The Nationalization of Marathi:

Politics of Print and Language in Maharashtra, 1805-1920

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2017

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7.	Level of Degree	Doctorate
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10.	Name of affiliated Institution for which JNU is granting the degree	-
11.	Date of Submission	20/07/2017
12.	Subject Keywords	1. Language Politics 2. Print 3. Marathi 4. Colonial 5. India, Maharashtra, Western India
13.	Coverage (for time periods or spatial regions only)	1805-1920, Maharashtra, Western India
14.	Language of the thesis	English
15.	File Format of thesis and accompanying material, if any (PDF, MPEG, etc.)	PDF

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ABSTRACT

The Nationalization of Marathi:

Politics of Print and Language in Maharashtra, 1805 -1920

Damle Madhura Shamkant

The state of Maharashtra came into existence in 1960 as a result of people's agitations for 'Samyukta Maharashtra'. However, the origin of Maharashtra as a 'region' can be traced back to an earlier period. This thesis aims to study the role played by language in the formation of linguistic-cultural-political region of Maharashtra.

As several historians point out, the advent of print in Europe printing facilitated large scale production of identical copies of a text at a cheaper rate. This resulted into standardization of the modern European languages, creating new unified fields of communication. Print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness in Europe. Taking a cue from these theories, this study probes the impact of print on language and literary sphere in Maharashtra and thereby on making of the Marathi identity and attempts to delineate politics of language implicit in this process. This is not to suggest that Indian languages followed the same trajectory as the European vernaculars. A number of factors like colonialism and role of missionaries shaped the print culture in India in a manner significantly different from that in Europe.

Though this study intends to examine linguistic and literary activities, it is not carried out from the viewpoint of linguistics or literary studies. It views language as a site of perpetual struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces. It argues that the conflict between normative and counter-hegemonic tendencies is not only reflected in language but also produced through language.

Several scholars have worked on language politics in India in the recent years. A number of scholars like Paul Brass, Alok Rai, Francesca Orsini, Vasudha Dalmia, Christopher Rolland King, Asha Sarangi, Farina Mir and Ulrike Stark have studied language politics in North India; Sumathi Ramaswamy, A. R. Venkatachalapathy, Lisa Mitchell, Kavita Datla, Stuart Blackburn etc. have portrayed politics of language in the Southern India. Some others including Anindita Ghosh, Priya Joshi and V. Sebastian have also looked at the similar processes in the eastern part of the country. However,

there is only one significant work on Maharashtra – by Veena Naregal, which concentrates on colonial education textual and cultural-linguistic hierarchies and role of elites. The present thesis, on the other hand, focuses on politics of print, standardization of language and its impact on making of Marathi identity.

The study covers the period of nineteenth and early twentieth century. It begins with the publication of the first Marathi printed book (1805) and ends with 1920 – the year carving provinces on the linguistic basis was advocated in which Nagpur session of Indian National Congress and accordingly, Pradesh Congress Committees were formed. The year is significant in the history of Maharashtra for several other reasons, too.

This research is based on the analysis of the Marathi language texts published during the said period, including grammars, dictionaries, primers, textbooks and such other pedagogical material, works on orthography, linguistics and philology, governmental records and publications, gazetteers, reports of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, newspapers, periodicals, autobiographies and works of fiction.

There was hardly any scholar who thought that the Indian vernaculars fit for conveying the Western knowledge to the Indian masses. Therefore, the Christian missionaries, the colonial institutions and the indigenous intellectuals – all sought to modernize and standardize Marathi; to reform, purify, civilize, discipline, enrich it; and make it suitable for entering 'the temple of knowledge'. This thesis examines the process of modernization and standardization of Marathi and argues that this process led to purification, dePersianization, Sanskritization and Aryanization of Marathi, which been collectively called as 'nationalization' of Marathi.

The present study is divided into following five chapters, namely Emergence of Print Culture, Standardization and Codification, Revival of Vernacular, Purification and Invocation of Aryan Glory.

In a word, this research tries to analyse the process of the nationalization of Marathi in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and its impact on the creation of Marathi identity. The process, however, did not end in 1920. The linguistic discourse in Maharashtra – which is now carried out on the social networking sites – is still dominated by the similar issues and the Marathi identity is being constructed and reconstructed till date through it.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	a
आ	a
इ	i
ई	i
उ	u
ऊ	u
ऋ	ru/ ri
ए	e
ऐ	ai
ओ	o
औ	au
च	cha
छ	chha
व	wa/ va
श	sha
ष	sha
स	sa
ळ	la
क्ष	ksha
ज्ञ	dnya

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of a number of people and institutes. First and foremost, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Asha Sarangi for her valuable guidance. I can not thank her enough for being patient with me and for being a great source of support all along the way.

I am indebted to Pradip Basu and my other colleagues at Presidency University, Kolkata. It was their cooperation that made the completion of this thesis possible. My sincere thanks to the officials of Presidency University for their kind support.

The research for this thesis was supported by the Junior Research Fellowship and Senior Research Fellowship granted by the UGC. I am grateful to the Presidency University for granting me a paid study leave for six months which helped me to get the thesis completed.

I would like to thank the staff of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; National Archives of India, New Delhi; Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai; National Library, Kolkata; Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Dadar; Thane Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya; Pune Marathi Granthalaya; Pune Nagar Vachan Mandir; Thane Nagar Vachan Mandir; the library of D. G. Ruparel College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Mumbai and Svatantryaveer Savarkar Vachanalaya, Thane; the Exim Bank Library, the CHS Library and the Central Library of Jawahanarlal Nehru University, New Delhi for their assistance. Special thanks are due to the staff of Shasakiya Vibhagiya Granthalaya, Pune and Dhananjayarao Gadgil Library of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune who were extremely cooperative and helpful. I also procured images (soft copies) of files from the India Office Records using imaging services of the British Library, London. I must express my heartfelt thanks to the staff of the British Library for their swift services. My thanks to the Delnet (library network) using which I could procure books from various libraries including Dr. Zakir Husain Library of Jamia Millia Islamia, and Central Library of University of Delhi.

Various parts of this thesis were presented at the conferences organized at IIAS, Shimla; University of Chicago Center, New Delhi; Department of English, University of Delhi; Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, New Delhi; and Department of Hindi, Presidency University Kolkata. I gratefully acknowledge the participants of these conferences who provided me with valuable feedback.

I was greatly benefitted from the discussions with Ratan Dasgupta and Swapan Chakrabarty. From time to time I bothered Archana Amberkar, Manasi Kelkar and Shuddhashil Sen with my queries in linguistics or literature, but they were always ready to answer my queries. I also thank Avinash Pandey, Renuka Ozarkar, Prachi Deshpande, Rajeshwari Pandharipande and Anant Deshmukh for giving me an opportunity to share my thoughts with them. I owe thanks to Neha, Vagesh, Priyanka, Shekhar, Oyndrila, Kandla, Venkat, Shruti, Manish, Sudhanshu, Ranjan, Somya, for discussions and chats with them were cheering and assuring.

Amol Karandikar went to libraries for me when I could not and Nikhil Bellarykar helped me to read the resources in the languages that I do not know. The research at archives and libraries was exciting in the company of Mrunal, Ashique, Shreenand Bapat and Stephan. Santosh Suradkar, Shweta Shetty and Varada Sambhus helped me in locating the resources that I was looking for. I owe thanks to all of them. I am also thankful to Pradip Karnik, Vasanti Vartak, Jayendra Salgaonkar, Shirwadkar, Bivor, Prakash Bal, Nandini and Avinash Barve, Pradip Joshi for lending me support during the stint of work in libraries and archives. I am grateful to P. N. Rath, Sharad Baviskar for arranging for the accommodation and Vidwansa family for hosting me in Pune.

I owe a debt to my nearest and dearest Neha Hui, Kumkum Hui, Hia Sen, Garima Dhabai and Abhishek Ganguly, who went through the draft and made valuable comments.

I would also like to thank my family and neighbours for their affection. I could not have sailed through the work without support and love of my parents. I also made them go to libraries and look up few references! I do not know how to thank them enough.

INTRODUCTION

An app [application] called '*Shuddhalekhan theva khishat*' [A Pocket Guide to Orthography] was launched recently by a software company in Pune.[1] The app, which is claimed to be the first ever mobile app on Marathi orthography, enlists eleven thousand words and displays how to spell them in correct or '*shuddha*' (pure) manner.[2] A number of authors writing on blogs, websites and online forums which host the content in the Marathi language also contemplate the rules of Marathi orthography and purity of Marathi. In other words, digital content in Marathi is replete with the debates on correct spellings, purity of the language, loanwords in Marathi and so on.

The parallels between the present day discourse on the digital forums and the debates that took place in the print media in nineteenth and early twentieth century Maharashtra are striking. The concerns of the literati in colonial era were different from those of the contemporary netizens, yet they share few commonalities. It was the colonial modernity that necessitated the literati in nineteenth century Maharashtra to ponder over the revival and standardization of Marathi whereas the advocates of Marathi in the present age aspire to 'preserve and promote the marks of cultural glory of Maharashtra in the globalized world'.[3] What is common in both the discourses is the attempts to 'nationalize' Marathi. By 'nationalize' or 'nationalization', I mean 'to assert/ assertion that the Marathi identity was a part of the modern Brahminical-Aryan-Hindu identity'. The intelligentsia in the colonial period and those who write on blogs and online forums both had twofold aims, firstly, to modernize the language and its writing system so that they are relevant in the modern times; and secondly, to discipline and purify the Marathi language, and thereby stress the 'glorious' linguistic-regional identity. These two processes are collectively called in this work as the nationalization of Marathi. The present work attempts to map the process of the nationalization of Marathi during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, to be precise, from 1805 to

[1] An app is a software programme that runs on a mobile phone or such other device.
[2] "Marathi shuddhalekhanache pahile app", Bytes of India, accessed June 17, 2017 http://www.bytesofindia.com/Details/?NewsId=4732127264497475309&title=Marathi%20Grammar%20App&SectionId=1002&SectionName=Be%20Positive.
[3] Think Maharashtra, accessed July 3, 2017 http://www.thinkmaharashtra.com

1920. Though the focus of the study is exclusively the colonial period, it is hoped that this would also help us to understand the identity politics in Maharashtra in the contemporary times.

The term 'nationalization' is borrowed from the work on Bharatendu Harischandra by Vasudha Dalmia, in which she deals with the nationalization of Hindu traditions.[4] While Hindi has been considered as a national language since the colonial period, Marathi was never projected as a national language. In fact, the proponents of Hindutva or Hindu *rashtra* [nation] were ready to underrate Marathi for sake of the national language. Therefore, nationalization of Marathi does not imply a process of making Marathi a national language. On the other hand, it refers to construction of the regional identity, which was treated as a part of larger national identity. Following Bernard Cohn, the conception of 'region' here 'involves basically non-physical phenomena, which I might term historical, linguistic, cultural, social structural, and/or the interrelations among these kinds of variables'.[5] India, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, witnessed the emergence of the nationalist consciousness, which overlapped with the rise of communalism as well as the formation of linguistic-regional identities. In case of Maharashtra, the emergence of regional consciousness did not go against the nationalist one. In fact, regional heroes and icons like king Shivaji were invoked for the nationalist cause. This is to say that the term 'nationalization' of Marathi does not indicate a conflict between the national and regional identities, on the other hand, it suggests their complementary nature.

The 'nationalized' Marathi identity can be said to have been constructed over a period of time on the basis of several factors – language, invocation of history, formation of the state of Maharashtra, sons of soil-movement and assertion of religious identity. In her work on history and regional identity in colonial Maharashtra, Prachi Deshpande argues that 'despite the cohesiveness provided by the Marathi language, the emotive resources that fuelled the construction of a Maharashtrian identity came from narratives of pride about the Maratha past'.[6] This work does not undermine the part

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[4] Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Nineteenth-century Banaras* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[5] Bernard S. Cohn, "Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society", in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, ed. Bernard S. Cohn (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102.
[6] Prachi Deshpande, "Narratives of Pride: History and Regional Identity in Maharashtra, India C. 1870-1960" (PhD diss., Tuffs University, 2002), 9.

played by commemoration of Maratha history and other factors in making of the Marathi identity, but chiefly focuses on the role played by language in the formation of linguistic-cultural-political identity of Maharashtra in the colonial period. As G. P. Deshpande points out, the nineteenth century was marked by a 'crusader-like commitment to the cause of Marathi, across ideological boundaries'.[7] The present work attempts to examine how language, linguistics and linguistic works were used by the colonial intelligentsia in their drive for nationalization. It argues that the politics of nationalization was not only reflected in language but also played through language.

Following Mikhail M. Bakhtin, this research views language as a site of perpetual struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces.[8] Bakhtin argues that the standard literary language plays an important role in establishing linguistic, ideological, socio-political as well as cultural unification. However, he indicates, a standard language is not 'given', but it is posited. That is to say, a standard language is not a 'fact' that already exists out there but is a political construct, an expression of the centripetal forces working towards unification and centralization. Bakhtin tells us that every linguistic utterance simultaneously participates both in the process of unification as well as in the process of stratification. He states that when the unifying or centripetal forces attain a relative victory, a centralized, unified, authoritative discourse is attained. This situation is termed by him as monoglossia or monologism. On the other hand, heteroglossia represents the form of language characterized by complete pluralism, when centrifugal forces prove to be victorious and the unity of language becomes impossible. According to Bakhtin, though monoglossia seems to be 'unethical' or 'undesirable' since it tries to impose the limits to heteroglossia, it also guarantees a certain minimum mutual understanding and real unity, firmness and stability necessary for everyday conversation. The process of 'nationalization' of the Marathi language examined in this thesis is illustrative of the relative victory of unifying or centripetal forces. However, it is to be noted the attempts of the dominant classes to nationalize Marathi were challenged the underprivileged in various ways. Thus, the use of the term nationalization in this thesis does not mean to deny the existence of these alternative forces.

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[7] G. P. Deshpande, *The World of Ideas* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2009), 19.
[8] M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays,* ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 271.

In the colonial period, the modern regional languages of India were sometimes categorized as 'Oriental' languages along with the 'classical' languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.[9] The term 'vernacular' has also been employed in the colonial documents to mean modern regional languages of India. The expression 'vernacular' has derogatory connotations, as it is derived from the word *verna,* meaning 'home-born slave'.[10] In the colonial discourse, it signified the subordinate position of the regional languages in opposition to more refined and developed languages such as Sanskrit and English.[11] Despite of its negative implications, the term is employed in this work, for vernaculars are not only 'depositories of traditions, local histories and networks of social and cultural spaces inhabiting indigenous belief-systems' but also the sites of subversion.[12] The idea of '*prakrit'* or '*deshi'* language existed in the Indian literary traditions since the precolonial times. '*Deshi*' languages were revitalized by the proponents of *swadeshi* in the wake of nationalist struggle. The term 'vernacular' is also used, in this work, to mean '*deshi'* or '*swadeshi*' language.

Though the central focus of the present work is politics of language, an exploration of the print culture is crucial because printing is closely linked with the vernacularization of the public sphere and the rise of national consciousness. As several historians of Europe point out, printing facilitated large scale production of identical copies of a text at a cheaper rate. This resulted in fixity and standardization of the modern European languages, creating new unified fields of communication. As argued by Benedict Anderson, print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness in Europe.[13] He points out that the technology of print backed by capitalism made the large scale production of books possible, resulting into the revival of vernaculars in Europe. He explains that the market for Latin books was saturated soon after the expansion of print and that in the search of new markets, the capitalists turned to the vernaculars. He adds that the 'vernacularizing thrust' of capitalism, together with

[9] See, MSA, O.T. to Government, Office Order Book 1894-1911, "Rules for the Examination in I – Oriental Languages", O.T Notification no. 80, dated June 6, 1914.
[10] Rama Sundari Mantena, "Vernacular Futures: Colonial Philology and the Idea of History in Nineteenth-century South India", *Indian Economic Social History Review* 42, 513 (2005): 530.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Asha Sarangi, "Vernacular is Regional: Thinking through the Political Linguistics" (paper presented at the International Conference on 'Purifying the Dialect of the Tribe': Cross Cultural Concerns in Colonial and Post-Colonial India, IIAS, Shimla, May 17-19, 2017).
[13] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1990), 35.

decline in the status of Latin, the Reformation movement and spread of vernaculars as instruments of administrative centralization led to the rise of national consciousness. Anderson delineates three ways in which this process took place – firstly, print capitalism created the 'unified fields of exchange and communication' that were below Latin but above spoken dialects; secondly, print gave a fixity to languages replacing idiolects; and finally, it created languages of power, whereby some forms of the languages became the standard, while others acquired the subordinate status and were assimilated into print languages. Taking a cue from Anderson's theory of print capitalism, this study probes the impact of print-language on the making of the Marathi identity.

This is not to suggest that Indian languages followed the same trajectory as the European vernaculars. The technology of printing arrived in India from a foreign land and the earliest printing presses were set up by the missionaries of a religion which was alien to India. Printing flourished in India during colonial times and was promoted by the colonial government. All these factors shaped the advent of printing in India in a manner significantly different from that in Europe. As Partha Chatterjee shows, taking into consideration the colonial specificities disallows us the simple transposition of Western model to Indian case.[14] He illustrates that the crucial moment in development of the Bengali language did not coincide with the development of print, but can be traced only in mid- nineteenth century, much after the arrival of the printing press, when the bilingual elites in Bengal were involved into modernizing their mother tongue.[15] Chatterjee also challenges the assumed opposition between capital and community in Anderson's thesis. He demonstrates that community continued to exist even after the advent of capitalism, and therefore it was not a remnant of premodernity, but rather, very much part of modernity. Therefore, this work does not intend to validate Anderson's theory in the Indian context, though it looks at the politics of language and print in Maharashtra in light of Anderson's theories.

[14] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[15] Ibid., p. 52.

Several works on printing and politics of language in colonial India have been published recently.[16] What follows is a brief sketch of some of these works, which would make it possible to situate the present research in the Indian context.

The emergence of print culture and its impact on various vernaculars in India has been studied by a number of scholars. For example, in her work on Newal Kishore Press – the first publishing house to start Hindi printing in colonial Lucknow – Ulrike Stark points out that the Press had a public mission of popularizing India's literary heritage and diffusing knowledge in the vernaculars.[17] She informs that the Press gathered huge profits from printing of textbooks, however, it turned to non-educational books in a later period and printed popular books on the large scale at low prices, contributing to the standardization of modern Hindi prose and development of its literature. Similarly, in her work on language politics in Andhra, Lisa Mitchell highlights the role of printing (especially the printing of pedagogical texts, grammars, translations) in the emergence of monolingual world where language came to be seen as a natural feature of land and people and identity marker.[18]

Many scholars have discussed revival of Indian vernacular languages and literary cultures in the colonial period and its political aspects. Farina Mir analyses the 'paradigmatic literary shift' in colonial Punjab from Persian to Urdu.[19] She states that Persian was the language of administration and literature in the pre-colonial Punjab, whereas Punjabi was the major language spoken. She informs that Urdu had no significant spoken history, yet Urdu was designated as the language of provincial administration by the colonial state according to the Act 29 of 1837 replacing Persian. She explains the reasons behind designating Urdu as provincial language instead of Punjabi as follows. Firstly, many court officials employed in Punjab were not fluent in Persian. When it became mandatory for all the civil servants to pass the language test,

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[16] Apart from the works discussed in the following section, many other scholars have contributed to this field in the recent years. See, Rimi B. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006); Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia, eds., *India's Literary History* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004); Rochello Pinto, *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007); Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[17] Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2004).

[18] Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South Asia* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010).

[19] Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010).

they petitioned to initiate Urdu in place of Persian in the belief that it is easier to master. Secondly, the missionaries and colonial officials had singular conceptions of language, script and religious communities and they associated specific languages with specific scripts and specific communities. Thus, Punjabi was associated with Gurumukhi script and Sikhism. Therefore, the colonial officials feared that adopting Punjabi as provincial language might promote Sikh political claims. Thirdly, the usage of Urdu allowed the Company to employ experienced administrators immediately after annexation of Punjab and its integration. It was also believed that Urdu was the language of elites in Punjab. Thus, Mir suggests, Urdu was imposed on Punjab by the colonial state, which had a decisive impact on the literary production and press in the region.[20]

The Indian vernaculars were viewed to be vehicles of western knowledge. The expansion of western education in vernacular language necessitated the creation of modern scientific and technical terminology in these languages. A. R. Venkatachalapathy elucidates the politics surrounding the coining of scientific and technical terms in late colonial Tamilnadu.[21] He informs that the earlier textbooks excessively relied on English in the early colonial period, however, the nationalists and British intellectuals fed by Orientalism largely drew upon Sanskrit. Thus, he explains, in name of coining vernacular terms as opposed to English ones, in fact, the terms were drawn from Sanskrit. A similar process is described by Kavita Datla in the context of Osmania University.[22] Osmania University founded in 1918 at Hyderabad aimed at bringing together elite languages of western scholarship and common languages, bringing science to people in their own languages, and creating a systemized and uniform Urdu that can serve all linguistic needs replacing former higher languages, thus, transformation of Urdu so that it can serve as national language uniting Hindus and Muslims. In the pursuit of these aims, a massive translation project was undertaken at the university which also included coining words (terminologies). While there were some claims for drawing upon English, Hindi and Sanskrit, the Translation Bureau mainly drew from Arabic and Persian.

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[20] Ibid.
[21] A. R. Venkatachalapathy, "Coining Words: Language and Politics in Late Colonial Tamilnadu", in Venkatachalapathy, A. R., *In Those Days There Was No Coffee: Writings in Cultural History* (New Delhi: Yoda, 2006).
[22] Kavita Datla, "A Worldly Vernacular: Urdu at Osmania University", *Modern Asian Studies*, 43,5 (2009): 1117-1148.

Around the beginning of twentieth century, language came to be seen as an attribute of a person rather than a tool to accomplish particular task. Mitchell argues that the speakers of particular languages began to see themselves as having separate history, literature, politics and identity; and language became a primary foundation of reorganization of wide forms of knowledge and everyday practices.[23]

In wake of creation of new structured, nurtured, respectable, authentic, clean, standardized vernaculars which was to be bearer of new social roles, there took place a conscious separation of standard language from the languages of polluting 'others'. Anindita Ghosh argues that in order to civilize and purify Bengali, the burden of vulgarity was shifted to these less privileged social groups, namely women, lower middle class and Muslims.[24]

The revival and standardization of vernaculars also transformed languages into an object of devotion, and in turn, language devotion produced modern Indian subject. Sumathi Ramaswamy looks at the lives and stories of Tamil devotees 'to chart the production of…..'devotional subject', an entity wrought in the cauldron of Tamil devotionalism whose history is the story of the language and whose life cannot be imagined independently of Tamil.'[25] She also examines 'feminization of language' in Tamilnadu, pointing out the association of the figures of 'mother', 'goddess' and 'maiden' with Tamil.[26]

The language politics in colonial India was closely connected to the nationalist and communal politics. Vasudha Dalmia shows how the concept of Hindi as the language of Hindus was developed by the British imperialists and later by the Hindu nationalists through the threefold processes of dichotomization, standardization and historicization.[27] She describes two idioms at work in this process: the European concept of national language and Hindus' invocation of literary and cultural heritage. She highlights the role of Oriental Seminary founded by Gilchrist and Fort William

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[23] Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics.*
[24] Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society* (New Delhi: OUP, 2006).
[25] Sumathi Ramaswamy *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998)
[26] Ibid.
[27] Dalmia, *Nationalization of Tradition*. Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Ninteenth-century Banaras* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

College in codifying and categorizing the languages. The process was further reiterated by missionaries and educationists (schoolbook writers) as well as writers of grammar and dictionaries.[28] Similarly, Stark shows how the Newal Kishore Press in Lucknow, first Indian private press established after 1857 rebellion, 'collaborated in the grand scheme of Hindi revivalists and nationalists, which aimed at linking the proclaimed national language of Hindi and its literature to its ancient and classical past'.[29] He states that the press printed numerous classics of *bhakti* literature in Hindi, followed by Hindi translations of Sanskrit classics and scriptures. At the same time, he adds, it also published a large number of Urdu books including translations of Hindi/Sanskrit and vice-versa. Thus, by emphasizing the assimilation, the Press defied the ongoing dichotomization of Hindi and Urdu.[30]

The revival of vernaculars in the colonial period in India led to decisive transformation in public sphere. Veena Naregal traces the shifts in the textual and cultural-linguistic hierarchies in western India caused by colonialism through philology and educational policies and the role of elites.[31] She points out the power of English to redefine vernacular realm and the process of English becoming the new normative and classical language replacing Persian and Sanskrit. She also draws attention to the emergence of vernacular public sphere as a result of education policy of the colonial state and print culture; and the caste dynamics involved in it. She shows how Indian intellectuals, in spite of being in minority, negotiated these arenas to advance their interests.[32] This is not to say that the underprivileged passively accepted the project. As suggested by Ghosh, the marginalized sections resisted the dominant definitions and presented alternatives. She shows that cheap printing technology and spread of literacy led to the emergence of substantive low popular print culture in Bengali, known as Battala literature. In the same way, the imposition of Urdu is Punjab did not succeed.[33] Mir shows that the colonial state had to resort to Punjabi in indirect and unofficial ways.[34] Venkatachalapathy also demonstrates that the Brahmin hegemony was contested by Vellar scholars who held up vision for independent Tamil past and urged

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Ulrike Stark, *Empire of Books*, 263.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ghosh, *Power in Print*.
[34] Mir, *Social Space of Language.*

to coin words from ancient Tamil classics and Tamil root-words. The author portraits the struggle between two schools which was closely tied to forging of new identities based largely on language.[35]

The present thesis focuses on politics of print, the endeavours of different actors in standardization, modernization and advancement of the Marathi language and its impact on making of the Marathi identity. The actors that were the participants of these process included the Christian missionaries, the colonial state, the European scholars and the indigenous literati as well as masses.

As mentioned earlier, the study covers the time span of more than a hundred years beginning from 1805 to 1920. The year 1805 is significant in the history of Marathi because in this year Marathi appeared in print for the first time. Though the city of Mumbai was under the dominion of the East India Company from mid-seventeenth century, the British rule can be said to have been established in Maharashtra only in 1818 when they defeated the Peshwa rulers. Thus, the beginning of the nineteenth century signifies both the establishment of the colonial rule and the commencement of print in Maharashtra. The study roughly covers the period up to early 1920s. The demand for the organization of the Indian provinces on linguistic basis was made in the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1920, and accordingly, Pradesh Congress Committees were formed on the linguistic basis in the same year.[36] Therefore, it can be said that in 1920, the Indian leaders recognised language-based regional identities. In the early nineteenth century, many scholars – European as well as Indian ones – though that the vernaculars in India, including Marathi, were unfit for conveying the modern, western knowledge. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Marathi intelligentsia, therefore, was engaged in the efforts to develop the vernacular. These endeavours culminated into the compilation of the Marathi encyclopaedia – called as *Dnyanakosh* – by S. V. Ketkar, the volumes of which were published from 1916 onwards. The publication of this work was certainly a high point for the language, which was earlier regarded as too barbarous [sic.] to be a language of knowledge. The year is significant in the history of Maharashtra for the eminent Congress leader B. G.

[35] Venkatchalapathy, "Coining Words".
[36] Oral history records of Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, accessed January 13, 2012, http://karachi.s-asian.cam.ac.uk/archive/audio/deo.html.

Tilak, given the epithet of 'Lokamanya' by the people, passed away in 1920. Tilak's demise had a long lasting impact on the politics of Maharashtra.

This work is based on a close analysis of the Marathi texts printed during the said period; including grammars, dictionaries, lexicons, primers, textbooks and such other pedagogical material; the works on orthography, linguistics, philology; the governmental records and publications such as gazetteers and the records of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India; the newspapers and periodicals; novels, poetry and few other works of fiction. Though this study examines linguistic and literary activities, it is neither a linguistic analysis of Marathi nor a review of literature.

The epigraphical evidences show that the Marathi language was in use since the tenth century.[37] Marathi was called by various names in the pre-colonial period, such as Mahratta, Maratha, Marathi, Maharashtri, Marhati or Marhathi. It was also referred to as Prakrut till the nineteenth century.[38] The first Marathi book in print (the grammar by W. Carey) and few subsequent books (Drummond, Ballantyne) use the spelling 'Mahratta'.[39] Many of the books published during 1820s identify it the 'Maratha' language. A number of indigenous authors, who wrote around 1830s or in a later period, call it 'the Maharashtra language', which was a Sanskritised version of the word 'Maratha'.[40] After some variations in the spelling such as Murathee and Marathee the term 'Marathi' seems to have settled down by 1850s.[41]

Maharashtra as a state of independent India came into existence in 1960 as a result of people's agitations for 'Samyukta Maharashtra'. The works concerning the colonial period often designate Maharashtra as 'western India', probably because 'Maharashtra' was not an officially recognized province. The present work, however, prefers to employ the term 'Maharashtra' to denote historical, linguistic, cultural and

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[37] Vinayak Lakshman Bhave, *Maharashtra Saraswat*, supple. S. G. Tulpule (Pune: Vishwakarma, 1948), 8.
[38] See, for example, Mahadev Govind Shastri, *Prakrut Kaviteche Pahile Pustak* (Pune: Dnyanaprakash, 1860).
[39] See, W. Carey, *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1805); Robert Drummond, *Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English,* (Bombay: Courier Press, 1808); James R. Ballantyne, A Grammar of the Mahratta Language (Edinburgh: J. Hall, 1839).
[40] Jagannathashastri Kramavant et al., *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran*, ed., A. K. Priyolkar (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1954); Dadoba Panduranga Tarkhadkar, *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* (Mumbai: American Mission Pres, 1850).
[41] See, Stevenson, *The Principles of Murathee Grammar*, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, unknown)

social region that was termed so in the nineteenth century. However, the references to the territory called 'Maharashtra' date much older. It has been claimed by the scholars that one of the earliest references to the term Maharashtra is found in an inscription from the fourth century.[42]

What is today known as Maharashtra was divided into various provinces in the colonial period. The western Maharashtra and Konkan area, including two major cities of Poona [Pune] and Bombay [Mumbai], were part of the Bombay Presidency. The Bombay Presidency was a multilingual province which comprised of Gujarati-speaking and Kannada-speaking areas, apart from Marathi-speaking district. Sind was also a part of the Bombay Presidency for some time. What is popularly known as 'Marathawada' region was a part of the princely state of Hyderabad ruled by Nizam. The eastern districts in today's Maharashtra including Nagpur and Berar were included in the then Central Provinces and Berar.

The British conquered these territories at different point of times. The city and island of Bombay were passed from Portugal to England by the marriage treaty between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza in 1661.[43] The Deccan and the Konkan, which were under the Peshwa dominion, were annexed to the Bombay Presidency in 1818.[44] The region ruled by Bhonslas of Nagpur was added to the British empire in 1854, though it was already under the British protection since the king was minor. In 1861 the Central Provinces were formed, which included Nagpur. The Northern part of the princely state of Hyderabad, called as Berar or Varhad, was transferred to the British by the treaties between the British and Nizam. The expenses of the contingent army of the British were to be borne by Nizam according to the treaty of 1800. In 1853 Berar was transferred to the British as the security for the debt of rupees 45 lakh that Nizam owed to the British. As a reward to Nizam for helping the British in the 'Mutiny' of 1857, his debt was right off, but Berar, which earned a revenue of 32 lakhs remained with the British to meet the expenses of army.[45] Thus, the territory of Maharashtra was annexed to the British empire in multiple stages in the first half of the nineteenth

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[42] *Submission for Classical Status of Marathi Language to Ministry of Culture, Government of India, (*Mumbai: Department of Marathi Language, Government of Maharashtra, 2013), 86.
[43] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. I Descriptive* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 457.
[44] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* vol. III (Bombay: The Times Press, 1910), xxviii.
[45] *Berar Samachar*, November 9. 1873.

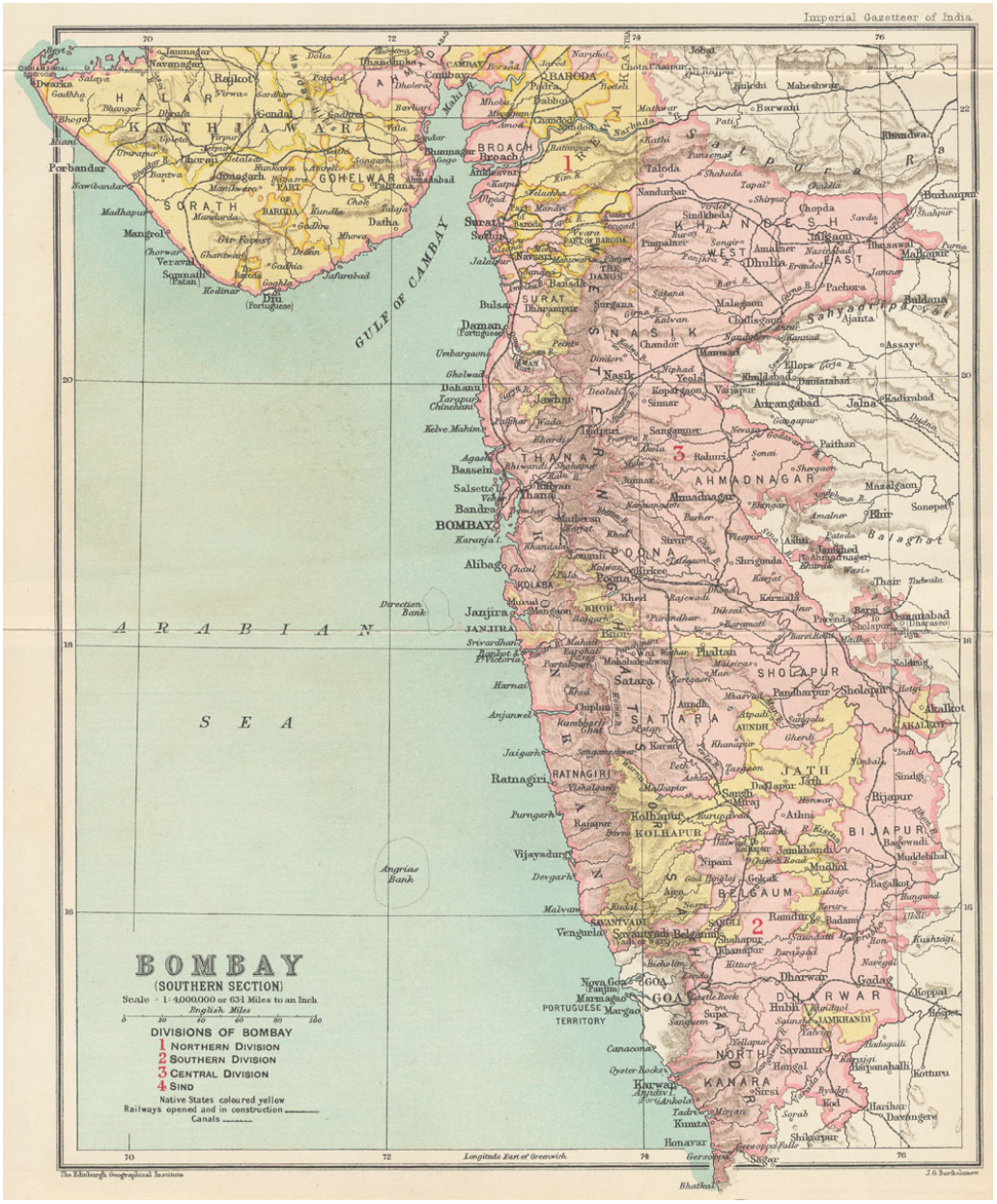
century. The colonial maps of the Bombay Presidency (Southern Section), Central Provinces and Berar and Hyderabad are given at the end of this chapter.

The present study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter traces the transition from the oral and manuscript cultures to print cultures in nineteenth century Maharashtra and its impact on literary sphere in general. As mentioned earlier, this study is based on the analysis of the printed sources. Therefore, a review of the newly emerging print culture in Maharashtra is crucial. The expansion of print facilitated the standardization and codification of Marathi. The endeavours to standardize Marathi by various actors and politics implicit in this process are traced in the second chapter. As the anti-colonial struggle became widespread, the languages of the people began to gain importance. The third chapter deals with the attempts of the intelligentsia to revive Marathi not only for making it suitable to convey western knowledge but also because the revival of '*swabhasha'* or one's own language was crucial for '*swadeshi'* movement. The standardization and revival of Marathi resulted into the drive for 'purification' of the language in various ways, which is examined in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter discusses the attempts of the literati to link Marathi with the so-called glorious Aryan past. All these processes – standardization, invocation as a *swadeshi* language, purification, Aryanization, together with Sanskritization, culminated into what is called as 'nationalization' of Marathi.

To conclude, this research attempts to analyse the processes of the nationalization of Marathi after the emergence of 'Print Culture' in Maharashtra and the impact of these processes on the creation of Marathi identity.

Map 1: The Bombay Presidency (*Southern section)*

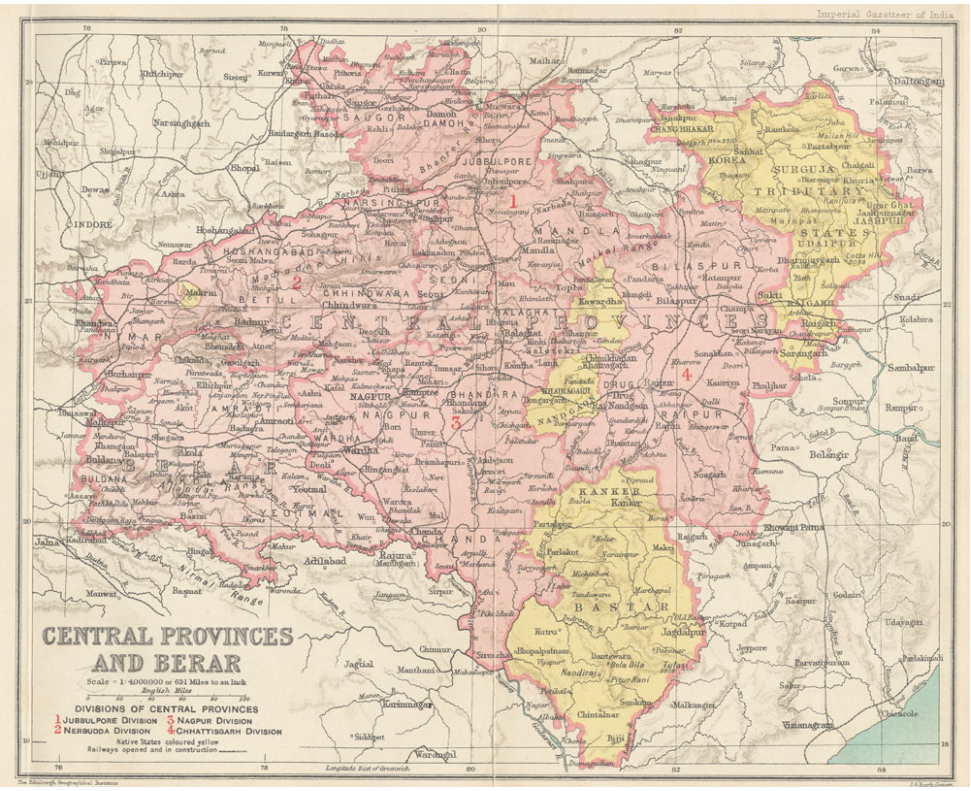
(Source: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909) [1]



[1] *Imperial gazetteer of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), Volume 8, opposite page 384, accessed October 23, 2010. http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gaz_atlas_1909/pager.html?object=43

Map 2: Central Provinces and Berar

(Source: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909)[2]



[2] *Imperial gazetteer of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), Volume 10, opposite page 112, accessed October 23, 2010 http://dsal.uchicago.edu/maps/gazetteer/images/gazetteer_V10_pg112.jpg

Map 3: Hyderabad (State)

(Source: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909)[3]

[3] *Imperial gazetteer of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), Volume 13, opposite page 304, accessed October 23, 2010 http://dsal.uchicago.edu/maps/gazetteer/images/gazetteer_V13_pg304.jpg

CHAPTER ONE
EMERGENCE OF PRINT CULTURE

1.1 Introduction

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the Emperor of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) requested the King of Portugal to send a printing press to Abyssinia. A press was dispatched from Portugal to Abyssinia along with technicians and some Jesuit missionaries in 1556. The Suez Canal had not been built then and hence the ships had to take a very long route to Abyssinia via Goa. When the ship containing the printing press reached Goa, news arrived that the Abyssinian Emperor had changed his mind and was no longer willing to receive the missionaries. A number of Christian missions had been functioning on the west coast of India by this time. The missionaries like St. Francis Xavier, who had realized the usefulness of the printing press, were already trying to acquire a press. When they came to know about the press in the ship anchored in Goa, they secured it immediately. This is how the first printing press arrived in India in the sixteenth century.[1] However, for a very long time, no one except for the missionaries made an effective use of printing technology. Printing became a commercial enterprise only in the late eighteenth century.

Before the advent of print in India, texts were preserved and transmitted orally as well in manuscript form. There was a long tradition of memorizing the Vedic texts. The Vedas were recited over and over again in particular patterns so that the verses could be remembered correctly. Eight such patterns existed conventionally. In each pattern, the words in a verse were rearranged in a particular order. The one who could memorise the Vedic texts in all eight patterns was highly respected. In this process, reliance on the written texts was not particularly appreciated. Different sub-castes of the Brahmins traditionally mastered and memorised the Vedic texts belonging to different schools. In Maharashtra there was no tradition of memorizing *Samaveda*,

[1] B. S. Kesavan, *History of Printing and Publishing in India: A Story of Cultural Re-awakening, Vol. I, (*New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1985), 15.

which required certain knowledge of music, but there were branches of Brahmins who memorized *Rigveda* and *Yajurveda*.[2] The popular traditions, such as the heterodox *varkari* sect in Maharashtra, also relied heavily on the oral transmissions. This is not to say that there were no scribal traditions in the precolonial period. Sheldon Pollock suggests that 'manuscript culture' in India was 'enormously productive and efficient' and that it was constituted by professional scribes and patrons apart from those who copied them for personal use.[3] He calls it 'script mercantilism', which, according to him, was more influential in India than print capitalism.[4] It can be said that oral, manuscript and print cultures existed simultaneously from circa sixteenth to nineteenth century India, and thereafter from nineteenth century onward, the print culture gradually replaced the oral and manuscript cultures.

The present chapter examines the transition from 'Manuscript Culture' to the 'Print Culture' in nineteenth century Maharashtra. The 'Print Culture' refers not only to the advent of the technology of printing, but also to the commodification of books instigated by printing, and to the changes brought about by printing in the language and the literary sphere of Maharashtra. The following section briefly discusses the nature of manuscript culture.

1.2 Manuscript Culture

1.2.1 Reading as a Pious Act

It was the manuscript culture which was dominant in early nineteenth century Maharashtra. It was a common practice in the Marathi households to read certain 'Prakrut' scriptures.[5] Reading typically stood for reading aloud or reciting – with or without comprehension – and was closely associated with memorization. The most popular texts were the works of Shridhar namely, *Ramvijay, Pandavapratap* and *Harivijay*, which were the renderings into Marathi of *Ramayana, Mahabharata* and

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[2] *Dnyanaprakash,* September 27, 1858, supplement.
[3] Sheldon Pollock, "Literary Culture and Manuscript Culture in Precolonial India", in *Literary Cultures and the Material Book,* ed. Simon Eliot et al. (London: British Library, 2006), 87.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Marathi language was commonly referred to as 'Prakrut' till the nineteenth century. In the present work, the term 'Prakrut' has been employed to mean Marathi. *Prakrit* is a general term meaning a vernacular or 'natural' language, vis-à-vis Sanskrit, which is considered as a 'refined' language. Medieval Indic languages such as Pali, Shauraseni, Magadhi are generally termed as *prakrit*. When the term is used in the present work in this sense, it is written as *prakrit*.

Bhagawata respectively. In a lecture delivered as late as 1891 at the Elphinstone College Union, H. A. Acworth describes,

> Go to any town or village in the Deccan or in the Konkan, especially during the rainy season, and you will everywhere find the pious Maratha enjoying with his family and friends, the recitation of the Pothi of Shridhur—and enjoying it indeed. Except an occasional gentle laugh, a sign, or a tear, not a sound disturbs the rapt silence of the audience, unless when some one or other of those passages of supreme pathos are reached which affect the whole of the listeners simultaneously with an outburst of emotion which drowns the voice of the reader.[6]

The act of reading was considered a pious activity, a daily ritual, an act that would earn merit (*punya*), and a way of worshipping god. Reciting the texts on sacred days or during holy months was deemed to be all the more righteous. Reading through a text in a day – called *parayan* or seven days – called *saptaha-parayan* was also a popular ritual.[7]

In her work *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere*, Veena Naregal reconstructs the reading habits among the elite during the eighteenth century. Naregal informs that 'at least in the elite circles the practice of performative reading and listening as an edifying and/or recreational activity was quite common'.[8] She brings to our notice that such reading sessions were carried out even in the military camps and that the Brahmins, who accompanied the military on campaigns, performed these readings.[9]

A close reading of the literature written in Marathi in the nineteenth century, particularly the autobiographies, suggests that many of these practices continued till the nineteenth century, even after the arrival of printing. Furthermore, it can be argued that the practice of performative reading was not confined to the elite or Brahmins as

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[6] Rastam B. Paymaster, *Elphinstone College Union Lectures, First Series 1891-92* (Unknown: Fort Printing Press, 1893), 98.
[7] See Narayan Mahadev Patwardhan, ed., *Dhondo Keshav Karve 'Atmavritta' va Charitra* (Pune: Hingane Stree Shikshan Sanstha, 1958) (originally pub. 1915, 1928); A. K. Priyolkar, ed., *Raobahadur Dadoba Pandurang* (Mumbai: Keshav Bhakijai Dhavale, 1947) (written circa 1882); Bhavani Shridhar Pandit, ed., *Raosaheb Keshav Shivaram Bhawalkar Yanche Atmavritta* (Nagpur: Vidarbha Sanshodhan Mandal, 1961) (written in 1894).
[8] Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 30.
[9] Ibid.

pointed out by Naregal, but was also common in the non-Brahmin households. D. P. Tarkhadkar (1814-1882), a *vaishya* by caste, recounts in his autobiography that his father used to read a chapter from Prakrut scriptures every night.[10] Baba Padmanji (1831-1906), born in a *kasar* [coppersmith] household, also mentions in his autobiography that his father regularly read a chapter or two from the copy of the Marathi version of *Gita* that he possessed and also worshipped the manuscript. He further informs that his father always carried the text with him while travelling, and also put it beside him while sleeping.[11]

The literate women in some Brahmin households could read the sacred books themselves. However, more commonly, the texts were read out to women, whether Brahmin or non-Brahmin, by a *hardas*[12]*, a puranik*[13], a Brahmin specially appointed for this purpose, or a small boy in the household. Padmanji writes that when he learnt to read Prakrut, he would read out the religious texts to women in the family, who would be joined by the women from neighbourhoods belonging to the non-Brahmin castes. He, thus, became a little *puranik* to the alley.[14] He recounts in detail that when he read, he would sit on a *paat* (a small bench on which one sits cross-legged) and lay the manuscript on a *chauranga* (a small stool). Since the manuscripts – or *pothis* as they were called – were not bound, he would hold each lose folio in his hand, one by one, and read from it. He further states, 'the usual ceremony of waving the lamp was performed at the close. Some women used to place sugar, plantains etc. before the sacred book as an offering to it, and also put a garland of flowers round my neck'.[15] This account clearly illustrates how reading had a ritualistic character and how manuscripts were considered sanctified.

Another reminiscence in Padmanji's autobiography that gives us an idea about the reading practices in this period is an episode describing B. G. Jambhekar's visit to Belgaum where the author spent his childhood. Jambhekar was the first Indian

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[10] Priyolkar, *Dadoba Panduranga.*
[11] Baba Padmanji, *Arunodaya: Baba Padmanji Yanche Charitra* (Bombay: Bombay Tract and Book Society, 1888).
[12] 'A celebrator of the praises of the Hindu deity in his incarnations. He performs Kathas &c. [narratives], relating the marvellous exploits of gods and heroes with music and chanting', as cited in J. T. Molesworth and George and Thomas Candy, *Dictionary, Marathi and English* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1857), 887.
[13] 'A Brahman well-read in the Purans, a public expounder of them', as cited in ibid., 523.
[14] Padmnaji, *Arunodaya*, 59. (My translation)
[15] J. Murray Mitchell, ed., *Once Hindu, Now Christian: The Early Life of Baba Padmanji*, (New York: Fleming H Revell Company, 1889), 23.

professor in the Government College at Bombay and the editor of the one of the earliest Marathi newspapers. The author writes that Jambhekar used to read books when he was carried in a palanquin and it was one of the reasons why the people in Belgaum inferred that he must be reading the Bible. Padmanaji himself equates this reading habit with that of 'sahibs' [the British].[16] This instance indicates that the people, including the author, were unaccustomed to the habit of 'reading while travelling'. What was more common was the kind of ritualistic reading described by Padmanji.

1.2.2 Manuscript Production, Loaning, Sale

The previous section points out that the reading practices prevalent in the elite families in the eighteenth century were also found among the ordinary households in the following century. Similarly the methods of production and exchange of manuscripts had lots of commonalities in the precolonial and colonial period. The Marathi texts available in the manuscript form were scarce and expensive and therefore they were borrowed, lent or exchanged with one's kith and kin.

Naregal gathers that procurement, collection and loaning of manuscripts were fairly common activities among the royal and *sardar* families during the Peshwa period. She talks about the letters exchanged between the elite requesting or acknowledging receipt of manuscripts for copying or reading.[17] Several references in the literature in the colonial period indicate that the practice continued even in the ordinary families in the nineteenth century.[18] Padmanji tells us,

> These texts [Marathi scriptures] were not printed at that time and it was very difficult to get their copies. We used to borrow the manuscripts of the works that we did not possess. Nobody would lend the whole manuscript; usually one would borrow a few chapters at a time, read and return. We possessed a copy of *Harivijay* which we had bought for fifteen rupees. It was written with a very beautiful hand. (These days, a printed copy of the text is available for a rupee!)[19]

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[16] Padmanji, *Arunodaya,* 21.
[17] Naregal, *Language Politics.*
[18] See Pandit, *Bhawalkar Atmavritta;* Padmanji, *Arunodaya.*
[19] Padmanji, *Arunodaya*, 59. (My translation)

Naregal mentions that the texts borrowed or bought or commissioned by the elite Peshwa and *sardar* families were 'core' Hindu texts, mostly Sanskrit.[20] Contrary to this observation, a close look at the aforesaid autobiographies shows that in the nineteenth century the ordinary families extensively read and exchanged Prakrut (Marathi) texts.

Naregal also refers to the scribal workshops patronized by the elite families.[21] A description of one such scribal workshop in Mumbai is found in Tarkhadkar's autobiography, which indicates the persistence of manuscript culture even after the advent of print.

> …[T]here was a big workshop for copying down Prakrut manuscripts at his place. A couple of scribes, who copied down texts with beautiful hand on fine papers, were always employed by him at any time which continued for several years. [The manuscripts] were covered with brocade jackets on which wooden planks of the same size were kept; then they were wrapped in cloths and tied with long ribbons. In this manner, numerous Prakrut texts were painstakingly produced [in the workshop]. Name any Prakrut text, and its manuscript - prepared in such a manner - was there in his collection. This gentleman was very passionate about books. He personally used to cut papers, draw margins and decorate the pages. My father, inspired by him, too had made a collection of Prakrut books as per his ability.[22]

The manuscripts were copied not only for personal use but also for the sale. In a work published in 1928, S. V. Ketkar draws a biographical sketch of his grandfather, who made a living by selling manuscripts to the royal courts.[23] Ketkar tells us that his grandfather was a financer of Peshwas in his early life and that when the Peshwas were defeated at the hands of the British, he renounced everything and went to Kashi (Banaras) for some time.[24] Subsequently he started the business of selling manuscripts to the princely rulers, especially to the Maratha chieftains since he had several acquaintances in their courts. He had hired fifty to sixty Brahmins to copy

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[20] Naregal, *Language Politics,* 28.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Priyolkar, *Dadoba Panduranga*, 64. (My translation)
[23] Shridhar Vyankatesh Ketkar, *Maharashtriyanche Kavya Parikshan* (Pune: Dnyanakosh Chhapkhana, 1928).
[24] Peshwas were the prime ministers and de facto rulers of western Maharashtra in the precolonial period.

manuscripts, who were paid three rupees per month. With ten to twenty carts full of manuscripts, he used to travel from one princely state to another. The chieftains would buy several books; and in return, give clothes, jewellery and such other things in his honour along with the price of the books. He was provided security by the princely states while travelling from one place to another. He was received very well in the villages, where he stayed on the way. The villages supplied fodder to the bullocks and horses. Some copies of manuscripts were also sold in the villages, since this kind of business was a rare one. The landlords as well as affluent persons in the villages bought books, especially for donating to the priests. Donating books to Brahmins was a righteous act.[25] The life journey of Ketkar's grandfather can be viewed as illustrative of the transition that was taking place in nineteenth century Maharashtra with regard to the book culture. His business of selling manuscripts continued till 1858-59, after which he returned home, bought a Lithographic Press and became a printer.[26]

It can be concluded that, print culture gradually started emerging in Maharashtra by the mid-nineteenth century though many of the earlier practices continued to be followed. The books were still considered sacred. The sacred nature of books and the supposed profanity of print proved to be conflicting. The next section delineates this conflict and suggest that though printing was not initially welcomed by the orthodox Brahmins, they soon innovated new techniques to acclimatize printing to their notions of sanctity.

1.3 Sacred Book vs. Profane Print

The Marathi language appeared in print in 1616 when *Krista Purana* written by Father Stephens was printed in Roman characters in Goa. In the following years, there were some more instances of Marathi and Konkani printing by the missionaries. In 1684 the Portuguese rulers in Goa forbade transactions in the vernaculars which brought the Marathi and Konkani printing to a standstill for some time.[27] In the late eighteenth century, an effort to print *Gita* was made in Pune, but the project could not

[25] The practice of donating '*Gita*' to Brahmins is still prevalent in West Bengal.
[26] Ketkar, *Kavya Parikshan.*
[27] Sharad Gogate, *Marathi Granthaprakashanachi Donashe Varshe* (Pune: Rajahansa, 2008), 8.

be completed due to political instability.[28] In 1777 Rustamji Cursetji, a Parsi, set up a press in the city of Bombay (now Mumbai), followed by the Bombay Gazette Press (1790) and the Bombay Courier Press (1792).[29] However, these presses were not engaged in vernacular printing. The year 1805 can be called a landmark moment in the history of Marathi printing since three books in Marathi were published from three different places around this time: *Balbodhmuktavali* based on Aesop's Fables was published from Tanjore by Sarfoji Bhosale in his Navavidyakalanidhi Press with the help of the Danish missionary Christian Frederick Schwartz; the unfinished project of printing *Gita* was completed in Miraj by a chieftain called Patwardhan; and a grammar of the Marathi language by William Carey was published at the Serampore Mission Press.[30] Thereafter several Christian scriptures in Marathi were published from the Serampore Press along with a number of books for the use of the students of the College of Fort William. In 1816, the American Mission Press was set up in Mumbai, with which began the era of vernacular printing and publishing in the Bombay Presidency. In the next hundred years, the technology of print spread rapidly all over Maharashtra except Marathawada, which was under the Nizam's dominion.

The initial response of the literate classes to the printing technology was shaped by the contemporary socio-religious norms. A feature central to the caste system is the idea of purity and defilement. The set of practices and customs based on these notions followed typically in the Brahmin and some upper caste households around the nineteenth century was called *sowale-owale*. *Sowale* denoted the pure, holy, clean state while *owale* stood for the profane state. These states could be attained by not only persons but also cloth, vessels, food etc. The holy state could be attained by certain rites of purification such as bathing in case of persons, washing in case of objects, or applying *kumkum* [vermilion powder] in case of cotton.[31] A touch of an *owala* [profane] person or thing would disqualify a *sowala* person or thing.[32] Some objects were considered inherently and unvaryingly pure or fit for the use of a *sowala* [holy] person. There were numerous codes and customs determining which act or thing was to be considered as holy and what caused defilement. For example, leather, except deer skin, was viewed as causing defilement. Cotton cloth was seen as

[28] Ibid., 9-10.
[29] Govind Narayan Madgaonkar, *Mumbaiche Varnan* (Aurangabad: Saket, 2011), 206. [1863]
[30] Gogate, *Marathi Granthaprakashana,* 10-11.
[31] Ganesh Prabhakar Pradhan, *Agarkar-Lekhasangraha* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2008), 226-235.
[32] Molesworth, *Dictionary,* 872.

defiling, so one could not wear them while dining, but silk was permissible at the time of dining. Similarly, animal fat was considered as defiling, and unfit for the touch of a *sowla* person.[33] Commodities like ink, candle, soap or cartridge were viewed with suspicion by the Brahmins owing to the belief that they contained animal fat. This set of practices were followed primarily in the Brahmin households, but sometimes even the non-Brahmin families emulated them.[34]

Due to the conviction that the ink used for printing books contained animal fat, the Brahmins in Maharashtra, including the western-educated ones, were initially unwilling to accept printed book. In his account of Mumbai (1863) G. N. Madgaonkar reports that 'a number of naïve and staunch Brahmins here were afraid of touching printed paper. Till date, one can find several persons in and outside Mumbai who do not touch printed paper and do not read printed books.'[35] However, the orthodox Brahmins' aversion to touch printed books did not deter the advent of printing.

It can be seen that the indigenous entrepreneurs often invented new technologies so that the Brahminical traditions were not perturbed. An association called 'Kalashastrottejak Samooha' [the Association for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences] manufactured soap made up of 'indigenous material' as a substitute of animal fat so that it could be used in *sowale* [sacred] state. It was claimed that a technique prescribed in a Sanskrit text called *Shukraneeti* was followed for its manufacture.[36] Similarly, in an advertisement for print editions of *Gurucharitra*, a religious text, it was announced that the text was fit to be used in *sowale* state.[37] The indigenous printers attempted to produce ink without using animal fat in conformity with the Brahminical customs. *Digdarshan,* which was one of the earliest periodicals in Marathi edited by B. G. Jambhekar, proclaims,

> People believe that the printed book is non-sacred since the ink used for printing is made up of animal fat, therefore we must write something about it. The press where the *Digdarshan* is printed uses ghee instead of animal fat. Ghee acts in place of animal fat, but it is not lustrous like the latter, so, it requires more efforts [to make ghee-ink].[38]

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[33] Pradhan, *Agarkar*, 226-235.
[34] Padmanji, *Arunodaya.*
[35] Madgaonkar, *Mumbaiche Varnan*, 208. (My translation)
[36] *Berar Samachar*, October 12, 1873.
[37] R. K. Lele, *Marathi Vruttapatrancha Itihas* (Pune: Continental, 1984), 175.
[38] As cited in Priyolkar, *Dadoba Panduranga,* 159, footnote. (My translation)

'Ghee', or clarified butter, was a lawful alternative to animal fat, since it was conventionally considered as sacred and used as an oblation in sacrificial fire.[39] Ghee was also a purifying or expiation agent like fire and water. For example, *Manusmriti* advises that if one becomes 'polluted' by participating in a funeral procession, he can purify himself by consuming ghee.[40] The usage of ghee as a substitute to animal fat had a precedence in the ancient Hindu code. *Manusmriti* prohibits the twice-born from eating meat except 'in conformity with the law'.[41] It advises that if one has a strong desire to have meat, 'he may make an animal of clarified butter or one of flour [and eat that]'.[42] The instance of using ghee-ink for printing illustrates how Brahminical society negotiated with modernity and how it adopted modern technology without disrupting the traditional structures. In fact, in this case, the technological innovations were used to continue and reiterate traditions.[43]

The reluctance of the Brahmins to embrace the technology of printing also emerged from the fear that it would give everybody, irrespective of their caste and gender, an access to religious scriptures. Traditionally, only the upper caste men were privileged to study the Sanskrit scriptures, particularly the Vedic corpus. A number of Brahmins believed that printing of the religious texts such as *Vedarthayatna* resulted in the decline of 'the sanctity and importance of the Vedas and religion in general'.[44] Several similar instances can be pointed out where the Brahmins explicitly opposed printing because of its democratizing ability. When attempts were being made to establish a library at Mahim (Mumbai), it was opposed by the upper castes for the reason that it would provide everybody with an access to the scriptures. Likewise, D. P. Tarkhadkar, a Marathi grammarian, translated a chapter of *Laghu Kaumudi* (a treatise on Sanskrit grammar) and sent the manuscript to the Board of education. The Board sent it to B. G. Jambhekar for his comments. The text contained *sutras* from

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[39] In the canonical Buddhist text *Milindapanha* [The Questions of King Milinda], Nirvana is compared with ghee. The text describes that Nirvana is beautiful, has a pleasant perfume and a pleasant taste like ghee. See, T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Questions of King Milinda*, Part II, vol. XXXVI F of *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Muller, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1894), 194.
[40] G. Buhler, trans., *The Laws of Manu*, vol. XXV of *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Muller, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1886) 187.
[41] Ibid., 174.
[42] Ibid., 37.
[43] The invention of 'metal tumblers with rims' probably by the Tamil Brahmins is a parallel example of such innovation. A. R. Venkatachalapathy informs that this enabled them to drink coffee without sipping the tumbler. See, A. R. Venkatachalapathy, "In Those Days There Was No Coffee," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 39, 2 & 3 (2002): 307.
[44] *Berar Samachar*, June 2, 1878.

Ashtadhyayi, the foremost work on Sanskrit grammar by Panini. Jambhekar commented that printing Panini's sutras would mean defiling them and that it would incur great displeasure among the people. Therefore, he advised Tarkhadkar not to get the manuscript printed. Since grammar was considered one of the *angas* [parts] of the corpus of the Vedas, the Panini sutras also formed a part of Vedas, and hence, were not to be read by all. Tarkhadkar followed this advice and put the text in cold storage.[45] Yet another example is recorded in a 'report by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts' which was submitted in 1882. Bhandarkar was given the task of collecting and cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad during 1881-82. He was allotted a fund of rupees 2000 for buying the manuscripts. He bought the manuscripts at the rate of two to five rupees per thousand verses. He successfully collected the manuscripts of Vedas, *vedangas*, *puranas*, *dharmashatras*, grammar, Yoga, Vedanta, *nyaya*, *vaisheshik*, *jyotish* and so on. However, as noted in the report, Kannada Brahmins belonging to a sect called Madhva did not allow people outside their sect to read the sectarian text. Hence, Bhandarkar states, 'while a good many of the works expounding the system of Samkaracharya have been printed in Bombay and Calcutta, only one or two pertaining to the school of Madhva have, so far as I am aware, been printed'.[46]

In 1831, a non-Brahmin publisher published an almanac prepared by R. D. Muley, a tailor by caste, a Sanskrit scholar and an astrologer. Many of the Brahmins were averse to using the almanac since it was prepared by a non-Brahmin. An article in a well-known Marathi periodical remarks that 'since the [publication] place was Mumbai, and the regime was that of the British, our conservative folk kept a mum. If it was the rule of our orthodox ruler, the astrologer who forecasted the almanac and the owner of the printing place who backed him would have been punished by cutting off their hands'.[47] Thus, print opened up the possibility of an unrestricted access to the religious texts which were conventionally in the possession of few in society. In spite of the hostility of orthodox Brahmins, printing began to flourish in Maharashtra.

[45] Priyolkar, *Dadoba Panduranga*, 159.
[46] NAI, Home, Public, December 1882, No. 246-248.
[47] *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 24, 6 (1892). (My translation)

With the emergence of Print Culture, book became an everyday, profane object. A poem by Mahadev Govindashastri entitled '*booka'* reflects this transition. The poem is like a riddle, and a book is the protagonist of the poem:

Look at me, so paradoxical I am!
Filled with inconsistencies I am……1
I am ancient, I am modern
I am bound, yet I've no bounds……2
Dressed in golden I might appear
However tacky is this cover……3
I cannot read a single letter
Yet I'm a man of letters……4
I am blind by nature
Yet I open eyes of the others……5
Blackness I always contain,
Likewise whiteness I retain……6
I don't have a definite size
Sometimes thin, fat at times ……7
Neither flesh nor bones do I've
Covered with the hide I am……8
I dwell on the Indian land
In Germany and in England ……9
Many people love me a lot
Yet many others love me not……10
My life is often short
But sometimes longer I last ……11
All those punctuation marks
Aren't found anywhere else……12
The number of stops used
Is greater than holes in a flute……13
I am serious I am joyous
That's what say the folks……14[48]

[48] Mahadev Govindashastri, "Booka", *Prakrut Kaviteche Pahile Pustak* (Pune: Dnyanaprakash, 1860), 63.

Figure 1: Javaji Dadaji Chaudhari, Founder, Nirnayasagar Press (1868)[49]

Source: *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 24, 6 (1892)

[49] Javaji Dadaji Chaudhari was one of the earliest indigenous printers in Maharashtra. Aforesaid almanac prepared by Muley was published by Nirnayasagar Press founded by him. The press published Sanskrit and Marathi religious works, which were 'very *shuddha*' and of good quality. This led the people think that he must be a Brahmin and wrote him letters with an address appropriate for a Brahmin Vedic scholar. It was unimaginable for people that a non-Brahmin like Chaudhari could print 'correct' versions of religious texts. People believed that the production of (correct) books was a 'Brahmanical virtue'. See, ibid.

1.4 The Growth of Printing

The missionaries were the first to make extensive use of the technology of printing in Maharashtra. They played a significant role in the cultivation of vernacular print culture in the region. The Christian tracts constitute a major portion of the Marathi incunabula. The printing press was seen by them as 'the greatest power bestowed upon the humans by God'.[50] The Christian missionaries claimed to have 'enslaved' this power to serve their religion.[51] Apart from religious books, the missionaries wrote and published grammars and other linguistic works helpful for acquiring the knowledge of vernacular languages. The American Marathi Mission (1813), the Bombay Bible Society (1813), the Bombay Tract and Book Society (1827) and the Christian Vernacular Education Society (1858) published and sold a huge number of tracts and books in Marathi. The Table 1 presents the figures of the production and sale of the books published by the Bombay Tract and Book Society from 1850 to 1862.

In spite of the extensive use of the press by the missionaries, it was complained in the annual gathering (1865) of the Ahmednagar American Mission that the presses in the country were mostly owned by those who are not sympathetic to Christianity.[52] In this gathering, an appeal was made to the Christians, especially the Indian Christians (converts), to make more and more use of the print media. They were urged to read books and newspapers or listen to recitation of newspapers if they were unable to read. They were encouraged to read, write books and articles in newspapers, buy or subscribe newspapers, visit libraries, establish libraries, share their books and newspapers with others and also to the help their fellow Christians cultivate an interest in these activities.[53] *Dnyanodaya* (1842), a bilingual fortnightly by the American Mission, was one of the earliest periodicals in Marathi. A number of articles published in *Dnyanodaya* from time to time commend reading culture in Europe and America and attempt to cultivate the same in India.

A number of presses were subsequently founded by the European private individuals (De Souza L. M., Graham), the colonial government (Education Society,

[50] *Dnyanodaya,* December 15, 1865.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

Governmental Lithographic Press), and Parsi and Marathi private individuals (Jame-Jamshed, Khusalji Rustamji, Lakshman Vithoji, Madhav Chandroba, Ramji Ganoji, Ganapat Krishnaji, Bapu Harshet Devlekar and Bapu Sadashiv). In the city of Pune, there were eleven presses owned either by the colonial state or by private individuals, which published books in Marathi and Sanskrit. Poona College Press also published English books apart from the books in these two languages. There was one press each at Ahmednagar (American Mission Press), Nassick (owned by the government), Ratnagiri (Jaganmitra Press), and Sattara (Shubhasuuchak Press).

The first known Marathi periodical – a newspaper called '*Darpan'* was started in Mumbai in 1832. Till the middle of the nineteenth century, there were only five Marathi newspapers. In the last few decades of the century, however, the number of Marathi newspapers grew considerably (Table 2). The publication of newspapers was highly concentrated in the urban centres, Mumbai and Pune being the largest centres (Table 3). A few newspapers were also published from other cities such as Satara, Belgaum, Ahmednagar, Thane, Wai and Kolhapur. In 1874-98, 81 out of total 132 and in 1901-21, 88 out of total 131 newspapers were published from eleven cities.[54]

The circulation of newspapers and periodicals was highly skewed. Table 4 exhibits the circulation figures of the periodicals, including newspapers, in two periods viz. 1874-1898 and 1909-1921. It can be seen from the table that a majority of periodicals had a circulation of less than three hundred. In the late nineteenth century, the number of newspapers which had a consumer base of less than hundred was seventeen, whereas forty two periodicals had a circulation ranging between one hundred and two hundred. Only twelve periodicals had subscription of more than one thousand. In the early twentieth century, forty eight periodicals were subscribed to by less than three hundred people, while another fifty periodicals had more than three hundred consumers but less than a thousand. In the same period, thirty two periodicals had circulation above one thousand, out of which one had a circulation figure as high as 30,000.

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[54] *Indian Newspaper Reports, 1868-1942*, Part 6 Bombay, 1874-1898; Part 7 Bombay, 1901-1921, The British Library, London, accessed June 11, 2013
http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/indian_newspaper_reports_parts_1_to_4/documents/NewspaperListingsforParts6.pdf
http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/indian_newspaper_reports_part_7/documents/NewspaperListingsforParts1-7.pdf

Table 1: The production and sale of books and periodicals published by the Bombay Tract and Book Society (1850-1862)

Year	Number of copies printed	Number of copies sold
1854	1,00,200	NA
1855	61,600	54,200
1856	80,000	73,500
1857	60,000	NA
1861	NA	39,500
1862	NA	32,460
(1850-1862)	**NA**	**5,08,126***

*Total 12,00,000 including books and periodicals of the Vernacular Education Society.

Source: Annual reports published in *Dnyanodaya*

Table 2: Number of newspapers published in Marathi from Bombay Presidency (1874-98 and 1901-21) [55]

Types of Newspapers	Number of Newspapers Published in Marathi	
	1874 – 98	**1901 - 21**
Unilingual [Marathi]	132	131
Bilingual [Anglo-Marathi]	23	18
Multilingual/ Bilingual [Other than Anglo-Marathi*]	0	11

* Includes Gujarati-Marathi, Kanarese-Marathi, Urdu-Marathi and Sanskrit-Marathi

Source: *Indian Newspaper Reports*, *1868-1942*, The British Library, London[56]

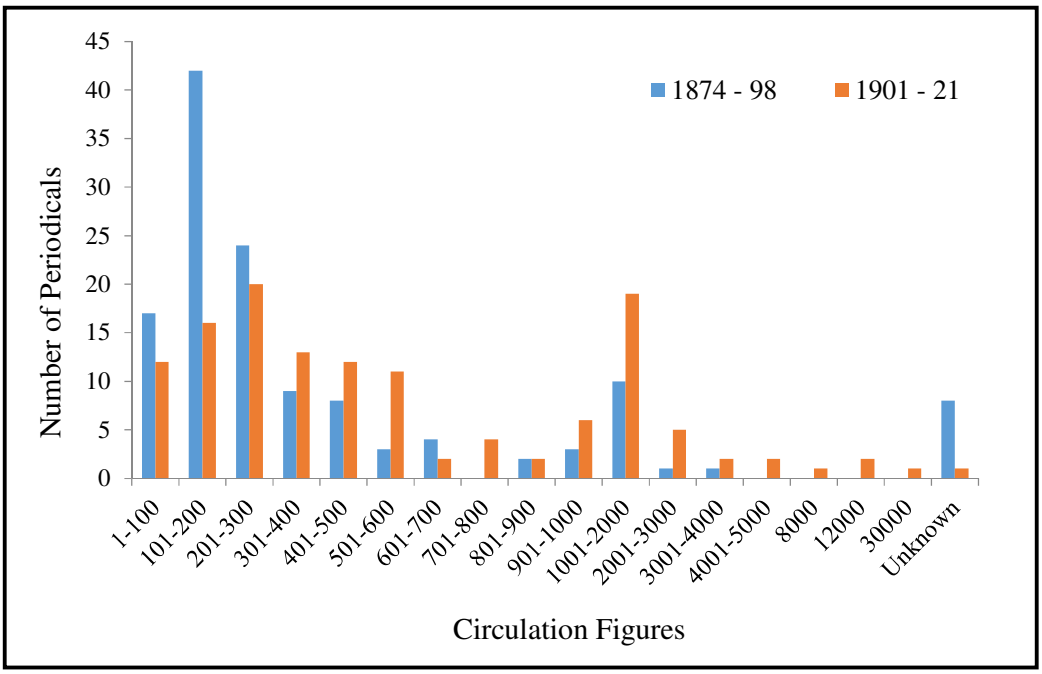
[55] These figures are based on the *Indian Newspaper Reports*, and therefore may not contain names of all the newspapers that were published during the said periods. For example, the reports for 1874-1879 cover only 'Native' papers. However, the figures provide a rough sketch of the state of publishing in the Bombay Presidency in the said period. The disclaimer applies to Table 3 and 4 as well.

[56] Ibid.

Table 3: Number of newspapers published from various cities in Bombay Presidency (1874-98 and 1901-21)

Name of city	Number of Newspapers Published	
	1874 – 98	**1901 – 21**
City and Island of Bombay	29	24
Poona	20	20
Satara	7	6
Belgaum	5	7
Ahmednagar	4	5
Thana	4	4
Ratnagiri	4	2
Wai	3	5
Dhulia	3	4
Kolhapur	2	7
Baroda	0	4
Source: *Indian Newspaper Reports*, *1868-1942*, The British Library, London[57]		

Table 4: Circulation of periodicals in Bombay Presidency (1874-98 and 1901-21)



Source: *Indian Newspaper Reports*, *1868-1942*, The British Library, London[58]

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

Table 5: Literary Culture in Maharashtra

District	Population	No. of Schools	Literacy (per cent)	No. of Newspapers	Libraries & Reading Rooms
Ahmadnagar	751228	407	NA	3	4
Akola	754804	240	NA	4	NA
Amaraoti	809499	295	NA	5	NA
Aurangabad	730976	17*	3	NA	NA
Bombay city & island	776006	NA	NA	131	NA
Buldhana	613756	236	NA	NA	NA
Chanda	554105	136	4	NA	NA
Khandesh	1028642	316	3.68	3	10
Kolaba and Janjira	381649	102	4.59	2	5
Kolhapur	800189	190	NA	1	14
Nagpur	751844	193	NA	NA	NA
Nasik	784385	262	3.84	2	6
Poona	898326	266	6.20	9	5
Ratnagiri & Savantvadi	1019136	416	2.25	3	6
Satara	1062350	311	3.92	3	8
Sholapur	582487	180	4.79	3	5
Thana	903341	221	3.90	4	NA

* Apart from these, there were around 84 indigenous private elementary schools in villages

Note: The figures of Bhandara, Wardha and Yeotmal are not available.

Sources: District Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces and Berar District Gazetteers, Gazetteer of the Nizam's Dominions (1872- 1909).[59]

[59] *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency* , *Ahmadnagar*, vol. XVII (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1884).
Central Provinces and Berar District Gazetteers, Akola, vol. A, (1910) 2006 http://akola.nic.in/Gazetteers/berar/home.html
Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amaraoti, vol. A, (1911) 2006 http://amravati.nic.in/gazetteer/gazetteerA/home.html
Gazetteer of the Nizam's Dominions, Aurangabad, (Bombay: The Times of India Steam Press, 1884).
The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, vol. I (Bombay: The Times Press, 1909),309.
Central Provinces District Gazetters, Buldhana, vol. A, (1910) 2007, https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Buldhana%20District/home.html
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Khandesh*, vol. XII (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1880).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Kolaba and Janjira,* vol. XI (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1883).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Kolhapur*, vol. XXIV (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1886).
Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Nagpur, vol. A, (1908) 2006 http://nagpur.nic.in/gazetteer/gaz1908/home.html
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Nasik,* vol. XVI (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1883).

It is important to note that the number of copies sold was not same as the number of readers. The actual number of readers was much more than the circulation figures, because one copy was sometimes read by fifty people, as stated by a reader of the first Marathi newspaper.[60] The newspapers were also read out in public spaces. D. K. Karve narrates that on the suggestion of his school teacher, he used to read newspapers aloud in a temple in the evening, when a large number of people paid a visit to the temple. The people would sit and listen to his reading, though this could be sustained for only two months.[61] Padmanji also recounts similar public reading sessions in the veranda of his neighbour, who used to buy a newspaper titled *Prabhakar*. As a school boy, Padmanji would read it out standing in the middle of the veranda and numerous people would gather for 'listening to' the newspaper.[62]

As shown in Table 5, the literacy rate in Maharashtra was extremely low around the beginning of the twentieth century. The district of Poona (now Pune) had the highest literacy level at the rate of 6.20 per cent. Only four districts had more than three hundred schools. Despite the low literacy level, a significant number of printing presses were established in the Presidency around this period and many books and periodicals were published. However, the number of buyers, particularly for the vernacular books and periodicals, was still negligible.

1.5 Print Capitalism or Print Patronisation?

The production of books and periodicals was not a financially viable business in Maharashtra even at the end of the nineteenth century. Writing a book was 'a business of loss', as described by S. V. Ketkar.[63] Ketkar writes that an author could not sustain himself only by writing, unless he became a publisher and printer or unless he wrote for the department of education.[64] The colonial state patronized vernacular

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Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Poona,* vol. XVIII (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Ratnagiri and Savantvadi*, vol. X (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1880).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Satara*, vol. XIX (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Sholapur*, vol. XX (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1884).
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, *Thana*, vol. XIII (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1882).

[60] Vinayak Krishna Joshi and S. M. Sahasrabuddhe, *Darpan Sangraha* (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya, 1946), preface, 24. (My translation)
[61] Patwardhan, ed., *Dhondo Keshav Karve.*
[62] Padmanji, *Arunodaya*.
[63] S. V. Ketkar, Vidyasevak, 1,1; as cited in V. G. Apte, *Lekhankala Ani Lekhanavyavasaya* (Pune: G. B. Joshi, 1926).
[64] Ibid.

printing to a large extent, and the missionaries and the intelligentsia also worked hard to foster the print culture. The Dakshina Prize Committee (henceforth DPC) was a governmental committee which played an extremely crucial role in the cultivation of the print culture in Maharashtra.

1.5.1 Dakshina Prize Committee

Dakshina means charitable money or presents given to a Brahmin on certain occasions. A certain *sardar* of the Peshwas called Dabhade commenced the practice of distributing *dakshina* to Brahmins on an enormous scale.[65] The practice was continued by the later Peshwas. In a particular month of the year, Brahmins across the country gathered in Pune to receive generous *dakshina* from the Peshwas. Anybody who could prove that he was a Brahmin would receive *dakshina*. After the establishment of the Raj, the British continued the practice since they did not want to create dissatisfaction among the elite. Initially a sum of fifty thousand rupees was sanctioned for the Dakshina Fund.[66] This annual practice continued for a long period till it was opposed by some indigenous students.

In 1849 a few students of the governmental school at Pune sent a memorandum to the government protesting against the 'old and pernicious system of *dakshina'* and requesting the 'changes in mode of distribution of the annual *dakshina'*.[67] They recommended that the candidates who sought the donations must produce translation(s) of Sanskrit or English works into Marathi or original compositions in Marathi. The memo read that the Dakshina Fund contributed only to the increase of idleness and its consequent miseries among the Brahmin recipients. It was argued that many Brahmins, who were not learned, also received the *dakshina* money and hence it was a wastage of public funds. The students expressed the opinion that 'no public fund ought surely to go for the support of individuals who are wasting their time in unproductive and useless leaning'.[68] The Brahmin priests were furious at this 'audacious attempt' of the students and called an assembly at a temple before which the 'offenders' were cited to appear.[69] They were asked to withdraw

[65] *Dnyanaprakash*, October 11, 1858.
[66] Ibid.
[67] *Dnyanodaya*, November 1, 1849.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

their names from the memorandum or face a penalty of expulsion from the caste. Some students submitted to the order of this assembly and withdrew their names. A contemporary newspaper commented that 'Brahminical violence and intolerance triumphed' on this occasion.[70]

Nonetheless, the government conceded to the demands of the students and accordingly, the DPC was formed under the Director of Public Instruction for the encouragement of Marathi literature. Its chief function was 'to examine and award prizes to vernacular works whether manuscript or printed'.[71] It advertised, from time to time, prizes for Marathi books on particular subjects, commissioned the authors to translate certain Sanskrit and English works into Marathi, and conferred awards on books that the authors sent to the Committee for patronage. It also published books, sold them, and sent them to newspapers for review.[72]

The correspondence between the DPC and various authors sheds a light on the lack of market for the vernacular books, owing to which the authors seek the patronage of the committee. An author called Y. S. Vavikar, in a letter to a member of DPC, complains that the people did not patronise non-fictional works in Marathi. He exclaims, 'I am sorry to write that even after advertising, not even ten outstation orders [for his book] were received, except the ones from friends.' He says that unless the book was patronized by the DPC, publishing the second edition of the book would not be possible.[73] Another author, who translated Dr. Haug's *Origin of Brahmanism* complains in a letter to the DPC, '…..these [works] do not find so ready a sale amongst the commonality of the Marathi readers as other Books for want of that interest which they find in noval [novels] and other light reading.'[74]

Not only authors, but printers also sought the committee's assistance in their business. For example, one Vithal Sakharam writes to the DPC that he had bought a lithographic press and requests the committee to give some of the works to be printed in his press.[75]

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[70] Ibid.
[71] MSA, Director of Public Instruction Inward Vol., 1867-68, Letter no. 1175, dated July 10, 1860.
[72] Generally 500 copies of a book were printed, if the DPC felt that there would be greater demand for a particular work, 1000 copies were printed.
[73] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committee Minutes, 1851-1859, Letter dated November 11, 1901.
[74] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committee Inward Vol. 7, Jan 1863- Dec. 1866, Letter dated March 9, 1864.
[75] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committee Minutes, 1851-1859, No. 3 of 1857, S-205.

A prolific Marathi author V. K. Oak also says that he would not have been able to publish so much, had the government not sponsored his books.[76] Most of his books were published by the education department and he credits these publications to 'generous governmental policies'.[77] He expresses the opinion that the importance of authors and that of books were understood better by the British rulers than the indigenous kings and princes. He cites a Sanskrit verse meaning 'a scholar, a woman and a creeper do not look good without a support'.[78]

Apart from publishing vernacular books, various departments and organizations of the colonial government helped in the cultivation of the print culture by subscribing to periodicals. For example, the Government of India had subscribed to 15,000 copies of *Jagad Vritta,* a loyalist Marathi newspaper run by Gordon, in order to remove the risk of financial failure of the newspaper.[79] There were attempts, on the part of the government, to persuade 'the native chiefs' who did not show willingness to patronize the periodical.[80]

The indigenous literati also worked hard to cultivate the Print Culture in the region – they encouraged people to write, read and buy books. 'The Association for Encouragement of Marathi Books' was one of the organizations instituted by the intelligentsia.

1.5.2 The Association for Encouragement of Marathi Books

Inspired by the tract societies in the West run by the missionaries, Marathi Granthottejak Mandali [The Association for Encouragement of Marathi Books] was founded in 1878 for the promotion of book culture. The idea of the association was similar to that of a publishing house. Justice Ranade, who was a manager of the association, explained that the intention of the association was to inspect 'goods' produced by authors and bring them to the market.[81] Though Ranade uses the language of the market and looks at books as 'goods' or commodities, the chief motive of the association was not profit-making but to spread knowledge among

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[76] Vinayak Kondadeva Oak, "Granthakartrutva", *Vividhadnyanavistar* 36, 2 (1905).
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] NAI, Foreign, Deposit – I, September 1909, No. 46.
[80] Ibid.
[81] "Marathi Granthottejak Mandali", *Kesari*, 24 May 1881.

people. Since the association was not sure of getting adequate customers, it published an advertisement in the newspapers that if minimum of one thousand people promised to become their subscribers, then the association would start functioning. A thousand people readily sent their signatures. The association was to charge five rupees as the annual subscription fees. The association was to search for manuscripts of good quality, publish them and send all the published books to the subscribers. The subscribers were supposed to keep the books of their choice worth five rupees and return the rest of the books to the association.[82]

The scheme failed miserably. The association did not collect the annual fees in advance. Some subscribers read the books and returned all of them saying they did not wish to keep any of the books and never paid any money. Some never bothered to return books exceeding the determined cost. The percentage of the people who actually paid the subscription fees was ten in the first year, five in the second and merely one in the third year. Therefore, the scheme had to be modified and the association circulated a list of books published by them to the subscribers instead of sending them the books. Since it was difficult to place an order by judging books merely by titles, this system also failed. Finally, a rule was made that the subscribers needed to buy all the books published by the association.[83] A series of articles was published assessing the functioning of the association in *Kesari* – the leading newspaper of that time. *Kesari* blamed the dishonesty prevalent in *kaliyuga* for the failure of the association.[84]

It is not surprising that the association did not collect money in advance and had confidence in its subscribers. The literary circle – from which the probable subscribers would come – was very small both in number as well as geographical area and was close-knit. There were only a handful of western-educated people who took an interest in social and literary activities. They were expected to encourage book publishing activities as means of spreading knowledge and reforms. However, in reality, people were not ready to spend their money on books. The association failed to create a consumer base for Marathi books. *Kesari* points out that people were ready to subscribe to a range of periodicals and that they would have bought books

[82] Ibid.
[83] "Marathi Granthottejak Mandali", *Kesari*, June 14, 1881.
[84] "Marathi Granthottejak Mandali", *Kesari*, May 24 - July 26, 1881.

published by the association, if there was a well-implemented scheme.[85] *Kesari* advises that in order to cultivate habit of reading among new readers the association should publish simple and entertaining (fictional) works, rather than books on scientific and philosophical subjects. It also declares that the publishing business would not be profitable in the near future and hence suggests that the association should apply to the education department for an annual grant to publish books.

Maharashtra Bhasha Sanvardhak Mandali [The Association for the Promotion of Maharashtra Language] was another such organization which aimed at promoting Marathi by the cultivation of book culture. It was formed in Mumbai in 1890 with K. T. Telang as the President and R. G. Talavalkar as the Secretary.[86] The association wished to increase the publication of books in Marathi on a variety of topics including history, biographies, ethics and so on. There were two kinds of people associated with it, members and subscribers. The annual fee for both the classes was the same, but every 'member' was bound to translate a minimum of five printed pages from English to Marathi. The association planned to publish and buy books and distribute it to its members and subscribers.[87] There were several small, sporadic attempts from private individuals, small government officials and princely states to promote the print culture. For example, the Principal of Rajaram College, Kolhapur announced a prize of rupees 150 for writing a play.

1.5.3 Book-sellers

The missionaries used to distribute Christian tracts and books among the people free of cost. However, many people were unwilling to touch the books, and many others would tear them apart in front of the missionaries. The missionaries had to plead with the people to accept their books. For many years, the tracts and books were 'distributed gratuitously' by the American Marathi Mission.[88] However, after some years it was noticed that people were eager to receive the tracts, and were even ready to buy them. It was also felt that 'a thing which may be obtained by all for nothing, will be generally valued at nothing. The books acquire respectability and importance in the sight of the natives, by the price demanded for them; they will be

[85] "Marathi Granthottejak Mandali", *Kesari*, July 19, 1881.
[86] *Kesari*, November 25, 1890.
[87] Ibid.
[88] *Memorial Papers of the American Marathi Mission, 1813-1881*, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1882).

read with more attention and would be better preserved.'[89] Hence, the American Mission began to sell books, but at very low prices.[90] Once the Mission decided to sell the books instead of distributing them free of charge, they employed colporteurs. The idea was that this would relieve the missionaries from the work of attending to the applications for books from 'clamorous and thankless crowds' and they would be able to devote their time to preaching.[91] The books could also reach the most distant villages in this way. In 1851, seven eighth of the sale of the tracts and books by the American Mission of Bombay was made by the colporteurs.[92]

Baba Padmanji mentions that he bought the Christian religious books from Muslim peddlers belonging to Khoja and Momin communities who chiefly sold old English books.[93] Padmanji also informs us about the Brahmin book-sellers who set their shops in the campus of Bhuleshwar temple in Mumbai. He bought lots of books on Hinduism from one of them who used to visit his house.[94]

The DPC had also authorized a number of individuals at various places to sell the books patronized and published by them. A number of petitions by Indians are found in the Minutes of the DPC requesting the committee to appoint them as agents for the sale of their books.[95]

The Government Central Book Depot at Bombay was started in order to supply textbooks and other books to the government schools and colleges at cheap rates. It produced text-books 'strongly bound, well printed, without errors, cheapest' for pupils in government colleges and schools.[96] It imported books published in England and placed them within reach of students and teachers at the cheapest prices. The books published by the depot were also sold at Zilla and Taluka towns. The books were also sold to the general public apart from schools and colleges. In fact, the

[89] Rev. Geo. Bowen, as cited in *Memorial Papers*, 101.
[90] For example, the production cost of each copy of the New Testament published by the Bible Society in 1868 was two rupees. The copies were sold at 6 Anna per copy. As reported in *Dnyanodaya*, June 1, 1868.
[91] *Memorial Papers.*
[92] *Memorial Papers*, 103.
[93] Padmanji, *Arunoday*a.
[94] Ibid, 99.
[95] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committee Inward Vol. 7, Jan 1863- Dec. 1866, Letter dated January 29, 1858
[96] NAI, Home, Public, April 1883, No. 186-189.

Curator of the Depot informs in 1882 that 'the sales to the public are more than five times more than the sales to the colleges and the schools'.[97]

Around 1880s, the government of India was thinking of transferring the business of the Depot to private enterprise since it caused serious interference with private trade. It was thought that private book-sellers would prove adequate to supply the wants of this country. The governmental interference in private trade was not deemed as desirable and therefore it was though that the business would be transferred to Messrs Cooper and Company on contractual basis. It was expressed in an official correspondence that if the Depot was closed, the books published in Britain could be bought through 'local book-sellers; and competition would keep down prices and make the monopoly of a contract unnecessary'.[98]

However, with the closure of the Depot, private book sellers would have lost profit which they received when their books were adopted for school use. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay expressed the view that with regard to books published in India, monopoly of sale was necessary in the interest of the village schools, and that it was immaterial for trade in general if the monopoly was government or private. A keeper of a district depot did not have any other duty and did not get a salary. He would get a commission of ten percent on books sold by him and six per cent commission on books passed by him for the Taluka Depot. At the Taluka level, there was no separate post of depot-keeper. The head master of the chief government school at Taluka town was supposed to be the keeper of the depot. He would get a commission of ten per cent on the books he sold. According to an official correspondence in this regard,

> It should be noted that trade publishers, properly so called, do not exist in this Presidency at all, and in relation to the literary energies of the people the depot has supplied a want by assuming the function of publisher. It publishes in the vernaculars, not only school-books but books for general reading, whether in fiction, or science, which are found by duly constituted committee to possess merit, but which no private bookseller would venture to publish.[99]

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[97] NAI, Home, Public, August 1882 [A], 202-205.
[98] Ibid.
[99] NAI, Home, Public, April 1883, No. 186-189.

The letter further reads,

> ....speaking generally for the [Bombay] Presidency, there is no such thing as private trade in books – except in Bombay, Poona, Surat and Ahmedabad no book-sellers' shops are to be found. Here and there a grocer or other tradesman may have a few books among his stores for sale, but as a rule, those who know nothing about books themselves are little inclined to take up that branch of business.[100]

There were only four to five book-sellers in Bombay at that time, namely Atmaram Sagoon, Messrs Gopal Narayen, Messrs Hormusjee, Messrs Thacker and Company. Therefore, the closure of the Depot was postponed and it was decided that its operations should be contracted from time to time.[101]

1.5.4 Book as a Commodity

One can say that in nineteenth century Maharashtra, the concept of book as a 'commodity' had emerged, as evident from the fact that books were now sold, purchased and advertised, unlike the earlier times when loaning and copying of manuscripts was more prevalent. The contemporary newspapers published a large number of advertisements for books. The publishers announced several schemes to attract readers. The authors complained that the sales were poor and the intellectuals and literary institutions encouraged people to buy books. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island* lists registered Joint Stock companies in Bombay in 1808-09, in which the companies involved in the trade of 'printing, publishing and stationary' are also enlisted. Their nominal capital was 17,90,000 (29,48,76,625) out of total and the paid-up capital was 4,47,910 (out of total 18,64,37,620).[102] Among a total of 18,849 income tax payers in the city of Bombay, there were 49 merchants/ dealers of books and stationary, 45 printers and publishers (including newspaper offices) and two persons were involved in printing and publishing companies.[103] All these facts show that production and sale of books was indeed deemed as a commercial activity.

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* 309.
[103] Ibid, 332.

However, the enterprise of producing books was not solely guided by capitalist motives. The authors and publishers thought it to be a mission, a kind of service to the nation, society and language. For example, a poem on the condition of widows was published in a newspaper. A renowned social reformer Justice M. G. Ranade got it reprinted and distributed several copies without charging any money.[104] The leading Marathi newspaper *Kesari* gave generous space to advertisements of books because the books were thought to be performing an act of philanthropy by bestowing knowledge upon the masses. While responding to the complaints by readers that *Kesari* contains many advertisements, the editor of the newspaper affirms that the advertisements (of books and medicines) published in *Kesari* were beneficial for the people. Through advertisements, it was said, the readers would come to know about new medicines and books, which would help them to stay fit - physically as well as mentally.[105]

Thus, it can be inferred that vernacular printing in Maharashtra was not necessarily backed by capitalism, unlike Europe. It was the benefaction by the colonial state, the missionaries and the indigenous leaders that kept the Marathi printing thriving in the nineteenth century.

1.6 Print and Literary Culture

In the pre-print era, only a few could possess large collections of books. It was kings, affluent persons or religious institutions (such as *mathas*) which possessed libraries. With printing, books became cheaper and easily available for all. A number of public libraries and reading rooms flourished all over Maharashtra by the beginning of the twentieth century.

1.6.1 Libraries

The first institutional library in Maharashtra was the Library of the Literary Society of Bombay, which was established in 1805. A number of libraries were founded at the civil and military stations of the British in the early nineteenth century. These libraries were started at the initiatives of the British officers and were financed from the subscriptions collected from their members. Their collections were confined

[104] Patwardhan, ed., *Dhondo Keshav Karve.*
[105] *Kesari*, January 8, 1884.

to English books and periodicals. In the initial period, only the British were admitted as subscribers in most of these libraries, but subsequently it was thrown open to the 'natives'.[106]

The Bombay Native General Library (1845) was one of the earliest libraries meant exclusively for the 'natives'. It was founded with the initiative of the Military Board, and was meant for military personnel ('native clerks').[107] Soon, it was thrown open to the public. An article in a newspaper called *Prabhakar* introduces this '*kitab khana*' [House of Books] to its readers and appeals to them to devote their time to reading. The article says that the library was established for the advantage of the general public, who could spend their time collectively reading newspapers and discussing the sciences. It further states that when people complete their education and start working, they quit reading and waste their free time in idle chatting and taking rest.[108] After the passage of the Public Library Bill of 1850, a number of libraries were founded in various towns in Maharashtra. According to an article published in a contemporary newspaper, even small officers like *mamaledars* and *munsafs* wished to found small libraries in villages which would be their memorials after their death.[109] Most of these libraries possessed both English as well as Marathi books, the number of the latter being far less than the former.

In an article published in *Keasri* in 1883, the author proposes that there should be a library exclusively of Marathi books, which would contain all existing Marathi books including manuscripts, newspapers and periodicals, missionary books, primers and textbooks, pamphlets, loose books, *bakhars* and specimens of the handwriting of great personalities. The author mentions that he was impressed by the British Museum Library, which, at that time, possessed sixteen lakh books, including fifty thousand manuscripts. He urges the prominent figures of his time to pay attention to the matter.[110] The libraries meant exclusively for Marathi books and periodicals were, in fact, established within a decade after publication of this article, the first being Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya at Thane (1893), followed by Mumbai Marathi

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[106] S. G. Mahajan, *History of the Public Library Movement in Maharashtra* (Pune: Shubhada Saraswat, 1984).
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] *Kesari*, May 22, 1883.
[110] Ibid.

Grantha Sangrahalay (1898) and a similar one in Pune (1911). These libraries had many more subscribers than the General Native Libraries.[111]

1.6.2 Literary Associations

M. G. Ranade and a few other literary and social figures organized the 'Marathi Granthakaranche Sammelan' [Congress of Marathi Writers] in Pune in 1885 to provide them an opportunity to interact with each other and discuss the condition of Marathi.[112] This was going to be an annual meet. The Congress took place in the office of the Sarvajanik Sabha, one of the earliest socio-political organizations in Maharashtra. The authors whose books were published during the previous year were felicitated, thereby publicizing their works. They were also asked to send a copy of their works to the Native General Library in order to enrich the library collection. A report on the progress of Marathi literature in the past twenty years was read out by Ranade, followed by a discussion on the measures to be undertaken for the cultivation of book culture in Marathi.[113] Many such literary meets were organized in the successive years, after which it became an uninterrupted tradition which continues till date.

The Marathi Translation Society was established in 1848 to enrich Marathi literature by means of translation of 'standard' English works. Major Candy was the secretary as well as treasurer of the Society. The Maharaja of Baroda extended patronage to it.[114] The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Native Book Club and the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society (1849) were such other literary associations that encouraged the development of Marathi.

1.6.3 Women, Literacy and Reading Culture

Ramabai Ranade (1862-1924), a Brahmin woman, narrates an incident from her childhood in her autobiography: little Ramabai's father wrote a letter addressed to the family in which he mentioned that he would surely bring dolls and *sarees* for his daughter when he will return home. Ramabai's brother read the letter and came to know about this 'secret'. Ramabai writes that she was surprised when she found out

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[111] Mahajan, *History of the Public Library Movement.*
[112] *Kesari*, May 19, 1885.
[113] Ibid.
[114] *Dnyanodaya*, September 15, 1848; February 1, 1849.

Figure 2: The Congress of Marathi Writers at Baroda, 1909

Source*: Chitramay Jagat,* 1,5 (1910): 84.

that her brother knew the secret. The brother explained that their father *wrote* about this 'secret' in his correspondence. Ramabai recounts that as a little girl, she simply failed to comprehend the communicative power of the written letters and asked, 'he might have written down, but *how did you come to know*?'[115] This example sheds light on the condition of women's literacy in the nineteenth century Maharashtra. In some Brahmin households, women were taught to read *balbodh*, the alphabet used for writing scriptures. It seems that some women in the Peshwa family were also taught Sanskrit. However, it was not a universal practice to educate women.

Ramabai further mentions that her aunt, who knew basic reading, was widowed after which an elderly man in the family decided that reading and writing was not 'favourable' to women in the household and thus, they were barred from learning the alphabet. Subsequently Ramabai was married into a household where men wanted women to read and write. She was taught to read and write Marathi and English alphabet by her husband M. G. Ranade.[116] The upper caste, western-educated

[115] Ramabai Ranade, *Amachya Ayushyatil Kahi Athavani* (Pune: Aryabhushan, 1935); originally pub. 1910.
[116] Ranade, *Amachya Ayushyatil Kahi Athavani.*

men took a lot of interest in the issue of women's education, thinking that educated women would be ideal wives, housewives and mothers. They encouraged their wives to get educated and in many cases, personally taught them to read and write. Ramabai states that other women in the household disliked the fact that she was educated by her husband. They repeatedly told her, 'You might read once in a while for the men like it; but does not it insult the elders in the home?'[117] She was advised not to show much enthusiasm for learning even if her husband insisted. She was warned, 'your office is in your bedroom. You may read there, play around or do whatever you want, but don't you dare to disrespect us [by reading in front of us]'.[118]

As discussed earlier in this chapter, reading was viewed as a sacred activity, or a kind of rite in the pre-print era. The women were allowed to read as long as they abided by this framework. They were taught to read scriptures, but reading as a leisurely activity or reading for gaining knowledge was unconceivable in this culture. What 'disrespected' the elders in the above case was the fact that Ramabai was reading non-religious texts as a leisurely activity as well as for gaining knowledge. In this case, reading was a modern, profane act, which is why, Ramabai was asked to limit her activities to her 'office'.

Non-religious reading was linked with the adoption of the Western lifestyle. In one of the most celebrated Marathi novels of the nineteenth century, *Pan Lakshyant Kon Gheto* by H. N. Apte, when the protagonist speaks about her brother's desire to educate his wife, an elderly woman in the house exclaims,

> ….[N]ow he wants his wife to become literate! What else does he want to do? Does not he want her to wear a frock and become a Madam? ….Then the Sahib and the Madam will go for a walk hand in hand. Will not they talk to each other in English then?.....I will tell *him* [my husband] tomorrow to buy a pair of shoes and an umbrella [for her]….. [Madam], Now please be seated at the table.[119]

The links made between women's literacy, conversing in English with one's spouse, going for a walk, using tables and wearing the Western attire (frock, shoes and umbrella) are worth noticing in this quote. Elsewhere in this novel, the protagonist

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[117] Ibid., 42.
[118] Ibid, 42-43.
[119] Hari Narayan Apte, *Pan Lakshyant Kon Gheto!* (Pune: Aryabhushan, 1922). (My translation)

and her husband leave their ancestral home in Pune and start staying in Mumbai. That is to say, they start living as a nuclear family in a highly Anglicized and cosmopolitan city, leaving a joint family in Pune, the seat of orthodoxy. This enables them to adopt a 'reformed' (modern) lifestyle. Every night, they get together with their friends on terrace, jointly read books and discuss them. The romantic depiction of the reading sessions – where young men and women mix and chat with each other, openly talk to their respective spouses and read collectively – reveals what the upper caste social reformers dreamt of.[120]

Maharashtra Mahila, which claimed to be 'the only Marathi magazine conducted by ladies', was an early twentieth century periodical devoted to the cultivation of the skills of an ideal housewife among the 'ladies' of Maharashtra. It was run by Manoramabai Mitra and its motto, a verse by Moropanta, described a beautiful and dutiful woman 'who runs the household efficiently'.[121] It contained articles on topics like duties of a wife, domestic life of the British ladies, women's health, sewing, women in America, child rearing and so on. In one issue of the periodical, there is a picture of three women clad in traditional attire but western styled blouses – one of them reading a printed book, sitting on a chair and the other two peeping at it curiously.[122] The appearance of the picture in this particular magazine suggests that a taste for reading was to be a quality of an ideal bourgeois housewife.

This picture depicts a significant shift in the literary culture in Maharashtra: a shift from reading as a pious act to reading as a leisurely activity; a shift from the custom of men reading out to women to the culture of women reading themselves; a shift from the practice of sitting cross-legged on a small bench to that of sitting in a chair; a shift from performative reading to silent reading; a shift from manuscripts to printed, bound books. These changes profoundly affected the language. The emergence of print culture facilitated the codification and the standardization of Marathi, which is dealt with in the next chapter.

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[120] Ibid.
[121] *Maharashtra Mahila,* 1,2 (1901).
[122] See the following page.

Figure 3: Maharashtra 'ladies' reading *booka*
Source: *Maharashtra Mahila,* 1,2 (1901): 260.

CHAPTER TWO
CODIFICATION & STANDARDIZATION OF LANGUAGE

2.1 Introduction

The emergence of print culture and revival of the vernacular in Maharashtra led to the standardization of Marathi. In fact, many of the earliest Marathi works in print were grammars, dictionaries and primers of Marathi, which played a crucial role in the standardization of the language.[1] The need, on the part of the missionaries and the colonial officers, to know the languages of the 'natives' led to systematic study of these languages and production of books assisting the study. In the initial period, handwritten grammars were privately circulated, but soon a number of grammars appeared in print. As mentioned in the first chapter, printing facilitated production of exactly identical copies of a text on a large scale. Thus, a text could reach a *large number of people*, and secondly, a large number of people received the *very same copy of a text* at *the same time*. When a grammar or a dictionary of a language (or such other text) is *composed*, it codifies the language in the sense that it arranges laws, rules, etc. into a system.[2] However, unless these rules and system are known by a large number of people, which is enabled by print, a language cannot be said to have standardized. This is to say that print is an intrinsic part of the process of standardization of a language. The nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed, for the first time, the codification and the standardization of Marathi.

The term 'codification' is used in the present work to mean identification, systematization, revelation and reinforcement of rules of a language by composition of grammars, dictionaries, primers, lists of standard spellings, enumeration, passage of Acts regulating or reforming languages and such other works. No language can be

[1] See, Marathi Incunabula (Appendix A).
[2] *Oxford Advanced Leaners' Dictionary*, accessed September 28, 2013. http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/codify

without rules and structures. However, a native speaker of a particular language can speak the language fluently without knowing the formal, written grammar. To borrow Gramscian terms, there is 'immanent' or 'spontaneous' grammar inherent in a language, which every speaker knows without being aware of it.[3] Even a so-called 'undeveloped' dialect must have the immanent grammar. However, not in all cases is grammar written. If a language does not possess any social prestige or political recognition, its grammar is less likely to be written. Composition of a grammatical treatise is nothing but recognizing and revealing the immanent grammar, thereby making it prescriptive or 'normative'. It is an act of choosing one form of immanent grammar over others and therefore a political act. The codification of language tends to create 'a unitary national linguistic conformism'.[4]

The process of standardization cannot be distinguished neatly from that of codification. In his work on the standard English and the politics of language, Tony Crowley brings to our attention two meanings of the term 'standard'.[5] In the first sense, it means a military or naval ensign, an authoritative focal point, a marker of constructor of authority. Crowley explains, '[i]n this sense the 'standard' is intertwined with crucial concepts of commonality, unity and therefore, at least in part, uniformity.'[6] Standard also signifies an exemplar of measure of weight. Crowley remarks that while in the first sense standard means a marker for an authority, in the second sense it becomes an authority in itself. Thus, both of these usages of the term refer to authority, commonality and evaluation.[7] The standardization of language would then mean establishing the correct, the common, and the authoritative.

The present chapter maps out how Marathi was codified and standardized in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It has been argued in this chapter that both in the colonial-missionary discourse as well as the indigenous discourse, Marathi was seen as a heathen vernacular and thus, for them, codifying and standardizing Marathi implied 'civilizing' the language. The language was 'civilized' by compiling grammars and dictionaries and by imposing a script, 'English' punctuation marks and the practice of

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[3] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. William Boelhowe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985).
[4] Ibid., 181.
[5] Tony Crowley, *Standard English and the Politics of* Language (Houndmiils: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 77.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

interword spacing. Another aspect of codification was remuneration – the survey of languages actually spoken in India. The colonial institutions also shaped the very notion of 'language'.

2.1.2 Defining Language vs. Dialects

Bhasha is the most commonly used term in Marathi, as in many other Indian languages, to denote 'a speech, language, tongue, dialect'.[8] If we are to believe Molesworth-Candy's Dictionary (1857), '*boli*', the word which denotes 'dialect' in present times, also meant 'speech, language, tongue or dialect' in the nineteenth century Marathi. It can be inferred that there were no different words in Marathi to signify the concepts of 'language' and 'dialect'. In the colonial conception, however, dialect and language were necessarily two distinct concepts and language meant a unified language 'embracing a number of interconnected dialects'.[9] The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909) complains,

> Few natives at the present day are able to comprehend the idea connoted by the words 'a language.' Dialects they know and understand. They separate them and distinguish them with a meticulous, hair-splitting subtlety, which to us seems unnecessary and absurd; but their minds are not trained to grasp the conception, so familiar to us, of a general term embracing a number of interconnected dialects. It is as if we, in England, spoke of 'Somersetshire' and 'Yorkshire' dialects, but never used the term 'English language'.[10]

This passage suggests that according to the colonial conception, a unified language is a given fact. The *Gazette* implies that there is one big set (language) containing many subsets (dialects). However, as Mikhail Bakhtin points out, 'a unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but is always in essence posited [*zadan*]'.[11] In other words, unified language is the result of centripetal forces working on language. At any given point, a struggle is going on between centripetal and centrifugal forces within a language. The colonial conception fails to take note of this and assumes an a priori

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[8] J. T. Molesworth and George and Thomas Candy, *Dictionary, Marathi and English* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1857).
[9] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire,* vol. I Descriptive (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 350.
[10] Ibid.
[11] M. M. Bakhtin, *Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 270.

victory of the centripetal forces. Moreover, which variety of speech should be called as a language and which one should be labelled as a dialect is decided by the socio-political factors, and it is not factual, as suggested by the *Gazette*. It can be said that the colonial institutions imposed this notion of language on India. The colonial officers even named some languages in India.

2.1.3 Language Nomenclature

The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* states that Indian languages did not have names in the native tongues and the British coined the language names in some cases.[12] The correspondences exchanged between G. A. Grierson, the superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India and the subordinate government officers involved in the survey reveals how the officers were puzzled with the absence of definitive nomenclatures of Indian languages. Many of the astonished officers write to Grierson informing about the inability of tribal communities in their respective areas to name the languages they spoke.[13]

Some of the colonial institutions also assumed that linguistic areas have definable boundaries. On 26th November 1804, The Literary Society of Bombay was established with James Mackintosh as the President.[14] Soon after the formation of the Society, a plan for forming a comparative vocabulary of Indian languages engaged Mackintosh's attention. In a paper that he read in the Society expressing his intention to communicate a list of words to various governments of British India and 'friendly and allied states', he argues, 'it is particularly desirable that they should mark, with great precision, the place where any one language, dialect, or jargon, or variety of speech ceases, and another begins'.[15]

2.2 Grammars, Dictionaries and Civilizing Mission

The colonial officers – both civil and military – were required to pass examination in the oriental languages. It was the *munshis* and pundits (learned men)

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[12] Ibid.
[13] A detailed discussion on the Linguistic Survey of India is presented in the last section of this chapter.
[14] Charles Forbes was the Treasurer and William Erskine was the Secretary. Other members were Jonathan Duncan, Major Edward Moor, Dr. Robert Drummond, Major David Price, Colonel Boden, Captain Nicolls, Lord Valentina, Salt and Dr. Helenus Scott.
[15] Robert James Mackintosh, ed., *Memoirs of the life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh* (London: Edward Moxon, MDCCCXXXV), 240.

who taught them the Indian languages.[16] The British were very concerned about the knowledge, teaching capacity and the tariff charged by the *munshis*. To ensure a good quality of instruction, the government subjected *munshis* to an examination and granted them the certificates as licensed teachers.[17] *A Guide to the Examinations at the College of Fort William* complains that when a *munshi* teaches a language, he flings 'his pupil at once into deep water, and there let him splash and plunge about until he learns to swim' and that he did not explain grammar, construction of sentences, etymology, idioms, syntax and so on. [18] The *Guide* further says,

> In all civilized countries good teachers are to be had, who, skilfully leading their pupils step by step, soon give them such a knowledge of the rudiments, grammar, and construction of the language they wish to teach them, as enables the latter with the help of a good dictionary, to make fair progress alone. But where are such to be found in India?[19]

In the colonial-missionary conception, the surest and the most certain method of mastering a foreign language was 'to begin with grammar and to proceed with dictionary'.[20] For the purpose of training newly recruited British public servants in India, the College of Fort William was founded at Calcutta (now Kolkata) in 1800 and the College of Fort St. George at Madras (now Chennai) in 1812. The students were taught the classical and vernacular languages of India in these colleges. The East India College was established in Hayleybury (in Britain) in 1806. The teaching of Indian vernaculars at these institutions necessitated the production of grammars and dictionaries, which, according to the colonial officers, were essential for studying a foreign language. There were no grammars of Marathi until then.

D. P. Tarkhadkar, one of the earliest grammarians of Marathi - also referred to as 'Panini of Marathi' - writes in the preface of his grammar (1836), 'in this region, most of the people do not know what kind of thing grammar is. To our astonishment, even the great scholars and the learned (those well-versed in scriptures and *puranas*)

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[16] In 1880s, there were a number of Hindu as well as Muslim *munshis* in Calcutta, amongst whom one Adalat Khan and his assistant *munshis* had 'whole thing in hand' and literally commanded the market. See, NAI, Home, Exam, July 1882, No. 1-4.
[17] NAI, Home, Exam, July 1882, No. 1-4.
[18] W. Nassau Less, *A Guide to the Examinations at the College of Fort William* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), v.
[19] Ibid., iv.
[20] The Board of Examiners in a letter to Govt. dated 10th September 1835; as cited in Less, *Guide*, vii.

do not take much efforts to understand it.'[21] There was a long-thrived tradition of grammatical and philological works in Sanskrit, with which the Brahmins in the nineteenth century Maharashtra were familiar. It was not uncommon in the Marathi Brahmin households to give basic grammatical lessons in Sanskrit to children, which included memorization of *Rupavali* (lists of forms/ conjugations of nouns and verbs), *Samasachakra* (a treatise on compounds) and *Amarakosha* (the glossary of synonymic words by Amara). Yet, this did not culminate into a tradition of vernacular grammars in Maharashtra. It is to be noted that grammars of the vernacular languages were not unprecedented in the rest of India. The *prakrit* languages had also become the subject of grammars by grammarians like Vararuchi and Hemachandra (circa 13th century). Some modern vernaculars including Telugu, Kannada, Koshali/Awadhi also had grammars composed in circa twelve century.[22] Nevertheless, no grammar of Marathi was written until the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that the *bhakti* poets, who chose Marathi, the language of masses, to compose their poems, were not interested in the scholarly activity of writing grammar. However, even Pundit poets, who wrote ornate poetry in Marathi modelled on Sanskrit *mahakavyas*, did not make any attempt to compose a Marathi grammar. Mahanubhavas (a religious sect) are said to have composed some grammatical treatises, which are unavailable.[23] In any case, Mahanubhava was a closed, secretive sect and it is not likely that these grammars were known to anyone outside the sect.

The reason why Marathi grammars were not written is apparent, that is, Marathi was not considered as a language worth studying. Poetry could be composed in it and *bakhars* could be written, but it did not form a part of curricula. When, in a later period, the British introduced Marathi as a medium of instruction in schools, people thought it to be contrary to the customs and scriptures and feared that the students would no longer adhere to their religion if they studied Marathi rather than Sanskrit.[24] Furthermore, to

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[21] As cited in A. K. Priyolkar, ed., preface to *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran*, by Jagannatha shastri Kramavant, Gangadhar shastri Phadke and Bal shastri Ghagve (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1954).

[22] Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue*, (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010), 108.

[23] Mahanubhavas were a sect worshipping Vishnu. The earliest Marathi literature is composed by the poets and authors belonging to this sect. It is not confirmed whether these texts were grammars of Marathi or grammars of Sanskrit in Marathi. For detailed information, see Krishna S. Arjunwadkar, *Marathi Vyakaranacha Itihasa* (Mumbai: University of Mumbai, 1992).

[24] Bhavani Shridhar Pandit, ed., *Raosaheb Keshav Shivaram Bhawalkar Yanche Atmavritta* (Nagpur: Vidarbha Sanshodhan Mandal, 1961).

write/ read a grammar of one's own language was deemed to be unnecessary as one can speak and write her own language fluently without the assistance of a grammar book. On the other hand, Sanskrit grammars were essential since the language had to be acquired. When the indigenous scholars wrote the grammars during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, they had to spell out why the grammar of one's own language needed to be studied.

The grammars of the Konkani language written by the Portuguese missionaries can be called as the earliest grammars of vernaculars in Western India. These grammars namely *Arte Canarina Da Lingua Do Norte* (17th century), *Arte Da Lingua Canarim* (1640) by Padre Thomaz Estevao and *Gramatica Marastta* (1778) were written in Portuguese and modelled on Latin grammar. The first grammar of the 'Mahratta language' was written by William Carey – a missionary and the professor of Marathi, Bengali and Sanskrit in the College of Fort William – with the help of a Marathi pundit named Vidyunath. It was printed at Serampore Mission Press in 1805. A similar attempt was made at College of Fort St. George in Madras (now Chennai) around 1827. A scholar called Venkata Madhava composed a Sanskrit treatise on Marathi grammar titled *Maharashtraprayogachandrika*, but it did not appear in print at that time. These were followed by Ballantyne's grammar (1839) for the use of The East India College in Hayleybury [Haileybury]. A number of grammatical works were prepared in the course of time by the European missionaries and the colonial officers who wished 'to gain a critical and accurate knowledge of the Marathi language'.[25] They included Dr. Robert Drummond's *Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Languages* (1808), Stevenson's *The Principles of Murathee Grammar* (1833), and grammars by E. Burgess (1854), Bellaires and Askhedkar (1868), and Wilberforce-Bell (1914). As one would expect, these grammars aimed to assist the studies of the missionaries who sought to 'sow the seeds of useful knowledge, and teach the Natives of the Murathee country the principles of Divine Science'[26] or the colonial officers who were destined 'to preserve the blessings of a pure administration to all orders of society'.[27] Robert Drummond's grammar was dedicated

[25] H. S. K. Bellairs and Laxman Y. Askhedkar, preface to *A Grammar of the Marathi Language,* (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1868).
[26] J. Stevenson, *The Principles of Murathee Grammar*, (Bombay: Education Society's Press, year unknown), vi.
[27] Robert Drummond, *Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English,* (Bombay: Courier Press, 1808), dedication.

to 'those liberal Natives who admire our [the British] laws, and aspire to learn our [the English] language'.[28] *Grammatica Maratha* (1854) by P. N. Pires was written chiefly to serve the purpose of Portuguese-speaking 'native' Christians in Mumbai.[29]

When Marathi became an object of study in the colonial schools, quite a lot of grammars (which run into several editions and reprints) were produced as school textbooks or for the general use in schools. These were mostly written by the indigenous scholars and teachers; and were approved, patronized, revised or sometimes commissioned by the Board of Education or Department of Public Instruction. The first such grammar was written around 1824 by *shastris* (Brahmin scholars) in the Native Education Society, who were commissioned by Captain Jervis for writing it. Though it was not printed at that time, it was circulated widely among the school teachers and students, who copied down its manuscript. Its abridged version in the dialogue form by Ramchandrashastri was also popular among the students.[30] Another grammar published in 1825 was composed by a *munshee*, who was the interpreter of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay.[31] An important feature of these grammars was their 'civilizing thrust'.

2.2.1 Civilizing Thrust of Grammars

Very meaning of the word 'Sanskrit' is refined, cultivated or civilized.[32] The eminence of the Sanskrit language lays in its so-called refined nature. Marathi, on the other hand, was called as Prakrut, which meant an uncultivated language.[33] Similarly, English, the language of the rulers, was thought to be a developed language. In the missionary-colonial discourse, the people in India and their vernacular languages were viewed as backward, uncultivated and heathen. The indigenous scholars also viewed Marathi to be in the state of disorder and barbarism. Grammar, a 'science' borrowed from the West as well as inherited from the Sanskritic tradition was seen to be the

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Arjunwadkar, *Marathi Vyakaranacha Itihasa*.
[30] Priyolkar, preface to *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran*.
[31] Arjunwadkar, *Marathi Vyakaranacha Itihasa.*
[32] Sanskrit means 'carefully or accurately formed; refined, trained, adorned; excellent, best; consecrated, hallowed', as cited in Vaman Shivaram Apte, *The practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Poona: Shiralkar & Co., 1890), 1073.
[33] Prakrut means 'natural, common, vulgar, native, customary, ordinary, usual, not artificial or acquired', as cited in J. T. Molesworth and George and Thomas Candy, *Dictionary, Marathi and English* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1857), 542.

'civilizing agent'. Thus, writing grammar became a means of serving the mother tongue.

D. P. Tarkhadkar announces in the preface of his grammar that it was due to the labours of Sanskrit grammarians that the Sanskrit language reached such a full-blown (mature) state and attracted minds of the scholars and genius of the great poets.[34] He opines that this complicated language [Sanskrit] with thousands of intricate rules would not have been so mellifluous without the efforts of grammarians who revealed its mesh. Just as Sanskrit was once disciplined and civilized by the Sanskrit grammarians, Tarkhadkar seeks to regulate the Marathi language. Regulating Marathi by composing grammars is compared by him with combing hair of a woman. He believes that in the times when the use of the language (for writing prose) was increasing and more and more books and newspapers were coming up, it was essential to control the language by grammatical rules. He asserts again and again a need to put Marathi in order. He thinks that 'not only long sentences, but each and every word in sentence, and even every constituent letter of word should be *shuddha* and in accordance with the rules; everybody should follow the same system of writing, and thereby the present disorder in writing should go away.'[35] Tarkhadkar explicitly says that the grammar is a science and 'science is the regulator of [verbal] transactions', that is, science must govern the usage.[36] Like Tarkhadkar, several other grammarians such as Ganesh Ballal Kanhere, R. B. Joshi, N. V. Apte define grammar as the science of language.[37]

When Tarkhadkar's grammar was published in 1836, the missionary journal titled *Dnyanodaya* commented that the publication of the grammar was an indication of progress among people of India. It observed that native scholars were writing on various subjects and expressed that it was especially gratifying to see their efforts in cultivating their own language. The journal also published a detailed review of the grammar.

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[34] Dadoba Panduranga Tarkhadkar, preface to *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* (Mumbai: American Mission Pres, 1850).
[35] Ibid.
[36] Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* (Mumbai: Mazgaon Printing Press, 1889), 2.
[37] Ganesh Ballal Kanhere, *Vyakaranasar* (Mumbai: Nirnayasagar, 1897); R. B. Joshi, *Shishubodh Vyakaran* (Mumbai: Ganapat Krishnaji, 1895); Narayan Viththal Apte, *Vyakaran: Pustak Pahile* (Pune: Aryabhushan, 1917).

K. K. Damle wrote what he claimed to be 'the first systematic grammar of Marathi'. He recognized that it is not the job of a grammarian to regulate language and that a grammarian should not be the controller (*niyamank*) or guide (*marga-darshak*) of language, but should accept the supremacy of usage. However, he adds that what Tarkhadkar did was not out of place.[38] Thus, it was widely accepted that in the early modern period when Marathi was still 'uncultivated', it was not erroneous to regulate and discipline the language.

Baba Padmanaji brought about an abridged version of the well-known Molesworth's dictionary. Like many of his contemporaries, Padmanji imagines Marathi as a helpless woman. While commenting on the neglect of *prakrit* (vernacular) languages by indigenous scholars, Padmanji writes,

> Look at our beautiful 'Maharashtra' language. She was expelled by the Brahmins from the temple of learning, hence she had to wander in the streets and lanes. Since there was nobody who could discipline, by means of grammatical rules, her beautiful and dainty children, i.e. words, they started roving around; as they were not educated in the school of lexicographers, they ceased to understand their original nature, relatives and families (kith and kin) and so on. Vernacular masses termed them incorrectly and assigned them improper functions. Their mother was not permitted to serve knowledge, therefore she had to serve dramatists, folk theatre artists and folk singers. [39]

Thus, in Padmanji's imagination, which was likely to be influenced by the missionary notions, words were like delicate, raw children, who need to be 'educated', and 'disciplined'. Educating and disciplining, in this sense, stood for tracing derivation of words, categorizing them, identifying which word falls into which category and thereby fixating their 'functions' in a sentence. This was required in order to turn word- babies into gentlemen and ladies. This was not possible in case of Marathi word-children because their 'mother' had a low economic and social status. Moreover, the project of fixating, categorizing etc. had to be carried out by experts, lexicographers and not by

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[38] Bhimrao Kulkarni, ed., *Moro Keshav Damle Yanche Shastriya Marathi Vyakaran* (Pune: Joshi-Lokhande Prakashan, 1966).
[39] Baba Padmanji, *A Compendium of Molesworth's Marathi and English Dictionary* (Bombay: Education Society Press, 1863), ix. (My translation)

speakers of the language. Thus, act of compiling a dictionary or a grammar, was an evangelical act.

The importance that was attached to 'regulation' and 'discipline' in the contemporary discourse is evident from the following illustration. In a book on *shuddha lekhan* by B. L. Kulkarni, there is a dialogue between a student named Ganu and his teacher.[40] The student is upset because he commits spelling mistakes while taking down dictation (*shuddha lekhan*) in his school and is given low marks. The teacher advises him not to ignore the 'rules of grammar'. While explaining him the importance of 'rules', the teacher exclaims,

> Rules are extremely important. Till date, the states could maintain the order owing to rules. The rivers meet the sea because that is the rule. The great men in our country achieved heights since they followed rules; if they had not ruled their desires; then the discoveries and inventions would not have occurred. Moreover, if we disobey rules, we would vanish in a moment.[41]

What the author terms as grammatical rules were in fact the rules of orthography. In order to emphasize the significance of these rules, the author equates them with legal code, which is prescriptive and justiciable in nature, physical laws, which are causal and positivist, as well as moral code, which is regulatory in nature. The author likens controlling one's desires to using standard language. This dialogue reflects the contemporary conception of grammar as a collection of prescriptive and disciplinary rules.

2.2.2 Hairdressing, Women and Grammar

As mentioned in the previous section, Tarkhadkar uses the metaphor of combing to connote refinement of language. In the preface of the second edition of his grammar, he says,

> The main purpose [of this grammar] is to regulate, as far as possible, the Marathi language, which is scattered disorderly because nobody ever sought to regulate it till date, and which is intertwined on account of numerous tangles for nobody

[40] Bapu Lakshman Kulkarni, *Marathi Shuddha lekhan* (Pune: Indira Press, 1920).
[41] Ibid., 2-3. (My translation)

> combed it out with the comb of grammar; and to uncover it by untangling some layers of mat entangled for a long time.[42]

On a similar note, Tilak, one of the most respected nationalist leaders, likens 'civilizing words in a language' with hairdressing of women. In a series of articles written by him on the orthography debate, Tilak claims that 'to refine words in a language is as essential as hairdressing or grooming and braiding hair is essential for women'.[43] The use of the metaphor of 'combing' in these instances is neither accidental nor unusual. It resonates with the conception of language and gender norms prevalent in the contemporary society.

There were numerous intricate norms and customs in the Indian society concerning behaviour of women, their dress, hairstyle, ornaments and so on. A proponent of *dharma shastra* called Harita preaches that 'a woman whose husband is away shall neither dress her hair nor untwist her braid'.[44] In the classical Sanskrit literature too, one finds ample references to this customs. Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* describes 'the hard irregular single braid of hair' of the protagonist's wife, which had become 'hard, causing pain at touch' because it was not combed for a long time, since her husband was away.[45] The same text refers to 'the multitudes of wearied travellers eager to unloose the braids of their wives'.[46]

In nineteenth century Maharashtra too, many such norms were prevalent. A woman hailing from a family of high descent was supposed to dress her hair properly. A married Brahmin woman was supposed to braid her hair before wearing it in a bun. Widows, on the other hand, were often compelled to shave their heads. Wearing loose hair in a bun was considered as a low-caste practice, and wearing hair loose was strictly not allowed for women. The word '*jhimpari*' in Marathi which literally means 'one with long and dishevelled tresses' also stands for a loose woman.[47] In a poem highlighting arduous life of a peasant woman, Jotirao Phule – the revolutionary anti-

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[42] Tarkhadkar, preface. (My translation)
[43] *Kesari* June 21-26, 1904, as cited in Narayan Daso Banahatti, *Marathi Bhashechi Lekhanpaddhati* (Nagpur: Navabharat, 1932).
[44] 'न प्रोषिते तु संस्कुर्याि वेणीं च प्रमोचयेत्', as cited in Vasant Patil and D. G. Koparkar, eds., *Raghuvansha* 14th Sarga, (Pune: Continental, 1973), 60.
[45] M. R. Kale, ed., *The Meghaduta of Kalidasa* (Bombay: Mulgaokar, 1934).
[46] Ibid.
[47] Molesworth, *Dictionary*.

caste leader, points out that a peasant woman 'never braids her hair, is always sweaty, and hates finery'.[48] On the other hand, he describes, a Brahmin woman has ample leisure and thus she wears a bun of braided hair and adorns it with golden jewellery.[49] Another non-Brahmin activist M. G. Patil penned a humorous novel titled *Dhaddha shatri Paranne* (1913-17), which sheds a light on the contemporary socio-cultural norms. The protagonist of the novel is an orthodox Brahmin, who dies around 1815 and takes a rebirth in the city of Pune a hundred years after his death. In his rebirth, the protagonist becomes 'extremely upset to see that women have discontinued plaiting their hair'.[50] The author further describes, 'when he saw that [the norms of] women beauty – plaiting hair in a curled braid, wearing big flowers in hair, tying end of sari around the waist from over the shoulder – have changed and that [the Brahmin] women wear hair in buns like peasant women, the Brahmin got very furious.'[51]

The modernist venture of making an ideal bourgeois housewife suitable for a Western-educated man also laid down various norms regarding hairstyling and dressing. A women's song published in *Maharashtra Mahila* goes like this,

Come on, let us all comb and braid our hair…[Repeat]
Hurry up, open your hair, untie the stale (previous day's) braid;
Let us oil our hair and loosen the tangles…1
My father gave me a new ivory comb;
Let us quickly comb our hair with it…2
Look, it is a fine-toothed comb!
Do not idly stand there, do not waste time...3
Look at this new mirror which my elder brother gifted me yesterday;
Look in the mirror and part your hair accurately…4
Yesterday my brother gave me these beautiful jasmine buds;
Let us string them to make wreaths…5 [52]

It is evident from these examples that both the traditional and the modernist conventions emphasized hairdressing as a mark of a good woman. Dressing hair was

[48] Dhananjay Kir, et al. eds., *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vanmay* (Mumbai: Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya ani Sanskriti Mandal, 2006), 620-622.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Mukundarao Ganapatarao Patil, *Dhaddhashastri Paranne* (Mumbai: Lok vanmay Griha, 2009), 78.
[51] Ibid.
[52] *Maharashtra Mahila,* 1,2 (1901). (My translation)

not necessarily aimed at attractive or fashionable looks. Combing and keeping hair in order signified high-culture, sophistication, civilization and orderliness. It was also a way of controlling sexuality. The similarity between the efforts of the indigenous literati to civilize the vernacular and the norms of hairdressing of women is apparent. It can be argued that these two processes were not only similar, but one and the same. That is to say, language and woman were deemed to be identical and therefore the terms like 'combing' were used in context of composing grammars and dictionaries.

Bhasha, the word meaning language in many Indian languages, is of feminine gender in grammar and therefore gendered representation of languages is not uncommon in the modern Indian literature, as pointed out by scholars such as Sumathi Ramaswamy and Asha Sarangi.[53] In her analysis of Hindi-Urdu conflict, Sarangi shows how 'the discourse …. used narratives of femininity and morality to determine the purity of *languages cast as women'*. She uses the category of 'Language Woman' to suggest that linguistic practices are embedded within existing patriarchal structures.[54] The present study further suggests that the venture of disciplining Language Woman should be located as a part of the Civilizing Mission which was internalized by the indigenous elite.

2.2.3 Dictionaries and Refining Language

The concept of dictionary was not novel in India. There were various kinds of *koshas* (lexicons) in Sanskrit – glossaries, synonyms as well as homonyms. It can be inferred that Marathi Brahmins were familiar with the Sanskrit *kosha* tradition, especially *Amarakosha* which was memorised by young pupils. Yet, similar to the case of grammars, there were no dictionaries of Marathi or into Marathi before the nineteenth century. The first dictionary of the 'Mahratta' language (Marathi into English), like the first grammar, was compiled by William Carey in 1810.

The compilers of various dictionaries of Marathi resonate the view of grammarians that Marathi was in a bad state and that the grammatical and lexicographical texts would refine it. For example, a British army officer called Vans

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[53] Sumathi Ramaswamy *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998); Asha Sarangi, "Languages as Women: The Feminisation of Linguistic Discourses in Colonial North India", *Gender & History*, 21,2 (2009): 287–304.
[54] Sarangi, "Languages as Women", 288.

Kennedy who compiled the English-Marathi and Marathi-English dictionary (1824) thought of Marathi as a merely spoken language, which had not been civilised and refined, and which did not have abstract nouns.[55] His dictionary was based on the Marathi translation of Sanskrit *Amarakosha* by a Pundit.

Numerous references found in the periodicals and government records in the second decade of the nineteenth century suggest that an 'English and Mahratta Dictionary' was compiled by Captain Gideon Hutchinson.[56] Hutchinson was a linguist to the second Battalion of the seventh Regiment in the Bombay Native Infantry. He sought the patronage of the Government (of India) for the dictionary but it seems that he did not receive it.[57] An introduction to the dictionary was published in 1816 in the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*. The article informs that the dictionary was based on Johnson's dictionary, however, technical and scientific words were omitted in Hutchinson's dictionary because 'Mahratta language affords no accurate equivalents' to them.[58] As discussed in the previous chapter, the indigenous authors frequently complained that there were no adequate scientific terminology in Marathi. The article in discussion also echoes similar view. The article further observes that 'the insertion of any but Mahratta words, has, but in a very few particular cases, been studiously avoided' in the dictionary.[59] This statement suggests that the lexicographer assumed a priori existence of the 'Maharatta' vocabulary. However, it can be argued that it is the inclusion or exclusion of a word in a dictionary that defines the standard lexicon of any language. In other words, the existence of the standard language is not a natural occurrence but it is result of the work of grammarians and lexicographers. The author of this dictionary fails to recognize as to which words can be labelled as Marathi and which ones should be 'avoided' because they do not constitute Marathi lexicon.

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[55] Mangesh Kulkarni, "Lexicography and Linguistic Identity in Colonial Maharashtra", Paper presented at the International Conference on 'Language and Identity' by Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit, University of Pune and the Institute for South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, Vienna, Austria, at Pune, September 15-17, 2009.

[56] The dictionary is untraceable today but the references include *The Christian Observer* (1816) which lists the dictionary under the heading 'preparing for publication'. A contract with the Mission Press, Bombay was proposed for the printing of the dictionary around 1822 as per *The Missionary Herald.* The government of Bombay had also subscribed two hundred copies of this work. See, NAI, Home, Public, 16 March 1821, O.C. No.2.

[57] NAI, Home, Public, O.C., March 16, 1921, No. 3

[58] "To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal", *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany,* April 1816, 321.

[59] Ibid.

While Hutchinson's dictionary avoids all the 'non-Marathi' words, another dictionary omits all '*yavani'* words. The directors of the Bombay Native School and Schoolbook Society (1822) felt it necessary to decide upon 'the standard Marathi' for which they appointed a committee for composing grammars, dictionaries and textbooks. The preface of the dictionary reads,

> Thinking that nobody has set off to compile a dictionary or grammar of this language, Honourable Stuart Elphinstone, Patron and Governor, who is a proficient statesman devoted to the sole cause of protecting the subject, ordered the Bombay Native Education Society to actuate Balshsastri Ghagawe, Gangadharshastri Phadke, Sakharam Joshi, Dajishastri Shukla and Parshurampant Godbole to compile this volume.[60]

In this preface, the editors explain the concept of dictionary. A dictionary, that is, 'a compilation of vocabulary of a language', is compared to a treasury or a collection of riches. The preface goes on to say that a dictionary is useful for linguistic transactions in the same way as treasury is useful for administrative purposes. Linguistic transactions without a dictionary are compared to the economic transactions by the poor.[61] This dictionary excluded all the '*yavani'* words, which was clearly an attempt to dePersianize Marathi, which is discussed in the fourth chapter. The dictionary by *shastris* was soon forgotten and untraceable. An article in *Kesari* many years later argued that people did not recognize the dictionary because there was no British scholar involved in its compilation.[62]

Several dictionaries of Marathi were published by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the intelligentsia still complained that Marathi was not standardized and a latest dictionary was needed for the same.[63] The compilation of a lexicon was thought to be important for instigation of a movement for the revival of Marathi.

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[60] Datto Vaman Potdar, *Marathi Dadyacha Ingraji Avatar*: *Ingraji Amalatil Marathi Gadya Vanmayacha Nibandhamalepurvicha Itihas, 1810-1874* (Venus: Pune, 1957), 25.
[61] Ibid.
[62] *Kesari,* March 29, 1887.
[63] Ibid.

2.3, Script, Punctuation and Orthography

The colonial-missionary discourse tried to 'civilize' Marathi by enforcing particular ways of writing and printing Marathi.

2.3.1 Waning of Modi Script

Marathi was written in at least two scripts till the nineteenth century, *modi* (cursive) and *balbodh* (comprehensible to children/ easily comprehensible). The latter was also known as *nagari* or *devanagari*.[64] The two scripts had two different functions. The manuscripts were written in *balbodh*, and *modi* was generally used in the administrative records, business and political correspondence. *Bhikshuka* (priest) Brahmins, who devoted their life to religious activities, conducting rites and rituals and reading scriptures generally only knew *balbodh*. *Grihastha* (house-husband) Brahmins, who were not trained to be priests and chose other means of livelihood (like serving king/ government) were generally not trained in *balbodh* and needed to learn *modi*. Women were usually taught *balbodh*. When William Carey printed the first book in Marathi, *modi* font was not available to him, hence he published his book in *devanagari*. He apologetically declares that 'types in the Moorh [*modi*] character not having yet been cast in Bengal, the Devunaguri will be used in this work.' He further says,

> The character used in the Mahratta states, in all writings which relate of business, is the Moorh, but among men of learning the Devu Nuguri is the best known, it being the character in which their books are written. This, and the superior fineness of that character to express grammatical niceties with precision, may be a sufficient apology for its use in the following work.[65]

Modi type was cast soon and the missionaries began to print the Marathi books in *modi* characters. The dictionary of Marathi, compiled by Carey five years later, is printed in *modi*.[66] In 1839 grammar by Ballantyne, the readers are introduced to *balbodh* characters, but the text is printed in *modi*.[67]

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[64] *Modi* was a cursive hand probably developed by scribes, similar to *Kaithi* in the North India.
[65] W. Carey, *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (Serampore: The Mission Press, 1805).
[66] W. Carey, *Dictionary of the Mahratta Language* (Serampore: The Mission Press, 1810).
[67] James R. Ballantyne, *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (Edinburgh: J. Hall, 1839).

Despite the extensive usage and popularity of *modi* among the people of Maharashtra, the colonial state decided to encourage the exclusive use of *balbodh*. There were no separate diacritical marks in *modi* distinguishing short and long vowels as in *balbodh*. This was often counted as an inferior feature of *modi*. It was held that *modi* cannot be used for *shuddha lekhan* [pure/ correct writing]. It seems that the British officers, including Kincaid, wished to stop the usage of *modi* altogether.[68] *Balbodh* (*nagari*) was used over a number of regions, hence, it was more convenient for the British to use the same for Marathi. Moreover, some British officers felt that *modi* was difficult to master and thus inconvenient. An official decree was issued in 1826 announcing that *balbodh* would be the standard script used for Marathi print.[69] As far as print was concerned, *balbodh* completely replaced *modi* in a very short period. On the other hand, it took almost a century for disappearance of *modi* from hand writing.

Though the government was biased against *modi*, the common people used it at ease. Dakshina Prize Committee (DPC) announced in 1851 that all the works (manuscripts) presented to the committee for the competition (prize) should be written in *balbodh* character and that any book presented in 'Moree' would be returned. However, several manuscripts in *modi* were presented to the DPC, hence the committee had to accept them and get them rewritten in *balbodh* characters by scribes.[70] A large part of Marathi correspondence of the committee continued in *modi*. As Prachi Deshpande informs,

> Despite the choice of Balbodh for printed textbooks, students learning Marathi at the matriculation level in governmental schools were required to know how to write in Modi, and were also tested on it in the matriculate examinations well into the 1890s. Modi continued to be the script of choice for hand writing by Marathi clerks in governmental offices, as well as for personal correspondence, manuscripts, etc.[71]

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[68] *Kesari*, April 14, 1914, as cited in Narasinha Chintaman Kelkar, *Kelakaranche Lekh,* (Pune: Shri Bharat Prakashan, 1925).
[69] Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 167.
[70] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committee Minutes, 1851-1859, M-8, February 25, 1851.
[71] Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India c. 1700-1960,* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007), 91.

In the 17th session of Provincial (Bombay) Congress (INC) held at Pune in 1915, the well-known historian Rajwade expressed his opinion against the governmental policy of demoting *modi*. He held that the government was not in favour of *modi* because a handful of Sahibs could not read it.[72] While Rajwade blames Sahibs for demotion of *modi*, *Kesari* blames it on the lazy people who did not like to learn *modi*.[73] *Kesari* argues that if a person's hand writing is incomprehensible, the script (character) should not to be blamed. It also claims that not a single 'native' officer wanted to discontinue *modi* writing. The article remarks that *nagari* could be used as the link script on the national level, but it should not be used in the regional administration.

Despite the willingness of the common people to use *modi*, 'with the growing preference for *balbodh* in school curricula and textbooks and an official decision in 1909 to ban the use of *modi* in all public offices', the prevalence of *modi* gradually waned from the early twentieth century.[74]

2.3.2 Punctuation Marks

The punctuation marks used in Marathi in the present time are all borrowed from English. Some Indian languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and Oriya, while adopting a number of punctuation marks from English, have preserved the full stop – a vertical bar – that was in use previous to the introduction of English punctuation marks. However, in Marathi, Gujarati and the South Indian languages, full stop has also been adopted from English. Prior to the introduction of English punctuation marks, a few punctuation symbols were used in Marathi. They were single vertical bar (।) indicating pause or stop; double vertical bars (॥) indicating the end of verse/ stanza or abbreviation; and a colon mark (:). However, the use of these punctuation marks was infrequent and not regularised. In Modi writing, the marks were not used at all. It was the missionaries who introduced the English punctuation marks in Marathi for the first time. In 1805 grammar by Carey, the English question mark was used along with the single vertical bar as full stop.[75] This is probably the first instance of the usage of an English punctuation mark in Marathi. No English punctuation marks were used in a book of fables (1814) published by the same press that was authored by Vaijanath

[72] *Maharashtra*, May 19, 1915.
[73] *Kesari*, April 14, 1914, as cited in Kelkar, *Kelakaranche Lekh.*
[74] Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 91.
[75] Carey, *Grammar*.

Sharma, a pundit who assisted Carey in his grammar.[76] In a Marathi Bible published by the American Mission in 1826, a mixture of old and new punctuation marks was used: the double vertical bar was used as full stop; the short vertical bar performs the function of English comma; a few English marks like brackets and question mark were also used.[77] By 1850, the practice of using the English punctuation in Marathi print had spread significantly. The efforts by the colonial officials like Major Candy and the missionaries reiterated the usage.

Major Thomas Candy published a text on the usage of punctuation marks in Marathi in the year 1850.[78] The author asserts,

> In the past, it was not customary to use punctuation marks in the Marathi texts. However, upon seeing that the marks have proven to be very useful in the European languages like English, in recent times, a number of people wish to bring them in currency in Marathi. Therefore, those English marks which can be borrowed in Marathi have been borrowed; and this *Paribhasha* [has been prepared for the knowledge of everybody.[79]

A reviewer of this book comments that the 'natives' committed a number of mistakes while employing the punctuation marks, which could be avoided if they studied this book.[80] Candy recommends five punctuation marks in this text, namely comma, semi-colon, full stop, question mark and exclamation mark. The text does not explain why these five marks were borrowed and not others. However, in a discussion on the desirability of usage of quotation marks in Marathi, which appears in *The Oriental Christian Spectator* (1854), Candy expresses that the quotation marks were 'quite contrary to the genius of oriental languages'.[81] Another missionary D. O. Allen also opines that the quotation marks did not appear to be necessary in Marathi since the idiom of the language clearly showed where a quote started. R. W. Hume also believes that they were not needed in Marathi.[82] Nonetheless, quotation marks too made an entry in Marathi.

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[76] Vaijanath Sharma, *Sinhasan Battisi* (Serampore: Serampore [Mission] Press, 1814)
[77] *Matthikadun Suvartaman* (Publication details obscure, library records American Mission, 1826).
[78] Thomas Candy, *Viramachinhanchi Paribhasha* (Mumbai: Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal, 1962). originally pub. 1850.
[79] Ibid., 4.
[80] *Dnyanodaya*, August 15, 1850, 297.
[81] Candy, *Viramachinhanchi Paribhasha.*
[82] Ibid.

The indigenous authors accepted the English punctuation in prose without much resistance. It was believed that there was no prose literature in Marathi, except for *bakhars*, in the pre-colonial times. The Marathi prose in the colonial period (novels, short stories, biographies) was largely inspired by the English literature. The prose writers welcomed the punctuation marks from English along with the new genres of literature. On the other hand, Marathi had a long tradition of poetry. Marks like vertical lines were used to indicate pause or end of the verse. Therefore, the English punctuation marks, particularly full stop, did not find a way in Marathi poetry as easily as they did in prose. *Sarvasangraha*, a periodical publishing old Marathi poetry, claims that it sought to insert punctuation marks in poetry and that theirs is the 'first ever attempt of this kind'. The academics like R. B. Joshi appealed to people to positively use English punctuation marks.[83] New marks like comma, exclamation mark etc. became prevalent in poetry after a while, but old full stop remained in use for a long time in poetry.

Within the next few decades, punctuation became an integral part of the Marathi writing system. In a poem written in the contemporary period entitled "Viramachinhe" (Punctuation Marks), the poet uses the metaphor of 'text' to describe his life, which is said to be replete with various punctuation marks. The poet writes that his childhood was full of commas, but as he grew up, it was occupied with question marks. The marriage is equated with a semicolon, whereas death is called the 'full stop' to the life.[84]

A number of grammarians and textbook writers like Tarkhadkar, Joshi and Godbole wrote separate chapters on punctuation in their books.[85] All of them recognize that it was not customary to use punctuation marks in Marathi and that this system was borrowed from English. They all believe that it was essential to use punctuations in Marathi. Even most the books on *shuddha lekhan* began to prescribe use of the punctuation. In a text on rules of Marathi *shuddha lekhan* published in 1888, in addition to the five marks introduced in Candy's work, some more punctuation marks are prescribed: colon, single and double quotation marks, brackets, hyphen, caret and abbreviation mark (a hollow small circle). A guide for students on essay writing (1892) says that the punctuation marks were very useful to understand meaning and it is

[83] R. B. Joshi, *Praudhabodh Marathi Vyakaran* (Pune: Ambaprasad, 1889).
[84] Govindagraj, "Viramachinhe", in *Abhinavakavyamala*, ed. N. V. Tilak (Pune: VijayPress, 1922).
[85] Krishnashastri Godbole, *Marathi Bhasheche Navin Vyakaran* (Mumbai: Ganapat Krishnaji, 1874).

necessary to use them in *modi* too. The author prescribes nine marks.[86] In the teachers' handbook published by the Government of Bombay in 1904, teachers were instructed to provide special attention to the use of punctuation marks.[87]

2.3.3 Space between Words

Paul Saenger argues in his work *Space between Words* that the ability to read silently was the result of historical evolution of word separation.[88] In Europe, he writes, in antiquity words were written one after another without a space between them (*scriptura continua*) and without punctuation and that this kind of writing was closely linked with the orailty and memorization. He further informs that the format of writing began to change around the seventh century, when the Irish and Anglo-Saxon scribes, who were not proficient in Greek and Latin for whom it was a difficult task to read/ write Greek and Latin, introduced word separation.[89] This dramatic change, he argues, simplified the act of reading and enabled rapid, silent and individual reading. Saenger explains,

> ...[T]he ancient world did not possess the desire, characteristic of the modern age, to make reading easier and swifter because the advantages that modern readers perceive as accruing from ease of reading were seldom viewed as advantages by the ancients. ….. We know that the reading habits of the ancient world, which were profoundly oral and rhetorical by physiological necessity as well as by taste, were focused on a limited and intensely scrutinized canon of literature. Because those who read relished the mellifluous metrical and accentual patterns of pronounced text and were not interested in the swift intrusive consultation of books, the absence of interword space in Greek and Latin was not perceived to be an impediment to effective reading, as it would be to the modern reader, who strives to read swiftly.[90]

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[86] Tryambak Ramchandra Luktuke, Nibandhalekhan (Kolhapur: Mission Press, 1892).
[87] Mumbai Ilakhyantil Sarkari Vidyakhate [Department of Public Instruction of Bombay Presidency], *Sudharun Tayar Kelelya Shikshanachya Iyattansambandhi, Marathi Shalantil Shikshakankarita Mumbai Sarkarchya Hukumapramane Prassidh Kelelya Suchana* (Mumbai: Government Central Press, 1904).
[88] Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Standford: Standford University Press,1997).
[89] ibid
[90] Ibid., 11.

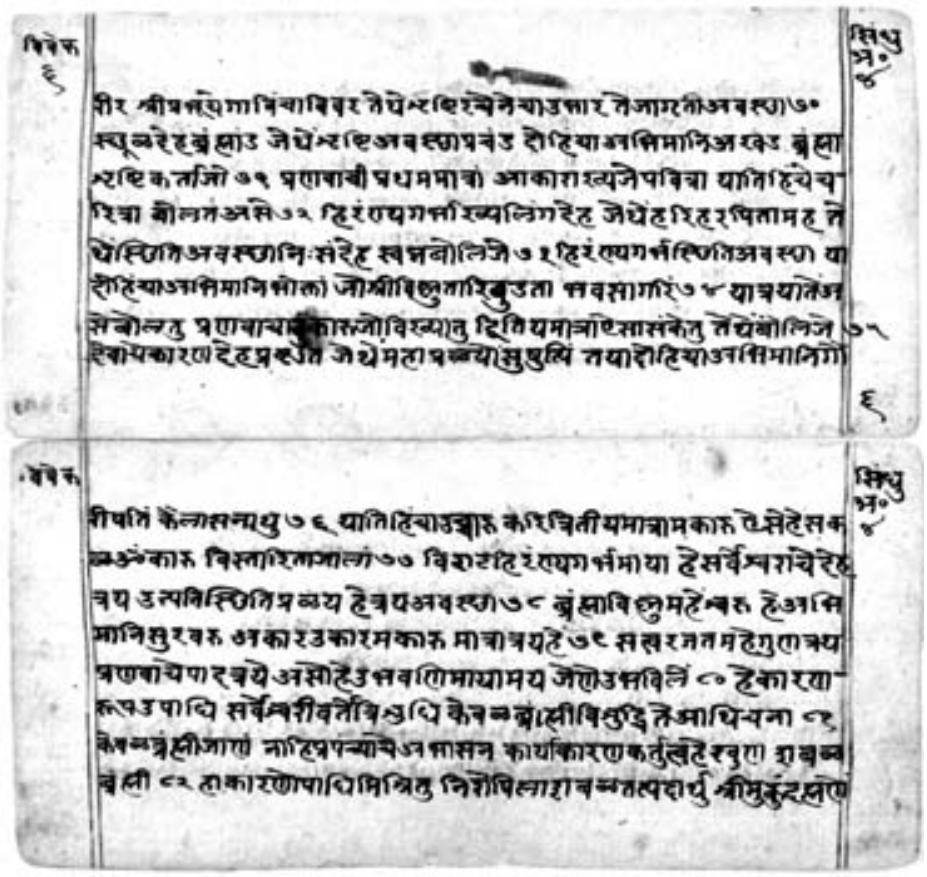

Figure 4: *Scriptura continua* in an old Marathi manuscript of *Vivekasindhu*

The association between continuous script and orality and that between interword space and silent reading can also be observed in the case of India. Until the nineteenth century, we find Marathi manuscripts – religious scriptures or communications between rulers – written in continuous script.

While we cannot assert a causal relationship between the introduction of space and silent reading in Marathi, both phenomena started around the same time in early nineteenth century. It can be argued that the print as well as colonial education were influential factors for the beginning of both. The very first printed book in Marathi – Carey's grammar separates the words by spaces.[92] In Stevenson's grammar, there is no word separation in *modi* paragraphs, but the words are separated in *nagari* passages.[93]

[91] Accessed June 3, 2013, http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/endangeredarchives/music/page/2/
[92] Carey, *Grammar*.
[93] Stevenson, *Principles of Murathee Grammar.*

Space between words was not simply a matter of convenience. The colonial officers viewed the lack of it as an inferior practice, as evident from a letter from Alexander Grant, the Director of Public Instruction. Writing about printing of the poetical work of the Marathi saint-poet Tukaram at Indu Prakash Press, Grant opines,

> In order to secure accuracy of editing, it is not necessary that the Manuscript should be reproduced in fac simile that is, with the words undivided, as I see done in the specimen form. *This mode of printing is uncivilized* and greatly increases the difficulty of reading. I would suggest that in printing off the Manuscript the separate words should be carefully divided from one another.[94] (Italics added)

The colonial educational system reinforced the use of punctuation marks and interword spacing. A government correspondence addressed to the Acting Director of Public Instruction reads, '....it has for years been a rule in Government Schools that boys should be taught, in writing in the vernacular, to separate their words, and in view of the difficulty of reading native manuscripts, His Excellency the Governor in Council considers that instruction in punctuation should also be imparted.'[95] In response to this latter, the Acting Director of Public Instruction (Bombay Presidency) comments that in case of Gujarati and Kannada, there would not arise any difficulty for issuing the authoritative orders. However, he thinks, in the Deccan (by which he points to Marathi-speaking area in the Bombay Presidency) this 'revolution' might 'excite opposition from the conservative adherents to old indigenous methods'.[96] After consultation with various authorities in the educational departments, the Acting Director made a few suggestions and accordingly, the Government Resolution was passed:

> The separation of words is most necessary, and punctuation is a secondary consideration. The full stop and mark of interrogation, which might be thus, will be sufficient :-
>
> Full Stop .....|
>
> Mark of Interrogation.....||[97]

[94] MSA, Dakshina Prize Committtee, Inward Vol. 8, 1-1-1867 to 23-09-1868, No. 2245 of 1865/66
[95] MSA, Oriental Translator's Office, Government Regulations File, 1884-1897, File no. 21/2148 [B], January 28, 1886, No. 2282.
[96] Ibid
[97] Ibid.

The Government also resolved to issue an order introducing such changes to schools and to issue instructions to all inspecting officers and presidents of Public Certificate Examination Boards to give extra marks for 'sentences well stopped and words carefully punctuated'.[98] Most importantly, it was resolved that an order would be issued to officers of all government departments desiring them to give the preference to candidates who write a good hand with words properly separated and sentences properly punctuated.

Thus, Marathi writing changed significantly during the colonial period. Marathi lost a script but adopted new punctuation marks and interword spacing.

2.3.4 Orthography Guide

The British were very concerned with the orthography of Indian words – especially proper nouns – in English. The practical inconvenience resulting from the lack of uniformity necessitated the colonial government to arrange for a uniform system of spelling.[99] Three different systems of writing Indian names in English existed: a system prepared by Sir William Jones, another by Gilchrist and a third system which was a medley of these two systems. While Jones' system was generally used by the Europeans and the Orientalists, Gilchrist's system was in use by the common people. The problem of lack of uniformity of spellings came to the forefront when Provincial Gazetteers were to be compiled. W. W. Hunter prepared a *Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names* in 1871.[100] The *Guide* lists more than two thousand names of villages and towns. The system proposed by Hunter was adopted officially in all the governmental departments (post, railway, telegraph). Though administrative convenience was the reason why the British were so concerned about the subject, the emphasis on 'true', 'correct', 'accurate' spellings, 'scientific mode' of spelling is noteworthy in the official correspondence on this subject matter. Hunter, for example, believes that his system 'has right reason on its side'.[101]

Similarly, writing English in Indian characters was also a much discussed issue. It was believed that all of the English sounds could not be represented in Marathi, 'a'

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[98] Ibid.
[99] NAI, Foreign, General, [B] March 1872, No. 64-65. W. W. Hunter, *Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871).
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

as in 'all', 'a' as in 'at' being two major examples. There were several articles discussing this issue in the contemporary newspapers. *Dnyanodaya*, the missionary journal, proposes to introduce new characters for them 'a' and 'a' and thereby 'improve' Nagari alphabet, and thus make it fit to perform the task of writing English words.[102] Though the letter suggested by Dnyanodaya for 'a's (as in 'at' and 'all') did not come in currency, Marathi did introduce two new characters representing these two phonemes.

In 1915 the Education Department decided to revise and republish Hunter's guide on orthography of Indian proper names and the Oriental Translator's Office was entrusted with the task of preparing the corrected list of places in Bombay Presidency.[103] The office played an important role not only in fixing English transliteration of Indian proper names but also in standardizing Marathi in general by setting up the standard practices of translation.

2.3.5 Oriental Translator

Persian was the language of administration in many parts of India in the pre-British times. In the initial years of the East India Company regime, the correspondence with the Indian rulers was dealt with by the 'Persian Department'. The officer in charge was designated as 'Deputy Secretary and Translator', later on as 'Oriental Translator, and eventually as 'Oriental Translator to Government'.[104] The office of the Reporter on the Native Press was subsequently merged with the office of Oriental Translator (henceforth O.T.). The chief functions of the O.T. were to translate governmental rules, Bills, Acts, notifications into the Indian languages, to translate petitions by citizens and other papers into English, to act as communicator between the Indian chieftains and the British and to report on the vernacular newspapers and periodicals.[105] Its functions also included managing departmental and language examinations and doing 'miscellaneous work concerning the Oriental languages, their usages and customs'.[106]

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[102] *Dnyanodaya,* December 1, 1850.
[103] MSA, General, Oriental Translator, 53/2180 (1915), Office Order No. 2631, March 26, 1915, Letter from Education Department.
[104] Z. A. Barni, *Romance of the Oriental Translator's Office* (Karachi: Talaimi Markaz,1950).
[105] MSA, General, Oriental Translator, 53/2180 (1915).
[106] Ibid.

The O. T. translated a large number of press notes, pamphlets and other material dealing with medical and sanitary matters. It was felt that the translation of technical terms in these texts were not 'at once accurate and easily understood by the people generally'. Therefore the Government appointed a Standing Committee of the British as well as Indian experts to scrutinize the proof copies of translations by the office.[107] The O. T. also prepared a glossary of various terms used in the mercantile and marine translations.

In 1908, the well-known nationalist leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak was prosecuted for his 'seditious' articles in *Kesari*. The case note of the trail states,

> The essence of the crime of sedition consists in the intention with which the language is used. But this intention must be judged primarily by the language itself. Intention for this purpose is really no more than meaning. When a man is charged in respect of anything he has written or said, the meaning of what he said or wrote must be taken to be his meaning, and that meaning is what his language would be understood to mean by the people to whom it is addressed.[108]

Thus, the language used in the articles which were charged as seditious was meticulously scrutinized in the trial. The articles were translated into English by the official High Court Translator. The accuracy of the translation of certain words in the article became a major issue of contention during the trial. According to Tilak, there were some distortions in the translation. Tilak spent twenty-one hours and ten minutes in explaining the articles and suggested several alternative translations such as 'pain' in place of 'sorrow', 'English' for 'white', 'stubbornness' as an alternative to 'perversity' and so on.[109]. He argued that Marathi was a language in which certain expressions were wanting and that he had to coin them when he was writing in high flown Marathi. B. V. Joshi, the first assistant to the O.T., was cross-examined in the trail in order to ascertain the accuracy of the translations. Joshi argued that the translations were correct and that few changes in translation of certain words did not affect general character of Tilak's original article.[110]

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[107] MSA, General, Oriental Translator, 21/2154 (1911), G.R. No. 3721, June 17, 1911.
[108] Bombay High Court, Emperor vs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, July 12, 1908 (1908 (10) BOMLR 848)
[109] Ibid.
[110] Barni, *Romance of the O.T.'s Office.*

2.4 The Linguistic Survey of India

In the initial period of their rule in India, the British were more interested in knowing and studying the 'classical' languages of India. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were identified as the Indian classical languages, knowledge of which was deemed to be important to understand the Indian subjects. Sanskrit was learnt for studying ancient laws of Hindus, whereas Persian and Arabic were learnt in order to understand the Mohammedan law and communicate with the Indian rulers. However, the British soon realised the importance of learning the vernacular languages of the country. The funds which were earlier meant for the search of Sanskrit manuscripts were diverted to the search of vernacular manuscripts.[111]

In the late nineteenth century, the colonial Indian government undertook the mammoth project of the Linguistic Survey of India (henceforth LSI) – a survey of the vernacular languages spoken in the Northern India. It was George Abraham Grierson who planned and supervised the survey work and compiled the data and analysis in total eleven volumes. Grierson, who was a British civil servant employed in the Bengal Presidency and had authored a number of books on Indian languages, was personally interested in the survey work.[112] He had carried out a survey of dialects spoken in Bihar when he was posted there and was also keen to conduct a survey of vernaculars in India in the similar manner. Since the survey on such a large scale was beyond the power of private enterprise, he pleaded the Government of India to undertake this work.[113]

According to Grierson's initial idea, the Survey was to be conducted into three branches: grammatical, vocabulary and literary.[114] The material was to be collected through the medium of 'village Gurus' and the officers of the educational department. When posted in Bihar, he had distributed forms of Hindi grammar to the local teachers and instructed them to write opposite each of the corresponding word in their own *bole* (dialect). They were rewarded if they worked well in accordance with the quality of their work. Grierson planned to conduct the linguistic survey all over India by employing the similar method.

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[111] NAI, Home, Public, June 1887, 311-329 [A].
[112] Asha Sarangi, "Enumeration and the Linguistic Identity Formation in Colonial North India", *Studies in History*, 25,2 (2009): 197-227.
[113] NAI, Home, Public, June 1887, 311-329 [A].
[114] Ibid.

Grierson attended the International Congress of Orientalists convened at Vienna in 1886 as a representative of the Government of India. He read a note in the Congress proposing a survey of vernaculars in India. His proposal was discussed in the Congress and received a widespread support. Grierson himself submitted the report of this conference to the Government of India in which he describes at length how his proposal was supported by most of the Orientalist scholars.[115] He states, 'nearly every scholar in Europe, who was unable to attend the Congress, and who was interested in the subject, had written a short note warmly supporting the proposal. The English print media also gave a coverage to this issue.'[116] Monier-Williams opines that the neglect and the ignorance about the local dialects in India would lead to their deterioration. He also points out that education in India needs to be carried in the vernaculars for which the survey of the vernaculars was important. Max Muller stresses the importance of studying the dialects vis-a-vis classical literature. The need to study the vernaculars in India in order to understand the 'manners, customs, superstitions, proverbs' of the people was put across by Rost, while Sayce highlighted its importance for philological use. In his words, 'the dialects actually spoken in the districts by the side of the cultivated dialect should be preserved and recorded for philological use. Modern scientific philology has long recognized their importance.'[117]

The Aryan Section of the Congress passed the resolutions that the survey of the vernaculars 'as they exist at present' should be conducted. The President of the Congress forwarded these resolutions to the Secretary to the Government of India.[118] The government sought the opinions of local governments and administration in this regard, examination of which showed that there were some difficulties in carrying out the plan. Grierson then proposed a revised scheme which was examined by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. After receiving positive remarks from the Society, in 1887 the Government of India agreed to undertake the project. Though the government showed interest in the survey, it was reluctant to furnish with the enough funds for this purpose. Grierson was entrusted with the responsibility to conduct the survey, however, for many years he had to do it as an additional duty. Only towards the end of the survey he was relived from the service of Government of Bengal and appointed as an officer on special

[115] NAI, Home, Public, June 1887, 311-329 [A].
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

duty. No special offices were set up for the purpose except for the one for Grierson at his residence. No separate staff was recruited except for a few to assist Grierson. All the work was carried out by local officers as an additional work.

Apart from compiling volumes of the Linguistic Survey, Grierson also wrote a note on languages in India in the Indian Census Report of 1901 and compiled a list of spoken languages in India for the same. In addition to this, he also wrote an account of languages spoken in each province for the census report. While the Linguistic Survey did not cover the Southern Indian languages, the census report includes a note on these languages.[119] Grierson also worked to collect information for the Gazetteer of India. In 1912, Grierson was honoured with Knight Commander Indian Empire.[120]

The objective of the Survey was to understand the 'actual languages spoken' in India, which were, as pointed out by Grierson, widely different from the literary or government language. Grierson had written grammars of dialects and sub-dialects of Bihar and a book on the peasant life in Bihar. He explains in his note that 'a glance at any one of these books will show how radically the real language, – the mother-tongue of classes, rich and poor, educated and uneducated alike – in Bihar, differs from the so-called Hindi and Hindustani languages which have hitherto been the only languages of Northern India known to students.'[121] He further explains,

> In some cases this is only a question of dialect, but in others the polite language learned by Europeans, and by natives who wish to converse with Europeans, is totally distinct both in origin and in construction from that used by the same natives in their homes. In the course of future years, no doubt, through the agency of railways and the printing press, the literary language will in many cases become the norm of home - conversation, but at present that is not the case, the fact is and it is one that should be faced, that nowhere in Hindustan is the language of the village the same as the language of the court and of the school.[122]

Furthermore, the Survey was deemed as useful for the advancement of European sciences. The knowledge of Indian vernaculars was crucial for philological studies.

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[119] NAI, Home, Public – B, Proceedings, Jan. 1902, No. 27
[120] NAI, Office of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, Honours, 1928, No.10
[121] NAI, Home, Public, June 1887, 311-329 [A], "Note by Grierson".
[122] Ibid.

Grierson describes the Indian vernacular literature as 'a mass of ore awaiting the furnace of European science'.[123]

However, the LSI was not merely a scholarly endeavour. The political purposes of the Survey were not kept ulterior. The British officials and the scholars who backed the survey underlined the political motives behind it. A letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal dated 16th May 1887 clearly draws up the reasons for approving the survey work,

> The exploration of the really national vernacular dialects of India and their scientific treatment by comparative philology is, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, a work not only of literary interest but also of some political importance, because its results should *bring the official class into easier and closer communion with the people*. It is also in the opinion of His Excellency in Council likely to prove of advantage to vernacular education, and to foster the growth of provincial sentiment. His Excellency in Council considers that upon these grounds the assistance of Government may fairly be claimed towards an undertaking of the kind."[124] (Emphasis added)

Grierson was of a strong opinion that the European officials should learn the vernacular prevalent in the district in which he was posted. It was believed that this would reduce or do away with the need of an interpreter.[125] The specimens of words and sentences were collected in the LSI, which were analysed by Grierson and sketches of basic grammatical structure of each of the language were presented. This exercise was thought to be helpful for acquiring the languages.

As the first step of the Survey, names of all the languages and dialects prevalent in India were collected and the 'rough, unscientific' lists of languages spoken in each district or princely state were compiled. The information was collected mostly through the local officials, that is, the District Collectors (in the regions directly governed by the British) and the Political Agents (in the princely states). In the second phase, the lists of languages/ dialects were sent to the local officers and they were asked to furnish specimens of those languages/ dialects. Two types of specimen of each language/ dialect were expected: one, a translation of the Parable of 'Prodigal Son' from the Bible

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[123] Ibid.
[124] NAI, Home, Public, June 1887, 311-329 [A], Letter No. 1063, May 16, 1887.
[125] Ibid.

and another, any short passage in the local language/ dialect, such as statement of an accused in the court or a popular song. The officers were supposed to furnish the specimens of languages written in local characters, the transcription in Roman characters of the same and interlinear translation of all the words in the specimen translations. A list of around two hundred (English) words and few small sentences was also circulated. The words included some numerals, pronouns, relations, simple nouns (water, house, god), verbs (go, eat), cases (of fathers, to fathers, from fathers), plurals, forms of verbs (I was beating, to beat, beat, beating, having beaten) etc. There are few sentences too, for example, 'what is your name?', 'how old is this horse?', 'I have walked a long way today' and so on. The officers were asked to furnish translations of all of these words. The focus of the Survey was languages 'indigenous to the local areas' and not those spoken by immigrants. The officers were also asked to provide with maps marking geographical areas in which a particular language/ dialect is spoken. In the third stage, Grierson, with the help of few European scholars, compiled and edited the specimens thus collected and brought out eleven volumes of the LSI.

The dictate requiring that local officials furnish translations of the story from Bible 'the Prodigal Son' resulted in a few controversies. Objections were raised about selecting an excerpt from the Bible as it would raise suspicions that the survey work was connected to religious or missionary works. However, it was argued that the Biblical story was selected for practical convenience. It was available in at least forty translations in various Indian languages. These translations were circulated by Grierson along with the English version to serve as sample translations and for those who did not know English.[126] The word 'swine' in the story was also objected to, and it was suggested by the government of Punjab that the word should be replaced with 'goat' so as to not hurt the religious sentiments of the Muslims. However the suggestion was not accepted, because the material was already been printed.[127]

Grierson sent the forms of the LSI to the District Collectors and Political Agents, who in turn, sent them to their subordinate officers such as *mamalatdars*, educational inspectors and even to school teachers. Thus, the individuals who actually filled up the returns (survey forms) were neither linguists nor trained in this kind of

[126] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Correspondences with the Home Department, XIV.
[127] Ibid.

exercise. They had their own conceptions and ideas, which sometimes differed from those of Grierson.

A majority of officers faced difficulties in furnishing specimens of the dialects spoken by the communities with extremely poor literacy rates. The collection of language specimens in the LSI heavily depended on translations, and the local officers from all over the Marathi speaking region reported the inability of some tribes to provide 'word for word exact translation', for these tribes were not 'sufficiently multilingual'.[128] A local officer writes to Grierson that certain communities from his area were unable to comprehend the fable from the Bible, let alone translate it. He describes these communities 'semi-barbarous classes' and thinks that there were no equivalents to many words in the fable in their languages.[129] Another bureaucrat reveals that a tribe in his area used a peculiar dialect in their private conversation, but when asked to give names of things, states or acts for the Survey, they displayed 'utter incapability of distinguishing' between their own tongue and Marathi.[130] A letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur points out that while the illiterate could not provide translations, the educated had lost their dialects. He writes,

> The difficulty was of calling a man of sufficient intelligence who could hit at the grammatical peculiarities involved in the standard words and sentences as required by you and at the same time one who had preserved his tongue from the influence of Marathi, or has generally been the case with those who have had even some primary education in the schools of this District, which are as a rule Marathi.[131]

The city *mamalatdar* of Poona informs that Kaikadis and Vaidus [nomadic tribes] with whom he interacted for the Survey did not know the names of the languages they spoke and there was no body amongst them who could write them out.[132] Grierson informs him that many tribes in India did not give any name to their language and that it was extremely important to collect the specimens even if the dialects had no specific names. He advises him to get hold of a bilingual person from the tribe and ask him to give

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[128] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Solapur, Aundh. also see This was a common complaint, resonated by the officers from other regions such as Kolaba, Pune and the princely state of Aundh (Satara).
[129] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Wardha, V/10.
[130] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Nagpur, V/11.
[131] Ibid.
[132] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Poona, I/23.

corresponding words and sentences for the Marathi words. Grierson says, 'I have tried this method myself with the wildest tribes, and so have friends of mine and we have always found that, with the exercise of necessary tact, they can be brought to give up the secrets of their language.'[133]

Those who actually conducted the Survey sometimes failed to recognize bilingualism. Despite the presence of Gujarati and Marwari speaking populations in some districts, these languages were not mentioned by the local officers because these communities commonly spoke Marathi. The LSI was confined to the languages spoken by the people indigenous to the region and not those spoken by the immigrants or foreigners, as mentioned earlier. The local officers often decided, in their own way, who were to be tagged as 'immigrants' or 'foreigners'. An administrator from Bhandara does not furnish specimens of Hindi since he considers Hindi to be the language of outsiders. Grierson points out that the majority of the population in Bhandara spoke Hindi and asks how all of the Hindi speakers were migrants. A number of nomadic tribes like Banjara (Labhani) and Kaikadi were at times considered as immigrants.

As stated above Grierson solicited maps marking the geographical areas where the dialects were spoken. However, not all the dialects are regional. The survey returns point out that there were dialects spoken by specific castes, tribes or religious communities, which had spread across the geographical units (districts or princely states, in this case). In Sawantwadi, for example, the Goan Christians spoke Gomantaki, the Muslims spoke Hindustani, Chitpawan Brahmins from North Konkan spoke their own dialect, while rest of the Hindus spoke Kudali.

While filling up the LSI forms, one was required to classify dialects under languages. The first column (in Form 2) was titled 'local name of the dialect or form of speech', and the next column asked 'name of language of which it is a dialect'. Those who filled up the forms seem to be impressed by the theory that Sanskrit was mother of all Indian languages. A sizable number of forms describe modern Indian languages (such as Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Hindustani) as dialects of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and in few cases, of Persian and Arabic.

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[133] Ibid.

Though Grierson asserted that the LSI aimed at knowing the *actual* languages of people, for many of the informants, language meant the standard and *shuddha* [pure, correct] language. The minor dialects, modified languages, and the mixture of languages were often thought to be unworthy of recording. In a number of cases, the specimens of certain dialects were not furnished by the officers because they thought that those dialects were corrupt or *ashuddha* [impure]. To illustrate, one V. G. Bijapurkar from Kolhapur states that 'the Canarese specimens cannot be supplied from here; nor do they seems to the undersigned necessary as that language is not standard in these parts.'[134] Similarly, a subordinate officer from a *taluka* in Poona (now Pune) leaves out the dialect spoken by the Muslims because he maintains that it was 'nothing but a mixture of Urdu and Marathi'.[135] Another administrator dismisses the dialect spoken by Vadaris calling it 'simply a corrupt form' of Telugu and remakes that 'theirs is not a distinct language as such'.[136] An officer from Nagpur refuses to recognise certain dialects as separate dialects because they had no separate character or literature.[137]

Kanarese (now Kannada) spoken in Sholapur (now Solapur) was designated as 'corrupt and impure as compared with that spoken in the Karnatic and Mysore'.[138] Similarly, a large number of dialects were labelled as 'slang', 'patois', 'corruption, 'degenerated', 'modified', and 'broken' by the local officers. Some dialects were described as 'correct' and 'far better' than some others.[139] A bureaucrat from Nagpur remarks that the language of the country people in the district was not 'pure Marathi', but 'a patois consisting of an ungrammatical mixture of the low languages'.[140] The alleged pureness or correctness of dialects often had a caste bias. An officer writes to Grierson that the Brahmins and higher castes in the region spoke 'correct Marathi', while all the other castes spoke a dialect called 'Kunabi'.[141] Many of the officers considered it desirable to collect specimens from the most educated and literate persons

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[134] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, I/26-27.
[135] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Poona, I/23.
[136] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Solapur,
[137] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Nagpur, V/11.
[138] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Solapur,
[139] The dialect spoken by Rabari community is labelled as '*shudh* Gujarati'. Similarly, the dialect spoken by higher castes in Audh state (Satara) is described as 'correct Marathi'.
[140] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Nagpur, V/11.
[141] Kunabi literally meant peasant and the term denoted a caste-cluster.

in the village and hence school headmasters or Brahmin Kulkarnis were consulted. A letter from an educational inspector to the District Collector of Solapur assures that the specimen was 'taken from a village Brahmin Kulkarni and may therefore be considered to be a fair representation of dialect in question.'[142]

It was observed that the informants often addressed their own dialect as *shuddha* or standard or simply 'the' language, and identified neighbouring speech varieties as dialects.[143] In the words of Grierson,

> If we want to get a name of a dialect, we must as a rule inquire outside and not inside, the dialect-area. In other words, the people are quick to recognise the slightest difference from the language spoken by themselves and their immediate neighbours, and note every petty variation as a change of dialect. When they are thus able to refer to a dialect markedly different from their own, they generalise, and class a group of the ever varying local idioms under some general dialectic name. While, in this way, they readily give names to dialects differing from the form speech employed by themselves, they are usually unaware that their form of speech has been similarly named by the very people whose speech they called dialectic.[144]

The multiple references to *shuddha* language(s) in the LSI returns indicate that for the colonial officers and their informants, standard language also implied *shuddha* or pure language. The politics of shuddha or pure language is dealt with the fourth chapter of the thesis.

The nineteenth and early twentieth century were also marked with the revival of Indian vernacular languages. The process was instigated by the missionaries and the colonial officers and institutions, but was carried forward by the indigenous literati, particularly nationalist scholars. In Maharashtra, vernaculars were termed as *swabhasha*. The next chapter examines the revival of the Marathi language and the development of Marathi literature in that context.

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[142] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Solapur
[143] For instance, people called their own dialect as 'Gujarati', whereas dialects spoken by other communities were termed as 'Surati', 'Patani' and so on.
[144] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE
REVIVAL OF VERNACULAR

A mother gives birth to a child, but it is a language that nourishes him
One can live without his mother, but not even a moment without language.
- G. R. Mogare[1]

The literature on Print Culture suggests that the emergence of print capitalism led to vernacularization in Europe.[2] However, Partha Chatterjee shows that the critical development of the Indian languages took place not with the arrival of print, but only when the bilingual elite got involved into modernizing their mother tongue.[3] The present chapter looks at the drive by the elite in Maharashtra to revive the vernacular. Chatterjee points out that the indigenous elite took up this project only in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the Christian missionaries and the colonial state were prevalent in the process much before the indigenous scholars.

3.1 The Missionaries of Marathi

The Christian missionaries played a vital role in revitalizing the vernaculars in colonial India. William Campbell, who was a missionary of the London Society at Bangalore, penned a book titled *British India* in which he devotes a section to advocate the case of vernaculars in India.[4] Campbell thinks that the languages of the people must become vehicle of the western literature and sciences. However, while the colonial state held that the vernaculars were rude and poor, Campbell does not see this as a problem. He advocates the use of the languages of the people in colonial

[1] Gangadhar Ramchandra Mogare, "Maharashtrajanavidnyapana", a poem read at 5th Maharashtra Sahitya Sammelan [Literary Conference] at Baroda, as cited in *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 40,11 (My translation)
[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1990), 35.
[3] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 52.
[4] William Campbell, *In Defence of Vernaculars*, eds., M. S. Thirumalai and B. Mallikarjuna (New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2006).

administration as well as public education. He draws attention to the fact that the vernaculars were used as the languages of administration during the Company rule, which was 'the best and most direct way to the hearts of the people'.[5] He also appeals to humanity and benevolence of the colonial state and thinks that the measures like imposition of English were barbarous and would lead to dissatisfaction among the natives. Secondly, he feels that English education would lead to monopoly of a few natives on education and thus should be avoided. He thinks that English education had made the young students strangers in their own land. Lastly, Campbell points out that if Christianity is taught through English, people would perceive it as a foreign religion and associate it with the colonial rule.[6]

The Marathi incunabula comprises of a large number of Christian tracts and other books composed by the missionaries. It is not surprising that the American and the Scottish missionaries, who were Protestants, encouraged the use of the vernacular languages, but it is noteworthy that even the Catholic (Jesuit) missionaries composed their works in the vernaculars.[7] The Jesuit missionaries stationed in Goa pioneered the vernacular publishing in western India in the seventeenth century. A Jesuit missionary called Father Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) authored *Krista Purana* [The Christian Purana] in Marathi which is believed to have been published in 1616.[8] In this text, the author venerates Marathi as the finest language, for which he is cited till date:

The story has been narrated in the Marathi language
so that the Holy Scriptures are unveiled
and a great number of people are benefitted…1
Like a lustrous jewel amid pebbles or a sapphire amid gemstones,
Marathi is the finest of all languages…2
Like jasmine among flowers, like musk among fragrant substances,
Marathi is the most beautiful among all the languages…3
Just as peacock is the greatest among birds,
and *kalpataru*(wish-fulfilling tree) among trees,
Marathi is deemed as the greatest among languages…4

[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Anupama Uzagare, *Parakiya Khristi Mishanarinche Marathi Bhashavishayak Karya*, 1542-1960 (Thane: Paramamitra, 2008).
[8] The original edition of the text is untraceable. It is a matter of controversy whether the language he uses should be labelled as Marathi or Konkani, though he himself calls it Marathi. E14

Twelve zodiac constellations [areprincipal] among stars,
Sunday and Monday [are foremost] among days
Marathi is [the most important] among languages of this Island...5[9]

Father Stephens, 'the Catholic devotee of Marathi', was revered by a later Marathi scholar for being 'an English by birth, but a Maratha in spirit'.[10]

The Jesuits in Goa were followed by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore (in today's West Bengal). Not only Christian tracts, but grammars, dictionaries, primers and many such books were published by them in the early nineteenth century, which accelerated the revival of Marathi. The American Mission established in Mumbai in the year 1813 (and subsequently in Ahmednagar) also made an enormous contribution to the advancement of Marathi in the nineteenth century. A detailed discussion of the work of the American Mission is done in the following section. The Bombay Bible Society[11] (1813), the Bombay branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1816), The Church Mission (Nasik), and the Scottish Mission (1823, Bankote) also printed several tracts in Marathi, thereby defying the belief that the scriptures were not to be read by all.[12] The Bombay Tract and Book Society, which was formed in 1827 with the financial aid of the London Religious Tract Society, printed 17,000 copies of Marathi tracts in the year of its inception. In 1863 it printed 1,12,900 copies, out of which more than a lakh copies were in Marathi. The total number of Marathi tracts and books that were printed by the Society from 1827 to 1868 amounted to 17,31,600.[13] The Deccan Vernacular Society established in 1849 intended to publish the works on Western sciences in Marathi because it was considered that 'Hindu books were useless and corrupting'.[14] The first annual report of the Society declares that only a few among the youth, who were educated in governmental schools, could translate English texts into Marathi. It adds that the most of the educated youth cannot transmit the western knowledge to the fellow countrymen.[15] Similarly, the Christian Vernacular Education Society (Bombay

[9] *Krista Purana*, 1st Purana, 1st Avaswaru, 121-125, as cited in Uzagare, *Khristi Mishanarinche Karya.* (My translation)
[10] R. R. Bhagwat, "Marathicha Ek Katholic Bhakta", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 37,12.
[11] It was an auxiliary of The British and Foreign Bible Society (1804).
[12] John Murdoch, *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India,* (Madras: Caleb Foster, 1870), 101-124.
[13] Ibid., 109.
[14] *Dnyanodaya,* September 16, 1850, 333.
[15] Ibid.

Branch, 1858) aimed to support vernacular schools, to establish training institutions and to supply school books.[16]

The missionary societies produced texts on a variety of subjects apart from Christian literature. For instance, Rev. Manwaring of the Church Missionary Society compiled *Marathi Proverbs*, which enlisted a little less than two thousand proverbs classified under fourteen categories. The proverbs were followed by the English transliteration, literal translation, explanation and also equivalent English proverbs. The author highlights 'the importance of preserving as far as possible all proverbial expressions, which depict the thought and character of the people, before they pass out of use altogether' because he believes that these proverbs will not be used extensively by the next generations 'with its Anglicised education and its modern literature'.[17] *Anatomy, Human and Comparative,* published by American Marathi Mission, was compiled 'to supply an acknowledged dearth' in Marathi literature of 'a treatise, at once simple and comprehensive, on Anatomy and Philosophy'.[18] It was hoped that the book would 'awaken or increase an interest, among the people of the Marathi country, in the natural productions of their favoured land' and in natural sciences in general.[19] The book was written in English but was translated into Marathi. The book also contained a list of the Marathi equivalents of the technical terms.

3.1.2 American Mission and 'Rise of Knowledge'

The American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent two missionaries to Bombay in 1813, who were joined by another missionary in the following year. Within a few weeks of their arrival, they began to learn Marathi under the tutelage of a Brahmin. Within a short time, they started translating various Christian tracts into Marathi. They secured a press in 1816 and printed a large number of religious and school books. A number of hymns were also translated and published. The American Mission at Ahmednagar started the publication of a bilingual (Marathi and English) periodical titled *Dnyanodaya* [Rise of Knowledge] in 1842 to 'combat

[16] *Dnyanodaya*, May 1, 1868, 130.
[17] A. Manwaring, *Marathi Proverbs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899).
[18] Henry J. Bruce, *Anatomy, Human and Comparative* (Satara: Columbian Press, 1877).
[19] Ibid.

the errors of Hinduism and Infidelity'.[20] The Mission Report of 1844 explains the objective behind this publication:

> There are now eight or ten periodicals [in Bombay] printed in the native languages. These all engage more or less in religious discussion, while some of them are chiefly filled with scurrilous attacks on Christianity, by misrepresenting, ridiculing and reviling the historical facts, the doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures….. These efforts having been made for considerable time, it appeared very desirable that some more efficient measures should be attempted to counteract such pernicious and wide-spreading influence.[21]

Thus, the journal was evidently run with the purpose of countering attacks on Christianity, and not for the advancement of Marathi as such. However, one cannot deny the role played by the journal in advancement of Marathi. When a 'native in Bombay' planned to start an English newspaper, *Dnyanodaya* advised that the educated youths should refrain from such acts and that it was more pertinent to start a vernacular newspaper if one intended to spread the European knowledge among Indians.

It was not only by the way of vernacular publications that the American Mission and its periodical encouraged the use of vernaculars. They also tried to assure the converts that the God could be served even if one did not know English. In a fictional dialogue between two Christian friends, published in the periodical, one of the friends wishes to leave school in order to concentrate on studying the English language.[22] He thinks that knowledge of English was necessary to serve the God effectually and for spreading the message of Christianity. The other friend argues that it was the knowledge of vernaculars that was helpful in preaching Christianity to the common people. He asserts that English is not the only means to acquire knowledge. On the other hand, he adds, if one is unable to speak in the vernaculars fluently, people would laugh at him. The dialogue concludes with the note that it is more important to know one's own language.

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[20] The Mission Report for 1844, as cited in *Memorial Papers of the American Marathi Mission*, 1813-1881 (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1882), 107.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *Dnyanodya*, February 1, 1859, 39.

Dnyanodya also made the case for Marathi as a medium of instruction. The opinion that was put forward through it was that if the modern medicine was taught to the 'natives' in Marathi, a greater number of students would apply and since they know their mother tongue well, they would acquire the knowledge faster.[23]

Dnyanodaya supported the introduction of the study of Marathi in the Sanskrit College (*pathshala*) at Pune.[24] The Sanskrit College was established in 1821 for the twofold purpose of imparting the European knowledge and instructing Hindu sciences and texts to the 'natives'. It was held that the knowledge of Sanskrit was essential for the development of Indian vernaculars and for conveying European knowledge in vernacular languages. Moreover, with the Brahmin Peshwa rulers defeated not long ago by the British, it was important for the British to keep the Brahmins content. Owing to these reasons, Sanskrit was taught in the college, but the students graduating from the college did not study Marathi. As a result, they were not versed in Marathi and therefore unable to secure employment in government services. It was during the governorship of Robert Grant that teachers were appointed for the first time to teach Marathi in the college. *Dnyanodya* favourably comments on this decision.[25]

It goes without saying that the missionaries advocated the use of vernaculars so that they could spread the message of Christianity. However, their contribution to the vernacularization of literary sphere cannot be disregarded. Similarly, the colonial state took an interest in the Indian vernaculars in order to enhance its command over the people. Nonetheless, the encouragement of vernaculars by various government institutions accelerated their development. The missionaries and the colonial state looked at the vernaculars as a tool to spread the European knowledge to the common people.

3.2 Colonial Institutions

The colonial state promoted the process of vernacularization in various ways. Firstly, it encouraged its officers to study the vernaculars. Secondly, it patronised several educational and literary institutions. Thirdly, it facilitated the European scholars who were interested in the study of Indian languages, classical or vernacular.

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[23] *Dnyanodaya*, March 1, 1845, 72.
[24] *Dnyanodaya* December 1, 1846, 353.
[25] Ibid.

3.2.1 Command of Languages

When 'several rich and important provinces' in India were added to the British Empire, the British felt the need to know the languages of these provinces.[26] *A Guide to the Examinations at the College of Fort William* remarks that 'it is the highest boast of the English that they wish to govern India for the good of the people in India; but before an Indian official can do real good to the people, he must first understand them, and not partially but thoroughly.'[27] Learning Indian languages was, thus, important for the colonial rulers in order to know the ruled. Moreover, it was essential to acquire legitimacy from them, as pointed out by Bernard Cohn.[28] The *Guide* comments,

> The great mass of the teeming multitudes who inhabit this peninsula are a very primitive people. From the science and learning of the West they are completely shut out, - it is to them a sealed book, and according to their notions, *learned* Sahib, is one who can speak, and read and write, their language well, and who knows something of their religious ceremonies and forms of worship.[29]

As clearly stated in the preface to Carey's dictionary, studying the vernacular languages was also important for the Europeans for their commercial interests. The preface reads,

> To those Europeans who reside in India, the study of its different Languages is confessedly of great importance, as tending to facilitate the interests of commerce, and to promote that free intercourse so necessary to the existence of mutual confidence between themselves and the natives. It is also highly important as a medium through which alone Europeans can become acquainted with the manners and customs of the different Indian nations, and with a variety of circumstances known to the great body of people, and in which they are immediately interested.[30]

The British officers were encouraged to pass examinations in the language spoken in the district in which they were posted, so that they can discharge their duties in a better manner. They were also rewarded for the same. It was expected that they

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[26] William Carey, *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1805), v.
[27] W. Nassau Less, *A Guide to the Examinations at the College of Fort William* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), xxii-xxiii.
[28] Bernard S. Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command" in *Subaltern Studies IV*, ed., Ranajit Guha (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985).
[29] Less, *Guide*, xxiii.
[30] Carey, *Grammar,* p.iii

should be able to read correctly and fluently and understand proceedings, petitions, converse with other officers and peasants and also translate official papers into vernaculars.[31] Their proficiency in the vernaculars was also taken into consideration for their promotions.[32]

The British became interested in the 'Maharatta' language much before they conquered the territory of Maharashtra. Marathi was a court language in many parts of southern, western as well as central India. As per a government correspondence in 1815, Marathi was spoken in 'most of the countries comprehended between Delhi and Seringapatam, Bombay and Nagpoor'.[33] Thus, it became necessary for the British to acquire Marathi in order to communicate with chieftains in various parts of India. A British military officer points out, 'in conducting the negotiations with which I was charged with the Ranee Doorgabai, I received the greatest assistance from his [Hutchinson's] accurate and extensive knowledge of the Mahrattah Language, to which all my written communications were necessarily confined'.[34] As late as 1861, an executive engineer in the PWD of Central India Agency requests an officer in Indore that he did not have a *munshi* in his office who could read Persian and therefore they needed to send Mahratta translation of all the vernacular documents to his office.[35]

It was pointed out that the knowledge of the Marathi language was also conducive to 'the interests of army and adverting to our [British] political relations with the Mahratta Empire.'[36] The island of Bombay was under the British dominion since 1661. A large number of Marathi-speaking people served in the Bombay army. The British needed to know Marathi so that they could interact with them.[37]

A number of primers, dictionaries and grammars were composed in order to facilitate the civil and military officers to master Marathi. A brief survey of these works along with their role in standardizing Marathi is presented in the preceding chapter.

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[31] NAI, Foreign, General [B], August 1890, 304-311.
[32] NAI, Foreign, General [B], October 1892, 132-133
[33] NAI, Home, Public, O.C., February 28, 1815, No. 3
[34] Ibid.
[35] NAI, Central India Regency, Letter Receipts, April 1861, 633.
[36] NAI, O.C., Home, Public, February 28, 1815, No. 3.
[37] Ibid.

3.2.2 Orientalists, Anglicists and Macaulay's Minute

It was in 1823 that the British government set up a separate machinery for dealing exclusively with education of the Indian subjects. In the initial period, the emphasis was on learning the 'classical' languages of India such as Sanskrit and Persian, and therefore educational matters were placed under 'Persian' branch of the Political Department.[38] However, within a few years, the government changed its policy in favour of using English as the medium of instruction. The debate between the Orientalists and the Anglicists regarding the nature of public education in India is well known in the history of colonial India. While the Orientalists upheld the Oriental system of education and the policy of promoting the study of classical languages such as Arabic and Sanskrit, the Anglicists recommended English as the medium of instruction for the Indian masses. The colonial government's policies regarding vernaculars need to be situated in the context of this debate.

The members of the Committee on Public Instruction were also divided over the issue of medium of instruction. As is widely known, T. B. Macaulay, in his capacity as the chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, argued in favour of English, which had a decisive impact on the colonial educational policy. In his infamous Minute (1835), Macaulay asserts that English was the most useful language to the native subjects and that it provided a ready access to 'the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created'.[39] He believes in 'the intrinsic superiority of the Western literature' and the pre-eminence of English among the European languages.[40] Macaulay also points out that the Indian students were paid the fellowships for the study of Arabic and Sanskrit, but they were ready to pay to study English. This indicated that the Indians were keen to study English, and not the classical Indian languages. He holds that the British Government in India should be neutral on all religious questions, and therefore does not consider it necessary to encourage the classical languages in which the sacred books of the people of India were written.[41]

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[38] *Guide to the Records in the National Archives of India*, Part II (New Delhi: NIA, 1977).
[39] Bureau of Education, *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I (1781-1839), ed. H. Sharp (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1920) (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965), 107-117, accessed February 22, 2016 http://www.mssu.edu/projectsouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Macaulay001.htm
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

There were hardly any European scholars or policy makers who considered the Indian vernaculars fit for conveying the Western knowledge to the Indian masses. As Macaulay puts it, there was an agreement on the point 'that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them.'[42] It is suggested by Macaulay that the colonial government should aim to form a class which could serve as a mediator between the British and the Indian masses. This class, he thinks, could take up the task of refining the vernacular languages, enriching them with the scientific terminology, and making them 'fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population'.[43]

Though the Anglicists won the debate over the medium of instruction for masses, the British government continued to encourage the study of the Orientals languages (both classical and vernacular) from time to time by funding the publications in these languages and also by teaching them in the educational institutions. For instance, in 1869, the Resident of Hyderabad announced rewards for production of works in Marathi and Hindustani in order to encourage vernacular literature in Berar.[44] The previous section refers to the Sanskrit College at Pune which was founded in 1821. In 1851, the Sanskrit College and English school at Pune were amalgamated into one institution called Poona College. The college consisted of four departments namely Vernacular, English, Sanskrit and Normal (teachers' training). It was compulsory for all the students of the college to study Marathi. The college was open to all castes, though stipends were awarded only to the poor Brahmin pupils.[45]

The Orientalist scholars continued to seek the patronage of the government of India for the encouragement of the study of oriental languages.

3.2.3 Study of Sanskrit as an Imperial Question

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the renowned Orientalist scholars from Oxford and Cambridge felt that there was 'the deplorable scarcity of Oriental

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] NAI, Home, Education, January 1889, No. 13-18.
[45] *Dnyanodaya*, June 2, 1851.

scholars in England'.[46] In order to solve this problem and improve the standard of Oriental studies in England by facilitating the English graduates to obtain practical experience in the East, the scholars proposed to the government of India that employment could be offered to the young university graduates from England at a moderate salary.[47] Accordingly, six scholarships were instituted, three each for Sanskrit and Arabic. The scholars were to pursue their study of the Oriental languages with the Indian scholars and were also expected to teach English and other 'Western' subjects to Indian pupils and assist the colonial officers in archaeological, philological or linguistic research or in cataloguing of libraries.

A. A. MacDonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, wrote a long note titled "The Study of Sanskrit as an Imperial Question", which was submitted to the British government and extensively discussed by the colonial officers.[48] In this note, MacDonell argues that Sanskrit played a vital role in the history of civilization. Sanskrit and her 'daughter' Pali are identified by him as the vehicles of Buddhism and he shows how religions, laws, customs and arts prevalent in a big part of were influenced by Sanskrit. He also points at the influence of Sanskrit literature and science on the West.

Secondly, MacDonell tries to prove how the study of Sanskrit was required for the practical needs of the Empire. He explains that a number of major languages in India directly descended from the earlier form of Sanskrit and many others were inundated with Sanskrit words. In his opinion, knowledge of Sanskrit language, literature and philosophy was the key to understand modern Indian vernaculars, religious, social institutions, and Hindu life in general. Therefore, he considered Sanskrit as an 'essential element in the training of young men preparing to rule a Hindu population'.[49] According to him, the knowledge of Sanskrit would increase the 'efficiency in the performance' of a British civil servant and thereby the British rule would be strengthened.[50] He also argues that the knowledge of Sanskrit would help a British civil servant to gain respect from the native scholars. He says, 'It will enable

[46] NAI, Home, Education [A], December, 1906, No. 48-53
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 5.
[50] Ibid., 7.

him to consult the Sanskrit legal works which are the source of Hindu law, without having to rely on the uncritical interpretations of a possibly third-rate Pandit'.[51]

MacDonell is worried about the diminishing number of students studying Sanskrit at the British universities. He tries to show how changes in the policies of the British government with respect to recruitment in the civil services in India, such as increasing maximum age of the candidates to twenty three, reducing the probationary period and abolishing prizes for proficiency in Sanskrit had resulted into radical decline in the number of young Britons opting for Sanskrit studies. He also considers Sanskrit a tool of civilization. Further, he considers Sanskrit literature as 'the chief instrument in their [Hindu people's] intellectual and social regeneration'.[52] In his words,

> [T]he ancient classical languages and literature of India could be made a potent agency in educating the Hindu mind. Applied thus, they could make the Indian people understand their own civilization historically, and acquire that enlightenment which will prove the surest means of delivering them from the bonds of superstition and caste that have held them enthralled in the manner indicated.[53]

The colonial officials, however, do not seem to be impressed by MacDonell's arguments. It was expressed that 'we do not consider that a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit is essential or even useful for the efficient discharge of the duties entrusted to a Civilian'.[54] The note on MacDonell's essay, which was submitted to the Secretary of State for India, says that all the works, which a Civilian might want to study in order to understand the people of India, had been translated into English. Thus, it adds, it would be more useful for an officer to read those English translations and modern books on religion, caste and folklore rather than devoting six years to the study of Sanskrit.[55]

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

3.3 *Swadeshi* and *Swabhasha*

Not only the colonial state but the Marathi intelligentsia also thought that Marathi should act as a vehicle for transmitting the knowledge of western sciences and literature to the masses. Many of them agreed with the missionaries and the colonial state that the vernaculars of India were in a degenerated state and therefore, one must endeavour for the advancement and modernization of the languages making them fit to 'enter the temple of knowledge'.[56] It was pointed out that the mother tongues were neglected by the university graduates, creating a cleavage between them and the masses. The inclusion of Marathi in the institutions of higher education was suggested as a measure to bridge the gap.

However, it was not only for the diffusion of western ideas that the Marathi literati became interested in the revival of their mother tongue. The revival of vernaculars or *'deshi'* languages were thought to be crucial for the national awakening. It is interesting to note that the articles that appear in the Marathi periodicals and newspapers published in the nineteenth century seldom uses the word 'mother tongue', unlike the literature in few other Indian vernaculars. As shown by Sumathi Ramaswamy, Tamil was often referred to as *Taymoli* (mother language).[57] However, the term that was widely prevalent in Marathi literary sphere was '*swabhasha*' or one's own language. The anti-partition movement of 1905, also known as *swadeshi* movement, accelerated the nationalist fervour among the people. *Swarajya* (home rule), *swadesh* (own land), *swadeshi* (goods produced in domestic market), *swadharma* (own religion) and *swabhasha* (own language) were seen closely associated with each other and therefore the promotion of one's own language was considered as a nationalist duty.

Several measures were suggested by the intellectuals to revive Marathi. The most ubiquitous among them was the inclusion of Marathi in the institutes of higher education, particularly in the University of Bombay.

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[56] R. B. Joshi, *Marathi Vanmayavivechan* (Pune: M. R. Joshi, 1922).
[57] Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal 1998), 16.

3.3.1 Vernacular in Higher Education

Marathi was not taught in schools before the arrival of the British. When the schools run by the colonial government began to use Marathi as the medium of instruction, people thought that it was against the customs and against the Hindu scriptures which might turn the pupils heretical.[58] However, by the end of the nineteenth century, popular opinion swung to another extreme and the demand for teaching Marathi in schools and universities became very strong. In the initial period after the establishment, vernaculars were part of syllabi of the Bombay University (1857). However, they were eliminated from the syllabi in 1870.

In newspapers and literary magazines, in public lectures and assemblies of literati, the issue of inclusion of Marathi in university syllabi was widely discussed in the early twentieth century. The Marathi Sahitya Sammelan of 1906 passed a resolution thanking the University of Bombay for making Marathi a compulsory subject for matriculation examination and appealed the university to include Marathi as an optional subject at B.A. and M.A. levels as well. In 1912 conference, a resolution was passed again urging the university to include Marathi in examinations other than matriculation and M.A. In addition, the conference also appealed the University of Bombay to allow Marathi as a medium of instruction and to make Marathi a compulsory subject in all the secondary level examinations. The same resolution was adopted once more in 1910 and also in 1915.

It was widely believed that if Marathi was taught in the universities, the educated class (the university graduates) would pay attention to the study of Marathi, thereby reducing the gap between the intellectuals and the masses. It was pointed out that plays and novels, particularly those which were translated from English, constituted a large part of the Marathi publications. It was thought that if Marathi was included in the intermediate and higher education, the number of Marathi books on scientific subjects would increase, leading to the development of Marathi. The inclusion of Marathi in the University, it was opined, would result in the rise of the literacy level. It was also pointed out that the existing education system required a student to spend a long time in learning the foreign language. It was though that if Marathi was adopted as a medium of instruction, a students would have to spend time

[58] Bhavani Shridhar Pandit, ed., *Raosaheb Keshav Shivaram Bhawalkar Yanche Atmavritta* (Nagpur: Vidarbha Sanshodhan Mandal, 1961).

in the language acquisition and therefore more subjects could be taught in the schools and universities.

Female education was another reason why the inclusion of Marathi in the university syllabus was deemed to be desirable. Many advocates of women's education thought that women should not receive the same education as men, and that the former should be educated in the vernacular languages rather than English. It was believed that English was a defiling language and therefore it was better to keep women away from it.[59] Secondly, it was declared that one needed to devote a lot of labour, time and money to master English, making the English-educated individuals feeble. Since women were considered to be 'delicate', it was thought that they should not be taught the language, study of which demanded a great deal of labours. Thirdly, it was thought pointless to educate Hindu women in a foreign language, because it would only ruin their family life. The 'modern' education was equated with erosion of Hindu customs leading to 'free intermingling of men and women, women attending the educational institutions and socio-religious (reformist) associations even in their youth and adoption of meat and alcohol'.[60] All of these were considered to be immoral. Spending time to study English was considered meaningless for women as they were seen only as future mothers and not the ones who would get employed.

It was regarded that 'Hinduness' would not last long, if education in English was continued. The modern education, it was pointed out, upheld individual freedom at the cost of community ties, and this was not particularly appreciated.[61] The authors show that replacing the indigenous languages with that of foreign rulers is a means to weaken a nation, a tactic which had been used before by several rulers across the globe.[62] The education in the vernacular languages, on the other hand, was associated with the nationalist struggle.[63] A scholar says that progress of a nation is in a large way dependent on the development of the language of people of that nation. He adds that for the development of a language, it should be used in all kinds of transactions –

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[59] *Kesari*, September 16, 1884.
[60] *Kesari*, November 27, 1883.
[61] *Kesari*, November 27, 1883.
[62] *Kesari*, April 20, 1886,
[63] V. A. Modak read an essay titled "The Importance of Vernacular Languages for Nationalism" at a meeting of Students Literary and Scientific Society", *Kesari*, April 10, 1886.

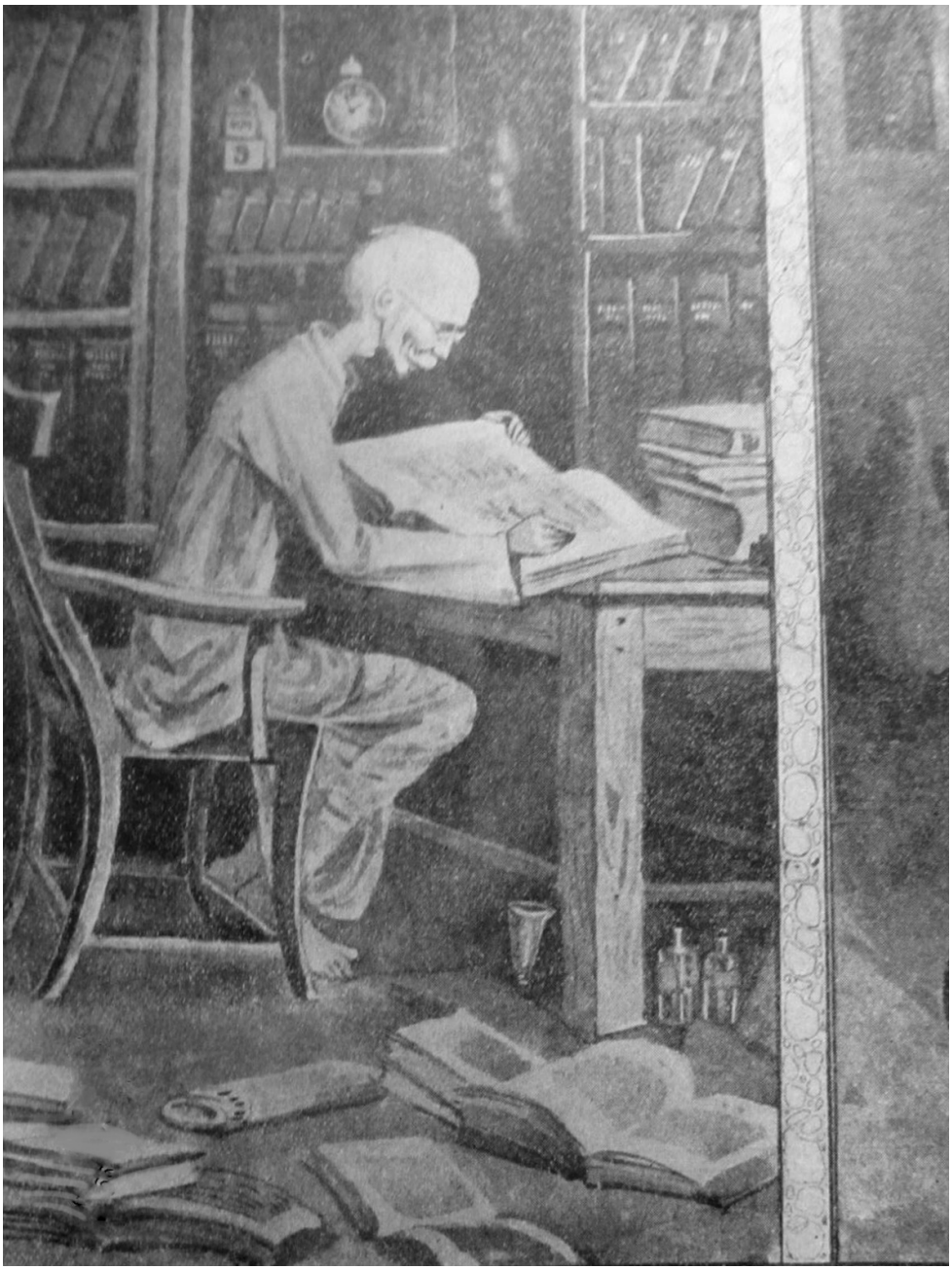

Figure 5: Effects of English Education

Source: *Chitramay Jagat,* May 1910.

in public and private conversations, law courts, offices, governmental departments, lectures, meetings, writings and so on.[64]

A long series of articles published in *Kesari* on 'Our University and Our Language' sketches a picture of mighty and independent India with constituent states conducting their affairs in the vernacular languages.[65] It adds that the picture might seem utopian, but it was a nationalist dream and therefore a cherished one. The author shows that the spread of education among masses was an essential condition for conceiving a nation. He thinks that the demand to replace English with vernaculars in the university was akin to asking the British to leave the country. The author also ponders over the question as to why, despite broad similarities, people tend to fight with each other over religion and customs. According to him, it was 'the concern about defence of the self' which makes people fight. The urge to defend the self, he adds, is manifested in many forms – pride of the self, family, caste, language, religion and country. While the author believes that the notion of the 'self' should be expanded, he also thinks that this was not possible right away. Therefore, he concludes, the diversity of languages was not going to cease soon and it was not possible to have only one language (that is, English) for the entire Indian nation. The author points out that certain aspects are universal in human beings and the words related to those were translatable. However, he holds that community-specific customs and thoughts could not be expressed in foreign languages. Therefore, even though Indians mastered English, they would still need the terms in Sanskrit and modern Indian languages to express the customs and ideas 'specific to the Aryans'. The author refuses to give the status of 'lady of the house' to English and fears that Marathi would die which may lead to the future generations regarding English as the '*dharmapatni* [duly-constituted wife] of their father'.[66] The author further compares English with 'a black, thick-lipped, flat-nosed, rough-haired, hefty Abyssinian woman' vis-à-vis the Marathi language, which is compared with 'a beautiful, fair, Maharashtrian or Gurjar [Gujarati] young lady adorned with jewellery'.[67]

The 'modern' education was labelled as non-productive and unprofitable because parents invested a lot of 'capital' for their children's education and students

[64] R. B. Joshi, *Marathi Bhasgechi Ghatana or The Making of Marathi* (Pune: B. G. Dabholkar, 1919).
[65] *Kesari,* March 6 to July 3, 1988.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

also put in their 'labour', but the return was not proportionate.[68] English education was criticized for not producing the results it promised: eradication of castes and political freedom. On the other hand, it created a split between the educated and the illiterate and the slavery of the colonial state.[69]

Some essayist suggest that Sanskrit should be replaced with Marathi in colleges in order to promote the latter. They refuted the myth that one needs to master Sanskrit in order to be qualified as a scholar and suggested that one can become a scholar even by studying a vernacular. Sanskrit was condemned for the erotic poetry and uselessness in practice. It was highlighted that Buddhism, Jainism and medieval *bhakti* poets were successful in reaching the masses because they used the vernaculars, which could bridge the gap between masses and literati. The essayists also call attention to the fact that the Christian missionaries knew vernaculars very well, and if the indigenous readers failed to connect with the masses, the missionaries would get an upper hand. The vernaculars, it was shown, were useful for mass education.[70]

To promote the publication of books and periodicals in Marathi was considered as another measure to revive Marathi. The novels and works of fiction were encouraged because they could promote the language through the means of entertaining and inculcating the taste for reading. Similarly, the publication of what was called as 'monthly books' was also supported. A wide range of periodicals published in Marathi in spite of those being economically unviable indicates the zeal of the literati to revitalize the vernacular.

3.3.2 Vernacular Literature

Muktamala, published in 1861, was one of the earliest novels in Marathi. It was a romantic novel, the genre which remained extremely popular in Marathi till end of the nineteenth century. The author of the novel writes in the preface that learning Marathi was considered as disgraceful by people few years ago. He complains that though people were now convinced that learning the language and writing a book in it were commendable, they were still not interested in reading the vernacular books and newspapers. He informs that it was for 'creating an interest among the people in

[68] *Kesari*, December 14, 1886.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *Kesari*, February 2 & 16, 1892.

reading the books in their own language' that he composed the novel.[71] A similar view is expressed by another contemporary novelist, who says,

> It is extremely essential to popularize the [Marathi] language and inculcate among its speakers a sense of pride in it. Toiling for the advancement of the language should be considered as a national duty. When contemplated how to attain this, [it was clear that] for popularizing the language, no other way is easier than producing a large number of entertaining and interesting fictional books in the language. There is a dearth of such books at the present. A few are available, most of which are translations or based on English or Sanskrit. Therefore Marathi is overshadowed by those languages, especially the influence of English on Marathi is making it awful, like a petit-maître. If original books are produced in Marathi, it would gradually be more charming and respected. It is due to this reason that the author of this book humbly presents a fictional story before the congregation of knowledgeable persons and scholars.[72]

A want in Marathi literature for an encyclopaedia was often discussed in the periodicals and in the meetings of the learned. The second session of the Indian National Congress was to be held at Calcutta in 1886. Around this time, an article was published in *Kesari* suggesting that the Congress leaders should take up the task of compilation of a glossary of scientific words.[73] This shows that the author considers the said compilation as an activity of public interest. The author holds that the progress of sciences and knowledge, growth in publication of books, national unity and national development are interlinked. Hence, he urges the leaders to compile a common pool of Sanskrit terminologies of various branches of science.

The publication of periodicals was considered as a great tool to serve Marathi. In the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, a remarkably wide range of periodicals sprang up in Maharashtra as well as in the faraway regions where Marathi speaking communities resided. It seems that to run a vernacular periodical was not a financially viable business, but the editors and publishers considered it as their duty towards the mother tongue. Though many of

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[71] Moreshwarshastri Halbe, Muktamala (1861), as cited in Kusumavati Deshpande, *Marathi Kadambari: Pahile Shatak, 1850-1950* (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Sahitya Sangha, 1975), 22.
[72] Preface to *Prabhavamalini va Kamalavati* (1868), as cited in Datto Vaman Potdar, *Marathi Dadyacha Ingraji Avatar*: *Ingraji Amalatil Marathi Gadya Vanmayacha Nibandhamalepurvicha Itihas, 1810-1874* (Venus: Pune, 1957). (My translation)
[73] *Kesari*, 2 November 1886.

these periodicals were short-lived, some were revived by the like-minded after a few months or even after a gap of few years. Their circulation figures were not great, but they drew subscribers from a considerably wide geographical area. Different periodicals catered to different sections of the society such as peasants, workers, women, children, caste groups and religious communities, educationally backward classes and others. Many had reformist agenda, while some others were nationalist in nature.

A monthly called *Maharashtra Kokil* (1887) was published from Satara 'with the sole purpose of serving the *swadesh* (mother land)', just like *Rashtramukh* (1904), a quarterly, which aimed at the advancement of the mother land, mother tongue and Hinduism.[74] While the former was devoted to 'entertainment' and fiction, the latter focused on political issues. *Maharashtra Kokil* was closed down for some time, but was later revived by the Marathi Literary Society, Mumbai, in order to 'serve the nation by nourishing the Maharahstra language'.[75] *Rashtramukh* published articles on topics like drain of wealth from India, nationalist movement, Shivaji festival, famine in Hindustan and so on. Though it was a supporter of Tilak's nationalist ideology, it criticizes *Kesari* (edited by Tilak) in its very first issue which highlights that it did not have blind faith in Tilak. In contrast to these periodicals, *Marathavijay* (1911) which was published from Belgaum district was loyal to the colonial state.[76] The monthly rejoices at the coronation of King George V. A poem published in the first issue of the periodical pleads the God to bless the poet, the editor and the king. *Marathavijay* was run and patronized by the Maratha caste, but it did not seek to confine its readership to people belonging to the caste.

A number of periodicals catered to specific castes or communities. *Bhandari Mitra* (1916), for instance, devoted itself to eradicate the ignorance of the members of Bhandari caste, who were in a 'degenerated state owing to lack of suitable education'.[77] The Jews in Maharashtra also published several Marathi periodicals catering exclusively to the Jewish community.[78] *Islam Prakash* and *Muslim*

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[74] *Maharashtra Kokil,* 1,1 (1887)*; Rashtramukh* 1,1 (1904).
[75] *Maharashtra Kokil,* 1,1 (1898).
[76] A poem in the very first issue of the periodical chants the blessings that in the year of coronation [of King George V] let the subjects be happy, let the periodical be successful, let the poet ay get inspiration, and so on. There is another article on the '*bharatsamrat'* [The Emperor of India] George V.
[77] *Bhandari Mitra*, 1,1 (1916)
[78] For a detailed discussion, see chapter four.

Maharashtra (both 1920) were meant for Muslims, as evident from the titles. *Telugu Mitra* (1917) and *Telugu Samachar* (1916) were run by the Telugu community residing in the Bombay Presidency, and were devoted to the 'discussions on welfare of the community'.[79] The two periodicals were each other's rival. The Telugu community migrated to Maharashtra because of various reasons including famine. They were not settled in any specific area but were scattered across Maharashtra. It seems that the subsequent generations were educated in Marathi and later also in English and therefore could not read Telugu. Many of them did not even speak or understand Telugu. In order to revitalize the mother tongue and illustrate its readers how 'pure' Telugu was like, *Telugu Mitra* published excerpts from Telugu texts such as *Ramayana Kathamrutamu* in 'Marathi' [sic.] script in every issue. These two periodicals present an interesting case of promotion of a vernacular (Telugu) through publication of periodicals in a neighbouring vernacular (Marathi).

Though the publication business was largely concentrated in and around the cities of Mumbai and Pune, all regions in Maharashtra including Nagpur (Central Province) and Berar published at least a few periodicals. The region under the dominion of Nizam (Marathwada section of the state of Hyderabad) witnessed the emergence of periodicals later than the other regions, but more than half a dozen periodicals were established within 1880 to 1920.[80] Several periodicals were also published by Marathi speakers living outside the Marathi-speaking areas. A monthly titled *Shrikhand* was published from Goa, whereas *Dakshina Mitra*, a weekly, was published from Karnataka. *Kerala Kokil* operated from Kochin. Many Marathi periodicals wrote favourable reviews of *Kerala Kokil*. They praised it for using good, simple language and for keeping alive the pride of *swabhasha*.

Dinamitra [The Friend of the Poor] (1888) was inspired by the non-Brahmin movement and aimed at the 'improvement/reform of the castes which were backward in education'.[81] It targeted farmers, workers and craftsmen as its readers by offering concessions to 'Patils' [lit. village headman, also denotes farmers] in the annual subscription. As it claims, it was popular among people from the low castes such as

[79] *Telugu Samachar*, January 1926, *Telugu Mitra*, 1,1 (1917)
[80] *Aurangabad Samachar* (1883), *Nizam Vaibhav* (1897), *Bhagyesh Vijay* (1906), *Bhagyanagar* (1894), *Bhagyesh Nagar* (?), *Champavati* (1898) and *Gulburga Samachar* (1898).
[81] *Dinamitra*, April/May 1889.

farmers, tailors, weavers, goldsmith, carpenters, blacksmith, construction labourers, stone workers etc. It requests its readers,

> The merit that lies in toiling for the welfare of own people cannot be compared with anything else. Knowing this, we have begun our task. Please help us in this righteous act. Please show the light of knowledge to millions of your brothers who are confined in the darkness of ignorance and earn merit from this great auspicious times of reforms in this nineteenth century.[82]

Kunabi (1906) was published from Dhule district. Like *Dinamitra*, *Kunabi* too aims at the advancement of farmers.[83] It declares that it was the time of reforms and the world was changing very fast. It says 'there is hell and heaven difference in the old world and the new world. The things which were unknown a hundred or fifty years ago are in currency now.' It points out that the industrial and technical developments were taking place very fast and many discoveries were made in the agricultural sciences in order to increase productivity, reduce cost and labour. It remarks that in spite of the fact that eighty per cent of the Indian population earned their living from agriculture, no reforms took place in India in this sector. It opines that there was no need to wait for the governmental efforts and that the farmers should find their own path of progress. The periodical aims to show the path of development to the peasants. It informs that there were numerous English periodicals for peasants, but of no use for them. They are less educated, so periodicals must be in Marathi and, that too, in simple language. Since the target readers were less educated, the periodical imparts information in form of novels, stories and dialogues rather than articles or essays. A novel called 'Ramji Patil' was published in the periodical (a part) in which the protagonist – a government servant – is transferred to a village, where he becomes friends with Ramji's farmer family. The protagonist's bookish knowledge about agriculture and Ramji's practical knowledge collaborate to improve Ramjis' farming technique.[84]

The directors of a company called Karimbhai Ibrahim and Sons Limited (Mumbai) started an institution for physical, economic, mental and moral welfare of the labourers working in the mills under the agency of the company and sanctioned an

[82] Ibid. (My translation)
[83] *Kunbi*, 1,1 (1906).
[84] Ibid.

annual sum of Rupees 9000 for it. The institution published a periodical *Karimbhai Ibrahim Kamgar Samachar* (1919), which aimed at the welfare of workers.[85]

A number of the periodicals were cyclopaedic in nature. Since readers could not afford to buy encyclopaedic volumes at one go, they were published periodically, bringing them within the reach of the readers. *Vividhakalaprakash* (1894) was run by the Scientific Club of Bombay.[86] *Vidyakalpataru* (1868) from Thane was 'designed as a General Book of Reference for the Manufacturers, Tradesmen, Amateur and heads of families'. It alphabetically published notes on various topics 'in the ARTS, MANUFACTURERS, PROFESSIONS, AND TRADES INCLUDING Medicine, Pharmacy, and Domestic Economy'.[87] Similarly, a monthly periodical *Masikvrittamala athava Vividhavishaysudha* (1892) published informative notes on a wide range of subjects including the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, wedding rituals of Iranians, Tramways in India, saving banks, alcoholism, carnivorous plants and so on.[88]

Vividhdnyanvistar (1868) describes itself a monthly magazine of Marathi literature meant for 'ladies and gentlemen'.[89] It was a periodical with probably the highest circulation. *Chitramay Jagat* featured pictures and cartoons apart from the verbal texts.[90] There were periodicals exclusively for children such as *Balbodh* (1881), and women such as *Maharashtra Mahila* (1901).[91]

The central aim of *Dnyanasangraha* (1872), as evident from its title, was the collection of knowledge. It was published from a place called Akole and claimed to seek incarnation in Vidharbhapuri [Berar] to kill the demon of ignorance called as Adnyanasur. The periodical seems to be popular in CP-Berar districts including Buldhana, Amaravati, Chandrapurand Nagpur and also had subscribers from Ahmednagar, Parbhani, Nasik, Indore, Pune, Chalisgaon (Jalgaon), and Vai.[92] Apart from *Dnyanasangraha,* at least twenty other periodicals (many of which were

[85] *Karimbhai Ibrahim Kamgar Samachar,* 1 (1919).
[86] *Vividhakalaprakash,* 1,1 (1894).
[87] *Vidyakalpataru,* 1, 9 (1868).
[88] *Masikvrittamala athava Vividhavishaysudha* (1892).
[89] *Vividhdnyanvistar,* 1,1 (1867).
[90] *Chitramay Jagat,* 1,1 (1910).
[91] *Balbodh,* 1,1 (1881); *Maharashtra Mahila* 1,2 (1901).
[92] *Dnyanasangraha,* 2 (1872).

founded in 1840s and 50s) had '*dnyana'* [knowledge] in their title.[93] This indicates that a large number of periodicals aimed at the enlightenment of the masses.

Thus, it can be seen that the books and periodicals were brought out with a variety of objectives such as entertainment, workers' welfare, modernization of agriculture, spreading modern sciences, reforms of the backward communities, social reforms, supporting nationalist movement, entertainment, creating bourgeois housewives and so on. Yet, all of them had something in common and that was serving the nation through vernaculars. It can be inferred that these periodicals, with diverse objectives and diverse readership, played a crucial role in the revival of Marathi in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

[93] उपयुक्तज्ञानसंग्रह, विविधज्ञानविस्तार, ज्ञानचंद्रोदय, ज्ञानदर्शन (1854), ज्ञानदीप, ज्ञानप्रकाश (1849), ज्ञानप्रसार, ज्ञानप्रसारक, ज्ञानप्रसारकग्रंथ, ज्ञानबोधक (1859), ज्ञानमित्र, ज्ञानवर्धक (1855), ज्ञानविलास, ज्ञानविस्तार, ज्ञानसंग्रह, ज्ञानसागर, ज्ञानसिंधु (1842), ज्ञानसूर्य, ज्ञानादर्श, ज्ञानांजन, ज्ञानाकर, ज्ञानोदय (1842). See, Shankar Ganesh Date, ed., *Marathi Niyatakalikanchi Suchi*, 1800-1955 (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1969).

CHAPTER FOUR
PURIFICATION

4.1 Introduction

D. P. Tarkhadkar, recalls in his autobiography that one of the teachers in his high school often said to his non-Brahmin students, 'you Parabhus and Sonars [castes] would never be able to pronounce Sanskrit words properly. You are the meat-eating and fish-eating folks.'[1] Eating meat and fish was considered as defiling and forbidden by the contemporary Maharashtrian Brahmins. On the other hand, Sanskrit was believed to be the holy language of Gods. So, the alleged inability of some students to master Sanskrit pronunciation was attributed by the teacher to the caste-specific dietary practices. This instance illustrates how the discourse on language in the nineteenth century Maharashtra was guided by the norms of purity and defilement, which form the core of the caste system.[2]

As discussed in the second chapter, the standardization of Marathi was a deliberate process, undertaken by the missionaries and the colonial institutions on one hand, and the indigenous elite on the other. Standardization, for many of them, meant civilizing and purifying the vernacular. The present chapter probes the process of 'purification' of Marathi, which was carried out in several ways – by composing grammars which defined what '*shuddha'* was, by labelling non-standard dialects as impure, by cleansing Marathi of 'contaminating' foreign loanwords and lastly, by formulating rules of orthography. The purification drive, however, was not unidirectional; there were some thinkers who upheld syncretism. For example, while purification meant dePersianization of Marathi for some, some others tried to bring Persian words in currency. Therefore, the term 'process of purification' used in this work hints at the presence of conflicting forces – syncretic and purificatory – at work.

[1] Krushna S. Arjunwadkar, *Marathi Vyakaranacha Itihas* (Mumbai: Mumbai Vishwavidyalaya Marathi Vibhag and Pune: Dnyanamudra, 1991), 44.
[2] The set of purity norms that were followed in the Brahmin households in Maharashtra are discussed briefly in the first chapter.

An examination of the process of purification of Marathi not only reveals which languages and elements were defined as 'foreign' and which ones were viewed to be acceptable by the community of Marathi speakers but it also offers a cue to understand how the community defined itself and the 'Other'.

4.2 Standard Language as 'Pure' Language

4.2.1 Grammars and Purity

The civilizing thrust of Marathi grammars is discussed earlier in this thesis. Since Marathi was regarded as a vulgar [sic.] language, the grammarians wished to 'civilize' it by means of grammars. In a similar fashion, the Marathi grammars sought to create a pure Marathi. In fact, grammar was defined as a science which laid down the principles of pure language. A majority of grammarians including D. P. Tarkhadkar, G. B. Kanhere, G. R. Tilak and G. G. Joshi declare that it is by studying grammar that one comes to know how to speak and write in a *shuddha* manner, and many others such as Ravjishastri Godbole and N. V. Apte maintain that grammar explains why a particular word or sentence is *shuddha* or *ashuddha*.[3] In his *Shishubodha Vyakarana*, which is meant for children, R. B. Joshi defines grammar as 'the discipline which teaches how to speak'.[4] He further adds, 'the wise men speak good or *shuddha* language. Grammar tells us how the wise men speak. So, grammar means the science of *shuddha* speech. We write as we speak. Therefore, one also gets to know how to write *shuddha* [language] by virtue of grammar.'[5] However, in *Pruadhabodha Marathi Vyakarana*, another grammar penned by him meant for senior students, he does not subscribe to such a simplistic view. He affirms that 'the language should be cleaned up with the brush of grammar every ten years if not less, otherwise, the old grammar and the renewed language system would clash.'[6] Another grammarian K. G. Sohoni states that '*shuddha* pronunciation' was also one of the objectives of learning grammar. To

[3] Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* (Mumbai: Mazgaon Printing Press, 1889); Ganesh Ballal Kanhere, *Vyakaranasar* (Mumbai: Nirnayasagar, 1897); Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak, *Laghuvyakaran* [*Gungadhur's Rudiments of Grammar*] (Mumbai: Native Opinion Press, 1877); Govind Ganesh Joshi, *A Book on Marathi Grammar: Marathi Vyakaranavyakhyanamala* (Mumbai: Nirnayasagar, 1897); Krushnashastri Godbole, *Marathi Bhasheche Navin Vyakaran* (Mumbai: Ganapat Krushnaji, 1874); Narayan Viththal Apte, *Vyakaran: Pustak Pahile* (Pune: Aryabhushan, 1917).
[4] R.B. Joshi, *Shishubodha Vyakarana* (Mumbai: Ganapat Krushnaji, 1895).
[5] Ibid.
[6] R.B. Joshi, *Praudhbodha Vyakarana* (Pune: Ambaprasad, 1889).

support his argument, he cites a Sanskrit verse meaning 'Oh son, even if you do not study a lot, do read [learn] grammar so that mispronounce can be avoided'. The verse gives humorous examples of change in meaning caused by mispronunciation, that is, using 's' and 'sh' interchangeably.[7]

Despite being aware of the fact that speech precedes grammar and parole (speech) determines grammatical rules of any language, a majority of Marathi grammarians in the nineteenth century conceived grammar as a law book prescribing the correct usage of language. All the Marathi grammarians, without fail, employ the term *shuddha* to mean grammatically correct language. The term *shuddha* means correct, accurate, right, free from error, but it also stands for 'free from all filth or defilement, clean, pure and holy'.[8] The word has overt religious connotations, since *shuddha* also means 'that has undergone any ceremony or process of purification; purified, sanctified, cleansed'.[9] The accurate speech was held important in Sanskritic tradition. A story narrating how a minor mispronunciation changed meaning of a mantra at a sacrifice and produced dreadful results is well-known in Sanskrit mythical, religious and grammatical texts.[10] Thus, *shuddha* language not only signified speaking/ writing as per the standard rules of grammar, but also suggested, though indirectly, virtuous behaviour. In fact, linguistic practices were likened with socio-religious customs. In his article on a grammatical issue, a Marathi scholar asks why Marathi grammarians were reluctant to accept a particular linguistic usage when 'rituals like [widow] remarriage are accepted for their utility, even though they are forbidden in the scriptures'.[11]

The concern for *shuddha* language was addressed not just in grammar books. Several essays were read in literary conferences and articles were written in literary journals discussing pedantic issues like 'number of cases of words in Marathi' or 'nominative past tense in Marathi'. The debates on newly published grammar books –

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[7] Krishnaji Govind Sohoni, *Vyakaran Sanvad* (Mumbai: Jagadishwar, 1906), 7.
[8] Molesworth, J. T. (1857) *Dictionary, Marathi and English*, Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 796
[9] Ibid.
[10] मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥, as cited in Krushna S. Arjunwadkar, ed., *Mammatabhatta krita Kavyaprakash* (Pune: Dnyanamudra, 1992), 132.
[11] Eknath Pandurang Kulkarni Rendalkar, "Marathitil Kartari Bhutkal", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 40,1 (1909).

critiques, replies, rejoinders – continued over several issues of literary journals. The letters to editors published in literary journals also meticulously discussed *shuddha* forms of specific words. For example, a reader sends a query to *Vividhadnyanavistar* regarding the grammatical accuracy of a word '*majhekarita'* and cites three different opinions of three luminary scholars on the issue. The journal not only publishes his letter but also gives a detailed answer to his query. [12]

This is not to say that there were no contradictory views. In Maharashtra Literary Conference held in 1910 at Baroda, C. V. Vaidya declared that there was nothing wrong in using grammatically *ashuddha* words and that actual speech is the master of grammar.[13] A few authors pointed out that a grammar should be descriptive, and not normative. A small booklet titled *Widyarthyancha Vyakarana-mitra* [Students' Grammar-Friend] by an unknown author explains the objective behind studying grammar as 'to understand the properties of words in our language and their mutual relations in order to understand the meaning better way or assist to acquire knowledge of that language.'[14] A reviewer of R. B. Joshi's grammar points out that a particular dialect is labelled as *shuddha* merely because it is backed by the muscle power. He thinks it tyrannical to consider 'the language spoken by the wealthy, the established, and the officials' as *shuddha* language. He explains that the language spoken by the common people also has a pattern, and as long as people adhere to that pattern it cannot be termed as impure. He refutes the claim that grammar explains to people how to speak *shuddha*.[15]

4.2.2 Dialects and Impurity

The dialect spoken by the educated Brahmin men in Pune was regarded as the standard language by a majority of grammarians and thereby all the regional varieties were relegated as incorrect or *ashuddha*. The people were discouraged from using the regional dialects because of their 'incorrectness'.

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[12] *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 2,1 (1868).
[13] *Badode Yethil 'Maharashtra-Sahitya-Sammelan' Sampurna Hakigat* (Mumbai: Induprakash Press, 1910)
[14] *Vidyarthyancha Vyakaranamitra: Vyakaranavishayi Nivadak Suchana* (Mumbai: Nirnayasagar, 1893).
[15] N. G. Chaphekar, *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 40,9 (1909), 364.

A newspaper published from Berar describes the variety of Marathi prevalent in Berar as 'inferior and weird' and urges the school teachers to eliminate provincial words from speech of the students and teach them *shuddha* Marathi.[16] A similar concern is resonated in a guide on *shuddha lekhana* written by one R. G. Karandikar. Karandikar expresses that owing to the 'prevalence of a particular dialect' in Berar, children and even several adults employ '*ashuddha'* words in Marathi and that the Guide was an attempt to 'discipline' the students and impart them proper knowledge of prevalent writing system. While the author of the book considers regional variations as *ashuddha*, a reviewer of the book asserts that regional variation cannot be labelled as *ashuddha*.[17] Dharmanand Kosambi, a Buddhist scholar from Goa, refers to an incident in his autobiography which reflects the prevalent notion that '*shuddha*' language is spoken only in and around Pune, and that people from all other region spoke impure language. Kosambi narrates that Dr. Bhandarkar, a luminary Orientalist, once asked him, 'you call yourself as Goanese. Then how do you write *shuddha* Marathi?'[18]

The question whether 'impure' languages could be employed in a play or a novel was also debated upon. The Sanskrit plays, which were a great source of inspiration for Marathi authors, used a variety of *prakrit* languages along with Sanskrit. While the kings, Brahmins and other high caste men in Sanskrit plays spoke in Sanskrit, the women and the low caste characters spoke different *prakrit* languages. The well-known social reformer and author G. G. Agarkar opines that non-standard varieties should not be used in writing, because they lacked stability. He argues that non-standard languages varied widely across the region, and therefore, incomprehensible for a majority of readers. This, he thinks, would not give the readers 'joy of reading'. He adds that the authors or translators, who were mostly men belonging to the higher caste, did not know the rural dialects or the dialects spoken by peasants and women for they lacked interaction with these classes. He also maintains that the usage of non-standard dialects in the literary works would create a hurdle in *bhasha shuddhi*.[19]

[16] "Varhadatil Pathashalantun Maharashtra Bhashecha Abhyas", *Berar Samachar*, May 21, 1876.
[17] *Maharashtra*, July 1, 1914.
[18] Dharmanand Kosambi, *Nivedan* (Mumbai: Manoranjak Granthaprasarak Mandali, 1924).
[19] Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, *Sampurna Agarkar* (Pune: Varada Books, 1994).

4.3 Religious Minorities and Purity of Language

The Jews as well as the Christians residing in Maharashtra used Marathi extensively. The Jews were a non-dominant minority, whereas the Christians included the colonial rulers and the missionaries. The Brahmin-dominated Marathi literary sphere did not become anxious about the usage of Marathi by the Jews. However, the Christians' usage of Marathi for literary purposes evoked displeasure.

The Jewish community, known as Bene Israeli or Shaniwar Teli (Sabbath-observing oil-pressers), were settled primarily in the coastal part of Maharashtra (Konkan). This community was cut off from the rest of the Jews in the world until the nineteenth century and did not understand Hebrew. It appears that when Judaism was revived in the wake of criticism by the Christian missionaries, and Hebrew prayers were begun to be sung in the synagogues, most of the Jews did not comprehend them. A letter to the editor published in a Jewish periodical requests the religious authorities to explain the meaning of Hebrew prayers in the languages comprehended by all the people namely, Marathi, Hindustani, or English.[20] The community had adopted Marathi not only for their everyday communication but also for the literary purposes. The Jewish associations such as Israeli Association encouraged the usage of Marathi by instituting prizes for translations of Hebrew texts into Marathi and Marathi books on subjects like Jewish history. The Jews ran around thirty Marathi periodicals in the nineteenth century, including *Satya Prakash* (1877), *Israyelashram* (1877), *Israel* (1881) *Israeli Dharmadeep* (also titled as *Yahudi Dharmadeep,* 1881), *Israeli Dnyana Sangraha* (1886) and *Bene Israel* (1893). Most of the periodicals were published from Mumbai.[21]

Israeli Dharmadeep was a biweekly and its target audience was confined to the Jewish community around Mumbai, but there were some subscribers from other places such as Pune, Gujarat, Igatapuri, Solapur and Sindh. The discussions and articles in this periodical centre around the Jewish scriptures, reforms in the community, their debates with the Christian missionaries, minor and major events taking place in the community such as child births, lectures, and so on. *Israeli Dharmadeep* initially contained half a page in English, and the rest of the pages were in Marathi. Some of the readers were

[20] *Israeli Dharmadeep,* 2,1 (1882).
[21] R.K. Lele, *Marathi Vruttapatrancha Itihas* (Pune: Continental. 1984).

unhappy even with the half-page English content and hence the periodical eventually stopped publishing the English content. There was practically no Hebrew content in the periodical except for its title which was also printed in Marathi and English along with Hebrew alphabet. While reviewing *Israeli Dharmadeep*, another Marathi periodical titled *Vikshipta* writes that 'though the articles in this issue are written by the Jewish brothers, one feels that they are written by a Brahmin who can write correctly'.[22] *Vikshipta* also declares that it is Kristi people [the Christians] who corrupted the Marathi language, not the Jews.[23]

Similarly, S. V. Ketkar, a Hindu nationalist and the editor of *Dnyanakosha* [the first encyclopaedia in Marathi], counts Bene-Israelis as a part of Marathi community because they spoke the Marathi language and draped sari in Maharashtrian style.[24]

The Christian literature met with severe criticism by the Marathi literati. As stated in the earlier chapters, the books and tracts written, translated and published by the Christian missionaries constituted a large portion of the earliest Marathi writings. The missionary writings were attacked by the Brahmin authors for their '*ashuddha'* language. Along with the European and American missionaries, the indigenous Christian authors also became the target of criticism. Various Marathi newspapers and periodicals disapproved the linguistic style of the vernacular missionary books. A periodical called *Dnyanaprakash*, for example, writes that the vernacular books by the missionaries were written in a 'very bad language' and that the language of the Marathi translation of the Bible could hardly be designated as Marathi.[25] The article further says that the Marathi language was corrupted because of the missionary influence. It categorically mentions that even the converted (indigenous) Christians spoke 'bad, impure' Marathi owing to their interaction with the Western missionaries.[26] The eminent Marathi author Vishnushastri Chiplunakar also shares the view that 'missionary Marathi' – the linguistic style used in the missionary tracts – was impure. The language used in the Marathi translation of Gospel is seen by him as a benchmark of extremely bad, adulterated and incomprehensible language. In an article in which he

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Shridhar Vyankatesh Ketkar, preface to *Maharashtra Vanmay Suchi, 1810-1917* eds., Yashwant Ramkrushna Date and Ramchandra Tryambak Deshmukh (Nagpur: Dnyanakosha Karyalaya, 1919).
[25] Article in *Dnyanaprakash*, as cited in *Dnyanodaya*, July 15, 1863, 218.
[26] Ibid.

reviews a Marathi commentary on Vedas, he remarks that the book might be mistaken by its readers as the collection of verses in the Christian Holy Scripture because of its bad language.[27] He writes,

> ….. writing in correct Marathi is not an easy job. It requires a good study of the language, like any other [foreign] language. When one does not study [his mother tongue] and uses a foreign language with pomp, his mother tongue is ruined and *his language leans towards that of the Gospel*.[28] [Italics added]

On the other hand, Rajaramshastri Bhagwat, an eminent Marathi scholar, admires the use of Marathi by the Christians. He coins the categories of 'Marathe Kristao' and 'Marathe Kristi' to denote two communities of the Marathi-speaking Christians. While the former category refers to those in Konkan and Goa who were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese, the latter included all those who were converted to Christianity during the British rule by various other missionaries. He praises the writings of Marathe Kristis, who used Konkani, which according to Bhagwat, was a dialect of Marathi and urges the Marathe Kristis to follow the same.[29]

The Europeans held important positions in the colonial institutions by virtue of which they could exercise influence and, to some extent, control the publication of Marathi books. This seems to have created discontent among the Marathi authors who asserted that the native speakers of Marathi possessed a better knowledge of the language and that the language used by these European scholars was impure. A British military officer called Major Candy who was deputed in the Education Department of the Bombay Presidency played a crucial role in the standardization of Marathi. Candy served as the Maratha Translator in the Education Department, and the Superintendent/ Principal of Sanskrit College, Pune and acted as the Referee for the Marathi books which were sent to the department for patronage. He revised the Marathi books prepared for schools including Molesworth's dictionary and complied and translated a number of Marathi works. An article by V. K. Oak gives a fair idea about Candy's role in the production, revision and publication of Marathi books. Oak penned a large number of pedagogical books, most of which were patronized by the colonial state. He

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[27] Chiplunkar, *Nibandhamala,* 388
[28] Ibid.
[29] R. R. Bhagwat, "Marathicha Ek Katholik Bhakta",*Vividhadnyanavistar*, 37,12 (1906).

testifies that Candy possessed a superior knowledge of Marathi and declares that he considered Candy as his Guru in Marathi. The author confesses,

> With a high gratitude and candour, I admit that it was Major Candy *sahib* who taught me to write Marathi. In fact, I never saw him in person. However, his commentaries, which were forwarded to me by the officials of the educational department, offered me very many good instructions, and I understood my errors…… Major Candy sahib showed me the way of writing Marathi like a good Guru who affectionately teaches his favourite student and shows him the right path.[30]

The journal which had earlier published Oak's article, later published an article condemning the European scholars who claimed to hold an expertise in the Indian languages. The article argues that the European scholars devoted a short span of time for the study of Indian languages, immediately after which they believed to have mastered these languages. According to the article, these scholars did not comprehend the Indian languages, yet they pretended to understand the real essence of the books. The article disapproves that their opinion should be abided by, they are the ones who were eligible to revise and check the books written by the indigenous scholars. Lastly, the article slams an anonymous European scholar who inspected the books written by Marathi scholars, 'though he resided at a place in the Mumbai Province for more than thirty years, where excellent Marathi is spoken, and spent a lot of time with indigenous Maharashtra scholars; though he is proud of his knowledge of Marathi; though he has been working as the Marathi translator for a long time, he cannot write a complete [Marathi] sentence correctly'.[31] The article further remarks, 'though this gentleman himself writes *ashuddha* and flawed Marathi, he preaches others, especially those who speak Marathi since they are born, how to write Marathi, how to pronounce Marathi words, how to write them correctly and so on'.[32]

Thus, purity of language was also judged from socio-religious profiles of the communities which spoke.

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[30] Vinayak Kondadeo Oak, "Granthakartrutva", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 36,2 (1905), 43.
[31] "Yuropiyan Lokanchi Etaddeshiya Bhashadnyanavishayi Pokal Ghamendi", *Vividhadnyanavistar,* 5,1 (1873), 15.
[32] Ibid., 16. (My translation)

4.4 Contamination by Foreign Languages

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the intelligentsia sought to disseminate western knowledge among common people through vernaculars, for which they wished to revitalize Marathi. They felt an urgent need to enrich its vocabulary by coining new words and borrowing words from the other languages. At the same time, an increasing number of loanwords and idioms from other languages became a matter of concern.

4.4.1 Coining New Words

There were lots of discussions in periodicals on the issue whether to take assistance of Sanskrit or English for coining new words. While articles by Principal Paranjape in *Indian Education* and *Dnyanaprakash* favour English, *Vividhadnyanavistar* forcefully argues for Sanskrit. Sanskrit, according to this periodical, was not a *para-bhasha* at all. In fact, modern vernaculars in India were nothing but different forms of Sanskrit, which underwent transformation due to time and space, it said. It opines that Marathi was indeed same as Sanskrit, only changed by particular rules and therefore, using Sanskrit words did not mean borrowing words from a foreign language. It goes on to argue that the relationship between Marathi and Sanskrit was not same as that between English and Greek or Latin. The article points out that instead of coining new words for the things, concepts and objects which were not available in India, such as sponge, rubber, table, court, *tof, kursi, durbin* and so on, it was better to use the original words. The article refers to the activities of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha at Banaras and urges people to help in their efforts of evolving a common terminology for all Indian vernaculars. It remarks, if a common terminology has to be prepared for all the Indian vernaculars, then it must be Sanskrit.[33] V. K. Oak expresses that it was obvious and desirable that along with the transmission of new sciences, arts, ideas, transactions and subjects, words would also be transmitted.[34]

4.4.2 Parabhashadushan

The alterations that took place in Marathi owing to the impact of other languages was termed as '*parabhashadushan*' [contamination caused by foreign languages] by an

[33] R. B. Joshi "Marathit Parabhashetun Shabda Ghene", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 36, 6 (1905).
[34] Oak, "Granthakartrutva".

eminent scholar Vishnushastri Chiplunkar.[35] Not only Chiplunkar but a significant number of Marathi authors and scholars held that the 'invasion' of foreign languages caused deterioration of Marathi. However, they differed when it came to identifying *parabhasha* [foreign language]. The languages that were thought to be foreign and hence contaminant by various authors were English, Persian, Sanskrit and Dravidian languages.

Some condemned the usage of English loanwords in Marathi, because they held that English was not only the language of administration, but also the language of knowledge; and therefore it was going have a larger and more durable impact on Marathi than any other language. It was observed that English was replacing the very usage of Marathi in the households. English loanwords were equated with the 'Company Rupees' or the objects with 'the British stamps' and a number of thinkers argued that the English words shall be expelled from Marathi, echoing the anti-colonial feeling.[36] Women's speech being 'contaminated' by English led to much more discomfort. The study of English and that in the English medium were considered as extremely exhausting and weakening. It was thought that the bodies of prospective mothers should not be made weak by asking them to memorise the 'foreign' language. Even the advocates of women's education thought that women should not be 'defiled' by knowledge of English.[37]

However, a number of authors also recognized the inevitability of the process of borrowing words from the language of rulers. There was a sense of helplessness and it was expressed that even if one tried to avoid using English words, getting rid of English was not going to be possible because 'lower level staff in the British administration would any way use language which would work for them, whether *shuddha* or not'. In fact, a few thinkers such as the liberal reformist Agarkar also issues 'free trade permit' for English words in Marathi, if they express the meaning well and if there are no Marathi equivalents for them. In his own words, 'these days, even a purist grandmother does not consider potato as alien…. Likewise, hundreds of English words are being used generously along with the words in our language'.[38] However, he sets a

[35] Vishnu Krushna Chiplunkar, *Nibandhamala*, ed. Vinayak Sathe (Pune: Chitrashala, 1926), no.1, 3-4.
[36] Vishnushastri Vhiplunkar, "Marathi Bhashechi Sampratachi Sthiti", in *Ekonisavya Shatakatil Marathi Gadya, vol. 2,* ed. Bhaskar Lakshman Bhole (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2006), 4.
[37] *Maharashtra*, January 19, 1916.
[38] Agarkar, *Sampurna Agarkar*

limit for borrowing by citing Dryden, 'If too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed, not to assist the natives, but to conquer them'.[39] Even V. M. Joshi welcomes the loanwords from English, Persian and Arabic.[40] However, like Chiplunkar, both Joshi and Agarkar maintain that the foreign element should not cause any harm to the linguistic structure of Marathi.

Most of the thinkers maintained that Marathi was the daughter of Sanskrit and just as English looks up to Latin and Greek for coining new terms, Marathi should make use of the Sanskrit treasury. It was argued that Sanskrit was not a *para-bhasha* at all. In fact, modern vernaculars in India were nothing but different forms of Sanskrit, which differed due to time and region and that Marathi was indeed same as Sanskrit, only changed by particular rules. Therefore, borrowing words from Sanskrit was equated with using own money, which had been kept aside for the emergency.

However, a few thinkers maintained that Sanskrit was the 'other', if not foreign. One of the arguments which was put forward in this regard was that Sanskrit was not the language of scriptures of Marathi people and hence, Sanskrit studies would lessen 'Maharashtraness' of the Marathi people.[41]. This argument was put forward by Rajaram shastri Bhagwat, who upholds the concept of 'Maharashtra dharma'. Maharashtra dharma was based on medieval bhakti literature, which sought to challenge Brahminical religion and the supremacy of Sanskrit. Y. N. Kelkar urges to revive the old, dated Marathi words to replace English as well as Sanskrit words.[42] R. B. Joshi also cautions that Sanskrit words should be borrowed only if they do not dominate Marathi words.[43]

Speaking from the dais of Maharashtra Literary Conference held in 1910 at Baroda, Prof. Laththe expressed that the recent growth of Marathi was the outcome of the efforts of those who were experts in English and Sanskrit. As a result, the Marathi was changing very rapidly. He points out that the recent Marathi literature was characterised by two features namely, use of numerous Sanskrit words and construction of sentences in English manner. He holds that owing to the absence of order in the

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[39] Ibid.
[40] V. M. Joshi, *Vividhadnyanavistar*, October 1925, as cited in Moreshwar Sakharam Mone, ed., *Marathi Bhasheche Vyakarankar va Vyakaran-Prabandhakar* (Pune: S. N. Joshi, 1927).
[41] Rajaramshastri Bhagwat, "Amachya Bhashechya Sthiticha VIchar", in *Marathi Gadya, vol. 2* ed. Bhole, 110-111.
[42] Yashwant Narsinha Kelkar, Vividhadnyanavistar, 56,7, as cited in Mone, *Vyakarankar.*
[43] R. B. Joshi, *Marathi Bhashechi Ghatana or The Making of Marathi* (Pune: B. G. Dabholkar, 1919).

present transformation of Marathi, the language in its present form was incomprehensible to the common Marathi people.[44]

A parallel instance to this is found in Tamilnadu where Vellar scholars viewed Sanskrit as the hegemonizing project of Brahmins. *Tanittamil iyakkam*, (the pure Tamil movement), which sought to purge Tamil of Sanskrit words picked up the momentum from the 1920s.[45]

Very few thinkers recognized the presence of the words borrowed from the South Indian languages in Marathi. These words are often categorised as 'deshi'. A leader of the non-Brahmin movement – V. R. Shinde – as well as Bhagwat approve of the Kannada loanwords in Marathi. However, a small number of authors considered 'Dravidian' languages as contaminating Marathi, if included. One reason was that when the Aryan language theory gained popularity, and Marathi was classified as an Aryan language, Marathi intellectuals began to identify themselves with Aryan race rather than Scythians or Dravidians. Another reason was that the lower castes were identified with Dravidian race and higher castes with Aryans. In the wake of race-caste politics, Dravidian languages also became contaminating.[46]

The language which was viewed to be 'foreign' by a majority of Marathi literati was Persian or Pharasi, often clubbed with Arabic. An early instance of dePersianization of Marathi is a dictionary titled *Maharashtra Bhasecha Kosh* [A Dictionary of Maharashtra Language] compiled by some *shastris* (Brahmins) in 1829. The dictionary, which was commissioned by the Native Education Society, a colonial institution, was not the first but one of the earliest dictionaries of Marathi. All the *yavani* [sic.] words in Marathi vocabulary were excluded from this dictionary. The term 'Maharashtra' language in the title also highlights Sanskritizing tendency of its editors.[47]

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[44] *Sahitya-Sammelan' Hakigat,* 14-15.
[45] A. R. Venkatachalapathy, "Coining Words: Language and Politics in Late Colonial Tamilnadu", in Venkatachalapathy, A. R., *In Those Days There Was No Coffee: Writings in Cultural History* (New Delhi: Yoda, 2006); Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998).
[46] For a detailed discussion, see next chapter.
[47] Datto Vaman Potdar, *Marathi Dadyacha Ingraji Avatar*: *Ingraji Amalatil Marathi Gadya Vanmayacha Nibandhamalepurvicha Itihas, 1810-1874* (Venus: Pune, 1957), 25.

A number of Marathi authors, grammarians and lexicographers were uncomfortable with the Persian influence on Marathi. R. B. Joshi, for instance, thinks that Marathi was polluted, to a large extent, by Persian because the words were borrowed 'carelessly' from the latter. He adds that since English was studied properly unlike Persian, the English elements could be picked up in Marathi carefully and would not pollute her.[48] Another grammarian disapproves the Persian imprint on Marathi language, because, according to him, Persian not only loaned words to Marathi, but also altered its linguistic structure.[49] The prominent historian V. K. Rajwade reveres the linguistic style of the original manuscript (the one in his possession) of *Dnyaneshwari*, a thirteenth century Marathi text, for the reason that it was uncontaminated by Persian.[50] In general, the pre-Muslim era was venerated by several authors because Marathi was free from 'pollution' of the Muslim tongue.

Persian was repeatedly called as *yavani* or Muslim tongue. While English was regarded as a foreign language by many Marathi scholars, the association between the language and the religion of its speakers was never brought into discussion. However, the association between Persian and Muslims was always cited explicitly and was used as a ground for banishing Persian loanwords from Marathi.

Though scholars criticized the presence of Persian and Arabic words in Marathi, they were well aware of the fact that these words had already become part of the Marathi vocabulary and therefore they had to condone the usage. R. B. Joshi, for example, does not advocate the use of Persian words, but explains in his grammar the rules governing Persian and Arabic words used in Marathi.[51] A few scholars like C. V. Vaidya treated Persian words as a part of Marathi vocabulary. It was described that the Persian words 'now appear to be Marathi'.[52] The prominent social reformer G. G. Agarkar thinks that Persian and Arabic words were no more foreign to Marathi as they were totally assimilated in it. He says that they were used by scholars and illiterates, young and old, men and women alike; and removing them from Marathi was impossible and an act of

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[48] R. B. Joshi, *Marathi Bhashechi Ghatana.*
[49] K. P. Kulkarni, *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 56,12 as cited in Mone, *Vyakarankar.*
[50] Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, *Itihasacharya Vi Ka Rajwade Samagra Sahitya*, ed. M B Shaha (Dhule: Itihasacharya Vi Ka Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, 1995).
[51] Joshi, *Praudhbodha Vyakarana.*
[52] C. V. Vaidya, "Marathi Bhasha Ani Tichyavar Itar Bhashancha Parinam", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 37,8 (1906).

obstinacy. He draws attention to the fact that even Sanskrit had incorporated a number of foreign words.[53]

However, certain domains were strictly to be kept free from the 'defilement'. For example, Chiplunkar does not see it problematic to use '*yavani'* words in preface of a particular encyclopaedic work on ancient Indian history [*Bharatavarshya Prachin Aitihasik kosh*]. In fact, he disapproves the usage of unfamiliar, difficult Sanskrit terminology in this work. On the other hand, he frowns upon the usage of Persian words in *Vedartha Yatna* since it was a Hindu scripture. He dislikes that the Persian words such as *daulat, madat, jawan, jasud* were employed to describe Vedic gods.[54]

Persian was associated with bravery and *veer rasa*. Therefore, the use of Persian was recommended for certain type of poetry – such as the one venerating the warriors or historical heroes. In such literature, it was described, 'Sanskrit and Persian words shine just like Aryans and Muslims shone in the battlefield in the past'. On the other hand, 'in the poetry where *sattva guna* is the chief, Persian words immediately stand off as alien like a Muslim person in Hindu temple'.[55]

The process of dePersianization was not unique to Marathi, but took place in case of many languages in India. Anindita Ghosh argues that in wake of creation of modern and standardized Bengali, standard language was copiously separated from the languages of polluting 'others', that is, women, lower middle class and Muslims. She shows that the burden of vulgarity was shifted to these groups in order to civilize and purify the language.[56]

Lending words from 'foreign' languages was criticized by some or the other authors. But it was 'hybridity' that was much more serious concern than discrete loanwords. Hybridity meant compound-words formed by combination of two words derived from two different languages; or borrowing phrases and idioms; and alterations in syntax. Chiplunkar disapproves the usage of 'half-baked' words, whereas another author says, 'generally Sanskrit-derived affixes are not affixed with foreign words. Even if they do, their association is not homogenous like water-milk, it is like

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[53] Agarkar, *Sampurna Agarkar*.
[54] Chiplunkar, *Nibandhamala*, 420-425.
[55] "Svargavasi Javaji Dadaji Chaudhari", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 24,4 (1892). p. 84.
[56] Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

heterogeneous like sesame -jaggery. It is not like marriage, it is like liaison'. Though unhappy with the 'pollution' of the language, some linguists seem to be contended with the acclimatization of 'foreign' words.[57]

It is also interesting to examine various terms used by the advocates of language cleansing to denote contamination of language. The authors employed the terms like *ashuddha, dooshan*, *sankar*, *bhrashta, vikriti* and *owale* (as opposed to *sowale*). While '*dooshan*' (pollution), the most frequently used term by these authors, also has a shade of violating a girl; '*sankar*' refers to hybrid or mixing of blood (as in *jati/ varna sankar*). *Bhrashta* means corrupt, a course devious from *shastras*, pollution arising from general profligacy of manners, disregard of the clean and unclean, or neglect of ritual prescriptions. *Vikriti* stand for disorder or deformity. *Sowale- owale* refers to the set of norms related to cleanliness or holiness and (un)touchability to be followed in a Brahmin household while cooking, dining, worshipping and so on. All these words are more or less associated with the caste and gender norms. Thus, it can be argued that labelling certain words as 'contaminating' was not merely linguistic or grammatical exercise, but it was a part of the social process of sustaining caste/gender and religious hierarchy. The well-known Hindutva proponent and eminent Marathi author V. D. Savarkar also participated in the discourse of language contamination, but he significantly differed from most of his predecessors. He initiated a 'language cleansing drive' in 1924, which is examined in the following section.

4.4.3 Savarkar's Language Cleansing Drive

Savarkar delivered a number of speeches and wrote several articles on the subject on the matter of cleansing Marathi. Savarkar points out that there was no Pan-Islamic language and that Muslims in the world spoke a variety of languages. When Muslims invaded India, he explains, they picked up the language spoken by the Hindus in North India, but introduced some words from their own languages including Persian, Turkish and Arabic, which led to the emergence to Urdu. He insists that Urdu was not a separate language as such, but just a jumble. He asserts that Urdu was same as Hindi, a Hindu language, but corrupted and adulterated with Persian and Arabic words. He believes that such a hybrid form of language did not emerge in the South (Deccan)

[57] Acclimatization refers to modifications that take place in a borrowed words in accordance with the phonetic system of the borrowing language.

owing to king Shivaji's efforts of language cleansing, though a few Persian/ Urdu words penetrated Marathi. Like his predecessors and contemporaries, Savarkar finds 'hybrid' words problematic. Savarkar is all the more critical of combination of Persian/ English words with Marathi/ Sanskrit words related to god and worship.[58] To cleanse Marathi of Persian and Urdu words, Savarkar launched the language cleansing drive.

Savarkar justified cleansing of Marathi on the grounds that similar efforts were made in case of Bengali, Punjabi and Hindi; and that Marathi should follow them. He also argues that his drive was the reaction to the projects started by the Muslim universities to revive Arabian and Persian words in Hindi. Savarkar compares language cleansing with boycott of foreign clothes and adoption of *swadeshi*. Savarkar strongly disagrees with his critics who argued that Urdu was a 'virile' language, and that Marathi became 'masculine and graceful' only with the contact of *yavani* languages. He tries to prove that Marathi was equally competent to express valorous spirit before it came in contact with *yavani* languages; and for that, he points towards *dnyaneshwari,* a Marathi text written in the pre-Muslim period.

Savarkar wrote a humorous article titled "Kayade Kausilateel Elekshanachya Kandidetanche Manifestos" [Manifestos of the Candidates Contesting Election to Law Council], in which he anthropomorphizes various words and assigns them specific gender, attires, homes and families.[59] These words, hailing from various languages, visit the protagonist of the article. While English and Persian words wore foreign attire and look 'alien', Sanskrit or Sanskritized words appeared 'familiar' to the protagonist. A Persian word is described as the one wearing the trousers like a Muslim, and 'a torn and old Turkish hat thrown away by Kemal Pasha', whereas a Sanskrit word looked like 'a sacred Brahmin who followed daily rituals'.[60] A Marathi word, Savarkar narrates, declares that his abode was 'Hindu' language and his grandmother was Sanskrit. The Brahmin-like Sanskrit word informs the protagonist that he was exiled. On the other hand, English words are said to be backed by the government, used by the elite and appeared courageous. The protagonist calls upon all of them turn by turn,

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[58] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Marathi Bhasheche Shuddhikaran ani Shabdakosha*, accessed April 11, 2012, http://www.savarkarsmarak.com/bookinpdfformat.php?id=58

[59] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, "Kayade Kausilateel Elekshanachya Kandidetanche Manifestos", in *Bhasha Shuddhi-Lekh,* accessed April 11, 2012, http://www.savarkarsmarak.com/bookinpdfformat.php?id=59

[60] Ibid.

listens to their arguments and finally 'elects' Sanskrit or Sanskrit-based Marathi words. His doorkeeper is called 'Vivek' [conscience], who allows the words to get in or drives them out.

The terms used by various authors to denote contamination are discussed in the previous section. While these authors use the terms associated with the contemporary gendered practices and caste system, Savarkar principally employs the terms which were conventionally associated with religious contamination. The Persian or Urdu words in Marathi are often addressed by Savarkar as *bataga* or *batalela* [corrupted, converted], apart from words such as dirt, stain, mud, garbage, chain and flies. Sanskrit words, on the other hand, are compared by him with holy Ganges and the oblations offered to the Gods. The words *bataga, batalela* or *batya* connotes defilement caused by religious conversion. The usage of this epithet for the converted Christians had led to a dispute in the nineteenth century. Some of the contemporary periodicals suggest that the word meant currency exchange and not corrupted or unethical behaviour, but *Dnyanodaya* points out that the term was contemptible and suggestive of illicit sexual relation with low caste and corruption caused by eating non-vegetarian food.[61]

Savarkar's usage of the term *bataga* can be understood by situating his language cleansing drive in his larger politics. Savarkar instigated three *shuddhi* movements: *bhasha shuddhi* (language cleansing), *lipi shuddhi* (script reform, i.e. modifying *devnagari* script so that it becomes more compatible with print technology) and *shuddhi* (reconversion to Hinduism). The alleged decrease in the population of Hindus in Asia was a matter of concern for Savarkar. The decrease, according to him, was caused by the conversion of the Hindus into Islam and Christianity. He suggests two measures for bringing this to an end. Firstly, doing away with the practice of untouchability in order to prevent the untouchables from converting and secondly, reconverting so-called 'mistaken souls' back to Hinduism. He strongly condemns the prevalent idea that if a Hindu consumed the food or water touched by a Muslim or Christian, he was defiled and thus converted into Islam or Christianity. It is interesting to note that Shivaji, invoked by Savarkar as the instigator of language cleansing, is also said to have initiated reconversion into Hinduism. Thus, Savarkar's attempts of purifying the language goes hand in hand with his project of reconverting people into Hinduism. In fact, he himself

[61] See, *Dnyanodaya*, 1861, May 15, 145.

compares the cleansing of Hindi and Punjabi with the reconversion of *Malkana Rajputs*.[62]

Savarkar was released from jail in 1924 on the condition that he should not participate in political activities. Therefore, he takes recourse to the seemingly 'non-political' activities such as language cleansing and caste reforms. Thus, language cleansing becomes a euphemism for cleansing of a community. What constituted *shuddha* language and what were considered as the 'polluting/ foreign others' in case of language does not remain confined to the level of language, but also becomes an important element in defining and shaping identity of a community. In similar fashion, the process of inclusion and exclusion of words becomes a metaphor for the inclusion and exclusion of individuals. The emptying out and thereby homogenization was very essential for constructing an identity.

What Savarkar attempted was Sanskritizing Marathi language by replacing Persian words with newly-coined Sanskirt-based words. Sanskritizing Marathi, for him, was just a step ahead towards common Hindu language (Sanskritized Hindi). In fact, he declares that he was ready to sacrifice Marathi for the sake of national language (Sanskritized Hindi). As mentioned above, one of the justifications provided by him for language cleansing was that the movement was spreading everywhere in India; and it was the duty of Maharashtra to contribute to it. Unlike his forerunners who sought to purify Marathi in order to make it suitable for transmitting knowledge to the masses, Savarkar tried to purify Marathi to make it a Hindu language. Though Savarkar brings into play regional language, king Shivaji – the icon of Marathi identity, and discusses at length history of *Maratha* kingdom, all these build up his case for a Hindu polity. Thus, Maratha kingdom becomes just an instance of the Hindu empire, and Marathi, merely a Hindu language. Maharashtra becomes simply a constituent of larger Hindutva identity.

This Hinduization of Marathi language and identity is achieved by labelling Hindu as *swakiya* (one's own) and non-Hindu as foreign to Marathi. Savarkar coins a peculiar concept: '*Hindu Bhasha Sangha'* (Hindu Language Family/ Federation). While the concept of Aryan Language Family is rampantly used in the contemporary

[62] Savarkar, *Marathi Bhasheche Shuddhikaran.*

discourse on linguistics and grammar, that of Hindu Language Family does not appear anywhere else. It is evident that by using this concept, he seeks to include languages which are otherwise classified into 'Dravidian Language Family'.

Two more such categories used by Savarkar also highlight the classification of languages into *swakiya* and *parakiya*. According to him, we can borrow words from a language if the language is either *Sanskritodbhava* (derived from Sanskrit) or *Sanskrit-nishtha* (adherent of Sanskrit).[63] While the former concept is the widely used in the contemporary discourse, the latter one seems to be invented by Savarkar. By '*Sanskrit-nishtha'* he refers to a language, which is not necessarily derived from Sanskrit, but borrows Sanskrit vocabulary to a large extent and recognizes that. These categories are very akin to his conceptions of'*pitribhu*' (fatherland) and '*punyabhu*' (holy land). A Hindu is he who looks upon the land from the Indus to the Seas as the land of his forefathers and addresses this land as his holy land, according to him. Just as the conceptions of holy land permit to appropriate the Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs as the parts of Hindu polity, and exclude the Muslims and Christian; the criterion of adherence to Sanskrit allows him to include Dravidian languages and exclude the Aryan languages like Pushtu, which do not see Sanskrit as the holy language.

Though Savarkar's drive for purification of Marathi was directed primarily towards Persian, surprisingly, he claims that Persian, like other vernaculars, was derived from Sanskrit. Hence, he declares, all the words which seemed Persian, were not to be treated as foreign. He maintains that some of the Persian words were of Sanskrit origin. The way Savarkar looks at the issue 'Persian-seeming words' is very similar to the way he treats the persons which 'mistakenly' converted to Islam/ Christianity. In both cases, he is trying to appropriate what apparently seems to be 'other', but is not considered so by him because of its Hindu origin. The category of *Sanskrit-nishtha* allows him to label Persian as foreign, and at the same time, establish supremacy of Sanskrit.

A collection of Savarkar's articles written in various periodicals was published posthumously (in 1958) by G. M. Joshi. The cover page of the book depicts Shivaji in an aura with a copy of *Rajyavyavahar Kosha* [A Glossary of Administrative Terms] in

[63] Ibid.

his hand and Savarkar sitting at a table with few books, papers and pen. Between them is a letter which says, 'now onwards, you carry forward my drive of language cleansing'. The very first page of the book cites three *shlokas* from the above-mentioned *kosh* by Shivaji. The picture and the citation aptly point to the significance that Savarkar attaches to Shivaji. Savarkar's one of the major justifications for language cleansing is that the drive was commenced by Shivaji, and that Savarkar is merely carrying forward his mission.

Shivaji was depicted as an icon of Hindu identity in the colonial period not only by Savarkar but by several other thinkers and authors across India. A number of Marathi intellectuals were fascinated by *The Glossary of Administrative Terms* commissioned by Shivaji.

4.4.4 Shivaji, Persian and Glossary of Administrative Terms

In the seventeenth century, a pundit called Raghunath was commissioned by king Shivaji to compile a glossary of administration terms.[64] The glossary, known as *Rajyavyavaharakosha* (henceforth *Kosha*), contains verses enlisting the terms from Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Hindi and few other languages along with their Sanskrit alternatives. The concluding verses of the lexicon explain the objective behind compilation of the *Kosha*:

> After rooting out all the *mlenchhas* [foreigners, non-Hindus] from the world, the great king Shivaji, who adorns the Sun dynasty, instructed a scholar to propagate Sanskrit as the language of administration, which was clouded by *yavana* [Muslim] tongues. Thus, abiding by the orders of the coroneted king, the minister called Raghunath compiles this *Rajya-vyavahara-kosha*.[65]

The *Kosha,* which in fact is a glossary offering Sanskrit alternatives later came to be known as a momentous instance of dePersianization of Marathi and was invoked time and again during the nineteenth and twentieth century by various thinkers with a variety of intentions.

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[64] The scholars mention the full name of the compiler as Raghunath Narayan Hanamante or Raghunath Narayan Adhwarii Panditrao. He was probably helped by Dhundiraj Vyas (See Marathe/ unknown Shivaji Press). The glossary is said to have been written in 1675 or a few years after that.
[65] Ashwinikumar Dattatreya Marathe, *Rajkosha* (Thane: Surya, 1986), 64.

In 1860 one K. G. Khatri edited and published *Kosha* thinking that 'its reading would impress thousands of Sanskrit words upon the minds [of the readers] and thereby increase the grandeur and conversancy of the Marathi language'. Khatri maintained that the king Shivaji ordered the compilation of the glossary for his own use with the purpose of mastering literary and erudite language.[66] Another anonymous publisher, who republished the text twenty years after Khatri's edition, disagrees with Khatri and claims that *Kosha* was compiled by Shivaji for the revival of *swabhasha* (national language, literally – one's own language).[67] He argues that it was the emergence of nationalist consciousness during Shivaji's times that led to the compilation of the glossary. He adds that the lexicon testifies the king's endeavours to develop the indigenous languages and cultivate knowledge among the people, even during the riotous times. The publisher writes,

> The original intention of this glossary appears to be different [from the one mentioned by Khatri], when one looks at the religious and national consciousness and a dislike for the foreigners and their religion that had emerged throughout Maharashtra during Shivaji's times, and when one takes into consideration people's natural tendency, which can be observed in the history of thousands of years, of propagating their own language when they gain independence.[68]

The publisher commends Shivaji's intentions and expresses that it was appropriate to make efforts for eradicating *yavani* words from the people's speech during Shivaji's period. However, to replicate the same in the present times is thought to be pointless by him since *yavani* loanwords were already assimilated in Marathi. On the contrary, he seeks to 'nurture' *yavani* words which were once used in Marathi and bring them back into currency. He adds that a number of loanwords is beneficial for a language since language becomes more expressive of minute differences with increased vocabulary. The publisher feels that the dominance of the Sanskrit language was increasing in the country owing to its inclusion in the university curricula. As a result, he maintains, numerous Sanskrit words, including newly coined words, were being used in place of *yavani* words. The publisher does not seem to seek elimination of Sanskrit words as such but wants people, who overlooked the hitherto prevalent *yavani* words,

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[66] Ibid.
[67] According to Marathe, it was K. N. Sane who published this edition.
[68] *Raghunath Pandit virachit Rajvyavaharkosha* (Pune: Shri Shivaji, 1880)

contemplate the usage of Sanskrit alternatives. As he says, 'the main purpose behind bringing out this edition is to continue the usage of older but more valuable punch-marked coins rather than new showy Company Rupees'.[69] To highlight the non-Sanskrit words, they are printed with bold type in this edition and are indexed at the end of the book. *Berar Samachar* also endorses the publisher's intention of popularizing Musalmani (Muslim) words in Marathi.[70]

4.5 *Shuddha Lekhan*: A Debate on Spelling

The catalogues of books published in Marathi in the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century indicate that a significant number of books on '*shuddha lekhana*' were published in this period.[71] *Shuddha lekhana,* literally meaning pure or correct writing, implied writing as per the standard rules of Marathi orthography. It formed an important part of school curriculum. The standardization of rules of orthography proved to be a major issue of contention among the Marathi literati in this period.

A discussion on Marathi orthography commenced in the first decade of the twentieth century when a pamphlet on *shuddha lekhana* was circulated among the Marathi literati by K. N. Sane, R. P. Godbole and S. R. Hatawalane. The trio, who held important positions in the Education Department, also published a book on the same topic in 1900. This generated some contemplations among the intelligentsia, but the real row broke in 1904 when a committee appointed by the colonial government to revise vernacular text books decided to introduce reforms in Marathi orthography.[72] The committee was chaired by J. G. Covernton, who was not an expert on the vernacular languages. It was K. N. Sane, the ardent advocate of orthographic reforms, who was in charge of the Marathi section.[73] The committee sought to revise the existing rules of orthography in favour of phonetic spellings. When Marathi intellectuals came to know about the proposed revisions, a group led by a well-known author V. K. Oak congregated to oppose them. In the meeting held by this group, a resolution was passed

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[69] Ibid.
[70] *Dnyanodaya*, April 12, 1880.
[71] See, Shankar Ganesh Date, ed., *Marathi Grantha Suchi* (Pune: Author, 1943).
[72] Narayan Daso Banahatti, *Marathi Bhashechi Lekhanapaddhati* (Nagpur: Navabharat Granthamala, 1932).
[73] R. B. Joshi, "Marathi Orthography: To the Editor of the Times of India", *The Times of India,* November 2, 1904.

that without taking into consideration the opinions of Marathi scholars, the government should not allow printing of books complying the revised rules. The intellectuals also formed a committee to pursue the matter further and resolved that this committee would seek the comments from the journalists, authors and scholars on this issue, and the decision taken by the majority of them should be accepted by the government. A number of renowned scholars and grammarians published their articles in the leading newspapers and periodicals arguing for or against the orthography reforms.[74]

The heated debate compelled the Text Book Committee to call for a meeting of scholars for seeking their opinions on orthography reforms. A few reforms were accepted in the meeting by voting. The opponents of the reforms were not satisfied with this move and wrote an application to the Governor opposing reforms. Finally, the government decided to maintain the status quo and thus the debate abruptly came to an end for the time being.[75] It was revived again in 1928 and continued for three years.

The seemingly 'orthography debate' of 1904 was not merely concerned with rules of standard writing in the Marathi language. It was centred on the question whether Marathi should follow the rules of Sanskrit orthography or not, and to what extent. Marathi has a huge number of words borrowed (*tatsama*) and derived (*tadbhava)* from Sanskrit. The orthography debate raised questions on spelling of '*tatsama'* words, that is, Sanskrit loanwords in Marathi. The advocates of phonetic spellings held that *tatsama* words should be spelt in accordance with their actual Marathi pronunciation. The opponents emphasized the Sanskrit origin of *tatsama* words and maintained that these words should be written in the same way as they are written in Sanskrit. The supporters of reform sought to develop separate rules of Marathi orthography. On the other hand, the status-quoists maintained that Marathi was not fully developed and therefore the distinct rules were not necessary. Those who were in favour of phonetic spellings pointed out that one was required to possess certain knowledge of Sanskrit language and orthography in order to comply with the existing system of Marathi orthography, which was arduous. They argued that language is used by not only the learned people, but also the common people, and therefore writing system of any language must be as simple as possible.[76] However, the defenders of the old system

[74] Banahatti, *Lekhanapaddhati.*
[75] Ibid.
[76] Damle

regarded 'purity' of the language more important than ease in the writing. The 'purity' of the language could be maintained, according to them, by complying with the rules of Sanskrit orthography.[77] Moreover, they opposed phonetic spellings on the ground that pronunciations of the illiterate are often 'incorrect' and hence it would not be appropriate to spell a word as per pronunciation.

A letter by grammarian R. B. Joshi published in *The Times of India* criticizing orthography reforms is worth discussing in detail.[78] Joshi remarks that the proposed rules were considered as 'unscientific, unnecessary and revolutionary by the educated among the Marathi-speaking public' and puts forward numerous arguments against the revision. He argues that a perfect harmony between the written and the spoken language was impossible in any language and asks whether Englishmen would write 'nolej for knowledge, frend for friend, thot for thought, ritan for written, and so forth'.[79] He invokes several British Orientalist scholars supporting his views. Joshi quotes Mackichan, who says,

> Among the influences tending to fix the orthography one of the strongest is that of the increased cultivation of Sanskrit and nothing is more natural than that Sanskrit should give the law in this process. It would be absurd in the case of words derived bodily from Sanskrit to have one system of spelling in Sanskrit, and another in Marathi.[80]

The author also cites the renowned lexicographer Molesworth who expresses his views in the preface of his dictionary that both Sanskrit and the common tongues 'should and do concur to compose the grand and popular language of Maharashtra'.[81] While citing Molesworth, Joshi categorically mentions Molesworth's comments on the 'height and

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[77] Banahatti, *Lekhanapaddhati.*
[78] *The Times of India*, November 2, 1904.
[79] A number of scholars such as German philologist Grimm had expressed unhappiness with 'whimsical, antiquated orthography' of English. American lexicographer Webster also felt the English orthography was 'barbarous' and hence, limited in usefulness. However, R. B. Joshi seems to be unaware of the debates on orthography of English. In fact, the arguments put forward by various scholars supporting and opposing phonetic spellings in English are very similar to those presented by the Marathi scholars. The advocates of the phonetic spellings on English argued that it would be a boon for the common people, since it would 'diminish the time and labour spent' at the schools in learning to read. See, James Kerr, *An Essay on English Orthography* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black,1859), 66. On the other hand, phonetic system was objected on the grounds that it 'would efface the resemblance between words and the primitive roots from which they are derived'. Ibid., 39.
[80] Joshi, *The Times of India,* November 2, 1904.
[81] Ibid.

depth' and 'vigour, elegance and majesty' of the Sanskrit language, but omits a part of the same sentence where Molesworth talks about the desirability of coexistence of 'vulgarism' in the language. Joshi attacks the distinguished Sanskritist scholar Bhandarkar, since the latter approved the changes in the existing Marathi orthography. Joshi alleges him of not allowing the Marathi speakers to borrow words from the 'sacred Sanskrit in the original grab' and compelling them to employ only 'mutilated form' of Sanskrit words.[82]

Thus, a scrutiny of the arguments put forward by both the parties engaged in the debate on orthography reveals that it was a conflict between those who treated Marathi as an independent language and those who preferred Sanskrit-laden variety of Marathi. The sympathisers of phonetic spellings claimed to take side of the uneducated, who did not know Sanskrit, whereas the opposite faction asserted the right of the common Marathi speakers to use 'pure' Sanskrit words, rather than their 'corrupted forms'.

Another issue that arose in the orthography debate was that of the interference of the colonial government. As mentioned above, it was through the revision of the government-approved textbooks that orthographic reforms were to take place. In the application sent to the Governor by the critics of reforms, it was argued that just as the government did not intervene in the religious matters of the subjects, it should refrain from intervening in the linguistic matters, which should be left to the people themselves. The application further declared that if the government wanted to reform the orthography, it should take into account the verdict of the Marathi literati.[83] It was alleged that the reformers were trying to impose the reforms on the people by seeking the government's patronage. Even though the opponents of the spelling reforms disapproved of the governmental intervention and appealed the government to leave the matter for 'people' to decide, they did not actually leave it to the common people. They only sought the opinions of around fifty scholars on the basis of which they justified their stand.

The entire episode of *shuddha lekhana* debate points at the dominant notion that pure Marathi included Sanskrit elements. In fact, Marathicization of Sanskrit words was not appreciated much. To accentuate legacy of Sanskrit was important for the Marathi

[82] Ibid.
[83] Banhatti, *Lekhanapaddhati.*

literati because through Sanskrit they could establish a connection with the ‘Aryan’ languages. The assertion that Marathi was an Aryan language was an important part of the venture of nationalizing Marathi, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
INVOCATION OF ARYAN GLORY

5.1 Introduction

In the well-known Shakespearean play *Othello* the character of Othello is of Moorish origin and is described as 'an old black ram' and the 'thick-lips'.[1] When the play was performed by the Englishmen at a theatre in Calcutta in 1848, an Indian actor played the role of Othello or 'the Moor of Venice'. The contemporary newspapers described him as 'a real unpainted nigger Othello'.[2] *Othello* was translated many times into several Indian languages in this period. Many of these translations are adaptations, in which the names of the characters and places have been Indianized and characters have been culturally translated to fit in with the Indian context. So, a Bengali rendition titled *Bhimasingha* (1874) portrays Othello (christened as Bhima Singha) as a 'Mahratta', while in *Surasena Charitre* (1881), a Kannada adaptation, Othello or 'Surasena' is labelled as *videshi* [a foreigner].[3] *Jhunjararao* (1890), a Marathi stage adaptation of the play, portrays Othello or Jhunjararao as a Koli, belonging to a lower caste.[4] Likewise, in recent Indian films based on Othello such as Kaliyattam (1997) and Omkara (2006), the character equivalents of Othello belong to the lower castes. It is evident from these adaptations that for them Othello represents communities that were considered outsider/foreigner or inferior. In other words, the character of Othello has been perceived as a marked 'Other' in the Indian language adaptations.

In this context, it is interesting to look at a 1961 Marathi translation of the play by the eminent playwright V. V. Shirwadkar.[5] Though the title of the translation remains *Othello*, the names of the characters are Indianized. Othello is named

[1] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Norman Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 68-69.
[2] James R. Brandon, "Other Shakespeares in Asia: An Overview", in *Replaying Shakespeare in India*, ed. Poonam Trivedi and Minami Ryuta (New York: Routledge, 2010), 22.
[3] Shri Tarini Charan Pal, *Bhimasingha* (Kalikata: People's Friend Yantra, 1875); Basappa Sastri and C. Subba Rao, *Surasena Charitre* (Mysore: The G.T.A. Printing Press, 1910).
[4] Govind Ballal Dewal, *Jhunjararao,* unknown.
[5] V. V. Shirwadkar, *Othello* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2000).

Maheshwar and is referred to as '*dravida'* and 'a*narya*' (non-Aryan). In other words, 'Dravidian' and 'non-Aryan' are considered cultural equivalents of 'Moorish' in this adaptation. The usage of these terms suggests that *dravida* and a*narya* could connote 'the Other' for the Marathi speaking community at the time the play was translated and published. However, till the nineteenth century, Maharashtra was placed outside what was called as Aryavarta or the land of Aryans.[6] Traditionally the territory of India was divided into two parts namely Uttarapatha [Northern region] and Dakshinapatha [Southern region] and Maharashtra has been a part of the latter. In accordance with this, Marathi Brahmins considered themselves to be *dravidas*. Conventionally the Brahmins of India were classified into ten categories, five of which were clustered as *gouda* and the rest were referred to as *dravida*. The Marathi Brahmins themselves within the latter cluster.[7] With the popularization of the idea of race during the colonial times, the meaning of *gouda*and *dravida* underwent a transformation and these terms began to denote 'Aryan race' and 'Dravidian race' respectively.[8] A number of Marathi Brahmins claimed that they belonged to the so-called superior and fairer Aryan race and tried to distance themselves from the category of Dravidian. The aforesaid example from the play whereby the term *dravida* was employed to mean 'the barbarous Other' can be seen as an illustration of this change in the self-perception of the Marathi community that took place in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

The endeavours by the Marathi community to identify itself with the Aryan race and culture are termed as 'Aryanization' in this study. The process of Aryanization also included the efforts to accentuate Marathi's Sanskrit legacy and to disassociate from the Dravidian culture. The present chapter maps the Aryanization of Marathi by examining the ways in which the theories concerning language and race were perceived, interpreted and used by the Marathi speaking community to redefine the 'Self' and the 'Other'. This will be done by surveying primarily the philological and grammatical texts.

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[6] "Amcha Desh, Amche Deshi Lok, va Amchi Deshi Bhasha", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 22,5 (1890).
[7] Madhav M. Deshpande, "Aryan Origins: Brief History of Linguistic Arguments", in *India: Historical Beginnings and the Concept of the Aryan*, Romila Thapar et al. (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2006).
[8] Ibid.

5.2 Aryan Language Family to Aryan Family

The similarities between Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Gothic, Persian and other modern languages of Europe and those of India have been noticed by many since the sixteenth century. However, the systematic comparative study of these languages began only in the eighteenth century when several European Orientalists including the British officers began to learn the Sanskrit language. They noted that certain Indian and European languages not only have similar vocabulary but the resemblance 'extends also to the grammar and internal structure'.[9] These commonalities, they further thought, cannot be accounted for interactions between languages. It was concluded that these languages must have a common origin. In the words of William Jones, who pioneered this study and was the first President of the Asiatic Society,

> The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothic* and the *Celtic,* though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*, and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family.[10]

The theory of monogenesis, that is, the common origin of the certain Indian and European languages was widely accepted among the Orientalist scholars. This language group later came to be known as 'Indo-European family' or sometimes 'Aryan family'.

Some researchers believed that it was Sanskrit which is the proto-Indo-European language, or the 'mother' of all of the Indo-European languages. Vans Kennedy, for instance, considers that Greek, Latin, German and English were derivatives of Sanskrit.[11] However, many others upheld the view that the common source or proto-Indo-European had become extinct. Bopp felt that the European

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[9] Frederick Von Schlegel, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, trans. E. G. Millington (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849).
[10] As cited in Kalidas Nag, preface to *Sir William Jones: Bicentenary of His Birth Commemoration Volume, 1746-1946* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948), vi.
[11] Vans Kennedy, *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe* (London: Longman, 1828).

languages were not derived from Sanskrit 'in the state in which we find it in books' and that the Indo-European languages including Sanskrit were 'subsequent variations of one original tongue, which, however, the Sanskrit has preserved more perfect than its kindred dialects'.[12] A number of scholars expressed that Sanskrit was of higher antiquity than the European languages.[13]

The comparative and historical (diachronic) study of these languages was believed to be useful for elucidating the history of people speaking them.[14] The theory of monogenesis was extended to the speakers of the Indo-European languages and it was argued that they not only spoke a common language but also had common ancestry. The ancestors of speakers of Indo-European languages were said to have resided together at some point of time, which explained the existence of common words. The theory explained that over a period of time, the speakers of proto-Indo European were separated and migrated to various places in Europe and some of them came to India via Persia. As Bopp says, the inquiry into the analogy of the Sanskrit with the European languages 'shows the higher or lower degree of affinity by which nations, who in the remotest antiquity wandered from the land of their ancestors into Europe, are connected with the present inhabitants of India'.[15] A wide number of scholars presented the sketches of the early Aryan civilization by examining common words in the Indo-European languages.[16] A number of the theorists argued that the ancestors of the Indo-European speakers resided near Caucasus, whereas few others like Theosophists Colonel Alcott and Annie Besant claimed that it was India which was the maiden home of the Aryans. This discipline was known as linguistic palaeontology.

The scholars such as Jones, Schlegel and Bopp did not use any specific term to designate the group of closely affiliated European and Indian languages and their speakers. However, some others including the renowned Orientalist scholar Max Muller labelled these languages as well as their speakers as 'Aryan' or 'Arya'. The term 'Aryan' acquired the racial implications over a period of time despite the fact that

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[12] F. Bopp, "Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages, Showing the Original Identity of their Grammatical Structure", *Annals of Oriental Literature* (London: T. Rutt and Sons, 1820), 3.
[13] Schlegel, *Works,* 456.
[14] Ibid., 429;
[15] Bopp, "Analytic Comparison", 1.
[16] The scholars included J. Crawfurd, F. G. Eichhoff, A. Kunh, Grimm Pictet, Justi, Schleicher, Forstemann, Pott, Fick, and Hehn as stated by Max Muller.

Muller did not intend it. The origin of the term is traced back to *Rigveda*, the oldest known Sanskrit text. The composers of the Vedic hymns address themselves as Arya.[17] Till the nineteenth century, 'Aryan' was not an ethnic or racial label.[18] In the nineteenth century, certain references in Vedas and other Sanskrit texts were interpreted by some of the Orientalists as suggestive of race. For example, the foes of Aryans are described in *Rigveda* as '*anas'*, which meant 'mouthless or those with no (different) language' as per the authorities in the Sanskritic tradition; whereas some of the European orientalists interpreted the word to mean 'noseless'(flat-nosed) and indicative of race. The famous code of Manu (the text *Manusmriti*) has references to the prototypical appearance of the Aryas which were also interpreted in a racial sense.[19]

Max Muller categorically states that by 'Aryan', he does not denote a 'race'. He explains that a common language is not a certain proof of common ancestry and that people learn each other's languages due to various reasons such as conquest and intermixture. He says that while the languages continue, the blood (biological race) is broken. He adds,

> If the indigenous races of India learnt Sanskrit and dialects derived from Sanskrit, they became ipso facto representatives of Aryan speech, whatever their blood may have been. …… How shall we tell from language what races had to learn the language of their Aryan conquerors or their Aryan slaves? ….. Aryan, in scientific language, is utterly inapplicable to race. It means language and nothing but language, and if we speak of Aryan race at all, we should know that it means Aryan speech.[20]

Nonetheless, the term Aryan with its connotation as 'physiological race' spread widely in the colonial as well as popular discourse. As Romila Thapar says, 'this slippage between speech and biology was to dominate the nineteenth century'.[21]

Even though the *General Report on the Census of India* (1891) recognizes that the usage of the term for other than a class of language is incorrect, yet it designates the 'race hailing from beyond the Himalaya' as 'Arya' because it fails to find an alternative

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[17] Romila Thapar et al., *India: Historical Beginnings and the Concept of the Aryan* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2006).
[18] Ibid.
[19] Deshpande, "Aryan Origins".
[20] F. Max Muller, *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1888), 88.
[21] Thapar, *India.*

label.[22] The *Report* says, 'by Arya, then, we mean, in this work, the people who entered India from the north-west, leaving a larger community of the same race who seem to have kept a south-westerly course along the opposite side of the mountains'.[23]

Herbert Risley conducted a detailed study of race, caste and tribes in India using anthropometric methods. He used biological markers such as shape of head, nasal index and orbitonasal index to classify people of India into various racial groups. Risley explains that he used the expression Aryan to designate 'the people, calling themselves Arya or noble who entered India from beyond the North-West frontier and brought with them the Sanskritic languages and the religions ideas to which expression is given in the Vedas and Upanishads, and whose physical type is represented by that of the Jats and Rajputs, viz., a long head; a straight, finely cut nose; a long, symmetrically narrow face; a well-developed forehead, regular features and a high facial angle'.[24] The exercise of biological measurements strengthened the Aryan theory by providing a so-called scientific basis to it.

The Aryan theory proved to be favourable for anti-Semitic thought, since it denied Hebrew the status of a primeval tongue.[25] The story of 'Genesis' in the Old Testament – known as 'Tower of Babel' claims that all the people in the world spoke one language. The Lord confounded their language. People ceased to understand each other's speech and were scattered all over the world.[26] A number of European philologists had inferred from this story that Hebrew – the language of Noah – was the primeval language and that all the human languages were derived from Hebrew. The Indo-European or 'Aryan' languages theories, on the other hand, refuted the parent language status of Hebrew. Vans Kennedy, for example, strongly counters the Biblical theory that all the languages on the earth sprang from one language and argues that

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[22] *General Report on the Census of India, 1891* (London: Eyee And Spottiswoode, 1893).
[23] Ibid.
[24] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire,* vol. I Descriptive. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
[25] The renowned Orientalist scholar R. G. Bhandarkar mentions the previous European belief that Jews were chosen people of God and their language the most original and all other languages were derived from it. See,
[26] "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. 1"
"And the LORD said: 'Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do; and now nothing will be withholden from them, which they purpose to do. 6
Come, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. 7
So the LORD scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth…… 8", accessed May 14, 2016, http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0111.htm

there is no proof to prove the existence of the primeval language that can be parent language of all the human languages.[27] Hebrew's influence, he maintains, is limited to Arabia, Syria and the colonies of Phoenicia, and asserts Sanskrit is not derived from Hebrew. He thinks that the dispersion of 'Indo-Germanic race' probably took place before the flood of Noah and that after the flood the Asiatics descanted from mountains into India, Asia Minor and Europe. He also declares that the descendants of Indo-German race mixed with the dark-coloured aboriginals in India, who had also saved themselves during the flood on the high mountains.[28]

Thus, the Aryan theory grew popular among the scholars as well as the common people in Europe and India and the discourse on language in Marathi did not remain unaffected by it.

5.3 Marathi as Part of Aryan Fraternity

The discipline of comparative and historical linguistics was immensely popular in this period and etymological studies were looked at as a means to uncover history of not only language but society. Categorizing Marathi into 'Aryan' family of languages and tracing its root back to Sanskrit fascinated a large number of philologists, essayists and grammarians of Marathi because it signified that the Marathi speakers belonged to the Aryan race which was considered as superior and noble. Secondly, underlining the relation between Marathi and the European languages, particularly English, suggested that the Marathi speakers were at par with their colonial rulers. Thirdly, the alleged association between the Aryan race and the higher castes enabled Marathi Brahmins to assert their supremacy.

In his work *The Making of Marathi,* the noted grammarian R. B. Joshi writes at length on the subject of the arrival of Aryans in India and eventual development of Marathi from Sanskrit, the language of Aryan.[29] Joshi's account, which is representative of the predominant current of thought in the contemporary Marathi literature, can be summarised as follows. He begins with the theory that whole of India, Iran and the European countries except Turkey were occupied by the Aryan race, who spoke the Aryan languages. He adds that the remarkable similarities between the Indian,

[27] Kennedy, *Researches.*
[28] Ibid.
[29] R. B. Joshi, *Marathi Bhasgechi Ghatana or The Making of Marathi* (Pune: B. G. Dabholkar, 1919).

European and Iranian languages showed that these languages originated from a common language. Therefore, he maintains, English and Marathi languages were 'distant cousins'.[30] Joshi says that in India the Aryans came into contact with the Dravidians, the indigenous people of India, and as a result, Aryan and Dravidian languages influenced each other in a substantial way. He further describes that the Aryans eventually spread to various regions in India, which led to regional variations in their language. He adds that the principal or high language of the Aryans – the language of literature – was termed as Sanskrit, and *janapadabhashas* [regional tongues] were termed as *prakrit*. According to him, the word *prakrit*was derived from '*prakat'* meaning 'easily understood by all'. The prakrit or *janapada* [regional] languages continued to evolve over a period of time to grow into the present vernacular languages. It was in this way, he describes, Vedic Aryan language was transformed into *prakrit* languages, which in turn, were transformed into the modern vernaculars such as Marathi. That is why Marathi was an 'advanced' language, according to him.[31]

Similarly, in the article published in a weekly called *Berar Samachar*, an author writes that the ancestors of the Europeans and Hindus lived near Caucasus in the ancient times and were called Arians.[32] He further states that some of the 'Arians' came to India, while some others went to Europe. The author points out that those who stay in proximity are often identified as a fraternity but one fails to see the connection between the peoples who stayed far away each other. He asserts that though Europeans and Indians resided on distant lands, the 'Europeans are ones amongst us'.[33] He also thinks that in antiquity they followed the same religion and spoke the languages which were related to one another.[34]

The idea that Marathi originated in the 'North' seems to have attracted a number of authors. An essayist in search of the 'maiden home' of the Marathi language tries to demonstrate that Marathi originated in the 'Northern region' by listing words in the Northern languages which show affinity to Marathi words.[35] The languages that he

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *Berar Samachar*, August 1, 1868.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Parashuram Narayan Patankar, "Kahi Marathi Shabdanchya Vyuttpattiche Maag athava Marathi Bhashechya Maherache Sinhavalokan", as cited in Moreshwar Sakharam Mone, ed., *Marathi Bhasheche Vyakarankar va Vyakaran-Prabandhakar* (Pune: S. N. Joshi, 1927).

examines primarily are Hindi and Gujarati, but his list of words also includes words from African and American languages, apart from Urdu, Sanskrit and English. He informs the readers that he resided in the North India for more than sixteen years, which allowed him to collect two hundred to two fifty words in various languages spoken in the North. Based on this scanty data, the author not only tries to prove that the Marathi language came into contact with the North India but also infers that Marathi must have migrated from 'Hindustan' [North India] to the south.[36]

5.3.2 India as the Cradle of Aryans

N. G. Pavagi is a remarkable author who invokes the Aryan theory. Pavagi wrote a text titled *Bhashashastra* [Linguistics] with a purpose of 'serving his motherland Aryabhumi [The Land of Aryans]'.[37] The theories and arguments put forward by him are noteworthy because they exemplify how Aryan theory was popularly perceived and interpreted in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Maharashtra. Pavagi explains in detail how languages of the world are classified into different groups and families, three major classes being Arya (Aryan), Shami (Semitic) and Turani (Turanian). He equates the term Aryan with the Sanskrit language, which he calls as *mayabhasha* [mother tongue]. He claims that Sanskrit was the root of all the languages belonging to Aryan family, including Indian, Iranian, Hellenic, Latin, Teutonic, Slavonic and Celtic languages. He also presents a list of similar words found in few of these languages to support his case. According to him, Marathi and other Indian languages were 'Eastern branches' of Sanskrit, whereas English, Latin, Zend and many other languages were 'Western branches'. He argues that the similarity between Aryan languages indicated that they originated from a common source. He further says that the non-existence of any such proto-Aryan-language proved that the most ancient language among them viz. Sanskrit was the 'mother' of all the Aryan languages. Pavagi goes on to argue that Sanskrit was also the mother of some non-Aryan languages. He maintains that Dravidians are also Aryans and that the Dravidian languages also emerged from Sanskrit.[38]

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Narayan Bhawanarao Pavagi, *Bhashashastra* (Pune: Indira, 1901).
[38] Ibid.

Pavagi maintains that India was the cradle of humankind. He wishes to highlight that the Aryans were not the immigrants, but inhabited India from the eternity. He tries to disprove the arguments of the Western scholars who believed that the Biblical Eden was the cradle of the humankind as well as those of the Indian scholars such as Tilak who demonstrated that the Arctic was the Home of Aryans. Pavagi thinks that there was not even a single evidence in the ancient Indian texts proving that the Aryans came from outside and conquered the natives of India. On the other hand, he opines, the epics and mythological texts of India attested that humankind originated in Aryavarta[India, the land of Aryans] and those who gave up their *dharma* 'deteriorated' to form other ethnic groups like Shaka [Scythian], Yavana [Ionian], Chinese, Kirata [Indo-Mongoloid] and so on. To substantiate his argument that the India-originated Aryans colonized the other Asian, African and European countries, Pavagi calls attention to the names of the countries and regions which bore resemblances to the Indian names. He maintains that Ireland was similar to the Aryaland [Land of Aryans], Misr [Egypt] resembled Mishra (an Indian surname) and Mauritius was named after Marich (a demon in an Indian epic).[39]

Pavagi not only points out the relation between Marathi, Sanskrit and European languages but also attempts to establish the pre-eminence and primeval character of Sanskrit. He also tries to subvert the colonial-colonizer relationship by claiming that the Aryans, the inhabitants of India in the ancient period, colonized the European countries.

One of the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) forms included the following columns: 'Local Name of the Dialect' and 'Name of the Language of which it is a Dialect'. The theories that Marathi belonged to the Aryan group of languages and that Marathi is 'derived' from Sanskrit were so widespread and popular that in a number of returns submitted to the LSI office, Marathi was entered as a dialect of Sanskrit. In the records of Kathiawad, Gujarati and Marwari were called as dialects of 'Prakrat Sanskrit', while Marathi was considered as a dialect of Sanskrit.[40] Moreover, Urdu and Punjabi were classified as dialects of 'Persian and Sanskrit'. Similarly, a local officer from Ahmednagar district classifies Marathi and Gujarati as dialects of Sanskrit,

[39] Ibid.
[40] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, Kathiawad.

Marwari as a dialect of Sanskrit and Pali while 'Musalamani' dialect (the speech variety spoken by Muslims in the district) is entered as the dialect of Persian and Arabic.[41]

5.3.3 Distancing from Dravidians

Marathi belongs to the 'outer circle' of Indo-Aryan family and shares linguistic boundaries with the Dravidian languages such as Telugu and Kannada. Maharashtra also had religious, cultural and political connections with the regions speaking Kannada and Telugu. The Orientalist scholars often highlighted the presence of 'Aryan' elements in Marathi, but the influences of Dravidian languages on Marathi were seldom examined in detail.[42] There was a certain discomfort among the indigenous scholars in accepting Marathi's association with the Dravidian languages and culture. Thus, while Indo-Aryan languages were called as 'sisters' of Marathi, Kannada was referred to as 'a foreign language'.[43] An author even tries to refute the very classification of languages into Aryan and Dravidian groups and argues that Dravidian languages were, in fact, Aryan languages. Another author maintains that like Marathi, Kannada also developed from *balabhasha* (a medieval vernacular), which in turn, developed from Sanskrit and thus, Kannada was also an Aryan language. To prove his point, he points out similarities between Kannada and *balabhasha*, and those between Kannada and Latin.[44]

A number of essays making a case for 'Aryan' origin of Marathi were read out at Maharashtra Sahitya Sammelan [literary conference] at Baroda.[45] One of the essays argues the words which were classified as *deshi* [indigenous] by most of the grammarians were, in fact, borrowed from Aryan languages. The author of this essay is referring to the conventional classification of Marathi words into *tatsam* [same as Sanskrit], *tadbhav* [derived from Sanskrit and modified], *deshi* [indigenous] and so on. The aforesaid essayist contests the view of the philologists who argued that *deshi* words were borrowed from 'Dravidian tribes' such as Bhil, Ramoshi and Koli. The essayist maintains that Marathi words which were neither *tatsam* nor *tadbhav* were borrowed from Aryan languages other than Sanskrit, spoken in the distant lands [European countries]. He adds that several of the so-called *deshi* words were still in currency in

[41] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay, District Ahmednagar.
[42] See, *Marathi Bhashechi Mulapithika* (Harada: Nyayasudha, 1883).
[43] Joshi, *Marathi Bhasgechi Ghatana.*
[44] *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 1,6 (1867).
[45] *Badode Yethil 'Maharashtra Sahitya Sammelan' Sampurna Hakigat* (Mumbai: Induprakash, 1910).

European languages with slight differences in form or meaning. He also disagrees with the theory that Dravidians were once spread across India and were pushed southwards after Aryan invasion. To illustrate his point, he enlists more than ninety *deshi* words which had similar sounding words in the European languages including Danish, English, German, Greek, Latin, Armorian, Gothic, Saxon, Icelandic and Swedish. He further argues that Marathi syntax was also similar to that of modern European languages. Therefore, he urges the grammarians to trace the origin of Marathi words in European Aryan languages, and not confine their search to Sanskrit and Dravidian languages.[46]

M. G. Ranade, unlike many others, acknowledges the Dravidian elements in Marathi. However, this argument comes from his presumption that a linguistic community is same as a race. Ranade describes the people of Maharashtra as 'a population in which the Aryans and the Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion, so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their effects'.[47] According to him, the mixture of race was evident from the nature of the Marathi language, 'whose base is Dravidian, but whose growth and structure have been entirely fashioned by Aryan influences'.[48] Thus, Ranade also seems to have been influenced by the contemporary discourse in which race and language were equated.

5.3.4 Language, Race and Caste

The high caste Marathi literati wanted to be identified with the Aryan race because of the alleged association between the 'fair-skinned' Aryans and the higher castes and that between the 'darker' aboriginal races and the lower castes. A number of missionaries and Orientalist scholars thought that the Indian caste system was a kind of racial distinction. They proposed the theory that the Aryans, who were divided into three classes, conquered India and defeated the aboriginal people and that the latter were enslaved and incorporated into Aryan caste system as *shudra* or lower castes.[49] The theory further says that the Aryans eventually settled in the Northern India and the Gangetic plains, pushing the aboriginal Dravidian races southwards.

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ranade
[48] Ibid.
[49] See, John Wilson, *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, as cited in Dhananjay Kir, et al. eds., *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vanmay* (Mumbai: Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya ani Sanskriti Mandal, 2006).

The Report on Census of India (1911) cites Risley's arguments that the primary distinction between castes was one of race, engendered by the contact of the conquering fair-skinned Aryans and the conquered black aborigines.[50] The Report agrees with Risley who puts forward the theory that after coming to India, the Aryans married 'aboriginal' girls because they had few women among them. However, later on they closed their ranks to further intermixture which led to the formation of castes, according to Risley. The Report informs that 'there was a regular gradation of social rank, the communities of pure Aryan and pure aboriginal stock being respectively at the top and bottom, and those with varying degrees of racial mixture in the middle'. If further says,

> But even now caste largely corresponds to race; and, in Northern India at least, the social status of a caste is indicated by its physical type, those at the top having an Aryan, and those at the bottom an aboriginal, physiognomy. Taking the nose as the most characteristic feature, he asserted that castes vary in social rank according to the average nasal index of their members.[51]

Risley divided the Indian population into seven physical types, one of which was 'Scytho-Dravidian type of western India'.[52] As mentioned earlier, his analysis was primarily based on anthropometrical data. Maratha Brahmnas and Kunbis were identified by him as Scytho-Dravidians. Risley describes this type as follows, 'the head is broad, complexion fair, hair on face rather scanty; stature medium; nose moderately fine and not conspicuously long'.[53] He also finds a number of similarities in the history and character of the Marathas and Scythians, like 'guerrilla methods of warfare' 'unscrupulous dealings with friend and foe', 'genius for intrigue', 'consequent failure to build up an enduring dominion' and 'the individuality of character', which he regards as part of the inheritance which has come to them from their Scythian ancestors.[54]

The Marathi literati disagreed with Risley on this issue. C. V. Vaidya, for example, insists that Marathas were Aryans and not Scythians as suggested by Risley. Vaidya says that he did not believe in the superiority of the Aryans per say, and seeks to find out the 'truth'. He refutes the bases on which Risley built up his theory namely

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[50] *Census of India, 1911* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1913).
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 500.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 514.

anthropometry, history and character of the people in western India. Vaidya shows that the Aryans inhabited Maharashtra before the Scythians came to India. He argues,

> By examining of the languages of India it can be demonstrated that the Aryans came to India twice. The evidences from *Mahabharata* also prove the same. Yadavas and Bhojas were two prominent clans in the second lot of the Aryans. They migrated southwards and settled in Maharashtra. ……. To summarise, it can be said that Yadavas of the North and Jadhavas of the South belonged to the same race and are related to each other by history as well as language.[55]

While Vaidya rightly refutes so-called scientific base of Risley's method, he takes recourse to linguistics, which was equally problematic because it believed that those who spoke a common language belonged to a common race.

B. G. Tilak also resonates the opinion that the caste system in India originated as a result of racial differences between the indigenous 'black' people and the 'white' Aryans who migrated to India in the Vedic period. According to him, racial discrimination, which was the source of caste discrimination, was universal and practiced all over the world including America, Britain and China.[56] R. G. Bhandarkar sums up in the Vienna Oriental Congress,

> They [the Europeans] have successfully treated the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, and shown that the *Aryans of India, composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of the modern Europe*, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins….[57] [Italics added]

Thus, Marathi intelligentsia commonly believed that the higher castes in Maharashtra belonged to Aryan race, while the lower castes were aboriginal people.This notion was prevalent in the neighbouring regions of Maharashtra too, as evident from a letter by a subordinate officer from Pune district to the Linguistic Survey of India office. In his correspondence, the Pune officer mentions that some Kannada Brahmins refused to

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[55] Chintaman V. Vaidya, "Marathe Arya Ahet Kinva Shak Ahet?", *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 39,1: 11.
[56] Ram Shewalkar, ed. *Lokmanya Tilakanche Nibandha* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2009), 214-216.
[57] Narayan Bapuji Utgikar and Vasudev Goapl Paranjape, eds., *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar* (Poona: Oriental Research Institute, 1933), 348.

classify Kannada as a Dravidian language. He informs that the Brahmins of Dharwar and Mysore called Kannada a corruption of Sanskrit. The officer holds that the reason behind this was 'pride'. He holds that the Brahmin spoke Sanskrit, which was a 'learned language', and when they migrated to Mysore and Kanara (Karnataka), they adopted Kannada, but imported many Sanskrit words into the language. This description, on one hand shows how Kannada (a 'Dravidian' language) was associated with Sanskrit by Kannada Brahmins. On the other hand, it also reflects views of the Marathi officer who upholds the theory that Brahmins spoke Sanskrit and migrated to the Southern India from the North.

There were very few scholars, however, who viewed the affinity between Marathi and Dravidian culture in a positive light.

5.3.5 Marathas as Dravidians

A text on etymology of Marathi, published at Harada, draws attention to the fact that the scholars like Molesworth explained etymological roots of Marathi words borrowed from Sanskrit, *yavani* and even European languages but loanwords from Pali, *prakrit* and Dravidian languages remained largely disregarded. The anonymous author of this text seeks to address this lack and accordingly tries to explore origin of some Marathi words in Dravidian languages including Gondi.[58] Similar to this author, few others also highlighted resemblances between Marathi and Dravidian languages, particularly Kannada and argued that the Marathas were southern or Dravidian people.

A distinguished scholar Rajaramshastri Bhagwat holds that Marathas were one of three indigenous peoples in the South, the other two being Kalingi/ Telangi and Malay/ Dravida.[59] He argues that Marathas were neither pure Aryans nor pure Dravidians, but Marathi culture had more Dravidian elements than Aryans ones. He points out that the Marathas were ruled by the Southern kingdoms for hundreds of years. Bhagwat also claims that a number of Marathi words, which are said to have derived from Arabic or Persian languages by Molesworth, were in fact *assal* (genuine) Marathi. He draws this inference from the observation that many of these words were used by Dnyaneshwar, in whose time, Marathi had not come into contact with Persian or Arabic.

[58] *Marathi Bhashechi Mulapithika* (Harada: Nyayasudha, 1883).
[59] *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 23, 1.

He concludes that the words categorised as Arabic/Persian by Molesworth must be very ancient and genuinely Marathi and might be related to Kanadi [Kannada] and Telangi [Telugu]. He also refutes the claim that these words were borrowed from the Arsha (Vedic Sanskrit) language spoken by Aryans. He further argues that in some cases the original Marathi words were Sanskrititised and added to Sanskrit. The series of articles on 'Marhathas' by Bhagwat, published in one of the most popular journals of his times, caused quite a stir in the literary sphere. The same journal published letters and articles by several authors who countered Bhagwat's views.[60]

V. R. Shinde was one of the prominent leaders of non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. Shinde thinks that Marathi grew up under the 'tutelage' of Kanadi [Kannada] which explains why Marathi had a number of dissimilarities with old *prakrit*, unlike other modern languages.[61] He says that Marathi appeared to be closer to Sanskrit than it actually was because of a large number of Sanskrit loanwords and Sanskrit-derived words. He points out that till the twelfth century, the rulers who ruled Maharashtra had their capitals in the South and just as foreign languages (that is, Arabic, Persian and Urdu) influenced Marathi in the medieval period, a *swakiya* [kin] language (viz. Kannada) influenced the Marathi language before twelfth century. He thinks that 'Muslim' languages (words) could not enter the religious and domestic transactions since they were 'foreign' languages. On the other hand, he points out, Kannada was a *deshi* [indigenous] language, and could enter not only the courts but also religious and domestic life. He also maintains that a number of seemingly Sanskrit or Aryan words were borrowed in Marathi through Kannada and therefore it was not easy to decide which of the Marathi words were *shuddha* [pure] Marathi and which ones were taken from Kannada. He points out that nouns and adjectives were borrowed more frequently than verbs and roots. He describes that a number of Kannada verbs 'have been roaming in Marathi with the head high'.[62]

Thus, both these scholars strongly emphasize the composite nature of Marathi, particularly highlighting the close relation between Kannada and Marathi. It is worth noting that both of them also uphold *bhagwat dharma*, a heterodox religious tradition

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Viththal Ramji Shinde, "Kanadi ani Marathi" in *Nivadak Viththal Ramji Shinde,* ed. G. M. Pawar (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2007), 235-247.
[62] Ibid.

(also known as *bhakti* movement) that existed in Maharashtra since medieval period. There is no apparent relationship between *bhagwat dharma* and Dravidian culture as such. However, *bhagwat* tradition challenged the Vedic religion and defied caste norms, which made both these scholars to endorse it. Shinde calls *bhagwat dharma* as democratic, universal (*vishwatmak*) and describes it as 'the only religious sect that has been sustained with the patronage of common people and that was untouched by the cunning politics of the high castes'.[63] According to Shinde, Aryan Vedic religion was ritualistic and philosophical, whereas Dravidian cultures were characterised by asceticism and *bhakti*. Bhagwat thinks that *maharashtra dharma* was founded on the basis of *bhagwat dharma*. He asserts that *maharashtra dharma* was an antithesis to Vedic *dharma* which was Sanskrit-based, whereas the former propagated its message through vernacular literature. He highlights that while Vedic texts were inaccessible to women and low castes, the foundational scripture of *bhagwatas* was Gita, which was meant for all. In other words, *bhagwat* tradition was characterised by inclusion of low castes, women and Muslims.[64]

Thus, it is evident that those scholars who espoused egalitarian *bhagwatd harma* were the ones who did not see Marathi-Dravidian affinity problematic. The alleged association between Sanskrit, Brahmins and Aryans made the Brahminical intellectuals neglect Dravidian influences on Marathi, while the thinkers who opposed caste system did not shy away from it.

5.4 'Real' Aryans and Christianity

A renowned scholar Bhau Daji Lad remarked in a speech that the British were the 'brothers' of Indians, which was endorsed by the missionary journal *Dnyanodaya.*[65] The article in *Dnyanodaya* adds that the Aryans who travelled to the East became weak, lazy, ignorant and corrupt owing to the hot climates. On the other hand, those among Aryans who migrated to the West became strong and industrious because of the colder climates in the West. Furthermore, the article attributes the 'superiority' of the Western Aryans to the Christianity, by virtue of which they became righteous and judicious (wise) and calls them as 'the real Aryans'. It proclaims that God had committed the

[63] Viththal Ramji Shinde, "Bhagwat Dharmacha Vikas", in *Nivadak Viththal Ramji Shinde,* ed. G. M. Pawar (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2007), 248-260.
[64] *Vividhadnyanavistar*, 23, 1.
[65] *Dnyanodaya*, May 2, 1859.

Westerners to the charge of India so that Indians could advance by acquiring the western knowledge and learning. It appeals the people of India to understand the God's wish and consider the Westerners as their brothers.[66]

To conclude, the assertion that Marathi and its speakers were Aryan enabled the nationalists to prove the parity of Marathi community with the Europeans. The colonial-missionary argument that the Europeans were superior to the colonised and hence entitled to rule the latter was countered by the nationalists by invoking Aryan theory which claimed the common origin of the colonizers and the colonized. The missionaries, on the other hand, used the Aryan theory to rationalise 'the white man's burden', suggesting that the Europeans were the real Aryans.

5.5 Sanskritization of Marathi: Uninterrupted Lineage

V. K. Rajwade (1864 – 1926) was a legendary historian renowned for having collected thousands of manuscripts, inscriptions and other sources of Maratha history, which he edited and published in twenty two volumes. Rajwade also penned a number of essays on grammar, linguistics, etymology, history of language and literature. Throughout his writings on linguistics and grammar, Rajwade propagates the thesis that Marathi's lineage can be successively traced back to ancient Sanskrit. The thesis was primarily based on his discovery of supposedly the oldest extant manuscript copy of *Dnyaneshwari*. *Dnyaneshwari* is one of the earliest piece of literature in Marathi composed in the thirteenth century by Dnyaneshwara. It was believed that a saint-poet called Eknatha from *varkari* sect 'purified' (revised and edited) this text in the seventeenth century. Rajwade maintains that the manuscript that he had discovered was scribed before Eknatha's revision and therefore was written in an 'unmiscegenated urbane Marathi language' current in Dnyaneshwara's contemporary period.[67] The text is crucial for Rajwade not only because it was the oldest textual evidence of Marathi available to him but also because of his belief that this text was composed in pre-Muslim era and thus its language was uncontaminated. It is through the language of *Dnyaneshwari* that Rajwade tries to attest the ancient lineage of Marathi. According to Rajwade, Marathi was developed from Apabhransha language, which was in turn

[66] Ibid.
[67] Milind Wakankar, "System and History in Rajwade's "Grammar" for the Dnyaneswari", in *Subalternity and Religion: The Prehistory of Dalit Empowerment in South Asia*, Milind Wakankar (London: Routledge, 2014).

developed from a *prakrit* language called Maharashtri. He thinks that the origin of certain Marathi words was not found in Maharashtri and thus they have to be traced back to Sanskrit. He opines that twenty five to thirty per cent words in *Dnyaneshwari* were directly borrowed from Sanskrit. Moreover, he tries to explain the language of *Dnyaneshwari* using rules of Panini's Sanskrit grammar. In order to prove his premise that Dnyaneshwara's Marathi was very close to Sanskrit, he even translates all the verses from the ninth chapter of *Dnyaneshwari* into Sanskrit. As Milind Wakankar puts it, 'Rajwade's attempt to read Paninian rules into Dnyaneshwara's thirteen-century Old Marathi' intended 'to assimilate Dnyaneshwara to the history of the Marathi (or Indian/ Hindu) state; to trace Old Marathi back to Sanskrit is in this sense to argue for the hoary lineage of contemporary Marathi as well as to prepare the grounds for the retrospective autochthony of Marathi in an uncontaminated Hindu antiquity'.[68]

Rajwade also writes an extensive critique of a grammar by K. K. Damle, in which he criticizes most of the precursor grammarians of Marathi for not treating Sanskrit grammar as the basis of Marathi grammar. He exclaims that this 'destruction' resulted from the fact that non-Brahmins like carpenters and blacksmith took up the job of grammarians. Rajwade believes that Marathi affixes and syntax were derived from Sanskrit and therefore he argues,

> The act of composing a Marathi grammar without paying a heed to Sanskrit grammar is unacceptable. The [Social] Reformers fix up marriages without looking at lineage and kinship. Such a licentious behaviour is not permissible in grammar. Just as inter-caste marriages produce illegitimate progeny, classification of words and affixes without paying attention to their derivations (origins) leads to disorder and unruliness.[69]

The previous chapter examines the debate on Marathi orthography, which involved the issue of spelling Sanskrit words (*tatsam*) in Marathi. Similarly, orthography of *anunasika* or nasalised vowels became a matter of controversy in the twentieth century. [70] The issue whether *anunasikas* should be indicated in writing or not

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[68] Ibid.,.213.
[69] Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, "Subantavichar", in *Itihasacharya Vi Ka Rajwade Samagra Sahitya*, ed. M B Shaha (Dhule: Itihasacharya Vi Ka Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, 1995).
[70] The orthography debate examined in the previous chapter took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. The debate was again revived in 1928 when *Kesari* published an article advocating orthography reforms. It also brought out Tilak's biography around the same time in which these

was meticulously debated upon. Those who believed that nasalised vowels were necessarily a feature of the standard Marathi advocated that they should be manifest in writing, whereas the opponents thought that they were confined only to a specific dialect of Marathi and therefore it was not necessary to write them. The debate was also linked to the question of caste identity had a caste angle, since a particular subcaste of Brahmins hailing from Konkan region used nasalised vowels in their speech more frequently than others.

Rajwade writes an essay on the evolution of *anunasika* [nasalized vowels or what he calls as nasal twangs] in Marathi in which he tries to prove that the usage of nasalised vowels in speech as well as writing was a characteristic feature of Marathi since ancient period.[71] He points out that even the earliest Marathi authors, the poets from the thirteenth century, used nasalized vowels in their texts, which indicated that they also used them in speech.[72] Secondly, he shows that these authors did not belong to Konkan, and therefore the usage of nasalised vowels was not restricted to any particular region or caste. Rajwade argues that Marathi must be prevalent more than two hundred years before the composition of the earliest text and therefore history of nasalised vowels in Marathi could be traced back to 1000 A.D. He traces the origin of Marathi to Maharashtri Prakrit, also called by him as medieval Prakrit, which, according to him, was prevalent in Maharashtra during 600 to 1000 A.D. He cites examples from literature in Maharashtri in order to prove that nasal twangs were used even in Maharashtri. He thinks that other *prakrit* languages including Magadhi and Pali also had nasal twangs. Rajwade goes back to the text by Panini, the legendary Sanskrit grammarian, and even up to Vedas in search of the origin of nasalized vowels. Moreover, he asserts that nasal twang in Paninian Sanskrit was exactly identical to the nasalized vowels in Marathi. He says,

> There is an uninterrupted tradition of nasal twang from the present day Marathi up to Paninian Sanskrit and Vedic Sanskrit. It is clear from this tradition that our forefathers who were Panini's contemporaries and those who lived in Vedic age pronounced nasal twangs in the same way as we do today.[73]

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reforms were implemented. The writing of nasalized vowels was the main issue of contention in the second phase.

[71] Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, "Marathitiil Anunasikanchi Parampara", in *Rajwade Samagra.*.

[72] Marathi literature composed before thirteenth century was unknown to Rajwade at this point of time.

[73] Ibid.

Thus, whether it is Dnyaneshwara's language, evolution of nasal twangs or derivation of affixes and other grammatical forms in Marathi, Rajwade always takes recourse to Sanskrit. He attempts to prove that 'Marathi was never a language of barbarous people' because 'it had always been strengthened by Sanskrit'. By doing so, he is trying to establish the existence of a continuous linguistic tradition right from Vedic/Aryan period to his contemporary period, uninterrupted by Muslim rule.

To sum up, the speakers of Aryan language family were identified with Aryan race by a number of people, thought the philologists did not imply it. When the concept of Aryan race became popular, the community of Marathi speakers began to distance itself from its appellation Dakshini (southern) and claimed its roots in the north India, which was also known as Aryavarta. The identification with Aryans provided them a sense of superiority, which facilitated the emergence of a national consciousness and reiterated Brahmin supremacy at the same time.

CONCLUSION

A Marathi poet who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Bee', composed several poems conveying his nationalist zeal. In his poem titled '*Bharatiya Jeevan*' [Spirit of India], the poet writes,

> Worship of an idol is reverence for the God
> [Similarly,] to worship Maharashtra is to worship India[1]

The poet expresses his view that although India was a vast country, one could pay homage to it by serving Maharashtra since the latter was emblematic of India. This sentiment is reflected in the writings of several other poets and authors. Maharashtra is also regarded as a saviour of the Indian nation. It is this 'nationalization' of Marathi identity and the role of '*deshi*' language in its construction that has been explored in this thesis. The nationalization of Marathi included many processes such as the attempts to preserve sacredness of the book in the print era, to 'civilize' and 'discipline' 'vulgar' Marathi, to revitalize it as a *swadeshi* language, to cleanse it of the 'contaminating' words and finally, to prove its 'Aryan' affiliation. The Marathi/national identity that was being constructed in this process was a Brahminical, Aryan, Hindu and masculine one, which refused to valorise the low castes, Dravidians, Muslims and Christians, and women. However, the ventures of nationalization were not always successful.

Maharashtra in the nineteenth century witnessed a transition from sacred '*pothi*' or manuscript to a profane, bound, and printed '*booka*'. This not only changed the external form of the book, but affected the literary sphere in general. The profanation and commodification of the book democratized the literary sphere by enabling the masses – the low castes and the women – to access texts which were hitherto kept under wraps by the high caste men. In spite of the efforts of the Brahminical elite to preserve the sacredness of the book, reading culture was transformed to a considerable extent, 'reading' becoming a leisurely/ educational activity. Though the book was

[1] As cited in J. G. Naikwade, *Rashtravad ani Adhunik Marathi Kavita* (Nagpur: Sahitya Prasar Kendra, 1989).

commoditized, the production as well as purchase or subscription of books and periodicals was seldom guided solely by the profit motive.

The print also enabled the standardization of Marathi, like many other vernaculars in India. The grammars and dictionaries which were at first produced to help the missionaries and the British officers to acquire the language, led to its standardization. The standardization of Marathi, in the colonial period, stood for disciplining and civilizing the language. It became a part of the 'civilizing mission' in the missionary-colonial discourse. In a similar fashion, the Marathi intelligentsia also tried to coif the 'language woman'. However, a few grammarians challenged this view and asserted that speech (parole) preceded grammar and therefore it was the speech that should be given primacy.

English, the language of the colonial rulers, was a language of knowledge. The Brahmins and other literate castes quickly adopted it, which resulted into the widening of gap between the elite and the masses. During the nationalist movement, '*deshi'* languages were encouraged as the languages of people. Following '*swadeshi*', the vernacular tongues were called as '*swabhasha'*. A number of periodicals were started in order to 'serve' them. The demands to include Marathi in the institutions of higher education were made repeatedly by the literati. At the same time, some of the nationalists, who held that a common language was essential for the growth of nationalism advocated the use of Hindi as a national language.

Most of the grammars of Marathi were modelled after English, Sanskrit or even Portuguese and Latin grammars. A huge portion of the Marathi literature in early nineteenth century consisted of scriptures, essays, novels and plays translated from Sanskrit or English – and in many cases from Bengali and Hindi. As a result, modern Marathi became replete with Sanskrit and English loanwords, idioms, phrases and the Marathi syntax was also altered. On one hand, borrowing and coining new words and terminologies was essential for the modernization of Marathi. On the other hand, words from so-called 'foreign' languages discomforted the Marathi intelligentsia. Many of them appealed the people to 'cleanse' Marathi of the 'contaminant' words. The language purification drive led by Savarkar was primarily based on Hindutva politics. The Persianization of Marathi during the Muslim regimes was compared with the

conversion of temples into mosques.[2] The Persian loanwords in Marathi became the markers of Islamization of Marathi and attempts were made to drive away the so-called Muslim words. A few authors and publishers, however, tried to build Persian-Marathi alliance to fight against the invasion of English on Marathi on the lines of Hindu-Muslim unity to fight against the colonial rule.

The dialects of the low castes and regional dialects were also considered impure. The periodicals and newspapers across Maharashtra used '*shuddha'* language spoken by Pune Brahmins, regardless of the language spoken in the place of publication. The language used by the Christian authors was also labelled as impure, but Jews were praised for their 'Brahmin-like' Marathi. The British officers who revised Marathi books were criticized for their alleged scanty knowledge of Marathi. However, a few authors thanked them for teaching Marathi.

The 'Aryan race theory' deduced from affinities in the Indo-European languages was very popular in Marathi literary sphere. In the same way, the Marathi literati also tried to establish the uninterrupted tradition from Paninian Sanskrit to Marathi. The Aryan race theory helped them to ascertain superiority over the non-Brahmins and at the same time claim parity with the colonial rulers. The Maharashtrian Brahmins, who were at some point of time reluctant to dine with North Indian Brahmins, sought to establish their connections with Aryan North India. The leaders of the anti-caste movement and those who advocated '*maharashtra dharma*' based on equality among castes questioned Aryanness of Marathi and asserted the affinities between Marathi and 'Dravidian' Kannada. Thus, the nationalization of Marathi were always countered by anti-hegemonic forces.

The other vernaculars in India also followed a similar course of modernization and standardization in the nineteenth century. As the character of the national struggle of independence was transformed from the elite politics of petition into a mass movement, *swadeshi* languages – the languages of the common people – also became important. In the 35th session of the Indian National Congress held in Nagpur in 1920, a new Constitution was adopted with the object of making the Congress a mass organization. Mahatma Gandhi argued that 'the affairs of the Congress must be carried

[2] Madhavarao Patwardhan, *Bhashashuddhivivek* (Pune: Aryasanskruti, 1938).

on in such a way that the masses can participate and understand'.[3] He advocated carving provinces on the basis of language so that the affairs of the provincial congress committees could be conducted in the languages of the people. Similarly, Nehru Report also recognized the principle of linguistic reorganization of the provinces. The All Parties Conference in Bombay in 1928 appointed a Committee to determine the principles of the Constitution of India. The report of the Committee headed by Motilal Nehru – popularly known as Nehru Report – says that 'every one knows that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis' and suggest that the main principle that should govern the redistribution of provinces must be 'the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned'.[4] The Report further says,

> It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. … No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes. A democracy must be well informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them.[5]

The Report emphasizes that if the masses were to be educated itself and if the daily business were to be carried through the medium of languages of the people, a province must necessarily be a linguistic area. The 1946 election manifesto of the INC reiterated the necessity of linguistic reorganization.

On the basis of the recommendation made by the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India, the Linguistic Provinces Commission (popularly known as Dar Commission) was set up in 1948 to examine the desirability of the creation of the linguistic provinces. The Commission recognized that the demand for linguistic provinces were associated with the struggle for Indian independence and also noted that the majority of the evidences given before the Commission favoured 'the mother tongue being made the regional language with Hindi as a second language for inter-provincial purposes and English as a third language for foreign business and intercourse'.[6] However, after taking into consideration the changed circumstances in the country like

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[3] Shankarrao Deo interview by Uma Shanker, March 27, 1970, The Centre of South Asian Studies has a large collection of oral history and other sound recordings, University of Cambridge, accessed June 15, 2013, http://media.s-asian.cam.ac.uk/pdf/121b.pdf

[4] The Committee Appointed by the All Parties' Conference, *The Nehru Report: An Anti-Separatist Manifesto* (New Delhi: Michiko & Panjanthan, 1975), 61.

[5] Ibid., 62.

[6] *Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1948), 2.

infant nationalism in India, war with Pakistan, refugee problem and the absence of 'cementing force of a national language to take the place of English', it recommended that 'the formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian nation and should not be taken in hand'.[7] The rejection of people's demand for linguistic states led to popular agitations in various parts of India. The Gandhian leader Potti Sriramulu began a fast unto death for the demand of the creation of Andhra Pradesh. It was only after the death of Sriramulu and the protests following it that the central government conceded the demand. The formation of Andhra strengthened the demand for other linguistic provinces. The Government of India constituted the States Reorganisation Commission (1953, also known as Fazal Ali Commission). Thus, it can be observed that in mid-twentieth century, linguistic identity became extremely crucial all over India.

The demands for carving out a linguistic province of Marathi-speaking areas started emerging around late 1930s. The Samyukta Maharashtra Sabha [United Maharashtra Society], founded in Mumbai in 1940 and presided by Ramarao Deshmukh, was one of the earliest organizations established with the objective of unification of Marathi speaking areas.[8] The organization was short-lived, but the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan [Literary Conference] carried forward its legacy. The resolutions on 'Samyukta Maharashtra' were passed several times in its various sessions and finally in its 1946 session held in Belgaum, a committee was formed in order to carry out actual work in the direction of a unified Maharashtra. The committee founded an association called 'Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad' in 1946, which continued to work till 1955. The call for Samyukta Maharashtra was not confined to literary conferences and elite committees. It culminated into a massive popular political movement known as Samyukta Maharashtra Movement (henceforth SMM). A ballad which was frequently performed during the movement reflects people's zeal for Samyukta Maharashtra:

The united Maharashtra along with Mumbai -
We shall get! It is a fair [demand].
But the [political] parties divorced fairness
And are keen to behave unjustly…1

[7] Ibid., 34
[8] Lalji Pendse, *Maharashtrache Mahamanthan* (Mumbai: Lokavanmay Gruha, 2010).

We are determined to struggle,
Awaken people for the struggle.
For the united Maharashtra along with Mumbai,
Run a zealous movement…3

We shall demand and struggle for
The united Maharashtra along with Mumbai.
For sake of the linguistic province [of Maharashtra]
We are ready to be martyr in *satyagraha*…4[9]

Neither the Dar Commission nor the JVP Committee (established by the INC in 1948 to examine the Report of the Dar Commission) conceded the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra. The Fazal Ali Commission recommended the formation of a bilingual state consisting of Gujarat and Western Maharashtra and a separate state of Vidarbha.[10] Accordingly, the bilingual state came into existence in 1956, which was resented by the people. The political parties across the ideological spectrum, except for the INC, came together to back the SMM. Thousands of people from different sections of society participated in marches, protests and *satyagrahas*. It should be noted that the movement never turned into a separatist or secessionist one, though it often targeted the central Congress leadership. The Samyukta Maharashtra movement was the culmination of the revival of the '*deshi'* language during nineteenth century.

The state of Maharashtra came into existence on 1960 as a result of the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement. The SMM did not invoke Hindu/Aryan/Brahminical identity as such, but the politics in the state took a different turn within few years after its formation. Shivsena, the regional political party, was founded in 1966 for upholding the interest of the 'sons of soil'. Though 'nativism' has been the ideological basis of the party, and in the initial period it launched attacks on the South Indians in the city of Mumbai, its nativism did not go against Hindu national identity. As Dipankar Gupta remarks, Shivsena leader Bal Thackeray took it for granted that one should protect Hinduism and lumped it with nationalism.[11] Gupta also points

[9] Pendse, *Mahamanthan.* (My translation)
[10] Ibid., 171.
[11] Dipankar Gupta, "The Appeal of Nativism: A Study of the Articulation and Perception of Shiv Sena's Ideology", *Sociological Bulletin*, 29, 2 (1980): 107-141.

out that Shivaji, the hero of Shiv Sena, was not only an ideal Maharashtrian but also an ideal Hindu and that the Shiv Sena's enemity with the Muslims is traced back to Shivaji's wars with the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb.[12] 'Garva se kahon hum hindu hai' [Say with pride we are the Hindus] became the motto of the Shivsena and Thackeray was given the epithet of Hinduhridayasamrat [the Emperor of Hindu Hearts] in 1987.[13] The Shivsena formed the state government for the first time in 1995 in alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party. After the split in 2006 and the death of Bal Thackeray in 2012, the Shivsena's influence in the state politics declined considerably.

Though the issue of linguistic identity is not be the focal point of electoral politics in Maharashtra any more, it cannot be said to have disappeared. The print media that had emerged in nineteenth century is losing out to the electronic media. The matters concerning linguistic-cultural identity are now debated upon in newer spaces and newer media. The participation of the diaspora communities in these debates has added a new dimension to them. Arjun Appadurai points out that 'the act of reading together (which Anderson brilliantly identified in regard to newspapers and novels in the new nationalisms of the colonial world) are now enriched by the technologies of the web, the internet and email, creating a world in which the simultaneity of reading is complemented by the interactivity of messaging.'[14] He suggests that the interactive electronic media plays a crucial role in the construction of what he calls the 'diasporic public sphere'.[15] Though the bulk of the content on the web is in English, the content in the Marathi language has rapidly increased over last twenty years. Consequently, a diasporic or transnational Marathi public sphere is emerging, which actively engages with the issues of what has been called as the 'nationalization of Marathi' in this dissertation. The nationalization of Marathi has not been settled once and for all. It is a ceaseless and heteroglot process which continues to (re)defining Marathi identity.

[12] Ibid.
[13] Accessed April 3, 2017, http://shivsena.org/m/
[14] Arjun Appadurai, Archive Public, accessed May 18, 2017, https://archivepublic.wordpress.com/texts/arjun-appadurai/
[15] Ibid.

Appendix A

Marathi Incunabula: Books[1]

Year	Title of the Book	Author	Place of Publication	Name of Printing Press	Remark
1805	*A Grammar of the Mahratta Language, with Dialogues of Familiar Subjects*	Carey, William	Serampore	Mission Press	
1805	*Grammtica Marastta*		Lisboa		
1806	*Bal-bodha-muktavali*		Tanjaore	Navavidyakalanidhi	Based on Aesop's Fables [by Sarfoji Raje]
1807	*Mangal Samachar*		Serampore		
1808	*Illustrations of the Grammatical Parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Language*	Drummond, Robert	Mumbai	Courier Press	*Modi* script
1810	*A Dictionary of the Maharatta Language*	Carey, William	Serampore		Marathi to English, *Modi*
1812	*Dharmapustak (part I)*		Serampore		
1814	*Sinhasanabattishi*	Kanphade, Vaijanathshastri	Serampore	Mission Press	Based on Sanskrit [by W. Carey]
1815	*Panchatantra*		Serampore		
1815	*Hitopadesh*	Kanphade, Vaijanathshastri	Serampore	Mission Press	Based on Sanskrit [by W. Carey], Modi
1816	*Raghuji Bhosalyachi Vanshavali*		Serampore		

[1] Shankar Ganesh Date, *Marathi-Grantha-Soochi [1800-1937]*, (Pune: Grantha-Soochi Karyalaya, 1943).

1816	*Raja Pratapadityache Charitra*		Serampore		Translated from Bengali
1821	*Dharmache Pustak*		Serampore		
1823	*Principal Truths of the Christian Religion*		Mumbai		
1823	*Viduraneeti*		Mumbai	Courier Press	
1824	*A Dictionary of the Mahratha Language*	Kennedy, Vans	Mumbai	Courier Press	
1824	*Sinhasan-battishi*	Sharma, Vaijanath	Mumbai	Courier Press	
1825	*A Grammar of the Mahratta Language*	Makhba, Mahomed Ebrahim	Mumbai	Courier Press	Revised by Vans Kennedy in 1826
1826	*Amacha Dhanya Udhdarnar jo Yeshu Christ tyane je Chamatkar Kele Tyatun Kahi Nivadun ya Vahimadhye Sangitale Ahet*				
1826	*Kartavya-bhumiti*	Jervis, Col.	Mumbai	Courier Press	Based on Practical Geometry by Col. Pasley Assi. by Jagannathshastri Kramavant
1826	*Ganitamarg*	Jervis	Mumbai		Based on Course of Mathematics by Dr. Hutton, Assi. by Jagannathshastri Kramavant
1827	*Dharmachya Mukhya Goshti Pavitra Patrantun Kaadhilya*		Banakot		
1827	*Shikshamala (part II)*	Jervis	Mumbai		

1828	*Isapaneetikatha*	Chatre, Sadashiv Kashinath	Mumbai	Hainshala Shalapustak Mandali	Based on Aesop's fables,
1828	*Aushadhakalpanavidhi*	McLennan, John	Mumbai	Govt Litho Press/ F. D. Ramos	
1828	*Nidan*	McLennan, John	Mumbai		
1828	*Bal-mitra*	Chatre, Sadashiv Kashinath	Mumbai		Based on Berquin's Children's Friend (French → English → Marathi)
1828	*Lekaranchi Pahili Pothi*		Banakot		
1828	*Shiksha-mala (Pratham Pustak))*	Jervis/ Hutton, Charles and Bonnycastle	Mumbai		
1829	*Maharashtra Bhashecha Kosh (Part I and II)*	Kramavant, Jagannathshastri, Balshastri Ghagve, Gangadharshastri Phadke, Sakharam Joshi, Dajishastri Shukla, Parshurampant Godbole	Mumbai	Bombay Native Education Society	Puravani in 1831, by Govt Press, Mumbai.
1829	*Vidyeche Uddesh Labh ani Santosh*	Jervis, George	Mumbai	Bombay Native Education Society	
1829	*Dnyanacha Shodh*		Banakot		
1830	*Amcha jo Prabhu va Taranara Yeshu Christ Tyavishayi Nava Karar*		Mumbai	American Mission	
1830	*Teen Sambhashane*		Banakot		
1830	*Bakhar Marathyanchi*		Mumbai		

1830	*Vetal Panchavishi*	Chatre, Sadashiv Kashinath	Mumbai		Originally in in Brij by Surat translated into Hindi by Pt. Lal
1831	*A Dictionary Marathi and English*	Molesworth, James T.	Mumbai	Bombay Government	
1831	*Atmyacha uddhar Honyavishayicha Vichar*		Harnai		
1831	*Ingraji Bhashanache Dnyan Milavayasathi Sahyakari*	Molesworth, James T.	Mumbai	Mission Press	
1831	*Uddhar Honyacha Upay*		Harnai		
1831	*Prashnottaravali*		Mumbai		
1831	*Marathi Bodhavachane*		Mumbai	Shiksha Mandali/ R. Prera's Press	
1831	*Maharashtra Bhashecha Kosh Puravani*	Kramavanta et al.	Pune	Mumbai Shiksha Mandali	
1831	*Sarasangraha*	Duff, Grant	Mumbai	Govt. Press	
1832	*Amacha Jo Prabhu Va taranara Yeshu Khrista Yache Suvartaman*		Mumbai		
1832	*England Deshachi Bakhar*	Jambhekar	Mumbai	Dept of Public Instruction Press	
1832	*Khara Marg Konata Yavishayi Vichar*		Harnai		
1832	*Dharmashastrasar*		Mumbai		
1832	*Bhagvadgeeteche Sar*	Nijbit, Robert	Mumbai	Bombay Tract and Book Society	
1832	*Bhajanache Masle*		Mumbai		
1832	*Bhugol ani Khagol Ityadivishayak Samvad*	Puranik, Mahadevshastri, Menwaring and Janhavekar, Ramchandrashastri	Mumbai	Mumbai Shikshamandali Dept of Public Instruction Press	

1832	*Motha Vichar Marananantar Kay Prapta Hoil*		Harnai		
1832	*Sumargashodhakacha Vruttanta*		Mumbai		
1832	*Hindudharma Prasiddhikaran*	Wilson	Mumbai		
1833	*Principles of Marathi Grammar*	Stevenson, J.	Calcutta		2nd edition in 1843 by American Mission Press, Mumbai
1833	*English Bhashecha Vyakaranachi Moolapeethika*	Stevenson, J.	Mumbai	Bombay Native Education Society	
1833	*Uddharacha Upay*		Mumbai		
1833	*Trividya Trigunatmika*	Stevenson, J.	Mumbai	American Mission Press	About Rigveda
1833	*Deva Kasa ani Khare Bhakta Kase*				
1833	*Punarjanma*		Mumbai		
1833	*Marathi Balamitra, Part- 2*	Gesford	Mumbai		
1833	*Vakyavali*	Wilson	Mumbai		Edi 2nd: Mumbai American Mission Press
1833	*Shastrantil Upadeshsar*		Mumbai		
1833	*Siddha-padartha-vidnyan-shastra-vishayak Samvad*	Hari Keshavaji (Pathare)	Mumbai		
1834	*England Deshachi Bakhar, Part - 2*		Mumbai		
1834	*Prarthana*		Mumbai		
1834	*Matthew ne Lihilele Shubha Vartaman*		Mumbai		
1835	*Ashuri ani Babeli Lokanche Vruttantakathan*	Wilson (Mrs.)	Mumbai		2nd edition 1838 – Apa Rama Press
1835	*Englandache Varnan*	Hari Keshavji			

1835	*England Deshache Varnan*	Nana Narayan	Mumbai		
1835	*English Christee Mandalinchi Bhajana-paddhati*	Dickson	Mumbai		
1835	*Ishwarache Pavitratva va Nyayyatva Yache Pradarshan*		Nashik		
1835	*Kutumba-pravarttan-neeti*	Faror, Mrs	Nashik		Description of Ideal Family
1835	*Ganita-shastrachya Upayogavishayi Samvad*		Mumbai	Darpan	
1835	*Chamatkarik Goshti*	Faror, Mrs	Nashik		
1835	*Dusare Hindu-dharma-prasiddhikaran*	Wilson, John	Mumbai	R. Prera	
1835	*Pruthivyadi Bhutanche Bhajan*		Mumbai		
1835	*Shipavidya ya Vishayache Nibandha*	Bell, William Henry	Mumbai		
1835	*Sadacharanachya Goshti*		Mumbai		
1835	*Henry ani Tyacha Sambhalanara Gadi Sambhu Hyanchi Goshta*	Faror, Mrs.	Nashik		
1836	*Bhugolvidya*	Jambhekar	Mumbai		
1836	*Madyadi Padarthanpasoon Shareer Buddhis Vikar hotata te*		Mumbai		
1836	*Bal Vyakaran*	Jambhekar, Balshastri	Mumbai		
1836	*Atmyavishayi Lekaranchi Pothi*		Mumbai		
1836	*Bhugolshastra, Ganit Bhag~*	Jambhekar, Balshastri	Mumbai		Trans
1836	*Navin Panchopakhyan*		Nashik		
1836	*Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran*	Phadke	Mumbai		
1836	*Rukminisainvar*	Eknath	Mumbai		
1836	*Siddhantashiromaniprakash*	Subaji Bapu	Mumbai		

1837	*Atmyavishayi Lekaranchi Dusari Pothi*		M		
1837	*Navin Panchopakhyan*		Nashik		
1837	*Neetidarpan*	Bapat	M		
1837	*Puratan Parampavitra Lekh Yashayamalaaakhi – Part 4*	Dickson	M		
1837	*Mare yachya Engraji vyakaranacha sankshep*	Vasaikar	M		
1837	*Rasayanashastravishayak samvad*	Hari keshavaji	M		
1837	*Valmotantale shaleche varnan*		M		
1837	*Rasayanshastra*	Hari Keshavji			
1838	*Jagati Jot*				
1838	*Balbodh Goshti*	Mrs Faror			
1838	*Balopdesh Katha*	Bapat, Vishnu Vaman			Aesop
1838	*Kshetraphal Ghanaphal*	Col. Jervis			
1839	*A Grammar of the Mahratta Language*	Ballantyne, James	Edinburgh	J Hall	For Use of East India College
1839	*Geetabhavchandrika*	Balaji Sundarji	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	
1839	*Nighantuprakash*	Joshi, Bappu Gangadhar	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	Translated
1839	*Puratan Paramapavitra Lekhantale Kavyagrantha*	Dickson	Mumbai		
1839	*Kityek Janavaranche Varnan*			Poona College	
1840	*Durgastotra*		Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	
1840	*Dharmapustakache Varnan va Yantalya Goshtinsambandhinvishayi Prashnottaravali*		Mumbai	Bombay Tract and Book Society?	

1840	*Marathi ani Ingraji Kriyapadanchya Kalancha Paripatha*		Mumbai	American Mission Press	
1840	*Maharashtra Deshache Varnan*	Limaye, Kushaba	Pune	Sarkari Pathashalecha Press	
1840	*Lekaranchi Dusari Pothi*		Mumbai		
1840	*Shalivahan Charitra*	Datye, Raghunathshastri	Mumbai	American Mission Press	
1840	*Shastratalya Goshti*		Mumbai		
1840	*Abhanga Balkreedeche*	Namdev			
1841	*Ashaucha Vichar*	Rajwade, Balkrishna Bhikaji			
1841	*Bhugolkhagol*	Puranik, Mahadevshstri			2nd edition
1841	*Brahmin-jatichya Vidhava Kanyeche Punarvivahavishayi Prakaran*		Mumbai		
1841	*Devachya Daha Adnya*		Mumbai		9th edition
1841	*Ganit (Part 1-2-3)*		Mumbai		
1841	*Vikrama-charitra*	Haridas	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji~	
1841	*Yatrik Kram*	Hari Keshavji	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	Translation of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress
1842	*Ananga-ranga*	Paradkar	Mumbai		
1842	*Brahma-stutichi Teeka*	Vamana	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji~	
1842	*Geetartha-bodhini*		Mumbai		
1842	*Phurduk vahi*		Mumbai	Dnyanasindhu~	Collection of proverbs
1842	*Srishtijanya Ishwardnyan*	Pandurang Ganoba	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji~	[Assi. Ramchandrashastri Mundle] Translation

					of The Youth's Book on Natural Theology
1843	*Bhasha-manjari*		Mumbai	Dnyanasindhu~	Sanskrit
1843	*Board of Education yanchya Pahilya Rapotachya Saranshache Marathi Bhashantar*		Pune		
1843	*Hindusthanchi Prachin v Sampratachi Sthiti*	Ramkrishna Vishwanath	Mumbai	Prabhakar~	
1843	*Shabdha siddhi Nibandha*	Divekar, Vinayakshastri and Govind Viththal Mahajan	Mumbai	Prabhakar~	Kosha of Marathi words formed from pure Sanskrit verb-roots
1844	*Aartya (part2)*		Pune	Mitrodaya	
1844	*Mitakshara Vyavaharadhyaya v Mayukh-daaybhag yanche Marathi Bhashanar*	Dantye, Raghunath Viththalshastri~	Pune	Sarkari pathashala press	
1844	*Pallipattanakarika*		Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji~	
1845	*Babajichi Bakhar*		Mumbai		
1845	*Bhagwan Kasa Olakhava yavishayichi Gostha*		Mumbai		4th edition
1845	*Dnyaneshwari*	Dnyanadev	Mumbai	Prabhakar~	
1845	*Ingraji Lashkarache Aain*		Mumbai		
1845	*Neeti-sangraha*	Chhatre, Balwantarao Raghunath	Mumbai	Dnyanasindhu	
1845	*Shubha-vartamanasambandhi Prashnottaravali*		Mumbai	American Mission Press~	
1846	*Atmyache Amaratvavishayi*	Govind Gangadhar	Mumbai	American Mission Press~	Translation
1846	*Bhakta-leelamrita*	Mahipati	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	

1846	*Chambers-krit Shalopayogi Neeti-grantha yache Maharashtra Bhashantar*	Hari Keshavji	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji~	Chambers' Moral Class Book
1846	*Daru Pinaryans Subodh*		Mumbai		
1846	*Hindusthaanachaa Itihaasa*	Jambhekar, Bal Gangadhar shastri	Mumbai	Viththal Sakharam Agnihotri	
1846	*Khagol-vidya*		Mumbai	American Mission Press	
1846	*Nighane*		Mumbai		
1846	*Padartha-vidya (Part I- Shilpa-vidya)*		Mumbai	American Mission Press	
1846	*Rango Bapuji yanchi Raje Pratapsinha yanchetarfe Kaifiyat*		London		
1846	*Shetaki ani Gharagutee Vyavasthaa yavishayiche Etaddeshiya Lokans Upadesh*	Dr. Gibson	Pune	Sarkari pathshala	
1846	*Shastrantil Mukhya Siddhantanvishayi Prashna*		Mumbai		
1846	*Tarkashaastra*		Mumbai	American Mission Press	
1846	*Yathatatha*		Mumbai	American Mission Press	Bible
1847	*A Dictionary English and Marathi*	Candy, Thomas	Mumbai	Mumbai Govt/ American Mission Press	
1847	*Alashi ani Diwalkhor yaansa Upadesh*		Pune	Parshuram Ballal Godbole/ Sarkari pathashala~	3rd edition
1847	*Holivishayi Upadesh*		Mumbai	Press at Ambroli	
1847	*Marathi Nakashache Pustak*	Tarkhadkar	Mumbai		

1847	*Shivratri Mahatmyache Abhanga*	Namdev	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	3rd edition
1847	*Navin Laghu-hitopadesh*		Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	
1847	*Nitya-karma*		Paral	Mukundraoji Devji and Govindrao Pandurangaji	
1847	*Sinhasanbatishi*		Mumbai	Bapu Harshet Devalekar and Bapu Sadashiv Hegishte	
1847	*Sudam-charitra*		Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	2nd edition
1847	*Vriddha-chanakya*	Ranadye, Mawalankar, Sabnis	Mumbai	Dharmabdhiratna~	
1848	*Bhashan (Shiksha Mandaliche Shaletil)*	Flynn, James	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	
1848	*Da Margan yacha Beejaganitacha Poorvapeethika*	Jervis, George	Mumbai		
1848	*Dasham-skandhachya Aryaa*		Mumbai		
1848	*Hindu-shastrat Sangitalele Brahminanche Mahattva*		Mumbai		4th edition
1848	*Lavanya Ragdarichya ani Sadhya (Part I)*		Mumbai	Viththal Sakharam Agnihotri	
1848	*Maharashtra Deshatil Thor Lok Hyanshi Bhashan*		Pune		
1848	*Marathi Bhasheche Vyakaran*		Mumbai	Ahmednagar American Mission Press	
1848	*Navya Kararachya Pustakatalya Goshti*		Mumbai		
1848	*Neetidnyachi Paribhasha*	Candy, Maj. Thomas	Pune	Pathashala Press	Translation of The Principles of Morality by D. A. Isadel

1848	*Pashchattapavishayi Lekarachi Pothi*		Mumbai		
1848	*Rasayan-shastravishayi (Vyakhyan Dusare)*		Mumbai		
1848	*Swapna-chintamani*	Satarkar, Gopal Dikshit	Mumbai		
1848	*Vidyopakramacha Grantha*	Madhavarao Moroji and Nana Moroba	Mumbai	Ganapat Krishnaji	

Appendix B

Marathi Incunabula: Periodicals[1]

1832	*Darpan*
1840	*Digdarshan, Dnyanachandrodaya, Upayukta Dnyanasangraha*
1842	*Dnyanodaya*
1844	*Upadeshachandrika*
1849	*Bodhasagar*
1850	*Marathi Dnyanaprasaraka*
1851	*Dnyanaprasaraka Grantha, Dnyanabodhak*
1852	*Vicharalahari*
1854	*Chandrika, Dnyanadarshan*
1855	*Sumitra, Saddharmadipika*
1856	*Prabhodaya, Anekavishayasangraha, Udayaprabha*
1857	*Arabi Bhashetil Suras ani Chamatkarik Goshti*
1860	*Elphinstone School Papers, Vicharadarpan, Sarwasangraha, Dnyanavistar*
1861	*Satyadeepika, Pune Pathashalapatrak, Kathakalpadrum, Anandalahari, Dnyandarpan*
1862	*Dnyanakar*
1863	*Marathi Shalapatrak*
1864	*Stree Bhushan*
1867	*Vividhadnyanavistar, Vakilancha Sathi, Nyayashray*

[1] Shankar Ganesh Date, ed., *Marathi NIyatakalikanchi Suchi, 1800-1955* (Mumbai: Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1969).

Appendix C

"Instructions for preparing specimens"[1]

[Instructions imparted by Grierson to local officers regarding preparation specimens of languages and dialects for the Linguistic Survey of India]

Of each local dialect or form of speech printed in heavy type in the form sent herewith, two specimens are required.

The first specimen will be a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. As difficulties may be experienced in making this translation, there is circulated herewith a compilation of every modern version of the Parable in an Indian language with which I am acquainted. These are not sent as models of style (no doubt many of them are incorrect), but local officers will probably find at least one version which will be of assistance to the translator. He should be instructed to make his own version as idiomatic as possible, provided that it is fairly literal. If the translation is not fairly literal, I shall be obliged by a literal translation into English of the translation being sent with the translation. There is no one in existence who is familiar with every dialect of every language in India, and such a literal English translation will save many subsequent references. If the translation could be interlinear, like the Kashmiri translation No. 4 A of the Prodigal Son sent herewith, it would generally enhance the value of the contribution. In the case of Kolarian and Dravidian languages there should always be an interlinear translation. This specimen should be clearly written on the paper marked with the letter A, other pages being added, if necessary.

The second specimen should be a copy of any short passage (say, twenty or thirty lines) in the local dialect, to be selected on the spot. As a suggestion for easily obtaining such a specimen I would mention the statement of an accused person recorded in Court (provided it is recorded in his own language), or an extract from any popular song or piece of folk lore. Whatever this specimen may be, it is absolutely necessary that it is accompanied by a literal interlinear translation into

[1] NAI, Home, Linguistic Survey, Province Bombay.

English. Unless this is sent, it will be useless. This specimen should be clearly written on the paper marked B other pages being added, if necessary.

Both translations should be written in the local character usually adopted for writing the language illustrated, and must be accompanied by a transcription in the Roman character. I regret to be compelled to ask for this. Experience has shown that local characters vary so greatly, that without a transcript in the Roman characters the specimens will be useless.

In the case of languages which have no written character, the specimens should be clearly written in the Roman character, and it is particularly requested that the well-known Hunterian system may be accurately followed. If necessary, I can give further instructions on this point.

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Kunabi

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Maharashtra Kokil

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