiling them. The Marathi grammarian, Dadoba Pandurang, mentions in his Autobiography that his plan of bringing out an edition of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with its Marathi translation had to be given up, as Professor Bal Gangadhar Shastri was of the opinion that the printing of its sacred text would cause popular resentment.[31] Vishvanath Narayan Manadalik had published an edition of the *Gāthā* of the Marathi poet-saint Tukārāma printed at the Ganpat

30. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
31. A. K. Priolkar, *R. B. Dādobā Pāṇḍuranga*, Bombay 1947, p. 159.

Krishnaji Press in Bombay. This *Gāthā* is held in great veneration by the *Vārakarī* sect of Pandharpur. Mandalik was, however, informed that the members of this sect would not be persuaded to use the printed edition of the *Gāthā*, unless they could be assured that the ink used in its printing contained no objectionable ingredients.[32] Govind Narayan Madgaonkar in his *Mumbaīcem Varṇana* also mentions that many orthodox Brahmins would not touch paper or read printed books on religious grounds.[33] The biographer of Mandalik writes, that Mandalik himself would use only books in manuscript form when he read sacred texts as part of his daily religious ritual.[34]

The object of the present survey is to trace the beginnings and early development of the press in India. We have therefore confined ourselves to an account of attempts to establish the printing press made by various agencies at different times and in different parts of the country, and have presented a picture of the personalities, motives and capacities of the various participants in these attempts, the circumstances in which they had to function, the measure of their achievements and the reasons why the early attempts proved short-lived and did not lead to the development of the press on a nation-wide scale. We have seen how liberal and enlightened British statesmen like Elphinstone were fully aware of the inconsistency of a foreign despotism and a free press and the dangers inherent in introducing among a subject people "a principle of which it is the chief glory that it invariably communicated the power and the inclination to throw off the yoke." The subsequent course of Indian history has demonstrated that these fears were well-founded. The press has contributed largely to the Indian renaissance, and has played a major role in the achievement and consolidation of our national freedom.

32. G. R. Havaldar, *Rāosāheb Vishvanātha Nārāyaṇa Maṇḍalika*. Vol. II, Bombay 1927, p. 959.
33. Govind Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
34. Havaldar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 277.

APPENDIX

Rule Ordinance and Regulation of 1825*

Title

A Rule Ordinance and Regulation for preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing Newspapers and Periodical Books and Papers of a like nature and also from the printing and publishing libellous matters in Books of every other description by persons not known and for regulating the printing and publication of all such Books and Papers in other respects Passed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay on the day of and registered in the Hon'ble the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay under date the day of 1825.

Preamble

Whereas for the purpose of preventing the publication of libellous matter as well in Newspapers and other Periodical Papers of that kind as in printed Books and Papers of every other description within the Presidency of Bombay, and for the purpose of more easily detecting those who may be legally responsible for the same the Hon'ble the Governor in Council has deemed expedient that certain Regulations should be provided touching publications of the nature hereinafter mentioned respectively.

Article I

No person to print or publish periodical Papers or Books without Licence

Be it therefore ordained by authority of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council and under and by virtue of a certain Act of Parliament made and passed in the Forty Seventh year of the reign of his late Majesty's King George the third instituted an Act for the better settlement of Forts of St. George and Bombay that from and after 14 days after the Registry and Publication of this Rule Ordinance and Regulation in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay no person or persons shall within the said Presidency of Bombay print or publish or cause to be printed or published any Newspaper or Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper whatsoever in any language or character whatsoever published periodically containing or purporting to contain public News Intelligence or Strictures on the Acts measures and Proceedings of Government or any Political events or transactions whatsoever without having obtained a licence for that purpose from the Hon'ble the Governor in Council Signed by the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being or other person officiating and acting as such Chief Secretary.

Article II

Persons applying for licence to deliver Affidavits specifying the names and places of abode of Printers Publishers and Proprietors of such Newspapers and other periodical Books together with the house wherein printed and title of the same

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that every person applying to the Hon'ble the Governor in Council for such licence as aforesaid shall deliver to the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being or other

* *The Bombay Secretariat Records*, G.D. Vol. No. 14/98 of 1825 (pp. 139-181).

person acting and officiating as such an Affidavit or Affidavits in writing signed by the persons making the same to be taken before any Justice of the Peace acting within the Presidency specifying and setting forth the real and true names additions descriptions and places of abode of all and every person or persons who is or are intended to be the Printer and Printers Publisher and Publishers of the Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper in such Affidavit or Affidavits mentioned and of all the Proprietors of the same resident within the Presidency of Bombay or places thereto Subordinate, if the number of such Proprietors exclusive of the Printers and Publishers does not exceed two, and in case the same shall exceed such number then of two of the Proprietors exclusive of the Printers and Publishers resident within the Presidency of Bombay or places thereto subordinate who hold the largest shares therein, and also the amount of the proportional shares of such Proprietors in the property therein, and likewise the true description of the house or building wherein any such Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other Printed Book or Paper as aforesaid is intended to be printed, and the title of such Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other Printed Book or Paper.

ARTICLE III

Where the Printers and Publishers together with the Proprietors shall not exceed four then the Affidavits to be signed and sworn by all who are resident in Bombay where they exceed four by four or so many as are resident in Bombay

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that where the persons concerned as Printers and Publishers of any such Newspaper, Magazine Register Pamphlet or other Printed Book or Paper as aforesaid together with such number of Proprietors as are herein before required to be named in such Affidavit or Affidavits as aforesaid shall not altogether exceed the number of four persons, the Affidavit or Affidavits hereby required shall be sworn and signed by all the said persons who are resident in or within miles of Bombay and when the number of such persons shall exceed four, the same shall be signed and sworn by four of such persons if resident in or within miles of Bombay or by so many of them as are so resident.

ARTICLE IV

New Affidavits to be made as often as the Printers Publishers or Proprietors shall be changed or shall change their places of abode or printing house and as often as the Governor in Council shall require

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid That an Affidavit or Affidavits of the like nature and import shall be made signed and delivered in like manner as often as any of the Printers, Publishers or Proprietors named in such Affidavit or Affidavits shall be changed or shall change their respective places of abode or their printing House Place or Office and as often as the title of such Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper as aforesaid shall be changed and as often as the Hon'ble the Governor in Council shall deem it expedient so to require, and that when such further and new Affidavit or Affidavits as last aforesaid shall be so required by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council notice of such requisition, signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall be given to the persons named in the Affidavit or Affidavits to which the said notice relates as the Printers, Publishers or Proprietors of the Newspaper, Magazine, Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper in such Affidavit or Affidavits mentioned such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the Affidavits last delivered as the place at which the Newspaper, Magazine, Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper to which such notice shall relate is printed.

ARTICLE V

Printing and Publishing Newspapers &ca. without making the Affidavits herein before required to be deemed a Printing and Publishing without Licence

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That in case any such Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed book or Paper as herein before described shall be printed or published such Affidavit or Affidavits as herein before required not having been duly signed sworn and delivered, the same shall be deemed and taken to be printed and published without Licence and the Printers, Publishers and Proprietors thereof shall be liable to the same Penalties as are hereinafter imposed upon Printers and Publishers of such Newspapers Magazines Registers Pamphlets and other printed Books and Papers as are hereinbefore described without Licence.

ARTICLE VI

Governor in Council to have power to recall Licences

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that every Licence which shall and may be granted in manner and form aforesaid shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council upon notice to such effect in writing signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such being left at such place as is mentioned in the Affidavit or Affidavits last delivered as the place at which the Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper to which such notice shall relate is printed, and that from and immediately after such notice having been so left as aforesaid the said Licence or Licences shall be null and void and any Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet printed book or Paper to which such Licence or Licences shall have related shall if afterwards printed and published be taken and considered as printed and published without Licence. And it is hereby further ordained that whenever any such Licence shall be resumed and recalled as aforesaid notice of such resumption and recall shall be forthwith given in the for the time being published in Bombay.

ARTICLE VII

Penalty of Rs. 400 *on printing or publishing Newspapers &ca. without Licence*

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that if any person or persons shall within the Presidency of Bombay knowingly and wilfully print or publish, or cause to be printed or published or shall knowingly and wilfully either as a Proprietor thereof or as Agent or Servant of such Proprietor or otherwise sell deliver out, distribute or dispose of, or if any Bookseller or Proprietor or Keeper of any Reading Room Library Shop, or place of public resort, shall knowingly and wilfully receive for the purpose of publication, or lend give, or supply for the purpose of perusal or otherwise to any person whatsoever any such Newspaper Magazine Register or Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper as hereinbefore described such Licence as is required by this Rule Ordinance and Regulation not having been first obtained or after such Licence if previously obtained shall have been recalled as aforesaid such persons shall forfeit for every such offence the sum of four hundred rupees.

Article VIII

Affidavits to be filed and they or certified copies to be admitted in all proceedings Civil or Criminal as evidence of the truth of their contents against persons swearing and all mentioned therein unless proved to the contrary

But if any person shall have delivered previous to the publication of the paper to which the proceedings relate and Affidavit that he has ceased to be the Printer &ca. he shall not be so deemed after such delivery.

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that all such Affidavits as aforesaid shall be filed and kept in such manner as the said Justice of Peace before whom the same shall have been respectively sworn shall direct, and the same or Copies thereof certified to be true Copies as hereinafter is prescribed shall respectively in all proceedings Criminal and Civil touching any Newspaper or other such Book or Paper as hereinbefore is specified which shall be mentioned in any such Affidavit or Affidavits, or touching any publication matter or thing contained in such Newspaper or other Book or Paper as aforesaid be received and admitted as conclusive evidence of the truth of all such matters set forth in such Affidavits as are hereby required to be therein set forth against every person who shall have signed and sworn the same and also as sufficient evidence of the truth of all such matters against all and every person who shall not have signed or sworn the same, but who shall be therein mentioned to be a Proprietor, Printer or Publisher of such Newspaper or other Book or Paper as aforesaid unless the contrary shall be satisfactory proved. Provided always, That if any such person or persons respectively against whom any such Affidavit or Affidavits or any Copy thereof shall be offered in evidence shall prove that he she or they hath or have signed sworn and delivered to the said Justice of the Peace previous to the day of the date or publication of the Newspaper or other such Book or Paper as aforesaid to which the proceedings Civil or Criminal shall relate an Affidavit or Affidavits that he she or they hath or have ceased to be Printer or Printers, Proprietor or Proprietors or Publisher or Publishers of such Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as aforesaid such person or persons shall not be deemed by reason of any former Affidavit so delivered as aforesaid to have been the Printer or Printers, Proprietor or Proprietors or Publisher or Publishers of such Newspaper or other such Book or Paper as aforesaid after the day on which such last mentioned Affidavit or Affidavits shall have been delivered to the said Justice of Peace as aforesaid.

Article IX

In Newspaper &ca. there shall be printed the names and abode of Printers and Publishers on penalty of Rupees 1000 *and proof in manner herein mentioned that the party is the Printer &ca. shall be sufficient unless proved to the contrary*

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that in some part of every Newspaper Magazine Register Pamphlet or other printed Book or Paper as aforesaid there shall be printed the true and real name and names addition and additions and place and places of abode of the Printer and Printers and Publisher and Publishers, of the same and also a true description of the place where the same is printed and in case any person or persons shall knowingly and wilfully print or publish or cause to be printed or published any such Newspaper or other printed Book or Paper as aforesaid not containing the particulars aforesaid and every of them every such person shall forfeit the sum of Rupees One thousand ; and that proof made in manner herein mentioned in any proceeding to recover the same that the party proceeded against is a Printer or Publisher of a Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper so printed or published as aforesaid shall be deemed and taken to be

proof that such party is a person wilfully and knowingly printing or publishing or causing the same to be printed or published unless he shall satisfactorily prove the contrary.

Article X

After production of Affidavit or Copy &ca. Newspaper &ca. instituted as therein mentioned &ca. it shall not be necessary to prove the purchase of the same at the house or shop of Defendants

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be necessary after any such Affidavit or Affidavits or a certified Copy thereof shall have been produced in evidence as aforesaid against the person or persons who signed and made the same or are therein named according to this Rule Ordinance and Regulation or any of them, and after a Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as aforesaid shall be produced in evidence entitled in the same manner as the Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper mentioned in such Affidavit is entitled and wherein the name or names of the printer and publisher or printers and publishers and the place of printing shall be the same as the name or names of the printer or printers or publisher and publishers and place of printing mentioned in such Affidavit or Affidavits, for any Plaintiff Informant or Prosecutor or person seeking to recover any of the penalties raised by this Regulation to prove that the Newspaper or other printed Book or Paper to which such trial relates was purchased at any house shop or office belonging to or occupied by the Defendant, or Defendants or any of them, or by his or other servants or workmen or when he or they by themselves or by their servants or workmen usually carry on the business of printing or publishing such Newspaper or other printed Book or Paper as aforesaid, or where the same is usually sold.

Article XI

Service at the Printing House mentioned in the Affidavit to be deemed sufficient notice to all persons named therein

But if any person shall have delivered previous to the publication of the Newspaper &ca. to which the proceedings relate an Affidavit that he has ceased to be Printer &ca. he shall not be so deemed after such delivery.

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That service at the house or place mentioned in such Affidavit or Affidavits as aforesaid as the house or place at which such Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as aforesaid to which any proceedings, Civil or Criminal shall relate, is printed or published or intended so to be of any legal notice, Summons subpoena rule order or process of what nature soever or to enforce an appearance in any suit prosecution or proceeding Civil or Criminal against any Printer Publisher or Proprietor of any such Newspaper or other printed book or paper shall, be deemed and taken to be good and sufficient service thereof respectively against all persons named in such Affidavit or Affidavits as the Proprietor or Proprietors Publisher or Publishers or Printer or Printers of the Newspaper or other printed book or paper mentioned in such Affidavit or Affidavits. Provided always, That if any such person or persons respectively as aforesaid shall have signed sworn and delivered to the said Justice of the Peace as aforesaid previous to the day of the date or publication of the Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as aforesaid to which the proceeding in Court shall relate an Affidavit or Affidavits that he she or they have ceased to be the Printer or Printers Proprietor or Proprietors Publisher or Publishers of such Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as aforesaid, and shall make proof thereof, such person or persons shall not be deemed by reason of any former

Affidavit or Affidavits so delivered as aforesaid to have been the Proprietor or Proprietors Printer or Printers Publisher or Publishers of the same after the day on which such last mentioned Affidavit or Affidavits shall have been delivered to the said Justice of the Peace as aforesaid.

Article XII

Certified copies of Affidavits to be delivered on payment of

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the Justice of the Peace by whom such Affidavits shall be kept according to the directions of this Rule Ordinance and Regulation shall, and he is hereby required upon application made to him by any Person or Persons requiring a Copy certified according to this Rule Ordinance and Regulation of any such Affidavit as aforesaid in order that the same may be produced in any Civil or Criminal proceedings to deliver to the person so applying for the same such certified Copy he or they paying for the same the sum of 1 Rupee and no more.

Article XIII

Copies of Affidavits Certified by the Justice of the Peace in whose custody they shall be, to be sufficient evidence

And whereas in many cases it may be productive of public inconvenience to require that the Justice of the Peace before whom such Affidavits as are hereinbefore mentioned are made, should be required personally to attend in order to prove upon the trial of any action prosecution suit indictment information, or in any other legal proceeding that the parties signing swearing and delivering such Affidavit or Affidavits, did swear the same in the presence of, and did deliver the same to such Justice of the Peace before and to whom the same shall have been sworn or delivered respectively ; Be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid That in all cases a Copy of any such Affidavit certified to be a true Copy under the hand of such Justice of the Peace in whose possession the same shall be, shall upon proof made that such Certificates have been signed by the hand writing of the person making the same and whom it shall not be necessary to prove to be a Justice of the Peace, be received in evidence as sufficient proof of such Affidavit, and that the same was duly sworn and of the contents thereof, and such copies so produced and certified shall also be received as Evidence that the Affidavits of which they purport to be Copies, have been sworn according to this Rule Ordinance and Regulation and shall have the same effect for the purposes of evidence to all intents whatsoever as if the original Affidavit or Affidavits of which the copies so produced and certified shall purport to be Copies had been produced in Evidence and been proved to have been so duly Certified and sworn by the person or persons appearing by such Copy to have sworn the same as aforesaid.

Article XIV

Penalty of Rupees 1000 *on unauthorized Persons giving Certificates*

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That if any person not being such Justice of the Peace as aforesaid shall give any such certificate as aforesaid or shall presume to certify any of the matters or things by this Rule Ordinance and Regulation directed to be certified by such Justice of the Peace as aforesaid or which such Justice of the Peace as aforesaid is hereby empowered or entrusted to certify he shall forfeit and lose the Sum of One thousand Rupees.

Article XV

Penalty of Rupees 1000 for falsely certifying that Affidavits were sworn to, or that false Copies are true, &ca.

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That if any person shall knowingly and wilfully falsely certify under his hand that any such Affidavit as is required to be made by this Rule Ordinance and Regulation was duly signed and sworn before him the same not having been so sworn or signed or shall knowingly and wilfully falsely certify that any Copy or Copies of any Affidavit or Affidavits is or are a true Copy or Copies of the Affidavit or Affidavits of which the same are certified to be such copy or Copies or shall knowingly and wilfully falsely certify or express in any certificate that the Affidavit or Affidavits of which any Copy or Copies are certified to be a true Copy or copies was or were duly sworn before the person so certifying by the party or parties whose name or names appear subscribed to the same as the name or names of the party or parties swearing and signing the same every person so offending shall in each and every such case respectively forfeit and lose the sum of one thousand Rupees.

Article XVI

After 14 days after the date of Registry a Copy of every Newspaper &ca. to be delivered within 6 days of its publication to the Justice or his Officer on penalty of Rs. 1000. The Paper to be paid for, by the Justice, and may within two years after publication be produced as Evidence in any proceeding civil or criminal

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That from and after fourteen days after Registry and Publication of the Rule Ordinance and Regulation in the Supreme Court as aforesaid, the Printer or Publisher of every Newspaper or other such printed Book or Paper as hereinbefore described shall upon every day upon which the same shall be published, or within six days after delivery to the Justice of Peace before whom the Affidavit as hereinbefore required is made, or to some officer to be appointed by him to receive the same and whom he is hereby required to appoint for that purpose one of the Newspaper or other printed Books or Papers herein before described so published upon each such day signed by the printer or publisher thereof in his handwriting with his name and place of abode and the same shall be carefully kept by the said Justice of the Peace or such Officer as aforesaid in such manner as the said Justice of the Peace shall direct and such Printer or Publisher shall be entitled to demand and receive from the said Justice of the Peace or such Officer once in every six days of publication the amount of the ordinary price of the respective Newspaper or other printed books or papers so delivered and in every case in which the printer and publisher of such Newspaper or other such printed book or paper as aforesaid shall neglect to deliver one such Newspaper or other printed book or paper in the manner hereinbefore directed such printer and publisher shall for every such neglect respectively forfeit and lose the sum of One thousand Rupees and in case any person or persons shall make application to the said Justice of the Peace or such Officer as aforesaid, in order that such Newspaper or other printed book or paper so signed by the printer or publisher may be produced in Evidence in any proceeding Civil or criminal the said Justice of the Peace or such Officer shall, at the expense of the party applying at any time within two years from the publication thereof either cause the same to be produced in the Court in which the same is required to be produced and at the time when the same is required to be produced or shall deliver the same to the party applying for it taking according to his discretion, reasonable security at his expense for the returning the same to the said Justice of the Peace or such Officer, and in case

by reason that the same shall have been previously required by any other person to be produced in any Court or hath been previously delivered to any other person for the like purpose the same cannot be produced at the time required, or be delivered according to such application in such case the said Justice of the Peace or such his Officer shall cause the same to be produced, or shall deliver the same as soon as they are enabled so to do.

Article XVII

Printers shall give notice in the form annexed No. 1 to the Chief Secretary of Government who shall grant a Certificate in the form annexed No. 2 and file the notice.

Penalty of Rs. 400 for keeping presses or types without notice or using them in any place not expressed therein

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That from and after fourteen days after the Registry and Publication of this Rule Ordinance and Regulation in the Supreme Court as aforesaid every person having any printing press, or types for printing within the Presidency of Bombay shall cause a notice thereof signed in the presence of and attested by one witness, to be delivered to the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being or other person acting and officiating as such, according to the form hereinafter prescribed and such Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall, and he is hereby authorized and required to grant a certificate in the form hereinafter prescribed and shall file such notice and every person who, not having delivered such notice, and obtained such Certificate as aforesaid, shall, from and after the expiration of fourteen days next after such Registry and Publication of this Rule Ordinance and Regulation as aforesaid keep or use any printing press or types for printing, or having delivered such notice and obtained such certificate, as aforesaid shall use any printing press or types for printing in any other place than the place expressed in such notice shall forfeit and lose the sum of four hundred Rupees.

Article XVIII

The name and abode of the Printer shall be printed on every paper or book

Printer omitting so to do and persons dispersing papers without such Name and place of abode shall forfeit Rupees 400

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That from and after fourteen days after the Registry and Publication of this Rule Ordinance and Regulation as aforesaid every person who shall print any paper or book whatsoever within the Presidency of Bombay not being intended to be published periodically but which shall be meant and intended to be published or dispersed whether the same shall be sold or given away shall print upon the front of every such paper, if the same shall be printed on one side only and upon the first and last leaves of every such last mentioned paper or book which shall consist of more than one leaf in legible characters his or her name, and the name of his or her dwelling house or usual place of abode, and every person who shall omit so to print his name and place of abode on every such last mentioned paper or book printed by him and also every person who shall publish or disperse, or assist in publishing or dispersing either gratis or for money any such last mentioned printed paper or book, which shall have been printed after the time hereinbefore last specified and on which the name and place of abode of the person printing the same shall not be printed as aforesaid, shall for every Copy of such paper so published or dispersed by him, forfeit and pay the sum of Four hundred Rupees.

ARTICLE XIX

Printers shall keep a Copy of every book and paper they print and write thereon the name and abode of their employer

Penalty of Rs. 400 for neglect or refusing to produce the Copy within 6 months

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That every person who from, and after the time hereinbefore last specified shall print any such last mentioned book or paper whatsoever within the Presidency of Bombay for Hire Reward Gain or Profit shall carefully preserve and keep one copy (at least) of every such last mentioned book or paper so printed by him or her on which he or she shall write or cause to be written or printed in fair and legible characters, the name and place of abode of the person or persons by whom he or she shall be employed to print the same and every person printing any such last mentioned book or paper whatsoever for Hire, Reward, Gain or Profit who shall omit or neglect to write or cause to be written or printed as aforesaid; the name and place of abode of his or her employer on one of such last mentioned printed books or papers, or to keep or preserve the same for the space of six Calendar Months next after the printing thereof, or to produce and shew the same to any Justice of the Peace acting within the Presidency of Bombay who within the said space of six Calendar Months shall require to see the same shall for every such omission neglect or refusal forfeit and lose the sum of 400 rupees.

ARTICLE XX

A Justice may empower a Peace Officer to search for Presses and Types he suspects to be illegally used and seize them and the printed papers found

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That if any Justice of the Peace acting within the Presidency of Bombay, shall from Information upon oath, have reason to suspect that any printing press or types for printing is or are used or kept for use without notice given and certificate obtained as required by this Rule Ordinance and Regulation, or in any place not included in such Notice and Certificate, it shall be lawful for such Justice by warrant to direct authorize and empower any of his Officers in the day time with such person or persons as shall be called to his assistance to enter into any such house, room and place and search for any printing press or types for printing and it shall be lawful for every such Peace Officer with such assistance as aforesaid, to enter into such house room or place in the day time accordingly and to seize take and carry away every printing press found therein together with all the types and other articles thereto belonging and used in printing and all printed papers found in such house room or place.

ARTICLE XXI

How penalties are to be recovered and disposed of

And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that all offences committed and all pecuniary forfeitures and penalties had or incurred under or against this Rule Ordinance and Regulation shall and may be heard and adjudged and determined by two or more of the Justices of the Peace acting within the Presidency of Bombay who are hereby empowered and authorized to hear and determine the same and to issue their summons or warrant for bringing the party or parties complained of, before them and upon his or their appearance, or contempt and default to hear the parties examine witnesses, and to give Judgment or Sentence according as in and by this Rule Ordinance and

Regulation is ordained and directed and to award and issue out warrants under their hands and seals for the paying of such forfeitures and penalties as may be imposed upon the goods and chattels of the offender and to cause sale to be made of the goods and chattels if they shall not be redeemed within six days rendering to the party the overplus if any be after deducting the amount of such forfeiture or penalty and the costs and charges attending the levying thereof, and in case sufficient distress shall not be found and such forfeitures and penalties shall not be forthwith paid, it shall and may be lawful for such Justices of the Peace and they are hereby authorized and required by warrant or warrants under their hands and seals to cause such offender or offenders to be committed to the common gaol of Bombay there to remain for any time not exceeding four Calendar Months unless such forfeitures and penalties and all reasonable charges shall be sooner paid and satisfied, and that all the said forfeitures when paid or levied shall be from time to time paid into the Treasury of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and to be employed and disposed of according to the order and directions of—

ARTICLE XXII

This Rule Ordinance and Regulation not to extend to certain Publications

Provided always and be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid that nothing in this Rule Ordinance and Regulation contained shall be deemed or taken to extend or apply to any book or paper printed by the authority and for the use of the Government of any or either of the three Presidencies of India, or to any printed book or paper containing only Shipping Intelligence, Advertisements of Sales, Current prices of Commodities, rates of Exchange or other Intelligence solely of a commercial nature.

No. 1

Form of Notice to the Chief Secretary or other person acting as such that any person keeps any printing press or types for printing

I *A.B.* of do hereby declare that I have a printing press and types for printing which I propose to use for printing within the Presidency of Bombay, and which I require to be entered for that purpose in Pursuance of the Rule Ordinance and Regulation No. of 1825.

Witness my hand this day of
Signed in the presence of

A.B.

No. 2

Form of Certificate that Notice has been given of a printing press or types for printing

I *C.D.* Chief Secretary to Government (or acting Chief Secretary) do hereby certify that *A.B.* of hath delivered to me a notice in writing appearing to be signed by him and attested by as a witness to his signing the same that he the said *A.B.* hath a printing press and types for printing which he proposes to use for printing within the Presidency of Bombay and which he has required to be entered pursuant to the Rule Ordinance and Regulation of 1825.

Witness my hand this day of

C.D.

PART II

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY
ON
THE KONKANI LANGUAGE

A LIFE SKETCH OF

J. H. da CUNHA RIVARA*

JOAQUIM HELIODORO DA CUNHA RIVARA was a well-known writer and scholar. He was born in Arraiolos, 23rd June 1800, and died in Evora on the 20th February 1879. His father was Dr. Antonio Francisco Rivara, Genooese by nationality and his mother, D. Maria Isabel da Cunha Feio Castelo Branco, Spanish by nationality. Having gone through the preparatory courses in Evora, he entered the University of Coimbra in the year 1824, but had to break off when he had completed the 3rd year of Medicine in 1828, as the University had to close down owing to the political events of the time.



J. H. da CUNHA RIVARA

* The author of the *Historical Essay on the Konkani Language.*

During the civil war he withdrew to his home, and it was only at the end of the war in 1834 that he could resume his studies and take the degree in 1836. However, he did not show great inclination to practise Medicine. After holding for some time the post of the First Official in the Civil Secretariat of Evora, he took charge of the chair of rational and moral Philosophy in the Lyceum of the same city (Decree of 27-7-1837), holding simultaneously the post of librarian of the Library of Evora (25-12-1838). During fifteen years he put forth considerable effort in re-organising the Library which had suffered complete decay. The political agitations and crisis of those years were a source of immense difficulties, as the Government could hardly pay attention to cultural or pedagogical matters. He succeeded, however, in putting up a new hall to house 8,000 volumes, and in completely overhauling the whole building; and after laborious investigations he selected and incorporated in the Library over 10,000 volumes from the libraries of extinct convents, besides donating 182 volumes of old, and mostly rare works from his own private library.

All the above books were catalogued by him, as he had no assistant. His attention was specially drawn to a valuable collection of manuscripts, mostly Portuguese, referring to Asia, Africa and America, of which he made an inventory and catalogue, and with these he prepared and printed a large size volume in 1850.

Cunha Rivara gave valuable help to Count Raczyuski in his art investigations, which this foreign savant acknowledged in his book. This exhausting activity did not stand in the way of his teaching work which he carried out with equal solicitude, or of his constant collaboration in the journals and reviews of the time. He co-operated in the Publication of *Reflexões sobre a Lingoa Portugueza*, by Fr. Francisco José Freira (Edited by *Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Uteis*, Lisbon, 1842), of which a new edition was brought out later with a masterly preface by Rivara.

As he had always kept aloof from political struggles, there was general surprise that he should have stood up for election as a deputy for Evora in 1853, an election which he won. In the Chamber of Deputies he took particular interest in questions of

administration and education. He was a member of important Committees, among others of the Committee of Inquiry on the Bank of Portugal.

The Viscount, later Count, of *Torres Novas*, on his appointment as Governor General of India, selected him as General Secretary, and he was nominated to this office on June 3rd, 1855. During the tenure of this office which lasted till 1870, Cunha Rivara enjoyed the confidence of all Governors, and made a conspicuous contribution to the improvement of administrative services, public instruction, and people's education as well as to economic and industrial progress. Charged with the definition of areas of the dioceses of India within the jurisdiction of the " Padroado " of the East as per Concordat of February 21, 1857, Cunha Rivara proved a stalwart champion of the rights of the Portuguese nation, whether in official negotiations or in polemics in the press and pamphlets, in which he vigorously argued against the excessive claims of the Vicars Apostolic. In 1858 the metropolitan Government appointed him to continue the historical work of João de Barros and Diogo do Couto on the conquests and the domains of Portugal in Asia. Without availing himself of the offer of official allowances, he visited the whole coast from Diu to Cape Comorin, that of Malabar and Coromandel, in a tireless investigation of all ruins and monuments which gave evidence of Portuguese activity. With the same meticulous care he examined the numerous documents in the Archives of India, and published them in the *Boletim Official*, the *Cronista de Tissuary*, and other periodicals, as well as in special volumes and booklets. He resigned in 1870, but continued in India till 1877, carrying on his historical studies. His stay in Lisbon was brief. He spent the remainder of his life in Evora.

Throughout his life he developed an intense intellectual activity. Thus in the Review *Panorama* he published numerous articles from 1838 to 1854, among which were chapters of *Memorias da Vila de Arraiolos*, which corrected and enlarged, he intended to publish in a complete work, but the scheme was not carried out. From 1859 to 1861 he was a frequent contributor to the *Arquivo Universal* of Lisbon, where in Vol. III, pp. 289-291 he published a remarkable note on *Deducão Cronologica vertida em Chines*

(Chronological Deduction turned into Chinese). In the monthly *O Cronista de Tissuary* which he edited and which began its publication in Nova-Goa (Pangim) in Jan. 1866 and ended in June 1869 (4 vol.), he published numerous documents on Portuguese activity in Asia, and, often anonymously—in view of his official position, articles in defence of Portuguese interests in the " Padroado " of the East. In the *Boletim do Governo da India* he published his more important articles on the same question. His collaboration in this *Boletim* went on from 1855 to 1875. His contributions also appeared in *Revista Universal Lisbonense* ; *Aurora de Lisboa* ; *Revista Literaria*, Porto ; *Journal da Farmacia e Ciencias Medicas* of Portuguese India, 1862 and 1863 ; *Arquivo da Farmacia, idem* 1864-1871, *Instituto Vasco da Gama, idem* 1872-74 ; and *Imprensa de Ribandar*, 1870-1871. In the *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* which was published in Panjim in 1857-76 he brought out with a commentary of his own, a volume containing letters which the Kings of Portugal had addressed to the *Cidade de Goa* (Corporation of Goa) ; the letters of instructions of the Kings of Portugal to the Viceroys and Governors of India in the 16th century as well as executive orders, decrees etc., of the time ; the letters addressed to the ecclesiastical council of Goa and the Synod of Diamper ; various documents of the 16th and 17th centuries etc. He wrote introductions or annotations to *Gramatica da Lingua Concani* by Fr. Thomas Stevens, with additions by other Fathers of the Society of Jesus, with an introduction consisting of a *Memoir on the geographical distribution of the main languages of India by* Sir Erskine Perry, and of the *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, Noa-Goa, 1857. *Grammatica da Lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte*, work of a Portuguese missionary of 17th century, now published for the first time Nova-Goa, 1858 ; *Gramatica da lingua Concani* written in Portuguese by an Italian missionary, Nova-Goa, 1859 ; *Diccionario portugues-concani*, by an Italian Missionary, Nova-Goa, 1868 ; Letters of Luis Antonio Verney and Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo to the Fathers of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa, Nova-Goa, 1858 ; *Memorias sobre as possessões portuguesas na Asia*, written in 1623 by Gonçalo de Magalhães Teixeira Pinto, High Court Judge, now published with brief additions and annotations, Nova-Goa 1859 ; *Demonstratio juris patronatus Portugaliae Regum* (Defence of the Padroado)

composed by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Ludovico de Souza, written at the instance of the Prince Regent of Portugal during the Pontificate of Innocent XI, 1677, a work now brought to light by Cunha Rivara, Nova-Goa, 1880, and this was based on a codex of the Evora Library which he believed to be either the autograph or a contemporary copy. *Descrição dos Rios de Sena* by Francisco de Melo de Castro, Nova-Goa, 1861 ; *Observações sobre a historia natural de Goa*, made in 1784 by Manoel Galvão da Silva and now published, Nova-Goa 1862 ; *Documentos* on the occupation of the Bay of Lourenço-Marques, East Coast of Africa, attempted or carried in the first half of the 18th century by some nations of Europe, specially the Dutch, found in the Government archives, Nova-Goa, 1873.

Cunha Rivara was a Fellow of the Academy of Sciences, the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil, and other scientific and literary societies. He was honoured with *Comenda* of the Order of Villa Viçosa (Decree of 4-6-1860) and that of the Order of Santiago (Decree of 14-4-1860) and was granted the title of *Concelheiro* (Councillor), Decree of 11-3-1861.

He was the author of : *Apontamentos sobre os Oradores parlamentares de* 1853, Lisboa, 1853 ; *De Lisboa a Goa pelo Meditarraneo, Egipto e Mar vermelho* (Description of voyage from Lisbon to Goa) ; *A Circular Letter addressed to his friends in Europe*, Nova-Goa, 1858 ; *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval* (report of his voyage to East Indies, the Maldives, Molucca, Brazil, 1601-11) translated from French edition of 1679, with corrections and notes, Nova-Goa, Vol. I 1858, Vol. II 1862 ; Analysis of a pamphlet "*O Visconde de Torres Novas e as Eleições em Goa*" printed in Lisbon, 1861, anonymously, Nova-Goa, 1862 ; *Address to the Electors* (on the candidatures to the Chamber of Deputies of Bernado Francisco da Costa and Antonio Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcelos) published anonymously, Nova-Goa, 1865. *Ensaio Historico da lingua Concani*, Nova-Goa, 1858 ; *Memoria sobre a propagação e cultura das chinchonas medicinaes* by W. Graham, translated from English, Nova-Goa, 1864 ; *Inscrições de Dio*, Nova-Goa, 1865.

(Translated from the *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brazileira*—Vol. 25, Lisboa, pp. 791-793).

TRANSLATOR'S 'NOTE

FEW scholars have done more to promote the cause of the native language of Goa than J. H. da Cunha Rivara, the Portuguese savant of the 19th century.

Both the Konkani speaking people and students of the history of Indian languages will be forever indebted to him for his historical essay on the language and the printing of its grammars.

I have confined myself in this book to the translation into English of his epoch-making *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* published in Nova Goa in 1858.

In the body of his work, Cunha Rivara has listed elaborate documents or historical data in support of many of his statements as to the origin and vitality of the language as well as the many vissicitudes through which it had to pass in its long and chequered career.

It was not possible in my translation to include these records owing to their bulk. The book, however, contains footnotes both mine (marked with asterisks) and those of the author to elucidate certain points in the text of the translation.

In writing a book of this nature, the translator has naturally to labour under many difficulties. The Portuguese in which the original essay was written 100 years ago and the language of the documents which goes further back in time is archaic and requires studious examination.

I have, however, tried to follow the original text closely, retaining as far as possible the author's trend of thought and his interpretation of contemporary conditions. I am greatly indebted to Principal Aloysius Soares; and Prof. A. K. Priolkar, Director of Marathi Research Institute, who gave me invaluable help in reading the text as well in the elucidation of certain passages in the essay.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I submit my translation of the *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* by Cunha Rivara, on the occasion of the centenary of its publication.

THEOPHILUS LOBO

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY ON THE KONKANI LANGUAGE

I

THE attempt on our part to write an *Historical Essay on the Konkani Language* could justifiably be considered as presumptuous, if someone competent to undertake this arduous task could be found among those who knew the mother-tongue. On one occasion in the past we have drawn attention[1] of the public to the unique phenomenon of ignorance regarding the structure and grammatical forms of the mother-tongue which has prevailed in Goa from remote times. We have also pointed out the absurdity of the affirmation that a language spoken by half a million of people had no grammar and was not even capable of being set in writing. We, therefore, thought that we would be of some use if we could dissipate such a pernicious impression and illusion and prove that the Konkani language possessed not only grammar like other languages, but a grammar which, from ancient times, was appropriately formulated in rules and actually printed. And if the Portuguese and the natives despised and persecuted it, it has, nevertheless, received the attention of learned foreign orientalists, who to the great benefit of science and the good of humanity have been applying themselves to the study of Indian languages.

In spite of the great impulse which the language received in the first century of Portuguese dominion, there rose against the language an implacable war with attempts to entirely extinguish and proscribe it. Although it was not possible to achieve the end fully, as it is beyond human power to suppress a language, it has, however, been corrupted and adulterated and its literary records practically destroyed to the serious loss both to the intellectual and moral culture of the people.

The author, acknowledging his lack of competence, therefore, limits himself partly to compile what those well-versed in this

1. Lecture delivered at the opening of the Primary Training School of Nova Goa on the 1st of October 1856—*Boletim do Governo*, No. 78.

language have said and have ascertained ; and partly, in the light of authentic documents, government circulars and other facts to arrive at a conclusion as to what has influenced its progress or decadence.

II

In the first part of this introduction, namely, the *Paper on the geographical distribution of the principal languages in India*,[2] we have seen how the Konkani language hails from the family of Sanskritic languages, or those of the north. Authors with considered views on the subject regard the language as the daughter, or more appropriately, the sister of Marathi, though those living around the coast of Kanara consider the language to be completely different from Marathi. This view, however, may be rejected, due to palpable and decisive analogies existing between Konkani and Marathi. The weighty authority of Murphy,[3] quoted by the author of the above-mentioned Paper on the study of the grammar of Konkani proves abundantly that its grammar is the same as that of the Marathi language. The nouns and verbs are declined in the same way, with minor modifications of little significance. According to the same authority, Konkani does explain some difficulties inherent in the Marathi language. What are considered as anomalies, or defective voices in the latter, are sometimes accepted as rules, and in a complete form in the former. Finally, it appears that Konkani is the very Marathi language with a large admixture of Tulu and Kanarese words ; the former derived from the native inhabitants of Tuluva, or Kanara ; the latter resulting from the long subjection of this part of Konkan to the Kanarese dynasties above the Ghats.

Konkani language has undergone an unique Brahmanic influence; and as attested by the above-mentioned Murphy, many Sanscritic words, signifying natural objects, have entered into its

2.* Sir Erskine Perry, *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. January 1853. The Portuguese translation of this paper was published with the first edition of this Essay.

3.* Robert Xavier Murphy (1803-1857) Editor of Bombay Gazette, 1834 ; Oriental translator to Government of Bombay 1852 ; a classical scholar and quick at acquiring of Oriental languages ; wrote largely on Oriental subfects philosophical and literary, antiquaries, etc.

popular usage. These words are not used in the same sense in any other part of India. Thus the common terms to signify water, tree and grass, are Sanscritic; and pronounced by the Shenvi Brahmins give the sound of *udak*, *uriksh*, *trin*; pronounced by Christians of the place would sound *udik*, *rukh*, *tan*, etc.

Goan experience and tradition testify that this difference in pronunciation is preserved and perpetuated among the Brahmin Christians, and that it is a distinguishing mark of that caste; whilst the *Chardés*[4] attribute it to affectation and corruption, a view worthy of severe condemnation.[5]

Again, according to Murphy, the masculine termination *o* of Gujerati and Marwaree also occurs in Konkani, in place of *a* used in Hindi and Marathi.

4.* Name of a caste in Goa now corresponding to that of the Marathas or *Kshatrias*. There is also another view: "At the time the Portuguese arrived in Goa (1510), there lived in the respective territory of Ilhas and the continent, many families of these *Caraddes* and *Caraddis* then subject to Idalkão (Adil-Khan), king of Bijapur, partly converted to Catholicism, under Portuguese dominion, and continued to be known as before, although the Portuguese transformed or changed the word *caraddó* into *charadó* or *chardó* (as they were accustomed to write *charidade*, *chorumbim*, *chaldeu*) and gradually pronounced the term as *xardó*. They, however, constituted a caste distinct from those who are called brahmins and *xudras* or *sudras*. Being somewhat weak in Indian etnography the Portuguese represented the caste as the one of *Kshatrias* or warriors, confounding both the former and the latter with the dravidian caste of *quetres* or *etchatres* who are simple farmers, of very low condition and who have not been able to achieve anything, as *cunbis* or *curumbis*, and were absolutely ignorant both of the vedic religion as well of the bramanese customs, and they belong to the general caste of *sudras*. What is curious to note is the fact that full of pride and conceit they believed that they were *Kshatrias* themselves, in spite of the fact that they possessed nothing of the warriors or their customs in them; it is, however, certain that the terms *charadó* and *Kshatrias* are distinct from one another." (*Direito Hindu and Mahometano* by Dr. Luis Cunha Gonsalves, Coimbra 1923, p. 40).

5. *Vide* the pamphlet entitled *Noção originaria da India* published by Mariano Monte Alegre, a native of Goa, 1852. (No mention is made of the place of publication which appears to be Bombay).

The page 18 of the pamphlet contains:—

"The mixed idiom of Goa is in itself condemned; however, due to their brahmanic astuteness this mixed idiom has been singularly maintained and thus brutally imposed on the rude populace the distinction and exclusive use of addressing their sons and daughters as *Chôlés* and *Chôliós* respectively; childish foolishness tolerated in Goa alone...*por serem indiferentes á gente de caracter, honradez, e de nata nobreza*: The Portuguese of the pamphlet is bad, without any method or preparation, indicating ridiculous appearance of its form, and it is, however, significant as a manifesto of the *Charadó* caste against the brahmin caste and a proof of deep-rooted caste distinction existing among the Christians in India."

Another contemporary philologist,[6] who has studied the language profoundly in Kanara, and also composed a Dictionary and a Konkani-Portuguese Grammar is fully in accord with the opinion of Murphy regarding the genius and disposition of the language. His grammar starts with this note or observation : " Even though the Konkani language, whose grammar I am writing, be different from the Marathi language, it has great similarity with the other, which we may even call natural ; besides the Konkani language has adopted from Marathi some words and phrases it did not have ; and as Greek vocables assimilated in Latin language are called Grecisms, so the adaptation of Marathi words by the Konkani language may be called Marathisms."

III

The name *concani*, *concanica*, or *concana* is derived from the territory (Konkan) where this language is commonly spoken. The Portuguese missionaries who were the first to cultivate it intensively during the 16th and 17th centuries, commonly called the language the *Bramana* language, *Canarim*[7] language or *Canarina*. The first name clearly arises from the fact that the Brahmins, alone among the Hindus, knew to read and write in that language ; the second name *Canarins*, is given by the Portuguese to the natives of Konkan, which extends even beyond the limits of Kanara. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind, that this language is not the same as the one known as Kanara or Canarese, spoken by the people of Kanara and other provinces, which as we have already seen in the paper of Sir Erskine Perry, really belongs to the Tamilian family.

The Konkani language starts from the north of Goa in the southern districts of the British Collectorate of Ratnagiri, where it meets the Marathi language ; and towards the south it extends up to Udipi in the proximity of Kundapur, in Kanara, or according to another view, up to Mangalore, where the commonly spoken

6. Fr. Francis Xavier, Italian Carmelite, Missionary in Canara, Archbishop of Sardes and Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly.

7.* It appears that the term *Canarim* (Persian word for " coaster ") was first given by the Arab-traders to the people on the Malabar Coast which was subsequently adopted by the Portuguese and applied to the native Christians of Goa.

language in that place, Tulu, has its beginning. Thus, Konkani is more a southern branch of the Sanscritic or northern family, uniting this family with the Tamilian or southern branch. Towards the east it extends up to the Ghats; in addition, it is spoken by various castes in Bombay and in the whole island of Salsette—principally by the Christians.

Konkani cannot be exclusively called the language of all the classes of people who live in the provinces, where it is spoken. Thus, for instance, it is not spoken by all the people of Kanara, who speak both Tulu and Marathi, whereas in Sawantwadi it has equal footing with Marathi, Urdu and Hindustani.

According to the present Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi,[8] Major J. W. Auld, three languages are spoken in that State. The Muslims speak Hindustani or Urdu, high class Hindus speak Marathi, and other inferior castes speak a corrupt form of Marathi, known as Kuddali, which is more in vogue in the southern districts of the Collectorate of Ratnagiri. This corrupted form of Marathi, referred to by Mr. Auld, is the true Konkani language. This language which carries with it an abundant mixture of Portuguese words is the people's language in the Portuguese territory as well as in Sawantwadi and other districts.

Later on, we shall have occasion to deal with the causes that have brought the Konkani language to the state of corruption at present prevalent in Portuguese territory, chiefly in the provinces constituting the *Velhas Conquistas*.[9] The views of a few modern authors are given below :—

The Rev. Luiz Cottineau de Kloguen who visited Goa about the year 1829 says :—" All speak a corrupt dialect, a resultant of Portuguese Konkani and Marathi languages, which, however, has been reduced to grammatical rules. The poor and those who cannot read, chiefly the women folk, speak this language only."[10]

8. *Brief Notes relative to the Sawantwaree State* submitted to Government on the 1st July, 1854, in the *selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. X, New Series.

9.* The districts conquered or acquired by the Portuguese in the beginning, *viz.* Goa Islands (1510), Bardez and Salsete (1543).

10. *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, Madras 1831, p. 167.

Manoel Felicissimo Louzada de Araujo e Azevedo, who lived in Goa (1827 to 1837) writes: "In addition to the Portuguese language, the people speak the local language, which is a mixture of Kanarese and Marathi. The Hindus in their writings commonly use the *Indo*, Kanarese or Marathi dialects, and several scripts. Those from the Provinces of the *Novas Conquistas*[11] write as rapidly as they speak, but very few among the Hindus can write these dialects without getting mixed with other dialects."[12] Felipe Nery Xavier says: "In their dealings in general and familiar intercourse, the language commonly used by the people is a combination of the Marathi and the Kanarese languages with the local dialects in each of the Districts and Provinces; the same holds good of each class or caste. In their writings, however, they make use of Portuguese dialect and among themselves the Hindus use Kanarese, Hindi or Marathi in adulterated form: yet very few use one form without mixing it with the others."[13]

The language is purer in the *Novas Conquistas*; and its chance of being corrupted lessens in proportion to the distance from the territory of Goa.

IV

The Konkani literature, chiefly religious, owes its existence exclusively to the Portuguese missionaries. The Rev. J. Murray Mitchell the noted Protestant missionary, and learned Orientalist of the Bombay Presidency, published in 1849 one Paper[14] on this literature, the language of which he called Maratha; and under this misconception he exerted himself to find out, and did discover *innumerable mistakes of all kinds*, both as to the use of vowels as well of aspiration and other grammatical points, from whence

11.* The Districts newly acquired by the Portuguese. They are: Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona in 1761; Ponda in 1763; Pernem and Sanquelim in 1782 and Satari in 1778.

12. *Segunda Memoria descriptiva, e estatistica das Possessões Portuguezas na Asia: nos Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, anno 1842, p. 50.

13. "Noção Historica de Goa," *Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, Tom I, 1846, p. 43.

14. "Marathi Works composed by the Portuguese," *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Bombay. No. XII, Vol. III, January, pp. 132-157.

he concluded that this *Marathi language has been falsified, adulterated, corrupted and brought low.*[15]

We beg leave from the learned British Orientalist, and Mr. Filipe Nery Pires, who appears to hold the same view[16], to say that we feel that there is a serious error in such censure. Filipe Nery Pires himself (and his authority in this matter cannot be questioned, because he is both a son of Goa, as well as an eminent professor of Marathi) agrees with the opinion of Murphy in that the Konkani language, *Bramana,* or *Canarim* (as ancient Portuguese authors called it) has very close analogy with Marathi: "The declensions of its nouns (says he) together with its terminations and inflexions, affixes, suffixes and prefixes; pronouns personal, relative and possessive, terminations and conjugations of its verbs; its auxiliaries, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections; finally the syntax, and all the rules by means which the structure of this dialect is composed and regulated; in a word, the whole mechanism is identically the same as in this Compendium (of Marathi Grammar)."[17] But this is not sufficient to conclude that both the languages, Marathi and Konkani, are one in the same way as one cannot confound Spanish with Portuguese.

And thus it appears to us that Fr. Francis Xavier and Murphy were on surer ground, when they considered these two languages to be distinct, than Rev. Cottineau de Kloguen and Murray Mitchell who identify them. The latter fell into the error into which, for instance, a Russian or German might fall, who after having studied the Spanish language and casually seeing a book written in Portuguese, would catalogue mistakes contained therein, on the persuasion that the book was written by a Spaniard who had blundered through ignorance of his own language. The critic, for instance, would have noticed two errors in the word *coração,* namely, *ç* in place of *z* and *ão* in place of *on,* whereas in Spanish the word is written *corazon.* Similarly the word *chorar* would constitute a very grave error, for the Spanish language has *ll* for *ch* of Portuguese, and hence the word is written *llorar,* etc.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 136 and Philipe Nery Pires; *Grammatica Maratha explicada em Lingua Portugueza,* Bombay, 1854, p... 103.
16. Philipe Nery Pires, *Op. cit....,* Preface, p. XIV.
17. *Ibid.*

Rev. Murray Mitchell, however, may be excused to a certain extent. His Paper does not deal with the Portuguese-Konkani literature *ex professo*. It only contains certain observations, which according to him, might lead to the investigation of an interesting and important subject.[18] We believe that the confusion he has created in mixing up the Konkani language with the Marathi resulted from the fact he knew only one ancient Konkani publication (the Puranna of Fr. Francis Vaz de Guimarães)[19] and probably a minor modern book (Manual de Devoções) printed in Bombay in 1848 ; he had also by chance come into possession of the *Cathecismo da Doutrina Christã*, printed in Rome in the year 1778 by the Press of the Congregation of Propaganda. This was written in Portuguese and Marathi in Roman characters according to the system of the *Grammatica Maratha* printed at the same press and in the same year. This grammar the Rev. Murray Mitchell, in spite of all his attempts, was unable to find.[20]

Rev. Mitchell finds the language of the *Cathecismo* more correct than that of the Puranna of Fr. Francis Vaz ; and anxious to discover the reason for such a difference, he arrives at this conclusion : "The higher castes of Hindus, in these western parts of India, were not very much impressed with the Roman Catholic religion, those converted being exclusively from the poorer classes cultivators and fishermen ; and it is likely that the Marathi dialect of this people may have been adopted by their religious teachers, without any attempt to uplift or to systematize it."[21]

In so far as it has reference to the territory of Goa, this observation is inaccurate since there were abundant conversions among the Brahmins and higher caste people, from whom the Catholic priests learnt the language correctly and systematically. The mistake the Rev. M. Mitchell committed is that he did not consult a greater number of books. Had he done so, he would not have identified both these languages which are distinct—though similar and sister-like.

18. Murray Mitchell, *Op. Cit.*, p. 133.

19.* This Puranna attributed to Guimarães was first published in 1845 in Bombay and there were a few subsequent editions.

20. Murray Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The misconception of Murray Mitchell is shared by those Marathi speaking individuals to whom he had shown or read a certain old work printed in the *Bramana* language (Konkani) and who took it to be a book written in Marathi.[22]

We say this with great reserve, acknowledging, that we are not competent at all to enter into philological discussions on Oriental languages with the eminent professors to whom we have referred.

Truth demands that we acknowledge that the most ancient book published by our missionaries (the Puranna of Father Thomas Stephens) has been accepted by the censors as written in the *Bramana-Maratha* language; a description which does not contradict our view, because it may be explicable by the clear knowledge they had of the affiliation of Marathi, and because neither at that time nor later had the experts accepted a special and fixed name for this language of Konkan.

V

Two observations, however, are entirely true. The first is of Mr. Felipe Nery Pires, when he says that the *Bramana* (Konkani) dialect or language as found printed in old books, differs very much from the one now actually in vogue in Goa, which being corrupted to the highest point of degeneration, cannot be classified among oriental languages.[23] The second observation is of the Rev. Mitchell who says: "It is evident from all the books that we have seen of Marathi (otherwise Konkani) in Romanized characters, that the Portuguese ecclesiastics never reduced to a system the orthography of Marathi (otherwise Konkani); the same work contains a word spelt in different ways, sometimes in four or five different forms, and each of these words is so confusedly spelt in various books that it can be understood with difficulty. What is patent in these works is the absence of accentuation; and indeed this is the source of much confusion.[24]

22. Pires, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XV.
23. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. XV.
24. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (Note).

Leaving for later discussion the causes of the corruption of Konkani in Goa, we shall make a reference to the observation of the Rev. Mitchell regarding the inconsistency of Konkani-romanized orthography.

In his Marathi Grammar, Felipe Nery Pires, by *Romanisation* means the method or system in which Roman letters as adopted in European languages are used to represent words of oriental languages.[25] The difficulty one would experience in such a method is easily noticed in the diversity of sounds and aspirates the oriental languages have as distinct from those in European languages. This difficulty must have been very great when the Portuguese missionaries attempted to write in Konkani, at the time when carried away by unenlightened zeal, the conquerors had destroyed all records of vernacular literature, thus doing away with the elements necesary to study the languages of the conquered people. This was the reason why a fresh start had to be made, and they had to indulge in guess-work about the nature of the grammar and orthography of these languages. In the course of this work, it was found easier to introduce Romanized words to express Konkani vocables, than for grammarians to adopt the Marathi alphabet, though the latter course would be proper and more natural.

If, therefore, a different system of orthography existed in the Portuguese language in those times, and exists even now, why should there be surprise at the serious difficulties that arose in expressing sounds of such different languages in Portuguese characters? Why should there be surprise that the various authors could not agree in this matter in their first literary attempts, and that the very same authors were not consistent in their own writings?

The Marathi language itself, now studied and cultivated extensively is not free from such difficulties, as is found not only when the Marathi writings of English and other foreign authors are compared with one another, but even in a comparison of the works in Marathi of Portuguese authors themselves.

25. Pires, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XI.

Mr. Filipe Nery Pires, in his Marathi Grammar, says : " Acknowledging from my personal experience that the different sounds and varied inflexions of Marathi cannot be duly expressed in Roman characters according to the pronunciation and value, which they receive in the Portuguese language without modification, I was compelled to invent a phonetic system which, due to its simplicity, would practically satisfy all the requirements. Those invented by Sir Williams Jones and by Doctor Gilchrist and generally adopted by the English, being peculiar to the language and the pronunciation of their nation, could not evidently be made applicable to the Portuguese language. The Roman alphabet, adapted to English pronunciation, shows such a great variety of sounds, such uncertainty, and such a strange confusion, that one could safely affirm that it is transformed into another and that it does not express, nor articulate the natural sounds proper to other languages. The same vowel has various sounds in various words and many times the sound of vowels is expressed according to their position ; for instance the five vowels have twenty-six sounds (see *Help*—published by the American Mission). It is this variety of sounds for each vowel that occasioned the special necessity of a dictionary of pronunciation. It is needless to add that when writing for the Portuguese, it would not have been proper to model my system on the English; but I had to invent a new one, conformable to the language in which I write. The Roman alphabet adapted to the Portuguese has an enunciation and fixed pronunciation, and the sound whether of vowels or of consonants, is generally invariable and determined. It is only in a few cases that there occurs a slight inflexion ; and this can easily be recognized by the use of accents, and other orthographic signs. Not being in possession of any norm or example that could guide me,[26] I have ventured to present my system, which based on Portuguese pronunciation, would need minor modifications to express various sounds of Marathi characters. This necessity, it appears to me, has been satisfactorily met by the use of certain diacritical accents, etc."[27]

26. It looks as if the *Grammatica Maratha e Portugueza* reference to which will be made in course of this essay was not known to Mr. Phelipe Nery Pires.

27. Pires, *op. cit., Pref. pg.* XI.

VI

In spite of the advantages found by Mr. Filipe Nery Pires in the use of the Roman alphabet, pronounced according to the rules of the Portuguese language, to express Marathi sounds, a comparison of the system adopted by Mr. Pires with the one used by the missionaries, who in the last century (1778) printed in Rome the Portuguese-Marathi Grammar,[28] (reprinted in Lisbon in the year 1805),[29] will reveal such a divergence that it is almost impossible to believe that the two Grammars had the identical intention of explaining to the Portuguese the Marathi language and that too with the claim of Romanizing it with reference to the value of letters (alphabets) and pronunciation of the Portuguese language.

It will be interesting to place before the reader a few examples; I shall select the following at random :

First Example

Present Tense of the Indicative of the Verb ' To Be '.

	Grammar of the Missionaries	*Grammar of Mr. Pires*
I am	My haim	Mí ãhê'
Thou art	Tum hass	Tũ ãhês
IIe is	Tou hay	Tô ãhê
We are	Amy haum	Amhĩ ãhô'
You are	Tumy há	Tumhi ãhã'
They are	Tey hanta	Tê ãhêt

28.* The *Marathi Samshodhana Mandala* (Bombay) has acquired a micro-film of this first edition from the Jesuit collection at Gotingen, through Fr. Wicki, S.J.

29. *Grammatica Marastta a mais vulgar que se practica nos reinos do Nizamaxa e Idalxa offerecida aos muito reverendos Padres Missionarios dos, ditos Rienos*, printed at Rome at the *Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide*, 1778 and afterwards in Lisbon at the Royal Press, 1805. By Order.

(This book is translated into English and published with an introduction by Prof. A. K. Priolkar in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XXII, part 2, Sept. 1954).

Second Example

Ordinal numbers

	Grammar of the Missionaries	*Grammar of Mr. Pires*
First	Pâilâ, pâily, pailam	põhĩlã, ĩ, e'
Second	Dussrá, dussry, dussram	dusrã, ĩ, e'
Third	Tissrá, tissry, tissram	tisrã, ĩ, e'
Fourth	Zzautá, zzauty, zzautam	chov-thã, ĩ, e'
Fifth	Panzzwá, panzzawy, panzzwam	pa'ch-vã, ĩ, e'
Sixth	Shawá, shawy, shawám	Sâhã-vã, ĩ, e'
Seventh	Satawá, satawy, satawam	sãt-vã, ĩ, e'
Eight	Attawá, attawy, attawam	ãth-vã, ĩ, e' &C.

In view of this we hope that the old Portuguese authors, if not absolved, at least will be, on the whole, excused from the sin of uncertainty in Romanizing the Konkani language, whose natural alphabet is that of Marathi.

VII

We shall now endeavour to investigate the causes which, under the Portuguese regime, were either favourable or contrary to the culture of the Konkani language. In the first ardour of conquest, temples were demolished, all the emblems of the Hindu cult were destroyed, and books written in the vernacular tongue, containing or suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines, were burnt. There was even the desire to exterminate all that part of the population which could not be quickly converted; this was the desire not only during that period, but there was also at least one person who, after a lapse of two centuries, advised the government, with almost magisterial gravity, to make use of such a policy.[30]

India, however, was not America. If in America the European conquerors could in a short time exterminate the indigenous races,

30. Opinion given by Fr. Caetano de S. Joseph, a Dominican friar, in the College of St. Thomas on the 10th of January 1728. *Livros das Monções*, No. 94, fol. 121.

primitive or totally savage, and re-people the land with immigrants from Europe, the long distance that separated the Indian conquests from the metropolis, and above all the invincible resistance naturally offered by a numerous population, among whom the principal castes had reached a very high degree of civilization, obliged the conquerors to abstain from open violence, and to prefer indirect though not gentle means, to achieve the same end.

But the very zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, the needs of the government for the lands conquered, or feudatories, and the necessities of commercial intercourse made evident to the conquerors the great need for the knowledge of vernacular languages, and for securing assistance from the natives, even in the priestly ministry itself.

It was in the year 1541, when already Hindu temples had been demolished in the Island of Goa, and when there were churches, monasteries and parishes in the city, and various chapels outside the city walls, that Fernão Rodrigues de Castel Branco, Administrator of the Treasury and acting Governor, in the absence of Governor D. Estevão da Gama, obtained the consent of the Hindu co-sharers of the communities (*gãocares*) residing in the same islands to hand over the properties of the temples to His Majesty, for the maintenance of the churches and the Christian clergy. This deed of consent contains a clause proving how the knowledge of the language was thought important for the progress of conversion: "And if in future there should be priests, native to the country, who might be judged competent to be in charge of the chapels, these chapels ought to be given to the same, so that the local people may be satisfied, and more willingly learn from them, both because of the *language* as also because it was natural."[31]

31. *Tombo Geral*—This document has been published (with some inexactness) by Sr. Philipe Nery Xavier in the *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades*. part II, p. 13. (It is now published in the second edition of the book, revised and enlarged by Sr. José Maria de Sá. Vol. I, Dec. 7, Bastorá 1903, pp. 207-214, as it was printed in the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*. Fasc. 5, p. 161).

VIII

It is true that the Bishop, Dr. Fr. João de Albuquerque, towards the end of the year 1548, with the intention of ending idolatry,[32] was busy confiscating literature written by the Hindus; but thereafter the Councils and Goan Constitutions recommended and ordered the use and the study of the language of the land.[33]

The first Provincial Council, held in Goa in the year 1567, states the following in its 5th Decree of the First Act :—

" As (according to the Apostle) *fides sit ex auditu, auditus per verbum Christi* : the Sacred Council orders that all the Ordinaries should select persons well-versed and zealous for the salvation of souls. In the cities, as well as in other places, where the Hindus live, the appointed priests should preach to the Hindus every Sunday in the Churches most convenient to the latter, pointing out to them their errors and explaining the truth of our Holy Faith in a manner adapted to their understanding, not expounding the highest mysteries of the faith, bearing in mind what the Apostle says : *Lac vobis potum dedi, non escam* : so that they may easily come to the knowledge of Christ, Redeemer of the world. All the Hindus above the age of fifteen, living in their dioceses should be obliged to hear the preaching. Failure to comply with this ordinance would debar them from communication with the faithful. Since this preaching would be the more fruitful, if the preacher were well versed in the language of those to whom they would preach, the Council very earnestly urges the Prelates that they should have in their dioceses trustworthy persons, who would learn languages, and might be admitted for priesthood, and in turn would busy themselves with the work of preaching and hearing confessions, and imparting the doctrine required for conversion ; and request His Majesty to order the Hindus to attend these sermons, imposing on the disobedient suitable punishment."

32. Letter of the above mentioned Bishop, written from Goa on the 28th November, 1548, to His Majesty. It is filed in the Torre de Tombo in Lisbon. (This letter is now published : (1) F. D. D'Ayalla *Goa Antiga e Moderna* (2nd edition) Nova Goa. 1927, p. 74. (11) A. da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1950, pp. 133-4).

33.* All the decrees of these Provincial Councils are published in the fourth fascicule of the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* edited by Cunha Rivara. Goa 1862.

However extraordinary this Decree of the Council may appear, nevertheless the Viceroy confirmed it at once in the name of His Majesty with certain provisos and limitations in the Law of the 4th of December of the year 1567 which runs thus: "Firstly lists should be made of the names of all the Hindus residents in the parishes of the city, each list in the parish to contain 100 persons, who in turn would be divided into groups of 50 each for each Sunday of the year, when Christian doctrine should be taught to them by a priest deputed by the Prelate, and this for the space of an hour. These residents of the parishes are to be distributed in such a way that all can attend the teaching conveniently in one of the following convents: St. Paul, St. Dominic and St. Francis, according to the declaration in the list containing the signatures of the following: the list for Bassein, Cochin, Malacca would be made and signed by their respective Prelates, while those of Goa would be signed by the Viceroy; and should any one aware of this obligation fail to attend these classes, he should be fined one anna for the first time, two the second time, three the third time. These rolls should not include the names of shopkeepers paying rent to us nor of the physicians and on the certificate of the priest assigned to this work regarding those who failed to attend, the judges should impose penalties which will fall to the lot of the informers."

The first Constitution of the Archdiocese of Goa, written soon after in conformity with the Council in Const. VI, Tit. III contains the following: "We order that no *catechumen* (would-be convert) who has not been first instructed in the doctrines of our Holy Faith should be baptised. Before imparting baptism he should be taught very clearly in his own vernacular all that he has to believe *viz.*: the articles of the Creed and the works he has to perform, *viz.*: the Commandments. Without this instruction, irrespective of the time to be spent for such an instruction, no *catechumen* should be baptized. To receive baptism it will suffice to have knowledge of these truths even though the catechumen may not know it by heart."

IX

The 2nd Council of Goa (1575) in its Decree of the 2nd Act says: "The Council further earnestly recommends (to the Prelates)

that, following the example of St. Paul, they command persons who know the language to spread with gentleness and without uproar that may cause scandal, the word of God in private homes of the Hindus and at their public meetings ; the same ought to be done by priests who are busy in conversion work, bearing in mind that no one should be coerced."

The 3rd Council of Goa (1585) in its 25th Decrees of the 2nd Act says : " *Ut idem sentimus omnes, et idem dicimus*, as says the Apostle St. Paul, the Council orders that a compendium of catechism be made in the Portuguese language, and the doctrine contained therein be taught generally in all parts of India, with a view to maintaining uniformity in all things. This catechism should be translated into the vernacular of the place and taught to the people where conversions may be taking place.[34] Similarly a brief catechism should be written according to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, adapted to these places and approved by this Council or with its authority, and it should then be used by the vicars and ministers doing the work of conversion in order to catechise the people and instruct them uniformly as has been decreed by the 1st Council."

The same Council ordains in its 3rd Act the translation into Malabar languages of various books for the use of the Christian community of St. Thomas and priests of the Archdiocese of Angamalee. In its 3rd Decree of the 4th Act it defines the qualities the natives of the place should possess before they are ordained and desires that they be *of respectable and good families and castes, for the reason that the other Christians should look upon them with great respect*, and that they be of good life and conduct, temperate in their habits, chaste, honest and well conversant with the vernacular of the place where they are to be ordained ; also with knowledge of Latin and with sufficient zeal to busy themselves with the work of conversion of the new Christian people."

In its 5th Decree of the Act 2, the 4th Council (1592) says : " With a view to extirpating ignorance concerning things pertain-

34.* *Vide* A. K. Priolkar, " The Early Marathi Books on Doutrina Christã," *Indica* : (Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, The Indian Historical Institute), Bombay 1958, pp. 320-334.

ing to faith which we understand, from the information received, is rampant among the Christians of the whole province, and which is the cause of their falling back or weakening in their faith, giving themselves to witchcraft, divination, superstitions, and other abuses that do great harm to the purity of our most Holy Religion, or remaining even after baptism in the same state as before with the same bad habits and perverse education as they had when Hindus; this Council repeats what has already been decreed by the previous Council regarding the teaching of catechism to those about to be baptised and orders that a compendium of Christian doctrine and instruction be made, and translated in the most common languages of the province; and that the priors, curates and vicars, under obedience, explain the doctrine from the pulpit to the Christians of the place, their parishioners, either whole or in parts, as the Prelates may think fit, on feast-days and Sundays of the year and that the end may be better achieved the Council stipulates that in order to instruct the Christians of the Island of Goa, other islands and surrounding parts there be at least four confessors and preachers, who, as directed by the Ordinary and as helpers of the Vicars but limiting themselves to what has been laid down by the catechism, should visit the Churches preaching and hearing confessions of the native Christians and strictly enjoins that the churches where all or a greater number of people are Christians be assigned to no one but to those priests who are well qualified and know well the vernacular of the place; the same holds good with the Religious who are in charge of Churches."

And in its 13th Decree of the same Act the Council declares: "In view of the fact that the number of Christians is great and is on increase and that there are very few confessors who know the language of the place and it may not be possible for them to hear confessions within the limited space of time, the Council orders that the Constitution of this Archdiocese be followed concerning points therein expounded, namely that no Catholic should incur excommunication or even be declared excommunicated or punished without giving him sufficient time, as the Prelate may think necessary; and even should the time elapse, they should not be proceeded against without their being first admonished and warned to fulfil their obligations."

The 5th Council (1606) in its first Decree of Section Second says: "Reason and Christian charity demand that since the question of handling the work of the conversion of the infidels of this Province has been carried on with zeal and great diligence, we should not be found wanting now in giving them the facility of hearing the Gospel being preached, which is most important, therefore, this Holy Synod modifying the Decree 5th of the First Council of this Province, orders that Hindus subject to us be obliged to hear preaching every Sunday which was not so far done on account of inconvenience; and commands that on all Sundays of Advent, and those between Easter Sunday and Pentecost, all adult Hindus, resident in these parts, from 12 years of age and above, hear preaching in Churches or places designated for the purpose; this preaching to be done in the language they understand and by competent persons who themselves know the language: and if the Ordinaries find that these times are inappropriate in their dioceses to impart such preaching, they may fix some other Sundays convenient to the people; and the preachers in their instructions should treat of the mysteries of our Holy Faith, just as it is done in the case of the catechumens who are being prepared for holy baptism, efficaciously refuting their errors and always exhorting them to be converted; and the Holy Synod requests the Viceroy to issue a Circular ordering the execution of this Decree with sanctions, as it may seem good to him, and deputing officials to put them into execution."

And in Decree 9th of Section 3rd: "This Sacred Synod in consonance with the Sacred Canons and Apostolic Constitutions, in order that the Churches may be well administered, orders and strictly directs that no Priest, Secular or Regular, be placed as a Vicar in charge, unless he knows the language of the place, in which he should be examined; as it is essential for the good of the souls, sound instruction of the parishioners and better administration of the Sacraments, those who are at present holding the place of the Vicars, and are ignorant of the language, should learn the language within a period of six months to be given for that purpose beginning from the date of the publication of this Decree; and if at the end of the time given they are yet ignorant they will be *ipso facto* suspended and lose all jurisdiction over their parishioners; the Regulars, the Metropolitan and other Provincial Bishops

in their own Dioceses, as Delegates of the Apostolic See in these parts, as regulated by the Sacred Council of Trent, will see that they carry this out."

And in the 13th Decree of the same Section: "In all the Collegiate Churches of this Province, where the number of parish priests is four, one of them should know the vernacular of the people, to hear the confessions of the latter and instruct them in the truths of our Holy Faith. The execution of these decrees is left by the Sacred Synod to the conscience of the Prelates."

It is clear, therefore, that during the first century of the conquest, the civil and the ecclesiastical powers recommended and favoured the study of the vernaculars of the place, with the sole or principal aim of the Propagation of Faith.

It is certain that the inexorable persecution of all that was written in the vernaculars would have been a great hindrance not only to the study of these languages but even to the teaching of catechism which the Councils recommended. It was accompanied by refutation of pagan errors[35]; and it is due to this factor that we attribute the appearance at such a late date of works in the vernaculars written by our missionaries, specially in Konkani, therefore since it will be extremely difficult to prove that books written in this language belonged to the first century.

With a view to protecting our faith from the danger of perversion the same precautions were extended to books written in European languages when suspected of containing matter against faith. In its 71st Decree of Section 3rd, the 5th Council lays down the following:

"This Sacred Council directs, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, all the captains of the fleet, soldiers and Christians of any rank or condition residing in this Estate, if they come into possession of any book brought from Dutch or English ships,

35.* The *Puranna* on the Life of St. Peter (*Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo S. Pedro.* Goa. 1629-1634) written in the *Bramana Marastta* language by the French Jesuit Fr. Etienne de la Croix was published with this view.

or those of any other foreign nation, navigating in these parts, and in whatever language the book may have been written, not to read it or give it to others. They are enjoined to hand it over to the Ordinary or the Board of the Holy Inquisition, or to its Commissaries, or to the Dean, and in their absence to the Vicar or Rector of the Church of the place where the book came into their possession. The same censure is to be applied to the Commissaries and the Vicars, should they read the books even though the titles may appear pious and devout, for the very reason that, as is the way of heretics, under such titles a lot of false and pernicious doctrines is contained against the truth and the purity of the Holy Catholic Faith. They should, therefore, with all care and diligence hand such books over to the Board of the Holy Office for executing the order concerning forbidden books. Let this Decree be published in all the established churches of this Province and in places where the ministers of His Majesty inspect the personnel at the time the fleet is about to sail."

X

Returning to the history of Konkani language, and surveying the time when the two Provinces of Bardes and Salsete were incorporated into the Portuguese State (1544)[36] we find that the Christian Communities formed therein were handed over as follows: that of Bardes to the Franciscan Friars of Observance, who came to Goa with the conqueror,[37] Affonso de Albuquerque

36.* 1543 "Salsete and Bardez foram doados por Ibraimo Kan em 1543" *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades* (2nd edition) Vol. I (Bastorá 1903, p. 106.)

37.* Some hold another view: "The first missionaries sent to India after the discovery of the new route, were some Dominican friars, who came out as chaplains of the fleet brought by Albuquerque. They landed at Goa immediately after its second capture by that great captain in 1510. These friars, however, made scarcely any conversions at that time. The glory of sowing the first seeds of Christianity in Goa belongs to the Franciscans, who arrived in 1517." J. N. da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of Goa*, Bombay 1878, p. 63. The volume '4' *Memória Histórico-Eclesiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa* published in Goa in 1933 *contains* on page 23 the following:

"When Affonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa for the first time on the 16th of February, 1510, he entered Goa triumphantly the procession being headed by Fr. João, one of the Dominican friars who had come with him, and when he reconquered it on the 25th of November, of the same year, the Dominican Superior Fr. Domingos de Souza solemnly entoned the *Tantum Ergo*."

himself (1510), and those of Salsete to the Jesuits who immediately after inception of the Jesuit Order (1542) landed in Goa under the guidance of Master Francis, today honoured as Saint.

The annexation of Bardes and Salsete increased the demand for the knowledge of the vernaculars of the place; and as a result both in the Franciscan Order as well as among the Jesuits there arose lovers and masters of the language. It is to be noted, however, as we shall have occasion to tell that there were more of these among the Jesuits than among the Franciscans.

Led probably by true zeal for the propagation of Faith or it may be by their keener desire for augmenting the influence of the Society, the Jesuits, in point of fact, did not disregard or despise the language, studied it with great fervour and composed in the vernaculars works on various topics. We shall speak of one of them. For instance, the illustrious companion of St. Francis Xavier, Henrique Henriques, known as the Apostle of Comorim, knew so perfectly the language of Malabar (Tamil ?)[38] in those early times, that in addition to the excellent Vocabulary and the Grammar he wrote other works which are catalogued in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* of Abbade Diogo Barboza Machado. Since they remained unprinted, they are unfortunately of no help to the progress of oriental literature nor to the glory and honour of Portugal.

All these unprinted works as Mr. Ferdinand Denis affirms[39] met with the same misfortune as most of the best works written by the Portuguese thus remaining hidden and unknown to the scholars of other countries and nations, we may even add to the very natives of the place. Nevertheless, the works of our oriental philologists were not entirely lost. We shall now see the part which each Order, mentioned above, played in the culture of the Konkani language.

38.* Malabar means Tamil. Two Catechisms written in 1578 and 1579 respectively and a *Flos Sanctorum* printed in 1586 written in Tamil language are extant.

39. *Portugal*, Paris, 1846, p. 254 col. 2 and Vol. II p. 197 of the Portuguese version, Lisbon, of the same year.

XI

It was in the year 1555, when the Franciscans had founded the College of Reis Magos that the work of the spiritual conquest of the villages was started by them, and after this foundations were multiplied. About the year 1580 the Friars in India felt that the *Custodia* of St. Thomas was sufficiently strong to have its own administration, and therefore, decided to have it constituted into a separate province, independent of the Province of Portugal to which it was affiliated, and to which it gave its obedience. They succeeded in obtaining their wish at the General Chapter held in Toledo in the year 1583; but its execution remained ineffective due to the objection raised by the mother Province. This controversy fanned the flames and introduced discord to such an extent that in 1593 the General Chapter of Valladolid was compelled to appoint as Guardian of India a Priest from another Province. (Fr. Jeronimo de Espirito Santo of the Province of Arrabida was chosen to be the Guardian).

The chronicler of the Province of Portugal explains this in the following terms: "It is not known why this Religious (Fr. Jeronimo de Espirito Santo) was elected; from the statutes framed on the occasion, it may be surmised that since the Friars were afraid of the dangers of the seas, the Provincial found great difficulty in sending Guardians to India; and it is likely that when the Very Rev. Calatagirona was given this reason by the Father Provincial, he appointed Fr. Jeronimo to the post. And since Fr. Jeronimo, because of his many virtues and great purity, was held in high repute, the Very Rev. Father deemed it convenient that he occupied the post of the Guardian and hoped that by his gentle and peaceful methods he would be able to put an end to the friars' disputes and calm their spirits."[40]

Nevertheless the priests in India insisted on this separation of the *custodia* (Franciscan House) of St. Thomas from its mother province, and about the year (1612 or 1613) once again they got the title of Province which was again suspended, until its status as a

40. Fr. Fernando da Soledade. *Historia Serafica Chronologica da Ordem de S. Francisco de Portugal.* Tom. 3, p. 632

Province was definitely confirmed in 1618, and established in the following year.[41] The separation did not produce the desired effect, for the disturbances still continued and to make matters worse, the Province was being manned by two Heads, *viz.* the Provincial Minister and the Commissary General, so that the very " definidores " of the Province were split up in two parties and those, who in the Chapter were not provided with ecclesiastical posts, sided with the Commissary General. It was the view of the Governor Fernão de Albuquerque, that the Franciscan Order could not be pacified, unless His Majesty passed an order that the Minister Provincial and the Commissary General be one and the same person, as was the case with the Guardian. Such a measure would put an end to the grave inconvenience this Order was going through.[42] Although the Government ordered the restoration of the Province to the status of *Custodia*, to combat indiscipline, yet this proved of no effect.

In the course of this domestic struggle there arose another dispute with the Ordinaries of the Metropolitan See, that lasted for almost two centuries, and which as we shall see ended with discredit to the Franciscan Order.

The Council of Trent in its canons had forbidden the Religious to undertake charge of Parishes ; in view of this declaration the Archbishops impugned the appointments of the Religious to parishes and desired that these be handed over to the clergy nominated by them and owning obedience to them.

The first Archbishop who seems to have started the controversy is D. Fr. Aleixo de Meneses ; but this time after considering the allegations made by both the parties, namely the Archbishop and the Friars, His Majesty ordered the matter to be closed and the churches of Bardes to be placed in charge of the Friars and not the Secular priests.

It was during this epoch that the Province of St. Thomas underwent a great change. The Franciscan spirit of poverty and

41. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

42. *Livro das Monções* 22. fol. 440. As per Index for 1624 Ref. separation of the Cloistered Religious of the Franciscan Order and ref. establishment of the Guardianate. The original L. M. is untraceable or missing.

mortification was replaced by ambition and perverse passions; and the zeal for the propagation of faith by longing for mundane things and love of idleness; the result of all this was the Friars' reluctance to study the vernacular of the place.

This is not to say that among the Franciscans of the Province of St. Thomas there did not arise in course of the 17th century, excellent students, authors of Grammars or Dictionaries and writers of various works; but documents at our disposal indicate that the example of these learned men was not normally imitated nor was any attention given to their teaching by most of their companions. The Court did favour the Friars[43] (excepting perhaps in the question of the separation of the Province) and this very favour granted to them was the reason why they very soon fell away from the right path.

XII

The disturbances in the new Province forced the Court to take measures in the year 1627 and in the same year the Archbishop, D. Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro, renewed the claims mentioned before for the removal of the Friars from the parishes. The Franciscan priests unconsciously helped the pretensions of the Archbishop by their complete neglect of the study of the vernacular of the place. They thus gave cause to the Archbishop to cite, in addition to the canons of the Council favouring his views, the fact that the Christian Communities of Bardes were not sufficiently instructed due to the ignorance of the Franciscan Vicars of the vernacular of the place. This was not the condition of the parishes manned by the Secular Vicars nominated by him. His Majesty in his letter dated the 12th April 1628 replied that the opinion of the Doctors was that the Council had not abrogated the Briefs con-

43. In addition to the Royal letters of the year 1612, Nos. 12 and 49, which speak of the management of the Christian Community in Bardes and about the Franciscan Friars, there are many Royal letters down from the year 1618 to 1638 wherein we see grants allotted to the Franciscan Religious for Baptisms performed, etc. and gratitude manifested for the work done by them. These letters serially are :—

Nos.	37 and 54 of 1618.	166 of 1630.
	30 and 123 of 1622	31 of 1632.
	13 and 96 of 1625.	53 of 1838.
	181 of ...1627.	

ceded in favour of the previous kings empowering them to send to the conquered countries of the East, Friars who might exercise the functions of Vicars, without previous approval of the Ordinaries; but since there may have been Friars actually assisting in the churches and ignorant of the vernacular, the Archbishop, to avoid such inconveniences, was granted power to examine and approve the Friars holding such posts.

A similar order was repeated during the monsoon of 1629, but when the Viceroy was putting it into execution, the Archbishop was already dead. When the Provincial of the Franciscans was notified about it on the 13th December 1629, he replied complaining how badly the Friars working in Bardes had been treated by the Archbishop in spite of the fact that they were doing very good work there. He added that in the same jurisdictions there were, for instance, three masters of the language, three good preachers and others who were able to hear confessions. The complaint contained the further information that the native clerics did not inspire respect, that they had their ears bored, they were busy acquiring fortunes for themselves and their relations. Since the Archbishops and Bishops were anxious to place the native clerics in charge, the Friars would not be satisfied with such orders, chiefly if the Archbishop should belong to a religious order other than their own. The Viceroy, Conde de Linhares, replied confirming what the Provincial had said and acknowledged that the priests did preach and hear confessions in the vernacular of the place in the churches of Bardes, and that they had also written in the vernacular a Catechism of Christian Doctrine. And in another letter written during the same monsoon he endorsed the complaint made by the Friars against the Archbishop painting him as a quarrelsome and restless man even in his last moments; and added: "I firmly believe that if our Lord had not cut short his life, the City of Goa would have suffered many an uncomfortable hour at the hands of the Archbishop." Whilst these replies were on their way to Portugal, new orders were received during the monsoon from Portugal itself, to the effect that the Friars who were to see to the needs of the Christian Communities be examined and approved by the Viceroy, which order the Prelates of the Order greatly resented.

XIII

With a view to opposing by all means the claims of the Diocesan Prelates, the Friars frequently furnished reports to the Court of the general baptisms they had performed of their new foundations, and of the good they did in their missions and of the service rendered to His Majesty, for which service the King in a letter dated 5th December, 1652, asked that thanks be given should the Viceroy find the report to be true.

This last clause indicated on the part of the Government a certain amount of distrust regarding the correctness of the facts presented by the priests. This distrust, was not entirely unfounded. The very reply of the Governor, D. Bras de Castro, given on the 4th January 1654, and that too with the consent of the Inquisitors points out that instead of showing appreciation for the services rendered by the Franciscans, the Court should express surprise at the carelessness and scandalous disregard of the mission work, as the Christians of Bardes practised idolatry in large measure which was confirmed by the number of *autos da fé* (public trials of heresy) held during the previous four years. The principal cause of this defection was the fact that the churches were ordinarily held by Vicars who were important Friars who, some time or other, had served as Commissary General, Provincials or Definitors. They selected commodious and well ventilated churches and spent their lives therein, free from the exercises of the choir and community. It was very rare to find among them one who knew the language and they asked a Negro to teach the Cathechism! His Majesty's order that the Friars be examined in the local language was unheeded. Hence the Governor proposed to the King to issue an order appointing a teacher of the vernacular and to place him either in the College of the Reis Magos or the Convent of the City of Goa in order to impart knowledge to at least twenty Friars; and another one at Cochin to teach Tamil language for the benefit of the people of Jaffna, the greater number of whom was entrusted to the Franciscans and it was known that there were faithful who made their confession by means of an interpreter; and another in the city of Colombo for the purpose of teaching the vernacular of the place, namely, Singhalese. And finally that no allowance be paid to any Friars

unless it was clear from the certificate issued by the Secretary of the State that, having been examined in the presence of the Viceroy and the Ordinary, he was declared to have passed the examination in the vernacular of the place.

This proposal regarding the institution of the teachers of languages at Goa, Cochin and Colombo was approved by His Majesty, who at the same time ordered the enforcement of the previous regulations regarding the passing of examinations by the Parish Priests, with the addition that such examinations be conducted before the Inquisitors. The Inquisitors were in no case allowed to appoint to the churches any Friars who did not know the language of the parishioners; nor could such Friars be admitted for the examination until it was clear from the certificate issued by the Secretary of the State that they had learnt in the abovementioned college.

This resolution reached Goa during the regime of Manoel Mascarenhas Homen, who had it communicated not only to the Superior of the Franciscans but also to those of the other Orders. The Franciscan Prelate declared at first that he would conform to the orders of His Majesty and would obey them, affirming at the same time that the language was being taught in the College of St. Bonaventure to more than 20 Friars and the teacher was a very learned man. He afterwards withdrew his assent, and by a letter informed the Governor that the Inquisitors would not be permitted to examine his subjects, and other similar things. Such a procedure should not cause us surprise when we consider that the Franciscan Province of India, divided into factions, was accustomed to be refractory and rebellious. The other Prelates except those of the Order of St. Dominic also showed reluctance in a smaller or greater degree.

Whilst the Franciscan priests of Goa thus disregarded the orders of the Court, their Procurator requested new favours, and solicited thanks. The Governors of India, however, were again obliged to inform His Majesty about the little fruit produced by the priests, specially in Bardes, and the existing necessity for the reform of both regular and the secular clergy.

XIV

Laxity is contagious. The Franciscan Friars were not the only persons accused of negligence in the progress of Christianity; the other Orders were equally negligent and apparently even more so than the Franciscans.

In the year 1666 on January the 28th, the Viceroy, Antonio Mello de Castro, writing to the Court about this, started with the Jesuits about whom the Viceroy, Count of Linhares. had previously written as follows: "I should like to repeat to Your Majesty that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in India are all in all; and in order to achieve this end utilize many means and show great alertness": the Viceroy now says: "The Priests of the Society of Jesus do not want to obey (Royal edicts) at all. They think this permissible for they feel that in no way are they called upon to show themselves His Majesty's subjects, and the authority and power of the Viceroy, was so great that nothing was impossible to him." I have been informed that few or none of the Vicars of Salsete know the language, and in the administration of Sacraments, they make use of native clerics. One may enquire, if on a rainy day at a distance of a league, a pastor does not attend a sick-call, how will a mercenary do so? Franciscans too are not much better, though among them there are a few who know the vernacular and who go on preaching in villages; but as these places are used to accommodate the elder Friars who had previously held high posts in the Order, they do not go there with the intention of working but to take rest; and the Franciscans place under them one or two boys to serve them under the title of Vicars, and what the latter do, God alone knows. The Dominicans and the Augustinians follow the same method. Whomsoever the Chapter approves is given the churches and no examination is held; and the worst part of it is that they write to me that they know the vernacular when I know that they are ignorant of it.

All will be apparent to Your Majesty from the papers herewith enclosed. It appears to me that the orders Your Majesty has issued could for the moment be postponed as they may create trouble. These people are unused to curbs. It is necessary to restrain oneself so as to avoid scandal; and gradually as far as it

is possible I intend making those subject to us change without in any way making them feel that they have changed. Thus it will be easy to prevent the order being changed later."

The same Viceroy wrote to the Franciscan Provincial :—" Your Reverence says that the orders of the King do not go beyond withholding from the Vicars their allowances, in the event of finding them unworthy to occupy the churches and ignorant of the vernacular of the place. Your Reverence can see for yourself the express order of His Majesty not to consent to any Friar, ignorant of the vernacular, being a Rector ; and since this is a special clause, I feel it admits of no exception and no other interpretation as Your Reverence acknowledges. Besides, it is a great obligation for a Friar to do the work of a Parish Priest himself and this is why the Council prohibits substitutes to be appointed. It is good to reflect on the words of St. John, Chapter X : *Et proprias oves vocat nominatim* : further on : *Et oves illum sequuntur, quia sciunt vocem ejus* : which means they follow the pastor because he knows their language. Hence it seems very clear that Your Reverence conforming with the commands of His Majesty which are based on the Gospel, should observe them by a appointing shepherds who make themselves understood by, and whom the flock understand. The best thing I can do is to place the candidates for their examination in your hands with the conviction that as a high dignitary, you will pass only those who deserve and who possess the necessary qualities and requisites : and just as knowledge of the vernaculars alone is not sufficient to take care of souls, so also a virtuous life is insufficient without the knowledge of the vernacular ; and I remember having heard said that the Doctor of the Church opined that the gifts of the tongue were given by God to the Apostles for this very reason ; and in chapter II of the Acts of the Apostles we read : *nonne ecce omnes isti, qui loquuntur Gallilaei sunt ; et quomodo nos audivimus unusquisque linguam nostram, in qua nati sumus ?* By the way, I assure Your Reverence that I have been trying to learn the local language from the time I arrived here, in order to fully understand and appreciate the complaints of my subjects. What, then, must not be the obligations of one holding such high jurisdiction and in whose hands are placed such high mysteries ? Through Your Reverence's good offices let these things be composed and rectified, thereby

calming your conscience and mine ; Otherwise we shall be doubly guilty of disobeying God and His Majesty. Your Reverence may rest assured that with the love I have borne towards you, I shall continue to esteem the Friars of St. Francis and they may be sure, to get whatever help they may be in need of from me. And to avoid further doubts and disputes, Your Reverence would do well to arrange to have in this Convent a teacher of the vernacular attached to a set of students, as commanded by His Majesty. When it is known that this step is necessary for promotion, all will labour to learn and profit thereby."

Yet in another letter : " According to Your Reverence in churches where the Vicars do not know the language it suffices to place another Friar who knows that language and who is known a a Vicar of Christian Community ; whilst His Majesty commands that I should not consent to anyone who is ignorant of the vernacular being appointed as Vicar ; this suggestion could be carried out, provided the Vicar of Christian Community, who knows the language, is the same as the Vicar of that Church and not otherwise...I have hopes that Your Reverence will see that matters will be mended by putting in charge of the Churches Vicars—Friars who are conversant with the vernacular and removing those who are not ; thus the Vicars of the Churches, and those Your Paternity called Vicars of Christian Community can help each other in the ministry of teaching, catechising the converts and persuading the heathen to follow the way of salvation : and if Your Reverence wishes, I shall send you a roll of all the Friars who know the vernacular, to facilitate their appointment to the post of Vicars and another of those who are Vicars, though incompetent, so that Your Reverence may know all that I have discovered with diligence, and perhaps is unknown to the Friars who actually live in the Convents."

And he wrote to the Chapter : " From the many letters extant in the Secretariat, we see that His Majesty ordered that the churches be given to those who know the language well and they be examined by Apostolic Inquisitors ; and he enjoins upon the Viceroys that in no other way can the appointment be made or allowances paid. And since it has been brought to my notice that churches have been placed in charge of persons who are

from this point of view incompetent, I thought it proper to intimate the Rev. Chapter that in view of these orders of His Majesty these persons be removed from their posts and others appointed who will be of service to God, His Majesty, and of good to the people."

And in another letter : " I have just received information that the Rev. Chapter has appointed to the Church of St. John Baptist, a cleric from Cochin who is ignorant of the language of the people ; and since His Majesty commands me in his letter, which I have sent to the Chapter, not to give my consent to such appointments, and to see that the appointed ones be examined by the Inquisitors, and not to pay their allowances unless they have passed the vernacular examination and have been approved, I consider it necessary to ask the Rev. Chapter to examine the cleric and to send me the certificate of his examination, without which he cannot be the Vicar nor can I in any way consent to such an appointment."

All this was approved by the Court ; and was ordered to be put into practice, to the effect that the parishes be held only by those who were competent in the language and were aware of the obligations of their office and that consent should not be given to the appointment of those incompetent and not conversant with the local language. Such warnings had already been previously issued. Even when the priests secured a letter of recommendation from His Majesty to the Viceroy, it nevertheless, contained a clause to the effect that whatever help could be given to the Friars might be granted, but within the limits of royal orders.

XV

" It is years now (according to a Representation made to His Majesty in 1672) since the Ecclesiastics of the East live without a superior. This community without a head is like the body without a soul; the result is that the life of the same clerics is loaded with filth and so deadened by vices that they live shamelessly without the fear of God, associating with women and having sons from them without any fear of punishment etc.,"

And making reference specially to the Franciscan Friars the letter paints them as so dissolute and immoral, that, had not these accusations been confirmed and amplified by letters from the Viceroy to the Court, one could hardly believe that such things could have happened in those days which many hold as a classic time for a highly virtuous life full of the fervour of piety.

" After the discovery of India (says the same Representation) when there was formed a Christian Community the Religious of St. Francis, had charge of ministering to the Christians of Bardes and continue to do so till today but the work is done so poorly that there is not a village in Bardes which has not been affected by the Holy Office, due to the priests failing to take any trouble in instructing the faithful and converting their churches into houses of recreation : The Province is being governed by the Commissary General and the Provincial, aged in years, and these churches are used by each of them for rest houses ; many people attend these churches without any colleague in the Christian Community and owing to the priests' ignorance of the vernacular, it is impossible to instruct the parishioners, since these people cannot understand Portuguese, the language in which the Friars attempt to teach them. There is an express mandate of Your Majesty that all Parish Priests be examined by the Inquisitors in the language of the place which is not being carried out, as it deserves to be without any exception."

To which the Viceroy replied : " All the enclosed references Your Excellency has sent to me regarding the conduct of the Ecclesiastics of this Estate and the bad treatment the Franciscan Friars are meting out to the residents of Bardes, where they are administering sacraments to the residents are very true, and their abuses go even beyond your statement. There is no doubt that in the early days the Friars were placed in charge of Rectories of the Churches of Bardes for the reason that there were then no secular clergy. Such is not the case now, for there are secular clerics and many of these live a good life ; there are also the members of the Society of Jesus who could be asked to take charge of the churches and there is every hope that this work, namely hearing of confessions, preaching, administering sacraments and all that pertains to spiritual life will be done by them creditably,

with profit and satisfaction. As they are conversant with the vernacular of the people and know their customs, they will easily enter into the spirit of their parishioners, thereby dissuading the latter from any thought of idolatry, and leading them to a better Christian life. This will be more difficult to achieve if the work is done by the Franciscan Friars because of their ignorance of the vernacular, their insolence and the bad example of their life and habits, chiefly regarding the sixth commandment, etc."

We shall make reference here to a certain divergence of opinion between the present Viceroy, Luiz de Mendonça Furtado and his predecessor, Antonio de Mello de Castro (XLV) the former affirming that the Jesuits were better versed in the vernacular whilst the latter preferred the Franciscans; and this just after an interval of seven years. But these seven years were quite sufficient to forget ancient laudable traditions because of the lax manner in which the Franciscans lived; and there is no doubt as we shall have to record later on, that at the time of we are speaking, the wish to learn the language was laxer with the Franciscans than with the Jesuits.

We may be permitted to note that among the things that helped powerfully the laxity in monastic life prevalent among the Franciscans was the facility with which by merely remunerating the officials of the Roman Curia briefs were obtained from Rome in favour of corporations or even individuals. The Friars, with exemptions granted to them by their local superiors and those obtained from Rome, tried to escape from royal sanctions, thereby securing a real independence from the royal sovereignty.

The Court took steps to check this evil before it could take alarming proportions and issued an order to the Viceroy to check the abuse; the Friars, however, after a lapse of some years, manoeuvred to get the orders revoked in so far as they went against the interest of their Province.

XVI

We have now reached the year 1684, a memorable year, when the Government sentenced to extermination the vernacular of the

place. Till then the ecclesiastical as well as the civil powers had been mindful of the real need of the knowledge and the study of the language. Not many years earlier the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, had declared that he himself was learning the language with a view to governing his subjects well, and the royal commands were inflexible in ordering the clerics in charge of parishes to learn the vernaculars.

At this juncture, however, and surprisingly indeed, the Viceroy, Francis de Tavora, Count of Alvor, on the 27th of June of the year 1684 published a Decree of Law which whilst removing the obstacles placed regarding the marriage of native Christian widows, decrees the following: "in order to put an end to all inconveniences, it would be suitable to set aside the use of the vernacular idiom and to insist that all apply themselves to speak Portuguese since the use of both the languages at one and the same time gives cause to various inconveniences, including that of not being understood. Thereby the Parish Priests would be able to suitably explain the mysteries of faith which may not be properly explained as their importance demands, either because the Parish Priest cannot speak freely the vernacular, or the people are unable to understand Portuguese; in as much as, ignorance of one or the other would be prejudicial not only to their civil intercourse but also to the good of their soul···and to make intercommunication easy, the people of the place shall try to learn the Portuguese language; the Parish Priests and the school teachers shall impart instruction in that language so that in course of time the Portuguese idiom will be common to one and all, to the exclusion of the mother tongue; and to achieve this end the language used in sermons and meetings shall be Portuguese, until it comes into daily use; and, therefore, I assign three years, a period within which the Portuguese language ought to be studied and spoken. Moreover, this language alone should be used by the people in these parts in their dealings and other contracts which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely punished for not obeying this mandate."

And in spite of the stupidity of these views and absurdity of such a regulation, there was a Procurator of the Crown and Ministers who advised His Majesty to confirm this Decree "be-

cause its execution would help the governance and the preservation of the rule in the Estate of India." An indigenous writer of our times apparently laments that this regal abortion was not rigorously observed.[44]

A careful reading of the edict, just transcribed, indicates who were the principal authors responsible for the promulgation of such an order. They were the Parish Priests who were ordered to learn the vernacular and who being more interested in their own comforts than in the interests of religion gave the Viceroy to understand that it would be easier to force all the people to learn Portuguese and thus remove from the few the burden of the study of the vernacular. And since not all Viceroys were like Antonio de Mello de Castro, they succeeded in inveigling the illustrious Tavora into subscribing to their nefarious designs. Who these advisers might have been would have been a close secret had not they revealed themselves after many years. This revelation is found in the Provision of the Overseas Council, dated the 19th January 1732, in the following terms: "I, the Viceroy and the Captain General of the State of India, make it known to you, that the Provincial and other Friars of the Order of St. Francis of the Province of St. Thomas made a representation to me, and it has been confirmed by me thereafter in the Decree dated the 17th March 1687, and again by another issued to the Provincial by the then Viceroy, the Count of Alvor, that the natives of the place take to talking Portuguese and be catechised and taught in the same language. It was found that this would be profitable both for the welfare of their souls as well the security of Portuguese dominions in these parts; and that although this continues up to this time, the Archbishop of this City by a Pastoral ordered that the Portuguese language be not taught and that the Brahmins should not learn it. And, as the Province of the petitioners is at present in charge of the Parishes of these lands, as a result of previous experience and by reason of the harm that would accrue both to the spiritual life and the stability of the State, if these measures, in which the Archbishop had no right to interfere, were observed; the friars requested me to command *him* to observe the Decrees, and acquiesce to their petitions. It appeared to me that the Petitioners be allowed to observe the said Decrees."

44. *O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas* 1846, Vol. I, p. 100.

From this *Provisão* it is clear that the decrees were granted to the Franciscans as per their request and insinuations. The decaying state of the Province and the qualities found in the individuals normally holding the office of Parish Priests of the Churches of Bardes, explain why, even though in the Province there were teachers and writers conversant with the language, there prevailed in influential minds the scheme of suppressing with a stroke of pen the language of the people. They knew well that the enterprise was beyond human power; but to calm their conscience, any pretext, however absurd it may have been, was considered sufficient.

In spite of their absurdity, these Charters have not been yet revoked and it is from this date that begins the abandonment of the language and the progressive and extraordinary corruption of the same in Goa, a corruption which was already noticeable at the beginning of the last century.

XVII

Having come to know the identity of the real authors of the official persecution of the local language, it will be interesting to follow, though cursorily, the further steps on the way to error taken during this epoch, which was far from glorious to the Franciscan Order in India.

First, the less regard the Franciscans paid to their religious duties, the more were the rewards and advantages they sought. They turned the general baptisms celebrated in their Goa Monastery into occasions of pomp and wordly show, and not a manifestation of true love for conversion or of sincere piety; those who lived in the city took away violently the prisoners from the hands of the judicial authorities. The Parish Priests of the villages chiefly those of Bardes did not live a life exemplary in conduct and manner. And finally there arose occasions to expel and send back to Portugal some of the Provincials, but unfortunately even these measures did not have any effect on the peace of the Province. For on their departure they left such a ferment of disorder, that unheard of excesses accumulated and multiplied. For instance, the following incident is recorded in a

letter of the Viceroy to His Majesty: "Yesterday, the 14th instant (Nov. of 1694) while the Visitor and the Provincial of the Order of Observants of the Province of St. Thomas of this State, had gathered with a few Members in the College of St. Bonaventure for a Chapter which was to be held in that house on the 17th of the month, it happened that 17 Friars most of them young, came out of the College, armed with guns and pistols and large swords and at 4 o'clock of the evening entered the same College with scandalous uproar, and compelled the Visitor to expel the Friar, whom he had appointed President of the College, and forcibly to give possession to the already suspended Guardian of the same. Such abominable methods were used to prevent the election as Provincial of one Fr. João de Santiago, whom the other faction had determined to elect. A few old Friars came to acquaint me of these happenings. I immediately communicated with the Archbishop who, according to the order received from Your Majesty in this monsoon, empowered me to arrest them, with the help of civil authority. I sent the Prosecutor General of Crimes to the same College but the rebel Friars refused to receive him, closing the doors and detaining the Visitor, the Provincial and other Members who were already there. During the night as ordered by me the College was surrounded and in the morning as the resistance was becoming more and more tenacious, I ordered a warship (galeota) to be brought close to the walls of the College, and have the guns pointed at the building, to see whether such a measure would frighten them; but it was ineffective and they persisted in their intention, and shamelessly and disrespectfully exposed the Blessed Sacrament at one of the windows of the dormitory facing the river. Finally I ordered a gun to be moved by land to the main gate and when they realised that it would be fired to break open the doors, they opened the doors and surrendered. All were arrested by the Prosecutor General, and with the consent of the Visitor and the Provincial they were sent by me, some to Agoada, the leaders to its light-house, others to Marmagoa where they were imprisoned to be opportunely punished by their superiors. I shall see that they get exemplary punishment."

These and other excesses compelled the zealous Provincial of the regular Observance to propose to His Majesty that he

should send to the Province of St. Thomas a Higher Superior to govern the Province for three years; and also send every year, 12 individuals competent to work in the same Province, whose expenses would be incurred by the province. The Provincial wisely added that the Superior and Friars from the Kingdom should be first well examined and their actions observed both as to their competency in literature as well as in the exercise of spiritual life. He hoped that they would instil new blood into the decaying Province of St. Thomas, if not in promoting virtue which was not much cultivated by the Friars in Portugal, at least in imparting secular instruction; and he further proposed that the Superiors and the Friars to be sent here should be of the Province of Algarve, and not of Portugal, so as to avoid the recurrence of animosities which were hardly extinct between the Province of India and the one which was its mother and tutor. These continuous monastic disturbances caused so many worries to the State that Governors and Viceroys notified the Court of the happenings thus: "Nothing causes such great worry to one who governs this State and in which he lives, as these incessant monastic disturbances of the Friars working in these parts, excepting the Dominicans and the Priests of the Society of Jesus, for these alone live a religiously good life, here as elsewhere. What is unbearable is the uneasiness caused, for no sooner had the Religious of St. Augustine become quiet than the Capuchins, Franciscans and the Carmelites started disturbances of their own; this state of affairs we place before Your Majesty, that you may communicate to us as to how we should deal with the dissensions of these Friars, who instead of spending their time in the conversion of infidels, pass their time in private avocations, thus giving one the impression that their cloister is more a barrack of soldiers than a habitation of monks." And again: "The Friars in India are very independent, and in serious cases when no other course is available, they have recourse to the Judge of the Crown whom they hold as an heretic, and give little obedience. One Viceroy alone would be not sufficient to deal with these monastic disturbances, even if he had no other work in India. This problem needs a more efficacious remedy. Since they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, his authority is to them a kind of mockery. The priests who do not cause us worry are

those belonging to the Society of Jesus and it looks as if these are the only ones in India who live a true religious life." And in another letter : " In India, Sir, the Friars are insolent, and since they have no Provincial to govern them, and the Crown whose decisions are more necessary to them here than anywhere else, is far away they are disrespectful, and hence one sees a number of quarrels among them (excluding the modest and exemplary life of the Society of Jesus)." Also in another letter : " I declare to Your Majesty that the serious difficulties the Viceroys have here are connected with the Friars ; and since I have to pay much attention to matters of government, the unrest of the Friars is a burden on me that takes away all the time at my disposal."

After this there is a distinct interval of peace. It is known that the Franciscan Friars in the year 1700 worked according to the rules laid down in their Constitutions, perhaps in order to gather strength for new internal and external dissensions, with which they would be mixed up in the next century.

XVIII

The interval was not long. New dissentions followed and the Commissary General being unable to control them was compelled to return to the Kingdom, unhappy and burdened with documents of searches.

Friars from the Churches of Bardes, at least the greater number of them, as a representation made against them in the name of the Province of Bardes would have us believe, were among the more licentious friars. This was the opinion of the Viceroy, Count of Ericeira : " I do not think that the scandals caused by the Friars of St. Francis, Parish Priests of the Province of Bardes, could be avoided, unless Your Majesty entrusts these churches to the priests of the Society of Jesus. " The relations between the two factions, always battling in the arena belonging to the Chapters (Capitulos), reached total rupture and thus the Province was divided into two factions, with two Provincials and two Definitors thus being exposed to the most complete anarchy. Each faction pursued the other furiously ; and the vanquished, now of this party now of the other, fled to the land of the infidels.

At this time, an ambitious Friar, who hailed from the Capuchin Province of Madre de Deus, and resided for years in Portugal, describing himself as a son of the Province of St. Thomas, and claiming to be competent to pacify and moderate the restless spirits of the Province, managed to obtain powers from the General of the whole Franciscan Order and a Brief from the Apostolic See, as a special Delegate of these authorities, to take charge of the disturbed Province. For a time the disturbances ceased, as is testified by the Viceroy, João de Saldanha da Gama :— "In electing persons to the charge of the Churches and Missions, he imitated his predecessors and the old traditions among the Franciscans in India : for most of the Provincials, looking to their own conveniences and factions appointed unfit persons to these posts." From this resulted Representations from worthy Friars to the Court against this Superior and against the manner of his appointment, branding it, perhaps with some foundation, as intrusive and surreptitious.

It is true that other Friars during that period were not much superior to the Franciscans in this respect, excepting the Congregation of the Oratory, who maintained their incipient fervour and the Jesuits who, profiting by the excesses perpetrated by the other Orders, and passing off as models of religious life, with the help of the *Juntas* of the Missions, knew how to build and extend their empire throughout the world.

XIX

The Archbishops too took advantage of the excesses and disturbances caused by the Friars to further their own ends. The last disturbance caused by the Franciscans paved the way for the Archbishop, D. Ignacio de Santa Tereza, to renew the old plan of a few of his predecessors to throw out the Friars from the Churches of Bardes. The Archbishop was full of arrogance and pride as well as hypocrisy and fanaticism. His ambition was to bring under his jurisdication not only the Regular Clergy but the State of India. During the long period of 18 years of his government he was the cause not only of serious conflicts, but also continuous fights with the Viceroys.

As we have already mentioned, the last disturbances, having weakened more and more the prestige of the Province, helped the Archbishop in obtaining from the Overseas Council, on the 7th of April 1728, the authority to place in charge of the Churches of Bardes secular clerics, worthy to do parochial work both by virtue of their knowledge and habits, as well as by competency in the local language; and failing these, the Regulars possessing qualities necessary to fulfil the obligations of the ministry, together with the power of expelling the Franciscans, if found wanting in these qualities. No sooner had the Archbishop received the *Provisão* than he started to execute it by methods so much in keeping with his ambitious and turbulent character that he threw into complete confusion not only the villages of Bardes but all the existing Orders of the State. The Viceroy, Civil Tribunals, Franciscans and all those who felt offended and threatened by the processes, excommunications and censures of the Archbishop, sent their grievances to the Court; His Majesty soon decided to introduce no changes in the matter and retained the Franciscans in the same situation in which they lived before the despatch of the Decree of 1728, and suspended the execution of the decrêe until after mature deliberation and thorough examination of the affair, he should decide as to what was proper. His Majesty expressed his surprise that the Archbishop should exceed his jurisdication and that the Franciscan Provincial should show lack of reverence on this occasion to the Archbishop.

During the following monsoon (under date 12th April 1731) a fresh provisional decree was issued by the Court, empowering the Archbishop to grant certain privileges to the Friars, who were in charge of the parishes of Bardes; and in the event of a vacancy occuring, this was to be filled in by one of the same Friars, who by virtue of the rights given by the Archbishop to the Regular Superior, would be examined by him and given a certificate of fitness for the ministry in virtue of learning, moral life and knowledge of the vernacular language; and in the event of any Parish Priest in charge of the Churches being found guilty, ignorant or incompetent in the vernacular, by the Archbishop or his Visitors, he was to be removed and sent to the Regular Superior to be punished or to be instructed and the Superior was then to nominate one who was competent and approved as per required form.

The same decision was given on a further representation of the Archbishop and the Provincial by the Order of April 3rd 1732, repeating that the Archbishop should remove any Parish Priest ignorant of the language and send him to the Superior Regular for studies.

Again in the year 1744, the same order was repeated to the Archbishop with the declaration that the Definitors or Superior Regulars, as the case may be, should nominate to churches only those of their subjects, who had at the time the power to hear confessions of both the sexes, granted to them by the governing Archbishop; and that the Parish Priests who had been removed should be debarred from any appointment to churches until they had cleared themselves of accusations or the impediments that had caused their removal or suspension; and that the Archbishop could effect such removal or suspension without his personal visit. This was applicable to one and all the Orders that have their Priests as Parish Priest in this State.

XX

The Franciscans during this epoch tenaciously resisted learning the vernacular. As we have noted (§ XVI) it was discovered that the authors of the famous Decree of the Count of Alvor, were the Franciscans and that they wanted all the Courts of Justice to execute it, as their own. They made representations against the Archbishop through the Overseas Council to the effect that he opposed the *Alvara* (Charter) and prohibited the teaching of the Portuguese language and the study of it by the Brahmins. With reference to this representation the Viceroy, Count of Sandomil, being asked his views replied that it was ascertained that the Pastoral whilst obliging the Parish Priests to learn the vernacular did not forbid the parishioners to study Portuguese for which public schools existed in all the parishes. The Portuguese language was taught as proposed in the Decree; but the people of the place in general being rude and poor, living by manual labour, and unable to frequent schools, were unable to talk, chiefly in a way as to be able to make themselves understood in the sacrament of Confession. For the worthy use of the sacrament, it was necessary that the Parish Priests apply themselves to the knowledge of the

vernacular, as desired by the Archbishop in his Pastoral. This would be of use if it was put into execution.

It looks as if the Count of Sandomil had not read the Decree of the Count of Alvor, otherwise he could not have affirmed that the Pastoral, ordering the Parish Priests to study the vernacular of the place was not opposed to the Charter, which directed that the use of the vernacular should cease within three years and at the same time commanded that the Parish Priests should teach Christian doctrine in the Portuguese language. It is possible that the Count of Sandomil and his Ministers did not wish to declare to the Tribunal that the Count of Alvor and his Ministers went against commonsense to suit the indolence and negligence of the Franciscans.

The Franciscans at the same time represented through the *Mesa da Consciencia*[45] that the Archbishop prevented the Parish Priests from observing the provisions of the Decree of the Count of Alvor, which required that the natives should talk the Portuguese language, and that the Parish Priests should teach the doctrine in the same language; to which the Tribunal replied that in so far as it concerns the fulfilment of the general Decree, the Friars could not be taken as parties (the *Mesa da Consciencia* hardly suspected that they were its authors) and that the Viceroy would see to its execution if he felt it was proper. The orders of the Archbishop were to be observed in so far as the Doctrine was concerned, for one could justly conclude that it would be easier for the Parish Priest to learn the language of the place and be examined in the same than for all the parishioners, mostly rude peasants, to learn the Portuguese language. And the Archbishop was advised to see that this was observed. This reply greatly honoured the *Mesa da Consciencia* and put to shame the Overseas Council. Again in the year 1739, urged anew by the Franciscan Friars, this last Tribunal ordered the Viceroy to execute fully the said Decree of the 17th March 1687, chiefly regarding the teaching of the Portuguese language in the schools; and to take special care to see that the Parish Priests knew the

45.* *Mesa da consciencia* was a tribunal in Lisbon instituted by the King John III, to decide matters of conscience. We understand that such a tribunal existed even in Goa.

vernacular and were examined in the same according to the royal orders. This is a contradictory resolution, for both the Decree of the Count of Alvor and the Royal edict which confirmed it, absolutely excluded all use of the vernacular its aim being to exempt the Parish Priests from learning it.

From this time onwards no official document ever made reference to these decrees; but although its recommendations and doctrine were obsolete, the evil was done, and the impulse to the abandonment of the language given.

XXI

Had the Franciscans been men who looked ahead and not immersed in the pleasures of the present, instead of urging the observance of these absurd orders which they had inspired, they would have endeavoured to disarm the Archbishop by correcting their lives and fulfilling the obligations of the Ministry. But all the time they strayed from the correct path.

The Rector of the Church of Colvale laid violent hands on his own Curate, a native priest in the Church which at the time was filled with people; and when censured by the Archbishop with connivance with the friars gave a satirical reply. As the offended party, the Archbishop complained to the Court. The Overseas Council thereupon forwarded a Decree censuring the conduct of the Provincial, for not having punished the insolence of the accused and ordered them to quit Goa and its districts immediately. This was carried out, though after some years the ban was lifted, due to the clemency of the King.

About the same time there was such intense discord in the Cloisters that Fr. Jeronimo de Belem, Capuchin Friar and Judge of Second Instance of the Observants, felt it necessary to implore the help of civil authority to enable him to induct in the Convent the newly elected Vicar Provincial, and arrest the predecessor with his followers; having secured the help of the Prosecutor General of Crime he left for the Convent, with a company of Grenadiers, but found all the doors of the Convent closed and the Friars prepared to offer resistance, ready with guns at

the windows of their dormitory. The Prosecutor General appealed to the friars repeatedly in the name of His Majesty to desist from resistance; but not only did they insist on continuing their challenge, but on the contrary aggravated it by abusive expressions against this action and its executors, and rang the alarm bell as if they were attacked. It was then that the Prosecutor ordered the doors to be broken open with the consent and authority of the Judge, and inducted the Friars who sought admission, but was unable to arrest those in the Convent for the simple reason that they had fled to the Patriarchal Palace where they had planned their flight.

His Majesty approved of this procedure and ordered all the leaders of the resistance to be expelled from Goa; but as this command reached Goa at the time when the Friars had composed their differences and were living in unity and peace, at least apparently, and the State was at the time disturbed and troubled over the war with the Marathas the Viceroy suspended the execution of the order.

The Franciscan Friars living in such a state gave cause to the residents of Bardes to frame complaints against the Friars who were manning the Churches; but in order to minimise the gravity of these complaints the Provincial represented to His Majesty that they were instigated by the native priests, whom he accused of being weak in faith, attached to idolatry, and sworn enemies of the Portuguese. We are inclined to believe that there was some truth in this allegation, although the Governor in his representation maintains that the views expressed by the Provincial were tendentious, contained little or no truth, and that in no way could they exculpate Franciscan excesses; and we cannot but agree with the Governor, when in the same representation he says: "If the Superiors of the Province had taken care to educate their Friars in the observance of their Holy Statutes in the Cloister of their Order, enabling them to live a truly religious life in the presbyteries of their parishes, without forgetting their regular discipline; and if they had with the same care selected as Parish Priests elderly Friars of good conduct, the parishioners would not have had occasion, as the case is now, for complaining.

XXII

The Metropolitan Government agreeing with the principles enunciated by the Governors of India, tried their best to think out ways and means which would be conducive to bring the Friars to the observance of the laws of their institution and regular discipline and to appoint to the parishes more worthy and better behaved priests. To achieve this end, His Majesty on the 16th of April 1736, issued a circular to the Superiors; but the latter solicited its immediate suspension, pointing out certain ambiguities, and after mature consideration, the *Mesa da Consciencia* deemed it fit to suspend the said circular, with a proviso that until a fresh order was issued no change should be made. This new order came in the year 1743. The Provincial was thereby told that a Friar should not be given the charge of a church, unless he had completed forty years of age, and fifteen of religious life. The Provincial demurred on the ground that he had not a sufficient number of Friars with such qualifications. This was only a specious reason, since it was known that the Province had on its roll 33 qualified Friars while the Parishes were 24 in all. With this and other fifty pretexts, the execution of the order was delayed but finally its observance was ordered without fail by another decree of 1749.

On his part the Archbishop, D. Fr. Lourenço de S. Maria, on the 21st of November, 1745, published a Pastoral with the same end in view. But certain points therein treated displeased the Franciscans, Parish Priests of Bardes, in consequence of which they had recourse to the Judge of the Court. And as the same Pastoral seemed to be offensive to the privileges of the Procurator of the Crown, he too appealed against the same. These appeals brought about a formal rupture between the Archbishop and the Viceroy, in the course of which, the Archbishop imitated the excesses of his predecessors.

In the opinion of the Marquez de Pombal, the Archbishop was a simple and virtuous Prelate, but incompetent Pastor[46] who gave evidence of his incompetence in a controversy with the Franciscans at this same time (1749).

46. Instructions issued to the Archbishop of Goa in 1774. Instruction 5th.

As usual there were two factions among these Friars. The ruling one followed the Superior, whilst the other desired to capture power. Each of them necessarily needed reform, for both were equally lax. Neither possessed the seraphic spirit of its Patriarch; in both of them ambition to rule was predominant, disobedience and irregularity in behaviour were too patent. The faction which was without power left no stone unturned to get it, and finally under pretext of reform they tried to put into execution a Brief of Cardinal Oddi, Nuncio at Lisbon, issued on the 8th of May 1743. This was secured by one of the factionists, this fact not being disclosed till the 6th of June 1747. When they tried to put the Brief into execution, the Nuncio had already left the Court of Lisbon; and the opposite faction questioned its validity. This party led by the Provincial expressed surprise that Friars, who were not themselves setting a worthy example and whose life was even more scandalous, should claim to reform them.

Then in the monsoon of 1749, by an order of the Commissary General of the Franciscan Friars, the Archbishop was invested with ample powers of jurisdiction in the Province of St. Thomas.

In the execution of this mandate, the Archbishop acted so imprudently and with such indiscretion that instead of bringing about peace and order, he fanned the flames of disorder among the Franciscans. It was under these circumstances that in the year 1754, the Very Rev. Provincial had to request the help of civil authority against the Priest of the Province next in rank to the Superior, for it was he who for nine years was the cause of fomenting looseness among the Friars at the time manning the churches of Bardes, and was guilty of grave simony in making appointments.

It is not known whether the Provincial placed any restraint on the simony, but it is certain that he did not succeed in repressing the pride and insolence of his subjects. It has been already seen how all the Departments of the State: Ecclesiastical, Political, Judicial and Mititary had proved the temper of the Franciscans. There was only one corporation namely the Senate of the Chamber (Camara) which being inoffensive, seemed to be clear of the conflict. This one, too, had its part in the conflict

in the year 1756. On the day of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception celebrated in the Convent of St. Francis, the Senate in a body, accompanied the Procession, at which four of its high officials, according to immemorial customs and very old mandates, were holding the rods of the Canopy. The Franciscans who with their community had joined the Procession violently wrenched the rods from the hands of the said citizens in the middle of the road, and thereby caused a scandal, with the result that the offended Senate retired from the Procession and went back to the Chamber. It is true that the Provincial and the Guardian personally went to the Chamber to offer their apologies on behalf of the recalcitrant Friars, and at the same time declared that in this these Friars had disobeyed their Superior and assured the Senate that the accomplices of this offence had been punished. However, since the offence was a public one, the Senate demanded a public reparation. This matter finally reached the Court but it would be useless to deal with it here.

XXIII

On the 29th of March, 1759, Thome Joaquim da Costa Real, Secretary of State, wrote a letter to the Provincial regarding the deplorable condition of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas. This letter deserves to be given here in its entirety.

" His Majesty has been apprised of the scandals caused in this State by the looseness of the lives of the Franciscan Friars, and by the culpable omission in not compelling them to the exact observance of its Holy Office, permitting a few to live outside their cloisters, without obedience and without discipline, and others to carry on unsuitable avocations improper to their profession, under the pretext of their being assistants of the Parish Priests in charge of Churches administered by members from the same Community. Moreover, the zeal of the Superior in improving and instructing his subjects has reached such a state of decadence, that men are admitted to the Religious Order and the profession of vows has been accepted even of those who are ignorant of the Latin language and thereby ignorance is perpetuated ; what is more, they have accepted for sacred orders students declared unfit

by the Diocesan Prelate, and issued dimissory letters[47] to Bishops of other Dioceses where they were not residing; and finally they have introduced the pernicious abuse of appointing to the Churches Friars under the name of Rectors, just to reside there with the purpose of recovering the revenues and handing them over to the Definitors of the Order who lived in the Convent. As the abovementioned disorders could not fail to produce a great impression on the most religious spirit of the King, he has commanded me to recommend to Your Reverence to diligently seek to reform the Friars, your subjects, making them observe fully your Holy Constitution, live an exemplary life and thereby to put an end to the scandals in this State caused by them, and that in the admission of the Novices you should hold the examination necessary for the purpose, in order to enable them to become worthy ministers. Lastly His Majesty orders me to signify to Your Reverence that he was much surprised at the pernicious abuse introduced in the appointments to churches, not only because it is incompatible with the profession of poverty to accept revenues and allowance, which are assigned to the Definitors, but also because it is contrary to the end for which they were granted, namely to the real Parish Priests, who reside in the churches. It being understood that should perchance His Majesty come to know that the old disorders continue to prevail, the said churches would be handed over to the Religious of another Order, who would loyally carry out His Majesty's orders."

On the same date the Secretary of State wrote to the Archbishop giving the substance of the above mentioned letter adding: "If, however, from the recommendations mentioned in the above letter, the good results which are naturally expected do not issue, and should Your Excellency deem it fit to go in for reform, you may approach either the Apostolic See, or the General of the Seraphic Order, who when confronted with a report regarding the laxity of the Friars will not withhold permission for such a reform."

This is an ingenuous but a solemn confession that the regime of the Religious Orders was both outside the jurisdiction of the King and that of the Diocesan Prelate.

47.* Letters sent from one bishop to another in favour of one who stands candidate for holy orders in another diocese.

Although, as was feared by the Secretary of State, the expected results did not accrue from these recommendations, it is not known whether the Archbishop solicited this reform either from the Apostolic See or the General of the Seraphic Order, as suggested. The dissensions, however, continued to prevail in the Convents, more or less openly, until in the year 1767 they burst into a public uproar with such frenzy of insolence and mutual accusations and unheard of scandals that the Governors had to have recourse to armed forces, imprison some of the Friars and adopt other measures to bring back to obedience the individuals who rebelled against their Superior. Those who were guilty were ordered by the Court to be repatriated to Portugal; and without further scruples and without any consideration to monastic exemptions the Court ordered that complete submission be given by the Friars to the Archbishop who would reform and give deserved punishment. But at the time this order was put into effect, the Province was manned by a two-headed monster, two Vicars Provincial, each one alleging the justice of his election. The Governor with great difficulty managed to allay the storm, arresting and depoarting to the Kingdom under orders such of the most incorrigible leaders, as had not already fled to lands outside Portuguese rule.

XXIV

Whilst the shameless domestic dissensions weakened and defamed the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas, other questions cropped up; one regarding the appointment to be made for the posts of the Churches of Bardes, as proposed by the Holy Office, about the terms of which decree we have no sufficient knowledge; the other, which goes against the previous one, renewed the old claim of expelling the Religious from the Parishes of Bardes: a claim so many times attempted to be put into execution, yet, very successfully resisted by the same Religious.

Against the behaviour of the Franciscans as Parish Priests the Camara Geral of Bardes, during the monsoon of 1765, sent a representation to His Majesty with the following charge: "The administration of the Churches is being entirely carried out by the Curates, who are native secular priests. The Friars cannot

do this, due to their ignorance of the vernacular, nor can they be expected to learn the vernacular since they have not done so till this day. The curates also administer other sacraments and in spite of this they are judged incompetent to hold charge of the parishes, although on removal of the Jesuits from the Churches in Goa and Salsete, many of the native clerics have been posted to the same churches. They are learned and possess good character and are good moralists." In view of this complaint the Government in a letter dated 23rd April 1766, recommended to the Archbishop to use efficacious and opportune measures and thereby to save from the hands of wolves and mercenaries the sheep of the Lord, and to hand them over to the proper Parish Priests, who would feed them with the fruits of doctrine and of edifying examples. The Archbishop was again reminded of the previously enacted Royal Orders which said : " The Parishes ought to be preferably given to the native priests and such foreigners, as know the local language, since this is the only way of feeding the flock. Those who do not know the language, will find the bleatings of the flock incomprehensible and will not be able to impart to the flock nourishing food. Your Excellency should choose priests for the churches according to their qualifications not all together, but one by one ; beginning with those parishes where the priests have been giving scandal and rejecting whatever claims of fact or right their Superiors may make, as you may think right and proper."

According to the Marques de Pombal, the Archbishop, D. Antonio Teixeira de Neiva Brum da Silveira, was a virtuous and a good cleric but a bad Archbishop, unintelligent, inactive and slack. Yet when dealing with the task of making appointments to the parishes, he did not prove at all that he was inactive and slack. On the contrary, he at once invited applications on merits and allotted 19 parishes to the worthy native clerics, the Friars retaining for themselves only five. The contradictory statements made by the members of village communities now in favour of the Archbishop, now in favour of the Friars, are indeed curious. Astonished and shocked, the Friars appealed to the Court, and during the monsoon of 1767, submitted a long exposition or an apologia recounting all the services they had formerly rendered to the Church and the State and trying to belittle the accusations

levelled against them. With reference to their proficiency in the languages they say : " By an order passed in the year 1744, the Archbishop was empowered to examine the Regulars for their appointment as confessor and then to confer on them the post. This order, however, was not executed with the result that report went round that they were ignorant of the language, and under the specious pretext of ignorance of the vernaculars, the way was open to direct representations against them. The pontifical bulls which required that the Parish Priests should possess knowledge of the vernacular for the necessary administration of the sacraments, went to the root of their competence to man the parishes. For the better understanding of this question, it is necessary to bear in mind that the greater part of the Province of Bardes is situated about half a league from the Island of Goa, and the residents of the remote villages of Bardes could conveniently conduct their business in Goa within the course of a day, and get back to their homes, with the result that from this frequent intercourse one could safely conclude that hardly a civilised native is ignorant of the Portuguese language, as is represented to be the case. Taking for granted what is said above, it was also true that the Archbishop would not grant jurisdiction to any subject of the appellant (Provincial) to be Parish Priests of Bardes churches unless, in addition to the necessary faculties given by the Archbishop to hear confession, the candidate presented two other sworn certificates, one testifying that he had passed the examination in Moral Theology, and the other testifying to knowledge of the vernacular. Both these certificates were to be issued by the Observant Examiners, appointed by the Archbishop, according to Royal Resolution of 1744. This being well known, it is clear that there could not have been a Parish Priest who was ignorant of the vernacular. However, this is not so ; not because the Order is wanting in Friars, instructed in the languages, they are more in number to the 24 Parishes of Bardes ;[48] but knowing that the residents of many parishes know Portuguese, the Archbishop consented to the appointment of those who did not know the vernacular, on condition, however, that the more remote and less civilised parishes should be supplied by priests who know the

48. A certificate issued by the examiner to the Archbishop indicates that there were 41 Religious who knew the language of the place. The Examiner was a Franciscan.

language of the place. Thus there are fifteen Friars holding such parishes besides three companions who are conversant with the language ;[49] so that there are only six Parishes in charge of Friars who are ignorant of the language where it is really needed. The Appellant does not intend thereby to infer that all the 41 Friars his subjects, who have the knowledge of the vernacular, are preachers or can preach on the mysteries of faith and similar topics : for there are few native priests who have enough knowledge to do so in view of the fact that the common idiom which is current among the really intelligent natives is Marathi, the vernacular of the region. The Rev. Fr. Constantino Alves, Promoter, Judge of Ecclesiastical Court and Parish Priest for life of St. Bartholomeu of Chorão, and the Rev. Gabriel Fernandes Noronha , Licentiate and also Justice of the Ecclesiastical Court and Parish Priest for life of St. Mathias, who are otherwise intelligent and have long service as Parish Priests have never till this day preached in their mother tongue, nor even attempted to give a Sunday homily to their parishioners. This however, is being done repeatedly by Priests subject to the Appellant, in their churches, where they frequently instruct the infidels in Christian doctrine. The Appellant very much desires that this question be ventilated in Goa, where it is well known by the people even without further proof of what is evident ; and in justification he cites to His Majesty the case of many Indians who are in Lisbon and of native inhabitants of Goa both of whom without doubt, would fail in translating the Portuguese language into their own ; Hence they could not blame the Friars in the Churches of Bardes for lack of knowledge of the vernacular nor conclude that in the Province of the Appellant there is lack of this knowledge."

All this artful exposition of the Provincial could not hide the following facts : First, if there were some civilised natives to whom the Portuguese language was not entirely foreign, undoubtedly there was also a far greater number of less civilised ones and women and children who did not know it. Secondly if the natives were not very proficient in the vernacular, the Franciscan Friars were even less ; there being parishes served by men without any knowledge of it.

49. Information gathered from a certificate of the Secretariat of the Province.

Let us, however, hear the views held by the Governor, D. João José de Mello, regarding the Exposition of the Provincial: "During those happy days when the (Franciscan) Province sowed in India the first seeds of the Gospel; when its true sons continued in the ways that made them outstanding in the exercise of religion, virtue and good example, when they worked to drive away the darkness of paganism, and to erect altars to the true God: then shepherds who sincerely applied themselves to feeding the flock with the spiritual nourishment which was so much needed were sent to the flock of the 24 Parishes of Bardes from this Province. But, in the deplorable state to which the Province has now been reduced due to dissolute life and laxity in their holy institute, appointments of mercenaries are made to churches in place of shepherds who would guard their flock, feed it with nourishing doctrine, example and edification. This is the general practice, but Friars are not wanting, who are men of character, who by their virtue and doctrine have distinguished themselves and are indeed an exception; but in truth most of the Parish Priests are only anxious to change from mendicants to owners of wealth and stock, in the enjoyment of which they set a bad example by their irregular life. What is more worthy of note is the fact that few of these spiritual shepherds can understand the bleatings of the sheep they are bound to feed; and their laxity has even done away in this Province with the use of a chair which the zeal of their predecessors had introduced with the aim of imparting instruction to the Friars in the native tongue to carry the Gospel to the missions and the people of the region. This is the way and this is the useful manner by which the Holy Province has looked after the Parishes; If in the hands of the native clerics they have not derived great profit, at least there are clerics among them who are imbued with more sound and solid qualities. These are, indeed, less respected, and there are some among them owing to whose lives the Churches have also suffered; they are easily led by their own interests are slow to perform works of charity proper to their avocation and are wanting in that authority that brings back to the fold the lost sheep, and in giving the shelter of which the sheep are in need; but they are not ignorant, they understand the flock they feed, and know more easily the evils and spiritual infection to which the flocks are susceptible; they are doctors of their own country, who

understand the ailments that attack the different climes, and their efficacious remedies ; and their defects which consist in not being respected and looked up to, may be made good by their superiors and their tendency to look after their interests checked, without infringing on the privileges of the regular priests whom they succeed."

With reference to these views we shall just note here that whilst the Governor of India declared *that the laxity of the friars had even destroyed in this Province the use of a Chair which the early zeal had introduced with the aim of imparting instructions to Friars in the local language,* the Province at the same time presented to the Governor individual information regarding its Friars, in which one of them is called *Master of the language of the country which he teaches* in the Convent of St. Francis at Goa. From the documents at his disposal the reader may judge where the truth lies.

XXV

When the Franciscans saw that they were irrevocably expelled from the parishes of Bardes, they tried to hold on to five Churches on the plea that they were foundations acquired by way of donations and bequests made in favour of the Order and not of the State. These five Churches were : Penha da França, Pomburpá, Oxel, Reis Magos and S. Lourenço de Linhares. This is not the place to discuss the merits of the case ; but we cannot help noting that when the Friars, in 1660, foresaw their expulsion, they were laying foundation to their claim to these Churches in their petitions to His Majesty by trying to raise them cunningly to the category of Convents, which the latter were not, nor ever had been.

The decision in this affair was pending before the Court, and the Camara Geral of Bardes or someone on behalf of the same, fearing that the Friars might obtain a favourable decision, represented the matter to the Court, attacking the Friars' claims. The Camara reiterated the old charges presented before the Court against the Friars, and drawing a comparison with the native clerics said :

" The allegations were made to His Majesty stating that the native clerics were ill-behaved and incapable of manning churches

and like demons, who incessantly pursue souls, are envious of those who occupy the chairs whence they have been ejected. This allegation is entirely false for the Franciscans have done all their parish work and do so still with the help of native clerics. It is only now that the latter have been considered incapable of enjoying the benefices in this State although in the past they have been approved of by the synodal examination, and have been given charge for life of Churches in Goa and the Province of Salsete and of this city. When they go to minister to the people of the Missions of Canara and the north countries inhabited by infidels, they have to go through a lot of hardship, in the service of God and that of Your Majesty." They submit certificates of the Curates of these five Churches, that the present Franciscans as well their predecessors were never able to preach in the vernacular, being ignorant of the same.

Reporting on this Representation the Governor, D. João José de Mello, states as follows: " I think it right to state that even supposing the Friars in India are not normally the best of pastors, they are not so bad as the native clerics whose spirit in general is that of ambition, meanness, drunkenness and lack of zeal and charity...If the native clerics were in general worthy to hold the Churches, it is unbelievable that so many people of old were deceived about them, so that many orders, which had been often issued for the removal of the Friars from the Parishes, and for the appointment in their place of native clergy were cancelled. With more information and better knowledge of the case it might be concluded that the native clerics were commonly regarded as incompetent for the ministry whilst the Friars, conversant with the vernacular, were more useful".

This information was entirely contrary to the one given by the same Governor two years before (XXIV); and this contradiction has only one explanation, namely, the generosity of the Governor in lending a helping hand to the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas at a solemn moment when the Province was doomed to complete and shameful ruin since the Court was resolved during this monsoon to reduce the Province to a diminished number of houses and members.

The reward, however, meted out by the Friars for the heavy sacrifice of his earlier opinion by the Governor was insults and abuse of his person and dignity, publicised outrageously and insolently, in the midst of the election delirium, so frequent in the cloisters.

The loss of the last five churches of Bardes, which soon followed, ends the history of the Franciscan Friars so far as it concerns our subject. One who may take upon himself to present the chronicles of the Franciscan Order, may deal with further controversies of the Order with the Archbishops, the continuation of Chapter discords, and finally their public and cloistered life, till the final suppression of Religious Orders.

In conclusion we may assert that the influence of Franciscans of the Province of St. Thomas was harmful to the language of the country acknowledging at the same time, that a few of them, more illustrious and more pious than most of their confreres, worked for the grammatical and literary culture of the language. But the work printed by them is rare probably due to the Superiors' lack of interest. Their writings were very soon forgotten, and thus the laudable desire of the authors to propagate the language was in vain.

XXVI

If the Jesuits did not write more in the vernaculars than the Franciscans, undoubtedly they wrote with more felicity. They could print a number of books, the sole printing press in Goa at the time being at their disposal, and thereby they gave impetus and vigour to the vernacular. The Jesuits were, in no way, accomplices in the persecution of this language. It is the Secretary of the State, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça, the Marquez de Pombal, himself who bears out our statement, and the testimony coming from such a source is above suspicion. The Government of Portugal issued an order to the effect that in place of the schools conducted by the Society, a college be instituted for native clerics. In the Minutes of the statutes of the same College the Minister writes: " The Chairs which appear to us more appropriate to the curriculum to be allowed in the college referred to, are the follow-

ing : The first ought to be for those who will instruct in the vernacular of the places where there are churches and Missions, examining the records of the Jesuits for methods by which they taught the language."

It is true that he adds immediately : " Provided they are firstly well revised and expurgated," since the Grammars were suspected to have received infiltration of the subtle Jesuit poison.

The Grammars composed by the Franciscans in those days were so much in oblivion that the Government had no knowledge of them. Hence it was laid down that should there not be among them books left by the Jesuits. The lack was to be made good from those of the Fathers of the Congregation, or others which may be newly written at public cost with their Vocabularies.

It is not known whether other Religious Orders contributed work in the language of the country.

XXVII

The Inquisition cannot be absolved from a large share in the persecution of the vernacular ; and what is more, a larger part in the ruin of the Portuguese Empire in Asia.

But we confine ourselves to what concerns the language. The whole system of the Inquisition aimed not only at the extirpation of superstitious and idolatrous beliefs, but also of innocent usages and customs retaining even a trace of the Asiatic Society, which existed previous to the conquest by the Portuguese. Consequently the language was involved in this general prescription.

One Inquisitor with eighteen years of service in the Inquisition of Goa, proposed to His Majesty, in the year 1731, the following: " The first and the principal cause of such a lamentable ruin (loss of souls) is the disregard of the Law of His Majesty, D. Sebastião of glorious memory, and the Goan Councils, prohibiting the natives to converse in their own vernacular and making obligatory the use of the Portuguese language ; this disregard in observing the law, gave rise to so many and so great evils, to the extent of effect-

ing irreparable harm to souls, as well as to the royal revenues. Since I have been, though unworthy, the Inquisitor of this State, ruin has set in the villages of Nadorá (sic), Revorá, Pirná, Assonorá and Aldoná in the Province of Bardes; in the villages of Cuncolim, Assoliná, Dicarpalli, Consuá, and Aquem in Salsete; and in the Island of Goa, in Bambolim, Curcá, and Siridão, and presently in the village of Bastorá in Bardes. In these places some members of village communities, as also women and children have been arrested and others accused of malpractices; for since they cannot speak any other language but their own vernacular, they are secretely visited by *Botos*, servants, and High Priests of Pagodas who teach them the tenets of their sect and further persuade them to offer alms to the Pagodas and to supply other necessary requisites for the ornament of the same temples, reminding them of the good fortune their ancestors had enjoyed from such observances and the ruin they were subjected to, for having failed to observe these customs; under such persuasion they are moved to offer gifts and sacrifices and perform other diabolical ceremonies, forgetting the law of Jesus Christ which they had professed in the sacrament of Holy Baptism,. This would not have happened had they known only the Portuguese language; since they being ignorant of the native tongue the *Botos*, *Grous* and their attendants would not have been able to have any communication with them, for the simple reason that the latter could only converse in the vernacular of the place. Thus an end would have been put to the great loss among native Christians whose faith has not been well grounded, and who easily yield to the teaching of the Hindu priests."

We do not know what to admire in such a proposal of the Inqusitor, his malice or foolishness. Undoubtedly it is the height of malice to affirm that Goan Councils had prohibited the natives to talk in their mother tongue, and had obliged them to speak the Portuguese language alone. It is foolishness to make people believe that through the vernacular alone could the *Botos* and other Hindu priests explain the tenets of their belief and sect with a view to convincing the native Christians.

It will be clear from the reading of VIII and IX that the Council, far from forbidding the use of the vernacular, had rather

recommended its use for the teaching of Christian doctrine. And so far as the Regulation issued by His Majesty, D. Sebastião, invoked by the Inquisitor is no doubt the one we have already made reference to in §VIII,dated 4th December 1567, the Inquisitor has as little ground in it as in the Councils for his insinuations.

It is possible that the Inquisitor was ignorant of the existence of the Decree of the Count of Alvor, and its confirmation by the King. It is possible to believe such a thing since reference to them had been already made by the Franciscan Friars in the year 1732 and the following years. This indicates that during those days they were known by all. Since these mandates were so much in his favour, we are unable to discover any reason why the Inquisitor did not refer to them, but falsely referred to the Councils and the law of D. Sebastião.

A suitable reply was given by the Viceroy, Coulť of Sandomil› to these inept proposals of the Inquisitor, when the Viceroy reported to His Majesty as follows: "Having considered the means (says the Viceroy) proposed by the Inquisitor, Antonio de Amaral Coutinho, favourable to the conversion of the infidels of the Islands of Goa, and of the Provinces of Salsete and Bardes; and having obtained the necessary information in the matter, it appears to me that in reference to the first it is impracticable to exterminate the mother-tongue of the natives, for they are bred in it, even those who are constantly in touch and in intercourse with the Portuguese; and even if this were possible I do not think one would escape the danger alluded to by this Ministry, that the Hindus residing here among the Christians would learn the Portuguese language equally well, since this would be needed for their intercourse; and even the *Botos* and priests from the mainland would learn it in order to induce the native Christians worship in temples, even if they did not known it previously, since Portuguese is a *lingua franca* among Asiatics."

It may be relevant to mention here the Proclamation of the Holy Office against many usages and customs, some most innocent, in which are included the two following: (*a*) "*Item*. We command that on all the occasions of their marriages, in all the acts meant to celebrate them, whether at the bridegroom's or the

bride's home, the natives do not sing publicly nor privately songs customarily sung in the mother tongue and popularly known as *vovios* ;[50] and should they like to have feasts as a demonstration of their joy, let it not be done with the accompaniment of songs, having the semblance of the same *vovios* ,and never on such festive occasions should the singing be done by women folk, relatives, or *daijis* of the bridegroom or even of the bride."

" *Item.* We order the said natives of India that on no occasion whatsoever, under no pretext, they sing in their own homes, songs known as *vovios*, neither publicly nor privately so that among the faithful Christians the use of the same songs may be extinguished."

At this time the Archbishop insisted on the prohibition of the ceremonies of Hindu marriages in places inhabited by the Christian population. He alleged that many Hindus entertaining young Catholic servants were sure to ruin the latter's faith, since these *Canarim* boys, spoke the same language as their masters, and memorised these songs sung by the masters and repeated and sang them ; with the result that their elders considered as true the fiction regarding the Hindu deites narrated therein, in addition to the worship given in them with the praise, petitions and prayers contained therein.

To which the Viceroy, João de Saldanha da Gama, replied : " The allegation that the songs sung on such occasions is a source of perversion to the young Catholic servants cannot be counted as true for the reason that they are sung in elegant and difficult language, commonly used in the State, where the popular language is much adulterated and corrupted by constant intercommunication with the Portuguese." And continues :

" There is no sense in asserting that the Hindus engage Christian boys on their festive occasions ; they do make use of them to build pandals, but not to help them in their ceremonial acts or feasting, since according to their laws, such rites are to be performed without the assistance of any Catholic, less still with the

50. *Vovi*, plural *vovió*, is a meter in strophes of four verses.

aid of Catholics of working class who are considered to be of low caste and believed to soil anything coming in contact with their hands. So rigorous are the Hindus in the observance of these rites that it is enough for a Catholic to enter their homes to consider them to be polluted,[51] and they refuse to eat anything touched by the hands or even cut by a knife used by a Christian."

From what has been said we may arrive at the conclusion that if the Archbishop of the time, did not go along with the Inquisition in the attempt to kill the language; he co-operated with it in prohibiting the use of popular vernacular poetry; which surely must have done great harm to the language.

XXVIII

The Ecclesiastical Empire in Portugal as well as in India had three arms: Archbishops and Bishops with their Secular Clergy, Friars or Regular Clergy and the Inquisition. All these three Powers conspired to absorb within their jurisdiction the sovereignity of the King, at the same time competing among themselves for the supreme jurisdiction. There were, above all, incessant quarrels between the Regular and Secular Clergy; and remaining within the domain of our subject matter, we have treated this conflict among them in India. It is this particular circumstance that forces us to consider the influence the Archbishop exerted on the vernacular language of the capital of Portuguese India, and adjacent provinces.

After the first impetus which the conquest had given to the demolition of temples and Hindu emblems, and along with them to the destruction of books written in the language of the people, the Councils and the Prelates recognized how necessary it was to learn these languages, for the progress of the propagation of Faith which was their charge. And during the prolonged battle the Archbishops carried on with the Franciscan Friars regarding the Churches of Bardes (as we have seen) one argument alone was

51. At the time the Viceroy wrote this such may have been the situation. Today, however, the Hindus, though not into their private rooms, yet permit the Christians to enter their homes; and any objects touched by them are neither re-touched or broken.

advanced against the latter, namely, that they knew very little or nothing of the language, knowledge of which in the opinion of the Archbishop and all reasonable persons, was an indispensable conditjon to nourish the flock and increase the number in the fold.

The Archbishop, D. Fr. Lourenço de Santa Maria, is an exception to this, for he wished to remedy the evil both by imitating the errors of the Count of Alvor, and exaggerating their absurdities. In the famous Pastoral, dated 21st November 1745, to which reference has already been made (§ XXIII) and whose manuscript we have studied, the Archbishop enforced the execution of the Decree of the Count of Alvor in so far as it enjoined on the Parish Priests to teach their parishioners Christian doctrine in Portuguese, without the use of the vernacular. The teachers were to do likewise when teaching their students. And not content with this regulation he laid down the following :—

" By our Circular dated 31st May, of the same year with regard the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we have made it known that we shall not admit any person of whatever position he may be to the Orders...of Dioconate and of the Mass, unless firstly he has gone profitably through the three years of Moral and Speculative Theology, has a good character, proved by frequent reception of sacraments, exercises of piety and devotion, by service of the Church, and the teaching of Christian doctrine ; and knows and speaks Portuguese only, this pertains not only to the candidate himself but also to *his close relatives of both sexes, this being assured by a rigorous examination and precise care by the Parish-Priests.* And convinced as we are of its necessity for the service of God, glory of the ecclesiastical state and general good of the Diocese we reiterate it to all concerned with the assurance that it shall be so executed."

And further on :—

"Since according to law and common opinion of the DD. confirmed by universal usage, both of our Predecessors, the Primates and the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom of Portugal, we have power to impose new impediments to the marriage of our subjects, for sound reasons regarding the common and individual good, in the exercise of this power, after mature consideration, believing

it to be for the service of God and good of our flock, we institute, create, and place anew for this Island of Goa, and its two Provinces: Bardes and Salsete, the *impediment of no person contracting any marriage, whether he be man or woman, who does not know or speak the Portuguese language*, which impediment will first apply to all the residents of Island of Goa, and adjacent places and to the Parishes of S. Lourenço, Reis Magos, Penha da França, Sirulá, Pomburpá and of Aldoná and to all the Brahmins and *Chardós* who at the time are resident in the Provinces of Bardes and Salsete, and it will take effect six months after the proclamation of this Circular, a period given to enable such persons to learn the language; whereas, it will extend to other castes of Bardes and Salsete one year after its publication. The Rev. Parish-Priests will specially enforce this order, acquainting themselves with it, and having it circulated for the knowledge of the people, either personally or through their curates, and never by any other person; and examine the contracting parties in the Christian doctrine asking all questions in Portuguese; and thereafter pass a free certificate to that effect at the end of the proclamation of bans and to be taken under oath and sworn on the Gospels."

These orders issued by D. Lourenço had the same fate as the Decree of the Count of Alvor. They were futile, as such fantasies could not be otherwise.

XXIX

After the expulsion of the Franciscan Friars from the Churches of Bardes and that of the Jesuits from the Portuguese State, the Archbishops were solely in charge of appointments to all the Churches, to which they appointed the Secular Clergy. This surely motivated the Archbishops not to follow the directions given by the Marquez de Pombal, desiring that the first Chairs in the Colleges and the Seminaries in the East should be those for instruction in the languages of the places where we had Churches and Missions; and they left the knowledge of local language merely to common use and practice.

The new Goan Constitutions, enjoined by Archbishop D. Antonio Teixeira da Neiva Brum, and amended and enlarged in

1778 by Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de S. Catharina[52] take it for granted that all religious instruction is imparted and received in Portuguese ; and do not oblige the Parish Priests to learn the vernacular, rather they are permitted to ignore it. Book 3, Tit. 6, Const. 5, No. 37 says the following : " If the one who instructs (in the mysteries of Faith) be ignorant of the vernacular of the one who confesses or of the dying, and should there be one knowing the language he may translate his questions in that vernacular, as he goes on instructing ". And No. 38 : " And since low caste and rude people do not know the Portuguese language, we order that for the instruction to be better understood, the Parish Priests have words and terms translated into the native language ; and get the same circulated among their parishioners in order to facilitate them to instruct their servants in the mysteries of faith and Christian doctrine."

The Archbishop who followed was D. Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino. On May the 22nd of the year 1812[53] in the regulations for the Studies which he laid down, he starts with the following rules : " In elementary schools care should be taken to select teachers who know Portuguese well, and great care should be taken by teachers that the children do not as far as possible talk, during the school hours, in the mother tongue and since at the time when they are enrolled, the children are ignorant of the Portuguese language, the teachers should teach this language. They should teach names of things in Portuguese, so that the children may learn every day a few words in proportion to their aptitude and their age ; and when the children come across Portuguese words, the teachers should explain them in the vernacular. If the teachers, following our instructions forbid the more advanced to talk in the vernacular, the younger ones will soon learn the Portuguese language and the more progress they have made in the Portuguese language by the time they leave school the more progress they will make in Latin.

" We strictly direct the teachers to impart to the children the Christian doctrine both in the vernacular and in Portuguese ; and

52. Printed in Lisbon, Royal Press 1810.
53. *Journal da Santa Igreja Lusitana do Oriente*, No. 6, 1847.

very much recommend the Parish Priests to have a vigilant eye on the enforcement of this rule."

That the teachers ought to explain to the children the meaning in the vernacular : and that teachers should teach the children Christian doctrine, both in the vernacular and in Portuguese are indeed two pregnant ideas worthy of a Prelate, who himself learnt the language, and as some affirm it, was a fluent preacher in it. It is a pity that these two ideas are mixed up with others, thereby diminishing their efficacy. The Archbishop was carried away by public opinion, which he did not like to oppose or become an object of derision by giving an impulse to the study of the local language. But with this and like provisions[54] he wished to clear the path for others to enlarge and smooth it. He was, however, mistaken. The path was not opened. It was obstructed with thorns and overgrowth, which no one dared to go through. It was considered so difficult that the Archbishop, D. José Maria da Silva Torres, did not even attempt to enter it, and left it worse than it was before. " It is absolutely forbidden (says this Archbishop in his Regulations to the Seminaries, dated 15th June, 1847, art. 54,)[55] both to the students and any Ecclesiastic residing in the Seminary, to converse with one another in the language of Goa."

We see clearly that the principal intention of the Archbishop was the cultivation of the Portuguese language ; but it was not possible to cultivate it without doing harm to the vernacular. Were not the Seminarians and the Ecclesiastics more competent than the rude and ignorant people to apply the rules of grammar to their vernacular, to improve and correct it ? Had the Archbishop forgotten that the greater number of the sons of the Seminary, would later administer to the spiritual needs of their parishioners and that too in the language of Goa ? But it was fashionable to despise the language ; the natives themselves applauded this ; and, therefore, it was all the more difficult to resist the force of the torrent.

54. On the 26th of October, the Archbishop issued a Circular recommending public prayers in churches according to the form therein commended, incorporating at the same time its vernacular translation into the Circular and it was printed with additional prayers under the title of *Preparação da Oração Mental*, Nova Goa. National Press, 1857.

55. *Journal da Santa Igreja Lusitana do Oriente* No. 6, 1847.

XXX

It appears as if the times of the Count of Alvor, and the Archbishop, D. Fr. Lourenço de Santa Maria, had repeated. The civil Government co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities in persecuting the language and they were supported by influential men in the State, both European and Indian.

On the occasion of the establishment of the first public schools at the cost of the State[56] the Viceroy, D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro, laid down the folllowing : " In a country like this, forming part of the Crown of Portugal, and governed by Portuguese laws, it appears extraordinary that such a small number of inhabitants speak and write Portuguese , and it is recommended to the primary teachers, and specially to the Professors who teach Latin Grammar, that they first apply themselves with every possible diligence to the teaching of this same language to their students, forbidding them the use of their vernacular in the schools."

Keeping the same thought before his mind, people working in public offices and military quarters were obliged to talk only Portuguese,[57] and a Judge of the High Court of Goa applauded this directive of the Viceroy and manifested his surprise at the *bad custom* of children talking in their mother tongue in the primary schools.[58]

In schools carrying out the norms given by Archbishops, S. Galdino and Torres, and by Viceroy D. Manoel de Portugal, children read and write Portuguese mechanically, not understanding the meaning of even one word of that language, which they begin to understand only when they attend Latin classes. From this comes the facility with which many priests can read and write and talk Latin fluently, yet are unable to make themselves understood in Portuguese. Cottineau undoubtedly was not well informed

56. Circular of 5th September 1831. L. 4. *Cartas e Ordens* fl. 1.

57. We have not found any record of this order. However, Judge Louzada in his *Segunda Memoria descriptiva e estatistica das Possessões Portuguzas na Asia* affirms it on page 450 of the *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* published in 1842.

58. Same Judge and *Ibid.*

when he said[59] that all the priests of Goa had perfect grammatical knowledge of the Portuguese language as well as of the vernaculars, and that they could preach in one or the other equally well. But the fact is that very few can preach passably in Portuguese, and almost all make use of the vernacular mechanically without the least grammatical knowledge.

It is to this false basis of instruction rather than to the lack of good books that is due the pedantry and farrago of schools and absence of sound and well digested instruction, which Lagrange discovered in the inhabitants of Portuguese India.[60] The absence of good books is the result of the first error since no good book can be written unless there are people able to understand it. And it is needless to add with Lagrange that there are honourable and respectable exceptions.

Having thus settled that the language of the place was to be considered something worthless and useless, it stands to reason that during the later reforms and plans of public instruction there should be complete silence about it. But there appears an intention of promoting the teaching of other common languages of India.

The Chief Justice Louzada himself, who in his *Segunda Memoria* condemns the local language, had already in his *Primeira Memoria*[61] indicated the great necessity of establishing in Portuguese India a school, where they could be taught to read and translate Hindu letters of Malabar (we do not know whether the reference is to the Marathi language) as an indispensable preparation for those who would take up civil posts, and had proposed as useful the teaching in the Diocesan Seminaries of the languages of places where our Missions work.[62]

59. *An Historical Sketch*', etc. p. 166.

60. *Instruction of the King D. José to the Governor and Archbishop in* 1774, published by Claude Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, Panjim, 1841 ; Appendix p. VIII.

61. *Memoria acerca da educação publica nos Estados da India*, dated Lisbon 15th March 1841 and published in the *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* of the year 1842, p. 6.

62. *Ibidem*, p. 13.

This idea almost forgotten from the time of the Marquez de Pombal, which was taken up again by Chief Justice Louzada, was accepted by the authors of the Regulations for the Seminaries, which were approved by the Decree of the Governor General, the Count of Antas in his Circular, issued on the 17th of March, 1843. This introduced in the course of the studies in the Seminary of Rachol the Tamil language and the Moorish language and in that of Chorão, the Hindustani language, erroneously taken by the authors as separate from the Moorish. These rules were however ineffective.[63]

The Governor, Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, created a Chair for the Marathi and Canarese languages.[64] Simultaneously the Chamber of Deputies approved a project of general reform of public Instruction in Portugal, in which it was decided that in the Capital of the State of India be established at least a Training School for teachers of the primary course, a Lyceum and a Chair for the Hindustani language. This idea was immediately afterwards made use of and introduced by the Decree of 20th September, 1844, in the form of a transitional article ; and to-day we see it realised in the normal school as well as the Lyceum, with the exception of the Chair for Hindustani, for the very fact that its necessity was not felt so much as that of Marathi or even Kanarese.

The Deputy for India, Antonio Caetano Pacheco, in his *General Plan for the public Instruction in India*, which has been printed,[65]

63. By a Circular letter dated 24th November, the Conde de Antas, 1842 (*Boletim* no. 53) appointed a Commission composed of the Vicar Capitular of the Archdiocese, Antonio João Athaide, Ex-Secretary to the Government, and Canon Caetano João Peres to formulate a new Plan for the Reform of the Semenaries. On the 16th of March 1843, the Commission presented the allotted work. And it was provisionally approved and a circular of the Governor dated 17th March 1843, ordered it to be executed and published it in the *Boletim* No. 31 and the following numbers. But since it was opposed by a Circular dated 22nd February 1843, of the *Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar* (*Boletim* No. 41) it remained unexecuted. This above named Circular ordered submission in everything to the Metropolitan Government with a view to consider the General Plan for the establishment of the Seminaries in Overseas Provinces ref. which by a Decree of the 30th January of the same year, a Commission was appointed the Patriarch Archbishop Elect of Lisbon being its President. It was ineffective.

64. Circular of 8th August 1843 (*Boletim* No. 53).

65. *Plano geral da Instrucção publica nos Estados Portugueses da India, precedido de uma Exposição, em que se apresenta o quadro historico dos Institutos do ensino que ahi existiam, comparando-os com os que a eles se tem mandado substituir, e se demonstra o methodo, pelo qual se deve proceder a sua reforma e organisação* By Antonio Caetano Pacheco. Lisbon 1848.

when dealing mainly with primary schools, is equally silent in the matter of the mother tongue, and also about Marathi and Kanarese; but suggests the establishment in the Capital of Goa of a Chair for Hindustani, Tamil and Malabari, whose occupant was to be the official translator. This plan indicates that Deputy Pacheco walked in the footsteps of his compatriots who despised their own mother tongue and considered that Marathi was not necessary. He thought that one Profesor alone would be able to teach with proficiency both the Hindustani and Tamil languages, though there is a great difference between the two, both in their nature and origin.

To evaluate how far the ignorance of the mother tongue had reached in Goa, we shall refer to an incident that occurred a few months ago, in the National Press of the same city. A studious person decided to publish a little book of prayers in his mother tongue. The question was discussed regarding the price of printing; and the compositors demanded 25 per cent more for the work, basing themselves on the rule that this was payable if the work to be printed was in a *foreign tongue*. This fact, we believe, is unique in the whole history both of modern and ancient languages; but it is not surprising when we learn that the editor himself, a native, who now disputed with the press, had been influenced, at one time, by general opinion and called the Portugues language *his own*.[66]

More weighty is the declaration made by another author, a native of Goa, and an experienced writer, who igenuously confesses not only the difficulty of expressing himself correctly and appropriately in Portuguese, because it was not *his own* language; but also the impossibility of his writing in his own. "The public will forgive us (these are his words) the unpolished phrases with which we introduce the address that follows. The language which we use, not being *ours*, (even though in using our *own* unfortunately we would prove even more deficient) we may be excused when our style is inelegant, unnatural and inappropriate."[67]

66. *Memorias, ou Trabalhos Escolasticos do mez de Maio* de 1947. Nova-Goa 1847, p 9.

67. A. P. Rodrigues, published a *Electoral Speech* on the 30th November 1846.

The same contempt for the mother tongue explains the reason why from time immemorial, books written in that vernacular, were not printed; why those already published have vanished and why a few which survive, as manuscripts were kept hidden by certain families, some of these being copies of those first printed.

Therefore, on our arrival in India, towards the end of the year 1858, we tried to secure the *Grammars* published by the Jesuits which we had reprinted, and in spite of our best efforts, we could barely discover in the whole territory of Goa two copies, one of them in a much decayed and mutiliated condition.

And now at the moment when we are writing this, we find great difficulty in discovering any of these books, for many individuals hide them and even deny their possession, with the fear that they may be objects of mockery and derision and be branded as rude, if perchance they acknowledge that they possess and read these monuments of their language.

XXXI

It is now time to undo the damage caused. The time has come to restore the mother tongue to its rightful place. To you, then, oh Goan Youth, is reserved this great work, essential element of the intellectual and social regeneration of your countrymen!

The methodical culture of the mother tongue will bring you closer to the Marathi language; it will facilitate the knowledge of the Asiatic and European languages, ancient and modern, and thereby useful knowledge will be opened to your intelligence; and the treasures of the world, till now hidden from you, due to the absence of this instrument of exploration, will be opened to you.

Let fools laugh and shout from the depth of their ignorance that the language has no grammar, that it is not capable of being written and that as it is in common use now by only a few individuals, the exertion on its study is insufficiently compensated; that its varieties and dialects from province to province, even from caste to caste, make it complicated and unintelligible, and that it is so corrupted that it cannot be purified.

If, however, you feel that these ignorant critics deserve a reply, tell them that this book and all others that will follow it will prove whether the language has a grammar or not, whether it is conducive to writing or not. Do not be ashamed to imitate the example of the British nation, exerting itself to cultivate in Europe the semi-barbarous dialect of Malta, spoken scarcely by 70,000 persons[68], and in India the harsh Jataki or Baloochi, the Pushtu or Afghan[69] and other such languages. Tell them that the varieties of Konkani, from province to province or from caste to caste, are not greater than the dialects of old Greek, modern Italian, French, or German etc. And lastly its very corruption should be an incentive to you to improve it, to purge it, rather than to despise it. And if they yet persist in their outcry, do not give heed to it but move on.

Indeed, this enterprise is not easy, but it useful, it is honourable, it is glorious.

And that you may have as far as possible a light-house to guide you in the midst of darkness caused by the foolishness of some and the malice of others, we conclude by listing for you some aids to which you may have recourse.

XXXII

KONKANI LIBRARY

or

Aids for the Methodical Study of Konkani Language

The aids that may be used profitably for the study of any language are Grammars, Dictionaries, works written in the language and other critical works on the same language.

In so far as the Konkani language is concerned, while we acknowledge that the notes we are placing before the readers are far from

68. *Vide Description of Malta and Gozo.* by George Percy Badger, 2nd edition Valleta 1851. According to this author the total population of the Island must have been 100 souls and of these 30 were from the city of Valleta.

69. *Vide* the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* No. XII, January of 1849.

being complete, we believe, that they will be useful, and will rouse the curiosity for further research.

I GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES

A. Jesuit Authors

(a) Father Thomas Stephens.

"*Arte da Lingua Canarim*" (Grammar of *Canarim* Language). It was enlarged by Father Diogo Ribeiro, and revised by four priests of the Society of Jesus, and printed in the College of St. Ignatius of the same Society, in the year 1640, in quarto and now reprinted by us. (1859).

For other works written by the author *vide* pages 225–7.

(b) Father Diogo Ribeiro.

Made additions to Father Thomas Stephens' *Arte* as well as the *Vocabulario* of which there are many copies under the title : *Vocabulario da Lingua Canarim* (Vocabulary of *Canarim* Language). This was written by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, residing then with the Christian population of Salsete. Further additions were made thereto by Father Diogo Ribeiro of the same Society. Year 1626-MS.

There are copies of this Vocabulary both from *Canarim* language to Portuguese and *vice versa*. The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* says that the same "*Vocabulario*" received additions by Father Miguel de Almeida.

For another work of the author *vide* page 227.

(c) Father Antonio de Saldanha.

Vocabulario da Lingua Concanica (Vocabulary of Konkani Language)—MS.

For other works of the author *vide* page 228.

(d) Father Miguel de Almeida.

Made additions to the already enlarged *Vocabulario* by Father Diogo Ribeiro.

For other works of the author *vide* pages 228-9.

B. Franciscan Authors

(a) Father Manoel Banha.

Vocabulario (Vocabulary)—MS. *Vide Bibliotheca Lusitana*, where the author is erroneously said to have belonged to the Province of Madre de Deus whereas he belonged to that of St. Thomas.

(b) Father Christovão de Jesus.

Arte Grammatical da Lingua Canarina (Grammar of *Canarim* Language).—MS.

(c) Father Gaspar de S. Miguel.

Arte da Lingua Canarina (Grammar of *Canarim* Language 4°)—M.S.

For other work of the author *vide* page 227.

C. Various Authors

Arte da Grammatica da Lingua Bracmana (The Grammar of Bramana Language) in II Books. Very necessary work for the use of Missionaries, Preachers, Confessors, Writers, Poets, and Students in the East. Written on the island of Chorão by Simon Alz, Brahmin, Shenoy of Chorão etc. Year MDCICIV.—MS :

This *Grammar* contains the following :—

Vocabulary of three languages, Portuguese, Brahmana and Spanish. Necessary for the Parish priests, Missionaries, Confessors, Preachers, Writers, Poets, Scholars and Students of the East. Written in the Island of Chorão by Simon Alz, and his

father, Lourenço Alz, Shenoy Brahmins of Chorão. Year MDCICV.—MS.

It appears to be the same Vocabulary to which additions were made by Father Diogo Ribeiro. The person who tries to add to it the Spanish language, did not proceed further in his intention than the first page. The Choranenses appear to be mere copyists, both of the Grammar and the Dictionary.

(a) Fr. Francisco Xavier.

Grammatica ou Observações Grammaticaes sobre a lingua de Concana (Grammar or Grammatical Observations about the Language of Konkan)—MS. The name of the author is omitted, but everything makes us believe that it is the work of Fr.Francis Xavier, Italian Carmelite, Missionary in Kanara, Archbishop of Sardes and Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. From the work we surmise that it was written in Kanara.

To the *Grammatica* is attached one *Diccionario da Lingua Concana* (Dictionary of Konkani Language.)—MS. It is Portuguese-Konkani, with many Italian words and phrases.

(b) Francisco José Vieira.

Judge of the High Court of Goa (1809 to 1818).

Reduced to rules and grammatical precepts the native language of Goa according to the assertion of Mr. Manoel Felicissimo Louzada d'Araujo, also Judge of the same Court in his *Segunda Memoria descriptiva e estatistica das Possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, published in 1842, in the *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, page 451.

(c) D. Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino.

Archbishop of Goa (1812-1831), Franciscan of the Reformed Province of Arrabida. Was elected Bishop of Tunkim in 1801, then transferred to Macao, and consecrated on the 27th of March 1803. Arrived in his diocese on the 7th September of the same year. Was transferred to Goa as Coadjutor '*jure successionis*' to the Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de S. Catharine, in the year 1805 ;

and on the death of the same, in February 1812, took charge as Archbishop and Primate, and governed till the 15th of June, 1831, when he died. He is buried in the Sanctuary of the Cathedral.

He took pains to learn the language, and is said to have preached in the vernacular. There is a vague tradition that he wrote *Grammatica*, but no one seems to have seen it, or has referred to it. It is likely that he had a copy of the Grammar written by the Jesuits, which we have just (1858) reprinted, or some other copy, which gave rise to the report that he wrote a Grammar.

II OTHER WORKS IN THE LANGUAGE.

A. Jesuit Authors

(a) Father Thomas Stephens.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* clearly but erroneously calls him Esteves. He lived towards the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th. The title of his Puranna says that he was an Englishman and in his book *Oriente Conquistado* (Vol. I,). Fr. Francisco de Souza mentions that he was from London.

Besides his Grammar to which we have referred, he wrote :

Doutrina Christã em Lingua Bramana-Canarim (Christian Doctrine in *Bramana-canarim* Language) in the form of a dialogue to teach children, Rachol, 8°.

According to the author of *Oriente Conquistado*, this work was the *Cartilha* by Father Marcos Jorge, popularly known by the name of the one who amended it, *Padre Mestre Ignacio Martins.*

Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo Nosso Salvador ao mundo (Discourse on the coming of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world), divided in two treatises, by Father Thomas Stephens, Englishman, of the Society of Jesus. The first Treatise speaks of the creation of the world, and many notable things God performed during the times of the Patriarchs and Prophets ; wherein are recorded the promises and prophecies about the coming of the Saviour.

The second Treatise concerns the life of Our Lord, how He came into the world and fufilled the prophecies written about His coming.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* seems to be ignorant of this work. The work went through three impressions, and yet we were unfortunate not to see any printed edition, but only manuscripts, beautifully written, imitating the round and ornamental lettering of what were possibly illustrations found in the printed books.

This work was first printed at Rachol, at the College of All Saints of the Society of Jesus, in the year 1616 and bears the *imprimatur* of the Inquisition and of the Ordinary of the place. The second impression was done in the year 1649, though started in 1646. From the permits granted for the first edition, it is clear that the work was first written in Portuguese and it was translated into *Bramana* language. Persons responsible for granting these permits were: Paulo Mascarenhas, Francisco Borges de Souza, João Fernandes Almeida, D. Fr. Cristovão, Archbishop Primate, an Francis Vieira. Persons responsible for granting permission for the second printing of the work are: Antonio de Faria e Machado, João de Barros de Castelbranco, Archbishop Primate, Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, Domingos Rebello Lobo and Frei Manoel Baptista, Vicar of Colvale, *censor deputatus*.

The third edition was printed in Goa in the year 1654, with the permission of the Inquisition and the Ordinary of the place. It was printed in the new College of St. Paul. Here again persons responsible for this permit are: Frei Lucas de Cruz, Paulo Castelino de Freitas; the *censor deputatus* being again the Frei Manoel Baptista, this time Vicar of Revorá. From these permits it is clear, that this work was known as *Puranna* from the second edition of 1849.

Father Stephens dedicated this work to the Archbishop, D. Frei Cristovão de Lisboa, Primate of India, with an introduction both in Portuguese and *Bramana* languages.

The Introduction is followed by a Poem supposed to have been written by Frei Gaspar de S. Miguel of the Order of St. Francis *in laudem auctoris*:

Sadhu cha*t*uragu Padri	The holy and wise Priest
Hea purannacha adicary	Author of this Puranna,
Thomas Esteuaõ *cavitua* Srunghari	Is Thomas Stephens, the well known
Mi*rauala* changu.	ornament of Poetry.

The same copies bring the following declaration made after Canto 44.

Passion of Christ Our Redeemer, composed by Father Thomas Stephens of the Society of Jesus, and additions made by Pascoal Gomes da Faria, priest of the Order and habit of the Prince of the Apostle S. Peter, native of Batim, parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe, of the Island of Goa of a few hymns at the end of the book. Year 1772.

(b) Father Diogo Ribeiro

Native of Lisbon, and not of Thomar as is stated in the *Bibliotheca Societat.* Page 173... He was admitted in the Society in the year 1580 in Goa, when he was 20 years of age. Died in the College at Rachol, on the 18th of June, 1633.

Explicação (*Declaração*) *da Doutrina Christã* (A statement of Christian Doctrine) gathered from Cardinal Bellarmine and other authors. College of Rachol, 1632. 4°.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* states that he had translated and enlarged to many books in the Konkani language, but excepting this work the names of the translations are not mentioned.

(c) Father Antonio de Saldanha

Was born at the Military Quarters, Mazagon, Africa, of a Portuguese father and an Italian mother. Came to India to join the army, when 16 years of age, and in Goa entered the Society of Jesus, in the year 1615. Appointed to the Mission of Salsete, he learnt the Konkani language so well that he could speak with great facility. Died in the College of Rachol on the 15th December, 1663.

Tratado dos Milagres (Treatise of Miracles) God performed both during the life as well after the death of glorious St. Anthony translated and composed in the language of the place for the better understanding of the people. In the College of Rachol, 1655. 4°.

Rosas e boninas deleitosas (Delightful roses and daisies) from the delicious garden of Mary and her Rosary, translated and composed with suitable reflections for the good of souls. Rachol, 4°. No year of impression.

Fructo da arvore da vida (Fruit of the tree of life) wholesome to soul and body, illustrated with various moral lessons for the good of the souls and honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Rachol, 4°. No year of impression.

Beneficios insignes dos Anjos Custodios (Notable benefits through the Guardian Angels)-MS.

Baculo Pastoral (Pastoral staff) for the administration of Sacraments and other Parochial obligations. fol-MS.

(d) Father Miguel D'Almeida

Native of Villa de Gouvea, in the Province of Beira. Entered the Society of Jesus in Goa on the 12th of September 1624, aged 16 years. He had made the profession of all the four vows. Rector of the College of St. Paul at Goa, and afterwards Provincial. Died in the College of Rachol on the 17th September 1683.

Jardim dos Pastores (Garden of the Shepherds) or Feasts of the Year in *Bramana* language. Doctrinal book, Goa, in the year 1658. College of the Society. 8° Contains sermons and homilies.

Philip Neri Pires in his Marathi Grammar speaks of this work, *vide* Preface XIII; and on page 105 quotes a few passages. According to Mr. Pires this work is almost 300 years old, whereas as is clear from its date, it is no more than 200 years old.

Cinco Praticas (Five Sermons) on the words : *Exurgens Maria*, Goa in the same College.

Sermões de Santos (Sermons on the Saints) and for Lent. 2 Vol. 4°-MS.

(e) Fathers João de Pedrosa

Native of Coimbrão in the Diocese of Leiria, son of João Fernandes and Antonio Pedrosa ..He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Coimbra on the 26th February 1632, then 16 years of age. He spent many years in the Mission of Salsete, and was Rector of Rachol. Died at Goa on the 10th of May 1672.

Soliloquios divinos (Divine Soliloquies). Work of Father Bernardino de Vilhegas of the Society of Jesus, Professor of Theology in the College of St. Stephen of Murcia of the Society of Jesus, and "*Calificador*" of the Holy Office. Translated into *Bramana* language by Father Pedrosa of the same Society. Missionary in Salsete, Province of Goa. Printed in the College (new) of St. Paul 1660. 128 pages. 4°

There is a copy of this book found in the *Bibliotheca Publica* of Nova Goa. This work is divided into soliloquies and these in Chapters with an index at the beginning in Portuguese and at the end in the *Bramana* language.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* does not state whether another work of the author entitled *Instrucção para a Confissão Sacramental*, which he was unable to publish, probably because of his death, was also written in the *Bramana* language.

(f) Father Theotonio Joseph.

Compendio da Doutrina Christã (Compendium of Christian Doctrine) arranged by Father Teotonio Joseph of the Society of Jesus, in Goan *Bramana* language to teach children. Lisbon, in the Patr. Offic. of Franc. Luiz Ameno. With the necessary permission, 1768. 32°.

The Compendium consists of three chapters : the first contains prayers and elements of Christian Doctrine. The second explains

the name, obligation, and the sign of a Catholic, the theological virtues, and the grace of God. The third (chiefly an abridgement taken from an Instruction composed by Father Joseph Pereira of the Society of Jesus) explains the principal mysteries of the Faith of Christ, the necessary dispositions for confession, and Sacramental Communion.

The second and third chapters are in Portuguese.

B. Franciscan Authors

(a) Father Amador de Santana.

Flos sanctorum

In his book *Vergel de Plantas e Flores* Father Jacinto de Deos says that this translation has been done with elegance proper to the mother tongue of the people of the East.

(b) Father Domingos de S. Bernadino.

Native of India. Was Commissary of the Holy Office. He wrote : *Exposição do Credo.* (The creed Explained)—MS.

(c) Father Gaspar de S. Miguel.

Lived in the middle of the 17th century. According to the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, he wrote and dedicated to King Philip IV the following works :

Das Estações (On Instructions) the Parish Priests should impart to their flock on the mysteries of our Holy Faith, and explaining the seven Sacraments and God's Commandments.

Sermões do tempo e dos Santos (Sermons on the Seasons of the Year and on Saints) 4 Vol.

Buculo Pastoral (Pastoral Staff).

Symbolo da Fé (Symbol of Faith) of Ven. Fr. Luiz de Granada.

Symbolo do Cardeal Bellarmino (Symbol of Cardinal Bellarmine).

Manual para os Parocos e Reitores (Hand-book for the Parish Priests and Rectors).

Paixão de Christo (Passion of Christ) containing three thousand verses.

Explicação de Credo (Explanation of Creed), Life of the Apostles, with various documents and refutation of idolatry, rites, and heathen superstitions.

Das miserias humanas (On human miseries), gravity of sin, four last ends, and the Benefits of God.

These two last mentioned works, according to the *Bibliotheca Lisitana* consist of six thousand verses, and go under the title of *viveqhomalla* which means Declaration of Faith, with a very learned treatise confuting deceits, and information regarding idols.

Father Jacinto de Deos too speaks about this author in his book *Vergel de Plantas e Flores* on page 10.

Poesia (Poem) in praise of Father Thomas Stephens. Was published along with his Puranna.

(d) Fr. João de S. Mathias.

Native of Lisbon. Became the 8th Provincial of the Province of St. Thomas.

Symbolo da Fé (Symbol of Faith) composed by Cardinal Bellarmine. This translation consists of two thousand verses, to be sung with ease and to be studied by heart: This is an observation of the *Bibliotheca Lusitana.*

Vida de Christo (Life of Christ) written in *Bramana* language called *Puranna.*

Bibliotheca Lusitana erroneously calls it *Puritana.*

(e) Fr. Manoel Baptista.

The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* says that he belonged to the Province of Madre de Deos, whilst he actually belonged to that of St. Thomas. Was Rector of Colvale, and Revorá in Bardes and lived in 1654, as can be seen from the Permits and licences granted for the publication of the *Puranna* of Father Thomas Stephens. Wrote : *Catecismo* (Catechism). 4°-MS.

(f) Fr. Manoel de Lado.

Was Provincial in 1661 and 1662. Wrote : *Catecismo* (Catechism) 4° –MS.

C. Various Authors.

Under this heading we would like to place the printed copy of a book extant in the *Bibliotheca Publica* of Pangim. The name of the author we are unable to discover since its first as well the last pages are missing. Actually the book starts with page 25. We have also seen a much more mutilated manuscript of the same. From the type and printing work, it appears to have been printed at the Press of the Jesuits in Goa, towards the middle of the 17th century. Until we definitely know who the author is we shall call the book : *Puranna da Bibliotheca*. [70]

Father Francisco Vaz.

Native of Guimarães.

Declaraçao (Exposition) freshly made of the most Dolorous Death and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Written by a devout priest called Francisco Vaz de Guimarães. Lisbon. with permission of the *Real Mesa*, and in the press of Domingos Carneiro. Year 1659.

Was reprinted by Antonio Gonsalves, Puranik Shatry. Bombay, 1st January 1845.

This work is a bibliographical enigma. The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* of Abbot Barbosa Machado says the following : " Francisco

70.* Reference has been made to this book on page 18 : ***Discourses on the Life of the Apostle St. Peter*, 1629-35**, by Fr. Etienne de la Croix.

Vaz, native of Guimarães, a pious and devout priest, published this book : *Obra da mui dolorosa morte e paixão de N. S. Jesu Christo, conforme a escrevem os quatro Santos Evangelistas...* Evora, Manoel de Lira, 1593 ..4° Braga Fructuoso de Basto, 1613 ..4° ; Evora ..Francisco Simões ; Lisbon...Antonio Alvares, 1617 and 1639 , 4° ; Lisbon ..Domingos Carneiro, 1659, 4°. Has also written other poetic works, divine and secular.

The very rare Catalogue of books of the Royal Academy of Science, Lisbon, gives the title of the work as "*Obra da muito dolorosa Morte e Paixão de N. S. Jesu Christo. conforme o que escrevem os quatro Santos Evangelistas.*" Evora, Manoel de Lira, 1593. 4°. and declares that it is in verse. Both these sources indicate that the first work was published at Evora. Further editions were printed, the last being in Lisbon, in the year 1659. In this very year the Konkani edition was published and in the same press. The *Bibliotheca Lusitana* makes no reference to this Konkani edition but we know it from Rev. Murray Mitchell who speaks of it in his paper (the *Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*) as well as from the new edition, printed in Bombay, in 1845.

The *Bibliotheca* says nothing about the life of the author nor have we any clue from other sources. But if we take into consideration the fact that from the first edition in 1593 in Portuguese to the last published in Lisbon in the year 1659, both in Portuguese and Konkani, we see that from the first copy to this edition a period of 66 years had already elapsed. Hence we may very truly believe that the author never came to India nor knew Konkani, and the work in Konkani must have been a translation by some Missionary. This work must have been held in great esteem from the fact that it ran into so many editions within a short period.

Probably the original and printed editions must have been exhausted at the time of the one that was printed in Bombay. From Rev. Mitchell we know that the printing was done from manuscript. This work he says is largely appreciated by the Catholics who speak Marathi (Konkani) and is generally known as *Puranna.*[71]

71.* It seems that this *Puranna* was published for the first time in Bombay in 1845 and that there were several subsequent editions.

It is a poetical work, that is, written in verse, somewhat imitative of the *ovi* metre of the Marathi poets. The whole is composed of 36 *Cantthas*, accompanied with a Portuguese title *Capitulo*. These 36 Chapters or Songs contain a total of 16,000 verses, thus in its length exceeding the most celebrated epic poems of Europe.

The work is written in Roman characters...and it starts with the following title in prose :

Canttha Paily .Caixy Virge Maria Saibina sambauly Santa Annache udrim chocata Adaõche papavinchun, Paramessorache curpexim.

The poem begins thus :-

Chıistaovando aica tumim,
Eque chitim canttha Saibinimchy
Caixy sambauly Santa Annache udrim
Parmessorache curpexim.

(1) Poem about the Passion of Christ.—MS.
(2) Other Poem about the Passion of Christ.—MS.[72]
(3) Another Poem about the Passion of Christ.—MS.

Father Manoel Jaques de Noronha

Poesia sobre a Paixão de Christo (Poem about the Passion of Christ) written by Father Manoel Jaques de Noronha, native of Sancoale, resident in Azossim, of the parish of S. Matheus of the Island of Goa...MS.[73]

Exposição do Gentilismo da Asia (Discourse on Paganism of Asia).—MS. The title of this fragment is unknown to us and we give to it the above title. It is a fragment and probably forming part of one of the codices of the 17th century. The first and a good number of pages are missing. It goes from pages 124 to 143. The titles of the chapters are in Portuguese and the fragment starts from chapter 118. *Practicas e Sermões* (Homilies and Sermons).

72.* A *Devanāgaī* transliteration of this poem is published by professor A. K. Priolkar, with an introduction and notes in English. (*The Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. IX, part 2, September 1940.*

73.* A *Devanāgarī* transliteration of this poem with notes is being published in the *Marāthī Samśodhana Patrikā*, Bombay (April 1958).

We have seen in the *Bibliotheca Publica* of Pangim a printed book,[74] 270 pages in 4°, containing Sermons and instructions for the Feasts of the Year ; but are unable to find the title and the author as the first page of the book is missing. From its type it appears to have been printed in Goa. It comprises material from the feast of Christmas to the feast of St. Bartholomeu. And it starts thus :

Suamiya Jesu Christachea zolmachy sicouonno : which means instruction regarding the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Confissionario em lingua Bracmana*, or Dialogue between the Confessor and the Penitent according to the Commandments of the Law of God and the Church, the state and profession of each person, and their duties, exhortations and remedies &c.

Chorão. Written by Lourenco Alz, Simão Alz, Father and Son, Brahmins, Shenoy of Chorão. Year 1696...MS.

Questionnaire for Confession in the language of the country.

Short questionnaire for Confession in the common tongue.

Short and more succint Questionaire for Confession.

Compendium of Christian Doctrine in Portuguese and Goan language.

This book is advertised in the catalogue of Books printed in Bombay at his cost by Manoel da Cruz in 1820.

Manual de Devoções, e Doutrina Christã. (Book of Devotions and Christian Doctrine) In Portuguese and the language of the place, with other useful exercises of Christian piety. Printed in Bombay in the year 1848.

Rev. Murray Mitchell makes reference to this book in his paper " Marathi works composed by the Portuguese." published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1849 on page 156).

74.* This seems to be the above mentioned book : *Jardim dos Pastores* by Fr. Minguel da Almeida, 1658 (see pages 21-229).

Father Pascoal Gomes de Faria.

A native cleric of Goa.

Enlarged the treatise on the Passion by Father Thomas Stephens.

Father Pascoal Dias.

A native cleric from Carmona, Salsete, translated into the vernacular the *Preparação da Oracão Mental.* Also translated into the vernacular the *Stabat Mater* with various prayers, all in verse.

This is a booklet of 32 pages and printed in Goa in the *Imprensa Nacional* in the year 1855. It was edited by Miguel Vicente d'Abreu, Secretary to the Government.

Novas Meditações (New Meditations) in the language of Goa (Konkani) to be used during the Way of the Cross. Pangim. In the *National Press*, 1856, 32 pages, 12°.

Preparação da Oração Mental (Preparation for Mental Prayer) with fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary and *Magnificat*, and Prayer of St. Francis Xavier. Nova-Goa, *Imprensa Nacional*, 1857, 32 pages 32°.

By the same editor. The Preparation for Mental Prayer was the one approved by the Pastoral of Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino, of the 26th October 1813, and translated into Konkani by Father Pascoal Dias, native of Carmona.

III.....Critical Works

Of this kind we have found only one to which we made reference, namely, " Marathi Works composed by the Portuguese," by Rev. J. Murray Mitchell.

Part III

EXTRACTS FROM BOOKS PRINTED IN GOA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

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I

THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J.

(1549-1619)

1. Discourse on the Coming of the Christ to the World, 1616

(See pages 17, 225)

(*a*) Introduction

Bhauarthiya baraucya Christauano, hea Purannantu Suamiya Jesu Christa Taracachy Catha lihily ahe, to caissa manuxu hounu saunssarĩ ala ; anny cauanna cariyassi ala tea ycnneacha viuecu quela. He catheche dona bhaga athaua doni Puranne quelĩ hati. Pailea Purannantu saunssara rachane tthaĩ arambhu carunu, udanddy utamy caranniya Deua Suamiyana apula yecuchy Putru saunssarĩ patthauanneache adĩ queliya tea caranniyanchy veuasta niropitõ. Dussarea Purannantu Jesu Taracachẽ yennẽ sangunu, to manuxu hounu zalmala tãua veri va suargaprauessu cary pariyenta teyachy yecatry catha quely ahe, tiye cathe varaunu samastanssi sateuanta Paramesuara va teyachea yecachi Putra Jesu Christachy vollaqhi houaueya, zeya Jesu vanchonu anniyeca nãua zeache varaunu pranniyassi mucti zodde aissẽ suarga qhalutẽ namelle.

Hẽ sarua Maratthiye bhassena lihilẽ ahe. Hea dessincheã bhassã bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhannaunu, panna sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deqhunu, hea purannacha phallu bahutã zananssi suphallu hounssi, cae quelẽ, maguileã cauesuaranchĩ bahutequẽ auaghaddẽ utarẽ sanddunu sampucheyã cauesuaranchiye ritu pramannẽ anniyequẽ sompĩ Bramhannanche bhassechĩ utarẽ tthaĩ tthaĩ missarita carunu cauitua sompẽ quelẽ ; ya pary Paramesuarache crupestãua udandda locachẽ arata purna hoila, anny ze cauanna yecade vellã puruileã cauituancha srungaru va barauy bhassa adeapĩ atthauataty te hẽ cauitua vachunu santossu manity anny phaue to phallu bhoguity ; cã maguileã cauituanchea sthanĩ anniyeca cauitua dentõ teyã hounu phallasta suphalla.

I

THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J.

(1549-1619)

1. Discourse on the Coming of the Christ to the World, 1616

(See pages 17, 225)

(*a*) Introduction

भावार्थिया बरवेया क्रिस्तावानो, हेआ पुराणांतु स्वामिया जेजु क्रिस्ता तारकाची कथा लिहिली आहे, तो कैसा मनुशु होउनु संसारीं आला; आणी कवणा कारियासि आला तेआ येणेआचा विवेकु केला. हे कथेचे दोन भाग अथवा दोनि पुराणें केलीं हाति. पैलेआ पुराणांतु संसार रचने ठाईं आरंभु करुनु, उदंडी उतमी करणिया देवा स्वामियान आपुला येकुचि पुत्रु संसारीं पाठवणेआचे आदीं केलिया तेआ करणियांची वेवस्ता निरोपितों. दुसरेआ पुराणांतु जेजु तारकाचें येणें सांगुनु, तो मनुशु होउनु जल्मला तंव वेरि वा स्वर्ग-प्रवेसु करी परियेंत तेयाची येकत्री कथा केली आहे, तिये कथे वरउनु समस्तांसि सत्यवंता परमेस्वरा वा तेयाचेआ येकाचि पुत्रा जेजु क्रिस्ताची वोळखि होवावेया, जेया जेजु वांचोनु आणियेक नांव जेआचे वरउनु प्राणियासि मुक्ति जोडे ऐसें स्वर्गा खालुतें नमेळे.

हें सर्व मराठिये भासेन लिहिलें आहे. हेआ देसिंचेआं भासां भितुर ही भास परमेस्वराचेआ वस्तु निरोपुंसि योग्य ऐसी दिसलि म्हणउनु, पण सुध मराठी मधिमा लोकासि नकळे देखुनु, हेआ पुराणाचा फळु बहुतां जनांसि सुफळु होउंसि, काए केलें, मागिलेआं कवेस्वरांचीं बहुतेकें अवघडें उतरें सांडुनु, सांपुचेयां कवेस्वरांचिये रितु प्रमाणें आणियेकें सोंपीं ब्राम्हणांचे भासेचीं उतरें ठाईं ठाईं मिसरित करुनु कवित्व सोंपें केलें; या परी परमेस्वराचे क्रुपेस्तंव उदंड लोकाचें आरत पुर्न होइल आणी जे कवण येकादे वेळां पुर्विलेआं कवित्वांचा स्रुंगारु वा बरवी भास अद्यापीं आठवताती ते हें कवित्व वाचुनु संतोसु मानिती आणी फावे तो फळु भोगिती; कां मागिलेआं कवित्वांचेआ स्थानीं आणियेक कवित्व देतों तेयां होउनु फळस्त सुफळ.

(*b*) The Poet's invocation

Vo namo visuabharita
Deua Bapa sarua samaratha
Paramesuara sateuanta
Suarga prathuuichea rachannara 1

Tũ ridhy sidhicha dataru
Crupanidhy carunnacaru
Tũ sarua suqhacha sagharu
Adi antu natodde 2

Tũ paramanandu sarua suarupu
Visuaueapacu gneana dipu
Tũ sarua gunnĩ nirlepu
Nirmallu niruicaru suamiya 3

Tũ adrusttu tũ auectu
Sama dayallu sarua praptu
Sarua gneanu sarua nitiuantu
Yecuchi Deuo tũ 4

Tũ saqheata Paramesuaru
Anadassidhu aparamparu
Adi anadi auinassu amaru
Tuzẽ stauana triloquĩ 5

Suargu srustti tuuã hella matrẽ
Quela chandru suryu naqhetrẽ
Tuzeni yeque sabdẽ pauitrẽ
Quely sarua rachana 6

Tũ anny tuza yecuchi sutu
Anny Spiritu Sanctu
Tegai zanna yecuchi sateuantu
Deuo zannaua 7

Teya tuzeya dayalla cumara
Crupanidhy amruta saghara
Suarga srusttichea suastacara
Namana mazẽ 8

(*b*) The Poet's invocation

वो नमो विस्वभरिता
देवा बापा सर्व समरथा
परमेस्वरा सत्यवंता
स्वर्ग प्रथुविचेआ रचणारा · १

तूं रिधी सिधिचा दातारु
क्रुपानिधी करुणाकरु
तूं सर्व सुखाचा साघरू
आदि अंतु नातोडे २

तूं परमानंदु सर्व स्वरुपु
विस्वव्यापकु ग्न्यान दिपु
तूं सर्व गुणीं निर्लेपु
निर्मळु निर्विकारु स्वामिया ३

तूं अद्रुस्टु तूं अव्यक्तु
सम दयाळु सर्व प्राप्तु
सर्व ग्न्यान सर्व नितिवंतु
युकुचि देवो तूं ४

तूं साख्यात परमेस्वरु
अनादसिधु अपरांपरु
आदि अनादि अविनासु अमरु
तुजें स्तवन त्रिलोकीं ५

स्वर्ग स्रुस्टि तुवां हेळा मात्रें
केला चंद्रु सुर्यु नख्यत्रें
तुजेनि येके सब्दें पवित्रें
केली सर्व रचना ६

तूं आणी तुजा येकुचि सुतु
आणी स्पिरितु सांतु
तेगइ जण येकुचि सत्यवंतु
देवो जाणावा ७

तेया तुजेया दयाळा कुमरा
क्रुपानिधी अम्रुत साघरा
स्वर्ग स्रुस्टिचेआ स्वस्तकरा
नमन माजें ८

Namo visuachiye dipty
Namo vaincuntta sabheche canty
Deua Bapachã daqhinna hastĩ
Sihassanna tuzẽ 9

Zari tũ amã 'manĩ rigbaua carissy
Tari agneana pattalla pheddissy
Amruta sariqhy ghoddiua dauissy
Premabharita caroni 10

(c) Praises of the Marathi language in which the poet proposes to write

Parama xastra zaguĩ praghattaucya
Bahutã zanã phalla sidhy houaueya
Bhassa bandoni Maratthiya
Catha niropily 1

Zaissy harallã mazi ratnaquilla
Qui ratnã mazi hira nilla
Taissy bhassã mazi choqhalla
Bhassa Maratthy 2

Zaissy puspã mazi puspa mogary
Qui parimallã mazi casturi
Taissy bhassã mazi saziry
Maratthiya 3

Paqhiã madhẽ maioru
Vruqhiã madhẽ calpataru
Bhassã madhẽ manu thoru
Maratthiyessi 4

Tarã madhẽ bara rassy
Sapta varã mazi rauy sassy
Yã dipicheã bhassã madhẽ taissy
Boly Maratthiya 5

नमो विस्वाचिये दिप्ती
नमों वैंकुंठ सभेचे कंती
देवा बापाचां दखिण हस्तीं
सिहासण तुजें ९

जरि तूं आमां मनीं रिघावा करिसी
तरि अग्न्यान पटळ फेडिसी
अम्रुता सारिखी घोडिव दाविसी
प्रेमभरित करोनि १०

(*c*) **Praises of the Marathi language in which the poet proposes to write**

परम शास्त्र जगीं प्रघटावेया
बहुतां जनां फळ सिधी होवावेया
भासा बांद्रोनि मराठिया
कथा निरोपिली १

जैसी हरळां माजि रत्नकिळा
कि रत्नां माजि हिरा निळा
तैसी भासां माजि चोखाळा
भासा मराठी २

जैसी पुस्पां माजि पुस्प मोगरी
कि परिमळां माजि कस्तुरि
तैसी भासां माजि साजिरी
मराठिया ३

पखिआं मधें मयोरु
व्रुखिआं मधें कल्पतरु
भासां मधें मानु थोरु
मराठियेसि ४

तारां मधें बारा रासी
सप्त वारां माजि रवी ससी
यां दिपिचेआं भासां मधें तैसीं
बोली मराठिया ५

(*d*) What led the poet to write the Puranna

Sassatty dessĩ yeque Deuamandhirĩ
Astamanĩ aditeuarĩ
Christauanche cumara ritu sary
Doutriny baissale 1

Padry phuddã ballaquẽ baissaty
Sussarã sabdĩ doutrina ucharity
Gaghanĩ paddasabda utthity
Pauitry sumrutiche 2

Doutrinicha vellu sarala
Tãua yecu bramhannu patala
Padry gurussi bolata zahala
Namascaru carunu 3

Mhanne tumancheni darussannẽ
Dhane zahalẽ ddolleyã parannẽ
Panna seuacathẽ anugnea dennẽ
Prusttnu asse yecu 4

Tathastu mhanne Padry guru
Tãua cae bolila yeru
Puranna charchecha vicharu
Manddila tennẽ 5

Zi zi hy doutrini barauy niquy
Carauissy pattha hiye loquĩ
Deaueya parama vollaqhy
Paramesuarchy 6

Caissẽ teyathẽ barauẽ maguize
Anny caissẽ sacha manize
Barauecã caranniyanĩ vartize
Cauanne pary 7

Ya tini vastu ziya hati
Tea guru tumi sicauity
Ya passoni pranniya mucti
Zoddaila sate 8

(*d*) What led the poet to write the Puranna

सासटी देसीं येके देवमंधिरीं
अस्तमानीं आदित्यवारीं
त्रिस्तावांचे कुमर रितु सरी
दौत्रिनी बैसले १

पाद्री फुडां बाळकें बैसती
सुसरां सब्दीं दौत्रिन उचारिती
गघनीं पडसब्द उठिती
पवित्री सुम्रुतिचे २

दौत्रिनिचा वेळु सरला
तंव येकु ब्राम्हणु पातला
पाद्री गुरुसि बोलता जाहाला
नमस्कारु करुनु ३

म्हणे तुमंचेनि दरुसणें
धन्य जाहलें डोळेयां पारणें
पण सेवकाथें अनुग्न्या देणें
प्रुस्ट्नु असे येकु ४

तथास्तु म्हणे पाद्री गुरु
तंव काए बोलिला येरु
पुराण चर्चेचा विचारु
मांडिला तेणें ५

जि जि ही दौत्रिनि बरवी निकी
करविसी पाठ हिये लोकीं
द्यावेया परम वोळखी
परमेस्वराची ६

कैसें तेयाथें बरवें मागिजे
आणी कैसें साच मानिजे
बरवेआं करणियानीं वर्तिजे
कवणे परी ७

या तिनि वस्तु जिया हाति
तेआ गुरु तुमि सिकविती
या पासोनि प्राणिया मुक्ति
जोडैल सत्य ८

Panna he doutriny vanchoni ana
Cahĩ yeca agallẽ xastra puranna
Zari amã carauite patthanna
Tari hontẽ changa 9

Manuxe dehãchy pracruti
Guru tumĩ tari zannaty
Nauiya vastu chintity
Vello vellã 10

Gharĩ athaua bhalatea tthaya
Changu vellu cramaueya
Nana pretna guiuassuniyã
Pahanty nite 11

Yẽ yetuquẽ naghadde tari
Upac sodity anniyeque parĩ
Tea passoni yequeca zûuhary
Qhellaty qhellu 12

Melloniyã daha atta
Yecamecã carity chacatta
Anniyeca zanty hatta
Hinddaueya 13

Aisse auideche sangaty
Anequẽ carmẽ acharaty
Ya passoni vissaraty
Bhactipanthu 14

Hẽ niuaraueya carannẽ
Phringuiyanchã dessĩ hati puannẽ
Tĩ vachoniyã tethila zanu
Cramauity vellu 15

Vachoni manĩ ghenty ulassu
Nite seuity catha rassu
Panna te dessiche bhassessi abheassu
Nahĩ amã 16

पण हे दौत्रिनी वांचोनि अन
काहीं येक आगळें शास्त्र पुराण
जरि आमां करविते पाठण
तरि होंतें चांग ९

मनुश्य देहाची प्रकृति
गुरु तुमीं तरि जाणती
नविया वस्तु चिंतिती
वेळो वेळां १०

घरीं अथवा भलतेआ ठाया
चांगु वेळु क्रमावेया
नाना प्रेत्न गिवसुनियां
पाहांती नित्य ११

यें येतुकें नघडे तरि
उपाए सोदिती आणियेके परीं
तेआ पासोनि येकेक जुंव्हारी
खेळती खेळु १२

मेळोनियां दाहा आट
येकमेकां करिती चकाट
आणियेक जांती हाटा
हिंडावेया १३

ऐसे अविदेचे संगती
अनेकें कर्में आचरती
या पासोनि विसरती
भक्तिपंथु १४

हें निवरावेया कारणें
फिंगियांचां देसीं हाति पुराणें
तीं वाचोनियां तेथिल जनु
क्रमविती वेळु १५

वाचोनि मनीं घेंती उलासु
नित्य सेविती कथा रसु
पण ते देसिचे भासेसि अभ्यासु
नाहीं आमां १६

Zaissẽ teã teã dipauatĩ
Dessaparichĩ puranne hati
Taissĩ pustaquẽ cã namellaty
Amanchã dessĩ 17

Ha motta abhiprauo zi mhanne
Tumĩ tari varilĩ maguilĩ puranne
Tari pratipustaquẽ amã caranne
Caissĩ nacarity tumĩ 18

Ya passoniyã zi atã
Gentiyanchea puranna catha
Nauea Christãuanchea chita
Atthauaty deqha 19

Zari Maratthiye bhassechĩ cahĩ
Xastra puranne honti amã tthaĩ
Tari locacha manorathu paĩ
Purna honta 20

Tãua tea Christãuachea bola
Padri guru ulassala
Mhanne tũ bhala re bhala
Prusttnu quelassi changu 21

Santossalã tuziye maty
Zẽ vicharilẽ maza praty
Tẽ aicapã yeca chitĩ
Sangaina zẽ 22

Phringuiyanchẽ bolannẽ auadharĩ
Te upama denty cauanne pary
Mhannaty yeque diuassĩ Romanagari
Ubhauily nahĩ 23

Zẽ amĩ quelẽ nahĩ azoni veri
Tẽ Deuo sidhy neila phuddarĩ
Bhactã sruteyã ziuichy uri
Purauila suamy 24

जैसें तेआं तेआं दिपावतीं
देसपरिचीं· पुराणें हाति
तैसीं पुस्तकें कां नमेळती
आमंचां देसीं १७

हा मोटा अभिप्रावो जि म्हणें
तुमीं तरि वारिलीं मागिलीं पुराणें
तरि प्रतिपुस्तकें आमां कारणें
कैसीं नकरिती तुमीं १८

या पासोनियां जि आतां
जेंतियांचेआ पुराण कथा
नवेआ क्रिस्तावांचेआ चिता
आठवती देखा १९

जरि मराठिये भासेचीं काहीं
शास्त्र पुराणें होंती आमां ठाई
तरि लोकाचा मनोरथु पैं
पुर्न होंता २०

तंव तेआ क्रिस्तांवाचेआ बोला
पाद्रि गुरु उलासला
म्हणे तूं भला रे भला
प्रुस्ट्नु केलासि चांगु २१

संतोसलां तुजिये मती
जें विचारिलें मज प्रती
तें आइकपां येक चितीं
सांगैन जें २२

फ्रिंगियांचें बोलणें अवधारीं
ते उपमा देंती कवणे परी
म्हणती एके दिवसीं रोमनगरि
उभविली नाहीं २३

जें आमीं केलें नाहीं आजोनि वेरि
तें देवो सिधी नेइल फुडारीं
भक्तां स्तुतेयां जिविची उरि
पुरविल स्वामी २४

(*b*) How Jesus calms the sea

Atã aica srute *sacalla*
Zẽ sang*aina apurua nauala*
Caissa pauanu anny sendhuz*alla*
Sthirauilẽ suamiyẽ 1

Maga cauanneque auasuarĩ
Locassi patth*auni gharĩ*
Jesu b*aissala* taruua v*ari*
Sixc adĩ *caroni* 2

Niropu didh*ala carnadhara*
Tarũ cadda re p*ailca* tira
Anniyequẽ taruuẽ sagh*ara*
Hontĩ teya *sauẽ* 3

Aissa cr*amauitã* sagh*aru*
Astu zahala din*ancaru*
Maga pouddala Saluadoru
Apulã tthaĩ 4

Yetuquca acass*a* callẽ zahalẽ
Abhr*apattallĩ* veddilẽ
Cheary megh*a varussale*
Samudra antu 5

Uch*amballalẽ* sendhuz*alla*
Laharẽ utthilĩ q*hallaballã*
P*aruatã* sariqhĩ pallã
Vaddoni yenty 6

Tãua pariuannĩ ze b*aissale* honte
Acantu v*artala* teyanthẽ
Bobattu zahale *carite*
Maha thoru 7

Choû *caddã* bh*are pauanu*
Tennẽ zh*addazhaddã vazaty carna*
Zannõ n*aye vachana*
Yec*amecanchẽ* 8

(*e*) How Jesus calms the sea

आतां आइका स्तुते सकळ
जें सांगैन अपुर्व नवल
कैसा पवनु आणी सेंधुजळ
स्थिराविलें स्वामियें १

मग कवणेके अवस्वरीं
लोकासि पाठउनि घरीं
जेजु बैसला तारुवा वरि
सिश्य आदीं करोनि २

निरोपु दिधला कर्नधरा
तारूं काडा रे पैलेआ तिरा
आणियेकें तारुवें साघरा
होंतीं तेया सवें ३

ऐसा क्रमवितां साघरु
अस्तु जाहाला दिनंकरु
मग पोउडला साल्वादोरु
आपुलां ठाईं ४

येतुकेआ आकास काळें जाहालें
अभ्रपटळीं वेडिलें
च्यारी मेघ वरुसले
समुद्रा आंतु ५

उचंबळलें सेंधुजळ
लाहारें उठिलीं खळबळां
पर्वतां सारिखीं पाळां
वाडोनि येंती ६

तंव परिवाणीं जे बैसले होंते
आकांतु वर्तला तेयांथें
बोबाटु जाहाले करिते
माहा थोरु ७

चौं कडां भरे पवनु
तेणें झडझडां वाजती कर्न
जाणों नये वचन
येकमेकांचें ८

Saghar*i*̃ *a*ndharu datt*a*la
G*a*ghan*i*̃ *g*arzh*a*ru utthila
Vizu zhempaû lag*a*la
Acass*a*m*a*ndd*a*ll*i*̃ 9

Yentaye vauttally vcapunu
Siddē phatt*a*l*i*̃ c*aua*llunu
Pallã udd*a*ty chumbunu
Tarang*a*nnathē 10

Qhinna tarû pallã v*a*rutē ch*a*ddc
Qhinna pallã mazi p*a*dde
Pahantã n*a*disse phudde
Ud*a*dy mazi 11

Laharē vole mo*d*d*a*le
P*a*riuann*a* bann*i*̃ p*a*ddalē
Pann*i*̃ bhituri bh*a*ral*ē*
Siqharē z*a*iss*i*̃ 12

Sixe dhiu*a*r*a* anny bhaddecary
Teyã bheuo utthila ziuhar*i*̃
M*a*r*a*nn*a*callu drustty samor*i*̃
Deqh*a*te zahale 13

Te vellã suncannua s*a*rissa
Jesu niz*a*la c*a*runu uss*a*ssa
Teya zag*a*û ale sixe
C*a*ll*a*ualluni 14

Mh*a*nn*a*ty zi zi guru natha
Am*i*̃ zantõ m*a*r*a*nn*a*pantha
Tû cã nizela nischint*a*
Raqh*a*ĩ raqh*a*ĩ datara 15

Pahepã p*a*ddaleû voll*a*ssa
Tunttaly ziuituachy assa
Atã nah*i*̃ bh*a*r*a*uanssa
Ziuituacha amã 16

साघरीं अंधारु दाटला
गघनीं गर्झरु उठिला
विजु झेंपाऊं लागला
आकासमंडळीं ९

येंताये वाउटळी व्यापुनु
सिडें फाटलीं कवळुनु
पाळां उडती चुंबुनु
तारांगणाथें १०

खिणा तारूं पाळां वरुतें चडे
खिणां पाळां माजि पडे
पाहांतां न दिसे फुडे
उददी माजि ११

लाहारें वोले मोडले
परिवाण बाणीं पडलें
पाणीं भितुरि भरलें
सिखरें जैसीं १२

सिश्य धिवर आणी भाडेकारी
तेयां भेवो उठिला जिव्हारीं
मरणकाळु द्रुस्टी सामोरीं
देखते जाहाले १३

ते वेळां सुंकाणुआ सरिसा
जेजु निजला करुनु उससा
तेया जागऊं आले सिश्य
कळवळुनि १४

म्हणती जि जि गुरु नाथा
आमीं जांतों मरणपंथा
तूं कां निजेला निर्स्चित
राखें राखें दातारा १५

पाहेपां पडलेऊं वोळसा
तुंटली जिवित्वाची आसा
आतां नाहीं भरंवसा
जिवित्वाचा आमां १६

Tãu*a* teyanssi Jesu mh*a*nne
Cã re bhintati s*a*tu*a*hinn*a*
Bhedd*a*chit*a* *a*ntac*a*rann*a*
Alp*a*bhauo man*a*ssĩ 17

Aissẽ teyanthẽ bolunu
Utthila Jesu z*a*g*a*ziu*a*nu
Anny vaut*a*rassi nitezunu
Cae bole sagh*a*rathẽ 18

Mh*a*nne z*a*ll*a* sendhu sthiru sthiru
Sanddi pallancha g*a*rzh*a*ru
Tãu*a* Jesucheni bolẽ sagh*a*ru 19
Sthirau*a*la

Modd*a*lẽ vauddachẽ b*a*ll*a*
Qhalutẽ p*a*dd*a*lẽ lahai*a* pall*a*
S*a*mudru rahila nichh*a*llu 20
T*a*ll*a*uiyeche p*a*ry

Z*a*issẽ yecade *a*u*a*suarĩ
Bhanddanna hontaye n*a*g*a*rĩ
Tethẽ hinn*a* locu zuzhary
Yenty s*a*c*a*ll*a* 21

Ghenty gunddeyã path*a*rã
Yec*a* marity muss*a*ll*a*ph*a*rã
Zẽ zẽ mell*a*lẽ tenchi c*a*ra
Ghenty marity 22

Tãu*a* bh*a*l*a*ta razecum*a*ru utthy
To z*a*ri p*a*dde locache drustty
T*a*ri apeap*a* visc*a*tty
Zuzhary teyanchy 23

To pr*a*zethẽ buzauitu
Teyancha copu c*a*ry xantu
Zuzh*a* bhanddanna niuaritu
S*a*c*a*ll*a*icanthẽ 24

तंव तेयांसि जेजु म्हणे
कां रे भिताति सत्वहिण
भेडचित अंतकरण
अल्पभावो मानसीं १७

ऐसें तेयांथें बोलुनु
उठिला जेजु जगजिवनु
आणी वाउतरासि नितेजुनु
काए बोले साघरार्थें १८

म्हणे जळ सेंधु स्थिरु स्थिरु
सांडि पाळांचा गर्झरु
तंव जेजुचेनि बोलें साघरू
स्थिरावला १९

मोडलें वाउडाचें बळ
खालुतें पडलें लाहार पाळ
समुद्रु राहिला निछळु
तळवियेचे परी २०

जैसें येकादे अवस्वरीं
भांडण होंताये नगरीं
तेथें हिण लोकु जुझारी
येंती सकळ २१

घेंती गुंडेयां पाथरां
येक मारिती मुसळफारां
जें जें मेळलें तेंचि करा
घेंती मारिती २२

तंव भलता राजेकुमरु उठी
तो जरि पडे लोकाचे द्रुस्टी
तरि आपेआप विस्कटी
जुझारी तेयांची २३

तो प्रजेथें बुजावितु
तेयांचा कोपु करी शांतु
जुझ भांडण निवारितु
सकळैकांथें २४

Taissẽ Jesu Deuanandanẽ
Dauni apulẽ amrutauadana
Srustty sendhuchy garzhana
Sthirauily 25

Yetuquẽ te manuxe deqhaty
Deqhoni visneuo pauaty
Maga yecamecanthẽ mhannaty
Hẽ nauala vatte 26

2. Doutrina Christam, 1622

(See page 17)

Guru Tû Christaũ ?

Sissu Hoi Paṛamesparache crupena.

G. Christaû mhannaze quitẽ ?

S. Christaû mhannaze, zo connu JESV Christachem xastra sumurti satemanita, anny ucharita to.

G. Satemanita, anny vcharita, aissẽ mhannatàssi quitea ?

S. Quiteà bhauarthià Christauana, JESV Christachy fee satemanuchy, taissichi, zari yecade uello ti muqhĩ ucharunchy zaita, tari tichè qhatira maranna paualoi tari, muqhĩ ucharunchy.

G. Mannussu Christaõ zalea nimitim, connu manu, conni uhaddiua taca zoddata ?

S. Paramesparacho dharma putru hounu, suarguĩcho ddaizy zata.

G. Anny Christaû nhoe to ?

S. Ho aissalo saitanacho gulamu, anny suarguinchea ddaizaca chucata.

G. Christaû nãua conna uaraunu amacã labalã ?

S. JESV Christa uaraunu.

G. Christu connu to tû zannassi ?

तैसें जेजु देवनंदनें
दाउनि आपुलें अम्रुतवदन
स्रुस्टी सेंधुची गर्झना
स्थिराविली २५•

येतुकें ते मनुश्य देखती
देखोनि विस्नेवो पावती
मग येकमेकांथें म्हणती
हें नवल वाटे २६

2. Doutrina Christam, 1622

(See page 17)

गुरु तूं क्रिस्तावं् ?

सिसु होय परमेस्पराचे क्रुपेन.

गु. क्रिस्तावं् म्हणजे कितें ?

सि. क्रिस्तावं् म्हणजे, जो कोणु जेजु क्रिस्ताचें शास्त्र सुमुर्ति सत्यमानिता, आणी उचारिता तो.

गु. सत्यमानिता, आणी उचरिता, ऐसें म्हणतासि कित्या ?

सि. कित्या भावार्थिआ क्रिस्तावान, जेजु क्रिस्ताची फे सत्यमानुची, तैसिचि, जरि येकादे वेळो ति मुखीं उचारुंचि जाइत, तरि तिचे खातिर मरण पावलोइ तरि, मुखीं उचरुंची.

गु. माणुसु क्रिस्तावं जाल्या निमितिं, कोणु मानु, कोणि व्हडिव ताका जोडता ?

सि. परमेस्पराचो धर्म पुत्रु होउनु, स्वर्गींचो डाइजी जाता.

गु. आणी क्रिस्तावं् न्होय् तो ?

सि. हो ऐसलो सैतानाचो गुलामु, आणी स्वर्गिंच्या डाइजाक चुकता.

गु. क्रिस्तावं् नांव कोणा वरउनु आमकां लाबलां ?

सि. जेजु क्रिस्ता वरउनु.

गु. क्रिस्तु कोणु तो तूं जाणसि ?

S. Zannã hoi, to nizu Paramespru, anny nizu mannussu.

G. Nizu Paramespru caisso ?

S. Sarua hucumadara Paramespara Bapacho yecuchi nizu putru mhonnu.

G. Nizu mannussu caisso ?

S. Amãchie suaminny virgẽ Mariecho, yecuchi nizu putru mhonnu. yenne pramanny Deuapannĩ, suarguĩ taca maye nã, anny mannussapanny saunsarĩ taca Bapu nã.

G. Taca Christu nãua quitea ?

S. Christu mhannaze Raza, Profetu, anny sacerdote, aisso to, samestã Rayãcho Rau, samestã Prophetã hounu srasttu Prophetu, anny samestã sacerdotĩ passi srasttu sacerdote deqhunu, taca Christu nãua phaualẽ.

G. Taca JESV mhannataũ quitea.

S. JESV mhannaze Taracu. Anny to saũssaracho taracu deqhunu, hẽ tachẽ niza nãua, zẽ suargari tthaunu ailalem tem, mhonnucheaca amacã caĩ zadda paddaleari, tem nãua ucharunu, sarua uigna niuari mhonnu, taca manu minati caritaũ.

G. Barẽ mhannatassi. mhonnucheaca mha pauitra Jesuchẽ nãua ucharite uelle, hou ucharlalem aicatachi, taca manu hurmati deũchy.

II

DIOGO RIBEIRO, S.J.

(1560-1633)

A Statement of the Christian Doctrine, 1632

(See pages 18, 227)

(*a*) Introduction

He Cartiliche arãbhĩ maca mana ailã, naucã Christauãca panna bhou carunu Concanneãca samazaũcheaca, qui tantu zẽ lihilã,

सि. जाणं होय्, तो निजु परमेस्परु, आणी निजु माणुसु.

गु. निजु परमेस्परु कैसो ?

सि. सर्व हुकुमदरा परमेस्परा बापाचो येकुचि निजु पुत्रु म्होणु.

गु. निजु माणुसु कैसो ?

सि. आमंचिए स्वामिणी विरजें मारियेचो, येकुचि निजु पुत्रु म्होणु. येणे प्रमाणी देवपणीं, स्वर्गीं ताका माये नां, आणी माणुसपणी र्संसारीं ताका बापु नां.

गु. ताका क्रिस्तु नांव कित्या ?

सि. क्रिस्तु म्हणजे राजा, प्रोफेतु, आणी सासेर्दोति, ऐसो तो, समेस्तां रायांचो राव, समेस्तां प्रोफेतां होउनु स्रस्टु प्रोफेतु, आणी समेस्तां साझेर्दोतीं पासि स्रस्टु सासेर्दोति देखुनु, ताका क्रिस्तु नांव फावलें.

गु. ताका. जेजु म्हणतावं् कित्या.

सि. जेजु म्हणजे तारकु. आणी तो संसाराचो तारकु देखुनु, हें ताचें निज नांव, जें स्वर्गारि ठाउनु आइललें तें, म्होणुच्याक आमकां कायं् जड पडल्यारि, तें नांव उचारुनु, सर्व विग्न निवारि म्होणु, ताका मानु मिनति करितावं्.

गु. बरें म्हणतासि. म्होणुच्याक म्हा पवित्र जेजुचें नांव उचारिते वेळे, होउ उचारललें आइकतचि, ताका मानु हुर्मति देवं्ची.

II

DIOGO RIBEIRO, S.J.

(1560-1633)

A Statement of the Christian Doctrine, 1632

(See pages 18, 227)

(*a*) Introduction

हे कर्तिलिचे आरंभीं माका मना आइलां, नव्यां क्रिस्तावांक पण भोउ करुनु कोंकण्यांक समजावं्च्याक, कि तांतु जें लिहिलां,

tẽ uachitaleãca, hou vachilalẽ aicatachi hẽ nãua Vaĩcûttha nãuaddilalea uagta, tẽ anny caẽ nhoc bagara zea Asthanãtu sateuantu Paramesparu assa, ua apuleã bhagtãca sadrustta praghattata, tenchi sadaiua Asthana callata. Tenne pramannĩ Padre nossachea Oraçauãtu zẽ mhallã, mhannaze tuzy qhossy zaissy Vaĩcûttha zata, taissichi saûssarantu zaû mhonnu mhannatati taualli, tẽchi Asthana, ua queuala, Vaĩcûttha callata : Phiringue bhassena amĩ taca Parayso mhannataû. Hẽ zannapazanna hauẽ adhĩ quelã, quitea Conçanne manussa ze assati, teuai, apulcã latticã Deuã Deuastanãche suateca Vaĩcûttha mhannatati. Tẽ qhaĩ assa mhonnu nimiguileauari, parõparini zapa ditati ; teã bhitarle yeca aûcamatha bhassunu Vaĩncûttha prathumy sacala, hera suargauari, hera zẽ cãi Deuana bhramãdda rachilã, tache bhailcana niza Vaĩcûttha mhannatati, hera phalanniye phalanniye cadde assa mhonnu zallapatati, tãcã bandu nã, yeca, chita nã. Panna amãchẽ queuala Vaĩcûttha zẽ assa, tẽ samestã suargã uairi assa, addhalla sanchitra, cadĩ sarnu saranã, tẽ Paramesparana apulea utarana rachilalẽ, tãtu apuleã bhagtãca apulẽ darussanna daqhaûcheaca. Tanche sangatĩ nassaratalẽ sarua suqha bhogûca, teachi queuala Vaĩcûtthantu Paramesparana apulie daye cacullatina amã samestanca uhelea puro.

(*b*) The first chapter

Sissu Manusseana mugty paûcheaca Christauãchy doctrini sicuchẽ caranna, deqhunu, tumy maca maramati carunu, ticho arthu parassunu sãga.

Guru Christauãchy doctrini mhannaze, zẽ Christa amãchea suamiyana mugtipãthu amacã daqhaûcheaca sicailã, tachẽ sassara.

S. Hie doctriniche srastta bhaga, adicatory garzeche quitule ?

G. Cheari, mhannaze Credo, Padre nosso, dha vpadessa, anny sata sacramenta.

S. Chearichi ? agalle vnne nãti quitea ?

तें वाचितल्यांक, होव् वाचिललें आइकतचि हें नांव वैंकुंठ नांवाडिलल्या वग्ता, तें आणी काय् न्होय् बगर ज्या आस्थानांतु सत्यवंतु परमेस्परु आस, वा आपुल्यां भग्तांक सद्रुस्ट प्रघटता, तेंचि सदैव आस्थान कळता. तेणें प्रमाणीं पाद्रि नोस्राच्या वोरासांवांतु जें म्हळां, म्हणजे तुजी खोसी जैसी वैंकुंठा जाता, तैसिचि संसारांतु जाव् म्होणु म्हणतातिं तावळि, तेंचि आस्थान, वा केवल वैंकुंठ कळता : फिरिंगे भासेन आमी ताका पाराईजु म्हणताव्. हें जाणपजाण हावें आधीं केलां, कित्या कोंकणे मनुस जे आसति, तेवइ, आपुल्यां लटिकां देवां देवस्तानांचे सुआतेक वैंकुंठ म्हणतातिं, तें खईं आसा म्होणु निमिगिल्यावरि, परोंपरिनि जाप दितातिं; त्यां भितरले येक आऊंकमथ (?) भासुनु वैंकुंठ प्रथुमी सकल, हेर स्वर्गावरि हेर जें कांय् देवान भ्रमड रचिलां ताचे भाइल्यान निज वैंकुंठ म्हणतातिं, हेर फलाणिये फलाणिये कडे आस म्होणु जळपतातिं, तांकां बंदु नां, येक चित नां. पण आमंचें केवल वैंकुंठ जें आस, तें समेस्तां स्वर्गां" वैरि आस, अढळ संचित्र, कदीं सर्नु सरनां, तें परमेस्परान आपुल्या उतरान रचिललें, तांतु आपुल्यां भग्तांक आपुलें दरुसण दाखौंच्याक. तांचे सांगातीं नसरतलें सर्व सुख भोगूंक, त्याचि केवल वैंकुंठांतु परमेस्परान आपुलिए दये काकुळतिन आमां समेस्तांक व्हेल्या पुरो.

(*b*) The first chapter

सिसु मनुस्यान मुग्ती पाव्ंच्याक क्रिस्तावांची दोत्रिनि सिकुचें कारण, देखुनु, तुमी माका मरामति करुनु, तिचो अर्थु परसुनु सांगा.

गुरु क्रिस्तावांची दोत्रिनि म्हणजे, जें क्रिस्ता आमंच्या स्वामियान मुग्तिपंथु आमकां दाखौंच्याक सिकैलां, ताचें ससार.

सि. हिए दोत्रिनिचे स्रस्ट भाग, अदिकतोरी गर्जेचे कितुले ?

गु. च्यारि, म्हणजे क्रेदु, पाद्रि नोसु, धा उपदेस, आणी सात साक्रामेंत.

सि. च्यारिचि ? आगळे उणे नांति कित्या ?

G. Quitea srastta sagunna ze assati te tini, bhauarthu, bharuãsso, anny Caridade, mhannaze Paramesparacho, va peleacho moho. Bhauarthaca Credo zao, quitea zẽ amy satemanuchẽ assa, ituqueĩ to amacã sicaita mhonnu. Bharuãsseaca Padre nosso zao, quitea conna vchitaca amĩ rabûchẽssẽ, to amacã sangata mhonnu. Caridadica dha vpadessa zae, quitea caissem carunu amy Paramesparachem chita zoddûchẽssẽ, te amacã daqhaitati mhonnu. Heauari Sacramentãchem vdhãdda caranna, quitea mugty paûcheaca amacã zae, te sagunna, tãche varaunu punnaty labatati, anny taratati mhonnu.

S. Tumĩ maca cãi yequi vopari diunu, Christauãchie doctrinĩcheã heã choû bhagãchy garza adicatori samazassy carea.

G. Sancto Agustinho Gharachy vopari dita, quitea zennepramănnĩ yeca Ghara bãduchẽ zalcari, paily buneadi gheunchy, maguiri vonnaty vbharûchio, seuatty siûchẽ, panna hẽ ituquẽ carûcheaca, caraguiraicachĩ cãi yecã aidannã zãi, tennechĩ pramannĩ amãcheã atmeãtu sagunnachẽ Ghara bãdûcheaca bhauarthu zao, to buneadi mhonnu. Bharuãsso zao, to vonnaty, Caridadi zai ty seza mhonnu. Aidannay zãi, tĩ mhannaze sancta Sacramenta.

III

ETIENNE DE LA CROIX, S.J.

(1579-1643)

Discourses on the Life of the Apostle St. Peter, 1629-35

(See pages 18, 232)

(*a*) Introduction

Mugtiuãta Apostola S. Pedruche zinny, anny abhinaua qhellãche Discursa, viueqha quele hati. Bhassa maratthy ghaddita vouiyãchẽ. Abhauica cõcanne gẽtia locu S. Pedru praty prusttnu caritã, anny bhagtu teyansi pratiutara dentã, xastraueuadu

गु. कित्या स्रस्ट सगुण जे आसति ते तिनि, भावार्थु, भर्वंसो, आणी कारिदादि, म्हणजे परमेस्पराचो, वा पेल्याचो मोहो. भावार्थाक क्रेदु जावो, कित्या जें आमी सत्यमानुचें आस, इतकेयं तो आमकां सिकैता म्होणु. भर्वंस्याक पाद्रि नोसु जावो, कित्या कोणा उचिताक आमीं राबूंचेंसें, तो आमकां सांगता म्होणु. कारिदादिक धा उपदेश जाये, कित्या कैसें करुनु आमी परमेस्पराचें चित जोडूंचेंसें ते आमकां दाखैताति म्होणु. ह्यावरि साक्रामेंतांचें उधंड कारण, कित्या मुग्ती पावंच्याक आमकां जाये, ते सगुण, तांचे वरउनु पुणती लाबताति, आणी तरताति म्होणु.

सि. तुमीं माका कांइ येकि वोपारि दिउनु, क्रिस्तावांचिए दोत्रिनींच्यां ह्यां चौं भागांची गर्ज अदिकतोरि समजसी कन्या.

गु. सांतु आगुस्तिञ्जु घराची वोपारि दिता, कित्या जेणेप्रमाणीं येक घर बांदूचें जाल्यारि, पैली बुन्यादि घेउंची, मागिरि वोणती उभारूंच्यो, सेवटी सिऊंचें, पण हें इतुकें करूंच्याक, कारगिराइकाचीं कांइ येकां आइदणां जांइ, तेणेचीं प्रमाणीं आमच्यां आत्म्यांतु सगुणाचें घर बांदूंच्याक भावार्थु जावो, तो बुन्यादि म्होणु. भर्वंसो जावो, तो वोणती, कारिदादि जाइ ती सेज म्होणु. आइदणाइ जांइ तीं म्हणजे सांत साक्रामेंत.

III

ETIENNE DE LA CROIX, S.J.

(1579-1643)

Discourses on the Life of the Apostle St. Peter, 1629-35

(See pages 18, 232)

(*a*) Introduction

मुग्तिवंता आपोस्तोला सां. पेद्रुचे जिणी, आणी अभिनव खेळांचे दिस्कुर्स, विवेख केले हाति. भास मराठी घडित वोवियांचें. अभाविक कोंकणे जेंतिय लोकु सां. पेद्रु प्रति प्रुस्ट्नु करितां, आणी भग्तु तेयांसि प्रतिउतर देंतां, शास्त्रवेवादु

manddoni cõcannetuachẽ chheddanna caritae. Maga queuala Paramesparu ta cauannu mhannoni arthuni dauitae. Hindusthana dessincheã cuddhã Deuãchĩ anny, brahamannã, bhattã, achariyãchĩ namãchi dharilĩ hati; yerã dessincheã cuddhã deuanchĩ anny teãcheã achariãchĩ namẽ yã dessĩcheã locãssi acallã mhannoni. Grãthĩ boliliã vastûchia saqhy ziya didhaliya hati, tiya cõcannceã purannãchiya, anny suayãzoty, paramarthachia, va pauitrã grãthãchia. Samãda grãthu purannẽ tini. Pailea purannachĩ cãddẽ doni. Paile cãddĩ lihilẽ ahe, cauanne pary suami Jesu suarguĩ adĩ naaruddhatã S. Pedru tea suamiyache xeue tthãĩ vartata zahala. Duze cãddĩ suami mugty vallagaleya vpari S. Pedru concannẽachã dessĩ xastracathane laguy nanigue veri ta cauanne rity Deuaseuessĩ chalila, yetuquẽ niropilẽ.

Dussarea Purannachĩ pancha canddẽ. Paile cãddĩ viuidhã cõcannceãchea çudeuãchẽ bhazana chhedilẽ ahe; Dussare cãddĩ pursã adisttanchẽ puzana chhedilẽ asse: Tissare cãddim saitanã maruã, bhutã, betallãchẽ qhãddanna quelẽ ahe. Chouthe cãddĩ tetissa cottim cudeuanchy bhazana chhedily ahe. Panchama canddĩ Bramha, Visttnnu, Mhaessache bhazancchẽ chhedanna quelẽ asse. Anny cõcanneanchĩ xastrẽ, veda, purannẽ, ritu, achara vpachara yetuquẽĩ cuddha lattica mhannoni, aissiya saqhy deuni praghattauilẽ asse.

Tissare purannĩ queuala Paramesparu ta cauannu mhannoni, aissẽ arthuni dauilẽ ahe.

Tthãĩ tthãĩ aghaue granthĩ viuidha Fee bhauarthache para arthile hati, anny viuidhy vpama didhaliya hati. Panna xebda aqherã, anny vouiyãchea ghaddita tthãĩ zy chuqui, bhedu paddala assela, ituqueacha aparadhu maza paradessiya Phringuiyassi tumi qhema caraua lague. Anny bhassa nagamatea tthassannarẽ granthu tthassila deqhoni vnnẽ purẽ tthãĩ tthãĩ zẽ chuquira paddalẽ asse, teachẽ zẽ cãhĩ sarassauilẽ nahĩ, tẽ tumĩ granthauachapa caritã viueqhĩ sarassauẽ, Mhannipe naphaue teã aqherẽ, athaua xebdẽ zẽ cãhĩ arutẽ parutẽ, vnnẽ purẽ chuconi tthassauilẽ ahe, tẽ chuquira aissẽ nauachitã, panna chucalalĩ aqherẽ, athaua xebda viueqhamuqhĩ caddoni, athaua chaddauni phaue te pracarĩ, sudha supastta vachize.

मांडोनि कोंकणेत्वाचें छेदण करिताए. मग केवल परमेस्परु ता कवणु म्हणोनि अर्थुनि दाविताए. हिंदुस्तान देसिचेआं कुढां देवांचीं आणी, ब्राह्मणां भटां, आचारियांचीं नामांचि धरिलीं हाति; येरां देसिचेआं कुढां देवांचीं आणी त्यांचेआं आचार्यांचीं नामें यां देसिचेआं लोकांसि अकळां म्हणोनि. ग्रंथीं बोलिलिआं वस्तूंचिआ साखीं जिया दिधलिया हाति, तिया कोंकणेआं पुराणांचिया, आणी स्वयंजोती, परमार्थाचिआ, वा पवित्रां ग्रंथांचिआ. समंद ग्रंथु पुराणें तिनि. पइलेआ पुराणाचीं कांडें दोनि. पइले कांडीं लिहिलें आहे, कवणे परी स्वामि जेजु स्वर्गीं आदीं नआरुढतां सां. पेद्रु तेआ स्वामियाचे शेवे ठांईं वर्तता जाहाला. दुजे कांडीं स्वामि मुग्ती वळगलेया उपरि सां. पेद्रु कोंकण्यांचां देसीं शास्त्रकथने लागी ननिगे वेरि ता कवणे रिती देवसेवेसीं चालिला, येतुकें निरोपिलें.

दुसरेआ पुराणांचीं पांच कांडें. पइले कांडीं विविधां कोंकणेआंचेआ कुदेवांचें भजन छेदिलें आहे; दुसरे कांडीं पुर्सां आदिस्टांचें पुजन छेदिलें असे: तिसरे कांडीं सैतानां मारुवां, भुतां, बेताळांचें खंडण केलें आहे. चौथे कांडीं तेतिस कोटि कुदेवांची भजना छेदिली आहे. पंचम कांडीं ब्रम्हा, विस्टणु म्हाएसाचे भजनेचें छेदण केलें असे. आणी कोंकणेआंचीं शास्त्रें, वेद, पुराणें, रितु, आचार, उपचार, येतुकेई कूढ लटिक म्हणोनि, ऐसिया साखी देउनि प्रघटविलें असे.

तिसरे पुराणीं केवल परमेस्परु ता कवणु म्हणोनि, ऐसें अर्थुनि दाविलें आहे.

ठांईं ठांईं आघवे ग्रंथीं विविध फे भावार्थाचे पार अर्थिले हाति, आणी विविधी उपमा दिधलिया हाति. पण शेब्दा अखेरां, आणी वोवियांचेआ घडिता ठांईं जी चुकि, भेदु पडला असेल, इतुकेआचा अपराधु मज परदेसिया फ्रिंगियासि तुमि खेमा करावा लागे. आणी भास नगमतेआ ठसणारें ग्रंथु ठसिला देखोनि उणें पुरें ठांईं ठांईं जें चुकिर पडलें असे, तेआचें जें कांहीं सरसाविलें नाहीं, तें तुमीं ग्रंथवाचप करितां विवेखीं सरसावें. म्हणिपे न फावे तेआं अखेरें, अथवा शेब्दें जें कांहीं अरुतें परुतें, उणें पुरें चुकोनि ठसविलें आहे, तें चुकिर ऐसें नवाचितां, पण चुकललीं अखेरें, अथवा शेब्द विवेकमुखीं काडोनि, अथवा चडउनि फावे ते प्रकारीं, सुध सुपस्ट वाचिजे.

(*b*) The poet's invocation

Namana mazẽ mugtinatha
Zaya uisuataraca JESV Christa :
Sasttanguẽ pranipatu atã
Tuzã charannĩ. 1

Tũ nandanu Deua piteyacha
Sagharu sacallã gunnãcha :
Tũ Xendhu crupe carunnecha
Anãdanidhi. 2

Atã maza hoize prassana
Deĩ tuze crupechẽ uarudana :
Zennẽ praghatte cauituagneana
Hrudayemãdhirĩ. 3

Arambhaueya cauituauitpati
Maza deize gneana mati :
Mhannoni caritõ uinaty
Tuza suamiya. 4

Duzy uãdily Sancta Mary
Dauid culliyechi manohari :
Crupa bhariti carunnacari
Deuamata suaminni. 5

Maza caranne Mariye Suaminny
Carĩ putrassi uinauanny :
Deuauize gneanasanttauanny
Cauitua sidhy pauaueya. 6

Atã sruteã sauadhana
Aica cathechẽ uidhana :
Catha S. Pedruchy sangaina
Paricari 7

(*b*) The poet's invocation

नमन माजें मुग्तिनाथा
जया विस्वतारका जेजु क्रिस्ता :
सास्टांगें प्रणिपातु आतां
तुजां चरणीं १

तू नंदनु देवा पितेयाचा
साघरु सकळां गुणांचा :
तूं शेंधु क्रुपे करुणेचा
आनंदनिधि. २

आतां मज होइजे प्रसन
देईं तुजे क्रुपेचें वरुदान :
जेणें प्रघटे कवित्वग्न्यान
हृदयेमंधिरीं ३

आरंभावेया कवित्वविल्पति
मज देइजे ग्न्यान मति :
म्हणोनि करितों विनती
तुज स्वामिया. ४

दुजी वंदिली सांत मरी
दाविद कुळियेचि मनोहरि :
क्रुपा भरिति करुणाकरि
देवमाता स्वामिणी. ५

मज कारणें मरिये स्वामिणी
करीं पुत्रासि विनवणी :
देवविजे ग्न्यानसांटवणी
कवित्व सिधी पावावेया. ६

आतां स्तुतेआं सावधान
आइका कथेचें विधान :
कथा सां. पेद्रुची सांगैन
परिकरि. ७

(*c*) Christ blesses St. Peter

Atã S. Pedruchy catha
Ta caissa uartala honta :
Bhagtipauadde mrutiachi uarta
Pariyessa teachi. 1

Adhĩ cãhĩchi nassatã pracaru
Zadĩ Deuẽ rachila sãussaru :
Quela prathiuicha srungharu
Paramesuarẽ. 2

Ty sãussararachana quelea upary
Taĩ lagoni he sãussarĩ :
Pancha sahastra uarussẽueri
Lottalĩ magã. 3

Tãua Galile Iudea dessĩ
Bethxaĩda nagara passĩ
S. Pedru zalmala tethessĩ
Zagahitalaguy. 4

Pussala cauanne culliyecha
Sambhramu queuadda teacha :
Tari aica pratiuacha
Viueqhu caroni. 5

Srastty culliyecha teyassi
Quela nãhĩ srusttissĩ :
Linnu, durballu S. Pedrussi
Quela Deuẽ. 6

Caraueya cuttambachẽ poxenna
Veaparu dinala dhiuarapanna :
Machhe marãchẽ abheassanna
Nirmilẽ teya. 7

(*e*) Christ blesses St. Peter

आतां सां. पेद्रुची कथा
ता कैसा वर्तला होंता :
भग्तिपवाडे स्रुत्याचि वार्ता .
परियेसा तेआचि. १

आधीं कांहींचि नसतां प्रकारु
जदीं देवें रचिला संसारु :
केला प्रथिविचा स्रुंधारु
परमेस्वरें. २

ती संसाररचना केलेआ उपरी
तईं लागोनि हे संसारीं :
पांच सहस्र वरुसेंवेरि
लोटलीं मागां. ३

तंव गालिले जुदेआ देसीं
बेथशाईंद नगरा पासीं :
सां. पेद्रु जल्मला तेथेसीं
जगहितालागी. ४

पुसाल कवणे कुळियेचा
संभ्रमु केवडा तेआचा :
तरि आइका प्रतिवाचा
विवेखु करोनि. ५

स्रस्टी कुळियेचा तेयासि
केला नांहीं स्रुस्टिसीं :
लिणु, दुर्बळु सां. पेद्रुसि
केला देवें. ६

करावेया कुटंबाचें पोशेण
व्यापारु दिनला धिवरपण :
मछे मारांचें अभ्यासण
निर्मिलें तेया. ७

To assramī̃ honta xendhu tirī̃
Punnepranny nirmallu xerirī̃ :
Sãussarica teachã zīuharī̃
Nauadde hontẽ. 8

Nãhī̃ garua, hancarachy uassana
Nãhī̃ sãussaragoddiuechy calpana :
Grestapanna nauadde mana
Xatuicuchi houni uarte. 9

Tiechy samayantarī̃
[Jesu] Galiliye xendhuchã tirī̃ :
Vpadessunu apautarī̃
Loca bolauita honta. 10

Suamiyachẽ amrutauachana
Loquẽ aiconiyã carnã :
Sthira narahanty charanna
JESV bhettessi dhãuaty. 11

Nagarã, pattannī̃, gramã, purī̃
Locassi utcanttha thori :
Dhãvaty JESV magarī̃
Xastrasrauanna laguy. 12

Tẽ Pedrussi zahalẽ sruta
Mhannoni tthela premabharita :
Nigata zahala tuarita
Suamiyache bhette. 13

Pedrussi zahaly Deuabhetty
JESVna pahila crupadrustty :
Pracassauadanẽ Pedru praty
Cae bole. 14

Tũ re Simão Barjonacha cumaru
Yethouni nama pauassi Pedru :
Aissẽ crupalla uachana saluadoru
Bolata zahala. 15

तो आस्रमीं होंता शेंधु तिरीं
पुण्यप्राणी निर्मळु शेरिरीं :
संसारिक तेआचां जींव्हारीं
नावडे होंतें. ८

नांहीं गर्वा हंकाराची वासना
नांहीं संसारगोडिवेची कल्पना :
ग्रेस्तपण नावडे मना
शात्विकुचि होउनि वर्तें. ९

तिएची समयांतरीं
[जेजु] गालिलिये शेंधुचां तिरीं :
उपदेसुनु आपउतरीं
लोका बोलावित होंता. १०

स्वामियाचें अम्रुतवचन
लोकें आइकोनियां कर्नां :
स्थिर नराहांती चरण
जेजु भेटेसि धांवती. ११

नगरां, पाटणीं, ग्रामां, पुरीं
लोकासि उत्कंठा थोरि :
धांवती जेजु मागारीं
शास्त्रस्रवणा लागी. १२

तें पेद्रुसि जाहालें स्रुत
म्हणोनि ठेला प्रेमभरित :
निगता जाहाला त्वरित
स्वामियाचे भेटे. १३

पेद्रुसि जाहाली देवभेटी
जेजुन पाहिला क्रुपाद्रुस्टी :
प्रकासवदनें पेद्रु प्रती
काए बोले. १४

तूं रे सिमांव बार्जोनाचा कुमरु
यैथौनि नाम पावसि पेद्रु :
ऐसें क्रुपाळ वचन साल्वादोरु
बोलता जाहाला. १५

Aissa Jesuchea muqha antunu
Pedrucha uaru aicunu :
Atozapannē sacallai zanu
Muqha pahanty teachē 16

Locu acharye honty samasta
Teãhy houni Pedru uismita :
Cara sampustta caroni tetha
Charanna uandy. 17

(*d*) The poet reviles Vishnu, the Hindu God

Aissa dalladharu bolila
S. Pedru ziuĩ ulassala :
Maga sangata zahala
Visttnnuchi acrutã. 1

Mhanne Haricathe puranna antu
Bolilea Visttnnuchea matu :
Qui magã yecu daitiu
Balli mhannoni. 2

Ta Visttnnuchy seua cary
Punne dharmu achary :
Teachy uollaga nirantarĩ
Caroni chale. 3

Yauari teachã gharĩ
Visttnnu alea uamanacarĩ :
Sanimanu quela uiuidhã parĩ
Ballĩ teassi. 4

Yetuqueyachea uchita
Visttnnē rachilē ducruta :
Patallĩ ghatala phuncatta
Cheponi teya. 5

ऐसा जेजुचेआ मुखा आंतुनु
पेद्रुचा वरु आइकुनु :
अतोजपणें सकळै जनु
मुख पाहांती तेआचें. १६

लोकु अचर्य होंती समस्त
तेआंही होउनि पेद्रु विस्मित :
कर संपुस्ट करोनि तेथ
चरण वंदी. १७

(*d*) **The poet reviles Vishnu, the Hindu God**

ऐसा दळाधरु बोलिला
सां. पेद्रु जिवीं उलासला :
मग सांगता जाहाला
विस्ट्णुचि अक्रुतां. १

म्हणे हरिकथे पुराणा आंतु
बोलिलेआ विस्ट्णुचेआ मातु
कि मागां येकु दैत्यु
बळि म्हणोनि. २

ता विस्ट्णुची सेवा करी
पुण्य धर्मु आचरी :
तेआची वोळग निरांतरीं
करोनि चाले. ३

यावरि तेआचां घरीं
विस्ट्णु आलेआ वामनाकारीं :
सनिमानु केला विविधां परीं
बळीं तेआसि. ४

येतुकेयाचेआ उचिता
विस्ट्णें रचिलें दुक्रुत :
पातळीं घातला फुंकट
चेपोनि तेया. ५

Vachisttarussicha granthu
Bolileachy ahe saqhi dētu :
Tumi aica teachy matu
Carna ugate caroni. 6

Mhanne Deû adharilē icchabhozana
Tetha utthauilē asse uighna
Ballī carû adbarilē dana
To paddila patallī. 7

Duzy saqhi Drunnapuranna
Lihita teachē sauadhana :
Aica adbhuta qhottepanna
Viueqhoni Visttnnuchē. 8

Mhanne lahanu brahamannu zala
Bhiqhea magaueya guela :
Bally patallī ghatala
Capatta caroni. 9

Aissē bole Drunnapuranna
Haricatha tennechi gunna :
Yachy denty saqhi qhunna
Ty tari pariyessa. 10

Mhanne Tizē pada uegã [gauē ?]
Deuo magataye :
Yeru mhanne ahe
pustti mazy. 11

Pustty uari pauo
Deuniya tiya uella :
Ballissi patalla
Pae ghatala. 12

Aisse Visttnnuche gunna
Changa queleachea bauaddana :
Qhottē carila nenne panna
Changa carû. 13

वचिस्टरुसिचा ग्रंथु
बोलिलेआची आहे साखी देंतु :
तुमीं आइका तेआची मातु
कर्नं उगते करोनि. ६

म्हणे देऊं आधरिलें इछाभोजन
तेथ उठविलें असे विघ्न :
बळीं करूं आधरिलें दान
तो पाडिला पाताळीं. ७

दुजी साखी द्रुणपुराण
लिहित तेआचें सावधान :
आइका अद्भुत खोटेपण
विवेखोनि विस्ट्णुचें. ८

म्हणे लाहानु ब्राहामणु जाला
भिख्या मागावेया गेला :
बळी पाताळीं घातला
कपटा करोनि. ९

ऐसें बोले द्रुणपुराण
हरिकथा तेणेचि गुण :
याची देंती साखि खुण
ती तरि परियेसा. १०

म्हणे तिजें पद वेगां [गांवे ?]
देवो मागताये :
येरु म्हणे आहे
पुस्टी माजी. ११

पुस्टी वरी पावो
देउनिया तिया वेळा :
बळिसि पाताळा
पाए घातला. १२

ऐसे विस्ट्णुचे गुण
चांग केल्याचेआ बावडणा :
खोटें करिल नेणे पण
चांग करूं. १३

Lihunu ghatalẽ puranni
Qui uanasĩhea yeque dinĩ :
Canttacu ruponi charannĩ
Vanna zahalẽ mhannoni. 14

Bahiri caddaueya canttacu
Nhauata mhannoni hastacu :
Charannu cussoni quittacu
Ttonchoni qhanto. 15

Zivĩ utthity duqhazalla
Bapudda lulle uanastalla :
Sahe carita tiya uellã
Nhauata cauannu. 16

Tetha patala tascaru
Sĩhiu davy cussatra qhuru :
Deqhatanchi paddala yeru
Bhennẽ thorẽ 17

Sĩhiu tari qhuru dauita
Ttanque zaissa abhayu denta :
Tascarẽ pahuni tuarita
Caddila canttacu. 18

Maga lottale dina bahuta
Ta tascaru zahala dasta :
Siqhestãua ghatala tuarita
Grassaueya sinuĩ. 19

Pauatanchi Sĩhea uiuara
Sĩhea utthile bhayancara :
Dhauaty ghoquity siua cara
Caraveya. 20

Tãua uipala abhiprauo yecu
Zea sĩuacha caddila canttacu :
Dharoni ghatala razanayequĩ
Tiye uiuarĩ 21

लिहुनु घातलें पुराणीं
कि वनसिंहया येके दिनीं :
कंटकु रुपोनि चरणीं
वण जाहालें म्हणोनि. १४

बाहिरि काडावया कंटकु
न्हवता म्हणोनि हस्तकु :
चरण कुसोनि किटकु
टोंचोनि खांतो. १५

जिवीं उठिती दुखजाळ
बापुडा लुळे वनस्तळा :
साहय करिता तिया वेळां
न्हवता कवणु. १६

तेथ पातला तस्करु
सिंहचु दावी कुसत्र खुरु :
देखतांचि पडला येरु
भेणें थोरें. १७

सिंहचु तरि खुरु दावित
टांके जैसा अभयु देंत :
तस्करें पाहुनि त्वरित
काडिला कंटकु. १८

मग लोटले दिन बहुत
ता तस्करु जाहाला दस्त :
सिखेस्तंव घातला त्वरित
ग्रासावेया सिंवीं. १९

पावतांचि सिंहय विवरा
सिंहया उठिले भयंकरा :
धावती घोकिती सिव कर [स्विकार]
करावेया. २०

तंव विपला अभिप्रावो येकु
जेआ सिंवाचा काडिला कंटकु :
धरोनि घातला राजनायेकीं
तिये विवरीं. २१

Ta phuddaroni ugru thoru
Paila patala tascara samoru :
Nihallitanchi teacha acaru
Vollaquila tehĩ. 22

Tãua patthy ghaloni teathẽ
Vgru zhempauni yerã siuheanthẽ :
Sahe cary tascarathẽ
Viduãssuni yerã. 23

Tennẽ tascarassi ıaquila
Teachã charannĩ lullala :
Locu deqhoni patala
Visneuo thoru. 24

Siheauiuara antunu
Tehĩ tascarassi caddunu :
Prastauo pussaty uinaunu
Teya praty. 25

Mhanne auadharĩ
Sihiu honta uanãtarĩ :
Canttacu lagala teachã qhurĩ
Ta caddila meã. 26

Meã alpu quela upacaru
Sĩheassi nahĩ zahala uissaru :
He uchitẽ raqhennaru
Zahala maza. 27

Panna tea uanichea sĩheapunnu
Sama nhauata tumancha Visttnnu :
Balliupega anupegu carunu
Bauaddila nistturẽ. 28

ता फुडारोनि उग्रु थोरु
पइला पातला तस्करा सामोरु :
निहाळितांची तेआचा आकारू
वोळखिला तेहीं. २२

तंव पाठी घालोनि तेआथें
उग्रु झेंपाउनि येरां सिव्हचांथें :
साहच करी तस्कराथें
विद्वांसुनि येरां. २३

तेणें तस्करासि राखिला
तेआचां चरणीं लुळला :
लोकु देखोनि पातला
विस्नेवो थोरु. २४

सिहचविवरा आंतुनु
तेहीं तस्करासि काडुनु :
प्रस्तावो पुसती विनउनु
तेया प्रती. २५

म्हणे अवधारीं
सिह्यु होंता वनांतरीं :
कंटकु लागला तेआचां खुरीं
ता काडिला म्यां. २६

म्यां अल्पु केला उपकारु
सिंहचासि नाहीं जाहाला विसरु :
हे उचितें रख्यणारु
जाहाला मज. २७

पण तेआ वनिचेआ सिंहचापुणु
सम न्हवता तुमंचा विस्ट्णु :
बळिउपेगा अनुपेगु करुनु
बावडिला निस्टुरें. २८

IV

ANTONIO DA SALDANHA, S. J.

(1599-1663)

Life of St. Anthony of Padua, 1655

(See pages 21, 228)

(*a*) **Confession of a sinner** (in the spoken language)

Bhagtu Sancto Antonio ziuo assatanã saûssarantu dissana dissu locaca xastra nimatĩ matu gostti sangunca, cainchi unnẽ cary nã assilo. yequy diuassĩ quelaleã patacanchea prachita nimatĩ loca laguy matu gostti quelea vparantẽ, ty matu aiquilaleana yecu maha thoru papy, zo tea loca bhitari assilo, to chetaulo annỹ quelaleã patacanchy maha thori duqhi manantu dharunu, va quelaleã patacancho santapu gheunu, Sancto Antonichea charannãdde papa ucharanna carûca guelo ; taca aicûca Deuacho bhagtu taissochi baissalo ; panna duqhã himpatteã nimatĩ, tea manuxacheana, yecai utara punnu sangauanã zalẽ ; tẽ bhagtana deqhunu, tachy bhuzauanna quely : anny taca sambhoqhunu mhallẽ : aga manuxa tuzeana zari ulaua nã, tari ghara vacha, anny tuzĩ samastã patacã yeca cagatari barai anny mazadde veguĩ paratunu yo. Sancto Antonichẽ utara tannẽ aicunu, bhagtana sanguilalẽ, tẽ ueguĩ carûca apulea ghaia utthautthi guelo, ghara pauatachi, apuleã patacancho baro ugaddassu quelo ; quelea uparantẽ, apulĩ samestã patacã yeca cagatari barailĩ : barailea vparantẽ, taissochi Sancto Antonicadde, tẽ cagata gheunu guelo, apulea papachẽ vcharanna carunca Sancto Antonicheã charannãdde pauatachi, tẽ cagata tannẽ caddilẽ, anny bhagtachie hatĩ dilẽ, tẽ Sancto Antonina apulie hatĩ gheunu, zari palle, tari ailea peleana cainchi barailalẽ nã deqhilẽ, hea passauata maha azeapa zaunu, tea manuxa laguy vicharilẽ ; aga manuxa, hãuẽ tuca carû sanguilẽ quitẽ ? anny tuuẽ quelẽ quitẽ ? teã utaraca tea pataquia manuxana mhallẽ ; Datarãno, zaissẽ tumĩ sanguilẽ, taissenchi hãuẽ quelẽ ; mazĩ samestã patacã mazea hatana, hea cagatari hãuẽ barailĩ, ytulẽ mhannatachi, tharatharã campû lagalo ; to bhou bhilo deqhunu, Sancto Antonina bhieû

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भग्तु सांतु आंतोनियु जिवो आसतनां संसारांतु दिसान दिसु लोकाक शास्त्र निमतीं मातु गोस्टि सांगुंक, काइंचि उणें करी नां आसिलो. येकी दिवसीं केलेल्यां पातकांच्या प्राचिता निमतीं लोका लागी मातु गोस्टि केल्या उपरांतें, ती मातु आइकिलल्यान येकु माहा थोरु पापी, जो त्या लोकाभितरि आसिलो, तो चेतव्लो आणी केलल्यां पातकांची महा थोरि दुखि मनांतु धरुनु, वा केलेल्या पातकांचो संतापु घेउनु सांतु आंतोनिच्या चरणांडे पाप उचारण करूंक गेलो; ताका आयकूंक देवाचो भग्तु तैसोचि बैसलो; पण दुखां हिंपटचां निमतीं, त्या मनुशाच्यान, येकइ उतर पुणु सांगवनां जालें; तें भग्तान देखुनु, ताची भुजावण केली: आणी ताका संभोखुनु म्हळें: आगा मनुशा तुज्यान जरि उलव नां, तरि घरा वच, आणी तुजीं समस्तां पातकां येका कागतारि बरइ आणी मजडे वेगीं परतुनु यो. सांतु आंतोनिचें उतर ताणें आइकुनु, भग्तान सांगिललें, तें वेगीं करूंक आपुल्या घारा उठा-उठि गेलो, घारा पावतचि, आपुल्यां पातकांचो बरो उगडासु केलो. केल्या उपरांतें आपुलीं समेस्तां पातकां येका कागतारि बरइलीं. बरइल्या उपरांतें, तैसोचि सांतु आंतोनिकडे, तें कागत घेउनु गेलो, आपुल्या पापाचें उचारण करूंक सांतु आंतोनिच्यां चरणांडे पावतचि, तें कागत ताणें काडिलें, आणी भग्ताचिए हातीं दिलें, तें सांतु आंतोनिन आपुलिए हातीं घेउनु जरि पळे, तरि आइल्या पेल्यान काईंचि बरइललें नां देखिलें, हचा पासावत माहा अज्याप जाउनु, त्या मनुशा लागी विचारिलें; आगा मनुशा, हांवें तुका करूं सांगिलें कितें? आणी तुवें केलें कितें? त्यां उतराक त्या पातक्या मनुशान म्हळें; दातारांनो, जैसें तुमीं सांगिलें, तैसेंचि हांवें केलें; मजिं समेस्तां पातकां मज्या हातान, हचा कागतारि हांवें बरइलीं, ईतुलें म्हणतचि, थरथरां कांपूं लागलो; तो भोउ भिलो देखुनु, सांतु आंतोनिन भिएऊं

naca mhallẽ, tuuẽ bhou thori patacanchy duqhi, santapu, anny vittallu manĩ dharlo mhonnu, tuzĩ samestã patacã Paramesparana bhagassilĩ, anny sudhi bhagassilĩ mhonnu, tuca tarounna yeuncheaca zĩ patacã tuuẽ apulea hatana, hea cagatari barailĩ, tĩ taissinchi suamia Deuana bhanzassĩ quelĩ : hea bhagtachea utarana, to pataquy manuxu buzaualo, anny maha suqhy zaunu, hie suamiache crupe nimatĩ Paramesparaca udhanddã argã dilĩ, anny Sancto Antonica payã paddalea vparantẽ, apulea ghara sostachitĩ guelo, ty crupa bhagtachea punneana, Paramesparana apanneauari quely mhonnu manantu samazunu bhagtachie budhy qhala maraparienta rauilo. Sarua papachy vatta varzunu, papachie vatteri dussari choinã zalo, anny auicharĩ hou agneanapannĩ papa zarĩ paddalo, tari veguĩ Sancto Antonicheã chararnandde vachunu, apulẽ papa vcharanna cary.

Atmeaca phallu caddunca vpaxamu

Zẽ atmeachẽ, suasta (Christãuãno) zẽ patacanchẽ bhagassannẽ, amancã mellûchẽ assa, tẽ Sancto Antonichea punneana, amancã mellatalẽ, tachy bhagti tumĩ carea. Taca tumĩ apule mazatica muqhari ghalcar zari ghalixata tari tache vinanty prarthanena Paramesparu tumanchy cacullati carita, va tumanchĩ patacã bhagassita ytulo visuassu tumĩ manantu dharea ; quitea zari Sancto Antonio saũssarantu assatanã tachea punneana ytuly Paramesparachy crupa va patacanchẽ bhagassannẽ, tea papiaca zari mellalẽ, atã mugtirazcantu to assatanã, tachea maha thora punncana Paramesparu tumancã nede zaita cae ? dita, anny annieca, nanã parinche vpacara carita, teã bhitari quelaleã patacanchy vollaqhi, tancho vittallu, tanchy pury duqhi tumĩ manĩ dharunca, tumancã gneana ddolle Paramesparu hea crupalla bhagtachea punneana dita. Saruai papacho zinossu, tumĩ varzûca, amancho sarathy bhagtu Antonio Paramespara laguy tumanche qhatira vinãti carunu, tumanche manĩ dhiru zaisso carita, saitana, va tochy ttallanny ziqhunca : tumanche manĩ satuadhiru zaisso carita : tea satuadhirana, saitanaca, va papaca tumĩ saunssarantu ziqhunu, antĩ bhagtachea punnea vinantina Paramesparachea daruxennaca pauaxata.

नाका म्हळें, तुवें भोउ थोरि पातकांची दुखि, संतापु, आणी विटाळु मनीं धरलो म्होणु, तुजीं समेस्तां पातकां परमेस्परान भगसिलीं, आणी सुधि भगसिलीं म्होणु, तुका तारौण येउंच्याक जीं पातकां तुवें आपुल्या हातान, हद्या कागतारि बरइलीं, तीं तैसिंचि स्वामिआ देवान भांजसीं केलीं: हद्या भग्ताच्या उतरान, तो पातकी मनुशु बुजावलो, आणी माहा सुखी जाउनु, हिए स्वामिआचे क्रुपे निमतीं परमेस्पराक उधंडां अगीं दिलीं, आणी सांतु आंतोनिक पायां पडल्या उपरांतें, आपुल्या घारा सोस्तचितीं गेलो, ती क्रुपा भग्ताच्या पुण्यान, परमेस्परान आपण्यावरि केली म्होणु मनांतु समजुनु भग्ताचिए बुधी खाला मरपर्यंत राविलो. सर्व पापाची वाट वर्जुनु, पापाचिए वाटेरि दुसरि चोइनां जालो, आणी अविचारीं होउ अग्न्यानपणीं पापा जरीं पडलो, तरि वेगीं सांतु आंतोनिच्यां चरणांडे वचुनु आपुलें पाप उचारण करी.

आत्म्याक फळु काडुंक उपशामु

जें आत्म्याचें, स्वस्त (क्रिस्तावांनो) जें पातकांचें भगसणें, आमकां मेळूंचें आस, तें सांतु आंतोनिच्या पुण्यान, आमकां मेळतलें, ताची भग्ति तुमीं कऱ्या. ताका तुमीं आपुले मजतिक मुखारि घाल्यार जरि घालिशात तरि ताचे विनंती प्रार्थनेन परमेस्परु तुमंची काकुळति करित, वा तुमंचीं पातकां भगसित ईतुलो विस्वासु तुमीं मनांतु धऱ्या; कित्या जरि सांतु आंतोनियु संसारांतु आसतनां ताच्या पुण्यान ईतुली परमेस्पराची क्रुपा वा पातकांचे भगसणें, त्या पाप्याक जरि मेळलें, आतां मुग्तिराज्यांतु तो आसतनां, ताच्या महा थोरा पुण्यान परमेस्परु तुमंकां नेदे जाइत काय? दित, आणी आणिएक, नानां परिंचे उपकार करित, त्यां भितरि केलल्यां, पातकांची वोळखि, तांचो विटाळु, तांची पुरी दुखि तुमीं मनीं धरूंक, तुमकां ग्न्यान डोळे परमेस्परु हद्या क्रुपाळा भग्ताच्या पुण्यान दित. सर्वइ पापाचो जिनोसु, तुमीं वर्जूंक आमंचो सारथी भग्तु आंतोनियु परमेस्परा लागी तुमंचे खातिर विनंति करुनु, तुमंचे मनीं धिरु जैसो करित, सैतान, वा तोची टाळणी जिखुंक: तुमंचे मनीं सत्वधिरु जैसो करित: त्या सत्वधिरान, सैतानाक, वा पापाक तुमीं संसारांतु जिखुनु, अंतीं भग्ताच्या पुण्या विनंतिन परमेस्पराच्या दरुशेणाक पावशातं.

(*b*) **Confession of a sinner** (in the literary language)

Hea *sadaiua* bh*agtachy* sassai
Nh*aue* yequechi c*athanc* tthaĩ
P*anna* to anniyeque pr*astaĩ*
Sassayeu*antu* thoru. 1

Mh*annipe* confessara tthaĩ
Adiqui *asse* teyachy sassai
Caye v*artalẽ* c*auanne* yeque s*amaĩ*
Tẽ aica tumĩ. 2

Hea *sadaiua* Deu*abhagta* passĩ
Yecu m*anuxu* maha pap*a* dossy
Confessar*a* houaueya yeque diu*assĩ*
Aleau*ari*. 3

To dossy confessar*a* honte vellã
M*anĩ* dh*aroni* dossancha canttalla
Apule papadoss*a* bh*agta* z*aua*llã
Sangõ mh*anne* t*ari*. 4

Papaduqhachiya himputtiya vdh*arĩ*
Yeuni zhombaty c*antthu* ueri
Tennẽ xebdu n*aye* muqhantar*ĩ*
Bolaueya. 5

Vcharu c*araueya* apuleã dossancha
Cuntth*aly* teyachy bol*anny* vacha
Yetuca *a*bhiprauo deqhoni teyacha
S*adaiua* bh*agtẽ*. 6

T*ãua* teyassi mh*anne* Sancto Antoni
Z*ari* doss*aucharu* n*acaraue* v*achanĩ*
T*ari* tuzĩ pat*aquẽ* anni cag*allĩ* lihunĩ
Maze phuddã. 7

Tẽ bh*agtachẽ* v*achana* aicunu
Tennẽ apule doss*a* cag*allĩ* lihunu
Cag*alla* didh*alẽ* ddimbiya ghalunu
Deu*abhagta* passĩ. 8

(*b*) **Confession of a sinner** (in the literary language)

हयां सदैवा भग्ताची सासाइ
न्हवे येकेचि कथने ठाईं
पण तो आणियेके प्रस्ताईं
सासायेवंतु थोरु. १

म्हणिपे कोंफेसारा ठाईं
अदिकि असे तेयाची सासाइ
काये वर्तलें कवणे येके समईं
तें आइका तुमीं. २

हेआ सदैवा देवभग्ता पासीं
येकु मनुशु माहा पाप दोसी
कोंफेसार होवावेया येके दिवसीं
आलेआवरि. ३

तो दोसी कोंफेसार होंते वेळां
मनीं धरोनि दोसांचा कांटाळा
आपुले पापदोस भग्ता जवळां
सांगों म्हणे तरि. ४

पापदुखाचिया हिंपुटिया उधरीं
येउनि झोंबती कंठु वेरि
तेणें शेब्दु नये मुखांतरीं
बोलावेया. ५

उचारु करावेया आपुलेआं दोसांचा
कुंठली तेयाची बोलणी वाचा
येतुका अभिप्रावो देखोनि तेयाचा
सदैवा भग्तें. ६

तंव तेयासि म्हणे सांतु आंतोनि
जरि दोसउचारु नकरवे वचनीं
तरि तुजीं पातकें आणी कागळीं लिहुनीं
माजे फुडां. ७

तें भग्तांचें वचन आइकुनु
तेणें आपुले दोस कागळीं लिहुनु
कागळ दिधलें डिंबिया घालुनु
देवभग्तां पासीं. ८

Zĩ cagallĩ lihilĩ hontĩ pataquẽ
Tĩ pahũ gueleya sacallaiquẽ
Bhanzalĩ deqhilĩ yecana yequẽ
Tea manuxẽ. 9

Aissẽ hẽ apurua tiye samaĩ
Vartalẽ confissanua tthaĩ
Aissy Sancto Antonichy sassai
Praghattaly zaguĩ. 10

V

MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA, S. J.

(C. 1607—1683)

Garden of Shepherds, 1658

(See pages 21, 228)

(*a*) Sermon on our Lady of Pilar

Anny atã hanuẽ hiye surauliye ganuichy tusti caruncheaca, maca margu mecallo zaita veta. Suraulicarano, tumachea ganuanca surauly nãua qhai tthaunu ailem ? tachy conni vibhagti, va connu arthu tumi zannataleti ? purannica mhannatati, quy hea ganuaca tini nanuã assati. pailẽ sury aily, mhannaze hea ganuaca yequi sury, athaua piscati aily. hea nanua tthaĩ zari tumacã tusti phaua tari, tachi gostti nacari, quitea tumanchea ganuaca, zy sury piscati hatiara assa tẽ patacã, va qhealy catarunca, chorã chanddallanca hannunca, marunca. Febhauarthachea drusttanri zhuza sangramu carunca : zennepramannĩ sãpuche diuassĩ, samestã phudde anubhauarthiã Turcanri chalunche nimitĩ, niropu maguncheaca, tumĩ phuddaraleti : yenne cartã herã doniĩ nanuã tumacã barĩ phauati. Dussarẽ nanua suriya aily, adhile mhannatati tennepramanni hea tumachea ganuantu suriyachy mae aily : deqhunu hea ganuanca surauly mhonnu nanuadditati, suriyache mayecho ganusso vcharitati, Christauano hy suriyachy mae connissy, tumi zannataleti ? Hy zy assa, ty Pilarichy Ancuari Suaminni quitea suamia Jesvca Suriyu mhonnu nãuadditati : *Christus sol justitiae* : tari hy sadha Ancuary Suaminni suriyachy mae hounu vartata : anny ho surauly gaũ tichi doti ddaiza va ananna hounu mirauata.

जीं कागळीं लिहिलीं होंतीं पातकें
तीं पाहुं गेलेया सकळैकें
भांजलीं देखिलीं येकान येकें
त्या मनुशें. ९

ऐसें हें अपूर्व तिये समईं .
वर्तलें कोंफिसांव ठाईं
ऐसी सांतु आंतोनिची सासाइ
प्रघटली जगीं. १०

V

MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA, S. J.

(C. 1607—1683)

Garden of Shepherds, 1658

(See pages 21,228)

(*a*) Sermon on our Lady of Pilar

आणी आतां हांवें हिये सुराउलिये गांविची तुस्ति करुंच्याक, माका मार्गु मेकळो जाइत वेता. सुरावलिकारानो, तुमच्या गांवाक सुराउली नांव खइ ठाउनु आइलें ? ताची कोणि विभग्ति, वा कोणु अर्थु तुमि जाणतलेति ? पुराणिक म्हणतातिं, की हया गांवाक तिनि नांवां आसातिं. पैलें सुरी आइली, म्हणजे हया गांवाक येकि सुरी, अथवा पिस्कातिं आइली. हया नांवा ठाईं जरि तुमकां तुस्ति फाव तरि, ताचि गोस्टि नकरि, कित्या तुमंच्या गांवाक, जी सुरी पिस्कातिं हातिआर आस तें पातकां, वा ख्याली कातरूंक, चोरां चांडाळांक हाणूंक, मारुंक. फेभावार्थाच्या द्रुस्टांरि झुज संग्रामु करुंक : जेणे-प्रमाणीं सांपुचे दिवसीं समेस्तां फुडे अनुभावार्थिआं तुकांरि चालुंचे निमितीं, निरोपु मागुंच्याक, तुमीं फुडारलेति : येणे कर्तां हेरां दोनिईं नांवां तुमकां बरीं फावति. दुसरें नांव सुरिया आइली, आधिले म्हणतातिं तेणेप्रमाणि हया तुमच्या गांवांतु सुरियाची माय आइली : देखुनु हया गां-वाक सुराउली म्होणु नांवाडितातिं, सुरियाचे मायेचो गांव्सो उचारितातिं, क्रिस्तावानो ही सुरियाची माय कोणिसी, तुमि जाण-तलेति ? ही जी आस, ती पिलारिची आंकुवारि स्वामिणि कित्या स्वामिआ जेजुक सुरियु म्होणु नांवाडितातिं : *Christus sol justitiae* : तरि ही सधा आंकुवारी स्वामिणि सुरियाची माय होउनु वर्तता : आणी हो सुराउली गाव् तिचि दोति डाइज वा आनण होउनु मिरवता.

Bhagueuantu gaũ, sadaiuu locu, tumanchea daiua dasseca antu paru nã ; quitea tichi ty suaminni Deva mae, hea ganuanchi ddaizinni, ho samangru gaũ tiche adina zala, tinẽ tumcã samestanca apule seuaca, apule bhagtiuanchalla, apule putrasse carunu apulea alassirea dharileati. Tissarẽ nanua zẽ marastte bhassena assa, tẽ hẽ suru ailo, suru ailẽ, suru aily : mhannaze suarguincho locu : yenne caritã surauly zy assa ty suarguĩ tthaunu ailali yequi stri : hy zy assa tychi ty pilarichy suaminni, tinẽ zaisso mugtiuanta, Apostola S. Thiagaca buzailo, va taca drustty paddaly, taissichi bhauarthache vollaqhina, hea ganuaca, drustty paddunu taca apulẽ dulaba nanua dilẽ, anny hea vaqhanne va brada nimitĩ samestanca vhadda manupada paile. Pallea Christãuano ? quitulea manatuache, quitulea daiua dasseche, quede bhagueuãta surauleche Gauncara, va gharauassi, quitea suraulecho locu mhalleari suarguincho locusso samazata : hẽ sadaiua nanua tumacã labata, hẽ vaqhannẽ tumacã purannadica ditati : hẽ brada tumacã phaua, tumãche tthaĩ hy Pilarichi Suaminni assalalea prassanguĩ sarua tumacã labalã : ty zaualli tochi to suargu, taualli ty assilaly suata va gaũ suargu, va suarguincho locu hounu vartata.

Atã Dhonculy ganuachy conni tusti carũ ? Hea ganuachẽ vaqhannẽ yedẽ vhadda, qui arthunu sangana, mhalleari, vellu nupuro : panna donchi vtarani sangtã. Dhonculy nanua zẽ assa tẽ dõ vtarãchẽ manddata, yeca vtara phiringue bhassechẽ, hera concanniye bhassechẽ : phiringuẽ zẽ assa tẽ Dom, concannẽ zẽ assa tẽ cully. Phiringuẽ vtara Dom. thoriua, prapti, mahima, arthata, zennepramanni Dom João, Dom Francisco, Dõ Diogo, anny hiye parichĩ anniyecã quirtiuantã nanuã saunssarantu sobhatati. Cocannẽ vtara cully, apulie culliyechẽ teza daqhaunu dita : yenne cartã Dõ cully nanua zẽ assa, tẽ culliye, padauiye, thoriue, praptimhaimechẽ quirtiuanta nanua. Zari hiye suaminniche niza sevaca, niza bhagtiuanchalla hounu vartasseata, tari saruai tthaĩ tumi samesta vhaddu zasseata : quitea hy suaminni tumacã niza suarguinchẽ sarua suqha, mugti labassy carita. Zhãi amã samestanca Deu suami vharũ.

(*b*) Sermon of the Apostle St. Peter

Yeque diuassĩ Christu amancho taracu apuleã Apostolã sauẽ vlaita assatã tanche laguy tannẽ vicharilẽ, manuxa maca quitẽ

भाग्यवंतु गावं, सदैवु लोकु, तुमंच्या दैवा दसेक अंतु पारु नां; कित्या तिचि ती स्वामिणि देवा माय् ह्या गांवांचि डाइजिणि, हो समंग्रु गावं तिचे आदिन जाला, तिनें तुमकां समेस्तांक आपुले सेवक, आपुले भग्तिवंचळ, आपुले पुत्रसे करुनु आपुल्या आलासिन्या धरिल्याति. तिसरें नांव जें मारास्टे भासेन आस, तें हें सुरु आइलो, सुरु आइलें, सुरु आइली : म्हणजे स्वर्गिचो लोकु : येणेकरितां सुरावली जी आस ती स्वर्गीं ठाउनु आइललि येकि स्त्रि : ही जी आस तिचि ती पिलारिची स्वामिणि, तिनें जैसो मुग्तिवंत, आपोस्तोल सां. थिआगाक बुजाइलो, वा ताका द्रुस्टी पडली, तैसिचि भावार्थाचे वोळखिन, ह्या गांवाक, द्रुस्टी पडुनु ताका आपुलें दुलब नांव दिलें, आणी ह्या वाखाणे वा ब्रदा निमितीं समेस्तांक व्हड मानुपदा पाइले. पळ्या क्रिस्तांवानो ? कितुल्या मानत्वाचे, कितुल्या दैवादसेचे, केदे भाग्यवंत सुराउलेचे गांवकार, वा घरवासि, कित्या सुरावलेचो लोकु म्हळ्यारि स्वर्गिचो लोकुसो समजता : हें सदैव नांव तुमकां लाबता, हें वाखाणें तुमकां पुराणादिक दिताति : हें ब्रद तुमकां फाव, तुमंचे ठाईं ही पिलारिचि स्वामिणि आसलल्या प्रसंगीं सर्व तुमकां लाबलां : ती जावळि तोचि तो स्वर्गु, तावळि ती आसिलली सुआत वा गावं स्वर्गु, वा स्वर्गिचो लोकु होउनु वर्तता.

आतां धोंकुली गांवाची कोणि तुस्ति करूं ? ह्या गांवाचें वाखाणें येदें व्हड, कि अर्थुनु सांगन म्हळ्यारि, वेळु नुपुरो : पण दोंचि उतरानि सांगतां. धोंकुली नांव जें आस तें दों उतरांचे मांडता, येक उतर फिरिंगे भासेचें, हेर कोंकणिये भासेचें : फिरिंगें जें आस तें दों, कोंकणें जें आस तें कुळी. फिरिंगें उतर दों. थोरिव, प्राप्ति, महिमा, अर्थता जेणेप्रमाणि दों जुवांव, दों फ्रांसिस्कु, दों दियोगु, आणी हिये परिचीं आणियेकां कितिवंतां नांवां संसारांतु सोभताति. कोंकणें उतर कुळी, आपुलिए कुळियेचें तेज दाखौनु दिता : येणे कर्तां दों कुळी नांव जें आस, तें कुळिये, पदविये, थोरिवे, प्राप्तिम्हइमेचें कितिवंत नांव. जरि हिये स्वामिणिचे निज सेवक, निज भग्तिवंचल होउनु वर्तस्यात, तरि सर्वइ ठाईं तुमि समेस्त व्हडु जास्यात : कित्या ही स्वामिणि तुमकां निज स्वर्गिचें सर्व सुख, मुग्ति लाबसी करित. झंइ आमां समेस्तांक देव स्वामि व्हरूं.

(*b*) Sermon of the Apostle St. Peter

येके दिवसीं क्रिस्तु आमंचो तारकु आपुल्यां आपोस्तोलां सवें उलैत आसतां तांचे लागी ताणें विचारिलें, मनुश माका कितें

mhannatati ? hanua connusso mhonnu apanneã bhitari vcharitati ? maze nimitĩ, manuxã madhẽ conni vadanty chalata. hea vicharaca Apostolanĩ pratizapa dily. Suamia ? Yequeca tũ vhaddu Bhaptistu mhannatati : anni yecu tũ Elias mhonnu pratisttitati : hera tũ Jeremias mhonnu bhassitati athaua adhileã vhaddã Bhagtã bhiturlo conni yecu vhaddu prophetu, zo hiye amanche calĩ ziuantu hounu aila.

Yenne pramannichy apuly varta va quirti, zy praze tthaĩ phancalea ty suamiana aicunu, punarapi Apostolã laguy vicharu carunu, tanca mhallẽ : praze tthaĩ mazy quirti zy phancalia ty tumi maca sanguitaly, atã tumacã hanua connusso dista, maca sãga. Hea vicharachy pratizapa Apostolanchea siracamala S. Pedruna, apannea qhala carunu ghetaly : anny samestanche nauĩ suamia laguy vlaunu mhallẽ. Tum Christu ziuanta Devacho putru ; São Pedruchy pratizapa aicunu Suami tacheri itulo santossalo : và tusttalo quy techi qhennĩ taca suamiana sadaiuu bhagueuantu carunu davarilo : anny ituleanaĩ suamichẽ chita pura ualẽ na, taca Apostola bhitari srasttu apulea samagra dhamacho gonuallo, apulie Igrezechy qholi buneadi va druddu phataru carunu manddilo : anny hea itulcai mana manatua vairi taca zae te te velle suargu vgaddunchea ca va ddhampunchea suarguinchea Darvattheanchio chauiyo tache adina quelio.

JOÃO DE PEDROSA, S. J.

(C. 1616-1672)

Divine Soliloquies 1660

(See pages 23, 229)

Soliloquy (Yecagra bolannem) I

Suamya Jesu Christachea punnephalla qhatira apulea aparadancho guneao bhagassi mhannu atmo prarthita.

Dulaba Jesu, tuzea gunna saraqhe mazeuari upacara carissy mhonnu, uissuassĩ tuze adharim ailam; tuzeã canniuallam netranchi nadara mazeuari cari ga suamia, anny mazo sambhallu caruncheaca tuzea ddolleã sarisse hata zãu dy. Tum mazo uaquilu

म्हणताति ? हांव कोणुसो म्होणु आपण्यां भितरि उचारिताति ? मजे निमितिं, मनुशांमधें कोणि वदंती चलता. ह्या विचाराक आपोस्तोलानीं प्रतिजाप दिली. स्वामिआ ? येकेक तूं व्हडु भाप्-तिस्तु म्हणताति : आणि येकु तूं एलियास म्होणु प्रतिस्टितातिः हेर तूं जेरेमियास म्होणु भासिताति अथवा आधिल्यां व्हडां भग्तां भितुलो कोणि येकु व्हडु प्रोफेतु, जो हिये आमंचे कालीं जिवंतु होउनु आइला.

येणे प्रमाणिचि आपुली वार्ता वा किर्ति, जी प्रजे ठाईं फांकल्या ती स्वामिआन आइकुनु, पुनरपि आपोस्तोलां लागी विचारु करुनु, तांका म्हळें : प्रजे ठाईं मजी किर्ति जी फांकल्या ती तुमि माका सांगितली, आतां तुमकां हांव कोणुसो दिस्ता, माका सांगा. ह्या विचाराची प्रतिजाप आपोस्तोलांच्या सिरकमला सां. पेद्रुन, आपण्या खाल करुनु घेतली. आणी समेस्तांचे नावीं स्वामिआ लागीं उलउनु म्हळें. तुं क्रिस्तु जिवंत देवाचो पुत्रु; सांव पेद्रुची प्रतिजाप आइकुनु स्वामि ताचेरि इतुलो संतोसलो : वा तुस्टलो की तेचि खेणीं ताका स्वामिआन सदैवु भाग्यवंतु करुनु दवरिलो. आणि इतुल्यानईं स्वामिचें चित पुरवलें ना, ताका आपोस्तोला भितरि स्रस्टु आपुल्या समग्रा धामाचो गोंवळो, आपुलिए इग्रेजेची खोली बुन्यादि वा द्रुडु फातरु करुनु मांडिलो : आणी ह्या इतुल्याइ माना मानत्वा वैरि ताका जाय ते ते वेळे स्वर्गु उगडुंच्याक वा ढापुंच्या स्वर्गिच्या दरवठ्याच्यो चावियो ताचे आदिन केल्यो.

JOÃO DE PEDROSA, S. J.

(C. 1616-1672)

Divine Soliloquies 1660

(See page, 23, 229)

Soliloquy (Yecagr*a* bol*a*nnem) I

स्वामीया जेजु क्रिस्ताच्या पुण्यफळा खातिर आपुल्या अपरा-दांचो गुन्याव भगसि म्हणु आत्मो प्रार्थिता.

दुलबा जेजु, तुज्या गुणा सारखे मजेवरि उपकार करिसी म्होणु, विस्वासीं तुजे आधारिं आइलां; तुज्यां कणिवळां नेत्रांचि नदर मजेवरि करि गा स्वामिआ, आणी मजो सांभाळु करूं-च्याक तुज्या डोळ्यांसरिसे हात जांव् दी. तुं मजो वकिलु

anny sauenchi mazea prannacho zamany, tari suamia mazea bhagassanea qhatira tuzea bapaca aqhepi, minati cari, hea passauata queti laba amã dogancai yeta tuca acallu nhoi. Hanua aparady, anny mudaly azanny deqhunu tum zamany mazeam dossancho pariharu carunca vbho raualossi mhonnu. Ye anadisidha bapa, ye sarua hucumadara Deua, tuzea charanauari mastaca ttheunu tuca xeranna ailã, mazẽ papa, mapa cari datara anny zaguĩ tuzye ananti carunne dayena mazeuari crupallu hounu mazĩ patacam, bhagassi mhonnu uellõuellĩ hanuẽ tuze laguy maguilcauari atam qhari niti ua nitidharmacho tthasso magatã; tum barauo zannassi anupama suamiya, quy tuzo yecauattu putru ua mazo suamy Jesu Christu, apannapea passauata nhoe, bagara mazeã patacã qhatira maranna paualo : mhonnucheaca tem tachem punne maca phauo anny tenchi ragta, ua punne mazye soddauannechem mola zaunchea caranne apulẽ ddaiza thira carunu maca dauarilẽ. Suamya, mazea aparadanchea, bhagassannea badala tem tum paticarunu ghe, quitea zem tum maca ditassi teachi hounu sahaza hanua tuca ditã hanuẽ maguitalcai parassa adicatara tuca arpitam denneaipassi amita bauadditam tari Suamya tuzea putrachea mogana maca bhagassi, tachechi qhatira mazeuari prasana za, anny tachy anadina seua maze tthaĩ mani, mazea dossãpassi tazo mogallu putru, mazo rachannaru adieu sayassalo deqhunu, tachi seuavruti anny tuzy ananti carunna, mazea dossampassi adiqui tullanã cac hoi sate tari tuzy prapti tunttallaly nã, vnny zali nã, pahily carunna saraly nã, tochi sagunnu tichi cacullati tuze tthaĩ sadha nite pracattata, anny hea gunnĩ quiticanca tunuẽ bhagassunu crupesti srunzilis tari macai bhagassunu suqhy cari.

Zari (vtama Suamya anny mazea manachea Deua) te adhile xerannagata tuzea mogachea tezana, harqhita zaunu anandale hoi tari apulo copu niuaunu mazy cacullati cari anny mazeã dossanche aghorĩ maca ghalunu tuzyc samadrustti parato zaũ dyũ naca. Tede calĩ anny atam tum tochi to Suami, anny tichi hucume, va carunna tuca assa; yugam varussãi tuzẽ tatua pallatty nanti viuidã paricho vellu cala tuze tthaĩ palattu nacary.

Ye saunssaratataraca? ye carunne dayechea bapa ? tuze charanna maca hatassalea vinna tanche zaualicho vpeqhi naca.

आणी सवेंचि मज्या प्राणाचो जमानी, तरि स्वामिआ मज्या भगसण्या खातिर तुज्या बापाक आखेपि, मिनति करि, हचा पासावत केति लाब आमां दोगांकइ येता तुका अकळु न्होइ. हांव अपरादी, आणी मुदली अजाणी देखुनु तुं जमानी मज्यां दोसांचो परिहरु करुंक उभो रावलोसि म्होणु. ये अनादि-सिधा बापा, ये सर्व हुकुमदारा' देवा, तुज्या चरणावरि मस्तक ठेउनु तुका शेरण आइलां, मजें पाप, माप करि दातारा आणी जगीं तुझीये अनंति करुणे दयेन मजेवरि कृपाळु होउनु मजीं पातकां, भगसि म्होणु वेळोंवेळीं हांवें तुजे लागी मागिल्यावरि आतां खरि निति वा नितिधर्माचो ठसो मागतां; तूं बरवो जाणसि अनुपमा स्वामिया, की तुजो येकवटु पुत्रु वा मजो स्वामी जेजु क्रिस्तु आपणप्या पासावत न्होय, बगर मज्यां पातकां खातिर मरण पावलो; म्होणु-च्याक तें ताचें पुण्य माका फावो आणी तेंचि रग्त, वा पुण्य मजीए सोडवणेचें मोल जाउंच्या कारणे आपुलें डाइज थिर करुनु माका दवरिलें. स्वामीआ, मज्या अपरा-दांच्या भगसण्या बदला तें तूं पतिकरुनु • घे, कित्या जें तूं माका दितासि त्याचि होउनु सहज हांव तुका दितां हांवें मागितल्याइ परस अदिकतर तुका अर्पितां देण्याइपसि अमित बावडितां तरि स्वामीआ तुझ्या पुत्राच्या मोगान माका भगसि, ताचेचि खातिर मजेवरि प्रसन जा, आणी ताची अनदिन सेवा मजे ठाईं मानि, मज्या दोसांपसि ताजो मोगाळु पुत्रु, मजो रचणारु अदिकु सायसलो देखुनु, ताचि सेवाब्रुति आणी तुझी अनंति करुणा, मज्या दोसांपसि अदिकि तुळनां काय होय् सत्य तरि तुजी प्राप्ति तुंटळली नां, उणी जालि नां, पहिली करुणा सरली नां, तोचि सगुणु तिचि काकुळति तुजे ठाईं सधा नित्य प्रकटता, आणी हचा गुणीं कितिकांक तुवें भगसुनु क्रुपेस्ति स्तुंजिलिस् (?) तरि माकाइ भगसुनु सुखी करि.

जरि (उतम स्वामीआ आणी मज्या मानाच्या देवा) ते आधिले शेरणागत तुज्या मोगाच्या तेजान, हर्खित जाउनु आनंदले होय् तरि आपुलो कोपु निवउनु मजी काकुळति करि आणी मज्यां दोसांचे अघोरि माका घालुनु तुजीये समद्रुस्टि परतो जावं दीवं नाका. तेदे कालीं आणी आतां तूं तोचि तो स्वामि, आणी तिचि हुकुमे, वा करुणा तुका आस; युगां वरुसांइ तुजे तत्व पळटी नांति विविदां परिचो वेळु काल तुजे ठाइं पलटु नकरी.

ये संसारतारका ? ये करुणे दयेच्या बापा ? तुजे चरणा माका हातासल्या विण तांचे जवळिचो उपेखि नाका.

Part IV

REPRODUCTIONS OF SPECIMEN PAGES FROM EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

LIST OF PLATES

(*Sizes adjusted to the size of the page*)

1. *Mohenjo-Daro* Seals, c. 3000 B.C.

Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author Sir John Marshall : *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931, (*See* p. 1).

2. *Hīraka Sūtra*, China 868 A.D.

The first printed book in the World.
Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author T. F. Carter: *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward*, New York, 1931, (*See* p. 1).

ROMAN TYPES

3. *First types by Gutenberg*, c. 1445.

Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author L. C. Wroth : *A History of the Printed Book*, New York 1938. (*See* p. 2).

4. *Compendio Spiritual da Vida Christãa*, Goa 1561.

The first available book printed in India.
Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author J. B. Primrose : *The First Press in India and its Printers*, London 1940. (*See* p. 15).

5. *Doutrina Christam*, Rachol (Goa) 1622.

Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the Editor Mariano Saldanha : *Doutrina Cristã em Lingua Concani*, Lisboa 1945. (*See* p. 17).

6. *Declaracam da Doutrina Christam*, Rachol 1632.

Reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. (*See* p. 18).

7. *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro* (Title page), Goa 1629-35.

Reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. (*See* p. 18).

8. *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro* (First page), Goa 1629-34.

Reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. (*See* p. 18).

9. *Arte da Lingoa Canarim*, Rachol 1640.

Reproduced from a copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome. (*See* p. 18).

10. *Sancto Antonichy Zivitua cathā*, Goa 1655.

Reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. (*See* p. 21).

11. *Soliloquios Divinos*, Goa 1660.

Reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional Goa. (*See* p. 23).

TAMIL TYPES

12. *Doutrina Christiana*, Quilon 1578.

Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author Fr. G. Schurhammer; "The first Printing in Indic Characters," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1952. (*See* p. 10).

13. *Flos Sanctorum*, (Punicale?) 1586.

Reproduced with due acknowledgment to the author Fr. J. Wicki: *IV Centenario da Primeira Imprensa de Goa*. Lisbon 1956. (*See* p. 11).

14. *The Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles*, Tranquebar 1714.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* p. 45).

15. *A Dictionary English and Malabar*, Vepery 1786.

Reproduced from a copy in the National Library, Calcutta. (*See* p. 47).

TELINGA (TELOOGOO) TYPES

16. *New Testament in Telinga* (Telugoo), Serampore 1818.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* p. 66).

17. *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language*, Madras 1820.

Reproduced from a copy with the author. (*See* p. 47).

MALAYALAM TYPES

18. *A Grammar of the Malabar* (Malayalam) *Language*, Bombay 1799.

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay University Library. (*See* pp. 73-4).

CANARESE TYPES

19. *Grammar of the Kurnata Language*, Serampore 1817.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* p. 49).

20. *An English Kannada Dictionary*, Madras 1824.

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay University Library. (*See* p. 48).

21. *A Manual English and Canarese Dictionary*, Bangalore 1844.

Reproduced from a copy with the author. (*See* p. 49).

Bengali Types

22. *A Grammar of the Bengal Language*, Hoogly (Bengal) 1778. (*See* p. 52).

23. *Ingaraji and Bengali Vokabilari*, Calcutta 1793.

Reproduced from a copy in the Baṁgīa Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. (*See* p. 55).

24. *Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali Language*, Serampore 1801.

Reproduced from a copy in the National Library, Calcutta. (*See* p. 60)

Persian Types

25. *A New Persian and English work after the Method of Boyer and others*, Calcutta, 1792.

Reproduced from a book with the author. (*See* p. 55).

26. *Pund-nameh* by Shaykh Sa'adi Shirazi, Calcutta 1803.

Reproduced from a copy in the National Library, Calcutta. (No reference in the book).

Chinese Types

27. *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, Serampore 1814.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* pp. 67-8).

28. *The Holy Bible* (Chinese), Serampore 1822.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* pp. 67-8).

GUJERATI TYPES

29. The Earliest Specimen of the Gujerati Printing with a running top-line (*Bombay Courier*, Bombay 29th January 1797).

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office. (*See* p. 74).

30. The Earliest Specimen of the Gujerati Printing without a running top-line (*Bombay Courier*, Bombay 22nd July 1797).

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office. (*See* p. 74).

31. *Dabestān* (Gujerati), Bombay 1815.

Reproduced from a copy in the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. (*See* p. 78).

32. *The Holy Bible* (Gujerati), Surat 1828.

Reproduced from a copy in the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. (*See* p. 114).

MODĪ TYPES

33. The First *Modī* Marathi types prepared in Bombay (*Bombay Courier*, Bombay 17th July 1802).

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office. (*See* p. 75).

34. *The New Testament* in *Modī* (Marathi), Serampore 1807.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* p. 75).

35. The Earliest book in *Modī* (Marathi) types. (*Illustrations of the Grammatical parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Languages*, Bombay 1808).

Reproduced from a copy with the author. (See p. 75).

DEVANĀGARĪ

36. The Earliest *Devānagarī* (Block) Printing *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* adornatus per Henricum van Rheede, van Draakenstein, Amsterdam 1678.

Reproduced from a copy in the Bombay University Library, Bombay (No reference in the text).

37. The Earliest specimen of the *Devanāgarī* types (*Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum*, Rome 1771).

Reproduced from a copy in the Asiatic Society, Bombay. (*See* p. 63).

38. The Earliest specimen of the *Devanāgarī* and Hindustani (Urdu) Printing in India (*Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*, Calcutta 1796).

Reproduced from a copy in the National Library, Calcutta. (*See* p. 62).

39. *Essays* (*thesis*) *by the Students of the College of Fort William, Bengal*, Calcutta 1802.

Reproduced from a copy in the National Library, Calcutta. (*See* p. 62).

40. The earliest *Devanāgarī* Block-Printing in Bombay (*Gītā*) Miraj 1805.

Reproduced from a copy in the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, Rajapore. (*See* p. 34).

41. *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language*, Serampore 1805.

Reproduced from a copy with the author. (*See* p. 61).

42. *Bālbodha Muktāvalī*, Tanjore, c. 1806.

Reproduced from a copy in the British Museum. (*See* p. 46).

43. *The New Testament* in Sanskrit, Serampore 1808.

Reproduced from a copy in the Serampore College Library. (*See* p. 66).

44. The earliest available *Devanāgarī* (Marathi) book printed in Bombay : *An Easy and Expeditious means of acquiring knowledge of the English Language*, Bombay 1818.

Reproduced from a copy with the author. (*See* p. 81).

45. *Paṁcopākhyāna*, Bombay 1822.

Reproduced from a copy in the Mumbai Marathi Grantha-sangrahālaya, Bombay. (*See* p. 89).

46. One of the earliest book lithographed in Bombay in 1826. (*Gaṇitamārga*, Gujerati in the *Devanāgarī* script).

Reproduced from a copy in the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.

MISCELLANEOUS

47. The first book printed in Bombay in 1793.

(*Remarks and Occurences of Mr. Henry Becher*, Bombay 1793).

Reproduced from a copy in the Heras Institute of History and Culture, Bombay. (*See* p. 72).

48. *The Bible* in the Punjabee Language, Serampore 1811. (*See* p. 66).

49. *The Bible* in Ooria, Serampore, 1811. (*See* p. 65).

50. *Assamese New Testament*, Serampore 1815. (*See* p. 65).

51. *New Testament* in Mooltanee, Serampore 1819. (*See* p. 66).

52. *Pushtoo New Testament*, Serampore 1821. (*See* p. 66).

53. *New Testament* in Marwari, Serampore 1821. (*See* p. 66).

Nos. 48 to 53 : Reproduced from the copies in the Serampore College Library.

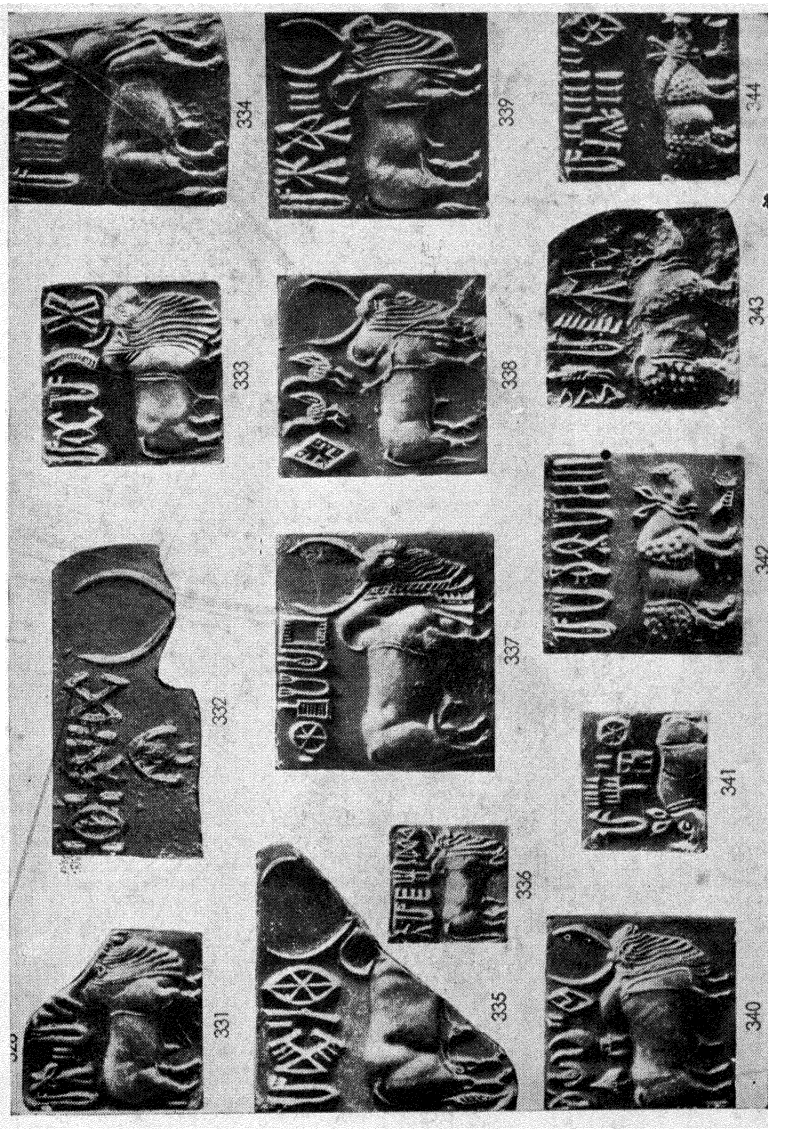


PLATE 1 ½ Mohenjo-Daro Seals, c. 3000 B.C. (See p. 1).



PLATE 2 : The first printed book. *Hīraka Sūtra*, China 868 A.D. (See p. 1).

cū doceremꝰ doceamꝰ doceret Ꝑrito pfco cū doct⁹ sum ℓ fuer
sis ℓ fuis sit ℓ fuit ꝯplē cū doctꝰ sumꝰ ℓ fuerimꝰ sitis ℓ fuer
eis sint ℓ fuerit Ꝑrito pluſq̄ pfco cū doct⁹ esse ℓ fuisse eos vl
fuisses eet ℓ fuisset ꝯplē cū doctꝰ essemꝰ ℓ fuissemꝰ essetis ℓ fuis
seris essent ℓ fuisset Futuro cū doct⁹ ero ℓ fuero eris ℓ fuis erit ℓ fu
erit ꝯplē cū doctꝰ erimꝰ ℓ fuerimꝰ eritis ℓ fueritis erit vl fuerit
Infinitō mō cū nuis ꝛ pſois tpe pñti ꝛ ꝑito ipfco doce
ꝑito pfco ꝛ pluſq̄ pfco doctū esse ℓ fuisse fuco doctū iri Quo
ntiapia ihūc a obo passio ꝑtū vt doct⁹ futurꝰ vt doceꝰ

Ego legis legit ꝯplē legimꝰ legitis legūt Ꝑrito ip
fco legebā legebas legebat ꝯplē legebamꝰ legeba
tis legebāt Ꝑrito pfco legi legisti legit ꝯplē legimꝰ legis
tis legerūt vl legere Ꝑrito pluſq̄ pfco legerā legeras lege
rat ꝯplē legeramꝰ legeratis legerāt Futuro legam legres le
get ꝯplē legemus legetis legent Impatiuo modo tēpoe
ꝑlenti ad futurū ꝛ tertiū pſonam lege legat ꝯplē lega
mus legite legant Futuro legito tu legito ille ꝯplē lega
mus legitote legunto vl legunto te Optatiuo modo tē
pore pñti ꝛ ꝑito ipfco vl legerem legeres legeret etplē
vl legeremus legeretis legerent Preterito pfco ꝛ pluſq̄ pfco
vl legissem legisses legisset ꝯplē vl legissemus legisseis
legissent Futuro vl lega legas legat ꝯplē vl legamus le
gatis legant Coniūctiuo nō tēpe pñti cū legam legas
legat ꝯplē cū legam legatis legant Preterito ipfco cū le
gere legeres legeret ꝛ plē cū legeremus legeretis legerent
Preterito pfco cū legerim legeris legerit ꝯplē cū legerimꝰ
legeritis legerint Preterito pluſq̄ꝑfecto cum legissem

PLATE 3: First types by Gutenburg. c. 1445. (See p. 2).

Começa o alegre-
TE E MANVAL DE DO
ſtrina chriſtãa, neceſſario aos que ſe querem ſaluar & aproueitar.

Cap. 1. que trata do eſtado do peccado mortal, e ſuas condições.



Si vult veni re poſt me, abneget ſemetipſũ, tollat crucem ſuã, & ſequatur me. Luce cap. nono.

O q̃ quer vir apos mim, negue a ſi meſmo, tome ſua cruz, e ſiga me.

¶ Eſtas palauras, filho charíſsimo preegou a meſma verdade Chriſto IESV noſſo ſenhor a todo o pouo, como a todos neceſſarias: porq̃ nellas cõſiſte toda a vida chriſtãa. Da boca do ſenhor as tomei, e da

PLATE 4: *Compendio Spiritual da Vida Christãa*, Goa 1561. (See p. 15).

Cap. 1.

G. Satemanita, anny vcharita, aiſſẽ mhannatàſſi quitea ?

S. Quitea bhauarthia Chriſtauana, IESV Chriſtachy fee fatema nuchy, taiſſichi, zari yecade uello ti muqhĩ ucharunchy zaita, tàri tichè qhatira maranna paualoi tàri, muqhĩ ucharunchy .

G. Mannuſſu Chriſtaõ zalea nimi tim, connu manu, conni uhaddiua taca zoddata ?

S. Parameſparacho dharma putru hounu, ſuarguĩcho ddaizy zata.

G. Anny Chriſtaũ nhoe to ?

S. Ho aiſſalo faitanacho gulamu. anny ſuarguinchea ddaizaea chucata .

G. Chriſtaũ nãua conna uaraunu amacã labalã ? IE-

PLATE 5 : *Doutrina Christam*, Rachol (Goa) 1622. (See p. 17).



PLATE 6: *Declaracam da Doutrina Christam*, Rachol (Goa) 1632. (See p. 18).

DISCVRSOS

SOBRE A VIDA DO APOSTOLO SAM PEDRO EM

QVE SE REFVTAM OS PRINCIPAIS ERROS DO GENTILIS-
mo deſte Oriente: & ſe declaraõ varios misterios
de noſſa Sancta Fee: com varia Doutrina
vtil & neceſſaria a eſta noua Chriſtandade.

COMPOSTOS EM VERSOS EM LINGOA BRAMANA
Maraſtta pello Padre E ſtevaõ da Cruz da Com
Frances



EMpreſſos em Goa na caza Profeſſa de IESVS Com licença
da Sancta Inquiſiçaõ & ordinario &
dos Superiores. Anno do naſcimento
de Chriſto Senhor Noſſo de 1629

PLATE 7: *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro* (Title page), Goa 1629-34. (See p. 18).



SADAI VA APOSTOLA

S. PEDRVCHE ZINNY ZI

VITVACHE CATHECHY VIBHAGTI. ANNY SVAMIYA IESV-che ſeuc: tthāī: arthaua uiſualocaſsi quevala Deuachē xaſtra carhenaueya lagoni: bahutequī cuddhā deuanchy cubhazana chhedunu abhauica loca gaſipantha annaueyaſsi. ze maha ceſtte tennē canttile. anny maha bhagey. ebhinauāche pauadde caruna ze tennē negui dauile. ya yetuqueache diſcurſe caruni. he granthī arthuni lihilē eſse.

✠

PAILEA PVR ANNA CHEM PAILE M CANDDA

Diſcurſacuefuaru Paila.

S. PEDRV APOSTOLV ADIM nhauetz. ta cauannu. Cauanne pery Parameſparē Suamiyē IESV Chriſtē teyaſsi apula Apoſtolu que la. IESV Suamiyache ſixa. te cauanna mhannoni. yetuque he peſſe diſcurſa-cuaſuarī lihilē ahe.

NAMO Deua ſaqhesantā. Adhitatua. adhy uraheta Gunnaaſſepennī anāta. Agochara. 1

Anāta honty tuze gunna. Anāti mau. prapti nidhana: Gneanatatua anupama. Tū anupamu ſacallu. 2

Viſuacartu honſy yecu. Rachane paruta aucqhu: Viſuadipacu. ucapacu: Saruatracha. 3

Tuzeā gunnāchy nidhi anāti Qaī anupami muqhachy canti: Bheaneſta bhodduue tthele hati Labdadica. 4

Namō aſſepennī yeca. Namo zanni Trinaca: Namo gunnatatuica. Tū cuinaſsu. ameru. 5

Tū uarnaueya agocharu. Tuzē ſaſſayecha nāhi paru: Apanna apannea yecaſſaru. Zanneſsi purna. 6

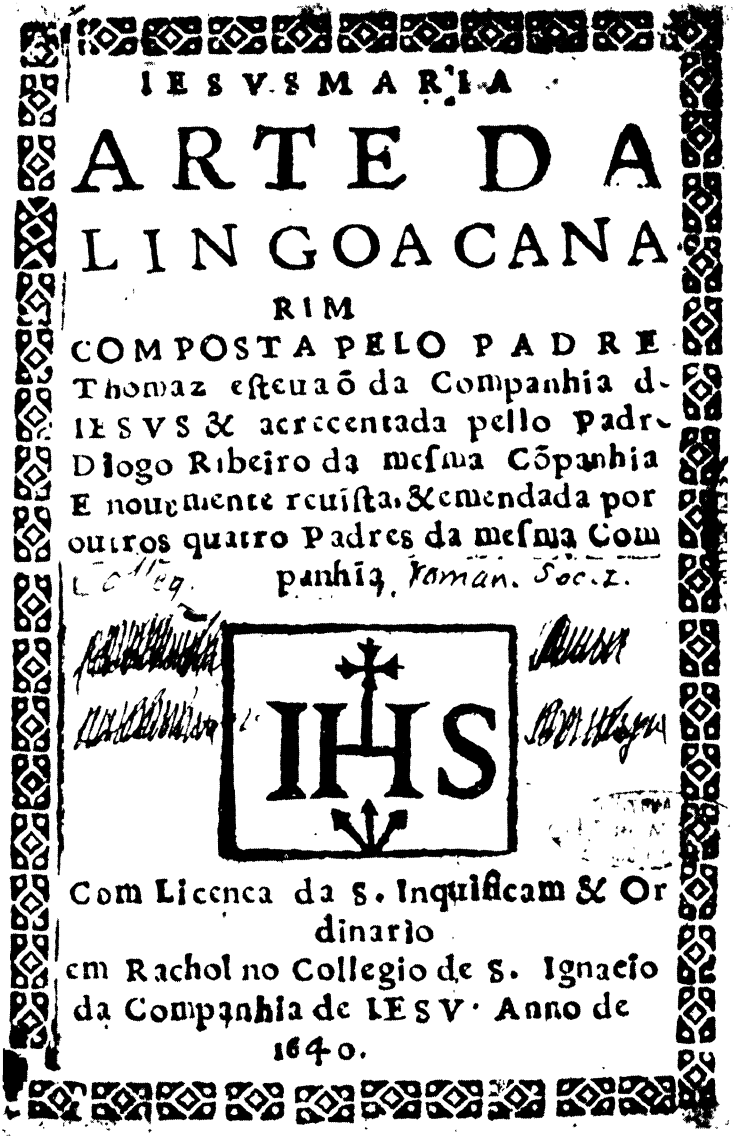
Tū honſy bhagtichē nidhane. Vaicttiuaxotru. nitichē reane: Mugtidata. daiua parame. Mata. pita zanzeha. 7

Namana tuzē mugtinatha. Zeya uiſuatarasa IESV Chriſta: Saſtranguē pramuſpatu atā. Tuzā charanni. 8

Tū nandanu Deua piteyacha. Sagharu ſacallā gunnācha: Tū xendhu crupe. carunnecha. Anādanidhi. 9

Tuza zahaleya praſſanatuaru. Phinttē cuidhecha andharu: Pracaſſe gneaneſagheru. Agneanāthē. 10

PLATE 8: *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro* (First page), Goa 1629-34. (See p. 18).



IESVS MARIA

ARTE DA

LINGOA CANA

RIM

COMPOSTA PELO PADRE

Thomaz eſtcuaõ da Companhia d-

IESVS & acrecentada pello Padre

Diogo Ribeiro da meſma Cõpanhia

E nouamente reuiſta, & emendada por

outros quatro Padres da meſma Com

panhia. Roman. Soc. I.

IHS

Com Licença da S. Inquiſicam & Or

dinario

em Rachol no Collegio de S. Ignacio

da Companhia de IESV. Anno de

1640.

PLATE 9: *Arte da Lingoa Canarim*, Rachol (Goa) 1640. (See p. 18).

Ioo

PADVA

MHAÏLALEA

XARANTVLEA SAN-
cto Antonichy ziuitua
catha.

13 de Iunho.

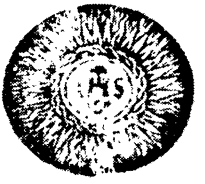
NAmana mazè Paramesparà
Suerga fruttichea rachannara
Crupaxendiu carunnaccca
Magsirayà. 1.
Namo Mariye suaminny
Tù suarga saunsarachy ranny
Saltrangōcauzā charennī
Prannipatu maza. 2.
Tuzea Deuapuerache varudane
Maza deuauize mati gneana
Tuze crupesttāna sangaina
Sancto Antonichy catha. 3.
Magś Portugala razedesi
Lixboa mhannipe ṣeca nagarasi
Sancto Antonio gharaasi
Apuli nizesttāmi. 4.

Hca

PLATE 10 : *Sancto Antonichy Zivitua catha*, Goa 1655. (See p. 21).

SOLILOQVIOS DIVINOS.

Compostos pello Padre Bernardino de Vilhegas da Cõpanhia de IESVS cathedratico de Prima de Theologia em o seu Collegio de Sancto Estevaõ de Murcia, & calificador do Sancto officio.



Traduzidos em lingoa Bramana pello Padre Ioseph de Padroza da mesma Cõpanhia Missionario em Salcete da Provincia de Goa.

A Esposa do Spirito Sancto, & Rainha dos Ceos Maria.

Impresso no Collegio novo de S. Paulo.

PLATE 11: *Soliloquios Divinos*, Goa 1660. (See p. 23).

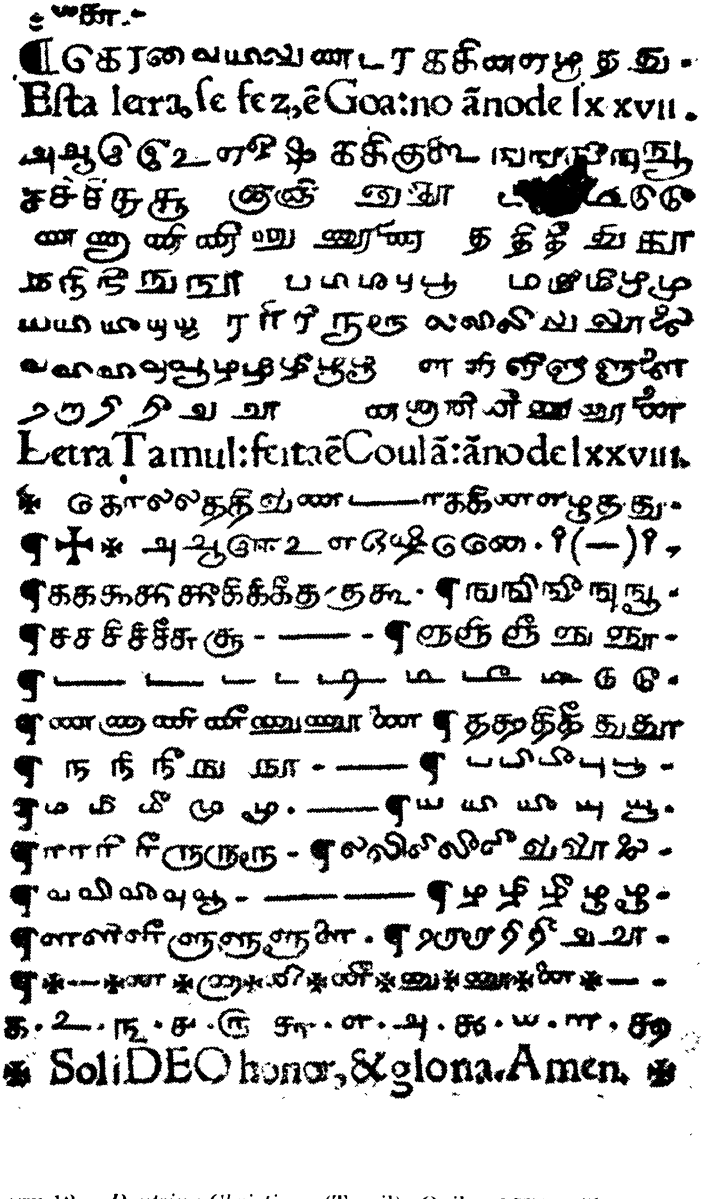


PLATE 12 : *Doutrina Christiana* (Tamil), Quilon 1578. (See p. 10).



A

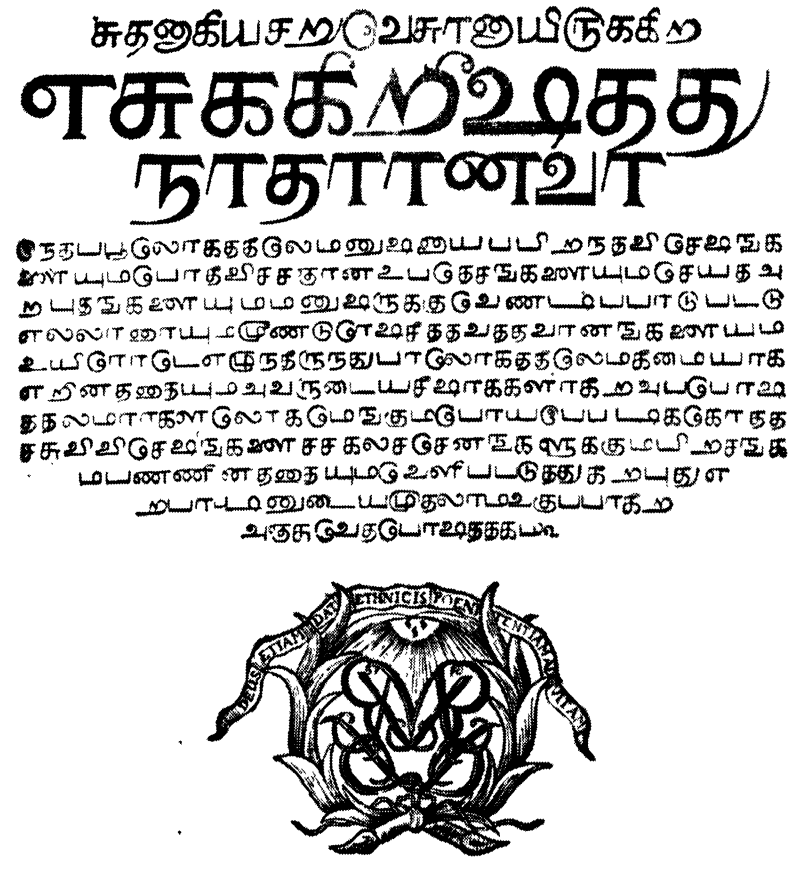
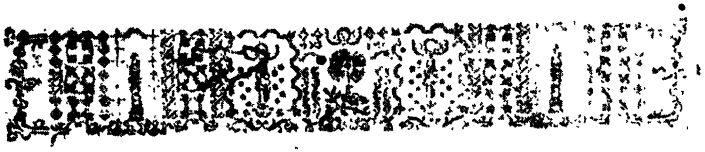


PLATE 14: *The Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles* (Tamil), Tranquebar 1714. (See p. 45).



A DICTIONARY
ENGLISH AND *MALABAR*.

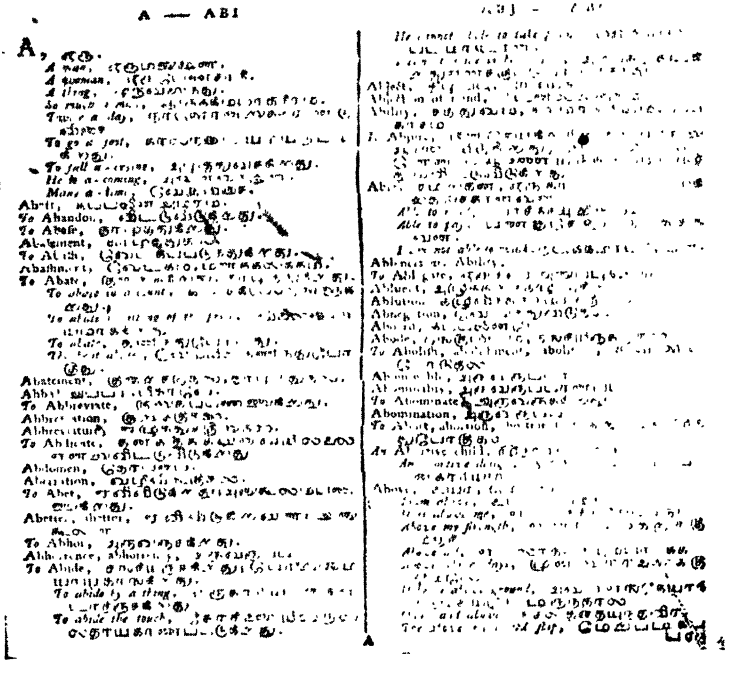
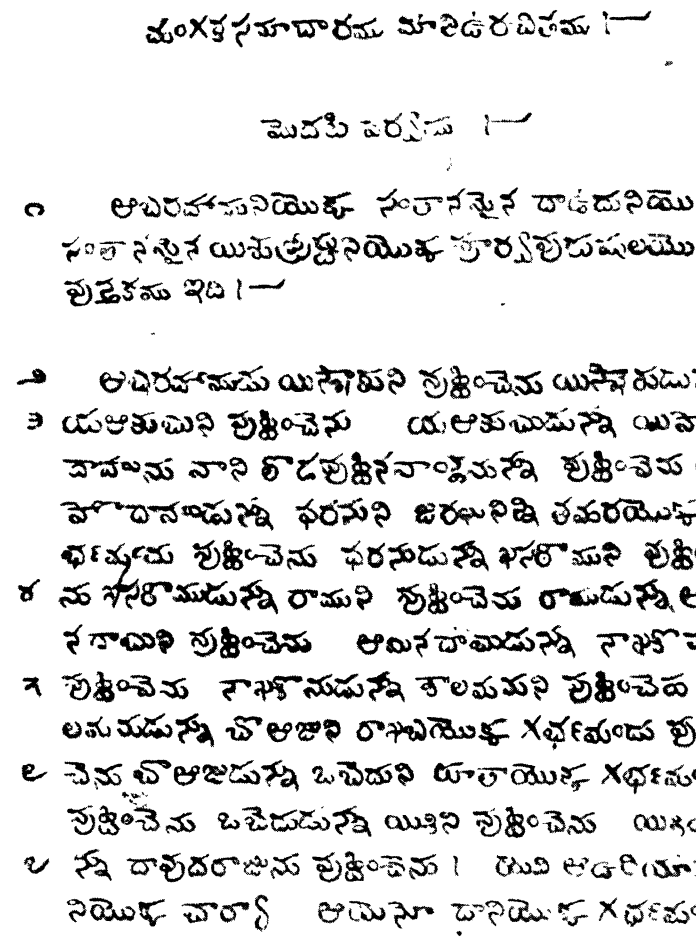


PLATE 15: *A Dictionary English and Malabar* (Tamil), Vepery 1786. (See p. 47).



మంగళసమాచారము మాతెడరచితము ।—

మొదటి పర్వము ।—

౧ ఆదిలోవానినియొక్క సంతానమైన దావీదునియొక్క
సంతానమైన యేసుక్రీస్తునియొక్క వంశావళియొక్క
వృత్తాంతము ఇది ।—

౨ ఆదిలోమము యిసాకును సృష్టించెను యిసాకు
౩ యలీకుచిని సృష్టించెను యలీకుచీడును యి
దాదాను వాని తొడసృష్టినాండ్లను సృష్టించెను యి
దాదాను ఫరసుని జరుసునిని తమరయొక్క ×
భర్తృడు సృష్టించెను ఫరసుడు హసరోముని సృష్టించె
౪ ను హసరోముడు రాముని సృష్టించెను రాముడు అం
నదాబిని సృష్టించెను అమినదాబుడు నాహోపని
౫ సృష్టించెను నాహోనుడు శాలమని సృష్టించెను శా
లమనుడు బోయజాని రాహబుయొక్క ×భర్తండు సృష్టిం
౬ చెను బోయజుడు ఒబెదుని రూతాయొక్క ×భర్తండు
సృష్టించెను ఒబేదుడు యిషిని సృష్టించెను యిషయు
౭ డు దావుదరాజును సృష్టించెను । దావీదు ఊరియాయొ
నియొక్క చార్తి ఆమెనొ దానియొక్క ×భర్తండు

క్ర

PLATE 16 : *New Testament in Telinga* (Telugoo), Serampore 1818. (See p. 66).

OF తద్భవములు ADJECTIVES.

The rules which have been given for the derivation of substantive nouns from the Sanscrit, apply equally to the derivation of adjectives from that language: తద్భవములు adjectives, therefore, in opposition to దేశ్యములు adjectives, admit of the distinctions of gender, number, and case.

Sanscrit.		Teloogoo.		
Crude.	*Adjective.*	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*	*Neuter.*
ధన్య	virtuous	ధన్యుఁడు	ధన్య	ధన్యము
నిపుణ	skilled	నిపుణుఁడు	నిపుణ	నిపుణము
స్వతంత్ర	independent	స్వతంత్రుఁడు	స్వతంత్ర	స్వతంత్రము
పరతంత్ర	dependent	పరతంత్రుఁడు	పరతంత్ర	పరతంత్రము
ప్రియ	dear	ప్రియుఁడు	ప్రియ	ప్రియము
బధిర	deaf	బధిరుఁడు	బధిర	బధిరము
అంధ	blind	అంధుఁడు	అంధ	అంధము
బాల	young	బాలుఁడు	బాల	బాలము
వృద్ధ	aged, old	వృద్ధుఁడు	వృద్ధ	వృద్ధము
శ్రేష్ఠ	excellent	శ్రేష్ఠుఁడు	శ్రేష్ఠ	శ్రేష్ఠము
నిర్మల	pure	నిర్మలుఁడు	నిర్మల	నిర్మలము
అల్ప	small, mean	అల్పుఁడు	అల్ప	అల్పము
ఉన్నత	lofty, tall	ఉన్నతుఁడు	ఉన్నత	ఉన్నతము
హ్రస్వ	short	హ్రస్వుఁడు	హ్రస్వ	హ్రస్వము
దీర్ఘ	long	దీర్ఘుఁడు	దీర్ఘ	దీర్ఘము
దరిద్ర	poor	దరిద్రుఁడు	దరిద్ర	దరిద్రము
యోగ్య	fit, proper	యోగ్యుఁడు	యోగ్య	యోగ్యము
విశాల	extensive	విశాలుఁడు	విశాల	విశాలము
చమత్కారి	dexterous	చమత్కారి	చమత్కారిణి	చమత్కారి
అహంకారి	arrogant	అహంకారి	అహంకారిణి	అహంకారి

తద్భవములు adjectives, when immediately prefixed to substantives, do not in general admit of declension. They usually require the particles అను, అయిన

PLATE 17: *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language*, Madras 1820. (See p. 47).

കീഴ് beneath; alſo കീഴേ, or കീഴ്ക്കൽ under; നാ
ട്ടുവിന്റെകീഴാകുന്നു, or തീഴ under the Raja, സമുദ്രത്തി
ന്റെകീഴിലാകുന്നു the ſand under the ſea.

പിൻപു after, as അതിന്റെപിൻപു after that.

ചുറ്റും about, as ഭൂമിയെച്ചുറ്റുംകടൽ the ſea is round
about the Earth.

Of the Dative.

All verbs ſignifying gain, or loſs, or injury, or the value of
any thing, alſo verbs of going, ſuch as imply the limit of
motion to a place, verbs of giving, of buying, lending, ſhewing
alſo the verbs ſubſtantive ആകുന്നു to be, കൂടുന്നു to acquire,
ചേരുന്നു to fit, എത്തുന്നു to arrive, or reach at, require a dative
caſe, as ഞാനതുകൊണ്ടുഒന്നുംനേടിയില്ല I gained nothing,
അവർക്കവർക്കുവലിയചേതംവന്നു they ſuffered great loſs; ശത്രു
വിന്റെജയംഭവിച്ചു the enemy gained the victory; ഞാ
നതിനുബഹുമതിയുംനിനക്കുനിന്ദയുമാകും I ſhall have
the honor, you the diſgrace; കർത്താവിന്നുസ്തുതിpraiſe be to God;
അപ്പൻമക്കൾക്കുദ്രവ്യംവെക്കുന്നു the Father preſerves money
for his children.

Verbs which ſignify the boundary at which we would
arrive; നഗരത്തിലേക്കുപോയി he went to the city; സ്വർഗ്ഗ
ത്തിലേക്കുകയറിപ്പോയി he aſcended into Heaven; കിണറ്റിലേക്കു
പോയി he went to the well, or tank; വിഷം, or മരുന്നുകൊടു
ക്കുന്നു he adminiſters medicine for ſickneſs.

But obſerve, when we ſay we go home, the dative is not
uſed

PLATE 18: Grammar of the Malabar (Malayalam) Language, Bombay 1799. (See pp. 73-74).

A GRAMMAR, &c.

SECTION I.

Of the Letters.

THE alphabet of this language is, with a few exceptions, the same as the Telinga. It contains fifty letters, of which thirty-four are consonants, (హల్లు), and sixteen are vowels, (అచ్చు.)

Consonants.

ಕ ka	ಖ kha	ಗ ga	ಘ gha	ಙ gna	gutturals.
ಚ cha	ಛ chha	ಜ ja	ಝ jha	ಞ gneea	palatines.
ಟ ta	ಠ tha	ಡ da	ಢ dha	ಣ pa	linguals.
ತ ta	ಥ tha	ದ da	ಧ dha	ನ na	dentals.
ಪ pa	ಫ pha	ಬ ba	ಭ bha	ಮ ma	labials.
ಯ ya	ರ ra	ಲ la	ವ wa		semi-vowels.
ಶ sha	ಷ sha	ಸ sa	ಹ ha	ಳ lla	sibilants, &c.

A

PLATE 19 : *A Grammar of the Kurnata Language*, Serampore 1817. (See p. 49).

ASS 89 ASS

ప్రాగంక్రమ్మగ్రద్దే ; Are the assizes over ? ఈరి గాంప్రియాయితే

To Assize v a. (to fix the rate) విధాకరమాకవిరకువుమాడు, క్రయనిష్కర్షసు

Assizer s. n. విధాకరి ఉజటిగ, క్రయనిష్కర్త

Associate, v a. సంగడిక ఆకొండు, సహవర్తియాగు, సుస్నేహిసు, వయస్యనాగు, మిత్రనాగు. v. *Friend, companion, partner.*

To Associate, v a కూడకరెయు, సంయుక్తవాగ స్నేహమాడు.

Association, s n సంఘ, సంఘట్టిత, రూఢ, సంఘస్నారంభర్య, సాంఘిక సాంఘర్షవు v. *Partnership, confederacy, society, union, connection.*

To Assort, v. a. ఆరసిరి, ఇంగడిసు, క్రమవాగిరి, పాంక్తవాగిరి v. *To arrange.* These goods must be *assorted* ఈచినసుగళంవాగిసడబిక్కిద్దు, or ఈసామానుగళంసు క్రమవాగడబేకిద్దు.

Assorter, s n. క్రమవాగువవను, అరిసిరువవను, ఎంగడిసువవను.

Assortment, s n. (*the act*) ఎంగడిసియిరువికె, క్రమవాగిరువికె, పాంక్తవాగిరువికె.

To Assuage, v. a. శమవాడిసు, శాంతవాడు, ప్రాంతిపడిసు, ఆరిసు. v. *To mitigate, ease, soften, appease, pacify, abate.*

To Assuage, v. n. (*as fever, anger, &c.*) శాంతవాగు, ఆరు, అణగు, (*as wind, rain &c.*) శీతవాగు, ఇళియు, పటుగు, ఇరుగడియాగు, ఇళకు మొదలాగు, శక్తగు.

Assuasive, s. n. ప్రాంతకరువుదు, పట్టిసువుదు, లఘుకరిసువుదు.

To Assume, v. a (*to take*) కైకొళ్ళు; (*to appropriate*) ఉళిసు, స్వీకరిసు; (*to suppose*) ఊహిసు, తిళిదుకొళ్ళు; (*to take upon one's self*) కొడిసు; (*to arrogate*) అధిక ప్రసంగమాడు, ఒడాయిసుకొళ్ళు.

Assumer, s. n (*an arrogant man*) ప్రాంప్రిక, ఒడ్డాయిత, ఒడ్డాయిగార, ఉద్ధతక.

Assuming, a. ప్రాంప్రిక, ఒడాయియుళ్ళ, ఉద్ధతకరణవుళ్ళ v. *Arrogant, haughty*

Assumption, s n (*taking*) కైకొండుకొళ్ళిగె; (*supposition*) ఊహె. v. *Taking, supposition, presumption.*

Assurance, s. n. (*freedom from doubt*) నిస్సంశయ, నివిచికిత్సనిస్సందేహ; (*firmness*) దృఢ, దృష్టికరణ, (*promise*) మాతు, వాగ్దత్తి; (*confidence*) భరవస, నంబిక; (*certainty*) నిశ్చయత, ఏటు, (*impudence*) ముయ్యాదా లీనత్వ, మోకేశిక్షురణ, (*intrepidity*) ధైర్య, శుంఠితెయు, నిర్భీతియు. v. Also *insurance, security, expectation.*

To Assure, v. a (*to give confidence*) నంబికెమాడి, ఖచితకొడు; (*to exempt from doubt*) అనుమానవిల్లదంతె, సంచేహవిల్లదంతె, సంశయవిల్లదంతె

PLATE 20 : *An English Kannada Dictionary*, Madras 1824. (See p. 48).

Maze, *s.* గాబరి, రొండర్, బ్రాంబుల, భ్రమి

Maze, *v. a.* గాబరిమాడు, భ్రమిసెపడిసు

Mazy, *a.* రొండరియాద, గాబర్రియాద

Me, *s.* నన్న, నన్నన్న

Mead, *s.* జేనూ నీరుగూబిరిసిదపాన, మధూదక

Mead, meadow, *s.* కుసునీ

Meagre, *a.* బడవాద, క్షీణవాద, నిష్పలద, రంగేట్ట

Meagreness, *s.* బడబళికే, బలహీన, కృశ

Meal, *s.* నుబ్బు, హిట్టు (*a repast*) భోజన, అశన

Mealy, *a.* నుబ్బావ, హిట్టిన, మృదువాద

Mealy-mouthed, *a.* మృదుభాషియ, మెత్తిన, మాతిన

Mean, నీచవాద, అయోగ్యవాద, అల్ప [కొళ్లగుత

Mean, *a. & s.* (*middle*) మధ్య (*intervening*) నడిచే

Means, *s.* భాగ్య, సంపత్తు (*cause*) కారణ, హేతు (*contrivance*) ఉపాయ

Mean, *v. n. & v. a.* అర్థాకొడు, పూజిసు

Mean-spirited, *a.* పిశుణద, లుబ్ధకర్వళు, జిపుణకర్వద

Meander, *s.* నదీసుళి, ఆవర్త, *v. n.* నీరుసిక్కు

Meanest, *a.* బహుసీచ

Meaning, *s.* అర్థ, అభిప్రాయ, టీకు, అన్వయ

Meanly, *ad.* హేయవాగి, పిశుణవాగి, నీచవాగి, అయోగ్యవాగి

Meanness, *s.* నీచతన, అయోగ్యతన్న, జిపుణతన

Measles, *s.* చిక్కమ్మ, కెట్టమ్మ

Measurable, *a.* అళియకెక్క

Measure, *s.* అళతే, ప్రమాణ, మొల్లై, సీరు, పిడి *v. a.* అళి, ప్రమాణిసు, అళతేమాడు

PLATE 21 : *A Manual English and Canarese Dictionary*, Bangalore 1844. (See p. 49).

বোধপুকাশং শব্দশাস্ত্রং
ত্রিরিন্ধিনামুপকারার্থং
ক্রিয়তে হালেদঙ্গ্রেজী

A GRAMMAR

OF THE BENGAL LANGUAGE

BY

NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED.

ইন্দ্রাদয়োপি যস্যান্তং নয়ুঃ শব্দবারিধেঃ।
প্রক্রিয়ান্তস্য কৃৎস্নস্য ক্ষমোবক্তুং নরঃ কথং॥

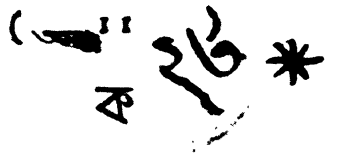
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AT

HOOGLY IN BENGAL

M DCC LXXVIII.

PLATE 22 : *A Grammar of the Bengal Language*, Hoogly (Bengal) 1778. (See p. 52).



কাজি	a judge
কাজিয়্যা	quarrel, diſpute
কাজিয়্যাদার	quarrelſome
কাঁজি	ſour water, canjee
কাস	cough
কাসিতে	to cough
কাশ্দি	the poſt dawk
কাত্যে	a crooked knife to cut graſs
কাষ্ঠ	wood
কাঁদর পিল্যা	a ſwelling of the belly [proceeding from an ill cured fever
কাসোব	a round plate of braſs
কাঁদা	braſs
কাঁদাব	brazen, of braſs
কাঁসারি	a copper-ſmith
কাঙলা	corrupt blood
কে	who?
কেবা	who?

C 2

PLATE 23 : *Ingaraji and Bengali Vokabilari*, Calcutta 1793. (See p. 55).

কথোপকথন।

চাকর ভাড়া করণ।

সাহেব শেলাম।

শেলাম।

তুমি কেটা। তোমার বাটী কোথায়।

সাহেব আমার নাম রহমতুল। আমার বাটী কলিকতায়।

কহ কি নিমিত্ত আসিয়াছ।

সাহেব আমি বেকার আছি চাকরির চেষ্টায় আসিয়াছি।

তুমি কি কার্য্যের চাকরি করহ।

সাহেব আমি সাহেব লোকের খানসামা গিরির কাম করিয়া থাকি। পূর্ব্ব লেদমতগার ছিলাম এখন খানসামা গিরি করি।

খানসামা কি কার্য্য করে।

PLATE 24: *Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali Language*, Serampore 1801. (See p. 60).

متصل دربار باشد	Let it be near the Durbar.
درین کرو و نزاح خواهم گرفت	I'll take it in this neighbourhood !
باید که در انجا کال ولا نباشد	It muſt not be in a gutterey place.
خوابی ورا ه خشک تلاش خوا هم کرد	I ſhall look out for an houſe in a dry ſtreet.
یک کشتی کرایه بکنید	Hire me a boat.
صاحب کجا خواهند رفت	Sir, where do you mean to go?
بسیر دریا خواهم رفت	I ſhall go on the river.
چندروز درانجا تشریف خواهند داشت	Sir, how many days will you ſtay there?
دو سه روز خواهم ماند	I will remain there two or three days.
کدام وقت خواهند رفت	What time will you go?
وقتیکه مد میاید	When the tide comes in.
حالا جزر است باز بشب مد خواهد آمد	It is now ebb, the tide will return at night.
کشتی تیار باشد بشب خواهم رفت	Let the boat be ready. I ſhall go at night.

PLATE 25 : *A New Perſian and Engliſh work etc.*, Calcutta 1792. (See p. 55).

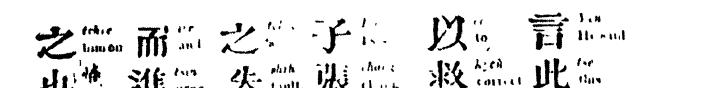
بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

ترجمہ شیخ سعدی کے پند نامے کا

میرے حال پر کر تو بخشش خدا
کہ ہیں ہم گرفتار حرص و ہوا
نہیں ہی ہمیں دادرس تجھ سوا
تو ہی بخشنے والا عاصیوں کی خطا
گنہ سے مجھے باز رکھ ای خدا
گنہ بخش اور راہ نیکی دکھا
زباں کو دہن بیچ جب تک ہی جا
ہی مقبول دل کو نبی کی ثنا

Plate 26 : *Pand-nameh* by Shaykh Sa'adi Shirazi, Calcutta 1803.

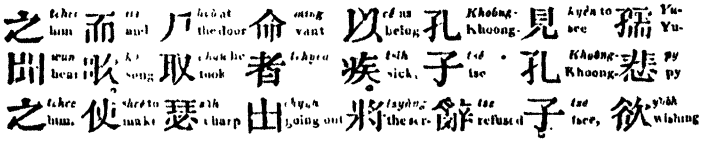
before the verb expressing the action. On the sentence just quoted, *Chyu-hee*, observes respecting the Chinese sage's advice to his disciple



"He said this, *for the sake of* correcting Tsze-chang's fault, and urging him forward." Comment on *Lun-yu*, vol. i.

Here the end in view is marked by prefixing *e* to the infinitive, which, uniting therewith forms a phrase which has nearly the force of the gerund in *di*, 'for the sake of correcting.'

32. Often however a Causal verb is employed for this purpose: an instance occurs in the following sentence, which relates the step taken by the Chinese sage to make a worthless man sensible of his contempt of him:



"*Yu-pe* wishing to see *Khoóng-tsze*, he excused himself as being sick. His servant having scarcely gone forth with this reply, he took a harp and began singing *to make Yu-pe* hear him." *Lun-yu*, vol. ii.

PLATE 27: *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, Serampore 1814. (See p. 67-8).

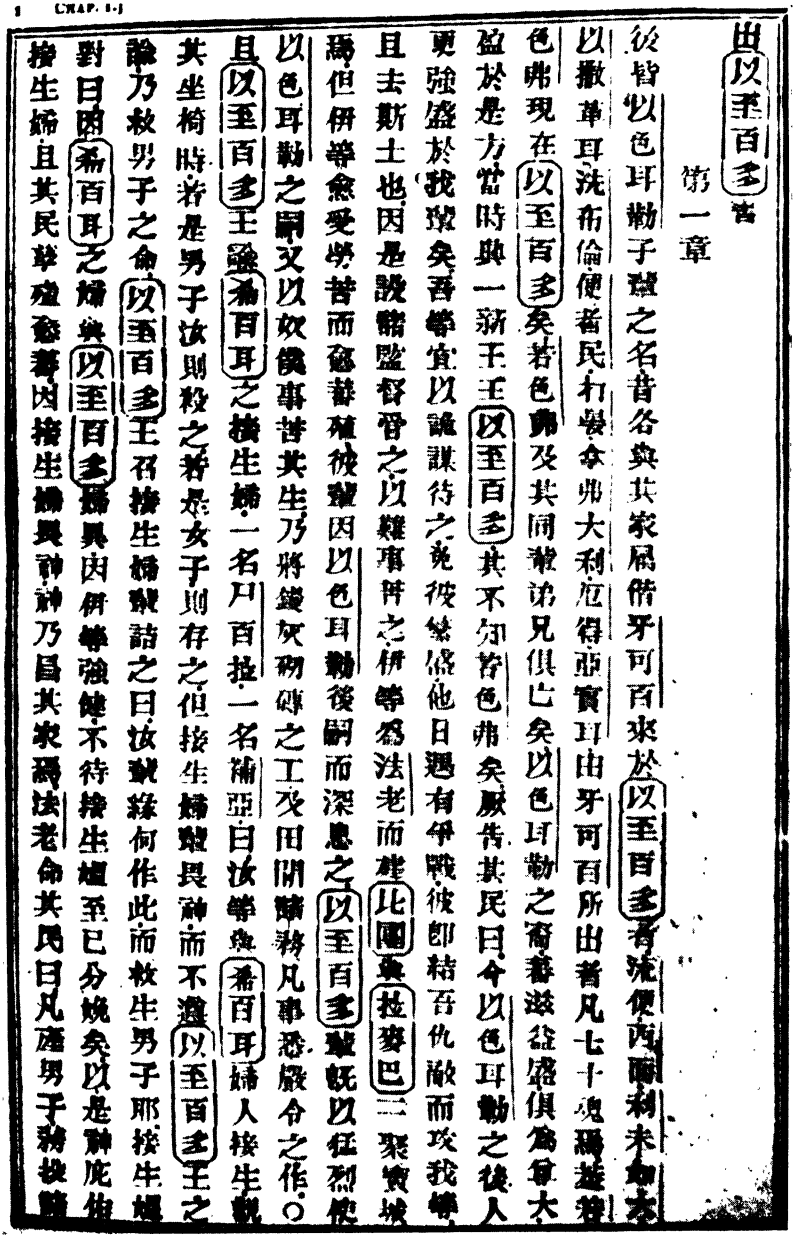
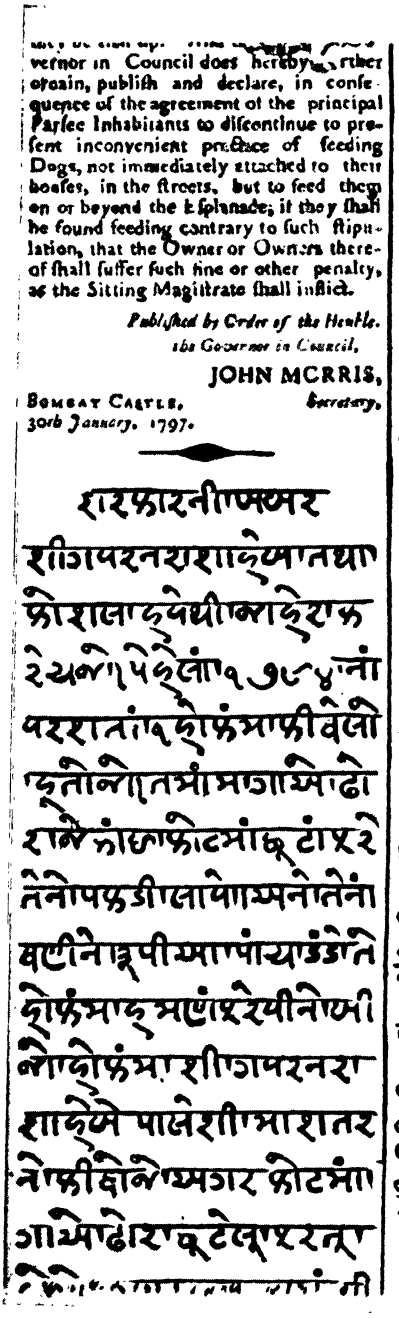

出以至百多書
第一章
從皆以色耳勒子孫之名昔各與其家屬偕牙可百來於以至百多者流便西顧利未命太
以撒革耳洗布倫便番民打嘆拿弗大利厄得亞實耳由牙可百所出者凡七十魂焉基特
色弗現在以至百多矣若色弗及其同輩諸兄俱亡矣以色耳勒之裔蕃滋益盛俱為尊大
盈於是方當時與一新王王以至百多其不知若色弗矣厥告其民曰今以色耳勒之後人
更強盛於我敵矣吾等宜以譎謀待之免彼繁盛他日遇有爭戰彼即結吾仇敵而攻我轉
且去斯土也因是設監督管之以難事苦之俾等為法老而建比圖與拉麥巴二聚寶城
焉但俾等愈受勞苦而愈蕃殖彼敵因以色耳勒後嗣而深患之以至百多敵既以狂烈使
以色耳勒之嗣又以奴役事苦其生乃將鐵灰砌磚之工及田間諸務凡事悉嚴令之作○
且以至百多王諭希百耳之接生婦一名尸百拉一名補亞曰汝等與希百耳婦人接生就
其坐椅時若是男子汝則殺之若是女子則存之但接生婦敬畏神而不遵以至百多王之
諭乃救男子之命以至百多王召接生婦詰之曰汝緣何作此而救生男子耶接生婦
對曰因希百耳之婦與以至百多婦異因俾等強健不待接生婦至已分娩矣以是神庇佑
接生婦且其民孳殖愈夥因接生婦畏神神乃昌其家焉法老命其民曰凡產男子務投

Plate 28 : *The Holy Bible* (Chinese), Serampore 1822. (See p. 67-8).



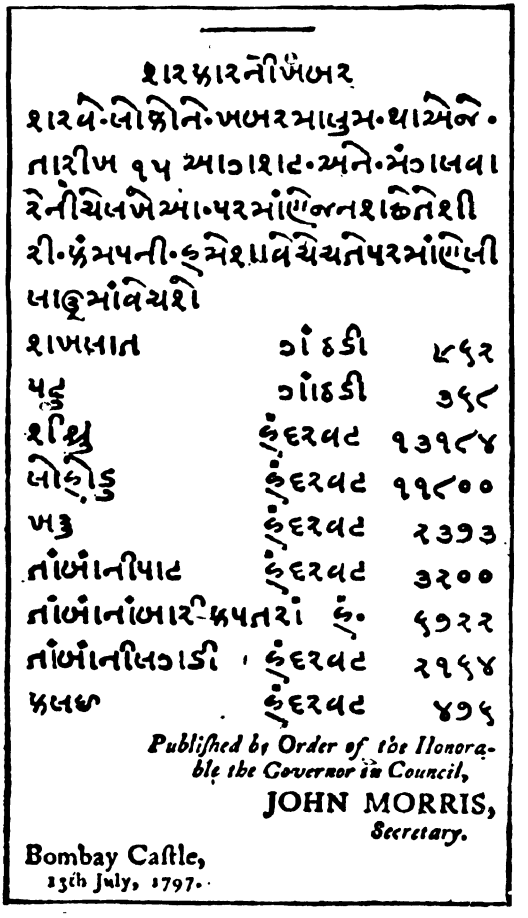
vernor in Council does hereby further
ordain, publish and declare, in conse-
quence of the agreement of the principal
Parsee Inhabitants to discontinue to pre-
sent inconvenient practice of feeding
Dogs, not immediately attached to their
houses, in the streets, but to feed them
on or beyond the Esplanade; if they shall
be found feeding contrary to such stipu-
lation, that the Owner or Owners there-
of shall suffer such fine or other penalty,
as the Sitting Magistrate shall inflict.

Published by Order of the Honble.
the Governor in Council,

JOHN MCRRIS,
Secretary.

BOMBAY CASTLE,
30th *January*, 1797.

Published by Order of the Honble.
the Governor in Council,
JOHN MORRIS



ઇશ્તેહાર નોંધબર

ઇશ્તેહાર લોકોને ખબર માલુમ થાએને
તારીખ ૧૫ આગાશટ અને એંગાલવા
રેની ચેલખે આંપર માંણેજ્ન શકતેશી
રી ઇંમપની ઇમેશાલે ચેચતે પર માંણેકી
લાકુ આંવેચશે

શાખલાત	ગાંઠકી	૮૬૨
પકુ	ગાંઠકી	૩૬૮
શશ્રુ	કુંદરવટ	૧૩૧૮૪
લોકુંકુ	કુંદરવટ	૧૧૮૦૦
ખડુ	કુંદરવટ	૨૩૭૩
તાંબાંનીપાટ	કુંદરવટ	૩૨૦૦
તાંબાંનાંબારી કપતરાં	કું.	૬૭૨૨
તાંબાંનીલગાડી	કુંદરવટ	૨૧૬૪
કલઇ	કુંદરવટ	૪૭૬

Published by Order of the Honorable the Governor in Council,

JOHN MORRIS,
Secretary.

Bombay Caſtle,
13th July, 1797.

PLATE 30 : The earliest specimen of the Gujerati Printing (without a running top-line).
Bombay Courier, Bombay 22nd July, 1797. (See p. 74).

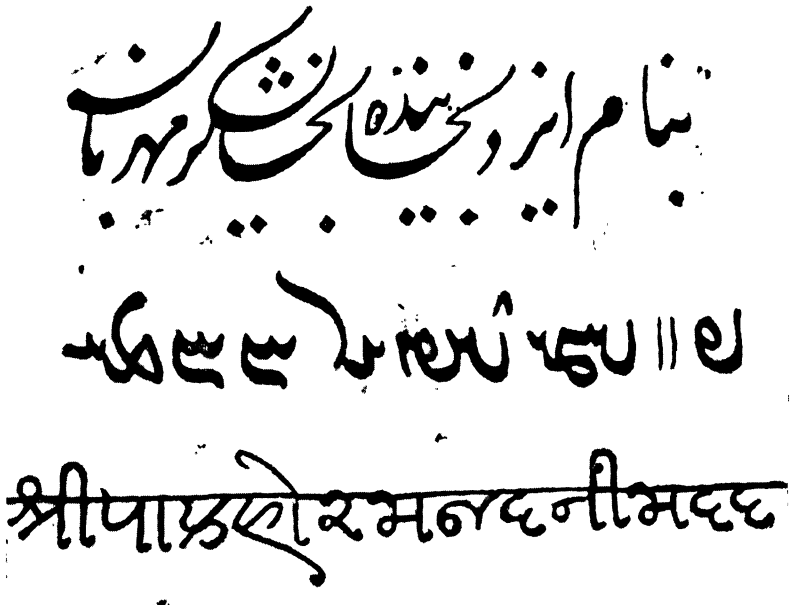


Plate 31 : *Dabestān* (Gujerati), Bombay 1815. (See p. 78).

THE

HOLY BIBLE,

CONTAINING

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS,

IN THE

GOOJURJTTEE LANGUAGE,

Translated by the Surat Missionaries.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ધરમ પુસ્તક,

એટલે જુનો તથા નવો અદ્દોલશાત,

શુરતમાં મોઝલેલાએમએ ગુજરાતી બોલીમાં ઉતારા:

તેના ચાર ભાગ છે. તેમાંનો પેહેલો ભાગ એ છે.

SURAT:-Printed at the Mission Press,

FOR THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

1828.

અમારી ના અઈચલ શાહરાઈ એતીની મદદથી

શુરતમાં મોઝલેલાએમોના છાપખાનામાં છપાએ.

ઈ શુશા શાને ૧૮૨૮.

PLATE 32 : *The Holy Bible* (Gujerati 2nd Ed.), Surat 1828. (See p. 114).

ADVERTISEMENT,

GOVERNMENT, at the Recommendation of the Medical Board, having entrusted to the Surgeon to the Civil Department, Doctor Kier, the very important duty of preserving the Cow Pox in a recent state; NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, to the Natives of all Casts, that Doctor Kier will inoculate their Children, gratis, whenever they chuse to apply.—They are entreated to attend, in the Mornings by 10 O'Clock, at Doctor Kier's house in Town, where they will be shewn the progress of this very Mild disease, and have it in their power to be fully convinced, that it will, for ever, preserve their Children from the danger of the Small Pox.

By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council,

BOMBAY CASTLE,
1st July, 1802.

J. A. GRANT,
Sub Secretary to Government.



By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council,

BOMBAY CASTLE,
1st July, 1802.

J. A. GRANT,
Sub Secretary to Government.

PLATE 33 : The first *Modī* Marathi types prepared in Bombay, *Bombay Courier*, Bombay 17th July 1802. (See p. 75).

माशीहनिवीत मंगल समाचार।

१ पहीं पर्व।

१ यशुमसीहा वंशाव पाउिद आवे संतान मीछि सो
आवे पुर्व पुरुषाव उत्पन्न छे।

२ यशुवधमाव बीरछिमास् जन्म छीछा पाणी वं सछिजन
यांछिमास् जन्म छीछा पाणी यांछिमाव यछाण साथा
३ आवे आमाव जन्म छीछा पाणी यछाण यनस् साथा
जनछिमास् आमनावे गर्भी जन्म छीछा पाणी यनसावे छस्
नेणाम् जन्म छीछा साथा छस्नेणाव नमास् जन्म छीछा
४ पाणी नेमाव अमीनछधास् जन्म छीछा साथा अमीनछधाव्
नाछिशोनास् जन्म छीछा पाणी नाछिशोनाव सल्मास्
५ जन्म छीछा पाणी सल्माव यछमस् नथधावे गर्भी जन्म
छीछा पाणी यछमस् ओबेदास् नेमावे ओबदे जन्म
६ छीछा पाणी ओबेदाव यीशीस् जन्म छीछा-यानंतव
यीशीव पाउिद नाम्मास् जन्म छीछा पाणी पाउिदीयवी
अथा ते ओणी तीने मर्गी पाउिद पाम्माव सल्मनास् जन्म
७ छीछा पाणी सल्मनाव नथिमास् जन्म छीछा साथा
नथिमाव अछीयस् जन्म छीछा साथा अछीयन असास्
८ जन्म छीछा यानंतव असाव योशेफछाम् जन्म छीछा
पाणी योशेफछाव योरमीस् जन्म छीछा साथा योरमाव्
उछीयस् जन्म छीछा पाणी उछियव योरामास् जन्म छीछा
९ साथा योरामाव उछियस् जन्म छीछा साथा अछीयन युव
मेसस् जन्म छीछा तयनंतव उछीयव यनशास् जन्म

मरीता. ती. नें	मरीते. त्या. तीं
मेरेन्न. उ. रें	मेरेरे. र्‍या. उं
मनणाऱ्. जी. नें	मनणावे. ज्या. जी
मरून	
मीमतों	थम्मीमतों
मीमतोंथ्थे	थम्मीमतथ्थें
मीमतच्चितों. ती. नें	थम्मीमतच्चितों
मीगेन्नें	थम्मीगेन्नें
मीगेन्नेंच्चितों	थम्मीगेन्नेंच्चितों
मीमर्ईन	थम्मीमणें
नमीमतों	नथम्मीमतों
नमीमतों	नथम्मीमतों
नमीगेन्नें	नथम्मीगेन्नें
नमीगेन्नेंथत्तों	नथम्मीगेन्नेंथत्तों
नमीमर्ईन	नथम्मीमणें
जींम	जीम्मीम
मनमणींचे	थम्मनमंणीचे
त्यांनमणींचे	त्यांनमंणीचे

PLATE 35 : The earliest book in *Modi* (Marathi) types, Bombay , 1808 (See p. 75).

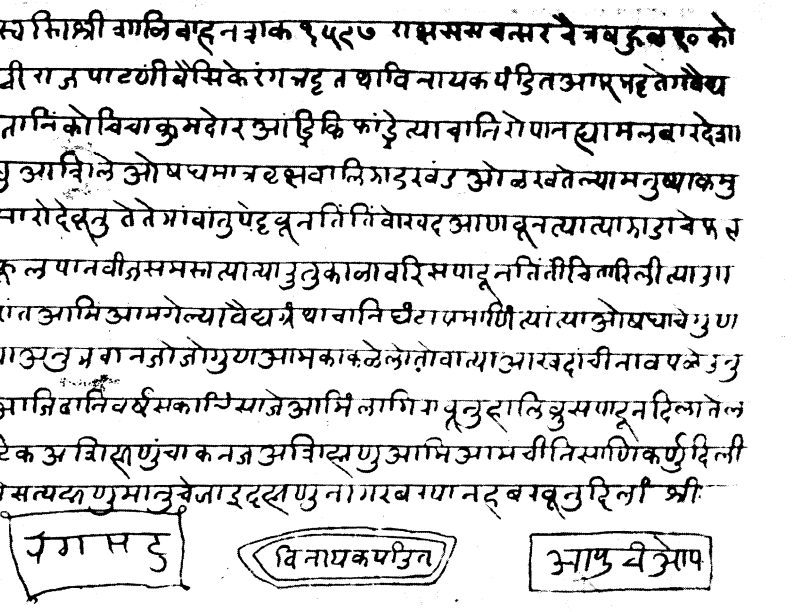


PLATE 36 : The earliest *Devanāgarī* block-printing (*Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*), Amsterdam 1678.

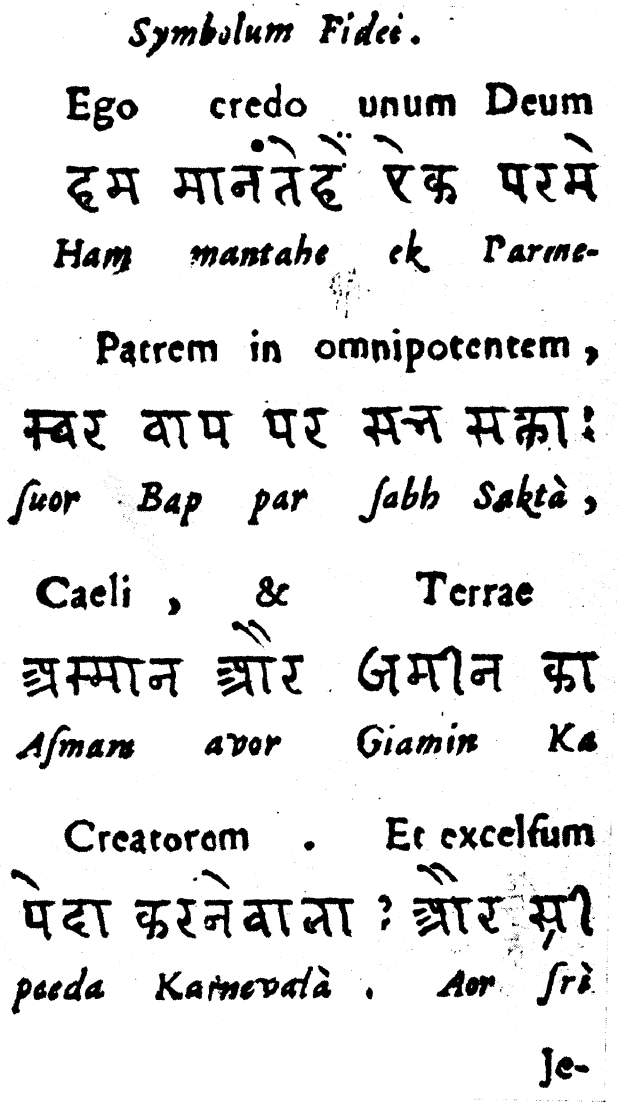


PLATE 37: The earliest specimen of the *Devanāgarī* types (*Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum*), Rome 1771. (See p. 63).

Here we have ſo far juſtified the claſſing of words under this or that gender, as to aſcertain the formation of feminines from maſculines, or both, from the generic noun, by the addition, tranſpoſition, or changing of letters, in order more effectually to diſtinguiſh one ſex from the other; for which purpoſe the Fifth and ſubſequent Rules will be found uſeful.

RULE V.

سادی رین جاگن ہر را کہا
رس کیس دیکا سہی جا کہا
ہو رہو سب دیہو ڈار
کیا سکھی ساجن نہیں سکھیار

मुकुनी
सानीरइनिधतिश्रनपननाया
नस कश्च प्राका सहीजाया
नोर चलो तब दीनो ज्ञान
क्षासखीसाजननहिसखीहार

FREE TRANSLATION.

All night I bore upon my heaving breaſt,
Of ev'ry ſweet, and ev'ry charm poſſeſt,
Nor quitted 'till the morn began to breathe—
"Whom? your beloved?" No—A flow'ry wreathe.

DAHI.

	gr.een,	PAGES.		g eeſ.
	cholee,an,	5 & 6,		cholee,aſ.
	jholee,an,			jholee,an.
	men,			men.
	dea,	12,		idea.
N. B. For	joun, in the oblique,	7,	Read	joun.
	bans,	31,		ba'ns.
	banh,			ba'nh.
	perhaps even do,	33,		perhaps even they.
	each they their,			each their.
	multiplied,	34,		added.
	ſatire or	36,		ſatirical.

And in page 34 the ſcholar muſt be guided to the numerical powers of each letter, by the Ubjud in Perſian, that, in the Engliſh characters not having the letters exactly parallel with their correſponding figures. The Authour's diſtance from the preſs will account for ſuch trifling inaccuracies as the above; and he thinks the beſt apology is at once to correct them.

O

PLATE 38 : The earliest specimen of the *Devanāgarī* and Hindustani (Urdu) printing in India (Grammar of the Hindoostannee Language), Calcutta 1796. (See p. 62).

दफ़ा ॥

हिंदूस्तान में बातचीत के लीऐ हिंदी
ज़बान और ज़बानों से ज़ीआदः दख
कार है

हिंदूस्तानी ज़बान कि जिसका ज़िक्र
मेरे दाऐ में है उसको हिंदी - उर्दू
और रेख़्तः भी कहते हैं और यिह
मुरक्कब अरबी और फ़ारसी औ संस्कृत
या भाषा से है और पिंह पिछली
अगले ज़माने में तमाम हिंद में
राऐज थी

अरब

PLATE 39 : *Essays (Thesis) by the students of the college of Fort William,* Bengal, Calcutta 1802. (See p. 62).

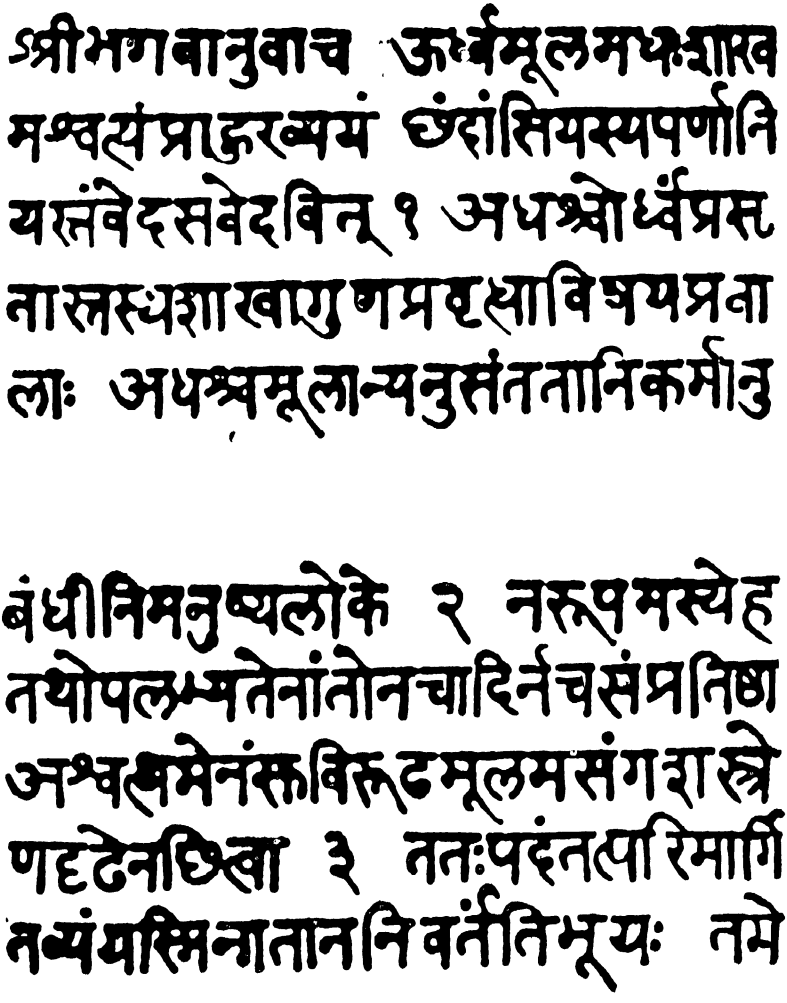


PLATE 40 : The earliest *Devanāgarī* Block-printing in Bombay (*Gītā*), Miraj 1805. (See p. 34).

श्रीमन्तास् म्हटली तदनन्तर श्रीमन्त काय बोलले त श्रीमन्ताचा मनोदय काय आहे? जो श्रीमन्ता चा मनोदय असेल त्याच प्रमाणे वर्तणुक करूं।

अहो एक गोष्ट कानांत आयकूंन जा साहेबांचे कानांत म्हणून जे आज्ञा करीत ते सत्वर येऊन आम्हास सांगा तदनन्तर आप ले विचारांत जे गोष्ट दृढ येईल ते करूं।

तुम्हीं इकडे या कांहीं गोष्ट म्हणायाची आहे आयकून जा त्वरेने त्याहांस समागमें घेऊन या। तिकडे त्यांहांचे जवळ जा आम्चा निरोप विलम्ब पूर्वक सांगा तेही आयकून सत्वर स्वार होऊन येतील आज त्याहासही आणा भाषा देऊन आणा। अहो तुम्हास कांही विचारही आहे उद्या ईंगरेजाचा मोटा दिवस होईल सारे ईंगरेज मोटी खुशी करतील तोपा फार सोडतील

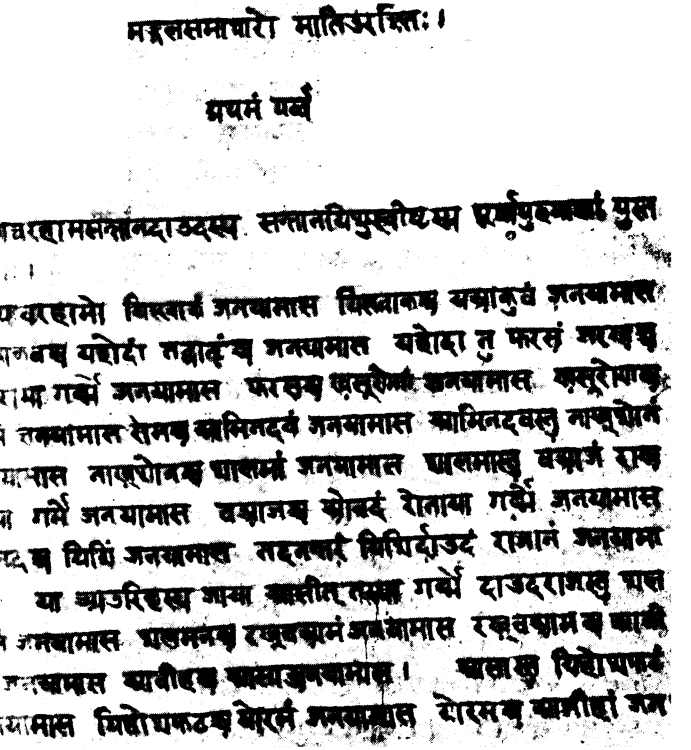
PLATE 41 : *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language*, Serampore 1805. (See p. 61).



काहणी ।।१।।लांउगाआणियेउकायांची

एक्यापर्वतावरूनएकनिर्मलपाण्याचाओ
हलयेनहोतानेथेयेक्याउष्णकालीएकदि
वसीएकलांउगावएकयेउकाउभयतांही
एक्याचमुहूर्तीपाणीप्यावयासआलेलांउ
गाउन्ननप्रदेशीउभाराहिलाहोतावयेउ
काखालपटप्रदेशीकाहीदूरअंतरानेउभा
होतालांउग्याचेमनींकोण्याप्रकारेंहीयेउ
क्यामीदाटबलेंभांउणेकरावयाचेहोतेंनद्
नुसारयेउक्यासविचारूंलागलाजेअरेयेउ
क्यानिर्मलआहेतेंपाणीउडुलूनमलाप्याव

PLATE 42: *Bālbodha Muktāvalī*, Tanjore c. 1806. (See p. 46).



मङ्गलसमाचारो मातिऽरचितः।

प्रथमं पर्व्व

१ अब्रहामसन्तानदाउदस्य सन्तानयिषुखीष्टस्य पूर्व्वपुरुषाणां पुस्त

२ यब्रहामो विरञ्चं जनयामास विरञ्चाकञ्च यकूबुं जनयामास

३ यकूबञ्च यहोदां तद्भ्रातॄंश्च जनयामास यहोदा तु फरसं जरद्वञ्च

तनयौ गर्भे जनयामास फरसञ्च हस्रोणं जनयामास हस्रोणञ्च

४ रामं जनयामास रामञ्च अम्मिनदबं जनयामास अम्मिनदबस्तु नाखूशोनं

५ जनयामास नाखूशोनञ्च सालमां जनयामास सालमासु बअजं राख

६ याया गर्भे जनयामास बअजञ्च ओबदं रोतायां गर्भे जनयामास

ओबदञ्च यिशिं जनयामास तद्भ्रातरं यिशिर्दाउदं राजानं जनयाम

स या ऊरियहस्य भार्य्या आसीत् तस्यां गर्भे दाउद्राजस्तु पुत्र

७ मनं जनयामास सालमनञ्च रहूबआमं जनयामास रहूबआमञ्च आबी

८ यं जनयामास आबीयञ्च आसाजुनयामास। आसाञ्च यिहोशफटं

जनयामास यिहोशफटञ्च योरमं जनयामास योरमञ्च आजीयाहं जन

PLATE 43 : *The New Testament* in Sanskrit, Serampore 1808. (See p. 66).

AN

EASY AND EXPEDITIOUS MEANS

इंग्लिश भाषाचें ज्ञान मिळवावयासाठीं शीघ्र आणि सोपा उपाय

OF

ACQUIRING A KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE,

DESIGNED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY,

ह्या देशांत जे इंग्लिश भाषा आणि विद्या

WHO WISH TO STUDY THE ENGLISH

शिकावयास इच्छितात त्यांचे

LANGUAGE AND SCIENCE.

हितासाठीं केला ॥

"*The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to depart from evil, is understanding.*"

ज्ञानेश्वराचें भय हें ज्ञानाचें मूळ आहे

आणि पापापासून फिरणे ही बुद्धी आहे ॥

"Of all things, knowledge is esteemed the greatest: for unto [illegible] is necessary to be studied, from [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] to be destroyed."

सर्वद्रव्येषु विद्यैव द्रव्यमाहुरनुत्तमं ॥

अहार्यत्वादनर्घत्वात अक्षयत्वाच्च सर्वदा ॥

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS

BOMBAY. A.D. 1817.

मुंबईत मिशन छापखान्यांत छापिलें ॥

शके १७३९ ॥

PLATE 44: The earliest available *Devanāgarī* (Marathi) book printed in Bombay 1818. (See p. 81).

(८९)

एकेनगरांत दरिद्री ब्राह्मण राहातहोता त्याला एक
क्या यजमानाचे गाइचीं दोन वांसरें दिलीं मग त्यां
नें तृणादिक आहार घालून तीं मोटीं पुष्ट केलीं त्यां
स पाहून एक चोर हातीं दावें घेउन त्यांचा हरणा
र्थ निघाला तों वाटेत एक ब्रह्मराक्षस ज्याचे दंत विक्रा
ल नासिका दीर्घ केश पिंगट आरक्त नेत्र असा पाहू
न तो चित्तांत भय पावला तेव्हां त्यास पुसतो तुं को
ण आहेस मग तो ह्मणतो मी सत्यवचननामा राक्षस
आहे परंतु तुं कोण तेसमइं तो ह्मणतो मी चोर दरि
द्रीब्राह्मणाचा दोन गाई आहेत त्या हरण करावया
सिं जातों तेकाळीं तो बोलिला मित्रा तो ब्राह्मण प
वित्र आहे यास्तव मीही त्यास भक्षीन ह्मणजे दोघाचें
कार्य होईल असें त्याचें बोलणे ऐकून उभयतां तेथे
गेले तों ब्राह्मण निजला होता त्याला भक्षावा ह्मणून
राक्षस चालिला त्यास चोर बोलतो गउया मी यार्चे
गोयुग्म नेईन मग तुं यास भक्ष तेव्हां राक्षस ह्मणतो सु
ख्या गाईच्या शब्देकरून जर ब्राह्मण जागृत जाहाला
तर हा सर्व उद्योग राहील यास्तव मी अगोधर त्या
स भक्षितों मग तुं निर्भय गाई ने चोर ह्मणतो तुं त्या
स

PLATE 45 : *Pañcopākhyāna* (Marathi, *Devanāgarī*), Bombay 1822. (See p. 89).

गणितमार्ग

आ पुस्तक पुस्तकनो कर्त्ता अज्जम डाकतर हे
ट्टन ने पुस्तकनुं भाषांतर जार्ज जार्विस साहेब इं
जनेर सरकारे इंग्रेज बाहादर मुंबई एओये जगन्ना
थशास्त्री कमवंत एओनी सहाय्यताये गुजराती
भाषामां कियु

मुंबई
शके १७४८
संवत् १८८२
इंग्रेजी सन् १८२६

आ पुस्तक आपवानी ए प्रथमावृत्ती. बापू
गंगाधर जोशी विपछोणकर एओनें हाथथी ल
खाईनें पथ्थर उपर आपी.

PLATE 46 : One of the earliest book lithographed in Bombay in 1826 (*Ganitamārga*, Gujerati in the *Devanāgarī* script).

Sadoo bai Parivodana

REMARKS and OCCURENCES

OF

Mr. HENRY BECHER.

DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT OF TWO YEARS
AND A HALF IN THE DOMINIONS
OF TIPPOO SULTAUN, FROM
WHENCE HE MADE HIS
ESCAPE.

CORRECTED AND REVISED BY
THE AUTHOR.

PRINTED IN BOMBAY.

1793.

PLATE 47 : The first book printed in Bombay in 1793. (See p. 72).

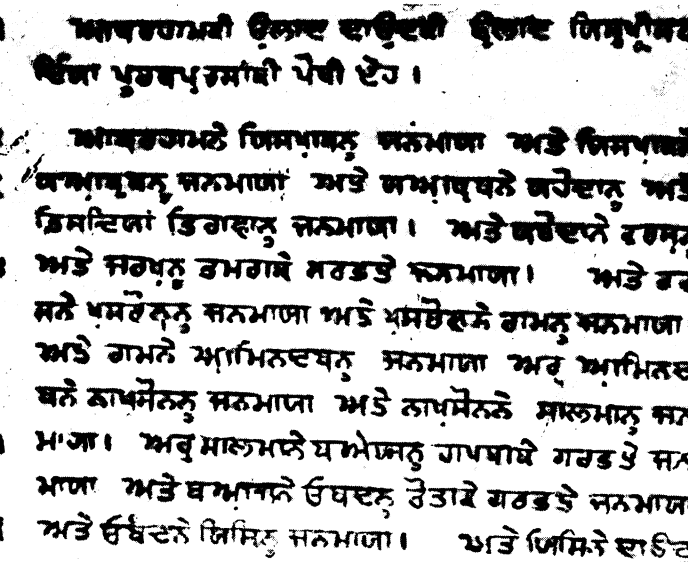


PLATE 48 : *The Holy Bible* in the Punjabee Language, Serampore 1811. (See p. 66)

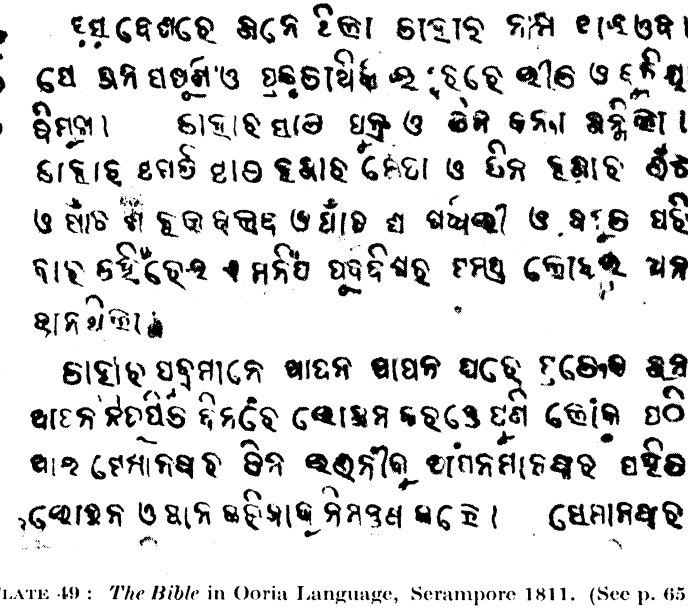


PLATE 49 : *The Bible* in Ooria Language, Serampore 1811. (See p. 65)

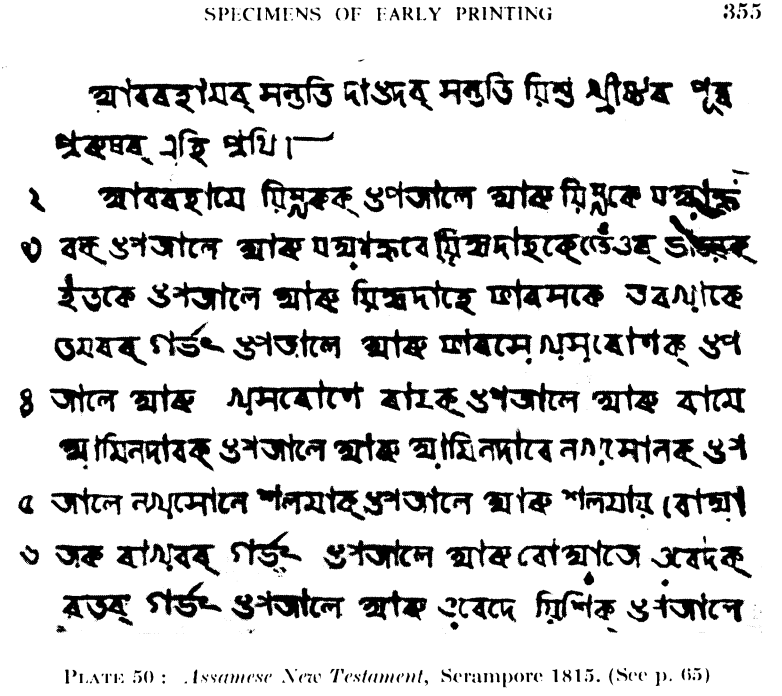


PLATE 50 : *Assamese New Testament*, Serampore 1815. (See p. 65)

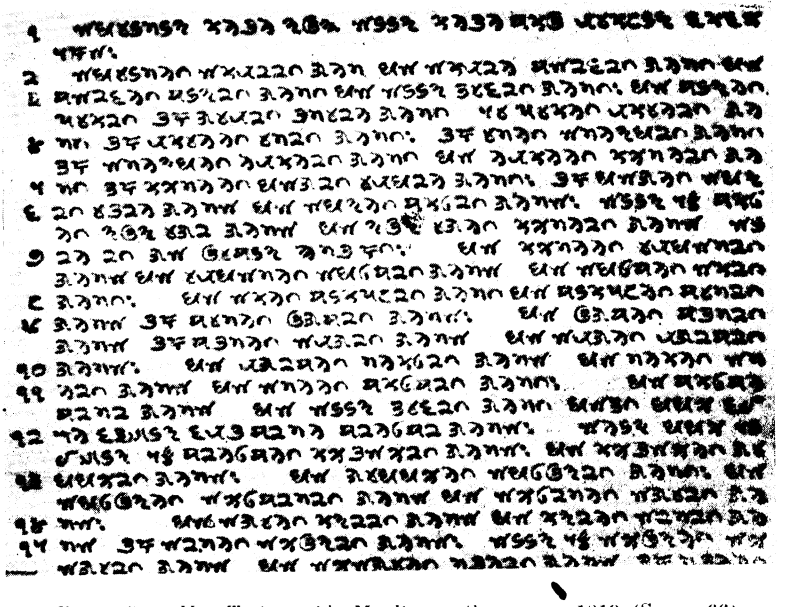


PLATE 51 : *New Testament* in Mooltanee, Serampore 1819. (See p. 66)

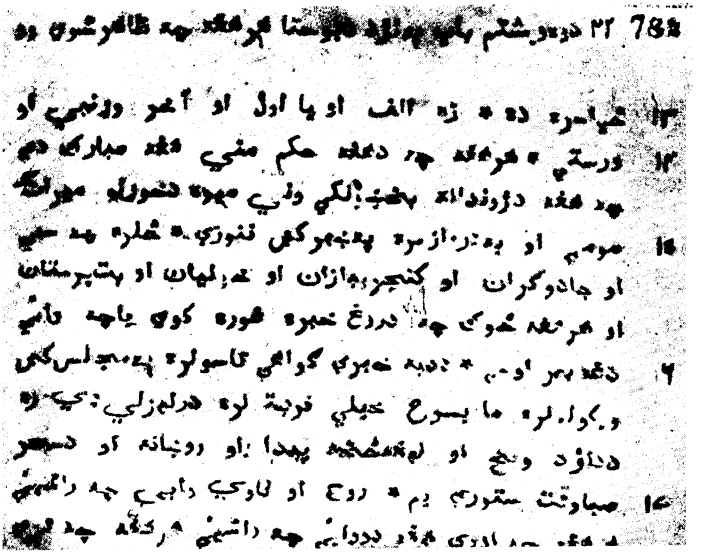


PLATE 52 : *Pushtoo New Testament*, Serampore 1821. (See p. 66)

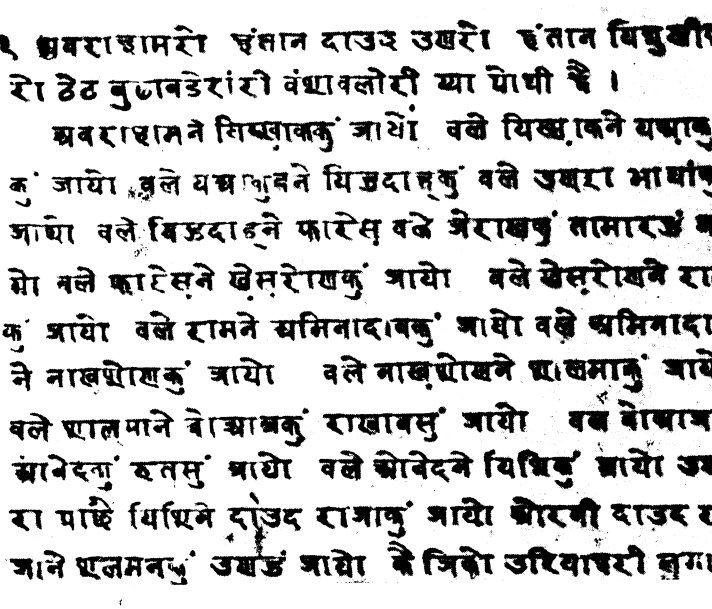


PLATE 53 : *New Testament* in Marwari, Serampore 1821. (See p. 66)

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A few obvious misprints are not given below.

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