Literary Lineages of Hindi:

An Enquiry into Select Historiographical Accounts of Hindi Literature

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Jawaharlal Nehru University

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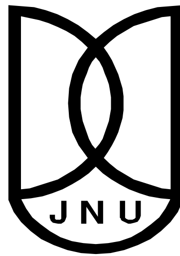
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Kopal



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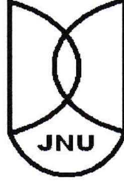

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CERTIFICATE

This thesis titled **"Literary Lineages of Hindi: An Enquiry into Select Historiographical Accounts of Hindi Literature"**submitted by **Kopal**, Centre for English Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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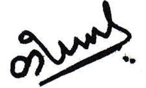

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Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria. Sunt mala plura.

quae legis hic: aliter non fit, Auite, liber.

[Some of what you read here is good, some is mediocre, and more is bad: a book, Avitus, cannot be made any other way.]

Note on Translation and Transliteration

I have followed the transliteration scheme followed by R. S. McGregor in his *Outline of Hindi Grammar* (1972). Since I do not have direct access to Urdu in Persian script, I have transliterated Urdu words as they are written in *devanagari*.

This work relies a lot on translated material. All translations are mine when not specified. I do want to clarify the translation of all editions Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire* that I have used. *Histoire*'s preface has been translated into English by Sujit Mukherjee and Gita Krishnakutty but it is only an incomplete section. The translation of all the prefaces, introductions, memorandum, dedication and the sections of main text related to Hindui literature have received close translation into Hindi by Dr Lakśmīsāgar Varṣṇay in *Hindui Sāhitya kā Itihās*. I have used this text as the base to translate from Hindi to English. For the sections that have been translated into English by Mukherjee and Krishnakutty, I have mostly retained their translations. I have cross checked the final translation with the Google translation of the original French to clean it up further.

Chapter One

Introduction

Why literary history

Stressing the importance of researching literary historical traditions of India, Sheldon Pollock calls India "the literary-historical giant with a multilingual textual history of greater depth and continuity than any other cultural area in the world" ("Literary History" 134). For any society, the significance of literary history is great and it can be a crucial part for a richer sense of the historical development and self-understanding of the community. The intellectual engagement with the literary development of a society and culture can be richly rewarding in giving a sense of historical development of the community. In it we can see "the mystification of nationalist rhetoric" ("Literary History" 134) and "ethnicity" ("Literary History" 134). The political agenda of the historical cultural study is to demonstrate that "civilization is no stable thing, but instead a process. Literature, the site where nations and regions and peoples always seem to want to locate their real, continuous, primordial selves, will always be revealed to be embedded in a boundless process of give and take, of overcoming, even while appropriating from, contiguous literatures, and being overcome in turn. ("Literary History" 134)

"Indian literature is a historian's despair," (1) G N Devy pronounces at the commencement of his work on the Indian perspective on literary historiography. This statement applies equally well to any of the dozens of literary languages that compose the category of "Indian literature". Research on history writing of Hindi literature has its own specific complexities. One concern crucial to such an enquiry is fixing the meaning of the very terms that constitute it. The definitions as well as the historical and semantic possibilities of terms like Hindi, literature, history of literature, in themselves are the questions that are sharply contested even in the earliest attempts of writing literary histories. The problem that arises then even as we begin this meta-historiographical exercise is clearly defining the terms of reference when these terms themselves are the subjects of contention. In such a case then, I think, we may begin with a very tentative, working understanding of these terms in their broadest meanings possible.

The thesis intends to undertake a search for the historiographical problematic that the initial histories of Hindi literature confronted and the varied ways in which it was resolved by

different literary historians. The purpose of such a search is to understand the processes that shape the genre of literary history.

The linguistic disputes over the nomenclature of this language, spoken by a huge population in North India, have been well recorded. There have been many important studies on the origins, political economy of this dispute, and the processes through which Hindi's hold was first expanded and then consolidated in the 19th century.[1] The historiographical aspect obviously involves this dispute. At the same time the kind of relationship that standardized Hindi (which was presented as the common language with nationalist aspirations in the late colonial era) shared with some other modern Indian languages (later on termed as dialects of Hindi) needs to be looked into as well. Is the Braj literature a part of Hindi literature? What are the commonalities between say Rajasthani literature and what is generally accepted as the first phase of Hindi literature in various histories? Questions like these confronted the initial historians of Hindi literature for the first time around the late 19thcentury.

Analysing these early texts of Hindi literary history merely on the generic/structural basis is not enough to understand the full complexity of the processes that were involved in shaping a new form. The political atmosphere in which all this was happening, rather political procedures through which all this was happening, need to be kept at the forefront of this enquiry. The selective tradition that Raymond Williams talks about is an apt concept to understand the cultural process here.

What were the pressures that worked at giving these histories a shape and structure? I think it will be worthwhile to find out the answers to this question. That cultural products and practices are embedded in their specific contexts is not a new formulation in any way. My premise is that literary historians and the literary histories that they write are located at a distinct point in terms of their time, place and ideology. I mean to map out these locations vis-à-vis select historiographical accounts of the Hindi literature. What should emerge after rigorous analysis is a model depicting linkages, breaks, contradictions, alliances and struggle of ideas in the field of literary historiography of Hindi literature.

[1] See Vīr Bhārat Talvār's *Rassakaśī,* Alok Rai's *Hindi Nationalism*, Christopher King's *One Language, Two Scripts*, Shamsur Rahman Faruqi's *Early Urdu Literary Culture* which are only a few books with a detailed account on the Urdu-Hindi dispute.

One parameter for mapping is that of geographical location and public institutions that provided the foundation for building of diverse literary histories. At the macro level, geographical locations like cities, while holding within them diverse kinds of ideological currents in a way that would belie any singular straitjacketing claim about them, still possess very specific cultural characteristics. All the specific examples I will undertake for this study are very clearly embedded in a distinct spatial location which influences there historiographical perspective. Garcin de Tassy, one of the earliest people to engage in writing a literary history of Hindui/Hindi on modern historiographic principles was a French orientalist and was based in France, the School of Living Oriental Languages. George Grierson, an alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin embodies the strong tradition of Oriental studies as well as the Irish service in the British Raj. Pt Ramchandra Shukl, writer of arguably the most foundational and accepted history of Hindi literature was steeped in the very distinct and strong tradition of Benarasi traditional scholarship as well as in the Nagari movement. Acharya Hazari Prasad Dwivedi has a curious mixture of traditional Benarasi scholarship as well as the vast humanist outlook of Santiniketan which distinguished him from Pt Ramchandra Shukl on many important issues. History writing is a crucial exercise in the battle of ideas. Identity is an important marker in the writing of a literary history. Emergence of newer identity groups results in new attempts towards modifying literary histories. It is an important part of the ideological reproduction of relations of production. It becomes crucial to stake a claim on the cultural and social capital as well as earn legitimacy. My contention is that the claims of identity are central to any project of literary history writing. I propose to look at select histories of Hindi literature to analyse how these histories resolve the pressures of various identities working upon them. To keep the research manageable and focussed I plan to take up select literary histories for this project. Instead of writing a history of literary histories where all the literary histories of Hindi are catalogued across a timeline, I will select such literary histories that are of fundamental importance in the development of the form of literary history in Hindi. And I believe that these texts can offer a richer analysis due to their centrality in the discourse of literary history in Hindi. The issues and problematics that these literary histories take up continue till today without any major fundamental change.

The agenda of research on the literary or cultural histories, Pollock states, "is to exhume the conditions that make possible and desirable the creation of new literatures and to understand more subtly what other choices, social, political, religious, are being made when a given language is chosen for literature; what new communities have come into being-or must be

brought into being-that need to be addressed...” (“Literary History” 137). His work takes up this task at the grand scale through a comparative study of the processes of vernacularisation in Europe and South Asia. In this thesis I try to address some of these questions, however, at a far more humble scale, in the limited context of emergence of literary history writing in Hindi and its very direct implication in the social, political and religious agenda in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century has been an “ignored and undervalued period... yet been seminal, not merely as a precursor, but in its own right, to Indian modernity. The quality of writing in this period has been astonishingly high, the range and output of its writers bewilderingly diverse, the quickness of mind and sharpness of insight displayed by its thinkers enviable mould” (Chaudhuri 895). The present research concerns itself with select literary histories of Hindi literature written in the nineteenth century and a thorough scan of the formal as well as historical composition of this genre.

Research Questions and Hypothesis

The objective of this research would be to find out the answers to the following questions about literary historiography in the specific context of Hindi literature:

1. To find out the conditions that necessitated writing of literary history of Hindi in the first place.

2. To pin down the main thematic differences between different literary histories of Hindi and infer the ways in which they are attached to the historical contexts outside of literature.

3. Spatial locations of the writers of literary histories give us a clue to the field of thoughts in which these ideas are formed and contested. Hence, a topographical analysis of the origins of these literary histories will be attempted.

4. To examine the institutions which anchor these literary histories and to locate them geographically, ideologically and historically in a context.

5. To establish that the history of Hindi language and the history of Hindi literature have important distinctions and should not be confused as one for the other; or as two different but super-imposable trajectories.

6. To survey ways in which the European model of literary historiography has been employed in writing these literary histories and what changes have been adopted to fit it to the North Indian context.

7. To seek the indigenous historiographical roots, if any, which were used alongside the European mode of literary history writing.

My hypothesis is that the writing of literary history of Hindi, which arose through curious intersections of European and indigenous notions of history writing, determined further by the spatial locations that these histories arise from and were sustained by, is closely connected to the politics of Hindi *jāti* (community/identity), which in turn determines who the readers are, and its canon formations as well as exclusions.

This research will attempt to write a cultural historiographical account of select literary histories of Hindi which has not been done till now in any systematic manner. Even as there is a vast literature available on comparison of select texts of literary histories, not much attention has been paid till now in explaining literary histories of Hindi literature as products moulded by contesting ideological forces. Another attempt that has not been made in previous research work is to emphasise on the location of literary histories in Hindi.

Furthermore, Dalit criticism in the last few decades has provided a completely new vantage point from which we get a radically different view of late colonial literature and culture in the field of Hindi. Even though a proper history of Dalit literature written in Hindi has still not been written, very sharp and bold attempts of criticism of selective history writing of Hindi literature from a Dalit perspective are now available to us. Albeit not as prominent as the question of religion, the question of caste is present throughout nineteenh century right alongside it. It acquires importance in the determination of the jātiya identity of Hindi literature. This aspect is relatively neglected in the Hindi literary studies of the nineteenth century. This work adds new inputs to bring into focus the patently upper caste orientation of Hindi literary identity that was being forged in the nineteenth century.

The Question of Genre

In this thesis I show that although literature continued to be classified and organised in the nineteenth century in traditional forms but these forms themselves were increasingly getting modified along the modern historiographical axis. Generically, the traditional forms of literary history included biographical forms like tazkira, bayāz, kāvya saṅgrah, bhaktamāl,

paricayī literature etc. At the same time new literary history was erected on the foundation of new knowledge practices like antiquarianism, textual criticism and bibliography. The literary history's mandate went beyond canon formation. In fact, the primary concerns were more formal in the nineteenth century. Canon formation received greater attention in the twentieth century.

The current critical inclination within nineteenth century studies is to see literary history in terms of chronology as well as canon formation. In my work I insist on the organisational and classificatory functions of the literary history equally. As David Perkins writes, "classification is fundamental to the description of literary history. A literary history cannot have only one text for its subject, and it cannot describe great many texts individually. The multiplicity of objects must be converted into fewer, more manageable units, which can then be characterised, compared, inter-related and ordered" (51).

In a fragment written in 1931, "Literary History and the Study of Literature", Walter Benjamin denied that literary history could ever be reduced to a historical discipline, making an extensive survey of German literary histories, which began in the 18th century as a halfway house "between a textbook of aesthetics and a bookseller's catalogue" (qtd. in Chaudhuri 895). This in-betweenness and fluidity of genre in the formative period of literary history is also explained by Ralph Cohen as "regenerated genres" – ones that "make us question the generic combinations we have come to accept, and our consciousness of history as a given" (qtd. in London 111). April London has argued that with it is only with increasing influence of literary criticism that literary history begins to assume its modern contours as a genre centered on consolidating a fixed canon of transcendent works.

What's in a Name: Language Definition and Other Problems

"What does it matter if one calls water (*pānī*) *āb*, as in Persian, or *water*, as in English; can one claim that one of these words is more suitable than the other?"(qtd. in Tassy."Origin and Diffusion" 142). Thus spoke Hukm Cand, an Indian scholar that Garcin de Tassy quotes while explaining in the second edition of his *Histoire* (1870), the "strange" and "absurd" idea of linguistic purification that had gripped a sections of Hindus. Three years before Tassy wrote this, in an event organised by "the secular Northern group members of scientific society and British Indian associations of Hindus, Muslims, and British" (Khan 247) to pass a resolution to create a vernacular (Urdu) University, Rājā Śivprasād took "the first shot at

Urdu in the name of religion" (Khan 247) by raising the demand for the instatement of Hindi-nāgarī as the official vernacular.

How did the situation come to this? To understand this we would first need to look at the colonial theorising of the language situation in India. At the macro level, this was a result of the slow rise of the discipline of philology or the language 'science' which should be seen in the context of the more general history of sciences in Europe. It belonged to "to an epistemological trend viewing the natural sciences (with Cuvier in palaeontology and botany, Darwin and his theory of determinism in natural species, Adler in heredity) and their methods as a model for studying any living entity, including language, a subclass of human science" (Montaut 81). Rama Sundari Mantena observes that this tendency of colonial philology to see language as having a progressive history with stages of constant improvement "instigated a profound intervention in language practices and thought, foreshadowing the great debates at the turn of the twentieth century on modernising languages" (1).

A considerable amount of colonial research on languages pertained to identifying and classifying languages. European scholars' views on languages stemmed from their conception of monolingual nationalities. In a richly multilingual culture like India this understanding confounded the European Indologists. Much of the initial writings by the Christian Missionaries and later the colonial Indologists were about indentifying and classifying languages and standardising them through dictionaries and grammars. The very first step of identification of languages was a confounding business for they soon realised that the Indian conception of language was very different from them.

Orsini identifies the "the first problem faced by nineteenth century and early twentieth century works on 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' linguistic and literary history" as that of language definition. She also points to the fact that the issue of language definition was approached as "a 'problem' by colonial linguists" (Orsini 1). All the definitions that were put forward as answers to the question of language definition provoked fierce debates and deep rooted resentments. In this thesis, we will encounter an entire range of answers supplied to this question.

David Lelyveld writes that in India the practice of identifying a language as a bounded entity located in dictionaries, grammars, literary canons and a possession of a community of people who can be counted and located on the map is a nineteenth century development. The pre-colonial language histories are not to be construed "as bounded bodies of linguistic behaviour

called ‘languages’” (Lelyveld 201). Apart from the classical languages, the vernacular languages,

> like their *jāti* identities, were believed to be the result of mixing over time and were situationally variable. Languages were not so much associated with place as with function, and in many cases the naming of a language for the directors of British census operations and more elaborately for the *Linguistic Survey of India* was problematic. People didn't have languages; they had linguistic repertoires that varied even within a single household, let alone the marketplace, school, temple, court, or devotional circle. These codes of linguistic behaviour took on the same characteristics of hierarchy that other sorts of human interaction did; they were after all the most common medium of interaction... Language then was part of a flexible ideology of occasion and identity. In Sanskrit drama and also in a good deal of the courtly literature of the later Muslim sultanates there is often a deliberate use of multilingual variation in a single text, and many wrote in more than one language. (Lelyveld 201)

In the north Indian context, the language cluster consisting of languages variously identified as Hindui, Hindustani, Urdu, Rekhta, bhāṣā among many others, occupied an unstable matrix with the often simultaneous existence of two or more of these languages/language registers. In what is by now well-researched and oft-narrated story of the Hindi-Urdu divide, the first institutionalised attempt (other than some initial individual efforts by the Missionaries) was by John Gilchrist in his linguistic and literary work at the Fort William College in Calcutta.

This thesis charts out in its course a whole range of attitudes towards and definitions of what makes Hindi and Urdu/Hindustani. It complicates the well-established picture focussing entirely upon the Hindi-Urdu divide to demonstrate the other positions that either challenged such constructions or modified its scope by presenting additional linguistic categories.

Gilchrist who was the first to recognise the importance of non-classical languages, viewed the vernacular “as a continuum, in which Hindi was the rustic, un-Persianised bottom register, Persianised Urdu the top register, and Hindustani the preferred middle register” (qtd. in Orsini 3). Orsini also considers Gilchrist to be the first one to associate language with a script and religion, concluding that Urdu/Hindustani written in Persian was the language of Muslims, while Hindi in the Devnagari script was that of the Hindus.

Garcin de Tassy comprehends the language situation in Hindustan in a slightly different manner. Tassy begins the preface to the first edition of volume one of the *Histoire* by giving a brief history of the development of Hindui and Hindustani. He summarises the argument by claiming that although Hindui and Hindustani were very different from one another in "their choice of expressions, they nevertheless formed one single language, governed by the same syntax, and they were all known by the vague name of Hindi (or Indian)" (Tassy, "*Hinduī Sāhitya"* 2). He clearly states that what Europeans called Hindustani includes Hindui and Hindi, Urdu as well as Dakhni. Unlike Orsini, he holds responsible for the religious division of languages "the Indians who preferred dividing the language on the basis of the script; the language written in *nagari* or *devnagari* script was called Hindi whereas Muslim idiom written in the Persian script was identified as Urdu" (Tassy, "*Hinduī Sāhitya"* 56). The Europeans, according to him, only furthered these differences by happily adopting these two names.

Tassy's exposition of the contemporary language situation in Hindustan is unique in that it unmasks the hypocrisy of the exclusionary politics of the Hindu-Hindi movement by exposing their intellectual debt to the European Oriental scholarship in their belated attempts to revive and recreate an intellectual tradition that pre-dated the Islamic encounter. Not only was the change in political rule from the Mughals to the British rule seen as the rescue from the Muslim persecution but even the discovery of Indian ancient past was a contribution of the European Oriental scholarship. He is openly derisive of the derivative discourse of the Hindu revivalist movement and is suspicious of any sincerity in their contribution to the Indian culture and society.

He disparages that during the period of rapid growth of modern Indian languages, Sanskrit remained neglected and it was only after the Asiatic Society of Calcutta was formed under the presidency of Sir William Jones that it slowly started gaining attention of European scholars on account of its similarity with the classical languages. It was the careful consistent care of Oriental scholars that established its importance and superior status as a language of great philosophical and literary merit. British indologists like Charles Wilkins and H. H. Wilson, eminent French indologists Chezy and Eugene Burnoff contributed a great deal in the service of promotion of this language. Germany carried on the task of studying the language after its studies were halted in France upon the unfortunate death of Burnoff.

It was only after the Indologists started researching and popularised the study of Sanskrit language and literature that the Hindus,

> ...awakened from their stupor, developed a great enthusiasm for the language of their sacred scriptures and their ancient literature. They joined the Europeans in the new cultivation and dissemination of Sanskrit-related knowledge by participating in the publication of works that had thus far remained buried in manuscripts... (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 145)

Of course, the issue at hand did not just involve linguistic purism in isolation but it (linguistic purism) was a tool in the service of religious revivalism. He was under no doubt of the specifically political character of the linguistic reform movement spearheaded by a section of Hindus. "They (the Hindus advocating language reform) represent, in my opinion, ancient Hinduism, together with its crude aspects, such as: the suttee tradition" (Tassy, "*Hinduī Sāhitya"* 143). His surprising declaration that any sort of "literary change or revolution" would only work towards renewing the antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims which had vanished in the revolt of 1857 when they had united to re-instate the Mughal monarchy under "Bahādur Shāh Zafar, the legitimate heir of the kings of Delhi" (Tassy, "*Hinduī Sāhitya"* 143).

It was precisely this "chimera of language purity" combined with the "crude elements of ancient Hinduism" (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 142) that Tassy criticised which is pursued by Bhārtendu Hariścandra and his influential supporters. Rājā Śivprasād who inaugurated Hindi renaissance (Talvar ix) and is another author whose writings are taken up in his thesis, had a marginalised but firm oppositional stance against the exclusionary Hindi expunged of all the Persianised words promoted by Hariścandra. Even though his life and works were epitome of the collusion of Hindi revivalism with the British colonialism that Tassy aptly recognised in his analysis, his views on the language question stuck out like a sore thumb in the Hindi literary sphere. He strongly supported use of an easily comprehensible Hindustani without the mindless Sanskritised neologisms. The main issue of contention, in his view, was that of the script in which he demanded that the Persian script be replaced by the nagari script.

While Tassy, Rājā Śivprasād and Bhārtendu Hariścandra took different positions on the spectrum of desirability of Hindi/Urdu, the next two literary historians that the thesis focuses upon, add another pole in an otherwise overwhelmingly bipolar debate. Śiv Siṃh Seṅgar,

well aware of the latest activities and debates in the nascent Hindi literary sphere and the fledgling Hindi movement, does not mention Hindi in his entire work which went on to become the foundational text for the literary histories of Hindi for a long time to come. He maintains the use of the term bhāśā which according to Dalmia betrays his adherence to the old categories (Dalmia 275). However, I am of the opinion that it is not the uninformed continuation of old language tradition but very deliberate refusal to fall in the trap of the Hindi movement. A similar stance is taken by George Abraham Grierson in his *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (*MVLH*) throughout which he underlines the term vernacular instead of the popular Hindi/Urdu.

Farina Mir, Rama Sundari Mantena and Pritipuspa Mishra have recently explored the concept of 'vernacular' languages in colonial philological traditions in their research on Punjabi, Telugu and Oriya literary traditions respectively. Philology in India can be said to have started with the explorations and study of Indian languages by William Jones. For a very long time however, the European Indology was only interested in the classical languages- first and for the longest time Sanskrit, and later on Tamil and Pāli and Prākṛt. Europe's singular obsession with Sanskrit continued unabated for a long time without any concession to other modern Indian languages. That was the complaint Tassy had in the second decade of the century and nearly a century later, Grierson was still campaigning for more serious study of the modern vernacular languages.

It was Gilchrist who realised that "Hindustani" was not a jargon at all but in fact, "the grand, popular and military language of all India" (Lelyveld 194). He then demonstrated that this "vernacular" could be taught in school. This is how Hindi and Hindustani were identified as vernacular languages for the first time. In case of Hindi, this understanding continues unchallenged till Grierson in 1880s problematises the vernacular status of Hindi/Urdu by recognising and successfully demonstrating for the first time that languages like Maithili and Eastern Hindi cannot be easily clubbed with Hindi and in fact had closer linguistic affinity with Bangla.

Farina Mir in her essay digs deeper into the reasons behind the importance colonial officials placed on the use of Indian vernacular languages in administration. She finds that one of the primary driving forces behind this impetus on the adoption of vernacular languages for rule was grounded in the British liberalism's conceptions of good governance which incorporated

ideas of efficiency, justice and legitimacy. Grierson was the inheritor of this feeble strain of British liberalism which moulds his understanding of the vernacular.

The Hindi-Urdu feud, in fact, was born out of need to establish the correct vernacular. It was in 1837 that the colonial language policy was officially adopted vide Act No. 29 of 1837, which prescribed provincial-level governance through vernacular languages. The Hindi-Urdu language feud had its origin in this new colonial policy. The moot question was which language will replace Persian as official language of revenue and administration. Both Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian script) and Hindi laid stakes to it.

What Aishwarj Kumar identifies as "the alternative insights of 'dissenters' like Grierson" (1745) is a culmination of the persistent strain of liberal conception of a just Raj. This is in sharp contrast to the characterisation of the vernacular in the traditional colonial philology which conceptualises it as a local, indigenous, inapt, and ultimately a language unfit for modernity. The thesis demonstrates how Grierson's account of philological history of rise of vernaculars presents an understanding that went against the normative colonial philological understanding.

Hindi Jātiyatā

Mohinder Singh explaining the use of the term jāti in the nineteenth century writes:

> During this period, the term jāti has multiple meanings. It could mean nation, community, caste, species. The term deś, while also meaning nation, had a territorial dimension in its meaning. As a matter of historical fact, in the nationalist rhetoric of the Hindu intellectuals of this period, there was an overlap between the two references of the term jāti: nation and religious community. In fact, when the phrase "Hindu jāti" is used it refers to community as well as the nation. Only in the first decades of the twentieth century, a clear distinction begins to be made between the two. (footnote 67)

The question of Hindi jātiyatā is at the centre of Hindi literary history writing projects in the nineteenth century. Pollock identifies "literature, literary history, and their interactions with community identity formations" as the "crucial features of the social order" ("Literary History" 112). Referring to Gramsci's conception of language and hegemonic power, Pollock argues that, "Every time the question of the language surfaces, in one way or another it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore," especially "the need to reorganize the cultural hegemony" ("Literary History" 126). The process of establishing hegemony of Hindi

over other languages and literary traditions and hegemony of certain social groups over the others determined the jātiya identity of Hindi literature.

Ramvilas Sharma lists seven contradictions that Hindi had to negotiate with. These were:

1. Contradiction with English: There was most obvious imbalance of power between the two with English well accepted by most as superior language of a superior culture. English was the official language of India, a position Hindi was jealously vying for.

2. Contradiction with Persian: Persian had been the court language for many centuries under the Mughal rule. Hindi speaking region was where the power of Persian was most concentrated and permeated vernacular languages and culture. Persian was a mainstream language taught in schools well into the twentieth century. It had a sophisticated, long and strong literary tradition that outshined Hindi which was a new-fangled language and was often termed as rustic and rude in comparison.

3. Contradiction with Urdu: Hindi's primary rival was Urdu. Both shared the linguistic, literary and cultural space to such an extent that they were considered to be the same language and the difference between the two was that of two dialects of one language. The primary distinction boiled down to the use of different script while writing the common spoken language and a Persian bent in Urdu as opposed to a Sanskrit bent in Hindi. Both the languages were fighting for the same social and political space. The language feud had acquired a religious colour since its inception. Rather, political-religious ambitions recruited language question as one of their primary objectives.

4. Contradiction with Brajbhāśā: Braj has been the primary language of all poetic and literary creations in the North India since at least the fourteenth century. Even till the beginning of the twentieth century, modern Hindi or its preferred variant Khaṛī bolī, had almost no poetry to speak of. There were some folk poetic traditions but they were ignored by it. To establish Hindi's hegemony, it was imperative to displace Braj from its position of the bearer of poetry and literature.

5. Other vernacular languages (regional dialects according to Ramvilas Sharma): To create a Hindi nationality binding the entire North India, rich diversity of 'dialects' undercut the unity purported by Hindi nationalism. Ramvilas Sharma views the assertion by these languages for independent identity as threat, even a conspiracy to

break the unity of Hindi *jāti*, and believed that such attempts had been going on since 1857.

6. Contradiction with Sanskrit: Even as Sanskrit was the primary source which supplied a sophisticated literary culture, ancestry and respectability, Hindi had to maintain a separate identity for its independent existence. Hindi was viewed a a much poorer daughter of the mother language Sanskrit.

7. Contradiction with Bangla: Modern Bangla literature and culture were important influences on the development of new ideas and genres in Hindi. Especially Hindi prose was greatly indebted to Bangla novels. Hindi drama also looked towards contemporary Bangla dramatic practice. However, the bhadra literary Bangla was heavily Sanskrit-laden, a fate Hindi crusaders like MahaVīr Prasad Dvivedi were keen to avoid. It was viewed as undesirable influence.

The linguistic identity (*jātiyatā*) of Hindi had to take form through negotiating these contradictions with other languages. But the *jātiyatā* of Hindi language and literature had also to be marked in terms of its caste and religious identities. These processes are demonstrated in the thesis especially in chapter three where it is shown how Hindi sheds all associations with the Urdu literary lineage as well as its attempts to keep it firmly within the upper caste echelons of the society.

New Technologies of Knowledge Organisation and Classification

In *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault describes the birth around the turn of the nineteenth century of two new epistemological forms, history and literature. History is understood as not only the awareness that events and our experience of events occur in time but also for the peculiarly modern belief that a thing's most fundamental truth can be revealed through an interrogation of the temporal processes by which it came to be. History was indeed "born" in the nineteenth century in the sense that it was codified as a discipline almost simultaneously at the University of Berlin (1810) and the Sorbonne (1812), and very much in the wake of the French Revolution. And it was certainly present to the consciousness of the age.

Literary history is a modern genre with its origins not very far back in the time. In fact, it was one of the many genres that developed rapidly in the long eighteenth century in Europe. This sudden spurt in the genres of knowledge organisation in the Enlightenment Europe is the key to understand the fundamental changes that occurred in the knowledge economy in the

eighteenth century Europe. Foucault, in his *Order of Things*, theorises this episteme shift in the ordering and classification of knowledge system.

Daniel R Headrick calls the age of Enlightenment an age of information. With the coming of printing press, the number of books available to people was unprecedented. New scientific discoveries along with discoveries of new lands, languages and cultures contributed to an information overload. To manage and make sense of this burgeoning stock of information, new technologies of organisation and classification came into being.

This burgeoning of information resulted in what Chad Wellmon in his book *Organising Enlightenment: Information Overload and the Invention of Modern Research University* terms "a crisis in epistemic authority" which "the technologies and institutions that have traditionally generated, transmitted, and evaluated knowledge" (6). Suddenly questions of legitimacy of one form of knowledge over the other, verification of truth through sources, scholarly practices and habits, techniques and institutions that rendered knowledge authoritative gathered urgency like never before. Regarding the forms of dictionaries and encyclopaedia, Headrick writes that even though they were ancient forms of expression, but the Age of Reason contributed much to their evolution from simpler forms of list of words with definitions to the more evolved forms of scholarly erudition and reference works of present (144).

The organising and classificatory practices that create a literary history were developed first by other forms like the dictionary and the encyclopedia. Headrick argues that the order knowledge was organised in, was not an accepted given. There were fierce debates surrounding the matter, the two main contending systems of organisations being alphabetical and thematic. The manner in which information is arranged "—whether in short or long entries, in thematic or alphabetical order, with cross-references or indexes" (Headrick 160) depended upon how it was intended to be used. At the bottom of the tension between these two different genres rested the "divergent views of information (as knowledge or as data) and of readers (as persons of leisure seeking general knowledge or as people in a hurry needing specific information)" (Headrick 160).

All these debates had at their centre fundamental methodological questions. Samuel Taylor Coleridge 's essay "On the Science of Method" was one such influential tract. But there were others too especially the prefaces of these new genric experiments provided detailed expositions on their methodologies of creating knowledge. Headrick gives the example of

Diderot and d'Alembert who went to great lengths to reconcile in their "dictionary the encyclopaedic order with the alphabetical order" (qtd. in Headrick 165). It utilised an elaborate system of reference incorporating three methods different methods of organisation. It resulted in fragmentation of knowledge (called "the curse of the alphabetical order" by the historian Pierre Rétat), to counter which Diderot and d'Alembert used extensive cross-references, a system first introduced by Chambers in 1728 in his *Cyclopaedia. "*Thus were born those indispensable tools needed to navigate long reference works: the cross-reference and the index" (Headrick 165). A number of critical studies have emphasized the many complementary (and at times competing) encyclopedic orders at work in the *Encyclopédie,* the system of cross-references that has the potential both to reveal unexpected connections and to undermine the stability of the other systems. The methodological tension that is visible in the *Enclopaedie* is associated "with a broader "creative tension" in Enlightenment thought" (Stalnaker footnote 3, 32).

Chad Wellmon calls these new practices of knowledge organisation and classification "organising technologies". According to him, at stake were changes "not only in technology but also in the very notion of technology" (12). By "technology" he refers "not only to physical tools but also to different forms of print media, institutions (like the university), and practices of the self and how they shape each other" (Wellmon 12). In other words, Enlightenment technologies designed to organize knowledge were not merely tools but "were material extensions of humans who controlled and determined their use" and at the same time, they were also "value-laden metaphors for particular orders of knowledge and ways of managing the desire to advance and control knowledge" (Wellmon 6). For example, Encyclopaedia was not just a printed "reference book organized alphabetically but also to an array of practices, habits, norms, and Vīrtues that were inseparable from the physical object" (Wellmon 6).

An extension of this point is found in Headrick's exposition of the debates between two conflicting ordering schemes which assumed deeper philosophical and political connotations. The alphabetical order, for example, was seen as "a great leveller"[2] against the topical arrangement which became "a symbol of all the hierarchies on the earth" (qtd. in Headrick

[2] In his study of the *Biblioteca universale,* James Fuchs argues that Coronelli's choice of the alphabetical order was motivated by just such thinking. ". . . Protestants and heretics would be placed side by side with Catholics, and this rhetorical ecumenicalism reflected the "spirit of ecumenicalism" that characterized Coronelli's career and that placed him in the context of Leibnitz and other seventeenth- century ecumenicalists. What a wonderful justification for an alphabetical encyclopedia"

163). To place concepts in alphabetical order is to assume that their order has nothing to do with their importance. Religious matters would not be ranked above secular ones, mechanical skills would not be placed below intellectual ones, and articles on princes would appear side by side with articles on peasants.

The *Encyclopédie* not only sought to sum up the latest state of scientific knowledge, but also subjected social conditions and ideas to critical examination. For historical writing this meant an enhanced commitment to cleansing the narration of the past from legend, and a commitment to truth (Iggers et al 37).

The fallout of this re-organisation of the epistemic authority is encountered when the knowledge traditions and culture of the colonies were devalued, rendered as raw information to be processed by specialist scholars into knowledge. The technologies of classification and organisation of knowledge that were developed to manage knowledge in Enlightenment Europe were deployed by the Oriental scholars to both create and manage knowledge of the Orient.

Pre-Modern Indian Organising Practices

Indigenous historical narratives were primarily available in two forms: oral literature and biographical literature. Suman Rāje while writing on historiographic sources that are used in writing a modern literary history names the following: *kavivṛtt saṅgrah*, preceding literary histories, *vārtā* literature, *Bhaktmāl* literature, *paricayī* literature, other biographical literature, court texts, literature from various sects and excerpts occurring in other texts. Most of these are biographical sources.

Kavivritt saṅgrah was given its name by Acharya Ramchandra Shukl. This tradition has origins in Sanskrit literature. "This form of literature originated out of the fear of losing the works of lesser known poets. The works of lesser known poets were compiled and preserved for the posterity" (qtd. in Rāje 165). One prime example of such compilations is *Suduktikarnamrit* which has descriptions of 500 poets belonging to the era before 1000 A.D. This kavivritt saṅgrah was compiled between the time period of twelfth century and thirteenth century.

As a form *kavivritt saṅgrah* is meant for collection of lesser known poets. These only include *muktak* creations, whereas *prabandh kāvyas* are ignored. Bhakti period poets have largely been ignored in these compilations. Saint and Sufi poetry are absolutely neglected. Therefore,

we do not get complete history of literature, but partial. The compilations are alphabetically arranged (*akārādī kram*). No compilation has introductory comments so it is difficult to determine historical continuity *(aitihāsik eksutratā*). The compilations are based on oral tradition, even oral sources have not been mentioned. So, these are not reliable (Rāje 166).

Bhaktavārtā literature (*Bhaktoṁ kā caritra varṇaṇ*, *Jīvan caritra*) has the façade of hyperbolic, occult and mystic descriptions of *bhakts*, but with a careful study, one can draw the biographical sketches of the leaders and propagators of the bhakti movement. It is known as 'Bhaktmāl' tradition as well. The representative example of this tradition of literature is Nābhādās' *Bhaktamāl*. The time period of its creation was 1715 A.D to 7123 A.D. It contains biographical accounts of 200 contemporary and older bhakts. The time period division in *Bhaktmāl* is *Satyug*, *Dwāpar yug*, *Tretā* and *Kali yug*. The *Kali yug bhakts* are then further divided into *Ramopāsak* (Ram worshippers), *Kṛṣṇopāsak* (Kṛṣṇa worshippers) and *Nirguṇpanthī* (who believe in formless God.). The prominent bhakts enumerated in *Bhaktmāl* are Sri Nimbāditya, Sri Viśṇusvamī. Sri Madhyācarya, Gosvamī Tulsīdās, Agradev jī, Śankarācarya, Payhārī Srikṛṣṇadās, Nand Dās, Mīrā Bāi, Raidās, Kabīr, Pīpā and Dhannā.

The genre of *Parcayī Sāhitya* (*Jīvan caritra*) belongs to *'Bhaktmāl'* tradition of historical literature itself. The oldest text of *'parcayī'* literature is '*Anantdās ki paricayiya'.* It contains the biographical accounts of Pīpā, Trilocan, Dhannā, Nāmdev jī, Kabīr and Raidās Raukābaukā. Anantdās has used all oral traditions of his time to compile his book.

In *Bītak Sāhitya,* '*Bītak*' word literally means a 'description'. *Bītak* literature is the biographical description of '*Praṇamī sampradāy*'. The biographies of Devcand and his disciple Praṇ Nāth are foremost among 27 other famous *Bītak* literatures. The *Bītak* literature holds special importance among all the genres of biographical literatures because it is more historical and less eulogistic and occult.

The works done by the '*pushṭimārgiya*' community is called as *Vārtā Sāhitya* (discussion). According to the tradition, Ācarya jī had 84 disciples and Gusaiṁ jī had 252. So, on the basis of number of disciples the *vārtā* literature can be divided into two parts: *Caurāsī* (84) *Vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā* (The discussion of 84 Vaiṣṇavas), and d*o sau bāvan* (252) *Vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā* (The discussion of 252 Vaiṣṇavas).The *vārtā* literature is special because of its proximity to prose. There is a veneer of supernatural and mysticism on *vārtā* literature. The author of these *vārtās* is said to be Gusaiṁ Gokulnāth.

All the *bhakt vārtā* literature is important from the literary historical point of view. It helps in determining the time period of various saint and *bhakt* (worshipper) poets. It is also very important that *bhakt vārtā* literature contains the peculiar writing styles of poets, so it has helped in identifying original authors of many doubtful and anonymous works. The *bhakt vārtā* literature provides great information on Guru-disciple institution, so it helps in determining and verifying the chronology of various saints and *bhakts*.

There are a couple of limitations of such genres of literature. The first one is that out of all the *bhakts* whose biographies are written, there are very less number of *bhakts* who have produced literature. The second constraint is that the literature is strictly woven around communities and groups (*sampradāya*), hence information is available about a selected few *sampradāya* poets.

The literature of Nāth and Sidh sects is of different type than the *bhakt vārtā* literature. Some of the texts enlisted in *Tan-jur*, which is a *bhotiyā* text, are *Tīrthikā Candālikā, Gītikā*, *Ḍākinitanugīti*, *Siddhyogī*, *Citrāsampradāyavyavsthān*, *Viṣnirvāhan-bhavnākram* etc. These texts play an important role in constructing the literary history of the so called 'dark age' of Hindi literary history.

Another important form of indigenous knowledge organisation is the *rīti granth* based on *alaṅkār śastra* "a scholarly apparatus that calibrated aesthetic experience, theorising how it works in terms of both how poets produce and how audience feel it" (Busch 101). At around sixteenth century, these vernacular *rīti granths* written mostly in Braj, appeared and continued in vernacular the classical Sanskrit literary tradition of "both compositional and interpretative principles of poetry" (Busch 101). These *rīti granths* were key to the development of a new knowledge infrastructure in vernacular. They assumed their place as "vernacular *śastras*" (Busch 102) and primarily were aesthetic treatises on female characterstics based on rasa theory, figures of speech and metrics (Busch 103). The sub-discipline of *rīti granths* was the *nayikābeda*, "a typology of different female characters" (Busch 79) based on *śṛiṅgāra rasa*.

Rīti theorists produced catalogues of female characters and differentiated (*bhed*) the heroines (nāyikā) according to them. This system of taxonomy of female charcetrstics acquired great complexity with each system divided into sub-systems and sub-systems with further divisions under it. These *rīti granths* were more than theoretical treatises of poetics but were original literary creations in their own rights. The nationalist Hindi criticism of the late 19th and 20th

century, considered these texts as repetitive, unoriginal and decadent examples of literature. With its degradation in the modern nationalist criticism, naturally, the classificatory scheme of *alaṅkār śastra*, especially the nāyikābhed was redundant. However, Allison Busch is of the opinion that these premodern Hindi texts must be read in using their "own procedures, hermeneutics, and literary canons" (104) and emphasis of new literary history and criticism should be on recouping this pre-modern system of aesthetic criticism.

Some of the taxonomies of *nāyikābhed* are: *svākīyā* (one's own wife), *parakīyā* (the wife of another man) and *sāmānyā* (woman available to all). Besides this division, *nāyikā*s were divided based on the stages in the relationship. A younger woman is *mugdhā* (innocent), she progresses to *madhyā* (somewhat knowledgeable) and finally to *prauḍhā* (mature). There are further sub-types in each of these categories. Another method of categorisation is based on how easy it is to anger the woman who decides if she is *uttamā*, *madhyamā*, or *adhamā* (Busch 79).

The literary theorists (Busch retains the concept of *kavikul*) of pre-colonial North India used multiple ordering practices to order literary knowledge. Only one was chronological. Busch gives the example of Bhikharidas, who in his *Kāvyanirṇay* begins his description of the canonical writers of Brajbhasha literature with two of the earliest: Sūrdās and Keśavdās. Similarly, Sūdan Kavi, employing the same convention in his preface, exhibits a historical sensibility and starts with Keśavdās. However, he drops it after that and proceeds alphabetically (Busch 217).

However, the most common way of conceptualising literary corpus was in the form of a *kāvya saṅgrah* (poetry anthology). The organising principle of a *kāvya saṅgrah* had nothing to do with historical time and most were compiled to commemorate revered personages. One important example is *Kavīndracandrikā* which collected *praśasti* poems in honour of Kavindracārya Sarasvatī. *Kāvya saṅgrah*s had an important function in the literature of religious sects. In Viashnava circles these *kāvya saṅgrah*s had collection of authors along with the poems, presenting a spiritual lineage of the prominent figures.

Collections of biographies and hagiographies of prominent religious figures in the *vārtā* and *bhaktamāl* genres worked to define the boundaries of religious and literary communities. The community of poets or what Busch calls the premodern *kavikul* defied the historical logic and "the same cultural space across great expanse of time and place" (Busch 217).

In Garcin de Tassy, while providing the indigenous historiographical sources, does briefly mention forms of organisation of knowledge both in Hindui as well as Hindustani traditions, like *vritta saṅgrah*, *bhaktamāl*, *charit kāvya*, bayāz etc. But it is the tazkira form that takes the central place.

Frances Pritchett describes the etymology of *tazkira* to be derived from an Arabic root meaning “to mention, to remember”. Even though *tazkira* was a form of writing general history, the literary tazkira grew out of “the ubiquitous little “notebook” [*bayāz.*] that lovers of poetry carried around with them for recording verses that caught their fancy”. A typical bayaz could include verses by its owner as well as by other poets, living and dead. The poetry could be in either Persian or Urdu or both. Most notebooks were collections for personal use. However, there were more serious, or more organized notebooks devoted only to certain kinds of poetry. The principle of organisation for such collections could be “the work of living poets or the finest poets, or poets from a particular city, or women poets, or poets in a certain genre” (Pritchett 1). On addition of some basic introductory or identifying information about the poets, a notebook could take the form of a tazkira.

Just as in *kāvya saṅgrahs*, tazkiras too document and organise literary corpus in varied ways. Pritchett calls this style of organisation “idiosycretic” and celebrates “their individuality, their insouciance, the insistence of each one on defining its own approach to its own group of poets” as opposed to the standardised scientific historical approach to modern literary organisation and classification. The contents of majority of the tazkiras were arranged alphabetically by the first letter of each poet’s *takhallus* or pen name. However, there were many other organising patterns. Pritchett reports that the earliest three tazkiras, all completed in 1752, presented their poets in pretty much a random order. The fourth, completed only months later, was alphabetical. The fifth, completed in 1754-55 was able to present the poets in an “early, middle, late” sequence. (Prithcett 2)

The literary critical tradition that was developing in best of these tazkiras conceptualised literary tradition and practice in ways quite different from the European critical tradition. An excellent example of this is the tazkira written by Muhammad Taqī ‘Mīr’ (1722-1810) which along with presenting his selection of poetry judges them on the nature and quality of the work and astonishingly, provides corrections or *islāh* that he felt would improve individual verses. (2) Modern critical standards are already visible in Mīr’s work when he claims that is poetic jusdgement are not based on aristocratic birth, courtly rank, or wealth. In the

discussion about the debates on the ordering formats in the eighteenth century Europe, alphabetical order was seen as a radical practice since it smashed the aristocratic and religious distinctions. Similarly, in Mīr's we find the inclusion of soldiers, Sufis, and poor men in need of patronage, as readily as he does the rich and powerful, a practice novel for its democratic outlook in contrast to the pre-modern Islamic historiography. Mīr also declines to be morally selective. He mentions a poet 'Hātim' who according to him is "ignorant" and "arrogant". Nonetheless "What do we have to do with such things? He has a lot of poetry--his *dīvān*, up to the letter *mīm*, is in my hands" (qtd. in Pritchett 11)

Modern Historiographical Systems

In an earlier section I elucidated in brief some of the changes in the organising technologies in the eighteenth century Europe. However, the most fundamental change in conceiving the knowledge system in the eighteenth century was the emergence of the modern historical thought. Modernization suggests "a break with traditional patterns of thought and institutions, in religion, economics and politics" (Iggers et al 25). This change reflected the scientific revolution, increasing loss of faith on Biblical chronology and a turn to the critical analysis of sources (developed after Biblical textual critical scholarship). History before this was seen as part of rhetoric (Iggers et al 22), firmly embedded in religious world view and quite often undifferentiated from the literary mode of writing. Modernisation of historiography involved categorising history as a scientific project, not a literary one; and the basis for its 'scientificity' was to be the scholarly examination of the evidence. Iggers et al argue that this scientific re-orientation "also contributed to the secularization of historical thought and writing, although religion continued to occupy an important role" (45).

It is important to place this change in historiographical outlook in the eighteenth century Europe since it was also the period in which European historiography started exerting significant influence on the historical cultures of the non-West (Iggers et al 19). However, it is equally important to remember that similar historiographical change geared towards modernisation were seen in many cultures worldwide most specifically in East Asian cultures and to a great extent in the Islamic historiography. The process of breaking away from traditional thought patterns and institutions was observed in all cultures but was the most radical in Europe (Iggers et al 11).

Despite such commonalities in the general development of historiography across cultures, Iggers et al argue that there was "a complex of specifically Western ideas which were

transmitted to the non-Western world while the latter sought to protect itself against Western domination" (12). Most striking of these was the idea that "history was a coherent process involving scientific, technological and social advancement. History was transformed from a chronicle of events to coherent narratives" (Iggers et al 12). At this point, there was a greater interaction between various historical traditions existing across the globe.

It has been a common charge against Indian knowledge systems by the colonial scholars that it did not possess a sense of history. However, recent research on the topic argues that even as India lacked the more familiar forms of history writing, there is no dearth of texts which are historical in intent and work towards recording memory. Yet while ancient (and largely Hindu) India lacked the more familiar forms of history writing, there existed numerous texts of historical intent and memory. 'Even Hindu kingdoms had elaborate records, genealogies, and annals which could be as precise as those found in other early modern societies.' The vernacular writings in medieval India reveal a new historical awareness not found in the earlier Sanskrit texts (Iggers et al 53).

Dialectics of Colonial Re-organisation of Knowledge

At the outset of the examination of knowledge re-organisation under colonialism it must be made clear that the entire process of knowledge re-organisation was not just a matter of greater interaction between and mutual influence of two or more knowledge traditions. To see it as a more advanced historical system on the historical systems that lagged behind in the development scheme of modernisation. Bernard Cohn, Nicholas Dirks and much subsequent work in their scholarly tradition have well established by now the theory of colonial production of knowledge which served the purpose of managing the empire and governing its territories. And admittedly, "in British India, the historiographic modality is the most complex, pervasive, and powerful, underlying a number of the other more specific modalities" (Cohn 5) and its ideological function was construction of the nature of Indian civilisations. The present work does not have as its primary purpose establishment of the category of colonial knowledge. It is taken as a given. It is within the ambit of this understanding that the efforts towards formation of a new literary tradition in Hindi are read.

However, there have been many recent studies on colonialism in India that present a diluted version of colonial domination, especially in the field of knowledge. While it is not possible to completely efface the brutal legacy of colonialism today, there are attempts to present colonial domination as diffusion of ideas, cultural contact, mutual encounters, model of

conversation, of collaboration and dialogue resulting in production of 'conjectural knowledge'[3]. Such revisionist attempts of reducing the scale and extent of the destructive role of colonialism must be rejected. Behind the pleas of nuanced models of intellectual history to fully understand the nature of colonial encounter, the larger context must not be forgotten.

The constant overlapping of the modernising processes and colonialism has led to much confusion in assessing the processes of knowledge reorganisation and historicisation that have taken place in the colonies. The dialectic of democratic and rational energies of modernity on the one hand, and rapacious rule of colonialism on the other, needs to be carefully understood. While the colonial role in transformations of traditional knowledge practices cannot become the basis for rejection of rational history writing, at the same time the generally violent and disruptive role played by the colonial knowledge practices cannot be ignored or brushed under the carpet. In other words, the difference between colonialism and modernity must not be effaced, even though it is quite often difficult to maintain.

Colonial knowledge practice in India directly impacted the European knowledge communities in many ways, it especially led to the birth of new discipline like philology which had as its basis the comaparitivist view of the new found knowledge of languages in the colonies.

It is worthwhile to pay attention to the ways in which Indians reconfigured Indian traditions and intellectual practices on the exposure to Western mode of intellectual enquiry. The resultant new Indian historiography was "shaped by its various levels of engagement (appropriations, entanglements, and estrangements) with precolonial practices of history" (Mantena 9). One the one hand this intellectual encounter was productive since it gave " rise to new practices of history with both Indian and British adherents to the new methods and practices" (Mantena 9), while on the other, owing to the acutely uneven power relations of the two parties, it resulted in the delegitimisation of "precolonial practices of history—rendering them ahistorical (or non verifiable) in light of the new historical method" (Mantena 13) and the Indian "narratives themselves got demoted to information and genres were dismissed" (Mantena 13).

[3] Although this by no means a homogenous body of research and represents vastly different views, for their plea to re-assess the role played by colonialism, see Trautman, Wagoner.

Historicisation of Literature

In the overall march of history "Indian intellectuals felt the need to re-arrange literary traditions into literary histories" (Orsini 4). Even as the desire to arrange Hindi-Urdu literary corpus historically had emerged quite early as demonstrated by Tassy's in his declaration of having written a literary history of Hindui and Hindustani and his expression of his acute awareness of a chronological ordered literary history which at that moment was not possible for him. However, it was in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that "the historical mode emerged as a new and increasingly dominant way of conceptualising Hindi literature, superseding the more diverse logics of earlier practices" (Busch 217).

Simultaneously, the "deeply multilingual society, with multiple traditions of knowledge and of literary production" (Orsini 1) as reduced to producing "literary history in terms of separate, single language traditions as the competitive and teleological histories of ('Hindu') Hindi and ('Muslim' or secular) Urdu" (Orsini 1). Tassy's work is the only exception to this trend. The project of literary history writing was merged with the bigger project of "crystallising communities around language and cultural identity" (Orsini 1). Such monolingual literary histories were necessarily marked by processes of "appropriation, neglect and exclusion" (Bangha 22).

Busch has argued that "in the case of Hindi, it is possible to trace with uncommon precision the advent of literary-historical thinking and to pinpoint the assumption that marred the new formulations" (217). This fact is borne out by the present work in which the slow seepage of new historical consciousness in the organisation of literature is visible progressively. Busch has further argued that neither Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire* (1839) or Śiv Siṃh Sengar's *Śivsiṃh Saroj* (1878), which she finds closer to "Indic tazkirās and *saṅgrahs* than with the modern literary histories" (217), "tried to construct a totalising narrative that would explain the centuries of multifaceted literary achievements in terms of a single, brute, temporal logic" (217). As I have demonstrated in my work that this lack of modern historiographic consciousness demonised by Busch was acknowledged by both the authors as a limitation and not a preference. It is exactly in these two works that the encounter between the two systems of knowledge production and organisation is most clearly visible.

Recent work on North Indian vernacular literary cultures emerging from Western academia is centred around the need to recoup and reclaim the excluded and neglected practices and genres. Similarly, attempts are being made to move in the direction of creating multilingual

literary histories. Orsini stresses that apart from the "indigenous taxonomies and quasi-histories were already developing in the eighteenth century" there is a need to "consider the other genres that were current in the literary culture more broadly conceived" (10). She herself has worked upon the *bārāhmāsā* and *premākhyān* forms of pre-modern literary culture existing across language traditions. Similarly, Busch underlines the importance of engaging with "literary values of premodernity" in writing the new histories of literature to counter the "European epistemological and aesthetic regimes have come to dominate the globe since colonial times" (79) and have worked to obscure and discredit "the sophisticated literary disciplines and interpretive codes of other cultures" (79).

Structure of the Thesis

In this thesis, I examine the formation of the genre of literary history in Hindi literary culture. I do this through examining select texts of literary history writings in Hindi. While the thesis does not aim to catalogue all the literary histories written in Hindi, nor do the texts selected encompass the entirety of historical writings in Hindi, these are perhaps most significant for understanding the broad range of contexts and forms in which the efforts to create a historical tradition of literary writings took place.

Chapter two focuses upon the first declared attempt of writing a literary history of Hindi ever in the form of the French man Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*. In this declaration I see a formal inauguration of the genre of literary history in Hindi. However, I believe such standard view of what makes up a literary history is insufficient to fully encompass the full scope and extent of history of indigenous literary knowledges of India, and more specifically in this case the Hindi region.

The development of the genre does not follow a linear development from a simpler form of organisation of literature along historiographic principles to subsequently more sophisticated forms. Tassy's work is an exception to this otherwise linear narrative of development of history of Hindi literary histories. Tassy's *Histoire* was well as other historiographical works are in my opinion, display a far more developed understanding of the form and format in its goal to manage Indian literary knowledge than the later histories of literature. It rose the challenge far more sincerely and admirably than almost any other history of literature to come.

First of all the chapter dives into a detailed delineation of the location of the author in time and space (geographical and ideological). Through Tassy's biography, the milieu of European Orientalism and its entanglement with the straight forward colonial domination has been established.

The central preoccupation of the chapter is to look chart out into detail the formal and methodological issues that it encountered in the rendering of this history and the innovative experiments and devices it evolved to overcome these. I examine the indigenous traditions of knowledge organisation especially the tazkira format. Next, the politics of archive and sources is exposed which is renders all indigenous knowledge into information that needs to be processed into proper "knowledge". The transition from one system of knowledge organisation to another inevitably leaves gaps as well as excesses in both the models. The chapter demonstrates that the resulting form can neither remain in tradtional indigenous formal boundaries nor strictly adhere to Western models if it has to truthfully and sincerely preserve and present the knowledge available.

I suggest that its significance more fundamental than any other work of history of literature in Hindi not only because of its position as the pioneering work in the genre but its contemporary value is because of its understanding of situating the literature and literary practices in the lives of people and highlighting the sociality of literature as well as its stubborn insistence of viewing Hindi and Urdu (Hindui and Hindustani) literature as a double literature and to write its history together.

Chapter 3 turns to the attempts made by the Indian litterateurs in organising Hindi literature along modern organisational patterns. While in Tassy the classificatory system had received a lot of attention, in these historians of the nineteenth century, it was primarily the historical consciousness and chronological matters that were focussed upon.

The chapter follows three writers and their writings as representatives of the historiographical work undergoing in Hindi literary sphere in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was when literature, history and consequently the questions of literary history shifted away from the debates of European Orientalism and acquired importance in the domestic arena. Historicisation of literature is an important step in the language development trajectory. Writing of history of literature were not limited to the comparitvely insular and distant sphere of internal and restricted scholarly debates but acquired the centrestage in the political and

ideological battlefield for establishing Hindi hegemony , at this stage, at the level of what is generally known as Hindi region.

While Śivprasād Sitāre Hind launches a passionate campaign for the modern historiographical mode of history writing attacking the traditional Indian pre-modern modes of historical consciousness, Bhartendu Harishchandra takes first tentative steps towards chronology and genre criticism. In Harishchandra we also find the awareness and active desire to cultivate the larger apparatus to give birth to and receive historical works of literature. This was envisioned in terms of formation of a Hindi public sphere, creating a body of Hindi literature, defining what is Hindi as well as claims on what is Hindi tradition. There was a decided break from Tassy's inclusive tradition of Hinui and Hindustani literature. The link between Hindui and Hindustani was more and less ruptured in Bhartendu and his Manḍal's writings.

Śiv Siṃh Sengar was comparatively more rooted in the older knowledge tradition and his attempts to instill modern thought in the traditional forms of literary knowledge organisation are unique and in a decidedly different vein from the previous authors. We do not have any proof of Sengar's participation in the Hindi movement directly. In fact his decision to maintain the term bhāṣā instead of modern Hindi did not fit in with the agenda of Hindi movement to provide Hindi with a literature and history.

I also establish that these attempts at forging a Hindi literary canon and history were higly exclusive and slid into the larger upper-caste Hindu agenda of Hindi nationalism in which caste and religious identities along with various vernacular literary traditions were marginalised.

At the formal level we can clearly see the imprints of the process of historicisation taking place in a text like *Śiv Siṃh Saroj*. The form at once expresses and constitutes the social identity of Hindi literature and plays an important role in the identity formation. This is also the period in which a lot of ground work involving textual criticism and fixing of methodology had started which were essential to create a larger database of information that will be required to create literary history out of.

Moving once again from indigenous writers to the British Indologist George Abraham Grierson, Chapter 4 focuses upon his *Modern Vernacular Literatures of Hindustan (MVLH)* a work that most histories of Hindi literature trace their origins to. Despite its outright denial of

it being a literary history, *MVLH* has been undisputedly been placed at the forefront of the literary history writing in Hindi and correctly so. Ira Sarma has observed that even the editors of the journal have chosen to label Grierson's work 'The Modern *Literary History* of Hindustan' in the volume's left hand side running header (footnote 51 190).

As such, this chapter focuses upon three aspects of Grierson's work viz. his philological theorisation of the development of the vernacular languages, canon formation of Hindustani literature and periodisation in literary history. Grierson's philological work arrived at conclusions that were decidedly against any of the two popular positions that saw the vernacular language of North India as either Hindi or Urdu. In fact, he furthered the marginalised tradition that considered the vernacular language to be the language actually spoken by people and not one of the standard forms. Through his philological work he was able to present detailed narrative of language development in North Inida from the ancient times to the present. In this otherwise fascinating area of research, the important thing to note for this research is its clear distinction between Hindi and other regional languages variously known as bhasha which despite overlaps had distinct literary traditions.

The two other aspects – canon formation and periodisation – were more in sync with the requirements of the Hindi movement and were to form the primary basis or all the future histories of Hindi literatre. On the one hand, bhakti literature was established as the main foundation of the vernacular literature of Hindustan, an opinion that still enjoys wide acceptance, at the same time this conceptualisation was further cemented through the periodisation with the maximum attention given to the medieval age and in that too, Bhakti literature. The representative of this literature, according to Grierson was Tulsīdās who represented the true vernacular spirit of being simple and close to people. The added appeal to Grierson was what he identified as catholicity of his sentiment. The following period of arrival of the British is characterised as barren where the amount of literature of worth had shrunk. Grierson's narrative then presents the British efforts to reinvigorate vernacular literature by artificially creating Hindi. The contemporary modern literature of Hindi was also linked to encouragement by the British.

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Chapter Two

Against the Divide: The First History of Hindustani and Hindui Literature

The first serious stated attempt to write a literary history of Hindi and Hindustani literature was by Garcin de Tassy, a French Orientalist, who wrote *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*[1] in the year 1837. The title of this work was a brave assertion at the time. For one he announces that he has written a history of literature, a task still quite novel in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even though there were precedents of literary histories in European languages, it was still a new genre that was in the process of developing and establishing itself. For example, the first proper history of German literature which was written by Gervinus only came out in 1835 (Batts 1). What was an even bolder move was to take as a subject of this history vernacular languages of Hindui and Hindustani. The only languages that were valued till well into the second half of the nineteenth century, by both foreign and indigenous litterateurs and scholars, were the classical cosmopolitan languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and to some extent, Tamil. Hindi and Hindustani had not yet acquired respectability as literary languages even with their practitioners. Urdu writers considered its literature inferior to Persian literature and it was still in the process of acquiring its confidence as an independent literary language. To then envisage these languages not only as languages with literature but as possessing autonomous and glorious literary traditions that were important enough to be studied and theorised. Considering the historic importance of this work of Tassy, it is still relatively unknown in Indian literary studies. For instance, Rosinka Chaudhuri states that it was only around the 1870s that literary history in the western style began to be written in the regional languages in India (894). The examples that she provides are Narmad's Gujarati-language work, *Kavīcaritra* (Lives of the Poets) which was written in 1865 and soon after in 1872, Ramgati Nyayaratna's *Bāngalā Bhāsa o Bāngalā Sāhitya Viṣayak Prastāv* , a history of Bengali literature was written.

In the nineteenth century, Indian language and literatures were experiencing a massive reorientation and restructuring similar to just about any other aspect of Indian society. Be it caste, religion, economics, political formation or culture, colonial encounter brought in colossal shift in socio-economic and cultural relations of India. The conception of language,

[1] Throughout the chapter, the title *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani* will be abbreviated to *Histoire*.

for example, was very different in pre-colonial Indian intellectual history. The modern conceptualisations had not yet evolved. It was a time of flux where old structures were withering away under new demands and pressures and new structures had not yet been erected. This is the reason that Tassy's work is perhaps most exciting of all the works that have been considered in this thesis. It is here that we see maximum innovation in terms of both form and content.

Tassy's *Histoire* as a text brings into focus all these questions of in-betweeness and grapples with them in all its sincerity. This chapter reads the text of *Histoire* historically by placing it in the time it was written and published in and how it reacted to, intervened in and suggested answers to the most relevant and prominent cultural questions of its time.

In scholarly works on literary histories, precursors to proper literary history are seen as partial literary histories, literary histories not-quite-there. This chapter proposes that *Histoire* is at once less than a literary history as well as more than it. In its transformation of available knowledge in to a new format, there is an excess that spills over boundaries of a traditional European model of literary history. At the same time, there is not sufficient information available to fill in the required sections of the model available from the European system.

Since Tassy's was the first to attempt the writing of a history of Hindi according to modern historiographical system, the difficulties that he had in front of him were novel and he had to forge completely new ways to manage them. The difficulties that he faced were twofold. First and foremost he found that there was a great dearth of available material. There was very little in the name of records of vernacular literature available that he could use. Second, most Indian texts were not dated. This made finding the time period they were written in a big hurdle. Consequently, it was not possible to contextualise the texts in the historical sense. This created a contextual vacuum in which any serious analysis of the text as well as periodisation of literature could not be made.

The historiographic genres that were used by the Indians till then were arranged along the principles quite different from what was familiar to him in Europe, which proved to be of limited use in writing a modern history of Hindustani literature.

These however were not the only problems that he had. The most complex and unprecedented problem that he faced was that of language. It is a question that continues to challenge theorists of literature till this day. Unlike the monolingual national literatures that

he was accustomed to seeing, not just European but also Persian literature of which he was a scholar before his interest shifted to India, Hindustan was a land teeming with hundreds of live languages. Even the dominant language which he called Hindui had an uncommonly complex and fraught history. Axes of religion, region, caste and class identities complicated the language question so much so that the same language was called by different names. The language question acquired unprecedented importance as the process of nation formation began to gain momentum. Colonial interventions moulded the language discourse in the directions suitable for its own good. Tassy grappled with the language question in all its complexity and presented a sharp critique of the British colonialism's interventions in the language debate.

The question that we must endeavour to answer is how Garcin de Tassy crossed the gap between the two historiographical systems while attempting a literary history of Hindi. To what extent was he able to modernise the practice of analysing and categorising literature in a historiographic format? Which new methods and categorisation techniques did he introduce while theorising Hindi literature and which indigenous techniques and structures did he adopt to present the information he wanted to?

The chapter is structured in fourteen sections. The first section is titled "Joseph Héliodore Sagesse Vertu Garcin de Tassy: A Typical French Orientalist" and presents the author's biography in brief situating him firmly within the tradition of continental Orientalism. The second section, "European Traditions of Indology", places French Indology vis a vis British and German Indology in the nineteenth century. The third section "*Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani* An Introduction" provides the information regarding the various parts and editions of the text and their contents. In "Hindi, Hindui, Hindustani: Naming of a Language" Tassy's views on the troubling question of language are given and it is shown that his exposition of views on language undergoes a change between the two editions. The second edition and other literary historiographical writings of Tassy around that time, intervene in the Hindi-Urdu debate and expose its communal foundations bolstered by the British policy of divide and rule. The next six sections titled "Indigenous Historiography", "Sources: Of Information or Knowledge?", "The Gap and the Excess", "A New methodology", "Classification Based on the Indigenous Literary Cultures" and "New Categories of Classification: Chronology, Religion, Gender", all address the issues pertaining to the interaction of the two knowledge organisation systems. "On Religion" posits that Tassy's views on Islam and Hinduism were developed in the light of superiority of

Christianity and its morality and betrays the missionary agenda supported by European Orientalism of the time. The next section titled "On Naming" presents Tassy's explication of the Islamic and Indian naming systems to help the reader place the poets socially, culturally and most importantly geographically. This links to the section after that titled "Literary Geography" which specifically looks into the geographical placement of languages and literatures of Hindustan according to Tassy. The last section, "Syncretic Traditions of Hindi-Urdu Literatures" argues that in Histoire we have a model of literary history unaffected by the Hindi-Urdu divide that needs to be recuperated for the writing of future connected histories of Hindi-Urdu literature.

Joseph Héliodore Sagesse Vertu Garcin de Tassy: a Typical French Orientalist

J von Dollinger[2], a figure well known in the nineteenth century Europe for his ecclesiastical as well as political views, addressed the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich, on March 28, 1879 in memoriam of its esteemed fellow, Garcin de Tassy. The address titled 'A review of the life and works of Garcin de Tassy' is one of the very few accounts available to us in English providing biographical information in some detail. At the commencement of his address he introduces Tassy thus:

> His work transcended the usual narrow circle of learned labour; he took an international position; he was the interpreter and spokesman of a great people, one of the most energetic and influential of the many learned intermediaries between East and West. His name is closely bound up with a popular movement, already in its beginnings powerful and full of promise, and will long be named and honoured even more on the banks of the Ganges than of the Seine, where he lived and died. (396)

Joseph Héliodore Sagesse Vertu Garcin de Tassy[3] was born in the French city of Marseille on 25 January, 1794. He is commonly known, however, as Garcin de Tassy where Garcin is his mother's name and de Tassy his father's. His family dealt in trade with the Middle East and he was exposed to Egyptian community living in Marseille as a child. In 1814, at twenty years of age, he started learning Arabic from two Egyptian teachers from Copt after which he decided to pursue higher education in Oriental languages instead of his family trade.

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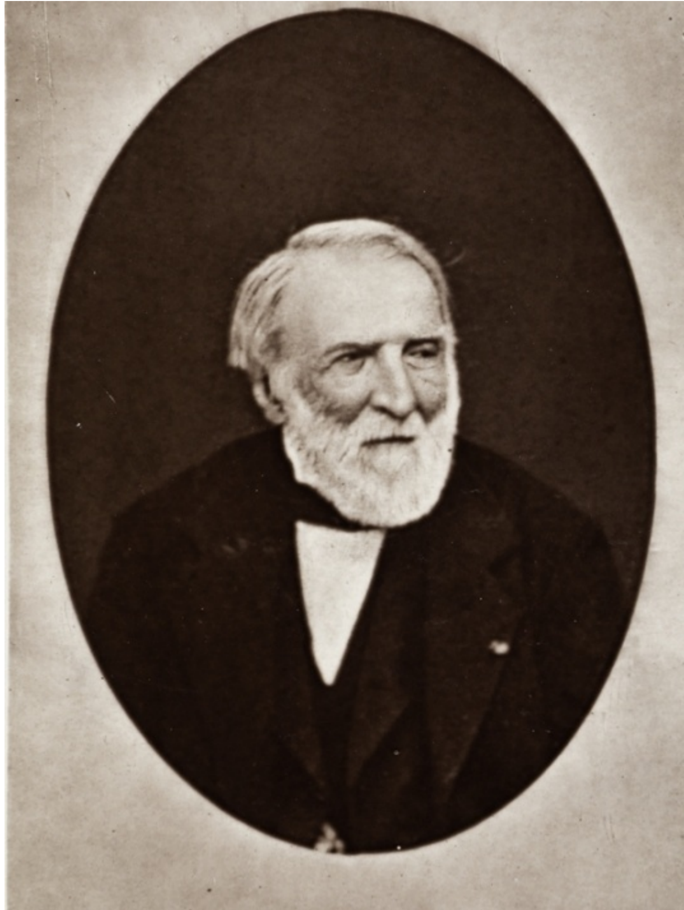
[2] Dollinger who was an important figure in the 19th century European Christianity had special interest in the religious developments in European colonies.

[3] The biographical information in this section has been gathered from all the works of Kamal S Abdali, Marc Gaborieau (2010) and J. von Dollinger (1879).



Following through this path, in 1917, as a 23 year old young man, he got himself admitted to Collège de France (Paris) "where he had the good fortune to be received into the school of the first Orientalist of his day, the illustrious and many-sided Silvestre de Sacy [4]. It was here that his determination was matured to "devote himself wholly and permanently to Oriental studies" (Dollinger 396). He studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish and passed with a diploma four years later. Sacy, who found a worthy and keen disciple in Tassy, encouraged him to undertake the study of Hindustani, a language that Sacy believed was of much importance to the French colonial mission in India and promised increasing prospects. Tassy immersed himself into studying Urdu (generally referred to as Hindustani by the British) from primers, dictionaries and grammars written in English. By 1826, Tassy was so acquainted with the language that he was able to translate into French Mīr Taq ī Mīr's *Tañb ī hu'l- Tuhhāl* under the title *Consul aux Mauvais Poètes: Poème de Mir Taqi* (Advice to Bad Poets).

Sacy petitioned the French government to establish a Chair for teaching Hindustani, which had not been taught before in Paris and he proposed Tassy's name for it. This petition generated great deal of opposition and resentment from several quarters. The opposition to institution of a Hindustani Chair is summed up in an article by a certain P. L. du Chaume[5]

[4] Antoine Isaac, Baron Silvestre de Sacy (21 September 1758 – 21 February 1838), was a pre-eminent French linguist and Orientalist. Edward Said in *Orientalism* calls him, "Not only the first modern and institutional European Orientalist, who worked on Islam, Arabic literature, the Druze religion, and Sassanid Persia; he was also the teacher of Champollion and of Franz Bopp, the founder of German comparative linguistics".

[5] P.L Du Chaume had written a letter to the editor of the *Nouvelles annales des voyages,* Vol. 39, in 1828 opposing French. Du Chaume has also contributed to the literary criticism section of the 1828 edition of Journal Asiatique, entitled *Livres élémentaires publiés par les Anglais à Calcutta* on the elementary books published by the British in Calcutta. I have accessed information on Du Chaume's pamphlet through its paraphrase in English from translator's note by Abdali on Tassy's "Hindustani Language and Literature".

who vehemently opposed it and argued against it aggressively in many pamphlets. He first published the article as a letter to the editor of a travel and geography magazine in 1828, and later circulated in the form of a pamphlet. Du Chaume's well argued and detailed critique of the project of institutionalising the study of Hindustani can be deconstructed into three parts. It begins with objecting to the conflation of the language of India with the language of Hindustan. The name Hindustani, he accuses, was being used to mislead and present it as the primary language of the people of India. He informs that Hindustan and India were not to be confused as the former was only the northern part of it and did not include the southern Indian territories (the Deccan). Hindustani was a misleading name because it was confusingly presented as the representative language of India. In fact, he reveals, northern India itself had three different languages: 1) the language variously called Hindustani, Hindi, Urdu-Zaban, and Rekhta, and generally written using Arabic characters; 2) Hindavi, in which many of the Arabic and Persian words occurring in the *first* Hindustani were replaced by words of Indian origin, and which was written using Nagari characters; and 3) Moor or Maur, which was the main language used by Europeans in Calcutta and Bombay to communicate with their servants, and in which gender distinctions were not observed and most word endings were swallowed or pronounced terribly. Du Chaume then describes the drawbacks of each of these three languages and opposes spending of French resources on them. He does not deem Moor worthy of teaching in a language school. He dismisses Hindavi because it did not have any literature other than translations of Sanskrit works that were best read in the original. As for the literature in Hindustani, he has very low opinion. According to him most of it consisted simply of translations of Arabic and Persian works. While some original poetry did exist, he believes it was too full of wild hyperbole to be appreciated by the Europeans.

His other two arguments pertain to the immediate practical interests of the French government and its colonial policy. He reasons that the use of Hindustani language was limited primarily to the Indian Muslims and that too was restricted to large cities and Muslim princedoms. Europeans who took up its study thinking that it was used all over India soon realised that it was hardly understood twenty miles or so away from urban areas. The reason for the British to learn Hindustani and invest in its knowledge was that most of their native administrative staff consisted of Muslims. For the French however, Hindustani was not of much use since it was not spoken or understood in any of the French colonies of India. The third important objection was its futility in the missionary drive for proselytising since

Hindustani being mainly the language of the Muslims. It was a fact well accepted in Europe that the Muslims were, among all non-Christians, the most resistant to faith change.

While proposing creation of the new Chair, Silvestre de Sacy also nominated Garçin de Tassy to occupy it and suggested that the latter write a grammar of Hindustani in French to facilitate the Hindustani course. But to du Chaume, Hindustani was too simple a language to warrant the effort. For him, just specifying some easy rules about verbs and providing a table of conjugations would have sufficed. Moreover, since Hindustani grammar books written in English already existed, and Hindustani dictionaries in English would have to be consulted anyway, he argued that the aspiring Hindustani student would have to learn English anyway, with or without the promised French book.

Many years later while writing the *Histoire*, Tassy was still shadow responding to du Chaume's arguments and was at pains to prove the importance of Hindustani language and literature. As it happened, Sacy managed to achieve a favourable decision and a Chair for Hindustani was created in May, 1928 at Ecole *Royale et Speciale des Langues Orientalis Vivantes*[6], Tassy became its first occupant and went on to hold this position for fifty years till his death in 1878.

His course was reported to have been quite popular and often students from all over Europe would come to attend it. There were also students from England who attended his courses in hope of joining Indian Civil Services. A stable position allowed Tassy to devote himself to scholarly life; a brilliant, prolific, extremely productive career took off. His work consisted of annotated translations of books and manuscripts in Middle Eastern and Indian languages, as well as research on the history, linguistics and grammar, and literature of those languages, and the ethnography of their speakers. He also continued doing research on Islamic culture and philosophy, and on conventional and as well as mystical traditions of Islam. Later he also became interested in Hindi and other languages and instituted a new course for teaching Hindi. His first responsibility, however, was to Hindustani or Urdu because of the Chair he occupied. He loved Hindustani deeply and remained committed to it throughout his life. His books and articles about Urdu were instrumental in introducing Urdu literature to Europe.

[6] The *Ecole Royale et Speciale des Langues Orientalis Vivantes* is a French higher education and research institution responsible for teaching languages and civilization. The teaching of oriental languages at this institution began in 1795 with the commencing of among other languages Turkish, Arabic and Persian. By the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth, this institution became a center of Oriental linguistic study.

A prolific writer De Tassy had 155 published titles under his name. His scholarly writing pertained to topics of Oriental languages and literature, Islamic religion, history and ethnography. Within a decade of his appointment at College de France[7] he produced the following works in rapid succession:

Doctrine et Devoirs de la Religion Musulmane in 1826 (republished in 1840, then substantially revised, enlarged, and retitled *L'Islam d'Après le Coran* in 1874); *Mémoire sur les Particulartés de la Religion Musalmane dans L'Inde, d'Apre's les Ouvrages Hindustani* (On Islamic Practices of India, based on Urdu writings) in 1831; *Appendice aux Rudimens de la Langue Hindustani*, *Contenant, Outre Quelques Additions la Grammaire, des Lettres Hindustani Originales, Accompagñees d'Une Traduction et de Facsimile* (sequel to the grammar of 1829 expanded into a language reader) in 1833; *Les Adventures de Kamrup* (translation of an Urdu masnavī by Taḥsīnu'dDīn) in 1834 and *Les Oeuvres de Wali* (in 2 volumes, translation of the poetry of Valī Dakknī) in 1834-36; *Manuel de l'Auditeur du Cours d'Hindustani, ou Thèmes Gradué, Accompagnés d' Un Vocabulaire Francais-Hindustani* (an Urdu reader for students) in 1836; and several journal articles and academic society addresses.

His most well-known works include the authoritative *Histoire de la Littèrature Hindui et Hindustani*, first published in 1837 and eventually expanded into a three volume book with various revisions (1839, 1867, 1870); a comprehensive biography of Urdu writers entitled *Les Auteurs Hindustanis et Leurs Ouvrages,'d' Après les Biographies Originales*, 1855; *La Rhétorique des Nations Musalmanes*, based on the Persian work *Hadā'iq al-Balāgha* by Shams u'dDīn Faqīr of Delhi, 1844. *Rudimens de la Langue Hindouie* (a grammar of Hindi) in 1847; *Prosodie des Langue Hindouie* (a grammar of Hindi) in 1847; *Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musalman, Spécialment de l'Arabe, du Persan, du Turc et de l'Hindustani* (about the poetic meters used in Middle Eastern languages and Urdu), 1848; *Rhètorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musalman*, which combined and enhanced the material of the two previously mentioned rhetoric and prosody books, 1853; *Le Langage des Oiseaux, Poème de Philosohoe Religieuse, par Farīd-Uddin Attar* (annotated translation of Aṯṯār's mystical Persian poem Manṯiq aṯ-Ṯair), 1857; *Allègories, Récits Poétiques et Chants Populaires Traduits de l'Arabe, du Persan, de l'Hindustani et du Turc*, 1876. His last work related to

[7] The college de France (estd 1530) is a premier research university in France. It was founded in 1530. It is not a conventional university in the sense that it does not grant degrees. Each professor is required to give lectures on specified topics to which admission is free. And the new professors are chosen by the professors themselves.

Urdu in *Bag o Baђar*, *le Jardin et le Printemps, Poème Hindustani*, the translation of Mīr Amman Dehlavī's *Bagh-o-Bahār*, which was finished in 1878, a few months before his death.

Much of his important work is spanned out in academic journals. For instance, his abridged translation of *Qissa-e-Gul-eBakāvalī* appears in *Nou-veau Journal Asiatique* in 1858 as *La Doctrine de l'Amour, ou Taj-Ulmuluk et Bakavali, Roman de Philosohie Reigieuse, par Nihal Chand de Delhi, Tranduit de l'Hindustani*, the French title reflects the Urdu title, "*Mazahab-e 'Ishq*" that Nihāl Chand gave to the story. In addition to writing about literary topics, Tassy also wrote articles discussing the music, songs, and customs of the Middle Eastern and Indian people.

In 1850, at the beginning of the academic year, he opened his course with the Introductory Discourses and Reports on Indian Language, Literature, and Life. In these addresses he reported on the progress of Urdu language and literature during the previous year as well as reviewed "the whole intellectual life and development of the Indian Empire" (Dollinger 387). His addresses are also referred to as annual reviews, reports, or lectures, each being mainly a survey of literary progress in Urdu during one year, but they also covered other topics. They essentially became reports on the literary developments in India, detailing new original works and translations, the important content of the magazines and newspapers, and the activities of academic societies. These lectures also included death notices of notable literary personalities. Relevant political comments and controversies were also discussed. These reports were based on Indian authorities whom he constantly quoted. The topics ranged from the question of language, the state of the serial press, the movements in the religious sphere, mission work, the labours of literary societies, and the efforts of the Government for school and popular education. All of this was prepared in the format of a journal article, with full documentation, references and footnotes, some running over a hundred pages. Together, the annual addresses of 1850 through 1877 provide a comprehensive literary history of Urdu during the second half of the nineteenth century. The only exception was 1857, the year of the great Indian revolt. They also contain many insights regarding the religious, communal, and linguistic divisions of India and their impact on Indian politics. "There was nothing of the kind in India, and so much the more eagerly were his reports read, quoted, and translated there, so that the Paris professor became an authority for the Hindoos, and his statements were appealed to and discussed in the native journals" (Dollinger 387).

Tassy was well recognised during his life for his scholarly contributions. In 1837, he received the French *Légion d'Honneur* decoration, and in 1838 became a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* [8], replacing the diplomat Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Périgord who had died that year. Tassy received several other honours and awards, and was elected to a number of academic societies in England, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Sweden, and Portugal

It must be mentioned here that Tassy did not consider literature and language in isolation but his research included literature in the broader scheme to understand the culture and society of the Orient. The information culled out of literature was employed to form opinions about Indian culture and society. At the same time, literature was read within the larger context of religious and cultural practices to understand its specific nature and form. Gaborieau points out the ethnographic dimension that Tassy's work had acquired after his *Memoire* was published in 1831. Tassy wrote lengthy, detailed reviews of the works of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali and Herklots, who laid the foundation of the ethnography of the Indian Muslims (Gaborieau 134). In his oeuvre we find a large number of writings with ethnographic bent. Amongst these is an article on Hindu festivals as well as his collection and translations of "popular songs" of both Hindu and Muslims[9]. In the latter book, the last section is called "Ethnological songs. He makes the following comment introducing a song for *holi,* in which women behave improperly toward their husbands: "I reproduce here this song because it offers some ethnological details" (qtd in Gaborieau 134). His study of Muslim names and titles remain a very important work to this day for those interested in ethnography as well as in onomastics. He became a member, and later the Vice-Chairman of the *Societe d'ethnographie de Paris.*

Summing up his life contributions in the service of European Orientalist mission, Dollinger wrote:

[8] The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* is a French society devoted to the humanities research. It was founded in February 1663 as one of the five academies of the *Institut de France* by the then finance minister Colbert. According to its charter, the Academy "is primarily concerned with the study of the monuments, the documents, the languages, and the cultures of the civilizations of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the classical period, as well as those of non-European civilizations." It plays this role by fostering scholarship, both through the awards it bestows, as well as through the presentation of scholarly papers during its meetings where discoveries of international and national importance are presented and discussed.

[9] Gaborieau has referenced these works as following: Garcin de Tassy, 'Notice sur les fetes populaires des hindous d'apres les ouvrages hindoustani". *Journal asiatique,* n.s., February March 1834, p. 48. And, Garcin de Tassy, 'Chants populaires de 1'Inde'. *Revue contemporaine,* Septembre 30, 1854, p. 59.

> For fifty years he worked on unwearied, and undisturbed by all the political changes and catastrophes, by word of mouth and by writing, for the extension of a knowledge of Oriental language and literature, and for promoting the harmony of East and West. Numerous students have gone forth from his lecture-room into all parts of the world; many of them are now living and working in England, and still more in India, where he is held in grateful honour and the journals have made his portrait familiar. (396)

It is interesting to note that, in the fashion of the French Orientalists of his time and indeed even those of much later[10], he never travelled. Despite having never been to India, the Orientalist writings of Garcin de Tassy, had a profound impact on subsequent generations of French scholars. It is a well known fact that not only did he not set foot in India but he travelled to England only three times in his life to visit linguists and scholars. He managed the vast and thorough knowledge of his academic subjects through voracious reading of books, manuscripts, academic papers, journals and news reports in various European as well as Oriental languages. He was in constant touch with other academics and linguists through correspondence.

On 2 September, 1878 at the age of 84 years, Tassy breathed his last in Paris. He was buried in hometown, Marseille.

European Indology

Tassy dedicates the first edition of *Histoire* to Queen Victoria, monarch of the Great Britain. It reads as follows:

> Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain
>
> Madam,
> It is only natural that I have asked for the honour to dedicate to Your Majesty a book that treats a portion of the literature of India, the vast and beautiful country subject to your sceptre, and which was never so happy as it is in its dependence on England. This is an indisputable fact. The modern writers of Hindustani would testify this: one finds in their works the praise of the British administration, under which there is no longer any fear of abuses and tyranny of the indigenous rulers.

[10] For portraits of typical European Orientalists see: Gaborieau (130-31)who characterises Tassy as a typical French Orientalist and Marchand who portrays a typical German Orientalist in her chapter "The Lonely Orienntalists" from *German Orientlism in the Age of Empire* (2009).

Among the ancient rulers of Hindustan, it was a woman who distinguished herself by her personal merit. By learning of Your Graceful Majesty, the Princess's accession to the throne, the natives are reminded of this Sultanā Raziā who was dear to them. They find, indeed, in the Queen Victoria the youth and the rare capacities of Raziā; And this consideration can only attach them more strongly in the country to which the divine providence has destined to subjugate them.

I am, with the utmost respect,

Madam,

Your Majesty,

The most obedient servant,

GARCIN DE TASSY.

Paris, 15 April, 1839.

(Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 1)

The short dedication is interesting on several counts. The first is establishment of Oriental despotism, a major theme in Tassy's work, at the outset. Tassy insists that India had never been as happy and prosperous in its history as it was under Britain's rule as there was no fear of abuses and tyranny of the indigenous rulers. The concept of Oriental despotism had an important place in the French Enlightenment thought. Montesquieu in *L'Espirit des Lois* presented his analysis of despotism which he defined in terms of concentration of authority that leaves no space for liberty and is grounded upon the principle of intimidation. He systematically outlined its various connections with climate, religion, manners, economy and laws making it the most important contribution to debate on despotism in the 18th century. Oriental despotism was the main ideological prop for the establishment and justification of colonialism. According to this theory, the British had displaced the indigenous regimes of terror and instituted a rule based on law. The acquiescence of the local Hindustani literati is presented as approval and legitimisation for the rule.

The relations between the French and English colonialisms were complex. Especially for a scholar like Tassy whose area of specialisation was not directly useful for his nation's interests of colonial expansion. The primary political and intellectual authority in Hindustan were the British. With time it became increasingly clear that there was no chance of the French advancement in India towards the North. With no immediate inter-colonial contradiction it was not surprising that, by and large, Tassy was supportive of the British

administrative efforts. He did have serious reservations and oppositions on a few topics especially on the question of language and education but when viewed in totality, he represented the vision of European Orientalism which was fundamentally in service of colonial project. Dollinger makes astute remarks highlighting Tassy's relationship with the English colonial regime:

> It is not easy for a Frenchman to do full justice to the position and administration of England in India. He cannot forget that France and England once contended for the possession of that fair and wealthy land, that there was a moment when it seemed doubtful whether France would not win the vast inheritance. It was not an Englishman, but a Frenchman, Dupleix, who first undertook to make conquests in India with an army composed of natives. Yet the aspect of the present condition of the world brings home to Frenchmen the question so unwelcome to their patriotism, why it is that in whatever region French and English aims and arms have come into conflict their own nation has had to succumb, while the British remained masters of the field, alike on the Ganges, in Canada, in the West Indies, and in Egypt.
>
> Meanwhile, the clearness and freedom of Garcin's cosmopolite breadth of view and his love of truth would not allow him to mistake the greatness of this British creation, or to underrate its value. His reports and reviews, indeed, have done more than any English work known to me to rouse the admiration of the reader for this political edifice. The Empire of British India is so extraordinary a phenomenon, and it is so unique and unparalleled in the history of the world, that it fills the beholder with perpetual astonishment, and constrains him to reflect on the ways and means by which this marvellous edifice was constructed and so firmly consolidated.
>
> I know few Frenchmen in whom national idiosyncrasy and narrowness were so thoroughly subordinated to cosmopolite feeling and an unselfish love of humanity. Nor was there in him any trace of that partly personal, partly national vanity, which we so often smile at as a French infirmity. (387)

The second point to note in the dedication is the curious comparison of Queen Victoria with Raziā Sultānā, in which he assures her that the natives look upon her as they did towards Queen Raziā, their beloved monarch; and in her youthfulness and rare qualities she follows Raziā and this similarity, binds them to Britain a country that has divine providence to rule upon them.

But the question is why did Tassy dedicate his monumental work to the British monarch and not Louis Philippe the First, the French ruler? This after Tassy had not so long back been awarded a permanent position to teach Hindustani following a bitterly fought debate on whether Hindustani is beneficial to the French colonialism or not. He was not required to do so even though his work was being published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland[11]. Answer to these questions might be found in the changes witnessed by the French society and academics.

Douglas T. McGetchin has written in his *Indology, Indomania and Orientalism* (2009), about the change in the French scholarly landscape after the July Revolution of 1830 in Paris. Both sciences as well as Oriental literary studies faced increasing hostility from the authoritarian regimes in the first half of the nineteenth century. He states that according to some scholars (Robert Fox, George Weisz) French sciences were to recuperate from this neglect in the mid-1960s. However, there was no such turn of events for the Oriental studies which carried on the path of steady decline. The entire decade of 1830s saw distressing decline in terms of its finances and membership. In fact, 1836 was a particularly harsh year when the *Societe* considered the possibility of ceasing all other publications barring the *Journal Asiatique*. M. J. Mohl, the famous Orientalist, reported that whatever little support the Ministry of Public Instruction provided to the *Societe* by the French government was cut in 1846. In such a discouraging background where financial as well as intellectual acceptance of the public was waning, it is not surprising that Tassy chose to get his work published through the Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland.

French Orientalism had advantage of an early start and fairly elaborate academic institutional foundations. It had pioneering Orientalist giants like Sacy, Rèmusat, Burnouf who had paved the way for the discipline in Europe. McGetchin believes that apart from the reasons of French authoritarian regimes, French Orientalism lost favour with the public due to its internal contradictions. He refers to the Florists controversy that raged in the Societe in the late 1820s and early 1830s in which two translational approaches, Romanticist and scientific philologist, fought for dominance. Romanticists or Florists represented by Sacy were known for their fanciful and artistic approach to the Oriental texts as opposed to the scientific

[11] Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland was a committee constituted in 1828 with royal patronage in Britain. The aim of this committee was to institute the Oriental translation fund for the translation and publication of works on Eastern history, science, belles- lettres that were inaccessible to the Europeans then. Although the remit of this committee was a distinct zone, it formed an important component of the Royal Asiatic society

precision and accuracy demanded in translation by the anti-Florists. McGetchin considers that it is by discarding the French conventions of literature and taste that Orientalists suffered a crisis of assimilation which in turn cut away support from the government as well as intellectual circles. By 1969, Mohl had to write in his report about the moribund state of Oriental studies in France,

> I am no longer speaking of the chimeral hope of ever seeing the study of Oriental languages becoming common among scholars, but only of the desire that should animate all of us to see the results of research about the Orient enter the common fund of knowledge that one demands from a well educated man. This interest, which we would like to awaken in cultivated minds, exists in Germany to a rather high degree, to a lesser extent in England, and is almost lacking in France. We possess the most noteworthy and indisputable evidence of this indifference in the silence of the Paris newspapers, so interested in ceaselessly studying the public taste. Thus I am sure that you would find twenty German newspapers which report to their readers the way Burnouf deciphered the inscriptions of Darius, his discovery of *Zend*, and the results of his research on Buddhism, while you would not find perhaps even a single French newspaper which found it worthwhile to speak of it. It is this isolation that weakens Oriental studies in France and places this part of the heritage of national glory in danger. (qtd. in McGetchin, *Indology, Indomania and Orientalism* 52)

Indology might have started off by England and France at the turn of the century but in the second half of the century Germany emerged as the leading centre of Indology, primarily Sanskrit studies. The British Indology removed its focus from Sanskrit studies slowly and as the century proceeded modern Indian languages were taken up for serious study and research. As explained earlier French attention to Indology dimmed considerably owing to the structural limitations and conservatism of its academic establishment (McGetchin, *Indology, Indomania and Orientalism* 31). Germany's vigorous enthusiasm towards Indology[12] was an anomaly in the sense that it was a European country with absolutely no stakes in the South Asian colonialism directly. German attention to Indology was motivated by political and cultural agenda within Germany and centred around the Aryan racist ethnology and Aryan homeland. Dollinger places the importance of German interventions in the larger Indological projects of Europe,

[12] There is an extensive scholarship on German Orientalism. For further information apart from McGetchin, see Suzanne L. Marchand (2009) and Todd Konje (2004).

> To us Germans too a part is assigned, and not the least, in the great work of Europeanizing Asia. On us the duty is specially incumbent of vigorously prosecuting Oriental studies with all the zeal and thoroughness of which—to name only members of this Academy—scholars like Haug, Plath, Spiegel, Max Muller, and Trunip have given and still give us so bright an example. When the Orientals were settling down in troops in old Rome, Juvenal said that "the Syrian Orontes bad flowed into the Tiber/'* Would that men may be able to say here after that the Rhine and Elbe, the Danube, Isar, and Spree, have flowed into the Ganges and Indus—I mean that German knowledge and literature have achieved their proper part in the enlightenment, the intellectual and moral regeneration,- of the great Indian people ! As yet the Hindoos have translated hardly any but English works for themselves. May the time not be very far distant when the productions of the German mind shall also be read and appreciated by Indian Brahmins, and may their choice fall, not on poisonous plants, but on the noble, nutritious and healing products of our literary garden! (414)

Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani

Tassy published two editions of *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*. Volume one of the first edition was published in 1838 while the second volume came out nine years later in 1847. It was printed in Paris under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee of Great Britain and Ireland. Volume I has biographical descriptions of 738 writers and poets of Hindi and Urdu. Including the preface and appendices, it has around 648 pages. The 640 pages long volume II contains introduction as well as translation of excerpts from a representative selection of texts and their analysis. The selected excerpts are primarily taken from *Bhaktamāl* and *Premsāgar*. Selected writings of Kabīr, Pīpā, Mīrābāī, Tulsīdās, Bilvā mangal, Pṛthvīrāj, Madhukar Sāh, Agradās, Śaṅkarācārya, Nāmdev, Jaidev, Raidās, Raṅkā and Baṅkā, Mādhodās, Rūp and Sanātan are translated into French from *Bhaktamāl*. He follows this by attempting a comparative study of Biblical stories and Indian belief system as represented in literary texts. From Premsāgar he includes translated excrepts depicting *Kaṃsavadh, Śaṅkhjanm, Dvārikā-sthāpnā, Rājsuya-yagna, Narkāsur, Ṛtuvarṇan* and *Mathurāvarṇan*. He also includes *Sundarkāṇḍ* from Tulsīdās as well as sections of *Siṃhāsan Battīsī*. Rest of the contents are translations from Urdu literature. It includes *Ārāiśe mehfil*, Saudā's writings on the Lahorean poet Fidavī as well as numerous ghazals, qasidā, masnavī, satires etc.

HISTOIRE

DE LA

LITTÉRATURE HINDOUI

ET HINDOUSTANI

PAR M. GARCIN DE TASSY

PROFESSEUR À L'ÉCOLE SPÉCIALE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES VIVANTES
MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE
ET DES SOCIÉTÉS ASIATIQUES DE PARIS, DE LONDRES, DE CALCUTTA, DE MADRAS
ET DE BOMBAY
CHEVALIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR, ETC. ETC. ETC.

The Hindi dialects have a literature of their
own and one of very great interest.
H. H. Wilson, *Introd. to Mack. Collect.*

TOME I

BIOGRAPHIE ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE

PARIS

PRINTED UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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The second revised and augmented edition was published in three volumes, the first two in 1870 and the third in 1871. It is published by Adolphe Labitte[13], the distributer of *Societe*

[13] Adolphe Labitte was the founding owner-editor of the French bimonthly *La Bibliophilie*. He also was the bookseller at the National library in France.

Asiatique and printed by Henri Plon[14]. After a preface and long introduction, the first volume mentions 1223 writers and poets, the second volume 1200 and the third 801. The second volume does not contain any preface, introduction or memorandum. The third volume has a short memorandum, a post-scriptum on Urdu, two indices on writers and books and two appendices pertaining to newspapers and texts.

Not only is there a great amount of expansion of material in the second volume, but some translations which were available in Europe since the first volume were dropped and much original literature with fresh translation included. The second edition is also important because its insights on Indian languages, literature and culture gain much in breadth as well as depth.

The extracts that he takes from Hindui works are primarily from three sources: *Bhaktamāl*, *Premsāgar* and Tulsīdās's *Rāmāyaṇ*. In the extracts from Hindustani writings, he gives the most space and importance to the sections taken from *Arāiś-e-Mehfil*, which he considered the main work of modern Indian literature. Apart from it he translated much new material specifically for this volume for example *Rose of Bakavali* (*Gul o Bakāvalī*), a satire named 'Advice to the Bad Poets', description of Calcutta etc.

In the preface, the foremost concern Tassy addresses is that of justification of study of a modern Indian language contrary to the established pattern of studying the classical Oriental languages. Apart from the active campaign against the establishment of the Hindustani Chair in Paris, even the general atmosphere in European Oriental scholarship was inclined against any systematic study of Modern languages. The earlier forays into modern Indian languages had been primarily by the missionaries in their individual capacity without any support like the European libraries at their hands. Tassy recognises the increasing importance that modern Indian languages were acquiring in the European colonial as well as missionary enterprise. Unlike Germany, the British Indology was to slowly extricate itself from the study of Classical languages like Sanskrit and turn their attention to the modern vernaculars owing to the strong administrative requirements of ruling the land (McGetchin 31), although this change in direction was very slow to come about in the scholarly field.

[14] Henri Plon (ca. 1806-1872) born in Nivelle, France, he founded the Éditions Plon Book Publishing Company Paris, France, in 1852 along with his brothers. They later got the title of Emperor publisher and published historical facts of France, plus the correspondence of King Louis XIII, Maria Antoinette and Napoleon.

The year the first edition of the first volume of the Histoire was published was also the year in which the British instituted Hindustani as the official language of the provincial government in Hindustan and Bengal presidency. Persian was dethroned from its official status of the court language even though it still retained its prestige in the cultural sphere. Tassy conveys his hopes that Hindustani will undoubtedly replace Persian even in diplomatic correspondence and continue its rapid gain in importance.

To establish Hindustani and Hindi as languages with their distinct identities independent of their Persian and Sanskrit lineage, he undertakes an introductory description of their literatures. In fact, he reminds the reader of the epigraph of the book that he had taken from the illustrious Indologist H. H. Wilson[15] —"The dialects of Hindi have their own distinctive literature which is of greatest importance". Over the next few pages he delineates this distinctiveness in not just its literary quality but also in its historical and philosophical sense.

He calls Hindui "the Romance language of Hindustan" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 5). According to him its historical importance lies in the fact that it contains historical description of Indian Middle ages written in lyric form. He gives example of Cand Kavī's *Rāso* written in the twelfth century that had been mentioned in Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, and the history of Bundelās written by Lāl Kavī in the seventeenth century. He proclaims that even though the British scholars have not been able to collect enough historical texts it does not mean that such literature has not been written. He is assured of this fact since some scholars have reported the presence of a wealth of such literature in Rajputānā. It is worth mentioning here that within the historical literature he also mentions the biographical literature available in Hindui of which *Bhaktamāl* is deemed as the representative text.

Hindustani and Hindui literature also has a divergent trajectory from the Hindu or classical Islamic philosophies. He identifies the fundamental character of Hindustani poetry as that of popularising the more sublime and profound philosophical doctrines. Hindustani poetry couched the theme of the union of man with God in allegories of romantic love. Popular

[15] Horace Hayman Wilson (ca. 1786 – 1860) was an English Orientalist. He came to India as part of the East India company's medical establishment as assistant surgeon in 1808. He became deeply interested in the ancient language and literature of India, and was appointed in 1811 appointed secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1813 he published the Sanskrit text with a translation in English rhymed verse of Kālīdāsa's charming lyrical poem, the *Meghadūta*. He prepared the first *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1819) from materials compiled by Indian scholars, supplemented by his own researches. Later he acted for many years as secretary to the committee of public instruction, and superintended the studies of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. He was one of the staunchest opponents of the proposal that English should be made the sole medium of instruction in native schools, and became for a time the object of bitter attacks.

allegories found in such literature are those of the gadfly and the lotus, the nightingale and the rose, the moth and the candle. This poetry is found in *dīvān*, a collection of ghazals as well as in many popular songs.

He accepts the argument that a great part of Hindustani literature consists of translations from the Persian, Sanskrit and Arabia literature and borrows heavily from their classical literary traditions. However, his understanding of the translation practice refuses to see it as an imitative or merely derivative method. The importance of the translation, according to him, lies in its creative contribution to enrich as well as rejuvenate the target language. It makes available the high doctrinal literature into simple explanatory version which helps the contemporary scholars with the obscure or ambiguous passages of the original. Indeed a lot of important works which had been lost to us in the original are available through their modern vernacular translations. He even goes on to proclaim that "a good translation is sometimes preferable to the original work; anyway, a translation is never unimportant" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 8). One must remember here that one of the primary activities in the earlier Oriental scholars was translation of Oriental literature into European languages. The Florist controversy mentioned earlier too had two contrary approaches to translation at its heart. Tassy was firmly in the Florist camp which had his mentor Sacy as its leader. The view that translation is a creative act that could potentially better the original meant creating a work that stood on its own as a creative piece not just scholarly work. It was this understanding that was vehemently opposed and defeated by the anti-Florists who considered translation as a scholarly duty to scientifically translate the original as faithfully as possible.

Tassy's avowed aim for writing this work was to make the unknown Hindustani literature worthy of the attention of the scholarly work. His statement that the Hindustani literature was unknown to Europe was absolutely true. He was one of the very few scholars who paid any scholarly attention to the vernacular languages in the first half of the nineteenth century. The only systematic work done prior to this was at the Fort William.

The Hindui literature available around this time was quite sparse. Yet the major canonical writers find mention in his very brief account. The most famous of all the Hindi literature was the Hindi *Rāmāyaṇ* written by Tulsīdās which far exceeded the Sanskrit original masterpiece written by Vālmiki in popularity. The masses that he speaks of in the context of Hindi or Hindui literature are the Hindus. Cand Bardāī's heroic epic *Prithvīrāj Rāso* had already gained importance in the history of Hindi literature. Another perceptive remark he makes

about the literature found in Hindi was regarding its overwhelmingly religious character. He remarks that the interesting fact about this religious literature is that most of it is written by the Vaiṣṇavas. He identifies Vaiṣṇava sects as being he representatives of the modern school of Hindus as opposed to the old school of the Śaivas. The literature written by non-Vaiṣṇavites is also written by the modern moderate reformers like Nānak, the Sikh guru, Rām Ānand, Dādū, and a number of others. He makes a special mention of Kabīr who he found most interesting because according to Tassy he wanted to combine Hinduism and Islam by way of their common philosophical and religious themes.

Unlike Hindui literature, he felt, Urdu literature did not display as much originality in its content. Urdu literature lacked in historical works but compensates this lack with its wealth of very engaging and sophisticated poetic works. He notes Urdu epic poetry as "highly developed creations, especially noteworthy because of their exploitation of brilliant metaphors" (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 144).

He comments upon the peculiarities of indigenous literary culture from an outsider's perspective. For an Indian to read his descriptions is an interesting experience since it de-familiarises the familiar and provides fresh perspective. He takes up the titles of Urdu works as his subject and finds that they are very sophisticated and metaphorical just like the poetic aliases of their authors, though he laments that the titles are completely unrelated to the contents of the text. He gives elaborate examples to illustrate his point:

> Thus, an extremely popular work of fiction, which has undergone numerous editions, is entitled *The Garden and the Spring* [*Bāgh-o-Bahār*], but it is really about four dervishes recounting stories to a king. [Here are some more works whose titles give no clue about their contents:] *The Relics of Ancestors* [*Āṡāruíṣ- Ṣanādīd*] (description of monuments of Delhi); *The Adornment of Assembly* [*Ārāʾiś-e Maḥfil*] (historical and statistical information about India); *Illumination of Intellect* [*Khirad Afrōz*] (tales by Bidpāʾī); *Magic of Eloquence* [*Seḥruíl-Bayān*] (the tale of Price Bēnaẕīr); *Garden of Urdu* [*Bāgh-e Urdū*] (Urdu translation of *Gulistān*); *The Spring without Autumn* [*Bahāre Bēkhazān*] (manual of formal correspondence); *Garland of the Devoted* [*Bhakta Māl*] (biography of Hindu saints); *Bounty of Knowledge* [*Faiẓuíl-ʿUlūm*] (translation of Rumiís *Maśnavī*); *The Rose of Forgiveness* [*Gul-e Maghfirat*] (lamentation over the martyrs of Karbala); *Bouquet of Pleasure* [*Guldasta-e Nishāt*] (anthology of poetry); *The Thornless Garden* [*Gulśan-e Bēkhār*] (biography of

> Hindustani poets); *The Sturdy Cord* [*Ḥabluíl-Matīn*] (treatise on Islam); *The Uplifter of Hearts* [*Mufarriḥuil-Qulūb*] (translation of *Hitopadeśa,* [a collection of Sanskrit fables]); *The Attraction of Hearts* [*Jaẕbuil-Qulūb*] (description of Mecca); *The Ocean of Love* [*Prem Sāgar*] (story of Krishna); *The Permitted Magic* [*Seḥr-e Ḥalāl*] (treatise on rhetoric); *Royal Pleasure* [*Surūr-e Sulānī*] (translation of *Shāhnāma*); *The Forgotten Remembrance* [*Farāmōś Yād*] (tale of Shakuntala); *The Touchstone of Wisdom* [*ʿAyār-e Dāniś*] (tale of Kalila and Dimna); etc. (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 145)

The Language question or What's in a Name

A considerable amount of colonial research on languages pertained to identifying and classifying languages. European scholars' views on languages stemmed from their conception of monolingual nationalities. In a richly multilingual culture like India this understanding confounded the European Indologists. Much of the initial writings by the Christian Missionaries and later the colonial Indologists were about indentifying and classifying languages and standardising them through dictionaries and grammars. The very first step of identification of languages was a confounding business for they soon realised that the Indian conception of language was very different from them.

David Lelyveld writes that in India the practice of identifying a language as a bounded entity located in dictionaries, grammars, literary canons and a possession of a community of people who can be counted and located on the map is a nineteenth century development. The pre-colonial language histories are not to be construed "as bounded bodies of linguistic behaviour called 'languages'" (Lelyveld 201). Apart from the classical languages, the vernacular languages,

> like their *jāti* identities, were believed to be the result of mixing over time and were situationally variable. Languages were not so much associated with place as with function, and in many cases the naming of a language for the directors of British census operations and more elaborately for the *Linguistic Survey of India* was problematic. People didn't have languages; they had linguistic repertoires that varied even within a single household, let alone the marketplace, school, temple, court, or devotional circle. These codes of linguistic behaviour took on the same characteristics of hierarchy that other sorts of human interaction did; they were after all the most common medium of interaction... Language then was part of a flexible ideology of occasion and identity. In Sanskrit drama and also in a good deal of the courtly

> literature of the later Muslim sultanates there is often a deliberate use of multilingual variation in a single text, and many wrote in more than one language. (Lelyveld 201)

Tassy begins the preface to the first edition of volume one of the *Histoire* by giving a brief history of the development of Hindui and Hindustani. In this account, by the end of eleventh century, modern Indian languages had replaced Sanskrit. The generic name of this modern language in the 'ancient empire of India' was bhāśā or bhākhā and the more particular appellation was Hindavi or Hindui (language of the Hindus). Over the centuries while this language was taking its shape, Muslim invaders arrived in India in several waves. First came Muhammad of Ghaznī, after whom the Paṭhān dynasty was established and so it continued till Timūr seized Delhi in sixteenth century. As a result of these invasions, the language of the conquerors blended with that of the conquered in the towns which came under the Muslim rule. As the connection between the Hindus and the Persians sustained, this admixture continued to develop further with time. Timūr seized Delhi and set up an army camp in the city which became known by its Tartar name Urdu. The people were obliged to speak the new Hindu-Muslim idiom which popularly began to be known as Urdu language. The same language was also called as *Milī* or *Rekhtā* by the poets.

He informs of a similar philological phenomenon that occurred under the Muslim dynasties which ruled the various kingdoms around the same time in South India. The Hindu-Muslim idiom thus created became known by the name of Dakhnī (southern). These two dialects, Urdu and Dakhnī, spread all over India through the regions conquered by the Muslims. He compares these two dialects to the *langue d'oil* and *langue d'oc* (northern and southern French) of France in the Middle Ages. While at the same time the Hindui spoken before the Muslim invasions remained in use in the villages, among the Hindus of the Northern provinces. He summarises the argument by claiming that although these languages were very different from one another in their choice of expressions, they nevertheless formed one single language, governed by the same syntax, and they were all known by the vague name of Hindi (or Indian).

The most remarkable difference between the two editions is the view he expresses on the language question. The language question had acquired greater complexity meanwhile. The colonial impetus towards promoting the vernacular languages, the standardisation of languages to acquire the characteristics suitable to be lingua franca, competing claims of languages to achieve the official vernacular status as well as new researches in philology- all of these collectively created a situation that was vastly different from the 1830s.

The same year the first edition of the Histoire published a major step was taken in the British colonial language policy that was to change the linguistic landscape of India in the time to come. Through the Act No. 29, the official language of the rule in the provincial administration was changed from Persian to the vernacular language of the province. The act specifically directed only the Bengal Presidency since the Madras and Bombay Presidencies had already replaced Persian with vernacular languages. The impact of the Act 29 far exceeded the limits of the Bengal Presidency with it being an all-India Act and a foundation for all future language policies of India.

The Hindi-Urdu language feud had its origin in this new colonial policy. The moot question was which language will replace Persian as official language of revenue and administration. Both Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian script) and Hindi laid stakes to it. The access and competency in the official language had obvious economic benefits with all the government jobs and dealings with the government to be done in the official vernacular. Both the languages had their supporters mostly along the religious line.

In the preface to the second edition of the *Histoire* he addresses the Hindi-Urdu linguist divide squarely and takes a firm stand in favour of Hindustani in the debate. The primary attack of the Hindi camp on the Urdu/Hindustani language was directed against its foreign origin as opposed to the indigenous roots of the Hindi. Tassy tackles this argument of foreign versus indigenous origin at length and exposes its faulty linguistic foundations. In his developmental narrative of the language, he stretches back the timeline of Hindui further back and links its origin not to Sanskrit but to Prakrit. Sanskrit is identified as the language of power as opposed to Prakrit, language spoken by ordinary people. Sanskrit is 'cultured' whereas 'Prakrit' is 'natural'. As an example he talks of the Sanskrit plays where women and the servant characters speak in Prakrit unlike the elites who converse in Sanskrit. Aside from the changes in the origins of Hindavi, rest of the sequence of development remains pretty much the same as in the first edition.

A year later he further expands his views on the language situation in India in his *Origin and Diffusion of Hindustani* (1871). He makes an important alteration by introducing the theory of Aryan invasion to the history of Hindi literature. The roots of Hindi are pushed back deeper into history to pre-Aryan times and Sanskrit loses its position as the source language that it was considered in the first edition of the *Histoire*. Sanskrit is the language of invading Aryans and Prakrit of the original inhabitants. By establishing Sanskrit as the language of the

conquest he at once puts it first in the line of languages of foreign influence. However, he adds, the languages of common people did not disappear. In fact, it re-emerged with a new vigour whenever they were not suppressed. The corresponding analogy that he gives is that of Greek and Italian. Italian did not cease to exist on the arrival of Latin. The languages in the north started being called Deśī (language of the natives), Hindui (language of the Hindus), Hindi (language of India) and he adds, in particular Brajbhāśā from Braj, "a region known for purity of its language" (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 140).

Next he carefully demonstrates how the process of Persian and other languages of Muslim conquestors influencing and dominating the indigenous languages was a repeat of what had already taken place with the Aryan Sanskrit.[16]

> In truth, this language never again returned to its earlier state; even its feel changed and it became burdened with such a huge number of Sanskrit words that it could be suspected of being derived from that hallowed language. Yet, while difficult to believe, the language went through remarkable subsequent development after having strayed so much from its original roots. From the earliest days of Islam, the Muslim conquests bordered on India and caused the infiltration of some Arabic words into the Indian language. Then, Mahmud Ghaznavi is invasion enlarged that vocabulary and also added Persian expressions. Finally, the attack by Timūr (Tamerlane) resulted in a wholesale change in the language due to the incorporation of many distinctly foreign idioms and words. (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 140)

In the preface, he clearly states that what Europeans called Hindustani included Hindui and Hindi, Urdu as well as Dakhni. But this terminology, he writes, was unacceptable to the Indians who preferred dividing the language on the basis of the script; the language written in *nagari* or *devnagari* script was called Hindi whereas Muslim idiom written in the Persian script was identified as Urdu. The Europeans, he reports, were more than happy to adopt these two names.

Till the Muslim rule lasted Urdu written in the Persian script was accepted across India although Persian was used for all official purposes. For a long time, the Britishers also

[16] The translations that I use are primarily from three sources. Translation of preface of volume one of the 'Histoire' from the first edition is presented by Sujit Mukhejee in *Indian Literature*. Translations of everything else (prefaces to other volumes of both the editions, annextures, dedication and memorandum) from the 'Histoire' is done by me based upon the Hindi translation by Laxmi Sagar Varshney and cross checking it with Google translation of the original French texts.

continued the same policy but experiencing difficulties resulting from the use of a foreign language they changed the official language in 1837 to the common languages of the provinces.

> And naturally, in the north and north-west Urdu was adopted as the official language. This step was well-liked by everyone and for the next thirty years there were no complaints against this successful system. But in recent years India has seen rise of the same movement of ancient nationalities that has been agitating Europe. Hindus on finding themselves no longer under the Muslim rule want to remove all the unpleasantness related to it and want to block Urdu's progress or at least leave the Persian script which they see as Muslim influence. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 57)

There are three things to note in the passage quoted above. The first is Tassy's confident placement of Urdu as the 'natural' successor of Persian as official language and this new development as a "step well liked by everyone". The second is the pitting of the origin of the challenge by Hindi to the "successful system" of Urdu for which he claimed in "thirty years there were no complaints" at around 1867. And the third important point is the identifying of the religious nature of the Hindu bid to "block Urdu's progress" and politico-religious roots of linguistic division. Of course, a language change as profound as induced by the 1837 Act was no "natural" and smooth process as Tassy presents it. Neither was it unanimously "well-liked". There were varied responses across North India which deemed other languages and scripts to be more fit as the official vernaculars. For example Mir provides evidence of a minority but well-argued oppositional claim by the Punjabi language for the official vernacular position as opposed to the Urdu which was not vernacular to Punjab at all. Similarly, Alok Rai writes of replacing of Persian script along with Persian language and introduction of Nāgarī script in the Saugor and Narbudda Territories (later Central Province) by Frederick Shore[17] (28).

However, it could be said that Hindi's progress was very slow and picked up momentum only in the 1860s. Abdul Jamil Khan believes that the beginnings of linguistic communalism were in Bengal and Mutineers of 1857 were unaffected by it. "The shock of mutiny, perhaps, had demonstrated its urgent need to its two basic craftsmen British and Bengalis. By 1860s the new Hindi had moved into the secular north through Allahabad Bengali association and

[17] Frederick John Shore (1799-1837) was the second son of John Shore, 1st Baron Teignmouth and the governor general of India (1793-97). He filled various offices in the police, revenue and judicial departments of India. The last position occupied by him was as the Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of Furrukhabad.

initiated its battle against Urdu". He identifies "the first shot at Urdu in the name of religion" (Khan 247) as the demand of the instatement of Hindi-nāgarī as the official vernacular by the 'Bengali immigrants' under the aegis of Allahabad Institute, a Bengali organisation. The context was the resolution by:

> the secular Northern group members of scientific society and British Indian association Hindus, Muslims, and British resolved to organize a vernacular (Urdu) University (1867)... Very soon, Rājā Śivprasād wrote a blatant anti-Muslim article supporting the Hindi claim and expressed his anglophilism in saying, "The British had come to rescue the Hindu populations of India from Muslims persecution". (Khan 247)

Tassy points towards the intellectual debt of the Hindus to the European Oriental scholarship in their belated attempts to revive and recreate an intellectual tradition that pre-dated the Islamic encounter. Not only was the change in political rule from the Mughals to the British rule seen as the rescue from the Muslim persecution but even the discovery of Inidan ancient past was a contribution of the European Oriental scholarship. He is openly derisive of the derivative discourse of the Hindu revivalist movement and is suspicious of any sincerity in their contribution to the Indian culture and society.

He finds that during the period of rapid growth of modern Indian languages, Sanskrit remained neglected and it was only after the Asiatic Society of Calcutta was formed under the presidency of Sir William Jones that it slowly started gaining attention of European scholars on account of its similarity with the classical languages. It was the careful consistent care of Oriental scholars that established its importance and superior status as a language of great philosophical and literary merit. British indologists like Charles Wilkins and H. H. Wilson, eminent French indologists Chezy and Eugene Burnoff contributed a great deal in the service of promotion of this language. Germany carried on the task of studying the language after its studies were halted in France upon the unfortunate death of Burnoff.

It was only after the Indologists started researching and popularised the study of Sanskrit language and literature that the Hindus,

> ...awakened from their stupor, developed a great enthusiasm for the language of their sacred scriptures and their ancient literature. They joined the Europeans in the new cultivation and dissemination of Sanskrit-related knowledge by participating in the

> publication of works that had thus far remained buried in manuscripts...In attempts to revive the glorious past of the Hindu civilisation, these Hindus followed in vain the chimera of language purity. Since it was not possible to revive the language fully, they arrived at the conclusion of resurrecting an exclusory Hindavi form of Hindustani. By expunging from it all the Arabic and Persian words the language was sought to be restored to the state before the arrival of the Muslims. The Hindu scholars envisaged a pure language as opposed to the mixed language. (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 142)

He provides the opinion of one Hukm Cand, a Hindu, in support of his argument. Hukm Cand was clearly in disagreement with the idea of purification of language and thought it an impossible and futile exercise. He debunked the concept of a pure language stating that there is no pure language in the world which does not contain any foreign words. "What does it matter if one calls water (*pānī*) *āb*, as in Persian, or *water*, as in English; can one claim that one of these words is more suitable than the other?" (qtd. in Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 142) Tassy sympathetically adds that Hindi, as a growing language needed consolidation rather than restoration to some ancient form. It was a living language which did not require resuscitation. He found the idea of linguistic purification when applied to Hindi 'strange' and 'absurd'.

Of course, the issue at hand did not just involve linguistic purism in isolation but it (linguistic purism) was a tool in the service of religious revivalism. He was under no doubt of the specifically political character of the linguistic reform movement spearheaded by a section of Hindus. He openly declares that it is the Hindus who appear reactionary to him and he finds them akin to the Europeans who wanted to revive all aspects of Medieval Ages and bring back Latin to replace the more modern national languages. That the movement for language reform feeds into the larger agenda of cultural revivalism by a section of Hindus, is made amply clear by him.

> They (the Hindus advocating language reform) represent, in my opinion, ancient Hinduism, together with its crude aspects, such as: the suttee tradition; the religious suicides under the wheels of Jagannathís chariot; the *čarkh pūjā*, a ceremony in which the fanatics get themselves suspended by means of [ropes connected to] iron nails stuck into their bodies, and get their tongues pierced with needles; totally naked fakirs who keep one of their arms raised during the entirety of a year; etc., etc., etc. (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 143)

His judgement of the movement is quite sharply worded in which he calls it “retrograde”, “doomed to fail” and “abhorrent” (Tassy, “Origin and Diffusion” 143). Adhering to the status quo in this problem seemed to him the wisest course. Any sort of “literary change or revolution” would only work towards renewing the antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims which had vanished in revolt of 1857. In the great Indian uprising of 1857, he informs, the Hindus and the Muslims were united to re-instate the Mughal monarchy under “Bahādur Shāh Zafar, the legitimate heir of the kings of Delhi” (Tassy, “Origin and Diffusion” 143).

The political designs of the British involved following the well known maxim *divide et impera* (divide and rule). The antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims only served the English colonial masters well. His words so prescient,

> If against all odds, this reform succeeds, it will cause such a rift between Hindus and Muslims that they will never again be able to get along together. Indeed, nothing unites people more than their using the same language and nothing disunites them more than their using different languages. There is no need to try to prove this truth with examples. (Tassy, “Hindui Sāhitya”143)

In his obituary of de Tassy, Dollinger sums up his views on the language question in India thus:

> In Garcin's Reports a great deal of room is taken up by the in evitable question of language, partly because he was mixed up with it himself, and his advice was asked on the subject, partly because in a country where there are a hundred different languages," besides number of dialects, the choice of one in particular for governmental and administrative purposes is an equally weighty question for the nation and for its rulers. That Hindostani alone is suited for the purpose, all are agreed; those acquainted with it maintain that for elegance and grace of expression no language in the world is superior to it. But it is divided into the Urdoo and the Hindi, of which the former is compounded from a mixture with the Persian used in commercial dealings under the Mahometan dominion; it is the popular tongue enriched with Persian and Arabian words and Mahometan meanings. And since the official language of the Empire should be adapted for the two great religious parties, Brahminist and Moslem, everything seems to point to the selection of the Urdoo, which accordingly Garcin in harmony with most Englishmen competent to form an

> opinion, strongly recommended. This view is confirmed by the fact that of the 3000 writers quoted by him in his "History of Hindostanee Literature," 2200 are Mahometan, while of the 800 Hindoo authors only 200 have written in their mother tongue, the Hindee. If all Mahometans as a matter of course wish the Urdoo to be made the language of business and administration, the Brahminists, on the other hand, who are three times as numerous, have a religious interest in the accordance of official recognition and preference to the Hindee, which is purer and more nearly allied to the sacred Sanscrit, but is certainly the less serviceable dialect, and is wholly unequal to the expression of the multitude of innovations and new ideas now passing into Indian life. A third view has found favour among English officials, that all the native languages should be rejected, and English alone used, as being that of the ruling class. Garcin pronounces most emphatically against this scheme, which would unquestionably excite general and lasting discontent, not to say exasperation. And he is supported by one of those best acquainted with India, Professor Monier Williams, in thinking that the Government would do well to give more encouragement to the native languages, and take less care for the diffusion of English. (406)

Indigenous Literary Historiography

G N Devy is of the opinion that the process of historicisation of literature took place in India about a century before it took place in Europe; and in the seventeenth century, India started producing 'literary histories' that would be acceptable to modern scholars as being 'proper' literary history. As per his consideration the prerequisites for such writing such as the use of paper for writing, the development of the prose form used for history writing, a general discourse of history, and traditions of literature about which to write, existed in India in the seventeenth century. He also believes that a native variety of nationalism was emerging in India around this time.

He mentions *matnavī*s as well as commentaries on literary texts written in the seventeenth century recording several literary and cultural details of the time. He also writes about *tavārīkh*s and *tadkirās*, exercises in biographical criticism and history, which had moral and theological argument at their centre. However, he notes, the material these contained used to be reliable as history due to extreme care taken to maintain accuracy in chronology and dates. Devy claims that the purpose in writing these literary histories was to use them as text books since most of the historians were poets themselves and taught in Islamic *madrasa*s. It can be

assumed, he writes, that the scholars across regions had a definite idea of what literary history is and what it ought to be. He lists nineteen histories of literature that were mentioned by Schimmel in her survey of medieval Islamic literature. (Devy 60-70)

Writing about the new literary culture of north Indian Urdu poetry that developed in eighteenth and nineteenth century, Frances Pritchett states that this new literary culture was highly self-conscious and self-recording since its inception. She finds,

> The internally-generated record of the tradition begins with a sudden flowering: the first three anthologies or tazkiras all appeared early in 1752, and two more were completed within the next couple of years. The fact that two of the earliest three both claim to be the first tazkira of Urdu poets makes it probable that we are indeed seeing the beginning of the genre, rather than simply its earliest surviving examples. But it should be noted that early tazkiras also refer to *other* early tazkiras not now extant. (Pritchett footnote 3, 865)

But the watershed moment for the tazkira writing for her was the year 1803, in which Lord Lake took Delhi; and in which Haidarī's wrote the first tazkira not only of Urdu poets to be published, but also the first to be composed in Urdu rather than Persian (Pritchett 880).

She includes Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire* (1939-47) written in French and Aloys Sprenger[18]'s work written in English amongst tazkiras that were increasingly being written in languages other than Persian. There were three Urdu tazkiras composed in the 1840s out of which two were small productions (twelve poets in one, thirty-seven in the other) by Delhi authors closely associated with the British-sponsored Delhi College. Thus the author of the third tazkira, she reasons, "could almost claim to be writing the first truly "indigenous" Urdu tazkira of Urdu poets, the first one not to be directly inspired, or even indirectly influenced, by British patronage" (Pritchett 881).

[18] Aloys Sprenger (ca. 1813-1893) was an Austrian orientalist. Sprenger studied medicine, natural sciences as well as oriental languages at the University of Vienna. In 1843 he became the principal of Delhi College, Calcutta and had many textbooks translated into Hindustani from European languages. In 1848 he was sent to Lucknow, to prepare a catalogue of the royal library there, the first volume of which appeared in Calcutta in 1854. This book, with its lists of Persian poets, its careful description of all the chief works of Persian poetry and its valuable biographical material, became a worthy guide for the exploration of Persian literature.In 1850 he became, official government interpreter, and secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. He published many works while holding this latter position, among them "Dictionary of the Technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans" (1854) and "Ibn Hajar's biographical dictionary of persons who knew Mohammed" (1856). Sprenger took a position as professor of oriental languages at the University of Bern in 1857, moving in 1881 to Heidelberg.

Tassy defines *tazkira* as a memorial which refers to an anthology of selected verses. He finds that this type of composition was very popular in India. He notes that the tazkiras were usually arranged in the alphabetical order of the poetic alias of their authors, and were preceded by short notes about the authors. "The anthology author makes sure to include himself in the book; with the insertion (of one is own work) having the appearance of something incidental (even though it is quite deliberate)" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 11). He acknowledges that by studying these tazkiras he acquired much unique information which he included in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*.

Pritchett records the process of formation of the genre of literary tazkira in India. Etymologically, *tażkirah* is derived from an Arabic root meaning "to mention, to remember" (Pritchett 864). The origins of the literary tazkira lie in the Persian literary tradition. However, the first tazkiras of *Persian* poetry itself were Indian, composed in Sindh, in the early thirteenth century. Historically, the literary tazkira grew out of the little "notebook" [*bayāz.*] that lovers of poetry carried around with them for recording verses that caught their fancy. A typical notebook would include some verses by its owner, and others by poets living and dead, both Persian and Urdu. More serious students compiled notebooks around a particular theme for example, the work of living poets, or the finest poets, or poets from a particular city, or women poets, or poets in a certain genre. Only a few would become "possessors of a volume" [*sāhib-e dīvān*] by collecting a substantial body of their own poetry and arranging it for dissemination in manuscript form. With the addition of extra material --sometimes a very small amount--of introductory or identifying information about the poets, a notebook could become a tazkira. (Pritchett 864)

Sources: Of Information or Knowledge?

In the section titled 'sources' Tassy spends several pages to meticulously write down all his sources along with introductory remarks in his preface. It is worth noting that he did not leave this section out to be put as appendix. In giving it importance and space within the preface, Tassy acknowledges the historiographical import of the sources which went beyond providing markers to scholars for future research.

Providing a detailed account of sources became important part of the historical method in the nineteenth century for many reasons. It is also a list of indigenous genres of knowledge organisations which will undergo a historiographical treatment to produce some sort of history or at least a work organised in the "modern, scientific" model.

Rama Sundari Mantena, in her book *Origins of Modern Historiography in India* (2012), writes about the process of colonial archive formation that emerged with good amount of help from colonial antiquarianism in the eighteenth century. The enormous amounts of collections of all kinds of disparate knowledge by collector-antiquarians is what she "call(s) 'archives' in order to signal the broad intellectual shifts taking place under colonial rule in terms of the organization of knowledge and the concomitant cultivation of empiricism within the burgeoning colonial governing apparatus" (Mantena 9). Formation of these archives was not a neutral activity of fact collection. Historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot describes it as "an active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility" (qtd. in Mantena 10). Archiving involves active assembling instead of just passive collecting. Through this selective assembling and ordering of material archives do much more than preserve knowledge. Just as the selection of facts determines the stories available for narration, similarly the way these facts are organised determines the future narratives.

This process of archivisation is important to understand since it was fundamental in shaping the new historical method and historiography. The new historiography that is referred to here is not the modern European historiography but the historiography that was created with the encounter of two different systems of historiography i.e. pre-colonial Indian historiography and European enlightenment historiography. The resultant historiography contained traces of the pre-colonial practices of history. Mantena argues that this encounter was productive in giving rise to new practices of history which had both Indian as well as British followers. This new historiography "was shaped by its various levels of engagement (appropriations, entanglements, and estrangements) with precolonial practices of history" (Mantena 9). In the new historiographical method the practices of empiricism were elevated over mythical narratives. It involved new disciplinary protocols such as the sifting of facts, the privileging of historical truth and the production of sources.

Unlike Sanskrit the importance of the literature in Hindi and Hindustani was not yet established in Europe. To make it appear as a subject "worthy of the attention of the scholarly world" (Tassy, "Hindui Sāhitya" 94), the first thing that Tassy wished was to mention the vast variety of works that this literature offered in all genres of prose and poetry. In order to do this, he had to have a cumulative sense of literature that is available in the language and hence, needed access to as much literature in Hindi and Hindustani as possible. And it is here that the colonial archives acquire great importance in construction of a history of literature.

In the first edition, he only had seven names to give as his primary sources. He provided the following list of works which he could procure, or at least consult:

1. *Nikat uśśuarā*, or the Witticisms of Poets, by Mīr, a Hindi biography composed in Persian;

2. *Tazkirā-i Śuara-e Hindi*, or Chronicles of the Hindi Poets, by Muśafī, also written in Persian;

3. *Tazkirā-i Śuarā-e Hindi*, or Chronicles of the Hindi Poets, by Fatah Alī Husainī, again in Persian;

4. *Gulzār-i Ibrāhim*, by the Navab Alī Ibrāhim Khān.

5. *Gulśan-i Hind,* or the Garden of India, by Lutf. Hindi biography written in Hindustani.

6. *Divān-i Jahān,* Hindustani anthology, by Benī Nārāyaṇ;

7. *Guldastā-i Niśāt*, or the Banquet of Pleasure, by Mannu Lāl, a kind of descriptive anthology in Persian and Hindustani.

By the time the second edition was out thirty three years later, Tassy had a far richer wealth of material and sources to base his literary history upon He organises the historiographical literature alphabetically. The many additions to the list of sources included even those that he had known but could not consult because of their non-availability in Europe. He adopts the alphabetical scheme of ordering the sources.

The final list of sources along with his comments is as follows:

1. *Ayār-uśśuarā* (Judgement of poets): It is written by Khūb Cand Zukā and written on the behest of his patron Mīr Nasīruddīn Nāsir, commonly known as Mīr Kallu. It was written over a period of thirteen years between 1793-94 year and 1831-32. Zukā died in 1846 year according to Dr Springer who had heard this from Zukā's grand children. It is a tazkira that I know only indirectly. It was written in Persian and includes biographies of around 1500 poets along with excerpts from their writings. The hand-written manuscript in the possession of Dr Sprenger had one thousand pages containing fifteen lines each. According to this antiquarian, this tazkira was devoid of any critical commentary, was filled with repetitions and mistakes but had much important information. It is sad that there is no available copy of this in Europe.

2. *Intikhāb-i-davāvīn* or *Khulāsā Dīvānhā*: This book was written by Sahbāyo (Imām Bakś) of Delhi and contained selected divans of very well known Urdu poets. Even though it is not really a book of collections but since it has brief biographies written in Urdu along with excerpts of poetry, it can be counted as a tazkira.

3. *Umadat ul muntakhab* or A Pillar of Selections: Written by Muhammad Khān Sarvar, this is a collection of biographies of 1200 poets. Tassy regarded it amongst the most helpful original works that he consulted.

4. *Kavivacansudhā* or Nectar of Poets: A Hindi monthly published from Calcutta by Bābu Hariścandra.

5. *Kavicaritra* or A History of Poets: Written in Marathi by Janārdhan but contained information pertaining to Hindi poets as well.

6. *Kaviprakāś* or Manifestation of Poet: According to its title it should be a Hindi tazkira.

7. *Kāvyasaṅgrah*: A collection of Hindi or Braj poetry compiled by Hirācand of Bombay.

8. *Gulzār-i-Ibrahīm* or Ibrahīm Alīi's Bed of Roses: This was one of the tazkiras which proved to be of great help to Tassy. It had information of 300 Urdu poets along with extracts from their writings.

9. *Gulzār-i-Mazāmīn* or Bed of Roses of Important Information: Written by Tapiś Jān, this is just a collection of unknown poetry by the well-known author. However, it is also a tazkira since the author presents an account of Urdu poetry and its poets contributing to it in the introduction.

10. *Guldastā-i-Nāznīnān* or A bouquet of Nāznīn Flowers: Written by the prolific contemporary writer Maulvī Karīmuddīn and contained the couplets of celebrated poets of Hindustani.

11. *Guldastā-i Niśāt* or Bouquet of Happiness: This Tazkira by Muztar has been extensively used by Tassy in writing the second edition. A practical poetics composed of writings from Indian authors writing in Persian and a huge collection of Hindustani verse and poetry with subject based division.

12. *Guldastā-i-Haidarī* or Haidarī's Bouquet of Flowers: This composition which is known by the name of its writer, Muhammad Haidar-bakś Haidarī, contains qissās and divans apart from a tazkirā of Hindustani poets.

13. *Gulśan-i-Hind* or Garden of India: By Lutf Alī of Delhi, this contains information of 60 poets and has been helpful to Tassy.

14. *Gulśan-bekhār* or Garden without Thorns: By Śeftā Muhammad Mustafā, a Persian work with information on 600 Hindustani poets along with their samples. Tassy had received a copy of this before its publication. He included a lot of matter from it in expanding the second edition.

15. *Gulśan-i-bekhizān* or Garden Without Autumn: A small section of tazkira written by Gulām Qutubuddīn or Baatiṃ.

16. *Gulśan-i-massarrat* or Garden of Delight: Composed by Delhi's Mustafā Khān who runs a publication house, Matbā-i-Mustāfaī, after his own name. This is one of the publishing houses printing great number of Hindustani works.

17. *Gulistān-i sukhan* or Garden of Eloquence: Written by Mutbil and Kāzim.

18. *Gulistan-i Hind* or Garden of Hindustan: A collection of *qissās*, *subhāshits* etc written by Karimuddīn. This is divided into eight parts with the eighth part containing collection of verses worth memorising.

19. *Caman Benazīr* or Garden Without Compare or Majmā-ul-aśśar or Collection of Poems: These are two titles of the two editions of the same composition. Both were published in year this and this from Bombay. The first was published by Muhammad Husain and the second by Muhammad Ibrahīm. This collection has extracts from the writings of 187 Hindustani poets in 246 pages.

20. *Tabkāt uśśuarā* or Classes of Poets: This work by Qudaratullāh 'Śauq' is often referred to as '*tazkira-i-Hindi'*.

21. *Tabkāt uśśuara*: This one is written by Karimuddin and published in the year 1848 from Delhi. It is also known as *tazkira-i-shura-i-hindi* and it is said to have been translated from the first edition of Tassy's *Histoire* but Tassy rejects this claim saying it is a completely original creation.

22. *Tabkāt-i Sukhan* or Classes of Eloquence: Written by Ghulām Muhiuddīn Ishq of Meerut, this contains classification of eloquence. Tassy could not access this tazkira with information of 100 Rekhta poets.

23. *Tazkira-i Akhtar*: Written by Wajid Ali, this vast collection of biographies is said to contain information regarding 5000 Persian and Hindustani poets. The writer is no other than the last emperor of the Awadh. Tassy informs that even though he had many other books by this author in his library, this one he did not have.

24. *Tazkira-i-Āzurd*: Mentioned by Sadruddin Sheft.

25. *Tazkira-i-Āshiq*: By Mehdī Alī from Delhi.

26. *Tazkira-i-Imāmbaksh*: This collection of biographies is referred to by Masahafī from Kashmir who complains of being attacked in this.

27. *Tazkira-i-Ishqī*: By Rahmatullāh. Tassy had indirectly used Sprenger's *Catalogue of the Libraries of the King of Awadh*. Sprenger had J B Eliot's copy and who had a beautiful collection of handwritten works of Hindustani.

28. *Tazkira-i-Khaqsār*: Mentioned by Śoriś.

29. *Tazkira-i-Gurdezī*: Written by Fateh Alī Hussainī and very helpful to Tassy's work.

30. *Tazkira-i-Jahandār*: Written by Jawān-bakht and which seems to be followed by everyone exceptMuhammad Khān Sarvar, Karīmuddīn and Sarvar (serial no 41).

31. *Tazkira-i-Zauq*: By Muhmmad Ibrahīm, a well known poet.

32. *Tazkira-i-Tirmizī*: This tazkira by Muhammad Ali is mentioned in *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*.

33. *Tazkira-i-Nāsir*: By Sa'adat Khān of Lucknow.

34. *Tazkira-i-Mazmūn* (or Mazlūm): By Imāmuddīn.

35. *Tazkira-i-Masahafī*: This tazkira written by Ghulām-i Hamdānī has an account of 500 poets of Hindustani and has been extensively used by Tassy.

36. *Tazkira-i-Mahmood*: By Hafiz, a contemporary poet.

37. *Tazkira-i-Śoriś*: Tassy mentions that just like Iśqī's tazkira he has used it indirectly through Sprenger's *Catalogue of the Libraries of the King of Awadh.*

38. *Tazkira-i-Śauq*: written by Hasan.

39. *Tazkira-i-Saudā*: He expresses sadness on not being able to use this tazkira by Rafīuddīn writing about the Hindustani poets of eighteenth century.

40. *Tazkira-i-Hasan*: This well known author of *Sihrūl Bayan* and often mentioned by Sarvar and other writers was not known to Tassy.

41. *Tazkirāt Unnisā*: Written by Karīmuddīn, it is an account of famous women.

42. *Tazkirāt ul Kamilīn*: This has descriptions of *Pūrṇ*s written by Bābū Cand

43. Collection of a thousand verses of 306 poets compiled by Maqbūl-i-Nabī. This collection was mentioned for the purpose of records since the hand-written copy had been burnt in fire.

44. *Dīvān-i-Jahān* or Divan of (Indian) World or Divan of Jahān: This divan by Jahān has been used by Tassy for *Histoire*. It is a collection really with only very brief biographical information regarding the 500 poets whose writings it contains.

45. Chands written by Dūlha Rām: Dūlhā Rām wrote verses in praise of people known for their saintliness, many of whom are poets of Hindi.

46. *Nikāt u śśuarā*: Written by Muhammad Mīr Taqī, this is the oldest tazkira of Urdu poets. Mīr was one of the most well-known poets in the first half of the eighteenth century. Detailed notes from this work have been included in writing his *histoire*.

47. *Nauratan* or Nine Precious Stones: This Hindustani collection by Muhammad Baksh pertains to the nine poet laureates in the court of Vikramāditya.

48. *Vārtā*: This work pertains to religious poems in Hindi by Vallabh and his disciples.

49. *Bhakt caritra*: A *gathā* of the disciples or Hindu saints who have written *bhajan*s and religious *geets*, for example 14th century Hindi poet Ughav Chiddhan.

50. *Bhaktamāl* or Garland of Saints: Like the previous work, this is history of saints of Vaiśṇava tradition. *Bhaktmāl* has various collections but the basic verse called

chappaya is common. It has been mentioned in the list of main forms of Hindi poetry given earlier in the preface. These very popular *gīt*s and *bhajan*s are written by Nābhā and revised first by Nārayaṇ Dās and much later developed by Priyā Dās. For the first edition of the *histoire*, Tassy had only known the version by Kriṣṇadās but he reports that now he possessed handwritten copy by Priyā Dās which is astonishing in Europe.

51. *Maqzan-i-Nikāt* or Treasure of Beautiful Sayings: Written by Qiyamuddīn, this work is divided into three classes and was source of much new information to Tassy.

52. *Majmuā ul intekhāb* or Collection amongst Collections: Fakār Śah Muhammad Kamāl wrote this work. 58 notes in the second edition of *histoire* are taken from this collection.

53. *Majmuā-i-Nagz*: This tazkira by Syed Abul Qāsim was used extensively by Tassy in expanding his current edition. Unlike other original tazkiras, this one is special because unlike others the entries are not given in a haphazard manner and similar names have been put together, given serial numbers and written in an orderly fashion. Although Qāsim has lesser entries compared to Sarvar and Śeft but they are more developed and contain much information and excerpts which are not found in others.

54. *Majmuā-i-vāsokht* or Collection of *vāsokht*s: A collection of 21 *vāsokht*s each of various poets. It is a small book of 68 folio pages and published from Lucknow in the year 1846.

55. *Majālis-rangīn*: Written by Rangīn this work contains the critical appraisal of contemporary poets and poetry.

56. *Massarrat Afzā* or Increase in Happiness: A composition of Abul Hasan of Allahabad. Tassy talks of possessing a commentary on this tazkira by late Nāth. Bland had prepared a copy of this for Tassy from the handwritten manuscript that Sir Ouseley had and which subsequently was to be found in Oxford.

57. *Muar uśśuarā* or Enthusiasm of Poets: This fortnightly collection of old and new poetry is published from Agra by Munshi Qamaruddīn Gulāb Khān.

58. *Mukhtasar Ahwāl Mussannifān hindi ke Tazkiroṃ kā* or *Risālā dar Bābe-i Tazkiroṃ kā* or Brief Information Regarding Hindi Biographies: A Newspaper of Biographies

written by Zukaullah, this short work is a simple translation of Tassy's *Histoire Hindoustanie et Louvre Ouvres*.

59. *Rāg Kalpdrum* or The Auspicious Tree of Rāgs: This is a vast collection of popular songs published in a book of 1800 quarto pages. It was published by Kṛṣṇanand Vyās-dev.

60. *Rauzat uśśuarā* or Garden of Poets: Muhammad Husain Qlim is the author of this poem on Hindustani poets and can be considered a tazkira.

61. *Sabhā Vilās* or Pleasure of Congregation: This is a collection of Hindi poems compiled by Paṇḍit Dharm Nārāyaṇ 'Zamīr'.

62. *Sarāpā Sukhan* or Complete Eloquence: This work written by Mohsin of Lucknow has a list of selected poems by 700 poets ordered on the basis of subject along with a brief biographical description of the poets. This work has been very helpful in the writing of the second edition.

63. *Sarv-i-Āzād* or The Free Cypress or Cypress of Āzād: This tazkira has been mentioned in Abul Hasan's *Massarrat Afzān* which is about Urdu poets but it also finds mention in N. Bland's tazkira on Persian poets. Both conjectures could be true since there are many such poets who have written in both the languages. Azad himself was a well known Hindustani poet and he had also written another tazkira of Persian poets under the title of *Khazān-i Āmir*.

64. *Sujān Caritra* or Description of Gentlemen: A kind of biography of 200 poets of Hindi by the poet, Sūdan.

65. *Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīm* or Pages of Ibrāhīm: This was written by Khalīl Ibrāhīm.

Some of these manuscripts were acquired through his direct correspondence with Indian poets and scholars. Most, however, were available through colonial archives. He mentions that he went twice to London "to get to know the wealth of Hindustani literature to be found in the public and private libraries there" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 8). The best collection of Hindustani manuscripts which he found was the East-India House Library and specifically the Leyden section in it. Dr. Leyden had been an examiner in Hindustani in the Fort William College.

Another form of historiography that Tassy depended upon was the catalogues. The catalogues proper were utilised to extract out a bibliography for the *Histoire*. He writes of especially using the handwritten catalogue from the valuable collection of Persian and Hindustani books written by Alī Ahmad from Lucknow and copied in the year 1211 (1796-97). The catalogue of Persian characters and the catalogue of Devnagari characters of the Asian Bengal Society were also useful in writing the *Histoire*.

For the anthological part, Tassy drew upon two valuable collections by English scientists. The first was the "*Selections from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos*" by the Colonel Broughton [19], which contains fifty-nine pieces of songs of Indian people. The second important anthology that he used was made available with the cooperation from the distinguished Hindustani writer, Tāriṇi Caraṇ Mitr[20], author of several books. It contained among others, long extracts of the *Bhaktamāl*, of the rekhtās of Kabīr, a song of the *Rāmāyaṇ* of Tulsīdās, extracts of an Urdu version of the *Hitopadeśa*, the legend of Ś*akuntalā* by Jawān and three hundred and eight small poems, of which a good number were from popular songs.

The Gap

But these historiographic sources were not enough for him to write a history of literature. He had many practical problems confronting him. The kind of information he wanted was either not available to him or was present in a format unfamiliar to him. His comments give us an insight into how scholars of Indology encountered Indian textual traditions. He complains,

> Unfortunately, these tazkira are written in a very unsatisfactory manner. Often, only the name of the poet concerned is mentioned, together with a few extracts from his verse as specimens of his talent. Even in the more extensive notes, their date of birth is almost never mentioned. Their date of death and details of their private lives are very rarely mentioned. They very seldom say anything about their works either; even the titles are not mentioned; we barely learn that these poets have gathered together

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[19] Col. Broughton (1778-1835) was an English soldier who was Honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. His career in India began when he came to India in 1795 as a cadet of the Bengal establishment. During his service in the military establishment of the East India company he published two prominent works namely- "Letters from Mahratta Camp." and "Selections from the popular poetry of the Hindoos."

[20] Tāriṇi Caran Mitra (c 1772-1837) was the head munshi of the Hindustani Language Department at Fort William College and famous Bangla prose writer.. He was fluent in Bangla, Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, Persian and English. He joined Fort William College in 1801 and taught there up to 1830. He was a member of the managing committee of Calcutta School-book Society (1817) and eventually became its secretary. He collaborated with Rādhākānta Deb and Rām Comal Sen to translate Aesop's fables into Bangla under the title of *Nītikathā*. He is believed to have translated Oriental Fabulist into Bangla, Urdu and Persian in 1803.

> isolated bits of their work as diwans, and even this is mentioned only because poets who have published one or more of these collections are known as '*diwan* writers', a title which distinguishes them from other writers and which seems to equal that of 'a great poet'. These tazkira are useful mainly because they give us numerous fragments from poets whose works are unknown in Europe. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 10)

With the lack of proper dates, writing a chronological account becomes an impossibility. He finds no critical valuing of the literary work in theses tazkiras to make merit based classification possible. The only exception he finds is "Mīr, the only original biographer, sometimes expresses judgements on the verses he quotes; he points out plagiarisms and expressions which seem inexact or defective... and he often tells us what he might have done had he been in the place of the author whose fragments he quotes" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 11). I want to underline the magnitude of a stray remark like this. This indigenous form of literary criticism finds only a cursory mention in the narrative of lack of critical activity in the indigenous literary field. The surprisingly creative efficacy of the critical practice that we see in Mīr in which he not only criticises the poetry but also provides a better alternative or reworked correction of it, thus maintaining simultaneously the act of criticism and act of creation, is remarkable. The difference is also to do with the different valuation of the authorship in the Indian literary tradition and the European literary tradition. In the European literary tradition the figure of the author had already acquired individuality with strong association between the authorial persona and the work produced by him as his property. Whereas in the Indian literary tradition, the link between the text and the author was amorphous still and the work of an author had not acquired the copyright status that could not be breached.

Pritchett informs us of the unique characteristics of the documenting and recording of literary culture in a tazkira. Its origin in the ubiquitous personal "notebook" ensured that there was no standard way of organisation of content. It was entirely an individual effort of collection and the criterion of collection and organisation also differed based on what the individual fancied or preferred. Pritchett describes this in celebratory vein, emphasising "their individuality, their insouciance, the insistence of each one on defining its own approach to its own group of poets" (864). She acknowledges that the majority arranged their contents in alphabetical order by the first letter of each poet's pen name; however this scheme was by no means universal. Explaining her point further she provides the following data:

> No fewer than twenty out of the sixty-eight or so surviving tazkiras adopt other systems. The earliest three tazkiras, all completed in A.H. 1165 [1752], presented their poets in a largely random order. The fourth, completed only months later in A.H. 1166 [1752], was alphabetical. The fifth, completed in A.H. 1168 [1754-55] but begun as early as 1744, already felt able to present the poets in an "early, middle, late" sequence. (Pritchett 881)

Formulating a New Methodology

Evidently then adopting a chronological scheme of organisation was simply impossible at the moment. Tassy considered it important to explain to his readers why a chronological sequence (which he would have immensely preferred) was not possible. He writes,

> If I had adopted a chronological order, I would have had to establish various categories: in the first I would have to place authors whose period is known; in the second those whose period is doubtful; and finally, in the third, those whose period is unknown. I would have had to do the same for the books which I could not have mentioned in the body of the work. I had to give up this arrangement. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 12)

Instead, he decided to continue with the alphabetical scheme of ordering the names of authors as followed in *tazkira*s he encountered. The works with unknown authors which were left out in this scheme were listed separately in an appendix. Even though he accepts that his "survey of Hindustani literature must necessarily be incomplete as it is" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 13), the importance of his work lies in the exploration of a completely uncharted territory. "Even Gilchrist himself, the founder of the study of Hindustani among Europeans, has cited the names of hardly thirty Hindi writers." (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 13)

In an attempt to present a new literature to Europe, Tassy had a task of immense proportions in front of him. The raw information that he had collected had to be processed in a form which was intelligible to the European scholars as well as enthusiasts. In the absence of a cohesive and chronological narrative of emergence and development of this new literature, he divided the available information in independent sections. In lieu of a larger structure of ordering, several classificatory and ordering categories were created. When some information spilled out of one scheme of classification, another was created for the spilled over material and it was ordered once again. It needed an entire range of paratexts to somehow contain this

new literature and make sense of it. The whole range of prefaces, introduction, main biographical dictionary, addenda, annexure, tables etc were mobilised to somehow deal with the information at hand. This is how he envisions his project in the first edition:

> My work will consist of two volumes. The first, which I am publishing now, includes: (1) Notes on Hindi writers which are more or less extensive; (2) An Appendix containing brief notes on anonymous works and on works written by European writers'; (3) Finally, two tables, one of authors and another of works, which are indispensable in a work of this kind. In order to facilitate research, I have packed into a single volume, which is consequently complete, the whole biographical and bibliographical section; and have quoted only rarely and in brief, as much to avoid making this volume too unwieldy as to keep the articles uniformly proportionate. I have reserved the longer pieces and analyses for the second volume. This will be the really anthological section. It will consist of: (1) Extracts and analyses from principal Hindi works; (2) a list of elementary works published on Hindustani; (3) under the title of Additions to Biography and Bibliography, I shall give any new information I may have obtained during and since the printing of the first volume. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 14)

Classification Based on Indigenous Literary Cultures

The same as witnessed in Mantena's work on the colonial production of Telugu archives, in the *Histoire* the Indian classification of genres is acknowledged but at the same time delegitimized as being of questionable worth. Tassy argues that the Indian historical genres he encountered in were deficient because their representational strategies in depicting a past did not separate fact from fiction and truth from falsity. His engagement with the pre-colonial textual traditions produced a new classification of genres and texts.

The practices of the new historiography converted the pre-colonial indigenous texts into raw data. In other words the status of indigenous knowledge was demoted and it was rendered as information that needed to be processed into knowledge and re-organised as well as re-classified. This newly rendered knowledge possessed a new historical narrative constructed by the Indologists in order to make sense of the culture that they encountered. The acts of collecting, collating, and assessing the historical record that were a part of the archivisation are also visible in the writing of the *Histoire* which is trying to shape practices of empiricism to establish the new methods of organisation of the knowledge.

In the preface to the second volume of the *Histoire* (1847), De Tassy explains the indigenous system of classification of the compositions of Hindi and Hindustani literature and discusses the distinguishing features of its various forms.

He finds that the Hindui compositions are predominantly in verse form. These verses were generally divided in two hemistitch rhymes of four syllables each. There were compositions of simple or rhymed prose which were most often interwoven with verse, usually in form of quotations. He then goes on to follow the classification adopted by Gorresio[21] in his preface to *Rāmāyaṇa* for classifying Sanskrit literature and divides Hindi compositions in following four classes:

1. *Ākhyān*, tales, legends: These include poems with subject relating to popular traditions and stories in verse. Sometimes these are written in the Persian script and the rhyme changes with each verse as in *masanavī*s.

2. *Ādikāvya*, primitive poetry: This is generally understood to be *Rāmāyaṇa*.

3. *Itihās*, history, narrative: These are lengthy chronicles of religious-mythological traditions, for example, *Mahābhārata* and other epics. These also include prose narratives interspersed with poetry especially tales and apologues such as *Totā kahānī* (Tales of a Parrot), *Siṃhāsan-battīsī* (The Enchanted Throne), *Baitāl-pacīsī* (The Narration of Baitāl) etc.

Tassy goes on to provide an analysis of the possible purpose served by apologue form and its importance in Eastern literatures. He identifies the apologues or the moral tales as an Eastern form as opposed to a specifically Indian literary genre. He contextualises its presence to the theory of Eastern despots.

Theory of Eastern despotism has shaped the interpretations and representations of Asiatic governments and societies in Europe over a long history going back to Greek classicism. In Greek classical writings the concept of Eastern despots was used to formulate the Greek identity in opposition to the 'barabarians' which were mainly the Persians. Aristotle provided the theoretical foundations to this position in his writings and posited that the Persians were

[21] Gorressio Gaspari Gorressio held the Sanskrit chair in Turin- te first of its kind in Italy. The work for Gaspari Gorresio's *Rāmāyāṇa* commenced in 1846. Over a period of twenty four years, this version of the Ramayana came out in 12 volumes- a first in Europe. This version of the epic is based on its Bengali or Gauda recension as contrasted with the North Indian one which formed the basis of some German translations. This work brought accolades to Gorresio in the form of an appointment to the Accademia della Crusca in 1867.
Dr Suman Rāje writes in *Sahityehas: Sanrachna aur Swaroop* that this division of literature into forms is an original contribution in the literary historiography of Hindi literature. However, as Tassy himself states, the extent of his innovation is adopting the model for Sanskrit classification to Hindavi/Hindi literature.

naturally inclined to accept despotic power. With this formulation an historical and geographical determination of despotism was introduced for the first time. This line of thought continued in the early modern Europe but now the idea was geographically extended beyond the Ottoman Empire to include regions from Turkey to Persia, from Mughal India to China and Siam. The concept of Oriental despotism gained considerable importance in the political and philosophical discourse in the Enlightenment thought. Montesquieu in *L'Espirit des Lois* presented his analysis of despotism which he defined in terms of concentration of authority that leaves no space for liberty and is grounded upon the principle of intimidation. He systematically outlined its various connections with climate, religion, manners, economy and laws making it the most important contribution to this debate in the 18th century and afterwards. The French public sphere was especially invested in debates around despotism in all its forms around the climate of the French revolution. Montesquieu's was by no means the only opinion. The heated debates on the topic had many thinkers vehemently opposed to the theory forwarded by him.

He rationalises that when the ruler is a despot it is advisable to speak in indirect manner. To avoid the wrath of the ruler, apologues provided a pertinent vehicle to disguise their critique through fables. To illustrate his point he gives a Persian tale as an example. In conclusion, he states that politics occupies a central position in Oriental tales. This can easily be easily be witnessed in all the main collections of moral tales by Indian apologue-writers. In these Oriental tales is found a strong discourse of rationality.

4. *Kāvya*, any kind of poetic composition: Tassy explains that this category includes small poems like nazms of eastern Muslims, that he lists in alphabetical order and provides descriptive notes along them. In all he lists fifty nine poetic forms along with their meter, rhymes and occasion of singing, for most of these are songs to be sung and a few to be recited. This inventory of small poetic compositions include *Abhang, Ālhā, Kaḍkhā, Kavitt, Kaharvā or Malār, Kunḍalyā, Gālī, Gīt, Gujjarī, Caturang (Khiyāl, Tarānā, Sargam and Tirvaṭ), Carṇakul-chand, Cutkulā, Caupaī, Chand, Chappaya, Jagat varṇan, Jat or Yati, Jaykarī chand, Jhūlnā, Ṭappā, Ṭhumrī, Domrā, Tuk, Dādrā, Dīpcandī, Dohā, Dhammāl, Dhurpad, Pad, Pahelī, Pālnā, Prabandh, Prabhātī, Badhāvā, Barvā, Vasant, Bhakt Mārg, Bhaṭhyāl, Bhojjang, Mangal, Malār, Mukrī*, R*amainī, Rasādik, Rāg, Rāg-sāgar, Rām-pad, Rās, Rekhtas, Rolā-chand, Viṣṇu pad* or *Viṣan pad, Śabd, Sangīt, Sakhī, Samay, Sādrā, Soraṭhā, Sohlā, Stuti, Hinḍol* and *Holī*.

For classification for Hindustani literature Tassy adopts a different scheme. He refers to William Jones's *Poesos Asiaticae commentarii* for details of this division adopted by the Muslim rhetoricians. He states that in Hindustani literature he includes both Urdu and Dakhni compositions and these could be divided into seven classes.

1. Heroic poetry (*al-hamāsā*): This includes *qasīdā*, great historical poems called '*nāma*'(book) as well as *qissa* or romances in verse. He puts here such stories as well which have poetic prose interspersed with verses. These stories with Oriental imagination gave birth to what we know as historical novel, a composition that Europe borrowed from the Orient. Amongst Arabs, Turks, Persians and Muslim Indians, legends with romantic subjects are few in number. These include *Exploits of Alexander the Great*, *Love of Khusro and Shirin*, *Joseph and Zulaikha*, *Majnu and Laila*. Several Persian poets have even undertaken to develop five different legends, so as to form a collection of five *masnavī*s, a collection to which they give the title of *khamsa*, or five. Such are, for example, Nizāmī, Jāmī, Khusrau, Katībī, Haiftī etc. There are also found Oriental romances of chivalry, like the well known *Antar* in Arabic where we find mentions, as in old European novels of knights, of forsaken men, of armies destroyed by one man. In Hindustani, one can include in this category the *Qissā-i Amīr Hamzā*, the *Khāwīr-nāmā*, etc. It was also necessary to report numerous Eastern tales: the *Thousand and One Nights*, of which there are translations in Hindustani; *The Khirad afroz*, the *Mufarrāh ulkulūb* etc.

2. Elegies (*al-marāsī*): The *marsiyā*s, or complaints in the honour of Hasan, Husain and their companions. These are very common amongst Indian Muslims.

3. Poems of moral and counsel (*al-adab bannasīhat*): The *Pand-nāmās*, or books of moral poetry, like Ecclesiasticus of Jesus and son of Sirāch; *akhlāq* or works of ethics in prose, mixed with quotations in verse, such as the *Gulistān.* He also mentions the *Sair-i iśrat* that he included in Histoire.

4. Erotic poetry (*al-nasīb*): This section not only included erotic poetry proper but all the mystical *ghazals* where divine love is represented in profane colour and constitutes an indiscriminate mixture of the spiritual and the sensible. These poets belong to the Muslim philosophical sect of the sufis, whose doctrines are actually those of Indian pantheism professed by the jogis. We must forget for a moment the fatal tendency of these writings to appreciate in them thoughts on God and man, on the nothingness of the things of the Earth, and the reality of spiritual things.

5. Poems of praise and eulogy (*al-sanāh* and *al-nadīh*): In the fifth, the invocations to God which are often in the beginning of the *diwan*s and many other works by Muslims, the poems to the praise of Mohammed and the imams following him, and finally poems celebrating the reigning sovereign or his protectors. These latter pieces are often written in great exaggeration. He detects this trait to be result of the faithful imitation of the Persians by the Hindustani poets. The theory of Eastern despotism as well as Oriental vanity is brought in to create a narrative that would explain the exaggeration and hyperbole in the original Oriental poetry from Persia. He writes that "under the vain princes of Selyucides and Atabek dynasties, poets began to use the most outrageous praises and hyperbole for their insatiable demand of favours. In such poems of *limited and monotonous subjects*, the poets did not hesitate to write panegyrics in which they *surpassed all limits of not just adulation but also reason and bad taste*. To paint these heroes, poets not just employed *imagery from the visible world but did not hesitate to wander around in the spiritual realm" (*throughout the emphasis is mine).

6. Satire (*al-hijā*): Satire forms the sixth class of Muslim compositions. Tassy writes:

> In all countries of the world, criticism and satire has known to make its way through all the obstacles possible. To examine and compare are the most beautiful prerogatives of the human mind. Since all the works of humans are imperfect, there is nothing that is immune from criticism. The most mediocre minds may sometimes exercise it towards the most sublime with justice. ...Unfortunately the propensity to criticism is often the result of envy, jealousy and other bad passions. Even the proud despots of Asia are not immune to this feature. The same writers are generally responsible for satires and panegyrics. Thus we see the Poet Anwarî, the most famous Persian satirist, being both author of panegyrics and satires. The same is true in India. With them the influence of satire gradually spread. They attacked the men, then the institutions, and finally the things that do not depend on the will of men. They have come to criticize nature itself, in what it has terrible and frightening. Thus they wrote satires against heat, against the cold, against floods, and even on the most cruel and repulsive diseases. One can even say that the majority of the satires of Modern India have as their theme these subjects. Hindustani poets have the merit of having introduced the satires on domestic life to the East. But the disadvantage of most of these satires is that they often run on *subjects limited by locality* and circumstance, are *unclean by obscenities* and *disjointed by trivialities* (emphasis mine). It is most

> common, even among the most celebrated poets, such as Saudā and Jurat. I was able to include in my excerpts only a small number. I have had to refrain from making known the celebrated satires and which are cited as chief work in India (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 33)

He continues his observations by stating that it was rightly remarked that comedy is a less direct and vague satire. The Indians, he decides, are not entirely deprived of this means of criticism. "If they do not know the real drama, of which the Sanskrit literature offers such beautiful models, they have species of Comedies that the brigands perform in large meetings, and which even sometimes contain political allusions" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 35). He slips in a detailed sociological description of the community of actors. He describes, in the large cities of northern India, one can find these kinds of actors who are quite skilful. Sometimes a troupe of these artists is attached to a regiment of irregular cavalry of the natives. They perform for the rich nawabs for either distraction or celebrations. They are also invited to perform at the time of the main celebrations and festivals of the Muslims, especially the bakar-īd or Īd-uzzuhā. They closely resemble old Italian tradition of pantomimes, where some actors improvised their role, and acted out social proverbs. The actors are at the same time authors. The dialogue between the different characters, which is often *rude*, is nevertheless *spiritual and piquant*. He abounds in puns, alliterations and double-entdendres, a kind of beauty to which Hindustani lends itself admirably, and is perhaps cleaner than any other. Often the actors ridicule the English and their rites and rituals, especially young civilians, many of whom are often among the spectators. It is true that the *portraits are very heavy* and are painted in *exaggerated manner* but there is a certain *background of truth and skill* in the characterisation. These kinds of dramas are preceded by Hindustani dances and songs by singers called *kalāwant* in the North, *bhāṭ*, *cāraṇ* and *bardāī* in central India."

7. Descriptive poems (*al-sifāt*): Finally, in the seventh class, that of poetry description he included the numerous poems on the seasons, months, flowers, hunting, etc. Of some of which extracts have been included in *Histoire*. He reminds here that the rules of the Hindustani metre (*urūj*) are the same as those of the Persian and Arabic metre with some slight modifications which he has reported in his *Memoire* in *Journal Asiatique*. All poems of Urdu and Dakhni are rhymed; but when one or more words are repeated at the end of the verse, rhyme refers to the preceding word. The rhyme in this case is called *kāfiyā* and the repeated words *radīf*.

This is what Mir Taqi says at the end of his tazkira regarding the Rekhta or Hindustani poetry in particular,

> There are several ways of writing verse in rekhta (mixed):
>
> 1) One can write a *misrā* in Persian, and one in Hindi, as Khusro did in a known *quita*
> 2) Alternately one may write the first *misrā* in Hindi, and the second in Persian, as Mīr Muizzuddīn Musavī did.
> 3) *Qabih* in which one uses only Persian verbs, however this style is considered in bad taste.
> 4) Persian compounds, but it must be used with caution, and only when they conform to the genius of the Hindi language.
> 5) One can write in the style named *ilhām*. This genre is much admired by ancient poets; but currently it is used only when it is done with delicacy and moderation. It consists in using words which have two meanings, one is very usual and the other not very usual, and to use them in their unusual sense aims to embarrass the reader.
> 6) The following may be a kind of happy medium, called convenience, *andāz*. In this genre, which Mir had chosen for himself, *tajnīs* (alliteration), *tarsī* (symmetry), *taśbīh* (similitude), *safāī guftaū* (belle diction), *balāghat* (elocution), *adā bandī* (descrption), *khiyāl* (imagination), and so on. "Whoever", adds Mir, "has special knowledge in poetic art, will say what I said. I have not written it for the vulgar; because I know that the race course of speech is vast, and that the opinions are diverse". (qtd in Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 83)

As for prose, there are three kinds:

(1) *murrajjaz* or poetic prose, which has the rhythm without rhyme;

(2) *musajjā* which has rhyme without measure ;

(3) *ārī*, or stripped, which has neither rhyme nor measure. The last two, he reports, are the most commonly used; they are often mixed together. *Nasr* is prose, as opposed to *nazm*, which is the generic expression for poetry. The prose, whether simple or rhymed, is usually accompanied by verses.

He then lists 40 literary forms along with their description just as he did with the Hindi poetic compositions. These include *inśā, qasīdā, qitā, qaul, khayāl, ghazal, chīstān, zikrā, tazkira, tazmīn, tarānā, taśbīb, tārīkh, dīwān, nuqtā, fard, band, bayāz, bait, do-bait, char-bait,*

manqabā, marsiā, masnavī, muammā, mubārakbād, musammat, mustazād, maulūd, risālā, rubāī, rekhtā, vāsokht, śikārnāmā, salām, sarod, sāqināmā, soz and *hazliyāt*.

Tassy explains the criterion for the canon formation used in the tazkiras. There are primarily three categories of writers based upon the quality and quantity of the output. The competitive ranking has the first category of poets who merely find a mention, the second an honourable mention and the third highly honourable mention.

In the first category, the writers are indicated without any detail, sometimes with the simple mention of their name and their hometown, and a quote from their verses. Such poets do not have sufficient number of ghazals to make a divan or the other poems are untitled.

The second category has poets who have written a collection of poets, either a divan or a kulliyāt.

Finally, the third category consists of poets who have their works bearing titles "almost always in Sanskrit if they are Hindi; and in Persian and even Arabic if they are Urdu or dakhni writers" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 112).

He limits himself to explaining the already existing criterion of canon formation in the pre-colonial literary traditions and does not put forward his own system of merit based classification.

New Categories of Classification: Chronology, Religion and Gender

(1) Chronology

By the publishing of the second edition of the *Histoire*, Tassy had gathered enough information to be able to attempt classifying the literature across various categories. First of all, he presented a rudimentary timeline in which the main writers writing in each century were listed. He punches in brief comments about the writers or texts in several places. He begins his chronology by stating, "First of all there were Hindu poets" (Tassy, "" 107). There is no mention of the time period here but earlier on while writing on the origin and development of Hindi language he had established that this should be around 10th century. The marker of the poets is not the language they wrote in but the religious identity. The very next sentence informs us that in eleventh century there is a Muslim poet for the first time. After this there is a terse mention of main poets writing in each century. After establishing the fact that Hindus were the first writers of this literature and the first Muslim poet occurred

soon after, he does not mention the religion while giving names of writers in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. In the 14th century we have a poet from Hyderabad (Deccan) for the first time.

For the 15th century, before giving a list of main poets, he notes that this was the time period of mounding of modern sects who used Hindi as the liturgical language and who composed hymns and moral poetry in 'this idiom'. He also identifies Kabīr's role as "rising energetically against the use of Sanskrit" (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 108).

For the16th century, he separately lists Hindu poets, Muslims of the north and Muslims from Deccan. 17th century onwards this division takes linguistic form and from now to the 19th century poets were listed based on the language they wrote in namely, Hindi, Urdu and Dakhni.

Just as he had noted the emergence of the sectarian literature earlier, Tassy tried to point out the special characteristics or important developments in a particular century. For the seventeenth century, he comments that it was for the first time that the culture of true Urdu poetry, subject to exact rules of composition, was witnessed. This was especially so in the poetry of the Deccan. About the eighteenth century, he writes that the proliferation of writers writing in Hindustani was such that it would take too long to cite the poets who had made a name for themselves. This rudimentary timeline is also peppered with comments about sects, poets and occasional technical literary terms.

(2) Classification based upon religion of the author

After classification of the literature, he attempts to classify the writers. The most natural division he finds is religion. He notes that almost no Muslim wrote in Hindi, while many Hindus wrote either in Urdu or in Dakhni apart from Persian. He presents the data of writers and the language they wrote in based upon their religion. Out of the three thousand Indian writers that he mentions in his *Histoire*, there were more than two thousand two hundred Muslim writers and less than eight hundred Hindu writers. Out of these eight hundred Hindu writers, only about two hundred and fifty wrote in Hindi. The reason he mentions for this is lack of tazkiras for the Hindi poets.

He also finds among the Hindustani writers some Hindus converted to Christianity, and much rarer and almost unheard of, a few Muslims who had become Christians.

The original tazkiras report among the Hindustani poets some Jews of Muslim origin. Amongst these he names Jamal (Alī) of Mirāt, who lived in Hyderabad some sixty years before publishing of *Histoire*; Jawān (Muhibb Ullāh) from Delhi, doctor of profession, pupil of Ishq and Mushtaq, 'the author of an anthology".

He states that although the Parsīs generally write in Gujarati and sometimes in Persian, some have used Hindustani and hence he included Bomangī Dosābjī, of Bombay in *Histoire*.

He also mentions a few European Christians amongst the poets. He counts among them, son of the European Som and the celebrated Begam Samrū, known as Sāhib which was his takhallus, whereas his main title of honour was Zafar-yāb or "victorious".

He mentions a Hindustani poet called Sidi Hadīd Bismil who was a Negro. He was a native of Patna, and apparently a slave. He lived at the beginning of nineteenth century.

He notices that almost all Hindi writers belong to the reformed sects of the Hindus which are the Jains, the Kabīr-panthis, Sikhs and Vaiṣṇavas of any shade. The heads of these sects were also Hindi poets. For example, Rāmānānd, Vallabha, Daryādās, Jayadeva (author of the famous Sanskrit poem entitled Gīt Govind), Dādū, Bīrbhān, Bābā Lāl, Rāmcaraṇ, Śiva Nārāyaṇ, etc. There were very few Śaivites who have written in Hindi.

He informs, "There are also among the Hindustani writers a great number of Muslim philosophers or sufis, many of whom are deemed holy. These sufis would write their verses on paper and sell in the market for 2 paisas per verse. Makārim Mirzā of Delhi, and Kamtarīn Miyāṁ, nicknamed Pīr-Khān were such sufis (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 123)".

(3) Women poets

His last category is that of women poets. This was not an entirely new category of classification. Before this there have been tazkiras solely dedicated to women poets. He includes this classification without any comments in the introduction. He names amongst these the following:

1. Śahzādī Khālā or the Maternal aunt- This was the takhallus of Badrunissā, the maternal aunt of Nawab Imād ulmulk of Farrukhabad.

2. Amat ul Fātimā Begam, known by the takhallus of Sāhib, and familiarly called Ji Sāhib or Sāhib Jī (Madame la Dame), famous among the Urdu writers. She was

especially known for her ghazals. She was a student of a very distinguished poet, Munīm, who was also the master of Śeftā, one of the biographers that Tassy consulted the most, and several other writers. She lived in Delhi and Lucknow, and was the object of Masnavī of Muzi 'ullāh Khān, entitled 'The tender discourse' or Kaul-i gamin.

3. Another woman poet, probably Muslim despite its Hindu name, was Campā. She was doing part of the harem of the Nawab Husam uddaulā.

4. We also have Farah-bakhś ("giving joy") to whom we owe Hindustani poems.

5. Śeftā names another poetess named Ziyā "brilliance";

6. Another poetess named Gancīn.

7. It is Jānā (Mīr Yār 'Alī Jān Sāhib), a native of Farrukhabad, but who mainly lived in Lucknow. She learned Persian and devoted herself mainly to Hindustani poetry. And the biographer Karim considered himself as her master. She published in Lucknow, in 1846, a divan or collection which was a great success and was written in a style peculiar to zanānās (women). She was then aged about thirty-six years.

8. He also mentions another woman poet, Rām Jī, of Nārnaul, nicknamed the Nazākat "gentillesse". Her prodigious talent and rare beauty were celebrated by extravagant expressions in primary biographies that Tassy consulted. She was still living in 1848.

9. Tasvīr, the name means "painting", that is to say "beautiful as a painting"

10. Suraiyyā, the Pleiades; and several others which are mentioned in the *Histoire*.

On Religion

As we know, Tassy hailed from Marseille. This port city was a centre of the 18th century Catholic movement. In 1830s, it saw a trend of traditional Catholicism as a reaction against the tradition of Enlightenment (Malik 12). This Catholicism informed his entire world view and framed Tassy's perceptions of the object of his study: Oriental cultures and religions. He was "quite sensitive about pietist and puritan movements" (Malik 12). In fact his work on religion was a translation of a well known Ottoman-Islamic catechism which expressed the views of a revivalist fundamentalist. Both, his work on Oriental religions (primarily Islam) and Oriental cultures and literatures, were measured against his Catholic principles.

Tassy made significant contributions in acquainting Europe with 'Islamisme', as Islam was called in the 18th century France. Especially in the initial years of his academic career he produced quite a lot of work on Islam, especially South Asian Islam. He divided Islam in three categories: esoteric *(sufis),* exoteric *(Wahhabiyya)* and popular Islam *(faqir).* He viewed these distinctions through the lens of Catholic-Protestant division in Christianity. He compared Muslim holy men with Catholic saints and the critique of belief in them by the Wahabis with the protestant critique. However, his sympathy for sufis and folk religion stood in contrast to Wahabis and most of his contemporaries who tended towards Protestant ideals. The Indian Islam, according to him, existed in a substratum between canonical Islam and pagan substratum. It is clear that the pagan substratum in this case is the pantheistic cults of Hinduism. (Gaborieau 132)

He was open about his Catholic beliefs and wrote Christianity for him was "the only true religion" (qtd. in Gaborieau 133) and that "he deplored the blindness of the Muslims" (qtd. in Gaborieau 133). He considered Chritianity as a religion superior to Islam since he believed that the Islam spread in the world through sword whereas Christianity was propagated peacefully. Nevertheless, he was quite open in his approach to study and understand Islam and did not show hostility towards it. He tried to present a truer picture of Islam to the European readers to dispel its false representations. Around this time, there was not any wide spread understanding of the religion and it was still shrouded in mystery. Much of the serious research about it was just in its beginning stage. He stressed that "One has conceived the falsest ideas about this religion" (qtd. in Gaborieau 133) and that it should not be considered as a pagan religion. He opposed Voltaire's depiction of Muhammad as an imposter and regarded him as a righteous and sincere personage. Although Tassy was very much interested in the propagation of Christianity in Asia and supported the missionary cause, his stance in his scholarly work was not of a missionary as William Muir's was (Gaborieau 131-33).

In his speech in the memory of Tassy, Dollinger spares more than a cursory glance on the religious situation in India. Acknowledging Tassy's keen eye on the religious situation in India, he writes,

> Garcin has always mentioned and discussed with visible preference what concerned religious matters in India. He was himself a sincere Christian believer, whose private life attested the reality of his religion... Both as a scholar and a Christian he took the liveliest interest in the religious movements of India; as a scholar, for—as he once

> observed—he considered a philosophical comparison of the different religions the noblest and most attractive subject of study that could be chosen, while, as a Christian, he saw in the acceptance by the Hindoos of the Gospel and its healing influence on their moral condition the sole hope of their national elevation and regeneration. But at the same time he was quite in harmony with the wise and provident reserve of English statesmen in avoiding any official countenance of missionary efforts, and securing equality of civil rights and protection to every creed. He knew that the very existence of the Empire depended on this impartial and strict neutrality. (396)

Just as Dollinger had mentioned, Tassy being a devout Catholic had reservations regarding the Oriental literature that he encountered. While selecting the excerpts to be included in the second volume, he complains that he had to reject a great many fragments that he had already translated and prepared, “either because they were not in keeping with a sense of morality or because they described immoral facts or were marred by obscenities, or because they were full of figures of speech that a European reader would find impossible to appreciate” (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 18). Explaining this in detail, he says in the footnote, “What St. Paul said of pagans can be applied to Muslims: "These men, who thought themselves wise, are become mad. . . . God has delivered them ... to the vices of impurity. . .to shameful passions" (Epistle to the Romans, 1.22)” (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 18). At another place, writing about his translation practice he specifically registers his protest against some passages in his translations “where ideas that are not in harmony with Catholic Christianity can be found” (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 20) and in apology offers that he is merely a translator.

Garcin de Tassy's interest in Oriental religions went beyond their theological aspects and acquired a deep ethnographic engagement. He had, for instance, published books on and articles on Hindu festivals and fairs collected and translated "popular songs" of both Hindu and Muslims; and his researches on Muslim names and titles remains to this day a very important work in ethnography as well as in onomastics

While commenting upon religious classification of writers, he also makes general observations on religions in India. He finds that while a few Hindu writers had converted to Islam but not a single Muslim writer had converted to Hinduism. The exception to this was the conversion of Muslims to radically reformed sect, such as the Sikhism. Tassy states that from the Muslim point of view the switch from Islam to Hinduism would be tantamount to

retrogression, since Islam is based on the ideas of a single deity and would be considered to be an evolved state for Hindus. He adds, "Besides, rationalism has not penetrated the Muslims of India. They are quite zealous about their religion, to the extent that they consider [the adoption of any ideas from] Hinduism to be a blemish on their faith. Furthermore, they are always engaged in proselytisation". By 'Muslims of India' he seems to refer to the wahabis and their criticism of Hindu influence on Islam in the form of cult of pīrs, faqīrs and rituals.

Dollinger writes in Tassy's approval,

> Garcin used to examine, in his Annual Reports, with special attention and predilection the missionary efforts of the Christian bodies, and to take impartial note of every success. He recounted with pleasure the harmonious co-operation of the Protestant missionaries of different Churches who were content to forget their confessional differences in presence of the common foe, Heathenism, and vied with each other in the founding of schools, the establishment of printing presses, and the dissemination of Bibles and Biblical text-books. He rejoiced to find converted Brahmins, like Banarjea and Sastri Gore, combating in writings of their own the teaching of the Vedas and the philosophical systems of Indian pantheism... For this pantheism in its popular form is spread over the whole intellectual horizon of India, like a thick cloud which no rays of the sun can penetrate. (400)

On Names

Since *Histoire* is not just a literary history but a literary history introducing an unfamiliar literary culture, there is a great amount of ethnographical details provided to the readers. To present a fuller understanding of the literary culture one must know the basic organisation of the society that produces it. Tassy hence had to provide detailed ethnographical notes and sketches depicting the Indian (North) social structure and practices. As a result along with the history, we also get a glimpse of sociology of Hindustani literature. Nowhere is this clearer than in his socio-ethnographical notes on the Indian writers and their names. De Tassy was the first European scholar to write about Islamic onomastics (study of names). His study on Islamic system of naming is still one of the primary references on the subject. With the description and analysis of the names, several important facts about the identity of the Indian writer are illuminated at once.

First of all, Tassy teaches his European readers to identify and distinguish Hindu names from the Muslim names. In fact, he says, the subject of the names of these poets makes of an intriguing study[22]. He explains that the names of Muslim poets can have up to six parts, consisting of proper names, surnames, and different titles occasionally two or three of them. He enumerates six types of titles that a Muslim poet can have. These are as follows:

1. *Ālam* or name of a Muslim saint; Hindus take the names of their gods or demigods. For example, Muslims take names such as Muḥammad, Alī, Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, etc., while Hindus take Har, Narāyan, Rām, Lakshman, Gōpīnātẖ, Gōkulnātẖ, Kāshīnātẖ etc.

2. *Laqab* or honorific. Examples of the Muslim honorific surnames are: Abdul-Alī (Slave of the Very High), Ghulām Muḥammad (Servant of Muḥammad), Alī Mardān (Servant of Alī), etc.

   Similar surnames of Hindus are: Shīvā Dās (Slave of Shīvā), Krishnā Dās, Mādẖō Dās and Keshava Dās (Slave of Krishnā), Nand Dās (Slave of Nand), Sūr Dās (Slave of the Sun). Moreover, Hindus are the slaves not only of their gods but also of their rivers, plants, and sacred cities. Thus, we have the names Gañgā Dās (Slave of the Ganges), Kāshī Dās (Slave of Benares), Matẖurā Dās (Slave of the city Mathura) etc.

3. *kunniyat* or surname expressing the relation of paternity or of being a descendant, such as Abū Ālib (Father of Ālib), Ibn Hishām (Son of Hishām);

4. *nisbat* or surname based on the place of origin, such as Lāhōrī (of Lahore), Kanōjī (of Kanoj);

5. *khitāb* or titles based on rank or nationality, such as Khān, Mirzā, etc.; Corresponding to the Muslim title called *khitāb*, there are different titles specific to different Hindu castes. The titles given to the Brahmins are *Caube*, *Tivārī*, D*ube*, and *Pāṇḍe*; to the Kśatriyas, Rajputs, and Sikhs, Ṭh*ākur*, *Rāya*, and *Siṃhā*; to the Vaishyas, merchants, and bankers, Ś*āh* and *Seṭẖ*; to men of letters, *Paṇḍit* and *Sen*; to physicians, *Miśrā*. The Hindu ascetics are called *Gurū*, *Bẖagat*, *Gosāiṁ*, or *Saiṁ*; the Sikh ones, *Bhāī* (brother).

[22] His primary study of Muslim names is ''Memoire sur les norns propres et les titres des musulmans' written for *Journal Asiatique*. However, the section translated here is from the second edition of his first volume of *Histoire* (1870).

He finds that mirroring the caste system of the Hindus, there is a division of Muslims into four classes: Saiyyads, Śaikhs, Mughals, and Paṭhāns. The first class consists of the descendants of Muhammad; the second, those of Arab origin, though this definition does not preclude this title from being used for new converts to Islam. The appellation Mughal is used for the people of Persian origin, and Paṭhān for the Afghans. The Saiyids are given the title Mīr (for Amīr). There is no special title for Śaikhs. The Mughals like to use the title Mirzā before, or Bēg after, their names. They are also called Āghā or Khvāja. Finally, the Paṭhāns are called Khān. The Muslim ascetics are addressed with the titles Shāh, Ṣūfī, or Pīr. Their religious clerics are called Mullā. The Muslim ladies are addressed as Khānam, Bēgam, Khātūn, Ṣāḥiba, or Ṣāḥib, and Bī or Bībī. The Hindu honorific titles include Shrī and Dēvā, the meaning of the first being saint and of the second being god. Shrī comes before the names and Dēvā afterward.

He further writes that the Indian sovereigns honour the most distinguished or popular poets of their states with such Muslim titles as *Saiyaduish- Shuʿarā* (Lord of Poets) or *Malikuish-Shuʿarā* (King of Poets), and such Hindu titles as *Kabīshar* (Lord of Poets) or *Bar Kavī* (Excellent Poet).

6. *takhallus* or the poetical alias which is usually a substantive word or a non-Indian, Arabic or Persian adjective. The Hindus who have written in Urdu have adopted the Muslim conventions in their *takhalluses*. As these fancy expressions are generally borrowed from Persian, the language of the highly cultured Muslims of India, the poets of either religion choose the same sort of *takhalluses* for themselves; consequently, if only a poet is *takhallus* is known, then it is impossible to tell whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu.

Elsewhere, he explains this literary practice in greater detail. The alias was almost always a noun and borrowed, even for Hindu poets, from the classical languages of the Muslim Orient. The alias had to be poetic since they were inserted in the last couplet of short poetical compositions or in the ending stanzas of long poems. Moreover, he felt that Indians have long, complicated names which could not be used in poems. As an example he mentions *Beqaid* (Free) which was the alias of a very well-known poet named Saiyid Faẓāʾil Alī (the Favours of Alī) Khān. Evidently including such names in “hemistich of a rhythmic, rhymed verse would clearly be impossible” (Tassy, “Origin and Diffusion” 144) and hence the need to use an imaginative alias. Poets chose aliases very carefully considering the subtle plays on

words and alliterations which could fit in poems suit rhythm and rhyme constraints. He lists some of the well- known aliases that have meanings as: "sun, victory, fire, calm, trouble, misfortune, faith, life, sigh, cloud, light, star, lion, flag, inspiration, hope, eloquence, fairness, spring, without heart (that is, one who has lost his heart to a beloved), without justice (that is, one who has suffered injustice), butterfly, hymn of praise, solace, unfortunate, audacity, insanity, and a myriad of other words of the same flavour"(Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 145).

Geographical Axis

As described earlier in the context of Islamic onomastics by De Tassy, Nisbat is an attributive adjective identifying the person with respect to the family, the tribe, the origin (place of the birth), the place of residence, he profession or religious domination. Theoretically any name can be constructed into a nisbah/nisbat by adding to it the ī.

A little story related by al-ṣafadī in his book Kitāb al-Wāfī bī-al-Wafāyāt attests to the value of geographical anchoring in the classical times:

> A man called Abū al-Faraj al-Muafā ibn Zakarīyā al-Nahrāwānī reported; "I was in pilgrimage in Mina and I heard a voice in the crowd calling 'Oh Abū al-Faraj.' So, I said to myself perhaps the person meant me; but there are many people called Abū al-Faraj; and so I did not answer him. Then I heard the man calling: 'O Abū al-Faraj al-Muafa ibn Zakarīyā al-Nahrawānī.' So I thought certainly he is calling me since he knew my nickname, my name, my father's name, and my place of origin (Nahrawān). So I answered him and inquired at what he wanted. He said: 'Perhaps you are from the Nahrawān of the East?' I replied that I was indeed from the Nahrawān of the East. Said the man: 'We want the Nahrawānī of the West.' I was amazed at the coincidence." (qtd. in Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences 351)

Tassy also maps the literary regions of the writers of that he has considered in his *Histoire*. Although there is no detailed analysis of linguistic regions like we have in Grierson when philology had advanced considerably, it is remarkable that Tassy imagined the literary field geographically. What is important in his geographical data is that it is not mapped around languages so much (as was done in Grierson) but around literary traditions. Hence, we have more than one literary traditions existing simultaneously in many places. While each literary culture has its specific regional area but atthe same time there are many overlaps in main

literary centres. He recognises Hindi writers as mainly consisting of the Hindu inhabitants of Punjab, Kashmir, Rajputana and the Northwest provinces with Delhi, Agra, Braj and Benares as the main literary centres. As for the Dakhni and Urdu poets, he writes,

> If we pay attention to the names of the cities of these poets, we shall know by that those in which the two Muslim dialects are not only used, but the most cultivated. These are for the dakhni: Surat, Bombay, Madras, Haiderabad, Seringapatam, Golconda; for the Urdu: Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Meerut, Lucknow, Kanpur, Mirzapur, Faizabad, Allahabad and Calcutta, where the Hindustani is as usual as the provincial dialect. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 114)

He is also conscious of the fact that these literary regions are constantly under revision with increasing or decreasing literary activities and linguistic dissemination. He quotes Amman who was considered to be the first Hindustani write who wrote in Calcutta, and has this to say on the subject in the preface to the Bāgh o bahār: "I, too, have spoken the Urdu language, and have metamorphosed Bengal in Hindustan"(Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 114).

Syncretic Traditions of Hindi-Urdu Literature

Recent studies on Hindi-Urdu literary histories have expressed great dissatisfaction with the traditional monolingual literary histories. It is a well established and accepted fact that the richly multilingual pre-colonial Indian reality contained within it various strands of knowledge traditions. The primary contradiction at this time was between the cosmopolitan classical languages and the vernacular Bhāṣās. The vernacular languages had not yet separated and were initial stages of identity formation. The colonial as well nationalist literary histories of vernacular languages written in the nineteenth century deliberately ignored this shared history with intermeshed literary traditions and traced completely autonomous fully formed linguistic and literary traditions. Such histories of literature invariably linked linguistic and literary traditions with religious identities so that Hindi was tethered to the Hindu identity and Urdu/ Hindustani to the Muslim identity. "As a consequence, these literary histories have been marked any 'appropriation, neglect and exclusion" (Bangha 22).

Tassy's literary historiographical writings are an exception to this overwhelming phenomenon. While highlighting the individuality of Hindustani literature quite separate from both Sanskrit and Persio-Arabic literary cultures, he writes.

> As for the philosophical importance of Hindustani, its curious nature gives it a distinctive quality that makes it worthy of appreciation by the highest minds, for it is the language of religious reform in India. Just as Christian reformers in Europe adopted living languages for everything connected with religious worship and instruction, likewise, in India, the leaders of the modern Hindu and Muslim sects generally used Hindustani to propagate their doctrines: we thus have Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, Bīrbhān, Bakhtāvar and finally Syed Ahmed, the most recent Muslim reformer. (Tassy, *Hindui Sāhitya* 6)

It must be mentioned here that in Hindustani here he includes both Hindi and what was later known as Urdu. About the literature written in Urdu which properly emerged as a language with distinct identity from Hindi/Hindui in the eighteenth century, not only does he not shy away from the composite parentage but considers its unique strength. He writes,

> A unique feature of Urdu literature, which sets it apart from the literature of Persian and other languages of the Muslim Orient, is that it derives its marvellous themes not only from the Muslim legends and fairylands, such as the one in the charming stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*, but also from Hindu mythology. The two sources endow it with an extraordinary variety in literary allusions and metaphors, enriching, especially, its fictional works. A striking example of this unique and pleasurable amalgamation is found in the work entitled *The Doctrine of Love, or The Rose of Bakāvalī*. (Tassy, "Origin and Diffusion" 145)

However, he does retain the separate literary identities of both literatures. In all his literary historiographical writings, he analyses Hindui and Urdu literature through their separate poetics. While for Hindui literature Gorressio's scheme of categorisation which was derived from Sanskrit poetics, is utilised, for Urdu literature William Jones's scheme of division of literature based on Islamic poetics is implemented. He visualises the Hindi and Urdu literary traditions as two separate bodies with many common threads and overlaps and a healthy culture of mutual influence. He does not consider them as water tight compartments. In fact, his narrative is that of mutual influence and borrowing and resolutely against any exclusionist or pure traditions. We have seen earlier in the chapter his disgust for the politics of purity of language and culture. Both Hindui and Hindustani share the space in the title of the text. However, Hindustani language and literature occupies the majority of the space in the actual text. It might be because the Hindustni/Urdu literary culture was more developed and easily

available at the time whereas texts of Hindavi or Hindui were very few and far between. Although it is also true that he was openly biased towards Hindustani-Urdu language once the language debate ensued.

Even as the literary traditions exist in a composite cultural milieu, the authors are also classified along religious identities. To be true, he identifies an unequal religious profile in the two literary cultures. While there were Hindu writers writing in Hindustani, Muslim writers seldom wrote in Hindi. At the same time, this division was not insurmountable when literary corpus was taken into account where far more fluidity was seen. In this way, we see, Tassy's literary and linguistic historiography challenges the divisive historiography and organisation of the later writings on literary history.

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Chapter Three

Pre-requisites of a Literary History: Gathering the Essentials

By the late 1860s the Hindu educated elite of northern India had decidedly taken up the cause of Hindi as the official vernacular of the NWP as well as to establish it as the language of the Hindus separate from the Hindustani or the Urdu. In order to compete for the power against Urdu, Hindi required both respectability as well as formal quality that Urdu possessed on account of its association with the ruling elite, official terminology of Persian origin as well as a lively tradition of modern writing. At least for the next half a century Hindi movement frenetically worked towards getting together everything needed to first launch Hindi as the official vernacular and soon enough as the rāṣtra bhāṣā, national language.

A literary history provides, for a language and its linguistic community, not only civilisational gravitas associated with old literature and literary tradition but a better prospect for linguistic nationality. But the demands of the genre of literary history were great to fulfil for the modern Hindi language, which had just begun to express its desire for selfhood. Even as it was claimed that Hindi was a ubiquitous language in North India spoken by everyone across class and region, it did not have any literature of its own. The first major challenge was to construct a bank of literature both old and new, but especially old for the purpose of history. Once a basic body of literature is collected, the next requirement is to have them dated historically so that a basic timeline can be constructed. And here was the biggest problem in the entire enterprise. The modern historiographic consciousness had not really developed yet in the vernacular culture. Official Medieval Indian historiography in Persian did show advance towards modern historiographical practices but it was not sufficiently developed nor had it acquired general dissemination. The indigenous classificatory regimes of literature and culture had given hardly any space to the historical mode of classification.

In a situation like this, the first task of scholars and partisans of Hindi was to supply the raw materials that could be used to construct a historical account and at the same time cultivate a historical view towards culture and literature. For this, anthologies, readers and collections played a crucial role. Although anthologies and selections were available through traditional genres like kāvya saṅgrahs, gutkās and bhakta mālās, their first use as part of the corpus of 'Hindi' literature was seen in the educational enterprises of the East India Company. The first

such anthology was prepared by William Price under the title *Hindi and Hindustani Selections* (1827). Anthologies and readers were prepared at Fort William College for the benefit of young British civil and military students to acquaint them with the local language and culture. Later on, when Rājā Śivprasād was the Inspector of Education, he got prepared selections of Hindi poetry as part of the school curriculum. Śivprasād, who spearheaded the Hindi movement, contributed to the development of historical consciousness in a major way.

The present chapter focuses on the literary contributions of Rājā Śivprasād, Bhārtendu Hariścandra and Śiv Siṃh Sengar towards constructing a new historical idiom of Hindi in the nineteenth century. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is titled "Rājā Śivprasād: Sitar-e Hind and Building of Historical Consciousness" and analyses his contribution in the making of the conditions for the modern literary history writings. His work is foundational in the making of the Hindi movement and we see in his writings a fervent desire to modernise the Hindi literary sphere with experiments in prose writings of various kinds as well as translations from English to Hindi. He was the first to present a guṭkā of Hindi writings. His most important contribution however, was the push for modern historiographic practices based on rationality against the traditional historiography which was exaggerated, irrational and biased. His phenomenally popular work of history, Itihāstimirnāśak, attempts to write a history that separates facts from the myths. However, even as he considers neutrality of belief (sect based or religious) a primary requisite for history writing in India, his own writing is loaded against the Muslims. This anti-Muslim tenor becomes an integral part of the Hindi *jātiyatā* of the time.

The second section is titled "Bhārtendu Hariścandra and Making of Hindi Public Sphere" which explains in detail the conditions which necessitated the writing of Hindi literary history by sketching the rise of a nascent linguistic nationalism. This section probes deeper into the question of literary sphere, public opinion and its *jātiyatā*. The third and final section of the chapter is titled, "Śiv Siṃh Sengar and Writing Historical Biographies" which analyses the process of historicisation of what is the most common form of traditional history writing in India, biography. This section shows another way in which the jātiyatā of Hindi literature is established in this period by its inclusions, exclusions and clarifications of the social identities of the poets past and present. Apart from Tassy's *Histoire*, it is Sengar's *Saroj* in which the interaction between the traditional and modern systems of classifications can be seen at close quarters.

Rājā Śivprasād Sitar-e-Hind and Building of Historical Consciousness

Śivprasād[1] was born on 3 February, 1824 in Bhāt Galī of Bhutahī Imlī muhallā in Banaras. Mughal emperors had conferred upon his ancestors titles of 'Rājā' and later on, 'Jagat Seṭh' indicating the important status and immense wealth they possessed. His ancestry reaches back to the old and established merchant family of Rājā Ḍālcand from Murshidabad. Ḍālcand had fled to Banaras and being heirless, adopted Śivprasād's father, Rājā Gopīcand. Śivprasād got married at the age of nine. He lost his father in childhood. He obtained his education in the government school and government college in Banaras. Having studied Persian and English he was well equipped for state service. When he turned seventeen, he was invited by

the Bhāratpur State and appointed as the official lawyer of the State. A few years later in 1848, he joined as Mīr Munśī in Śimla and continued working with the same designation after shifting to Banaras in 1852. In 1856, he was appointed as the Joint Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction and very soon promoted to the post of full Inspector. He received a very high salary for it. In 1860s, his salary was an astonishing rupees thousand per month. He retired from this post in 1878. In 1870 the British government bestowed him with the title of 'Star of India,' 'Sitār-e-Hind' and in 1874, 'Rājā'. Dalmia mentions Hariścandra throwing a public feast to celebrate this honour. He was also nominated as a member of the legislative council. In 1887, his title of 'Rājā' was converted to a hereditary title. Śivprasād died at the age of 71 years on 23rd February, 1895 at Banaras.

He was a fanatical anti-Muslim. One reason for his hatred for the Muslims was executions of several of his ancestors by the Muslim rulers and their subjection to severe feudal oppression. The second reason was the struggle for government positions between the Hindu and Muslim gentry in which he represented Hindu interests. The demand for the script change in the court

[1] For most of the primary information in this section I have relied heavily upon Talvar (2014). All the excerpts of Rājā Śivprasād's writings are from this edition.

language to Nagari was part of this struggle. He was the biggest rival of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the corridors of the state power. Sir Syed was probably the tallest leader of the North Western Provinces and represented the Muslim interests in the Hindu-Muslim struggle for power. Rājā Śivprasād opposed his demand for the special initiatives and benefits for the modern education for Muslims. His anti-Muslim streak emerges strongly in his history writing. In his highly influential work of history, *Itihās Timirnāśak*, especially in its third part (1873), he presented the Muslim rule in India as a rule marked by robbery, great violence and intense oppression. He blamed the Muslim rule for the backwardness of India. He also deeply resented the Muslims for their participation in the revolt of 1857. He feared that the capture of Delhi by "the mob" once again gave hope to the Muslims for establishing Muslim rule in Delhi.

Rājā Śivprasād's *Itihās Timirnaśak* with its anti-Muslim tenor, was an attempt to justify the British rule in India by contrasting it to the despotic Muslim rule before it. His loyalty to the British acquired absurd proportions when in 1883, as a nominee to the Viceroy Lord Mayo in the legislative council, he openly opposed the Ilbert Bill which proposed parity between Indian and British magistrates by providing them with the same rights to penalise. This led to his effigy being burnt in Calcutta. Vīr Bhārat Talvar, who has worked extensively on the nineteenth century Hindi literature, particularly on Rājā Śivprasād, finds the main difference between him and Bhartendu Hariścandra in their attitudes towards the British was only that Hariścandra also sometimes covertly critiqued the government and made fun of the English whereas Rājā Śivprasād's devotion to the British was constant throughout his life (Talvar xiii).

In the nineteenth century, a small section of urban Hindus with modern education had developed. Talvar identifies Rājā Śivprasād as the representative of this Hindu gentry in the official circles. Prior to the establishment of the Congress, the educated gentry of India were supporters of the British rule. This class admired western education, European sciences and civilisation and compared to the Muslim rule in India, considered the British rule to be just and efficient. It did not extend its support to the revolt of 1857. The emotions and ideas of this educated class are reflected in the writings of Rājā Śivprasād. This new educated class respectfully complained to the British authority, critiqued its policies, tried to pressurise it for its demands but fundamentally it was its supporter (Talvar xii). Both Rājā Śivprasād and Bhārtendu Hariścandra represented this class and were open loyalists. In lieu of their loyalty and support they received many benefits. Both their ancestors had helped the British establish

their rule in India by lending their support to them against the Nawabs of Bengal. In the revolt of 1857, they helped the British by providing protection. It was only a result of such loyalty that Bhartendu Hariścandra was made the honorary Magistrate of the Banaras city when he was merely 20 years old.

Talvar rues the fact that in the history of Hindi literature, Śivprasād is primarily recognised as a villain. His identity and role are limited to being an adversary of Hariścandra. According to him, this discourse was forged by Bhartendu Hariścandra and his coterie. There were ideological differences between them on the question of the form and future of Hindi. But these differences took on personal overtones and were expressed as personal rivalry between the two. Talvar believes it to be a flaw and injustice of the literary history writing of Hindi towards Rājā Śivprasād (i).

Rājā Śivprasād's main contributions are as follows: 1. to implement Hindi medium education in the North Western Provinces and prepare textbooks in Hindi; 2. to initiate the movement in support of Nagari script by demanding for the change in script of official language; and 3. to write in simple, clean accessible style (Talvar xv). These three achievements were a result of his struggle to change the balance of power in the gentry class in the nineteenth century North Western Province. The Muslim elite dominated the social and administrative roles in the region. The reason for this hegemony was the continuation of the Persian script even as the language of provincial rule was changed from Persian to Hindustani. This led to occupation of Muslims on disproportionately high number of government jobs.

Śivpraśād was the first person to demand for the change in the script of the official language in the North Western Provinces. He submitted a memorandum to this effect in the year 1968. This was the exact point when the Hindi renaissance was inaugurated. Rājā Śivprasād had a firm and clear opinion on the language question in the nineteenth century – Hindi and Urdu were not different but fundamentally the same languages. He was not in favour of displacing the common spoken vernacular to create two separate languages. Even though the two are written in two different scripts but the language written is one and the same. He was against writing this language in the Persian script. He believed that the practice of writing the vernacular in the Persian script was adopted by the Muslim rulers for their ease and was never fully accepted and naturalised by the common people. Hence, the moot question was the change of the official script and not the language. In his submission to the Hunter Commission, he vehemently criticised the writers who were posing the question of two

different languages instead of two different scripts as the central issue. In other words, his position was that the language should not take two different forms and this common form should be written in the Nāgarī script and not Persian script.

When in 1854 it was decided, through the Woods Dispatch, to vernacularise the language of school teaching, the medium of instruction was expected to be Urdu. It was primarily through Rājā Śivprasād's efforts that Hindi as a language of instruction was also included. He was the lone voice representing Hindi's cause in the Muslim dominant department of education. The next step was to prepare text books in Hindi. This was a major task since there was hardly any literature available in khaḍī bolī Hindi. To make Hindi a vehicle of modern education, without much of a previously existent repository of literature, was indeed a tall order. The tasks of establishing khaṛī bolī as the standard Hindi and equipping it with vocabulary of a modern language were held simultaneously. Rājā Śivprasād took upon himself to write introductory books of modern subjects like history, geography and natural sciences. He wrote textbooks like *Bhūgol Hastāmalak* and *Vidyāṅkur* as part of modern science courses. Most of the technical and scientific terminology that he and his team created in these books is still used today without any change (Talvar xv).

Rājā Śivprasād was an exceptionally original translator. He translated material from English in both Hindi and Urdu while writing the textbooks. Besides translation of curriculum development, he translated several literary texts as well. For example, *Dunālan* was an important work that was a translation of modified and abridged version of one of the stories by Miss Grace Kennedy. He translated a collection of short stories by the anti-slavery and pro-poor writer Thomas Day in Hindi under the title *Sanḍford aur Marṭan kī Kahānī*. His translations are known to be characterised by their dynamic and colourful language.

While creating Hindi curricula for the examination of junior civil servants and army officers, he edited three anthologies of selected works of Hindi literature. These anthologies under the title of *Gutkā* were the first anthologies of Hindi literature. Some of the writings included were Insha Allah Khan's *Rānī Katekī kī Kahānī*, Tulsī Dās' *Rāmcaritmānas*, Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, Bihārī Lāl's *Dohe*, Lallu Lāl's *Premsāgar* and Rājā Lakśmaṇ Siṃh's translation of *Ṣākuntalā*. It was for these anthologies that he wrote two very influential stories called *Rājā Bhoj kā Sapnā* and Vīr Siṃh's *Vṛtānt*.

Hindi movement in the NWP could not have progressed without the institutionalisation of Hindi as medium of education and teaching materials and textbooks for it. This was the

necessary historic pre-requisite for any further step of propagation of Hindi and its literature. The direction of struggle for change in power relations between the Muslims and Hindus of NWP was decided by the demand for a change in the script of official vernacular to Hindi. These are the reasons that Talvar proclaims Rājā Śivprasād to be "the progenitor of the Hindi movement" (Talvar xvii). The ideology of Hindi movement and all the fundamental arguments which were to be repeated in the Hindi movement in days to come were articulated first in his memorandum of 1868.

His contribution which is probably most relevant today is his style of prose. Rājā Śivprasād established khaṛī bolī Hindi at the time when the educated class considered it as rural/ganwaru language unfit for civilised discourse. Talvar considers it primarily Śivprasād's historic achievement that he raised Hindi prose to the level of the prose being written in Urdu and ensured its acceptance in the educated circles. Over and above the acceptability garnered by him for Hindi, Śivprasād's writings have often been recognised to have great literary merit[2]. While Bhārtendu and his supporters severely criticised Śivprasād's writing style as an example of everything that was wrong with cotemporary writing in Hindi, it was exactly this style that has been praised by others. Talvar describes Śivprasād's writing style as clean, free-flowing, idiomatic, and steady, unlike the unnatural and staccato prose produced by many of his contemporary writers. He gives the example of Bhartendu and the writers of his circle who used a mixture of Awadhi, Braj and curious neologisms in uncommon Sanskrit that obstructed the otherwise simple and interesting prose style (Talvār xviii). His claim that the prose written by Śivprasād, even in his scientific textbooks, has a superior literary quality than a lot of literary prose being written then, proves to be absolutely correct especially when compared to the scientific textbooks written in Hindi today. It must be remembered that Śivprasād wrote and published his books in both Hindi and Urdu languages. He was a strong advocate of using simple and easily understandable language whether Hindi or Urdu. The stress upon simplicity and comprehensibility was not just restricted to Hindi. It was his considered position on the purpose of language that stemmed out of his work as an education officer. He is known to have exerted a close control on the style used by the Urdu officers in creating textbooks under him as he did with the Hindi writers (Talvar xix).

Dalmia echoing Hariścandra Manḍal's opinion believes the probable cause for Śivprasād's attempts to reconcile Hindi and Urdu instead of increasing the differences was to do with co-

[2] Devkinandan Khatri especially considered Śivprasād's writing style to be ideal.

ordinating with the official British policy (Dalmia 132). Talvar's view, however, contradicts this and sees it as a consequence of Śivprasād's efforts to solve the social problem of language of education. When faced with the task of developing textbooks for curriculum, Śivprasād was confronted with the question of the language that the students had easy access to. Both Hindu and Muslim students studied together in the same school. The same curriculum was taught to them in two different languages even though they came from the same villages and spoke the same language. This was a big hurdle in developing the sense of a common collective identity *(jātiyatā*) in NWP. As a solution to this, he proposed using a form of language that was common and easily accessible to the students of both the communities. Even though the script of these textbooks may differ but the language should remain the same. His attempts to create a common, shared identity for the people of NWP are not really recognised (Talvar xix). It is Bhārtendu's language policy that was based upon the religious division of language that was considered ideal. At a time when the policy of segregated codification of the two languages was followed[3], Śivprasād experimented with making a common grammar to both the languages. In the introduction to *Hindi Vyākaraṇ* (1875), he writes:

> It is quite curious that our vernacular language is written in two separate scripts – Persian and Nāgarī – that run in opposite directions from each other, one from right to left and the other left to right. But what is even stranger is that it has two grammars. The absurdity began with the Maulvis and Paṇḍits of D. Gilchrist's time, who being commissioned to make a grammar of the common speech of North India, made two grammars, the one exclusively Persina and Arabic, the other exclusively Sanskrit and Prākṛt (Śivprasād 79).

If Hindi and Urdu are one language then they should have the same grammar. In his grammar he stressed upon eliminating grammatical prejudice by demonstarting "the common Aryan core of the two languages" (Dalmia 184). He writes about the question of linguistic style used repeatedly in his works.

The introductions of Śivprasād's books are very important since they take on theoretical questions. Apart from writing prose in Hindi and Urdu, he wrote Urdu poetry under the nom de plume (*takkhallus*) of Wahābī. Apart from being a litterateur, he was a scholar of philosophy, history, geography, natural sciences as well as theology. He was the first writer

[3] For more on codification of Hindi grammar see Dalmia (182-84).

to write about the modern subjects like history and geography in Hindi. He was greatly influenced by the modern European science of historiography. While writing *Itihās Timirnāṣak* he differentiated history from the *Purāṇs* and refused to consider Purāṇic sources as historical evidence. Geography was an entirely new discipline that was introduced after the European contact. *Bhūgol Hastāmalak* was a pioneering effort in introducing the field of geography to the north Indian audience. Similarly *Vidyāṅkur* describes natural sciences to students in a very interesting manner. A lot of his writing was in the form of text books and educational material that were based on the European and Arabic-Persian sources. The education system that the Britishers implemented in India was completely new and did not have any precedence in terms of the courses as well as the structure in India.

There were three mainstays of the Hindi renaissance – the change in the script of the official language of the provincial administration, struggle to establish pure Hindi against Urdu, and cow protection (Talvar xxi). He was the main initiator of the demand for the first, did not agree with the second and was an avid supporter of the politics of cow-protection. The leaders of Hindi renaissance accepted some social reforms but were against most religious reforms. Rājā Śivprasād was no different on this front. He was a staunch opponent of any attempt to criticise the basic tenets of the *Manusmṛti.* Even though he was a Jain by religion but like most other Jain families he was Hinduised to a great extent. He consistently wrote against Islam and Christianity and considered Manusmṛti to be an ideal text not just for the Hindus but humanity at large (Talvar xxi). He published his translations of selected sections of *Manusmṛti* under the title of *Mānavdharmsār* (1857). At the same time, he was also against the Brahmin hegemony in the social and religious sphere. Because of his anti-Brahmin stance he had considerable sympathy for the Buddhists and in his *Itihāstimirnāṣak* he associated the rise of Buddhism with the expression of the Śudra identity.

In the introduction to the *Bhūgol Hastāmalak, Śivprasād* assures that his work would be very useful not just to the children and young students but also to the older readers (*Rājā bābū* and *mahājans*) who at their age could not be expected to learn Persian and English and know only the Hindi language. His writing style is succinct not resorting to exaggeration in the manner of the poets. He has written things as they are, avoiding the usage of florid and excessive sentences. Even to the extent that he states, "if you see written about a certain place that there is no place like it in the world, then be assured that it is so" (Śivprasād 1). In cartographical illustrations, he has included only those names of places that were mentioned in the text so that it is easier for the readers to find all the necessary terms and places. At the end of the

text, all the names have been ordered alphabetically and the pages where they have been mentioned are written next to them. There are names that have two vertical lines before them which meant that the writer has himself seen those places and if there are lines after the page number, it means that one could find a detailed description of the place concerned on that page. Further explaining how to use the index he writes, " If you need to look up the description of a river, a mountain, a city or a village, a house or a ruler, find in the alphabetically ordered index the page number written against that name and see the description. The examiners will find this of great help for taking examinations of the boys." (Śivprasād 1).

He writes that some of his friends wanted the language of the text to be pure Hindi without any influence of Persian in it. But he chose to model the linguistic style after the language of the *Baitāl Paccisī*. The benefit of using such a language, according to him, was that by using Persian words the boys would improve their speech and Urdu which after all was the main language of the country and must be learnt. The sources of the information used in the text are mentioned in the end as the following: *Asiatic Journal*, *Cyclopedia*, Hamilton, Reynold Evert, Nicholas, Wayne, Mulcraft, Gerard, Tevernier, Elliot, Princep, Cunninghum, Murrey, Marshman, Valencia etc.

In the modern historiographical scholarly methods the questions of authenticity and authority were crucial. In his introduction to the translation of selections from *Manusmṛti*, he pre-empts doubts regarding the authenticity of the translation and the actual source of the selections in the text. To dispel any such doubts he attached his letter to the learned authorities of his times, asking them to check the proof for corrections and their reply in a simple sentence stating that they have viewed the text sent by him and it is correct without any inconsistencies. The letter is signed by Pt Iṣvarīdattjī Pāṇde of Vidyalaya Varansi Puri, Hīrānandjī Caturvadī, Rāmcandra Jī Ṣaṣtri and Durgādatt Jī Ṣarma Vaiyakaraṇ.

In the introduction to the first part of *Itihās Timirnāṣak* (1864), his history of India, he writes that he had expected the "so-called historical texts" (*tathākathit itihās granth*) written in Indian languages to be deficient and full of mistakes but he was surprised to find that even the European historians' work abounded with mistakes. He realised that the English writings on Indian history were not sufficient to write the Indian history. He turned towards the Persian sources next. But since the sources in Persian were not easily available in Banaras and he did not have enough time to collect them from other places, he restricted himself to

using whatever material was available around him. Reiterating his stand on the question of the language in NWP he writes,

> People from other states would sympathise with us when they will know that unlike them we have not been blessed with the one language and one script in the language spoken in society and court. Our court language is Urdu and in all the nations a language of the court is considered to be the most civilised as well as popular language. Urdu is increasingly becoming our mother tongue and is spoken correctly or incorrectly by more or less everyone in the NWP. If we are unable to change the script of the court language then is there any need of trying to unnecessarily create a new language? *Atish, Maroof, Shitab, Chamboor, Sardar, Koh,* etc are all Persian words used by our first poet Chaṁd who was PrithVīrāj's *bhāṭ*. In my opinion it would be better to familiarise the people with the language used in the courts. It would be immensely preferable to develop our language instead of getting duped in the district courts and shying away from conversing with the gentlemanly class. I have tried to emulate the language of *Baitāl Paccisi* to a certain extent. (Śivprasād 22)

He further writes in the First part of *Itihās timirnaśak:*

> It is the great glory of God that the merchants and shopkeepers of England who had acquired the rights of commerce from their rulers under the organisation of Company have presented the rulership of Hindustan, this paradise like land to their ruler Queen of England Madam Victoria (*Bādśah Śrimati Inglanḍeṣvarī* Queen Victoria). On the 2nd of August, 1858 the Parliament declared that the East India Company was not to keep any relationship with the Union of India and they may take from the treasury their investments with interest, India will be ruled by the monarch. This was the good fortune of India that it was lifted from the rule of the merchants and came under the rule of the monarch, even the black man is governed under the Queen Victoria. If it was any Muslim ruler, he would have run a blood bath after the mutiny and destroyed the cities and left to be ploughed through by the donkeys. But the notice sent by her graciousness, ocean of compassion, light of this world Madam Queen Victoria and read by Governor-General Lord Canning to all of you made everyone's heart bloom like lotus is copied here. Dear readers, pray to the God that rule of our Empress Queen Victoria last forever. (Śivprasād 42)

In the third part of *Itihās Timirnāśak* (1873) he elaborates upon the problems of Indian history writing and the state of ancient Hinduism. He writes that a continuous detailed history going back to three to four thousand is available for ancient countries like China, Egypt, Syria, Persian, Greece and Rome but there is nothing that can be said with any degree of surety about pre-Islamic Indian history. There is no record of what happened to people and places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He finds it astonishing that in the short period of merely six hundred years of Muslim rule in India thousands of books of history or *tāwārīkhs* were written. If Veda, Purāṇs and similar books which Indians believe to have described *Sat yug, Tretā yug* and *Dvāpar yug*, are excluded then very few books are of use. And books like *Rājtarṅgiṇī, Rājāvalī*, providing description of states like Kashmir or of a few kings like Rājā Bhoj do not count for uninterrupted history of India. The reason for this, according to him, was that the task of history writing in India was accorded to the *Bhāt* Brahmins who wrote of fame and glory of the royal families under whose patronage they survived. Right from the time when Ṣuk recited *Rāmāyaṇa* for Parīkṣīt to the *chands* that described PrithVīrāj's exploits in battle by Caṁd Kavi, historical narratives in India have been oral in form. Earlier, *śloka*s were created in Sanskrit and later on *kavitt*s and *chand*s in bhāṣa. This was so because poetry was easier to remember. Bhāṭs jealously guarded history under their guardianship and did not want anyone else other than their clan to remember it. Since spoken words have no permanence, the moment a royal family lost its fortunes, Bhāṭs did not find any reason to continue remembering their history and it was lost with time. However, he does not regret this loss of history by Bhāṭs since it was often based upon falsehoods aimed to appease their patrons. Only the positive and flattering incidents and facts found their place in these historical narratives. Very often irrational and exaggerated things completely based on imagination were passed off as historical facts. For example if ancestry of a king was not found it was traced to a *devtā*.

> Even when a work was written, it was lost due to the lack of knowledge of printing which immortalises it. With the foolishness of copiers it acquired impurities and mistakes over time. There was no research conducted on these texts in the first place. Even when any research was conducted, these works were locked up in exclusive private libraries which were often destroyed during battles. As a result when no support was found among the books, one had to resort to other means of writing history of the country. For this, archaeological evidence in the forms of excavated coins and bronze tablets have been useful. Victory pillars have provided some

> historical information about kings. Plaques and engravings found in some public structures like temples, wells, ponds et cetera with descriptions of patrons have also been used to glean information. Other than this, some information could be found by sieving through stories, songs, texts et cetera for facts. It is on such scattered foundation that history of India is constructed. (Śivprasād 45)

The biggest difficulty in the project of history writing in India, according to Śivprasād, was the absence of calendar years. Before *Vikram Samvat*, with the exception of the Buddhist calendar which started with Buddha, there is no evidence of a calendar being followed in India. Time periods were often counted from the beginning to the end of a reign. Once it ended, calendar was counted all over again. As a result of this, the sense of past amongst Indian people is all garbled and even three or four hundred years old incidents are said to be of thousands of years old ranging back to *Satya yuga.* To the conception of the yug and its divisions, he suffices to say that there is no archaeological or numismatic evidence that supports such claims. Pundits further complicated ascertaining historical time periods when, to show their poetic prowess, they employed exaggeration for stress. Hence, kings and warriors are not only described to be phenomenally strong and skilled but they are made to live for hundreds and thousands of years.

He accepts that to proclaim the presence of poetic imagination in śaṣtras may be considered by many to be against religion but all such doubts clear away when such facts are measured against reality. He takes up the descriptions found in śaṣtras literally to prove the absurdity of the claims made therein. For example if it is written that a person's head is like a mountain then naturally the nostrils would be like caves, to ride he would need a horse of giant proportions and where would he find a woman so large?

So what is history according to him? He believes history of India is to be based on facts that are well-known and accepted by followers of all beliefs and which are based on evidence that can be verified. History has no relation with the desires, assuredness, devotion and belief of anyone. In fact history is directly opposed to thoughtless devotion of religious followers. It is crucial for Indians to understand what history is for it is a great science. Those who are able to understand what is meant by history will not take offence with anything written in history. However, those who decide to be bound by the shackles of blind devotion to history do not possess any right to read it. He claims to be only interested in writing ancient evidential narrative of India, and not take up issues with anyone's devotion and beliefs.

Exactly as he had pre-empted, the response came through a review by Hariścandra who articulated the voice of orthodox Hindu samāj in an anonymous piece in his *Hariścandra Magazine*, February 1874 under the pseudonym 'An Orthodox Hindoo of Kasi'[4]. He alleges,

> He, just like Christian Missionary writers, speaks of Hindi institutions in a way offensive to the orthodox Hindoos. (When Baboo Siva Parasad makes fun of the gluttony of Brahmins)...He himself in his preface says, "no sober man is expected to go through these pages and again believe in the absurdities of Puraṇas or long for one of the old regimes." The author with this terrible aim in view shall affect a great mischief, a revolution that threatens to turn anything into chaos, if the work be solemnly handed by Government to tender children of the masses attending village schools. Jones, Wilson, Tod, Max Muller, Griffith and other admirers of ancient Indian literature are unanimous in attributing everything noble in Hindu character to the influence and implicit belief in the writings of such divines as Manu and Valmiki, but whose defects supposed or real our author exposes to the reader with the view to take his belief from them. Take this from a Hindoo and what is he? An ungodly creature...The authors rather boldly puts before his reader the wrongs, the Mohammedans did to the Hindoos, which though however true we do not want to remind tender children of the masses, as they are likely to produce a spirit of revenge and a natural hatred between the two principle sections of the Indian population. It is time we should heartily cooperate with each other and make our common cause as natives of the same country, make advances in civilisation, try to ameliorate our condition, and cultivate useful arts of peace, under the beneficence of British rule. (Hariścandra 421)

Bhārtendu Hariścandra and the Construction of Hindi Public Sphere[5]

Bhārtendu Hariścandra occupied a social as well as geographical space that was very close to that of Rājā Śivprasād Sitar-e-Hind. Hariścandra was born in a prestigious clan of the Agravāls. The Agravāls are amongst the higher castes of the vaiśya varṇa. They are historically involved in commerce and trade activities and are positioned very high in the social hierarchy. Agravāls migrated and settled permanently in large numbers to faraway

[4] It is generally accepted that the anonymous reviewer in Hariścandra's journals was Hariścandra himself. This particular is included in collections of Hariścandra's writings. Damia (330) also believes this 'anonymous Hindoo' to be Hariścandra.

[5] For a lot of the information in this section I have followed Vasudha Dalmia's sterling research on Hariścandra.

places while pursuing their trade. Originally they hail from the western part of India. Hariścandra's family were part of the *pachāhīṁ* section of the community as opposed to the *pūrbiyās*. This community followed strict vegetarian lifestyle and even wore janeū or the sacred thread. Majority of them were Vaiśṇavas in their religious persuasion.

Not only is it not possible to extricate Hariścandra from his seat of extreme caste privilege but it must not be undervalued as well. His ancestry and their caste occupation had very clear and direct role to play in his life, in the opportunities he got and in his rebellion against it. He was acutely aware of his caste identity and bore great caste pride in being an Agarvāl. In fact, quite early in his writing career, he wrote a tract tracing the origins and history of the Agarvāl jāti. This tract was titled *Agarvāloṁ ki utpattī* and was published in 1871. It is an interesting tract for its historiographical methodology. It pushes forward the Puranic theory of origin but goes on to provide a very detailed ethnographic account of the caste and its culture in the fashion of Western sociological practice.

In a long poem describing the lives of Vaiṣṇava poets, *Uttarārdhbhaktamāl*, Hariścandra writes about his family lineage and their long tradition of devotion to the Vaiṣṇavite belief system. He writes:

> In the Vaiśya clan of the Agravāls, Bālkṛṣṇa took birth
> His son, devoted to the feet of Girdhar was the excellent Girdhārīlāl
> Amīncand was his son, and his son Fatahcand
> Harakhcand, his son, was the moon of the ocean of his clan
> He served Guru Girdhar and brought the sevā into the house
> He saved the members of the clan, made firm their devotion to Harī's feet
> His son Gopālcand was born servant of Girdhar
> He extinguished the difficult way of karma to bring the light of devotion
> He removed many gods and goddesses, left the ways of the clan
> Established love in the house, thence emanated the love of Kṛṣṇa's feet
> From the womb of Pārvatī was born to him the illustrious
> Elder brother of Gokulcandra, the devotee and disciple Hariścandra. (qtd. in Dalmia 124)

This is his *vamśāvalī* from the time of Shah Shuja, son of Mughal emperor Shāhjahān. Bālkṛṣna arrived with Shāh Shujā to Murshidabad in Bengal. It was his son Amīncand who was an important character in the establishment of Company raj in India for the first time when he sided with the British against the French, while betraying Nawāb of Bengal

Sirājudaulāh. But despite his intricate intrigues he was used and thrown by the Company. He died a broken man and his son Fatahcand left Calcutta and moved to Banaras.

Next two generations of the family represented by Fatahcand and Harakhcand continued their family trade and prospered. They too maintained their relations with both Rājā Banaras as well as the Company. They played a leading role in establishing and propagating *Vallabh sampradāya*, a Vaiṣṇava sect, in Kāśī. Not only were they important public figures in the religious sphere of Banaras but were steeped in the cultural life of the city as well.

Gopālcand, next in line and Hariścandra's father, was a bhāṣa poet of import and great patron of art and literature. He was a prolific writer with around 40 compositions in his name. Apart from this, he had gathered around him a literary circle of poets and writers who were received by him on a daily basis. His literary gatherings provided a platform to the literati of the region to interact and share their works.

Gopālcand has secured a place for himself in the history of Hindi literature because of his Hindi drama, Nahuṣ nāṭak, which is widely recognised as the first drama written in Hindi language. It deals with Indra's expulsion from his throne by Nahuṣ and his subsequent reinstatement. Hariścandra was seven years old at the time it was written. In Hariścandra's opinion his father's experiment in dramatic form was only one of the examples that showed how attuned he was to the new cultural and ideological changes occurring in his time. Even without any English education he forayed in a genre which had no immediate indigenous predecessor. He encouraged his children to have English education and even sent his elder daughter to attend the first girls' school opened by the Lt. Governor. He was a man at the frontline of the rapid changes occurring in society and wanted to provide all the advantages of the Western education to his progeny. Gopālcand died due to excessive opium consumption before he turned 30 when Hariścandra was just 11 years old.

This family participated in what seems to be a truly syncretic experience where the Indo-Persian mannerism and culture was learnt and followed along with eager reception of modern Western liberal education. While they were well entrenched in both emergent and residual cultures of state power, they were resolute in maintaining and propagating their religious beliefs. Gopālcand, a true scholar and connoisseur established Saraswati Bhavan library in the family which contained a rich collection of works in Persian, Sanskrit and bhāṣās. This was the immediate enVīronment available to Hariścandra that shaped his sensibilities.

Hariścandra was born in this economically, socially and culturally affluent familial envīronment in the year 1850. His parents died early on in his life when he was a child. Dalmia calls him the merchant prince for his princely upbringing and subsequent life. He started composing poetry very early in life. He was home tutored in Urdu by Maulavī Tāj Alī and in Sanskrit by Paṇdit Iśwarīdatt. He continued his Sanskrit education under the famous Paṇdit Kailāś Sukul. He was taught English by Rājā Śivprasād Sitāre Hind himself for some time. For more formal Western education he had joined Queen's college where he terminated his education in middle.

One very important literary influence on him was his exposure to the new ideas and literature emerging from Bengal. He learnt Bangla in Calcutta and it was here that he was exposed to theatre going culture for the first time. Another traditional education he received was at the hands of courtesans who taught young men at the time various arts and mannerisms. Although he was married at a very young age he had neglected his wife entirely and spent majority of his time in brothel houses. He shared long term and, for most part, simultaneous intimate relationships with two women named Mallikā and Mādhavī. With Mallikā he had a close partnership at literary and intellectual level as well. She translated from Bangla, wrote poetry as well as novels in Hindi.

Hariścandra revelled in his public persona. All his life he was in the public eye and loved to be the centre of all attraction. When he was just 17 years old, he opened a school for boys called *Cauk* School. For initial time he and his brother himself tutored the pupils but later on it acquired the shape of a proper school with teachers and staff. Apart from the usual kāvya sabhās he participated in and inaugurated many clubs and associations. Most important of these was the Benaras Institute of which he was already a member when he was a 14 years old boy. He was also an executive secretary at the Dharma Sabhā established by Rājā Banaras to propagate *sanātan dharma*. Amongst the associations that he founded himself was Kavitāvardhinī Sabhā which organised elaborate *kāvya sabhā*s much like his father

Gopālcand's poetic gatherings. These sabhās were lavish affairs that went on for as long as three days. Penny Reading Club was also founded by Hariścandra and papers presented in it were published in *Hariścandracandrikā*. Dalmia informs us that it was here that he dressed up in flowing robes with a long role of paper trailing behind him and appeared in front of the assembly to read his satirical prose *Pāṁcvā Paigambar*. In the same year, he established Tadīya Samāj which was modelled after Arya Samāj and Brahmo Samāj and disseminated the idea of Vaiṣṇava monotheism.

All of these public activities and engagements fed into his journalistic endeavours. He published detailed reports of these activities, their ensuing debates as well as regular appeals to the public in his journals. *Kavivacansudhā* was the first journal he edited and it had a long publication span under his editorship from 1868 to 1876 after which it was passed on to others and continued till 1885, the year when Hariścandra died. In 1873, he started *Hariścandra's Magazine* which was soon renamed *Hariścandracandrikā*. He was also the first to bring out a women's magazine in India called *Bālbodhinī* which was under circulation for four years from 1874 to 1878.

The cultural and social capital accumulated by Hariścandra had gathered around him a vast circle of friends and acquaintances that is commonly known as Bhārtendu Manḍal or the Bhārtendu Circle. A number of them wrote for his journals and were encouraged to bring out periodicals themselves. In totality these men went on to create a solid Hindi literary sphere with a strong Hindu cultural and political identity and opinion.

Hariścandra's circle mostly included the prominent people who were active in the Hindi literary activities in the second half of the nineteenth century. It had Pratāp Nāryaṇ Miśra of Kanpur (1856-95) as well as Bālkṛṣṇa Bhatt of Allahabad (1844-1914). Bālkṛṇa Bhatt was the founder and editor of *Hindi Pradeep* (1877-1910) as well as one of the distinguished journal *Hindi Vardhini Sabha* (1877). Lālā Śrinivās Dās of Delhi, who wrote two of the first crop of Hindi plays and *Pariksha Guru* (1882)- considered to be the first novel in Hindi- was another luminary of the Circle. Badrinārāyaṇ Chaudharī 'Premghan' of Mirzapur was another prolific writer and editor of the journal *Ānandakādambini* (ca. 1881-90) who was a member. Last but not the least was Bābū Rādhākṛṣṇadās (1865-99), his own first cousin, who had grown up with him in the house in Caukhambā. Rādhākṛṣṇdās also wrote abundantly just as almost all those who were closely associated with the poet. He was also one of the three original founders of the Kashi Nagari Sabha (1893), the association for the propagation of

Hindi. There was also a group of writers in Muradabad, who had not been in personal touch with the poet but were greatly inspired by his writing and unambiguously acknowledged their debt to him. These were Lālā Śaligrām Vaiśya (1831-1901), Jhabbilāl Miśra (ca. 1833-60), Jvālāprasād Miśra (186-1916) and Baldevprasād Miśra (1869-1904). They wrote poems, plays, novels and essays on various topics. It also had Bābū Rāmdīn Siṃh (1865-1903) who was a great support to the poet in his later difficult years. He established the Khadagvilas Press in Patna in 1880.

Hariścandra came to be known as *Bhārtendu* or Moon of India. This title was given to him by his friends and followers in opposition to the officially given title of 'Star of India' or Sitār-e-Hind to Rājā Śivprasād. Rāmśaṅkar Vyās suggested in a Calcutta Hindi journal named *Sārsudhanidhi* that Hariścandra be conferred the title of Bhārtendu which was soon endorsed by Hindi literati across different journals.

George Grierson wrote about him that he was the most celebrated of the native poets of his time and had done more for the popularisation of vernacular literature than almost any living Indian. He died in the year 1885 and was universally mourned "being by general consent one who was *'ajāta-śatru*'" (*Hariścandra Granthāvalī* vol vi 124). Grierson also pronounced him the best critic which Northern India had yet produced. Hariścandra's project to promote monotheistic Vaiṣṇava religion had special attention of Grierson since that fitted well with Grierson's own ideas of Bhakti[6].

Renowned critic Ramvilas Sharma was the first to appreciate Hariścandra's writing style and saw his language as part of the people oriented aspects of his work. He also wrongly identified him as anti-imperialist intellectual and a radical who broke the bonds of the old social order to concern himself with the masses.

The Indian bourgeoisie along with the new emerging middle class felt the need of a centralised nation state for their future progress. This desire to break away from the increasingly redundant feudal political order was reflected in contemporary intellectuals, especially those associated with the 'nineteenth century renaissance'. Hariścandra articulates this longing for India to achieve nationhood in the likeness of England. By a modern nation state he meant a homogenous population which by and large shared common opinions and identity. He could gauge the crucial role that education played in creating public opinion and

[6] For more on Grierson's contribution in establishing Bhakti as an important ideological force within Hindi literature refer to the next chapter.

hence a public sphere. It is interesting to see how closely Habermas' conception of ideal public sphere matches with that of Hariścandra. Orsini in her introduction quotes the following definition of 'public sphere' by Habermas thus:

> By the 'public sphere' we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like member of constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion---that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and freedom to express and publish their opinions---about matters of general interest. In a large public body this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it. (11)

The project of mass literacy was crucial for creating an educated public. Although the politics of Hindi movement had direct connection with the 'Hindu' claim over official jobs and positions but it was not restricted to it. Aside from practical knowledge and concerns that directly resulted in employment generation, knowledge in its abstract form was required for the larger aim of nation formation. In his essay titled "Public Opinion in India", originally written in English, Hariścandra expounds:

> Our educated class are quite mistaken in understanding the main object of the Government in imparting sound and high education to them. They think that the more they are educated the more they are to achieve something good and great for themselves, and not for the country at large. The main object of education is simply to enlighten the minds of millions of ignorant subject who may know the sublime truths of knowledge and wisdom, and not to turn out Clerks, Engineers, Doctors, Moonsiffs, Pleaders only.
>
> The country is rising from death like slumber of misrule and oppression by the appearance of the western rays of civilisation and enlightenment, and with its bulk of multifarious population, is influenced by the progressive policy of British nation...But in this country many are the blemishes that adhere to us, to be eradicated and many are the shortcomings that are hovering around us, to be done away with before we can

> have a public opinion here in its true sense...The result of Village Representative Government “would be that different village will have different opinions materially differing from each other. The cities of one part of the country will not coincide in their views and opinions with the cities of the other part, in as much as they differ greatly in their customs and manners. Hence we will have different opinions of different sects and communities widely differing from each other in their general opinion even despite and instead of one public opinion, we will have ad-infinitum sects of India. Hence it is desirable that religion which has one to such a degree of corruption now, should be looked after with much care and concern by the Indians. Unless there be a general desire to shake off the trammel of superstition, the regeneration of India cannot be aimed at. Let the religion of India be the religion that can govern millions of her subjects without any let or hindrance. Let the dark shadow of sectarianism be vanished by the rays of western civilisation and let one and all of us combine together to look over national customs and habits from the catholic point of view and let unity be the basis of that grand superstructure of national improvement which every civilised nation has in its possession. (*Hariścandra Granthāvalī* vol vi 361)

However, there were big hurdles in achieving this ideal despite the enthusiastic call for unity for the cause of ‘national improvement’. Behind this enthusiasm was the desperation that he felt when he saw the Indian society in its teeming diversity. The heterogeneity of India appeared as a major challenge when compared to the basic requirement of a common public sphere and homogeneity. In his essay titled “Scope for the Educated Indians”, also originally written in English, this problem is illuminated quite clearly by him:

> India is populated by heterogeneous nation(s) whose social, moral and intellectual status differ greatly from other countries whose homogenous class preserve one uniform state of social manners and customs which undergo change and modification as time and circumstances allow.
>
> Even this heterogeneous nation now a days have undergone some superficial change by the administrative policy of the British nation which has proven bane to the society. For we see that the nation instead of preserving their ancestral profession are obliges or willing to enter upon a new arena of life by adopting new and seemingly glorious occupation which their forefathers never dreamt of. This change we mainly

> attribute to the progressive administrative policy of the British nation, who, like Methodists, are quite repugnant to interfere even with the time honoured and absurd social customs of their social subjects. I do not thereby mean that they should directly intervene with the profane customs and manners fettered by the inviolable chain of religion, which interference would be direct infringement of the political principles of an enlightened nation. What I mean is that Government should open all departments to them without any let or hindrance not irrespective of caste, creed or colour, should induce them to turn their new British instilled energy and zeal to the attainment of science and art which are the ornaments of a civilised life, and should urge them to carry on commerce, agriculture, and their own profession systematically and regularly. (*Hariścandra Granthāvalī* vol vi, 370)

Evidently the "one public opinion" that Hariścandra aspires towards is not really a neutral common space with equal stakes and opportunities for everyone. First of all, at the centre of the imagination of public sphere in India is not an individual but a community. Individuals participate within the circumscribed sphere of their own identity based community, which in turn competes in the larger political space as a collectivity. The primary hindrances in the actualisation of common public opinion are these competing communities with their diverse opinions and agendas.

The solution put forward by Hariścandra and his contemporary intellectuals is greater centralisation in all spheres along with effacing of differences by usurping the spaces occupied by minority and socially marginalised communities. This phenomenon could be observed across sectors from language to religion. The underlying ambition remained to achieve a singular and unitary modern public sphere.

Friction and conflict marked the relationship between different communities and all of them were not equally placed vis-a-vis each other and the larger public within which they were constituted. This segmented public sphere was very different from the European condition. Not surprisingly, in the essay cited above, the "British instilled energies and zeal" (370) that Hariścandra talks of were not to interfere with the traditional social order. The bane unleashed by the colonial government led the old caste identities to loosen a little, resulting in people "adopting new and seemingly glorious occupation which their forefathers never dreamt of" (370). The doors of opportunities opened by the colonial government must not let

everyone enter “irrespective of caste, creed and colour” (370). The stress is on maintaining their“own” profession. The varṇa order must not be tempered with.

Dalit intellectual Kanwal Bharti refutes the claims of nineteenth century giving birth to Hindi renaissance. According to him the professed renaissance of Hindi in the nineteenth century had no space in it for the Dalits and was staunchly Brahminical in its nature. For him the real Hindi renaissance took place in the next century when Dalit writers asserted their voice in Hindi. Hindi renaissance of the nineteenth century was, in real terms, renaissance of Hinduism and Islam. It was part and parcel of the project of re-organisation of Brahminical Hinduism. All major Hindi intellectuals of the nineteenth century were in favour of English education, science and technology as long as it did not disturb the existing balance of power in the social and religious spheres.

Dalmia has also demonstrated in her writings on the nineteenth century Hindi literary sphere how the procedures of coming together of Hindi literature and forging together of Hinduism as a monolithic entity mirrored each other. In fact, development of Hindi movement went hand in hand with the building of a new Hindu identity. Both these projects complemented each other by projecting Hindi as the language of Hindus. Once the religious claim on the language was firmly set, the direction of the linguistic and literary activities was also decided. The aims of both Hindu movement and Hindi movement merged when Hindi was established as the language of the Hindu population. This was achieved through pitting Hindi against Urdu just as Hindus took their stance against Muslims and vice-versa. By pulling apart the existing rubric of tradition and culture, to create two separate and autonomous linguistic and cultural traditions reaching back well into the past, a permanent dichotomisation of religious and linguistic difference was attempted.

There was a strong drive of standardisation that was taking place simultaneously. The differences between Hindi and Urdu were getting solidified and the standard identity given to them enhanced these differences and reduced the commonalities. It involved writing of grammars, dictionaries and school primers through which new vocabulary was introduced. Phonological and grammatical alternatives to the common Urdu usage were devised. All these efforts were invested into creating a language which stood apart and alone.

This newly conceptualised Hindi was then equipped with its own history that certified its continuous independence from the past to the present. Hindi was accorded ancient ancestry by linking it to Sanskrit which was presumed as the mother tongue of the Aryans. This provided it

with a respectable ancestry. It was the devotional Bhakti movement that became the primary ideological construct that Hindi utilised to counterpoise the Islamic influence in the medieval age.

Hindi thus produced in the second half of the nineteenth century was not a vernacular language in the strict sense of the word. It was not the language spoken in the homes of people even before the Muslim invasions. The Indologists openly and proudly claimed that Hindi was a language constructed by the British. The genealogies of Hindi literature hence were employed to counter such claims of its recent artificial construction. While the British maintained that they had rescued Hindi from its dishevelled state and reconstructed it, the Hindu nationalists denied any interruption in the continuity of the language over time. For them, Hindi was the direct descendent of Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans and the language in which the national literature of Hindus had been composed.

The value the British attached to their own literature and its political and cultural significance was not lost to the nationalists in India. By mid- nineteenth century, literature had moved beyond its role as a polite pastime to become repository of cultural history of nation. In Charles Kingsley's famous words, literature was the autobiography of the nation. It was understood by the Hindi activists that Hindi as a national language could evolve only with the growth of its literature, and this growth reflected the degree of development of the nation itself.

The intelligentsia in Banaras had direct access to English literature and was well acquainted with it. Dalmia quotes Mr Carmichael, the agent of the Governor-General, who said in his speech:

> You must know that there is perhaps no city in these provinces where English literature is more sought after and read than Banaras, and there is hardly a native gentleman in the higher classes of the society here who cannot speak with more or less fluency in the English tongue. (272)

Hindi did not possess a literary corpus until the nineteenth century, so it was even more important to give it a semblance of literary history to justify its claims to being the rāṣtra bhāṣa. The total number of works available in Hindi or allied languages was miniscule. The challenge present in front of the Hindi nationalists was tremendous. They had to put together a literary corpus, a literary canon along with a new literary vocabulary to describe and analyse the literature in contemporary and relevant manner. All this was the necessary pre-requisite of writing any literary history. The writings of Hindi literature were made available to the general

public through anthologies and independent selections of poetry. A range of literature was put forward for purchase by the newly operating printing presses. Literary periodicals played a crucial role in creating as well as supplying the need for Hindi literary discourse.

The first important and hugely popular endeavour was the publication of a poetic anthology called *Sundarī Tilak* (1869). Like most anthologies compiled till then it was an exercise in continuation with the traditional Indian knowledge genre of *kāvya saṅgrah*. The central guiding principle of this anthology was to collect poetry in the specific verse form of the *savaiyyā*. Time period of the poets was not a consideration at all. It had both old and new poets of *savaiyyās*. Hariścandra did not compile it himself but it was made for him under his guidance by the poets Mannālāl Sharma 'Dvij' and Hanumān Kavi, both well-known contemporary poets of Brajbhasha.

Hariścandra sought to address all these concerns through his literary journals and activities. In a series of essays especially in the early issues of *Kavivachansudha*, he made serious attempts to give shape to the history and aesthetics of Hindi literature as the national literature of the Hindus.

In *Hindi Kavitā*, Hariścandra not only attempted a preliminary sketch of the evolution of Hindi poetry and drama, he evaluated them according to criteria which were extensions of the traditional, "When new categories were introduced, in order to encompass new areas of aesthetic pleasure, they were to be verified finally by what remained true to experience. It was contemporary experience, then, a social and subjective category, which now entered poetics" (Dalmia 274).

A whole range of literary conditions need to be fulfilled before any attempt of writing a comprehensive literary history can be taken up. First and foremost a basic repository of available literature in the language needs to be put in place. From this extended collection of all available literature, selection and publication of the selected texts for larger dissemination as part of canon formation happens. The next step is to historicise the entire repertoire of texts as well as the process of literarisation. Once the basic chronological sequence is established along with pattern of growth and development of literature, the next step is the creation of critical field where standards of criticism as well as analysis are contended. It is here that various literary genres are differentiated and categorised. It is only after the preparation of this ground that a comprehensive literary history could be written.

When the process of analysis and criticism was initiated, the old literature and its subsequent development were assessed. The criteria for this assessment had necessarily to be contemporary. The link between the old and the new was established. The older aesthetic standards were reviewed and replaced with fresh perspective. At the same time, the tracing back of the ancestry of the new genres was equally necessary politically and ideologically. Hence, attempts were made to endow the present literary genres as well as works with the Sanskrit literary ancestry.

However, only the Sanskrit canon was insufficient to serve the contemporary needs of vernacular literary criticism. The new socio-political reality gave birth to a new aesthetic experience, which could not be understood and judged by older rules of aesthetic appreciation. Besides the enormous time gap between the period in which older treatises on literature and culture were written and the second half of the nineteenth century, the difference was made much starker with colonial intervention which brought in an entirely alien cultural system. The interaction between the Western and indigenous world views resulted in a total restructuring and reimagining of cultural field. Needless to say it was not simply a matter of complete substitution of old and indigenous with the Western schema. The new was generated in curious permutations and combinations of the indigenous and the Western moulded by the overarching power dynamics that was at play. The new reality generated new content and the new content demanded new forms of expression.

These urgent questions needed grappling with an unprecedented and rapidly changing situation. There was no indigenous literary form that provided space for thinking through these issues at hand. *Kāvya sabhā*s which were a kind of literary gatherings for poetry recitations and other poetic exchanges were not sufficiently suitable for critical meditations on the upcoming changes in the cultural scenario. To reflect upon these new varieties of aesthetic experiences, new genres were needed. This demand was fulfilled by the periodical genre. *Kavivacansudhā* was born to cater to this need. Can you mention the year as well?

Hariścandra's family were well known patrons of the arts and literature. His father, Gopālcandra, was a prolific writer and forerunner of Hindi drama. His cousin Name? was equally invested in literary life and was one of the founding members of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (NPS). Literary and cultural gatherings were very common occurrences in their household. This old style community of *rasika*s and patrons was channelised into the modern community of writers-editors-publishers of Bhartendu mandal.

The example of the new genre formation that Dalmia takes up is the literary periodical. It promoted experimental writings in Western genres and their adaptations to Indian socio-literary landscape. Short stories, novels, opinion pieces, letters, editorials, essays and dramatic skits represent some of the new forms that were being tried out. The context in which this adaptation and assimilation of western genres to the Indian tradition and situation was taking place represented a new social and historical consciousness.

In the early issues of *Kavivacansudhā* a budding literary historical consciousness could be witnessed. The historicisation of genres was crucial for many reasons, one of which was to evolve them for contemporary use. Hariścandra, time and again, would put together an historical account of the various literary genres, which he himself attempted to evolve for contemporary usage.

It was in *Kavivacansudhā* that Hariścandra wrote the first tentative histories of individual literary forms. The two literary genres that he chose to write historically about were poetry and drama- both traditional forms which lent their extant repertoire to the historical gaze of Hariścandra. He took up the history of Hindi poetry in an essay titled "Hindi Kavitā" ("Hindi Poetry"), in the *Kavivacansudhā* in 1872. Dalmia claims it to be the first attempt to systematise and order the currently known poets in sequential development.

In "Hindi Kavitā", he writes that Hindi poetry evolved from Prakrit, the evidence of which can be derived from the fact that the first poet in the language, Caṁd, who was a bard to Prithvīrāj, used many phrases which were clearly remnants of Prakrit stage of language. Any poetry before this period was not available. Dalmia states that the ideological significance of placing Caṁd at the head of Hindi poetry was immense. First of all, it testified to the existence of poetry in Hindi before the coming of the Muslims. Secondly, the subject matter of the poem was a gesture of defiance--- this was the point from which Hindi literature was to draw its present inspiration. Hariścandra was not quite clear which poets followed Caṁd. The next poet that he writes about was Jayasi, whose Padmāvat was composed in a sweet and straightforward language. He was followed by Kabīr and Nānak. However, Brajbhāṣā became the poetical norm only from the time of Emperor Akbar. Akbar himself honoured the poet Narhari. The rule that poetry be written only in Brajbhāṣā was formulated by Sūrdās, whose biography Hariścandra had already offered in an early issue of the *Kavivacansudhā* in 1870. The Vaishnava poets of Vrindavan were already writing in Brajbhāśā but it was the merit of Sūrdās that he dispensed with pedantry. He composed much spontaneous and natural,

svabhāvokti, verse. Subsequently many works were composed on rhetoric and metre, but none on grammar, which, according to Hariścandra, was the reason why the language remained wilful and unregulated. Tulsīdās broke Sūrdās' rule of Brajbhāṣā. Bundelkhandi also got mixed with Brajbhāṣā since there were many poets in the courts of the kings of Jaipur and Bundelkhand. Of these Bundelkhandi poets, Dev Kavi was the most prominent. There were many excellent Muslim poets and poetesses who composed in the language but there were Hindu poetesses as well like Mīrābāi, Caturkuaṁr, Sonādāsī and Rāmdāsī. But whether Hindu or Muslim, no poet had paid any attention to the improvement of language.

About the dramatic form, Hariścandra could only lament most bitterly. A couple of plays, of very little worth, were written in the period. One was *Prabodhachandrodaya* in bhāṣā and the other was *Śakuntalā* by Nevaj Kavi. They had no idea of the dramatic form and did not pay the slightest heed to natural speech, *svabhāvokti*. Apart from this, the works of this time were often filled with Persian words. Keśavadās was one poet who had tried to devise some rules to regulate poetry. The poets of Vrindavan retained some naturaleness--- especially the poetry of Nāgaridās is worth mentioning---but none applied themselves to the theatre. The first play in Hindi was most likely written by Raghunāth Kavi however the first significant dramatic work in Hindi was *Nahuṣ Nāṭak* by Girdhar Dās. This was followed by other attempts at writing the Hindi drama. Meanwhile, several grammars of Hindi language were written. Although literature in the language showed good progress, he rued the fact that there was no verse composition in Khaṛī bolī until then. This conclusion however was not correct and was a result of his ideological stance that outrightly rejected Urdu culture as foreign. Otherwise Urdu was very close to khadī bolī idiom and boasted of a highly rich repertoire of poetry and poetic models.

In the same year as he presented the first tentative history of Hindi poetry, Hariścandra wrote a brief history of the Hindi drama in *Kavivacansudhā*. This essay was the preliminary version of his later treatise on drama written in 1884. Dalmia has provided the summary of its main argument. The primary contention of the essay was that dramatic form was potentially a great instrument for correction and improvement of character and culture. It could publically take up the ills of society in an entertaining manner while at the same time shaming the people, who indulged in all kinds of vices. In this way, it could actively restore the moral order of the society. He dismisses the view that considers theatre as a vice by giving the example of the English who, as per him, were the epitome of culture. He goes on to describe and classify drama based on the Sanskrit poetics. Dalmia states that through this whole exercise he was

searching for the models, structural and ideological, in the past. In the later version of this essay, written in the last year of his life mention year, he writes about the larger corpus of Hindi dramas. He gives a short history of Sanskrit drama, which is followed by all the 52 plays written in Hindi till that date. A large number of these (19) were written by himself and equally large by his friends and acquaintances. The *rasas* still played important role in the dramatic theory but the aim of dramatic performance modified to include a larger sphere of activity. He lists five goals for the theatrical genre: comic, erotic, spectacular, social reform and very importantly, patriotism. In this new understanding, drama moved beyond merely mirroring the society to be an active agent that constituted the cultural nationality.

In his historical sketches, referred to above, as well as his other critical writings, Hariścandra invented a new critical idiom to evaluate contemporary experiences. One of the very important critical concepts introduced by him was *svabhāvokti* or natural speech. The preference for natural speech signified a greater democratisation of poetry since it rendered it accessible to people. Poetry in natural speech could not only be easily understood by people but provided more scope for composition to greater number of people. Another critical term that he introduced was *anubhavsiddha* which meant proof by experience. Both these were essentially modern critical concepts which rebelled against the very core of pre-modern literary aesthetics that favoured flowery language and flights of imagination. The premium placed on realism in aesthetic expression was a reflection of the shift towards enlightenment ideals of rationality. The literary works available till then betrayed a serious lack in terms of any writing in the modern idiom.

There was a dichotomy in the literary ideals of Bhartendu. While on the one hand he wanted a greater democratisation of literature but at the same time he considered much of common folk and rural culture as outrightly vulgar. The models that he looked towards were provided by classical Sanskrit literature on the one hand and English literature on the other. Sanskrit literary antecedents supplied the respectability that new vernacular literature in Hindi lacked. At the same time, the British who were hailed as the repositories of the highest culture by him supplied immediate models for emulation.

There was an unceasing search for literary models. For this purpose old treatises and texts were dug out and experimented with by introducing newer experiences and sensibilities. Western models were adapted to acclimatise to local conditions and taste. This state of great creative flux with uncertain bearings continued for a long time. These processes of looking

up to other literary traditions for forms and conventions to use are not processes of blind imitation. An entirely new literary field was being created with new genres, new literary occupations, new literary categories and classifications.

Śiv Siṃh Sengar and Writing Historical Biographies

In 1869, Śiv Siṃh got his hands upon a translation of *Śiv Puraṇa* done by Mahānand Vājpeyī of Dalmau. He edited it, translated it into Urdu and got it published. For this book, he wrote an introduction in verse form. In this introduction, he has given information about himself and his family. Through this we know the following: Śiv Siṃh's father Ranajit Siṃh was the Rājā/talukdār of Kantha, a village around 10 kos south of Lucknow. He was a kśhatriya by caste and ardent follower of Lord Śiva. He was a loyal and proud subject of Queen Victoria (cākar mahārānī ke).

आत्म–परिचय

अौध देसवासी, पुरी काथा को निवासी, जो है—
एक सुखरासी, दूजी कासी गति जाल के।
सभु कला'ति प्रकासी, दास शिव अविनासी,
पाप पुञ्ज पग नासी, भुक्ति दासी जनपाल के।
भृङ्गी वस जाए, छत्री सेंगर कहाए,
रनजीत सुत गाए, नीति विपुल विसाल के।
चाकर महारानी[1] के, किंकर शिवदानी के,
नाम शिवसिंह, हम कवि चन्दभाल[2] के।

—शिवसिंह सेंगर

A big section of the introduction in the verse is commemoration of his father in traditional descriptive terms.

लखनऊ ते कोस दस दक्षिन बसे एक ग्राम
महावीर विराजही जहँ कहत कॉथा नाम
वश शृंगी शान्ता जहँ ऊर्वीपति साज
धर्म धर क्षत्री विराजैं विधा से द्विजराज
करत रक्षा जनन की जहँ शूल पाणि महेश
मम पिता हैं तहँ भूमिपति रणजीत सिंह नरेश

विराजैं जहाँ शास्त्री शुक्ल वेनी
गुरुदेव मम स्वर्ग की है निसेनी
अभय जीव है, है न रोगादि भीता
सुधा से लसैं मिश्र श्रीराम सीता
बडे जोतिषी राजमन्त्री बली है
मनो भाष्यकर गर्ग से मगली है
महाराज श्रीमान् से मान पायो
रह्यो मान वाके न जो मान लायो
त्रिपाठी गणिक लाल मोहन विराजै
जकी देखि जेहि ज्योतिषी की समाजै
गणित जासु की ब्रह्म लिपि लौं सही है
मनो देह मानुस्य धारे गही है
ज्वलित जाल जनु शेष दूजो विराजै
पुराणज्ञ श्री ईश्वरी शुक्ल आजै

Ranajit's court had a group of intelligent and wise men who were pundits in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English as well as *jyotiś*, astrology and *āyurveda*.

पढे सर्व इतिहास अरु आयुर्वेदै,
लहे युक्ति सो काव्य कोषादि भेदै

दिली मित्र सबके अमी सौं कलामैं
सिवा नाथ भोला गहे युग्म नामैं
पढ़े संस्कृत आरबी फारसी हैं
सबै इल्म अंग्रेज की आरसी है
रह्यो शेष जामैं न विद्यांश अगा
अवस्थी है अभिधान विख्यात गगा

He had two brothers, Gurubaksh and Mahipat. However, we find only one verse that he wrote about himself.

गर्व हर, हरभक्त, श्री गुरु वक्श मेरे भ्रात
मूर्तिमान त्रिदेव लौं है धरे मानुज गात
ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठ दयाल मम भ्राता सहोदर तात
महीपति है नाम मानो मही रवि दरसात

नाम मम शिवसिंह है, शिव चरण रज की खोज
भद्रायु लौं सुख लहत निशि दिन पाय दिल की मौज

In his *Saroj*, he has provided the following information under the entry of his name:

> To include my own name in this work is subject of great hesitation (*sankoc*). The reason being that I have no knowledge whatsoever of poetry. Scholars must excuse this impudence of mine. I have translated and published *Brihchivpurāṇa* into both Urdu and Bhāṣā; and have also put *Brahmottar khaṅd* into bhāṣā. I claim no powers of versification. I do have a great interest in collecting written works of all kinds including poetry. I have collected hundreds of marvellous works in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit et cetera and continue to do so. I have some practice of these knowledges (Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit et cetera) as well. (493)

In *Saroj*, Śiv Siṃh has also mentioned of having written another work '*Kavimālā*'. It goes without saying that his claim of not knowing much about poetry was just faux-humility since we have already seen his self introduction in metre.

Apart from being a poet and connoisseur, Śiv Siṃh was a police inspector by profession. It has been mentioned earlier that he was well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu as well as English and thanks to his hobby of collecting texts, he had built for himself a very impressive library. This library contained mostly hand-written manuscripts. In *samvat* 1924, a Pandit Ṭhākurprasād Tripaṭhī of Kisunadaspur, district Raebareli, died and his four great idiots (mahāmūrkh) of sons divided his books in four lots of 18 bags each and sold them for pennies. Śiv Siṃh bought around two hundred books from them. He has written about this incident in his biographical note on Thakur Prasad Tripathī in *Saroj*.

Śiv Siṃh's library contained many rare texts and many scholars visited to take a look at them. Miśr brothers have mentioned visiting the library which was maintained by Śiv Siṃh's nephew Naunihal Siṃh after Śiv Siṃh died without a son. Several survey reports of manuscripts have mentioned texts preserved in this library of Naunihal Siṃh.

After detailed research, Dr Kishorilal found a total of 305 texts of Hindi present in Śiv Siṃh's library as mentioned in the works of other writers. Out of these, 25 are unknown. There is no information on the texts in other languages in his library. Apart from these, Śiv Siṃh also mentioned having hundreds of *kavitt*s by Anaṅdghan, Gvāl Kavī, Ṭhakur, Toṣ, Devakīnandan, Nārayaṇ Rāi Banārasī, Brahm (Bīrbal), Mubārak and Śivlāl Dube.

In total, poetry from 836 poets was collected in 376 pages. The first section contained the anthology stacked in alphabetical order. First the name of the poet is given, which is followed by an example of his poetry. The next section contains the biographical sketches of the poets. But the serial numbers of poets in this section do not match those in the previous section. Out of a total of 839 poets mentioned, 833 have biographical notes.

Śiv Siṃh uses three kinds of sources to write *Saroj*: a) original works of poets, b) poetry collections and c) works of history.

a) Original poetic works of poets: He possessed many handwritten manuscripts. A lot of excerpts of poetry are taken from these original works that he had. He has referenced these poetry excerpts wherever he has used them.

b) Old anthologies and collections of poetry (*kāvya saṅgrah*): His personal library had several important poetry collections some of which are now lost forever. In his introduction to Saroj he mentions ten titled anthologies and twenty without any titles. The primary anthologies that Saroj uses most extensively are the following:

i) *Kavi Mālā*: This collection was presented by the poet Yadurāya, son of Tulsī in 1712. It consisted of *kavitts* by seventy five poets in all who wrote between 1500 and 1700s. This work is unavailable now.

ii) *Kalīdās Hajārā*: It is written by Kālīdās Trivedī, who lived in Banpurā Antarved. He participated in the battle of Golcanda as part of Aurangzeb's army. Hajārā is a collection of a thousand (*hazār)* chands of two hundred and twelve poets writing between 1480s to 1775. The Introduction of this work was written in 1755. It too is lost to us.

iii) *Satkavi Girāvilās*: Collected by Baldev Baghelkhandī. It was presented in 1803. This work is unavailable presently.

iv) *Vidvānmod Taraṅginī*: It was made by Rājā Subbā Siṃh 'Śṛīdhar', the king of Oyal, under the supervision of Suvaś Śukl, his poetic guru. It was put together in the year 1874. It describes in detail *nāyak-nāyikā bhed*, all four schools of Indian philosophy, *sakhī, dutī, ṣatṛtu, ras nirṇaya* , *vibhāv*, *anubhāv , bhāv, bhāv shavlatā , bhāv uday*[7] etc. Each of these is explained by giving examples from poetry of different poets.

v) *Rāg Kalpdrum*: This is a tome of musicology. It begins with classical excerpts from the scholarly texts in Sanskrit on music. It is followed by a collection of poetic creations to be sung in specific *rāgs* and *rāginis*. Most of the poetry is in Hindi, however, there are examples from most major Indian languages.

It was published in 1600 *samvat* and was compiled by Kṛśṇanand Vyās Dev. Kṛśṇanand was a celebrated singer in the Jaipur court. Gosains of Vrindāvan conferred upon him the title of *Rāg Sāgar* (Ocean of Rāgas). Over a period of 32 years, he wandered across India and collected songs. *Rāg Kalpdrum* is published in both Hindi and Bangla letters.

vi) *Ras Candrodaya*: This anthology was compiled by Kavī Ṭhakurprasād Tripaṭhī who lived in Kiśundāspur, Rāyabarelī. It contains *kavitt*s by two hundred and forty two poets. This is the same Ṭhakurprasād whose sons had

[7] All these are aesthetic concepts as theorised in alaṅkār śāstra.

sold off his library and Śiv Siṃh Seṅgar himself had bought two hundred books from it. This collection is also not available any longer.

vii) *Digvijay Bhuṣaṇ*: It was compiled by Lālā Gokul Prasād 'Braj' in *samvat* 1616. It was made on the order of Rājā Digvijay Siṃh of Balrāmpur, district Gonda. Although it is an *alankār granth* it also contains *nāyikā bhed* (taxonomy of heroines), *nakh-śikh* (appearance from top to toe) descriptions, *Ṛtu varṇan* (season cycles) along with *praudhoktiyaṁ* (elevated expressions).

viii) *Sundarī Tilak*: This anthology was compiled by Bhartendu Hariścandra and comprises *savaiyyās*. The ordering follows the *nāyikā bhed*. *Sundarī Tilak* was published by Hariścandra on his expenses in *samvat* 1925. In all, it contains *savaiyyā*s of sixty nine poets.

ix) *Bhāśā Kāvya Saṅgrah*: This collection was made by Paṇdit Maheś Datt in *samvat* 1960 and was published by Naval Kishor Press in *samvat* 1962. Just like *Saroj*, it has a collection of poetry in the beginning followed by biographical sketches. It includes only fifty one poets in total. It was this work that inspired Śiv Siṃh to put together *Saroj* in order to correct the gross misinformation provided by it.

x) *Kavitt Ratnākar*: This work was compiled by Mātādīn Miśra and was published in two parts in *samvat* 1966 by Naval Kishor Press. It contains a total of forty two poets.

c) Histories: Śiv Siṃh claims to have used the following works of history apart from the original poetical works for his biographical sketches:

(i) *Tod's Annals of Rājāsthan*: Along with kings and royal families this work contains descriptions of Candar Bardaī and other cāraṇ poets of Rājāsthan.

(ii) *Kāśmīr Rājtaraṅgiṇī*

(iii) *Dillī Rājtaraṅgiṇī*

(iv) *Bhaktamāl*: He used the Urdu edition of this work by Tulsī Rām Agarwāl of Mīrāpur. It was translated in *samvat* 1911.

Śiv Siṃh wrote '*U*' in front of the dates related to the poets' lives. '*U*' can stand for either *utpann* (born) or *upasthit* (present). He has not clarified it anywhere in the text. This has created considerable confusion amongst the historians of literature who have followed his dating. This chain of errors starts with Grierson who took '*u*' to mean the year of the birth of the poet and following him. NPS' surveys of manuscripts, *Miśr Bandhu Vinod* and many subsequent works have continued with the same mistake.

Dr Kishori Lal Gupt claims that '*u*' stands for present (*upasthit*) and not born (*utpann*) in *Saroj*. It is likely that in most cases this date stands for the year the work was written in. Regarding his practice of dating/period determination, Sengar states:

> The time periods of the poets whose writings were available to me are fairly accurate and for those poets whose works have not been found, approximations are given. Some poets might comment upon the abundant inclusion of the heroic verse in my collection but I have done it so that I am able to determine the time period and the years of that poet, because that is the only aim of this collection. (2)

In the quote above Sengar speaks of 'san-samvat' i.e. Christian calendar and the Vikram calendar. In most places he has followed the Vikram calendar and notified it with *s*. However, there are occasions where *ī* (AD) is provided and subsequent historians have taken them as samvat years. This has been the root of many errors in the consequent histories.

He was aware of the historical importance of his effort. He writes in the introduction, "I have no hesitation in expressing the fact that such a collection is unprecedented however to express it is blowing one's own trumpet" (1). Two kinds of poetry is found in *Saroj*- i) based on poetic merit and ii) that which is included not for its beauty but because it provides some authentic historical information. These latter kind of writings mention either the name of the poet, his works, or of the subjects he has written about while others mention date of its creation or the name of the patron of the work which in turn helps in fixing its date. The second kind of poetry fulfils the purpose for which *Saroj* was created.

No other contemporary poetry anthology had as its aim the determination of the poets or their works. *Digvijay Bhuṣaṇ* was an *alaṅkar* based text. *Sundarī Tilak* had *nāyikā bhed* as the basis and restricted itself to *savaiyyā* form. *Rāg Kalpdrum* was a collection of music based poetry. *Rāmcandrodaya* was organised around *rasas*. Mātādīn Miśr's *Kavitt ratnākar* and Maheśdatt Śhukl's *Bhaṣa Kāvya Saṅgrah* were both written as textbooks by the order of

Education Director for educational purpose. These are brief and exclude *śṛṅgār* based poetry and contain selections of purely descriptive poetry.

Hence, the purpose of *Saroj* was entirely different from other anthologies of his time. The poetry that is included in it gathers a whole range of subjects from religious, puranic-historical, critical, moral and philosophical. Dalmia has stated that "*Śiv Siṃh* was obviously motivated by the desire to fill what he saw as a real gap in the bhāṣā *kāvya*: historical information that is placing the poet and his work squarely in their time and place" (footnote 45, p275). In the preface, he presented a brief account of the evolution of the bhāṣā *kāvya.* It begins, as was wont, with tracing its connection from the Sanskrit poetry. Dalmia argues that Seṅgar throughout uses the older and generic term of bhāṣas and "did not use the word 'Hindi' anywhere since he was obviously thinking in old categories" (275). It is unlikely that he used the term bhāṣa because he was thinking in older categories. We must remember that Sengar was a well read man with Western education along with traditional knowledge and he was quite up to terms with the latest developments in the contemporary literary and cultural field. He was well acquainted with the works of all the major Hindi writers of his time like Rājā Śivprasād, Rājā Lakśmaṇ Siṃh, Hariścandra et cetera. and there is no way that he was oblivious of the debates in the Hindi movement. Even though we do not have his explicit opinion on the matter, it is quite clear that most of the kāvyā compositions were in Brajbhāṣā and there were no excerpts from what was then recognised as Hindi language. The full assimilation of all the different bhāṣā literary traditions into Hindi had yet not happened.

Saroj does contain rudimentary critical comments on poetry but to call it the first text of criticism (Kishori Lal Gupt) in Hindi would be gross exaggeration. The comments on poetry are to be found in some of the biographical notes. The assessment is very generic, mostly positive. However, there are a few poets whose poetry is dismissed as mediocre:

> In *samvat* 1933 (1876 CE) I came across a couple of works of biographical descriptions of bhāśā poets that presented Brahmins like Matirām as Mahapatra bhāts of Asani. I could not remain silent after encountering this and other similar misinformations. I decided that a work must be written containing in detail biographical sketches replete with time period of existence in san and samvat, caste, area of residence et cetera of all the old and new poets along with their poetic works. First of all I perused my library containing works in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, bhāśā and English for six months. After having done this, I prepared a catalogue of poets

> with their respective works, dates indicating their existence as well as other such biographical information that could be gathered about them, all was written down. Initially I wanted to make a small collection but gradually it became a heavy volume that included biographical notes of one thousand poets, out of which I included poetic excerpts of around eight hundred and thirty six and concluded the work for the fear of any further expansion. I have no hesitation in expressing the fact that such a collection is unprecedented however to express it is blowing one's own trumpet. (Sengar 1)

The work that contained misinformation regarding Matirām brahmin and inspired the writing of Saroj was *Bhāṣā Kāvya Saṅgrah*. It was edited by Mahesh Datt Pandit and published in *samvat* 1932 and Śiv Siṃh mentions coming across an year later in *samvat* 1933.

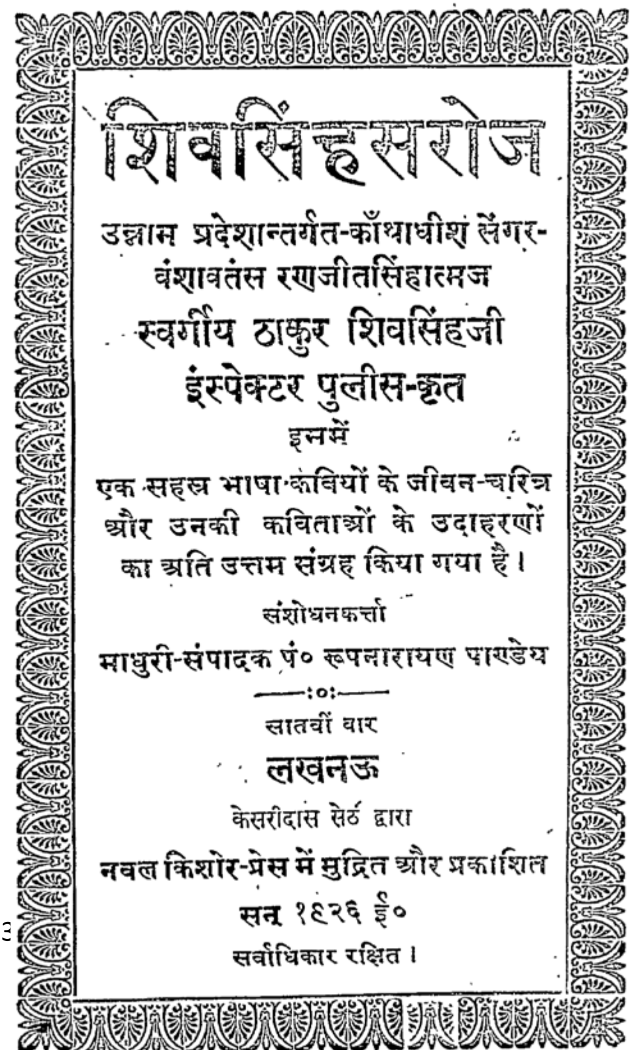
Attention must be drawn to the original inspiration of Śiv Siṃh for writing this work. It was misinformation provided about the caste of the Brahmin poets by his contemporary writers. Asani is a major town on the banks of Ganga in the Fatehpur district of Uttar Pradesh. It is a well known place of Kānyakubj Brāhmins, an elite sub-caste of Brahmins. The Bhāt poets of Asani were quite famous themselves.

It is important to understand the basic caste dynamic at play here. Considering that this simple fact led to the writing of this important work it is surprising that it has invited no comment in so many years of scholarship. Rose in *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab & NWFP* writes that "The organisation of Hindu Bhāts almost baffles description, so fluid are its intricacies" (93). He further goes on to explain that Bhāts like any other caste in India have many sub-castes depending upon their specific role in the society. The social standing of these sub-castes is not equal and it also differs from region to region. The primary functions of Bhāts are either as eulogists and genealogist, as important messengers, arbiters and witnesses in legal and other formal accords as well as performing at important ceremonies. In caste hierarchy they are ranked below the Kāyasths. However they do bear janeū. Bhāts derive their origins from Puśkarṇa Brahmins as well as Sārsut Brahmins. They are also widely recognised as degraded Brāhmins. The Brāhmins of course disavow any such relation with the Bhāts. Traditionally only very few communities had access to learning and written knowledge. Even though caste fluidity was more common when it came to kśatriyas with many communities alleviating themselves to that category on gaining position of greater power in society, access to written knowledge remained more or less limited. Scholarly pursuits were mainly followed by the Brahmins and Kāyasths. Bhāts did have the role of

maintaining oral history as well as creating poetic compositions in the praise of their patrons, serious scholarly work was out of bounds to them as well. However elite sections of Bhāts did know how to read and write. Under colonial rule with increasing efforts towards mass education, the actual occupants of scholarly, administrative and literary roles were almost exclusively retained by the Brahmins and to a lesser degree Kāyasths. To claim major poets to be Bhāts, a caste quite low in the social order, seemed like an anomaly.

While giving his or his father's introduction in his poems, Śiv Siṃh identifies himself strongly as a kśhatriya at more than one place. He presents his family as important patrons of art and literature, a role traditionally occupied by the ruling Kśhatriya clans. Caste then becomes a primary marker of identity and placing of an individual in social framework. The outrage and disbelief expressed by him on the question of caste of a poet is worth noting. It goes on to further emphasise the casteist foundations of Hindi renaissance as well as budding Indian modernity in the nineteenth century which was stubbornly exclusionist in its approach.

When compared to the Third edition (1893 AD) of *Saroj*, the seventh edition (1926 AD), edited by Rūpnārāyaṇ Paṇdey, reflects a stark change in its language. All the Urdu words are substituted with Sanskritised Hindi words. For instance, *qutubkhānā* is changed to *pustakālaya*. The grammar is completely modernised. *Kāvya*, poetry, is considered feminine in the Third edition while it is masculine in the Seventh edition. The figure on the left below shows the title page from the 1893 edition of the text while that on the right is from 1926.



शिवसिंहसरोज

उन्नाम प्रदेशान्तर्गत-काँथाधीश सेंगर-
वंशावतंस रणजीतसिंहात्मज
स्वर्गीय ठाकुर शिवसिंहजी
इंस्पेक्टर पुलीस-कृत

इसमें

एक सहस्र भाषा-कवियों के जीवन-चरित्र
और उनकी कविताओं के उदाहरणों
का अति उत्तम संग्रह किया गया है।

संशोधनकर्त्ता

माधुरी-संपादक पं० रूपनारायण पाण्डेय

—:o:—

सातवीं बार

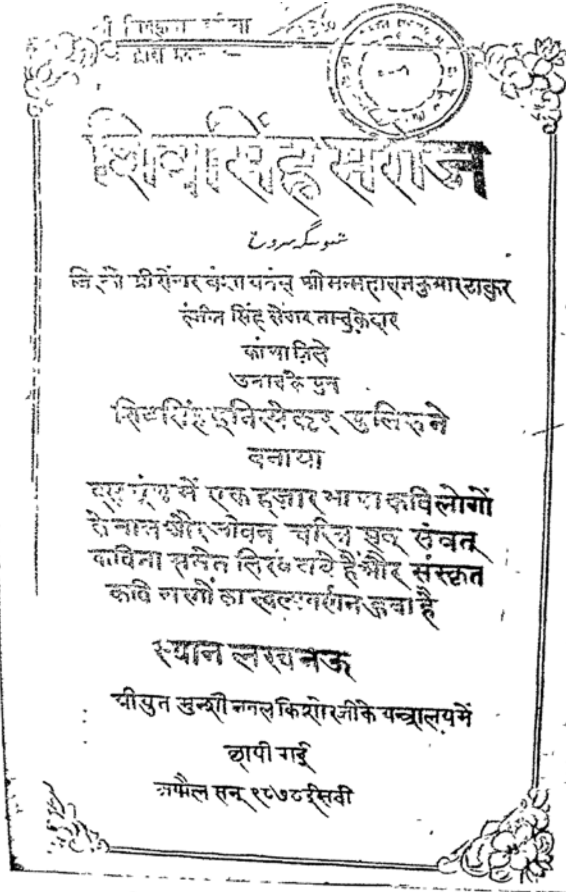
लखनऊ

केसरीदास सेठ द्वारा

नवल किशोर-प्रेस में मुद्रित और प्रकाशित

सन् १९२६ ई०

सर्वाधिकार रक्षित।



शिवसिंह सरोज

شیو سنگھ سروج

जिसको श्रीसेंगरवंशावतंस श्रीमन्नारायणकुमार ठाकुर
रणजीत सिंह सेंगर तअल्लुकेदार
कांथा जिले
उनाव के पुत्र
शिवसिंह इन्सपेक्टर पुलिस ने
बनाया
इस ग्रंथ में एक हज़ार भाषा कवि लोगों
के नाम और जीवन चरित्र व संवत
कविता समेत लिखे गये हैं और संस्कृत
कवि लोगों का स्वल्प वर्णन किया है

स्थान लखनऊ

श्रीयुत मुन्शी नवल किशोर जीके यन्त्रालय में
छापी गई
अप्रैल सन् १८७८ ईस्वी

१. शिवसिंह सरोज के प्रथम संस्करण (१८७८ ई०) का मुखपृष्ठ

All these major pioneering attempts were individual endeavours with no or very limited direct institutional support of any kind. These three writers occupied similar social and class position in the society. All three were rich men with access to traditional learning, Persian knowledge as well as modern western education. They possessed such rich private collection of sources that they could create their works in the absence of external institutional support.With time the Hindi literary sphere in the nineteenth century constructed its independent identity, simultaneously carrying out experiments in genres as well as evolving a creative, historical and critical idiom. As older manuscripts came to light and more historical information was collated, there was more material to put together a literary history. Not long after, George Abraham Grierson was to benefit from this and write *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* which is often presented as a history of Hindi literature.

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Chapter Four

Restaging the Questions of Vernacular and of Formal History of Literature

> ...I do not venture to call this book a formal History of Literature. The subject is too vast, and the present state of our knowledge too limited to allow such a task to be attempted. I therefore only offer it as a collection of materials... (Grierson, "Modern Vernacular" ix).

Thus wrote George Abraham Grierson right at the outset of his immensely important and well known *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (1837) belying the expectations of a literary history from him that he was only too aware of. From this statement it is clear that the sense of what a literary history should be was clear in Grierson's mind and what he presented in the form of *MVLH* did not meet the criteria. In effect, a proper literary history, as was understood by Grierson and most subsequent literary theorists and historians of Hindi literature, was not written in the nineteenth century and had to wait till the Rāmcandra Shukl wrote *Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihās* in the year 1929.

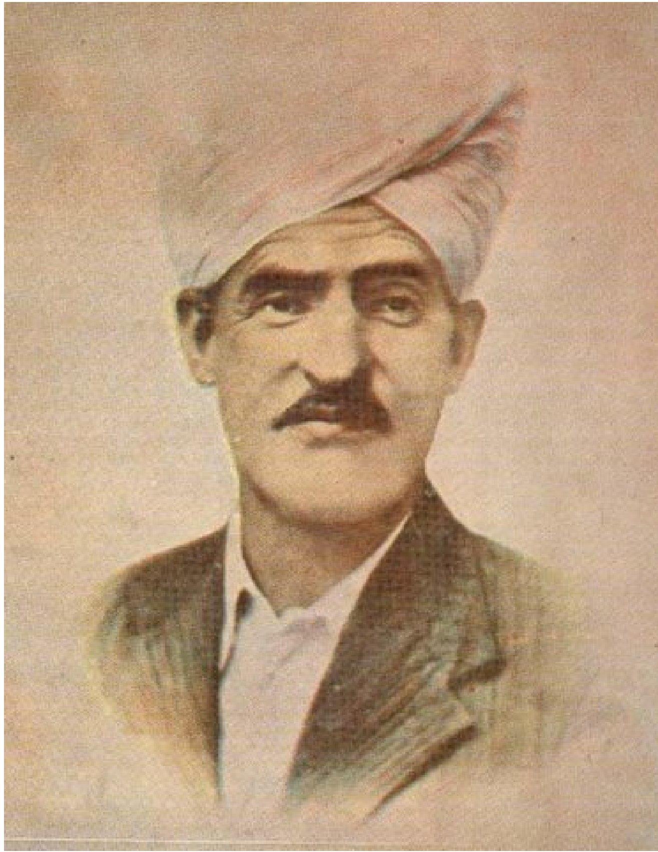
As the premise of my work is that the conceptualising the historiography of literary histories as an evolution of form from weak beginnings to its progressive growth till the achievement of the status of a full-fledged authentic literary history is a faulty and ultimately futile endeavour, this chapter seeks to contextualise *MVLH* as the final text in my selection of the nineteenth century Hindi literary histories. The chapter focuses on Grierson's *MVLH* in detail while including concepts from his other literary historical and philological work at the same time.

The chapter is divided in thirteen sections. The first section provides a brief biographical note on Grierson following the main events in his life and situating him and his works ideologically and geographically. The second section titled "Going against the Grain: Grierson's Attitude towards the Vernacular" launches a historical investigation of the concept of vernacular language in the colonial thought and practice and through it demonstrates the many contradicting attitudes within it. This section establishes Grierson in a long but feeble tradition of British liberalism which considered its duty to impart a just and efficient rule for its colonial subjects. In this way, Grierson's core philosophy of privileging the vernacular existed against the grain of dominant linguistic thought expressed in both the colonial

administrative narrative as well as the nascent regional nationalist narrative. The third section introduces *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (*MVLH*), the primary text under investigation in this chapter. The subsequent six sections analyse in detail the content and structure of *MVLH* with one section each on the principles of its arrangement of content, on the historiographical sources about which too he had an opinion in direct contradiction with the general accusation of ahistoricity of Indian texts; analysis of some of the peritextual material in the form of the its photographical plates and cover page along with additional translated material; description and analysis of the chronological account of development of vernacular literature given in the introduction; and the last section in this series of sections pertaining to *MVLH* is its most influential role in the canonisation of Tulsīdās as the highest standard of literature which is more or less maintained till present times. I also demonstrate the new practices of textual criticism employed by Grierson to provide authority and gravity to Tulsīdās' corpus along with establishing the precedent of thorough editing and textual criticism in dealing with the unique situation of the Indian manuscript culture. The ninth section titled "Bhakti or How to Make Christianity National Religion of India" highlights Grierson's leading role in shaping the discourse on Bhakti in vernacular literature after Christian model of devotional love. The tenth section delineates the linkages and interactions between the concepts of language and literature in the project of region formation. While eleventh section further illustrates the process of linguistic region formation as shown in Grierson's philological work, the twelfth section, "Literary Geography in *MVLH,*" counterposes it with the contours of literary geography visible in *MVLH*. The last section concludes the arguments presented in the chapter.

George Abraham Grierson: A Life

Dr. George Abraham Grierson was born on 7th of January 1851 in Glenageary, Dublin County. He was the eldest son of George Abraham Grierson and Isabella Ruxon and was eldest among three sisters and two brothers. His father was a barrister and a graduate from Trinity College. The Grierson family was involved in the printing business in Dublin from generations. They had the honour of being the Crown printers in Dublin. The family had inclination towards academics and produced some well-known scholars like Constantia Grierson, who was an accomplished Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Mathematics scholar. She was a poetess as well.



Dr. Grierson grew in an informative and literature loving environment. The Griersons started the printing business in 1709 at a place called ‘two bibles’ in Essex Street. The printing house first printed the *Paradise Lost* (1725) and the translation of three volumes of Dupin’s *Ecclesiastical History* (1722-25). These were said to be the best editions printed at that time. George Grierson also edited and printed the Sir William Patty’s map of Ireland. The publishing house also successfully printed some of the famous Latin novels edited by Constantia Grierson like Terrence (1727) and Tacitus (1730). These novels are considered as the best edited books known to the world. Constantia Grierson’s good reputation and cordial relations with Lord Cartrett won them the contract of royal printers of Ireland at the time of King George II. The Publishing house did a brisk business after becoming the royal printers.

The family business grew and George Abraham Grierson L.L.D. (father of George Abraham Grierson I.C.S) became the royal printer of Queen Victoria and co-owner of a daily called ‘Express.’ One of his brothers, Henry Foster was a businessman based in Burma (Myanmar). The second brother Charles T. Primrose went on to become a Protestant bishop. The family name Grierson is said to be related to the famous Norwegian ‘Grig.’

Grierson attended St. Bees and Shrewsbury schools. After that he studied from well-known scholar Professor Benjamin Hall Kennedy for a few years. He then, continued his studies under another famous scholar, W. Moss, for two years and completed school education in 1868 A.D. After that Grierson went to Trinity College of Dublin where he met Professor Robert Atkinson who was a teacher of ‘Romance’ Languages. He was also the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and also held the chair of Todd Professor of Celtic Languages at Royal Irish Academy. He was a polyglot who had mastery over French, Russian, Latin, English, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. He sparked Grierson’s interest

in Hindi and Sanskrit. He greatly influenced Grierson and introduced the field of language studies to him which proved a boon for him in the long term. Grierson lovingly remembers him and said that 'he was the only Englishman who mastered the unintelligible Panini. He by hearted the *Aśṭadhyāyī* from beginning to end like Indian pundits and could explain the most difficult parts of Sanskrit grammar without any trouble'. Grierson had great admiration for Professor Atkinson and used books authored by him to learn Sanskrit. It is no wonder that Grierson bagged the prize for Sanskrit and Hindi languages. Professor Robert Atkinson proved to be such a great influence on Grierson that he picked up other hobbies and interests of him like Indian sports, violin, jujitsu, plant biology, comparative language studies, philology etc. Grierson has written that before coming to India Professor Atkinson had asked him to conduct a comprehensive linguistic survey of India.

Trinity College provided the conducive environment for aspiring Indian Civil Servants and Grierson stepped into Trinity with the aim of cracking the tough exam of Indian Civil Services. He passed the exam in his first attempt in 1871 A.D. and got 28th rank, but his second attempt achieved him 12th rank. He started for India in 1873 A.D. full of hope and energy.

He came back to Ireland in 1880 A.D. and married a family friend Lucy Elizabeth Jean Collis on 13 July 1880 A.D. Grierson was 29 years old and Lucy was 23 years old at that time. The newlywed couple came to India next month.They both were committed Christians and went to the Church daily. They remained child less throughout their life.

He loved listening to the radio and enjoyed riding a car. He was also a good photographer and clicked most of the photographs for the Linguistic Survey by himself. He worked with the famous typewriter company Haymonds and invented a typewriter which could type in several languages. The company gifted him that typewriter. Grierson favoured Roman script as a medium to learn new languages. He argued that a new learner has to learn the language and the script together which makes the task very difficult, so it's better to teach the new language in a familiar script in the beginning to the learner. He did an interesting experiment which yielded favourable results in this regard. When he was appointed as the examiner for Hindustani (1893 A.D.), it was taught with the Persian script to the students.He told some of the students to learn Hindustani in Roman script. After six months of learning, the students who had learned Hindustani with Roman script outperformed the Persian script student by a significant gap.

Grierson was posted in Bankipore, Bihar which he used for favourably for collection of folklores, tales, linguistic data etc. His famous work, *Bihar Peasant Life* got published in 1885 which served as a model for others to follow. This book was based on the anecdotes, local stories, proverbs and sayings used in the rural peasant society of Bihar. He prepared an all-inclusive glossary of local terms and words used by Bihar peasantry. As Grierson was a brilliant photographer himself, he provided a collection of photographs of rural Bihar all clicked by him. He laid out the norms to be followed by surveyors and scholars doing such work. He first wrote a story or proverb in the local script, then provided a Roman transliteration and lastly an English translation.

Grierson attended the International Congress of Orientologists held in Vienna in 1886. He pressed for the need of a 'Linguistic Survey of India' in the Congress. He was representing three different bodies of Government of Bengal, The Bengal Asiatic Society and Calcutta University in the International Congress. Prominent Indologists like Max Müller, Bühler, Monier Williams and Grierson proposed for the 'Linguistic Survey of India.' The Survey started in 1898 and Grierson was given responsibility for supervising and editing the mammoth task of conducting the survey successfully.

He profoundly loved India and enjoyed talking and interacting to common people of India. To understand the ruled subjects, their emotions and society, he used to roam about in the villages and fields. While researching for his book *Bihar Peasant Life*, he visited the village society of district Gaya, and interacted with the common folks about their lives, rituals, domestic feuds and food habits etc. for many hours. He dedicated all the volumes of his 'Linguistic Survey of India' to the Indian nation. He was immensely popular with the common people who surrounded him wherever he went in expectation of getting support and solutions for their problems. A market in Madhubani district of Bihar is still named as '*Gilesan Bazar*' after Grierson.

Grierson was appointed as the 'Inspector of the schools' of the Bihar circle of Bengal province in 1880. In the subsequent year, he was chosen to mark the alphabets of '*Kaithī*' script. He wanted to prove that the *Devnagari* or *Kaithi* were better scripts to write the Bihari language rather than the Persian script. He also prepared a report on the colonial residents of British India. He suggested a better way to register the residents and the system could become more competent in communicating with their relatives in England.

He prepared a report in 1893 called 'Notes on the District of Gaya' which dealt with Gaya's history, population, rivers, canals, mountains, types of soil, land revenue, irrigation facilities, horticulture, animal husbandry, labour class, main trade, businesses, fuels, family life, geography, administrative divisions etc. He prepared a map of Gaya district by himself. He did all this on his own, without any orders from the government. He also discovered an ancient sculpture of Buddha from the Peak of *Shailgir* Mountain.

He was asked to write an article on *Bhāng*. The commission for production of *Gānjā* in the Bengal province wanted to prepare a detailed report on the history of intoxicants in India. George Grierson wrote an excellent article using Sanskrit texts such as *Atharva Veda*, writings of Panini, Varāhmihir, Suśrut etc. He also consulted '*Amar Kosh*', '*Trikānd Kosh*', '*Anekārth Kosh*', '*Abhiyān Cintāmaṇī*', '*Śabd-Candrikā*', Narhari Pandit's '*Rāj-Nighantu*' etc.

George Abraham Grierson worked tirelessly for fifty years and constructed a structure for Indian literary history. He told the European scholars that it is not necessary to study the ancient Sanskrit texts to understand the Indian society, but the contemporary literature and language knowledge would suffice. He wrote extensively on communities, religions, *Bhakts*to introduce India to the world. He prepared dictionaries, grammars, Linguistic Survey of India, article series and commentaries to educate the Western intellectuals about India.

Some of his main articles, books etc. are: "Are Kālīdās' heroes monogamists?", "A Further Folklore Paralle", "A Plea for the People's Tongue", "A Report to the Kayathi Character", "Hindi and the Bihari Dialects", *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihari Language*, "Baiswari Folk Songs", *Bihar Peasant Life, Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, "Curiosities of Indian Literature", *The Medieval Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces*, *Notes on the District of Gaya*, "The Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", "The Pronominal Suffixes in the Kashmiri Language", "The Radical and Participal Tenses of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages", "The Stress-accent in Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", "The Geographical Distribution and Mutual Affinities of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", "Essays on Kashmiri Grammar", "Irregular Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", "A List of Kashmiri Verbs", "Assamese Literature", "The Kashmiri Vowel-System", "On the Kashmiri Consonantal System", "The Kashmiri Noun", "Note on a Dialect of Gujarati Discovered in the Bengal District of Midnapur", "Primary Suffixes in Kashmiri", "Secondary Suffixes in

Kashmiri", "Indian Research in Russia", "The Kashmiri Verb", "The Gurezi dialect of Shina", "The East-Central Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", "Notes on the Principal Rajasthani Dialects", "Notes on the Kuki-Chin Languages", "A Bibliography of Western Hindi, including Hindustani", *Linguistic Survey of India*, "In What Degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language", "Languages in India", "The Picasa Languages of North-Western India", "A Bibliography of Punjabi Language", "A Specimen of the Khas or Naipali Language", "Folk-etymology and Its Consequences", "Chinese Riddles on Ancient Indian Toponomy", "A Specimen of Kumauni Language", "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population", "The Pahari Language", *A Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*, "On the Sarada Alphabet", "The Popular Literature of Northern India", *Index of Language Names*, "Paisachi in the Prakrita-kalptaru", "A Grammar of the Chhattisgarhi Dialect of Eastern Hindi", "On the Tirahi Language", "On the old North-western Prakrit, Torwali", "An account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan", "The Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" etc.

He was conferred with many honours and decorations, some of these are: Order of merit, Companion of the Indian Empire (1895), Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (1912), Ph.D. (Hon. Causa, 1894), Halle; D.Litt. (Hon. Causa. 1902), D.Litt. (Hon. 1929) Oxford. He was Fellow of the British Academy; Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society; Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, Correspondent etranger de l' Institut de France, Honorary member of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Banaras), American Oriental Society, Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselchaft, Linguistic Society of India, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Foreign Associate Member of the Societe Asiatique de Paris, late President of the Gypsy Lore Society. Prix Volney (Academie Francaise, 1905), Gold Medal (Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), Campbell Memorial Medal (Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, 1909), Gold Medal (British Academy, 1928), Sir William Jones Gold Medal (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929).

George Abraham Grierson was a specialist of two hundred languages and dialects of India. He was also an expert on the North-western languages, dialects and vernaculars. He published grammars, dictionaries and articles on many Indian languages which gave them recognition at the hands of such a great scholar. He completed the mammoth *Linguistic Survey of India* and created a base for the Indian researchers and scholars to develop their work upon. He was the towering figure in the realm of Indian philology.

While encouraging Dr Asha Gupt for her research on Grierson's literary histories, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a contemporary of Dr Grierson, had this to say, "Smt. Asha Gupt has sought to repay what has been called in Indian parlance some of our '*Rishi Riṇa'* or the "debt that we owe to our sages and wise men—our intellectual leaders and guides—" among whom Sir George Abraham Grierson was one of the most prominent" (qtd. in Gupt, A. xi). The same assessment of Grierson's importance and contribution can be seen in Dr. Gupt's own writing on Grierson shares this assessment and draws attention towards what she considered the selfless manner in which Dr. Grierson had researched Indian language, literature, culture, religion et cetera. She writes:

> He tried to get government recognition to Aryan languages, facing all kinds of obstacles and oppositions at a time when every Indian was working towards cutting through the shackles of colonial rule and throw out the foreigners from the country. It should be considered his individual achievement that many amongst these same Indians understood his pure heart (*antas kī niśchaltā*). From litterateurs like Pt Sudhākar Dvivedī, Pt Jagan Nāth Dās Ratnākar, Bhārtendu Hariṣcandra, Raja Ṣivprasād Sitār-e-Hind, Pt Rāmasajan, Vandan Paṭhak to court munshis to common peasants used to help him. (xi)

Going against the Grain: Grierson's Attitude towards the Vernacular

Grierson's historiographical thought is invested in two different but related subject matters—language and literature. He is primarily acknowledged as a linguist for his immense contribution to the study of Indian languages. After years of voluntary research of Indian languages he pushed the British government to undertake a survey of languages at the all India scale. After years of persuasion he succeeded and was made in-charge of the mammoth *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI) which started in the year 1894 and finished in 1928. In these 34 years he and his team were able to publish eleven volumes covering 364 languages. In *LSI* and many other writings not only did he classify the Indian languages at present but in true colonial philological tradition, put together a historical account of the language development in India. Aside from his keen curiosity in Indian vernacular languages, he was passionate about the vernacular literature of North India. He has engaged with this subject in detail in numerous individual articles translating, annotating and analysing vernacular texts and authors; and in longer pieces of writings like the *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (*MVLH*). In Hindi literary historiography, *MVLH* occupies a space whose importance cannot

be exaggerated. I will, in this chapter, locate this text in Grierson's larger historiographical practice involving his philological work as well as his work on vernacular literature.

In the year 1906, George Abraham Grierson read a paper on his grand project, *Linguistic Survey of India* (*LSI*) at the invitation of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in London. The paper titled "Languages of India and Linguistic Survey" was heard by the distinguished intelligentsia of England, especially those who were involved in Oriental studies as well colonial administration, in rapt attention. At the end of his masterful oration with scholarly insights and delightful anecdotes in equal measures, Grierson concluded "If the Survey will only induce scholars of the West to examine the literatures of the great modern vernaculars,- no mean heritage of no mean land,- it will by that alone have done much to increase the sympathy between us and our great Eastern Empire" (Languages of India 592). A similar plea for attention towards the modern vernacular literatures of Hindustan is to be found in the preface of his *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (*MVLH*) published nearly twenty years before this in the year 1888. He writes there, "Apologies for dealing with the Neo-Indian vernaculars are not now so necessary as they would have been twenty years ago... It is possible, however, that some oriental students may still cling to the old love for Sanskrit, and these I must ask to test the rich ore found in the following pages..." (*MVLH* x). And so he goes on to entice the Oriental scholars for nearly two full pages, hard selling the vernacular literature which till now did not seem to have many takers.

It is surprising that even fifty years after Tassy's similar enthusiastic appeals to the Indologists, Grierson had to still canvass for scholarly attention towards vernacular languages and literatures. In the intervening half a century, a lot had changed. The two major turning points were the implementation of the Act No. 29 of 1837 and the introduction of the New Education Policy in the year 1952 which stressed upon providing mass education in vernacular languages. The importance of such momentous policy changes in the direction of colonial language policy can hardly be undermined. Why then was Grierson at pains to attract European scholarly talent to this field of vernacular studies? In answer to this question lies the fundamental difference between literary histories of Grierson and Tassy as well as subsequent histories of Hindi literature that trace their line of descent to Grierson's *MVLH*. This fundamental difference is realised in Grierson's conception of 'the vernacular' which is at the centre of his entire body of work encompassing both language and literature. Before we

broach the topic of Grierson's understanding of vernacular, it will be useful to follow a brief history of the concept of 'vernacular' in India in colonial philology.

Emergence of philology or the language 'science' should be seen in the context of the more general history of sciences in Europe. It belonged to "an epistemological trend viewing the natural sciences (with Cuvier in palaeontology and botanics, Darwin and his theory of determinism in natural species, Adler in heredity) and their methods as a model for studying any living entity, including language, a subclass of human science" (Montaut 81). The laws of evolution were applied to account for linguistic variety and change; and languages were organised in the groupings of various families governed by the laws of evolution. As Rama Sundari Mantena observes in "Vernacular Futures Colonial philology and the Idea of History in Nineteenth-century South India," this tendency of colonial philology to see language as having a progressive history with stages of constant improvement "instigated a profound intervention in language practices and thought, foreshadowing the great debates at the turn of the twentieth century on modernising languages" (513).

Farina Mir, Rama Sundari Mantena and Pritipuspa Mishra have recently explored the concept of 'vernacular' languages in colonial philological traditions in their research on Punjabi, Telugu and Oriya literary traditions respectively. Philology in India can be said to have started with the explorations and study of Indian languages by William Jones. For a very long time however, the European Indology was only interested in the classical languages- first and for the longest time Sanskrit, and later on Tamil and Pāli and Prākṛt. As has already been described in the chapter on Tassy earlier, Europe's singular obsession with Sanskrit continued unabated for a long time without any concession to other modern Indian languages. Tassy had begun complaining this in the second decade of the century and nearly a century later, Grierson was to continue campaigning for more serious study of the modern vernacular languages.

Paradoxically though, the British had caught on the importance of studying the vernacular languages of India if they had to rule efficiently pretty early on. In the year 1800, Fort William College was established to study and propagate the modern Indian languages. David Lelyveld proposes that it was with Gilchrist that vernacular languages first came to be accorded importance in the colonial thought. He further argues that Gilchrist was an active radical in politics and this radicalism reflected in his linguistic beliefs. In Britain, language was employed to establish authority by figures like Tom Paine, William Cobbett, and Horne

Tooke. It was a profoundly contested issue. As opposed to the Enlightenment classicism of Jones, which gave importance to classical languages like Sanskrit, Gilchrist sought to undermine the mystification of priests in order to demonstrate that vernacular language was valid and legitimate for the exercise of power. He realised that "Hindustani" was not a jargon at all but in fact, "the grand, popular and military language of all India" (Lelyveld 194). Rejecting the notion that vernacular languages occupied inferior status and were not fit to be subject of serious study, Gilchrist demonstrated that this "vernacular" could be taught in school (Lelyveld 196).

Farina Mir in her essay digs deeper into the reasons behind the importance colonial officials placed on the use of Indian vernacular languages and administration. She finds that there were two primary driving forces behind this impetus on the adoption of vernacular languages for rule. One was the efficiency that adjudicating the subjects in vernacular would bring to the system. It would drastically reduce the amount of translation that was required between the court language, which was Persian and the local vernacular. The second was the ideology of rule that was grounded in the British liberalism's conceptions of good governance which incorporated ideas of justice and legitimacy. This liberal conception of colonial rule was presented as a contrast to the Asian despotism. There was a consistent strain in the British colonialism in the nineteenth century that had the stamp of the liberal and utilitarian thought popular back in Britain. Bernard Cohn and others have successfully argued that very often the empire and especially India served as a test case for application of practical ruling technologies before they were imported into Britain. There was also the need for the colonial state to make its subjects recognise its power as legitimate which could be achieved by presenting its administration as efficient and just. It is not surprising then that language of rule became crucial in actualising these ideals. This need was felt with greater intensity at the local administrative level. By the turn of the century, Mir argues, colonial officers across India stressed the need to adjudicate Indians in the language they understood. While there were ideological reasons for the promotion of vernaculars, the practical economic concerns were almost as important. Not only was translation between Persian (language of the court) and vernacular languages less efficient, it also lay heavy on the exchequer with the maintenance of translators at every level. (Mir 396-99)

Even as there had been a constant push from the top on the officers to learn vernacular languages from the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was only in 1837 that the colonial language policy was officially adopted vide Act No. 29 of 1837, which prescribed provincial-

level governance through vernacular languages. The act specifically directed only the Bengal Presidency since the Madras and Bombay Presidencies had already replaced Persian with vernacular languages. The impact of the Act 29 far exceeded the limits of the Bengal Presidency with it being an all-India Act and a foundation for all future language policies of India.

The Hindi-Urdu language feud had its origin in this new colonial policy. The moot question was which language will replace Persian as official language of revenue and administration. Both Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian script) and Hindi laid stakes to it. The access and competency in the official language had obvious economic benefits with all the government jobs and dealings with the government to be done in the official vernacular. Both the languages had their supporters mostly along the religious line.

Even though the colonial state had officially instated the Act No. 29, it was by no means an idea with unanimous support amongst the officers. Mir mentions that a large number of officers found learning local languages cumbersome. Even after government incentives very few officials actually learnt vernacular languages. Even as the question of replacing Persian with a vernacular language arose, many supported Urdu thinking learning it would be easier due to its commonalities with Persian.

Another reason that we come across in this resistance towards the 'languages of the country' or vernacular languages was the view of vernaculars as somewhat deficient languages when compared to classical languages like Persian and Sanskrit. The opponents expressed their displeasure as vernacular languages were not standardised and therefore, perceived as 'uncouth', 'barren' and 'unadapted' to the conduct of judicial proceedings. A minority though, felt, "the advantage to the people of having justice administered to them in their own tongue" outweighed all other considerations (Mir 403). This view is exemplified in Sir Charles Trevelyan[1]'s highly influential book, *On the Education of the People of India* (1838), in which he argued against the official promotion of vernacular languages in British India. He

[1] Sir Charles Trevelyan (2 April 1807 – 19 June 1886) joined the East India Company as a writer in 1826 when he was posted to the Bengal Civil Service at Delhi. In 1827, he was appointed as assistant to the commissioner at Delhi, where he worked for four years before becoming deputy secretary to the government in Calcutta. It was during his time in Calcutta that he persisted the government to decide in favour of spreading European/Western literature and science in the Indian subcontinent. He even published *On the Education of the People of India* in the year 1838. In addition to his report on education, Trevelyan wrote many books on the British administration, especially on the British Army. He wrote *A Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency* in 1834 and *Christianity and Hinduism Contrasted* in 1882. In 1838 he went back to London and went on to become the assistant secretary to Her Majesty's Treasury.

based his argument around the notion that the vernaculars were unformed tongues. He believed that promotion of English education would revive the vernacular by funnelling knowledge into them through translations from English.

Rama Sundari Mantena explains this European drive of ‘modernising’ the vernacular languages:

> Colonial philology, even as it saw itself as reviving and restoring the lost glory of the vernacular literary cultures, felt compelled to subordinate them to English and European literary cultures. Since vernacular literary cultures were represented as lacking in certain characteristics (they were primarily condemned for their dearth of prose in the literary traditions), the thrust towards modernising the languages and fostering modern forms of writing (essays, novels, short stories) and modern modes of communication (newspapers and speeches) seemed necessary to colonial scholars. In this vein, philological study took upon itself the task of standardising and modernising the unruly vernacular languages of India. (“Vernacular Futures” 531)

This exact same attitude is behind Gilchrist’s attempts to advance the historical progress of Hindustani by discovering for it new uses. He established printing press to publish in Persian script or *nagari*; and developed a system of Roman transliteration as well. Gilchrist was right in being suspicious of the middle men for communication. For the smooth functioning of the Company state communication was crucial. The sphere of influence of the Company had vastly increased with the tasks of legislating, administrating as well as adjudicating a large section of the Indian populace. For everything including trading, propagating new laws, understanding court testimony and communicating with predominantly peasant subjects; understanding the language of the people was central to the whole exercise of running a state. Mir detects a discrepancy between colonial intent and practice. The intent of Act 29 which was to make the language of government accessible to Indians was mitigated in practice (Mir 405).

Mir is of the opinion that in Punjab, the rightful candidate of the official vernacular language Punjabi was neglected to instate Urdu which was “undoubtedly a vernacular language of the adjoining North Western Province (NWP)” (Mir 406) and hence, the choice of Urdu contravened the spirit of Act 29. That Urdu was not an undoubted choice of vernacular language even in NWP is amply clear from the fierce battle that is continuing between the Hindi and Urdu even till this date.

Mir mentions the Cust's Rule which revisited Punjab's language policy in 1862. Judicial Commissioner Robert Needham Cust[2] was an important civil servant in Punjab and an avid enthusiast of philology. He petitioned the Punjab government to reconsider its language policy. He argued that the Punjab's policy was flawed because it insisted "on the court language being different from the language in ordinary use in the district" (qtd. in Mir 416. He contended that the Punjab government's policy of maintaining a court language which was different from the language of ordinary use, that is, Punjabi, 'merited disrepute' and caused the government to 'fall in public estimation'. Clearly the political ideals of just and legitimate rule motivated Cust to propose that to remedy this situation Punjabi be made the vernacular of the central districts' courts. Cust's petition was over-ruled.

Mir highlights the 'Cust's Rule' for being a critical historical marker for two reasons. First, it was an example of the resilience of liberal political ideals in the colony that manifested in the form of demands for vernacular languages as languages of state. Second, she felt, an analysis of 'Cust's Rule' reinforced the argument that colonial policy reflected India-wide ideological positions only where such ideologies dovetailed with, or could be accommodated by, the contingencies of rule at the local level. While both are true, I believe, the reasons provided by her for the non-compliance with the idea of actual vernacular languages as the language of administration are insufficient. The disinterest in learning a new language as well as deeming the vernacular languages as incapable of functioning as modern languages of rule appears to be mere expression of other fundamental contingencies of the rule. One reason that she has provided in her book but has not emphasised is that of fear of political consolidation of the Punjabi speaking populace.

Similarly, it is a fact well established in the scholarship on the Hindi-Urdu divide that at the root of colonial language policy in NWP was a bid to divide and rule. We have already seen Tassy articulate the designs behind this when he wrote:

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[2] Robert Needham Cust (24 February 1821 – 27 October 1909) was Home Secretary to the Government of India and member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council between 1864 and 1865. After taking voluntary retirement in 1867, Cust went on to study oriental philology and wrote extensively on the same. Besides the primary European languages, he was familiar with Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Hindi, Panjabi, Sanskrit and Bengali. He published more than 60 volumes primarily on Oriental philology and Religion between 1870 and 1909.*Linguistic and Oriental Essays* in seven volumes (1846 - 1901), *Modern Languages of Africa. Volume I* and II (1878), *Essay on the National Custom of British India: Known as Caste, Varna, or Jati* (1881), *Pictures of Indian Life* (1881), *The Opium Question; or, Is India to be Sacrificed to China?* (1885) and *Real Christian Faith by Educated Natives of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania* (1891) are few of the books to his credit. Cust was active in many literary societies, especially the Asiatic Society that he founded. He also helped in the formulation of the Oxford 'Dictionary of the English Language' edited by Sir James Murray.

> The political designs of the British followed the well known maxim, *divide et impera* (divide and rule). The antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims only serve the English well. If against all odds, this reform succeeds, it will cause such a rift between Hindus and Muslims that they will never again be able to get along together. Indeed, nothing unites people more than their using the same language and nothing disunites them more than their using different languages. There is no need to try to prove this truth with examples. (Tassy 143)

Mir's argument is that in the nineteenth century colonial language policy, the local and contingent took precedence over imperial imperatives. Modifying Adele Perry's argument regarding the disjuncture between the policy decision in London and their implementation in Calcutta, Mir proposes that this disjuncture was not between London and Calcutta but between Calcutta and the provinces. I, however, argue that the liberal political ideals of colonial rule were effectively bypassed by conferring the vernacular status to the languages that were clearly not vernaculars.

In 1854 it was decided to implement vernacular education at an all-India level by establishing the Education Committee. Mir argues that notwithstanding the Anglicists' defeat of the Orientalists in debates about Indian education in the previous decades, to achieve the goal of mass education the only way was to have education in the vernacular. However, Mir confuses the centring of the vernacular agenda to be a reprieve for the Orientalist position. The Orientalists were by and large limited to the study of Classical languages and literatures and were in fact quite loathe to giving any importance to the vernacular languages. P P Raveendran has argued "Looking at things in retrospect we realise that the real dispute was not between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, but between regional or local cultures and the big event represented by the great tradition of Indian culture that both the Orientalists and the Anglicists in their own separate ways propped up" (2561). This not even let to surface in the fierce battle between the Angliscist and Orientalist agendas. Lamenting the absence of any vernacular literature in its First Annual Report the committee declared its ultimate object to be the formation of a vernacular literature.

However, even this Education Policy could not have furthered the cause of mass education without the official recognition of the actual vernaculars. In the case of Punjab, according to Mir, the government was very well cognizant of the fact that the real vernacular was Punjabi. In the Bihar region of the Bengal Presidency, Urdu was deemed to be the vernacular language

for education. Aishwarj Kumar in his essay "A Marginalized Voice in the History of 'Hindi'" on Bihar's role in the history of modern Hindi focuses on this disjunction between the official vernacular and actual vernaculars spoken by people. His essay provides a new perspective on the Hindi-Urdu debate by refocusing the debate on Hindi versus Bihari vernaculars. And it is here we see Grierson's encounter with and later on his intervention in the debate.

Kumar argues that often Bihar is considered to have had an easy transition towards Hindi in the language debate but that was because the debate was not between Urdu and Hindi but between Hindi and Bihari vernaculars. Post-1857, British colonial officers were tilting their support towards Hindi as opposed to Urdu or Hindustani before. In Bihar, Hindi found both the British as well as the Bengali intelligentsia as the backers of 'Hindi' as vernacular.

Grierson had his first posting as an officer in service in the year 1873 at Bankipore in Bihar which was part of the erstwhile Bengal Presidency. Having being trained in linguistics at Trinity, he was immediately interested in the language and culture of the region. It was not unique for a European in India to be a collector of all things indigenous. There were many men and women (mostly wives and daughters of officers) who had antiquarian hobbies and were amateur collectors. What distinguished Grierson from the rest, according to Kumar, was that his curiosity was ideologically geared towards trying to understand the people through their culture instead of collecting artefacts or written and oral texts as amassing curios. His motivations, perspective as well as methodology were determined by a deep urge to understand the people under his jurisdiction. In his view, quite unlike an officer-collector like William Crooke who gained a status as an India expert by publishing the material he collected, Grierson was truly moved by people and their lives and this is reflected in not only in his work on peasantry, the vernacular languages and folk culture but also in his conduct as an officer. Kumar quotes descriptions of Grierson as an officer forever surrounded by common men, ordinary peasants and working to alleviate their condition. Grierson was quite popular amongst the people in his district. The reasons thus for his collecting and working on Indian languages and culture were not merely geared towards having a more effective administrative control of the subjects but a genuine urge to connect with people who were governed by the British government. And even as the two cannot be disassociated, to view Grierson as a manipulating Orientalist would be simplistic and unjust.

With Grierson's solid grounding in the discipline of linguistics, he very soon realised that Hindi was not the vernacular language understood and spoken by people. In his 1883

publication on the languages of Bihar, he quotes one of his letters written to the Director of Public Instruction:

> Many Bihar officials have complained to me of the impossibility of understanding the *gaonwari boli* of the witnesses who come into their courts, and more than one has suggested to me that I should compile a grammar of it, imagining apparently that the *gaonwari boli* was one uniform language current over the whole of Bihar. (qtd. in Kumar 1727)

This letter suggests that unlike in the case of Punjab, the colonial state in Bihar did not have a clear understanding of the vernacular languages of the Bihari people. In fact not just the colonial state but the Bengali and to a certain extent the Bihari intelligentsia had uncritically accepted Hindi as not just the official vernacular language but viewed Bihari vernacular languages as the dialects of Hindi. Grierson critiqued the faulty notion of terming various Indian languages as dialects. He writes:

> These last are usually called the Eastern Hindi dialects; but the name is liable to objection on the score that it suggests the fact that they are mere dialectic forms of the so-called Hindi language which we meet in *Bāgh o Bahār* .... Besides this, there is this other grave objection against the use of the term 'dialect', that this term, as popularly (though not scientifically) accepted, necessarily presupposes the existence of someone closely connected form of speech to which the dialects can be referred as a standard. Thus there are Yorkshire and Somersetshire dialects of literary English, and Provencal and Norman dialects of literary French. But there is no standard language of which, Tirhuti or Bhagalpuri can be called dialects, for there is no standard of the so called Eastern Hindi language. (qtd. in Kumar 1731)

While everyone else was busy in taking positions in the volatile language debate taking place in the adjacent NWP, Grierson, Kumar argues, thanks to his 'open mind' and 'a heart attuned to people' became the advocate of the local languages of Bihar. But what I suspect Kumar misses is that the reason for the enthusiasm of accepting Hindi as the official language was not because the Bihari intelligentsia could not discern the difference between the vernaculars and Hindi but it was taking positions in favour of Hindi that was going to be beneficial to their class interests. Quite contrary to Kumar's understanding, with Urdu already possessing the status of official vernacular language in Bihar, the battle in real terms was between consolidating the Hindi-*nagari* movement to displace and replace Urdu.

Grierson's practical experience while working as an administrator in Bihar resulted in proposition of the thesis that a separate, independent group of what he called the 'Bihari' languages existed and it was this group which was a viable language alternative in Bihar rather than the standardized 'Hindi'. To make a firm case, Grierson collected and published literary works that proved that "despite the lack of a great deal of written literature, the Bihari languages did not lack a literary basis and therefore merited recognition" (Kumar 1745). What Kumar sees as the alternative insights of 'dissenters' like Grierson can be seen as the persistent strain of liberal conception of a just Raj that we previously encountered in Cust's Rule.

Contrast this understanding of character of vernacular to the characterisation of vernacular in the traditional colonial philology. Pritipuspa Mishra in her work on the making of modern Oriya, notes that vernacular is conceptualised as a local, indigenous and powerless language. She refers to Ranajit Guha's tracing of the pejorative sense attached to vernacular to its etymological Latin roots -- *verna* or "slave". Another reason of vernacular gaining negative connotation according to Guha was the English use of the term in the Indian context that served as a "distancing and supremacist sign which marked out its referents, indigenous languages and cultures, as categorically inferior to those of the West or of England in particular" (qtd. in Mishra, "Beyond Powerlessness" 5). He views every invocation of the term vernacular as an instance of the "epistemological violence perpetrated by colonial disciplinary knowledge" (qtd. in Mishra, "Beyond Powerlessness" 5). Subaltern historians view this indegeniety and exclusion of the vernaculars from the structures of power as reflective of their capacity to represent the true voice of the oppressed. Mishra further adds,

> In scholarship on early modern literary history of India, the vernacular is understood as a diminutive and local counterpart of more dominant cosmopolitan or classical languages such as Sanskrit or Latin. Then again, in the study of linguistic politics of the nineteenth and twentieth century, the term vernacular is used to mark the subalterneity of both Indian languages and their speakers in relation to the colonizing English language and its speakers ("Beyond Powerlessness" 2).

Michael Dodson's essay titled "Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India" (2005) further adds to this aspect of colonial philology by demonstrating how it linked language with civilisational status. Consequently, the Indian vernaculars were considered inadequate and degenerated in relation to both English and Sanskrit. These were deemed incapable of expressing modernity in their lexicon.

Mishra propositions that this colonial narrative of lack saw vernacular languages as "finite languages unable to absorb changes" ("Mortality" 76) was brought in by the Western modernity. This understanding was a straight reversal of "the pre-colonial understanding of 'vernacular' languages as constantly evolving, even 'degenerating' languages of the world. In this sense, colonial vernacularisation transforms them into a-historical patois" (Mishra, "Mortality" 76).

By the time he wrote *MVLH*, Grierson had already published substantial work on folk culture, Kaithī script, and several aspects of Bihari languages as well as Bihari literature. He was closely following and commenting upon the contemporary philological as well as literary research by other European Indologists. So even though his detailed expositions of linguistic division of languages of India appeared later on, especially during the writing of *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI),* his basic philological understanding did not see any major revisions.

To fully comprehend the historiographical aspect of Grierson's work on the languages and literatures of India, it is essential to first understand his explication and classification of Indian languages. He has presented his scheme of linguistic division of Indian languages in many of his writings and especially in his *Linguistic Survey of India*. His comprehensive views specifically on the Indo-Aryan vernaculars can be found in "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", a detailed article published in two parts in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* in the year 1918. He divides the languages spoken in India in three primary groups viz. (1) Aryan languages, (2) Dravidian languages, and (3) others (mainly Munda and Tibeto-Burman forms of speech). Grierson informs us that Indo-Aryan vernacular languages have also been called Gaudian, a name that was derived from *Gauda* or *Gaur* tribes of northern Hindustan. In Sanskrit writings *Gauda* was often opposed to *Dravida* or the South India. But since the term "Gaudian" did not find general acceptance and could be misconstrued with *Gaudas* of Bengal, he chose to use "the somewhat unwieldy Aryan Vernacular" (48).

In the second part of the essay titled "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars Continued," he explains the historical stages of the formation of the Indo-Aryan Vernacular. His account of philological history of rise of vernaculars presents an understanding that went against the normative colonial philological understanding. It is in his tracing the antecedents of the modern vernaculars and explaining the philological model of growth and development of a language in different phases that we find the crucial link that joins a language to its literature.

He begins this narrative of historical development of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars from the writing of Rig Veda which was the earliest document containing an Indo-Aryan language. He believed that there existed a popular language (folk language) which differed phonetically from the literary dialect found in the hymns of Rig Veda. The rise of classical Sanskrit from this folk language was accompanied by the simultaneous development of a non-classical speech "in the mouths of the people" (Indo Aryan Vernacular Contd. 56). In other words, the ancient vernacular whose literary form we find in the Vedic hymns, developed in time into two forms – a refined version in classical Sanskrit and the non-classical version in the ordinary language of mutual discourse. The Vedic hymns were collected and edited in the West Midland which later on became the centre of Brahminical culture and the seat of classical Sanskrit. The language of the later Vedās was fixed by the grammarians culminating in Pāṇiṇi, and was known by the name of Sanskrit (Samskṛta, purified), whiles the language the people, *loka* of Patanjali, was called "Prākṛt" (unsophisticated). In the east of Northern India which was the centre of anti-Brahmanical reform, Prākṛt was also used for literary purpose.

Hence, the vernaculars in the late Vedic times were essentially Prākṛts and are specifically named as the Primary Prākṛts by Grierson. The vernaculars that developed from these and which continued developing in phases, alongside the Sanskrit, are called the Secondary Prākṛts; and the modern vernaculars of the present day are named the Tertiary Prākṛts. Prākṛts in all these phases existed in their dialectic variations.

Pritipuspa Mishra points to the writings of early philologists like William Jones and administrators such as Thomas Macaulay who classified the languages in India into two groups -- the classical languages (Sanskrit and Persian) and the vernaculars (Prākṛt languages (languages of the indigenous peoples of India). The sense that one gets from comments like 'some languages not vernacular among them' was that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries 'vernacular' simply meant language commonly spoken by the people. The underlying understanding in this is that a language is defined primarily in relation to people and with this a shift was introduced in how language was conceptualised in India (Mishra, "Mortality" 74). According to Sheldon Pollock, in the pre-colonial period language was not linked to people but to place. The European tradition on the other hand had "origins of languages and people, morphing into chronologies and histories of kingdoms-and peoples, [. . .] in the first half of the vernacular millennium (qtd. in Mishra, "Mortality" 76). This led to the framing of all linguistic research and policies regarding Indian languages in the European linguistic traditions.

Unlike the Indologists earlier, Sheldon Pollock in *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2006) classifies pre-colonial languages in spatial categories as cosmopolitan languages and vernacular languages where the latter were self consciously local languages of place (*deśī*) as opposed to the former which transcended the local. These two kinds of languages existed simultaneously as conceptual counterpart of each other, in a sort of relative dependency. He also visualises *cosmopolitan* and *vernacular* as modes of literary (and intellectual, and political) communication directed toward two different audiences. In other words, it is a distinction in communicative capacity and concerns between a language that travels far and one that travels little.

It is interesting to compare the two models of language development represented by Grierson and Pollock respectively. Grierson believed that the vernaculars inevitably faced the process of standardisation and formalisation in the later phases of their development. Composition of literature is introduced in a vernacular due to religious and political reasons. This is accompanied by codifying the grammars of various dialects by grammarians. And while this standardisation of vernaculars is taking place, newer vernacular languages slowly take up the space emptied by the newly standardised languages. Underlying this unending drive towards standardisation is what he has criticised more than once in his works, the "Indian proclivity to turning tendencies into, or even to use exceptional occurrences of, general rules" (Grierson, "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars contd." 58). He states that the primary attribute of a vernacular is the convenience of the speakers and finds it unfortunate how grammars and literature alter this speech in a fundamental manner. "The writers omitted what they considered to be vulgar, reduced wild luxuriance to classical uniformity, and thus created artificial products suited for the artificial literature which has ever been popular in India" (Grierson, "The Popular Literature" 59). The universalisation of a vernacular inevitably led to losing of the character of vernacular as a local form of speech.

It is clear here that he prefers "wild luxuriance" to "classical uniformity". He inverts the equation between the standard form and the vernacular when he asserts that the standard languages are reductions of their vernacular form. This is also evident in his explication of the term 'Apbhraṃś' when used with Prākṛts. He explains "Apbhraṃś means 'corrupted' or 'decayed' but when applied to a language it means, from the point of view of the philologist, 'developed'" ("Indo-Aryan Vernaculars contd." 62).

The idea of vernacular being “vulgar” and something to be omitted and refined was already established in pre-modern India. This is apparent from the literal meaning of terms ‘Sanskrit’ (refined) and ‘Apbhraṃś’ (corrupted). However, Pritipuspa Mishra points out that this was not always the case. There was a reversal of attitude towards vernaculars in pre-modern India which was linked to the power struggle between Sanskrit and the vernacular languages. According to her, the distinction between Sanskrit and Prākṛt must have appeared around the beginning of the Christian era. Around 100 BCE, the Prākṛt languages were becoming more popular than. The Brahminical response in this situation was to present Sanskrit as the grammatically correct language of *dharma* as opposed to the Prākṛts which were presented as corrupt, worldly languages. Sanskrit came to be seen as an eternal language of grammatical finitude and the Prākṛt languages were seen to be constantly evolving and ‘degenerating’ away from their pure Sanskrit origins. This is how the relationship between Sanskrit and Prākṛt was overturned. Inherent in the earlier use of the term ‘refined language’ was the understanding that Sanskrit was the product of the refinement of the more colloquial but original Prākṛts, while the idea of degeneration presents the Prākṛts as the product of an uninformed misuse of an originary and pure Sanskrit. In this manner the latter relationship between Sanskrit and Prākṛt languages became dominant in the subsequent centuries. This developmental model of natural decay of language was not challenged by the traditional colonial philology (Mishra, “Mortality” 73-74)

Grierson on the other hand believed that when the secondary Prākṛts became fixed and stereotyped for literary purposes by the grammarians, the vernaculars continued to develop. However, as compared with the literary Prākṛts, they were looked upon as corrupt. Once a language is codified into grammars and trimmed and polished into literature, it does not take long for it to die. Meanwhile, the ever renewing vernaculars undergo the same process all over again when there are fresh attempts to standardise them. Hence, by the time the literary Prākṛts had become dead languages; the Apabhraṃś also received literary cultivation, and in their turn fell into the hands of the grammarians. Thus the various Apabhraṃś dialects represent the concluding phase of the Secondary Prākṛts. The Indo-Aryan Vernaculars or Tertiary Prākṛts are descended from these Apabhraṃś dialects.

Grierson is forever careful when classifying language, literature or geographical regions deeply aware of the contingent nature of such classifications. As always he places the necessary caveat while dividing the Prākṛts into phases or regions that these are not to be viewed as watertight compartments. It cannot be said with definitiveness when the Primary

Prākṛts evolved into the Secondary Prākṛts and Secondary into Tertiary Prākṛts. Similarly, the secondary Prākṛts cannot be classified into neat, exclusive categories since there have always been much reciprocal borrowings amongst them.

This view of vernacular as unstandardised language of people that we find in Grierson is what Pollock terms as the sociolinguistic understanding of vernacular that defines it as the "unstandardised native language of a speech community" (Pollock, *Language* 28). Pollock does not find this understanding relevant to the discussion of pre-modern vernaculars in India. In his opinion, in many cases the creation of literary vernacular carried with it a powerful imperative towards standardisation often accompanied by grammaticisation. To write in a vernacular language presented it with new norms and constraints while at the same time bestowing it with a new social status and normativity.

The central difference between Pollock's theorisation on Indian languages from that of Grierson's, is classification of Prākrits and Apbhraṃṣ as cosmopolitan languages. Pollock does not consider Prākrits and Apbhraṃṣ as vernacular languages. They are classified as cosmopolitan languages on the basis of their trans-regional code and reach. At the root of this classification is the theorisation that *kāvya* or literary practice before tenth century A.D. (cosmopolitan epoch) could not be produced in vernacular languages. In this view, the very idea of *deśī kāvya* or "vernacular literature" was null and void. And in practice it was never produced—until the vernacular moment came (Pollock, *Language* 14) which in Grierson's scheme came with the rise of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars or Tertiary Prākṛts.

Pollock in "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000-1500" asserts that there was no literary culture possible in vernaculars before tenth century A.D. By literary culture he meant things people did with texts: writing, reciting, reading, copying, printing, and circulating texts. These texts may be expressive, discursive, or political texts but he specifically talks about the expressive texts or what may be called literature. And this is what connects a language to its literature. His thesis is that in vernacularisation, local languages are first admitted to literacy (literisation), then to "literature" on the lines of pre-existing cosmopolitan models (literarisation), and thereby are unified and homogenised. This entire process eventually leads to new projects of territorialisation and, often, ethnicisation.

> Writing was constitutive of the process that made the vernacular literary, because the "literary" in these societies was the written production of expressive forms of language use, for the most part the sort prescribed in the dominant cultural formation

against which the regional was defining itself. Accordingly, literization, the development of a written form of the vernacular, may have been a necessary condition for vernacularization but it was not a sufficient one; also required was literarization, the development of imaginative, workly discourse (Pollock, *Language* 25).

This is quite similar to Grierson's theory of the language development from vernacular to literarisation and standardisation of language. The difference I find is that Pollock identifies this process only in the second millennium with the 'vernacular moment' whereas Grierson makes no such distinction. Following this theory of language development, Grierson is able to conjecture upon the dates of Indo-Aryan vernaculars or Tertiary Prākrits. From the information available regarding the use of the term bhāṣās, he concludes that "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars were employed for literary purposes by at least the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. and that Apabhraṃṣ was used for similar purposes as late as the eleventh century" ("Indo-Aryan Vernaculars contd." 66). Blocking off the time involved in literarisation of a language, he assumes the date of emergence of Indo-Aryan vernaculars from the secondary Prākrits to be around the year A.D. 1000, the year in which Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India.

Grierson provides detailed examples to demonstrate the process of language development visible in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, especially Hindi. Giving an example, Grierson quotes Sudhākar Dwivedī in his work "Rāmkāhānī" to showcase the difference between literary and colloquial Hindi. A friend wrote the following letter to Dvivedī "*āp ke samagamārth gat divas maiṃ āpke dhām par padhārā. Gṛh kā dwār mudrit thā, āp se bheñṭ na hui. Hatāś hokar parivartitt huā*". In English it would be "Yesterday I went to your house to see you. The door of the house was shut, and I did not meet you. I returned home disappointed". When the letter writer met Dwivedī after a while, he said, "*kal maiṃ āp se milne ke liye āpke ghar par gayā thā. Ghar kā darwāzā band thā, āpse bheñṭ nahīṃ huī. Lachār hokar lauṭ aaya*" ("Indo-Aryan Vernaculars contd." footnote 2, 72). The formal written message was comically contrived bordering on unintelligible. Sudhākar Dwivedī observes, the feeling of a pen in the hand of such a person makes him Sanskrit-drunk, and prevents him from using his own mother tongue.

In an interesting section, Grierson traces the various meanings of the word bhāṣā at different points in time. In Paṇiṇi's grammar it was used for the ordinary spoken Sanskrit of the time, i.e. for Classical, as distinguished from Vedic, Sanskrit. Patanjali extended it to include the

more or less correct Sanskrit used in conversation concurrent with the Secondary Prākrits of his day. He refers to R. G. Bhandarkar[3] to support his point, the root from which the word is derived means "to speak," and therefore the original meaning of the word as a proper noun was "the speech" or "the spoken language." Although he does not explicitly state that vernaculars are the same as *bhāṣā*s, it is evident from his historical search for the uses of the term *bhāṣā* in various texts and the languages that it referred to in the concerned time periods.

In his work on the South Asian vernacular millennium Sheldon Pollock makes a similar point while noting that in Indian languages there is no term that could serve as a literal translation of 'vernacular'. In the economy between vehicular Sanskrit and local Prākrit languages, these languages were called deśī languages or languages of place. Other terms used to denote these major Prākrit languages were *loka bhāṣā* [language of the people or the language of the world] or *Apabhraṃś* (corrupt languages). Scholars have illustrated how each of these terms was a symptom of the prevailing relationship between Sanskrit and its allied Prākṛt languages at different moments. In the earliest reference to what we would call Sanskrit, the language is simply called *bhāṣā* (language) or saṁskṛta meaning 'refined language'.

Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan: An Introduction

The *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan (MVLH)* was printed as a special number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the year 1888. Two years prior to this, in the year 1886, Grierson had read a paper on the Medieval Vernacular Literature of Hindustan with a special reference to Tulsīdās at the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna. To prepare for this, Grierson arranged notes on the vernacular literature of North India. On the successful reception of the paper, he expanded his notes to provide a more comprehensive view of the vernacular literature of Hindustan chronologically, which were published in a special edition of the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

The first thing to notice regarding Grierson's *MVLH* is that even though it has often been termed as the first literary history of Hindi in the Hindi scholarly tradition, his subject is not Hindi literature but vernacular literature of Hindustan. In the traditional histories of Hindi literature as well as the scholarly work on the subject, Hindi scholars have missed this very important difference in terms and replaced one for the other without as much as a notice in

[3] Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarakar (6 July 1837–24 August 1925) was the one of the pioneers of Orientalism in India. He was proficient in English literature, history and Sanskrit, and was appointed as the first professor of Sanskrit in India. He was also a social reformer who worked for the education of women and eradication of untouchability.

their work. For example in the beginning of her research on Grierson's literary histories, Dr Asha Gupt states "Dr Grierson has two components to his literary historiography: 1) history of Hindi literature and 2) history of other Indian languages and literatures" (ix). This elision of terms from vernacular to Hindi cannot be a thoughtless act since Grierson's body of philological work is predicated upon a clear understanding of vernacular languages. It is apparent that the vernacular languages and their literary traditions that Grierson writes about in *MVLH* had been successfully appropriated and assimilated by Hindi in early twentieth century. The body of literature that he describes and analyses in this work found a place in its entirety in the subsequent histories of Hindi literature.

In the preface to the book, he claims that out of the nine hundred and fifty two vernacular writers that he collected; only seventy had been previously noticed by Garcin de Tassy in his *Histoire de La Litterature Hindoui et Hindustanie*. Clearly, he saw his work as the successor of Tassy's attempt at writing a history of Hindi and Hindustani. However, unlike Tassy, he insists that his work "does not pretend to be more than a list of all the vernacular writers whose names I have been able to collect" (Grierson, *MVLH*, vii) and that he does not "venture to call it a formal history of literature" (ix). Unable to read and fully understand the entire corpus of literature catalogued in his work, he states that he could not possibly have attempted an interpretation of the literature. He seems to suggest that without a deep understanding and interpretational framework, a formal history of literature is not possible. With the access to only limited information on the subject, he offers his book as a collection of material which will form a foundation on which future histories will be built.

Grierson limits his subject to the modern vernacular literature. This excluded not only Sanskrit literature but also literature written in Prākrit. He explains that even though Prākrit is a vernacular, it is not a modern vernacular. Stating that "the age of objects of our researches has become more and more modern" (*MVLH* x), he points towards the progression of European philology from the time when its entire focus on Sanskrit in the beginning to Burnouf's research on Pāli and then later on Oriental studies on classical Prākrit.

Even as he claims that apologies for dealing with Neo-Indian vernaculars are no longer necessary, he felt that the vernacular literature was an untapped field and therefore, he ventures to put forward claims for attention of Orientalist scholars of different interests and specialisations towards vernacular literature. He urges Orientalists favouring Sanskrit to "test the rich ore" found in the vernacular literature catalogued in his book where they may find

vernacular commentaries on difficult Sanskrit books as well as numerous technical works on such subjects as grammar, prosody, vocabulary, composition etc. He entices the student of inscriptions with "a productive mine in the literature of Hindustan owing to the custom which vernacular poets had of dating their works and of naming their patrons" (*MVLH* x). "The muse of History, so silent in Sanskrit literature", he proudly claims, "has been assiduously cultivated by these authors" (x).

Along with the Pāli and the Prākṛt, Arabic and Persian are also excluded on account of their not being vernacular languages but what is worth noting is exclusion of "exotic literary Urdu". The reason he provides for this exclusion is that writers of Urdu "have already been exhaustively dealt with by Garcin de Tassy" (*MVLH* viii). Although he does not out rightly deny the vernacular status of Urdu but by identifying it as "exotic" while at the same time placing it alongside Arabic and Persian in the sentence rejecting their claim of consideration into vernacular literature of Hindustan, he identifies it as something foreign. Furthermore, by qualifying it as "literary" he suggests that it is cut off from people and hence, does not quite qualify as vernacular.

Ira Sarma noting this exclusion of Urdu "even though the geography of Grierson's literary Hindustan allows for an incorporation of this cultural strand" ("George Abraham" 206) finds it to be one of the methods in the project of Hinduisation of Hindi literary lineage.

In an essay on the "Popular Vernacular Literature of North India" years later in 1920, Grierson is more forthcoming on Muslims and Indian literature. He writes,

> I have avoided dealing with the purely *Musalman* literature, excellent though much of it is; for, though a product of India, it can hardly be called Indian. Almost every work written by *Musalman* was based on the traditions of his education, and was therefore an imitation of Persian literature. Malik Muhammad is almost the only example of a *Musalman* of mediaeval India who wrote an Indian work on Indian lines. (121)

Urdu literature which is described as artificial literature is contrasted with his description of Neo-Gaudian literature which unlike the later Sanskrit and Prākṛt poems is not "written in the closet by learned men for learned men" but for "unsparing critics, -- the people" (*MVLH* xi). The writers of the Neo-Gaudian literature,

> studied nature and wrote what they saw. They found tongues in trees, and as they interpreted what they heard successfully or not so was their popularity great or small,

and so their works lived after them or not. Several works exist whose authors' names we do not even know; but they have remained living voices in the people's hearts, because they appealed to the sense of the true and of the beautiful. (*MVLH* xi)

This link with the people is crucial to Grierson's conception of the vernacular literature. A standard criticism of colonial scholarship on India is that with its focus on the textualisation and written texts, the vast and rich oral and performative traditions of India are lost. Grierson and even Tassy before him are acutely aware of this problem of accounting for the oral and performative culture. He mentions this omission with regret. He confesses having refrained from including the large number of anonymous folk-epics and of folk-songs (such as *kajarī*s , *jatsār*s, and the like) current throughout Northern India. The only method to overcome this is to record these "on the spot from the mouths of the people" (*MVLH* ix), and in his awareness it had only been systematically done in the province of Bihar. He adds with hesitation his decision to exclude the oral literature entirely from *MVLH* in order to maintain uniformity.

Principles of Arrangement of Content

The fact that greater amount of chronological information was available to Grierson as compared to Tassy, decided the organisational schema of his work. Grierson could arrange the contents in chronological order as much as it was possible, with each chapter roughly representing a period. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are an exception to this pattern and share six chapters between themselves. Within these chapters, he drops the chronological ordering of content and divides the chapters according to the groups of poets.

He accepts that within each chapter, many of the entries are mere names of authors and nothing more which were included to make the book as complete as possible. He proclaims that he had been able to present new information to European scholars, which was not available to them before. After each chapter an addenda was provided in small type, showing particulars of the minor poets belonging to the period or to the group dealt with.

But the moment a text or an author failed to be placed within the chronology, it was automatically out of the main rubric of the period based chapterisation. For such entries of authors, format of an alphabetically ordered biographical encyclopaedia was adopted. Hence, all those poets whose dates he was unable to fix were grouped together in alphabetical order in the last chapter.

Explaining the new principles of literary historiography that Grierson introduced and which were to be adopted as necessary methodology of this genre, Asha Gupt (116) lists the rules of literary history writing according to Grierson:

1. Naming of a period must reflect in it the generalisation of the ruling sentiment in the major literary creations of that period.
2. From within the general class of the writers, there might be a poet who on the basis of his exceptional talent and literary merit could take on the mantle of period-hero for example Tulsīdās, Jāyasī etc.
3. It is rational to separate the writers of higher literary merit from those of lesser merit from amongst available literature.
4. It is scientific to be consistent with the calendar followed either *samvat* or *san*.
5. Poets must be arranged chronologically not alphabetically. Every poet must be given a serial number and a system of cross referencing must be in place.
6. On the part of lack of attention paid by the ancient poets towards self-introduction as well as providing information regarding the text, the burden on the literary historian is immense. Hence, it is incumbent upon the historian to give biographical descriptions after a thorough analysis of internal and external evidence as well as legends.
7. The date of popular texts must be determined only after a minute analysis of original handwritten manuscripts.
8. For Grierson, the inclusion of both historical as well as literary criterion in writing of literary history has two considerations. The first is that each writer must be viewed in the context of the situation of the country. This will help in ascertaining the development of sensibilities as well as treatment of literature of the period concerned. The second, it is equally important to bring analytical gaze to the literary aesthetics of the poet for a good literary history. A comparative methodology is the best for this.

Sources and Indigenous Practices of Historiography

Grierson considered it important to highlight the fact that the Indian people were not without a sense of history. He stresses the feature of dating itself in the indigenous literature. The accusation of absence of practice of dating the texts that we hear so often in Tassy is annulled

here. The popular complaint of exaggerated and unreal accounts found in Indian historiography is summarily dismissed by Tassy by comparing Medieval Indian historiography with Medieval European historiography.

Grierson claims that most of the information presented in his work is derived from native sources. While in Tassy, a great number of sources that he consulted were in the manuscript form; with printed vernacular literature becoming prolific, Grierson could consult innumerable texts that he bought himself from the bazaars. *Śiv Siṃh Saroj* was one contemporary anthology that he heavily relied upon. He acknowledges of using this anthology for majority of minor poets and some major poets as well. The only three non-native sources that he records to have used are Wilson, Tassy and Tod. Amongst these Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* is of fundamental importance to his section on the literature from Rajasthan. Wilson and Tassy have been used as checks against which he compared the information that he collected and in case of any discrepancy, he claims to have gone to great lengths to ascertain correct facts.

He invested his energies heavily in verifying the information gleaned from the sources mentioned above. Even Tod and Śiv Siṃh, two writers whose authority he accepted to a great degree, undergo a thorough process of verification. In case of Tod, he employs Panḍit Mohan Lāl Viṣnu Lāl Paṇḍyā of Udaipur to countercheck the information provided in Tod with native authorities.

He establishes a basic system of referencing the source in which each entry of an author is followed by abbreviation of the principal anthology used. When the sole source is *Śiv Siṃh Saroj*, he notes it by italicising it.

The same rigorous process is applied with regards to specific information of dating the authors. He notes the two systems of dating that he incorporated. One was dating the text by following the "laudable practice of dating their works" by the vernacular poets. These also mentioned their patrons which provided useful clues while establishing the date of the text.

When all methods failed he fell back upon the dates given in *Śiv Siṃh Saroj* which he found to be fairly accurate. However, the dating system followed by *Saroj* was author centric and gave the dates of birth of the authors and not of their principal works. Such dates were italicised by Grierson. The following is a list of the anthologies and other works which form the basis of this book:

No	Name of anthology	Abbreviation	Author's name	Date
1	Bhakt Mālā ...	Bhakt.	Nabhājī Dās (No.51)	About 1550 A.D.
2	Gosāī Caritra...	Go.	Benī Mādhab Dās (No.130)	About 1600
3	Kabi Mālā ...	Māl.	Tulsī (no. 153)	1655
4	Hajārā ...	Haj.	Kālidās Tribedī (No.159)	1718
5	Kabya Nirṇay ...	Nir.	Bhikhārī Dās (no. 344)	About 1725
6	Sat-kabi-girā Bilās...	Sat.	Bal Deb (No. 359)	1746
7	List of poets praised by Sūdan	Sūd.	Sūdan (No.367)	About 1750
8	Bidvan Mod Taraṅgaṇī	Bid.	Subbā Siṃh (No. 590)	1817
9	Rāg-Sāgarodbhab Rāg Kalpmudram	Rāg.	Kṛṣṇānand Byās Deb (No. 638)	1843
10	Ṣṛṅgār Saṅgrah...	Ṣṛṅg.	Sardār (no. 571)	1848
11	Urdu translation of Bhakt Mālā	U.Bhakt.	Tulsī Rām (No. 640)	1854
12	Ras Candrodaya ...	Ras.	Ṭhākur Parsād Tripaṭhī (no. 570)	1863
13	Dig-bijaya Bhūkhan	Dig.	Gokul Parsād (No. 694)	1868
14	Sundarī Tilak	Sun.	Hariṣcandra (No. 581)	1869
15	Kābya Saṅgrah	Kāb.	Maheṣ Datt (No. 696)	1875
16	Kabī Ratnākar	kab.	Mātā Dīn Mīsar (No. 698)	1876
17	Śiv Siṃh Saroj	Sib.	Ṣib Siṃh Seṅgar (No. 595)	1883
18	Bicitropades ...	Bic.	Nakchedī Tivarī ...	1887

Peritexts

Grierson has included three photographic plates in *MVLH*. He also included a separate section in the introduction to the book, providing their description as well as information on the sources. The first plate is the frontispiece of the book showcasing Rāma's childhood. Amongst the other two plates one contains ten photographs of the manuscript of the Rājpur *Rāmāyaṇ*a which is believed to be in Tulsīdās' own hand in reduced facsimile. The third plate contains three photographs in reduced facsimile with two pages of the old Banaras M.S., and one page of a deed of arbitration all once again in Tulsīdās' handwriting. All the plates had been sourced with the help of Rājā Śiva Prasād, c.s.I. who procured the original photograph of one of the illustrations in the magnificently-illuminated M.S.[4] belonging to the Mahārāja of Banaras as well as the specimens showing Tulsīdās' handwriting.

The frontispiece represents Rāma's childhood in Kauśalyā's house. Grierson mentions that even though it had already appeared in one edition of Mr. Growse's translation of the *Rāmāyāṇa* he did not hesitate to include it in his work again since 1) both the texts have "quite different class of readers" and 2) "the picture is itself a worthy specimen of Hindu art" (*MVLH* xxiii).

The picture in question is a specimen of miniature painting, an art form promoted by the Mughal to illuminate manuscripts. It depicts a scene of a courtyard where Kauśalyā is standing at the threshold facing the child Rāma and a baby, presumably Lakśmaṇ, is lying in a cradle in the background. The child Rāma, however, is not in the child form but a diminutive version of adult Rāma in his *avatār*. He is depicted standing on a platform with four arms and a halo around head. The palace maids are standing in clusters talking amongst themselves. The picture of Kauśalyā standing at the threshold of the inner courtyard stands in relation with the picture at the threshold of the text. You enter the world of the vernacular literature of Hindustan by crossing this symbolic threshold. And the world that Grierson presents in the *MVLH* is the world steeped in the poetry and ideology of Tulsī Dās. Under this

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[4] Ṣivaprasād wrote to Grierson in a letter that the MS had been 'written and painted at home by the Mahārājā's own painters' at the cost of 'thousands of rupees'. (qtd. in Sarma 184)
We also get a description of this Banaras MS of *Rāmāyāṇa* in Edwin Greaves' account of his palace visit at Mahārājā Banaras. He wrote "One hesitates to mention another treasure of the Palace, as permission to see it can only be obtained under very special circumstances. This treasure is an illuminated copy of the *Ramāyaṇa* of Tulsīdās. Probably there is not in this whole of India a work of the kind that exceeds this in interest and beauty. The whole is beautifully written by hand in the Nagari character, and each page has an illuminated border, and is faced by a full page painting depicting some incident described in the text. The whole work is bound into five volumes, in Indian style, not in leather, but in artistic Kinkab-work" (Greaves 95).

picture is written in German “*Lich Tulsī Dās ruck von E.Jaffe and A. Albert, Wien*” or Light print by E. Jaffe and A. Albert, Vienna.

Sarma (2010) makes a link between the illustration and the motto of the book written on the opposite page, “*Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muß in Dichters Lande gehen*. The English translation would be ‘Who the minstrel understand, Needs must seek the minstrel’s land.” These lines were taken from Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s *Notes and Papers or a Better Understanding of the West-Eastern Divan* (1819), a tract to help readers familiarise themselves with ‘the East.’ Goethe insists in his writing that it is the duty of the readers to know and appreciate a poet in his own language and to visit him in the precinct of his own peculiar time and customs. Goethe exhorts, “We must orientalise ourselves, the Orient will not come to us” (qtd. in Sarma, “George Abraham” 185). Grierson’s choice of the motto for the book is a clear invitation to the Western reader to first understand the land that produces the literature in order to understand the literature itself.

In the *addenda et corrigenda*, Grierson provides us with both the transliteration and translation of the deed of arbitration in the handwriting of Tulsīdās from the year 1612 A.D., a photograph of which has been included in his entry on Tuslīdās. He has acknowledged Mīr Aulād Alī, Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani at Trinity College, Dublin, an old friend and teacher of his, for providing assistance in transcribing and translating the Persian and Arabic portions of the deed.

Translation Practice

Grierson lists the explanations of the Hindi terms corresponding to a few English technical terms used by him. He translates the nine *rasas* as follows:

1. Ṣṛṅgār Rasa, translated as “The erotic style.”
2. Hāsya Rasa, translated as “the comic style.”
3. Karuṇa Rasa, translated as “the elegiac style.”
4. Bīr Rasa, translated as “the heroic style.”
5. Raudra Rasa, translated as “the tragic style.”
6. Bhayānak Rasa, translated as “the terrible style.”
7. Bibhatsa Rasa, translated as “the satiric style.”
8. Śānta Rasa, translated as “the quietistic style.”
9. Adbhut Rasa, translated as “the sensational style.”

He does not claim the translations to be exact but merely a "convenient representation of one Hindi word by one English one" (*MVLH* xv). He also includes an explanation of *Nakhśikh*, *Nāyak Bhed*, and *Nāyikā Bhed* in the footnote no.87. He writes:

> When it is said that a poet wrote on lovers, it is to be understood as a translation of a statement made by a Native authority that he wrote a *Nāyak bhed* or a *Nāyikā bhed.* These are technical terms for those works in which the various kinds of heroes (*nāyak*) or heroines (*nāyikā*) are described and classified to an extreme, and often absurd minuteness. A further development is the *nakhśikh*, which will be frequently met further on, in which all the portions of the body and feature of a possible hero or heroine, from the toe-nails (*nakh*) to the top-knot (*śikh*), are similarly classified. (*MVLH* xv)

Other words that he used in translations are: *Sāmayik* which is rendered as "occasional", *Cetāonī* has been translated as "didactic" and "by emblematic verses (in Hindi *drishṭkūṭ*) I mean those fanciful enigmatic tours de force which are familiar to Sanskrit scholars who have studied the Nalodaya and the Kiratarjunya" (*MVLH* xv).

Chronology

In the brief account of vernacular literature of Hindustan that he provides in the introduction to his work, Grierson supplies two separate timelines. The account that he presents is of two separate literary traditions anchored in two geographical regions. The first one is that of the Rajputana and the second of the planes of the Gangetic valley. The vernacular literature of Hindustan is a summation of these two different vernacular literatures. In the literary historiography of Grierson, geography and chronological history are tied together inextricably.

In his description of the bardic chronicles of Rajputānā, Grierson places texts and authors both in time as well as geography. The following table shows this relationship:

Time period	Authors	Ruler	Place
End of 12th Century	Cānd Bardāī (Manuscript)	Pṛthvīrāj Cauhān	Delhi
	Jagnāyak (Oral Tradition)	Paramārdī	Mahobā
Mid 14th century	Sāraṅgdhar	Hammīr	Raṇthambor
16th century (1580)	Kehri	---	Burhānpur
17th century	Lāl and minor poets	---	Bundelkhand
	Group of poets	---	Mewār
	Group of poets	---	Mārwār
Post 17th century	Compiler of facts from older records	---	---

He rues that after the end of the seventeenth century, literature of the Rajputana lost its distinctive character and degenerated merging into the sea of other vernacular poets of India.

Grierson states that the growth of the vernacular literature of the Gangetic valley is characterised by the rise of Vaiṣṇava religion. However, Sheldon Pollock counters such understanding, stating that in comparison to the Western Europe, religion in South Asia was largely irrelevant to the history of vernacularisation. In his work, he aims to redress exactly this interpretative balance that has been privileging the religious over other forms of social agency. The centre of the rise of regional vernacular, "a register far more localized in everything from lexicon to metrics to theme" (Pollock, *Language of Gods* 29) was the court or the political state. He continues:

> In most cases, vernacular beginnings occurred independently of religious stimuli strictly construed, and the greater portion of the literature thereby created was produced not at the monastery but at the court. Only after vernacularisation had been consolidated, and in reaction to an already-existing courtly literary and political culture, did a more demotic and often more religiously insurgent *second* vernacular revolution take place (as in twelfth-century Karnataka, fifteenth-century Gujarat, sixteenth-century Assam, and elsewhere). (Pollock, *Language of Gods* 29)

The literature born out of this Vaiṣṇava culture is further divided by Grierson into two traditions; one popularising the worship of Rama and the other involving a mystic interpretation of Kṛṣṇ-Rādhā love. The former begins with Rāmānand around the year 1400 and was continued by his disciple Kabir, who Grierson claims to have united the salient points of Islam and Hinduism in his teachings and founded a sect. Two centuries later Tulsīdās emerged in the same tradition of Rāma worshippers and according to Grierson reached the zenith of Hindustani vernacular poetry. The other branch of the Kṛṣṇ worship tradition flourished simultaneously with the Rāma bhakti tradition. Grierson presents the geographical expanse of the influence of this tradition, from Mirā Bāī in the west Hindustan, writing in 1420, to Bidyāpati Ṭhākur in the east, who wrote in 1400.

Grierson pays special attention to Malik Muhammad Jāyas who could not be placed in any of these traditions directly. His writings had elements of the bardic tradition of the Rajputānā as well as teachings of Kabīr. With Malik Muhammad, Grierson states, the period of "the apprenticeship" (*MVLH* xviii) of vernacular literature in Hindustan came to a close.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which are termed as constituting the Augustan Age of the Hindustani vernacular poetry, receive most attention at the hand of Grierson. The vernacular literature of the Gangetic planes that was divided into two traditions till the fifteenth century is further divided into many more groups. The principle of division still remained a rough division along different traditions of writings, although not solely devotional like in the earlier two centuries.

The two principle groups of poets remained along the Rāma bhakti and Kṛṣṇ bhakti traditions. Here, in the "Augustan Age," Grierson firmly anchors these two traditions in geographical regions. On the one hand is what he calls "the Braj School" which quite obviously was based in the Braj region. This had as its founder Ballabhācārya and later on his son Biṭṭhal Nāth followed by what are known as the *aṣṭa chāp* poets comprising Kṛṣṇ Dās and Sūr Dās, who were based in Agra, amongst others. The principle native authority on this branch of vernacular literature is *Bhakta Māla* of Nābhā Dās which is one of the primary sources used by Grierson.

The Rāma bhakti school had Tulsīdās as the brightest star in its constellation of poets. Tulsīdās was based in Benaras just like Kabīr and Rāmānand before him.

The third tradition that Grierson mentioned was the courtly tradition of the Mughal court in Delhi. It had collected a group of state poets including Narharī, Harī Nāth, Karaṇ and Gaṅg. Bīrbal, Mān Siṃh of Ajmer and Abdur Rahīm Khānekhānā were the famous patrons of poets and to lesser extent poets themselves. Ṭoḍar Mal is identified as the chief cause of the acceptance of the Urdu language by Grierson. Even though the poets and patrons mentioned here are from different geographical regions they are still grouped together by Grierson since the Mughal courtly tradition that they belonged to was based in the Delhi court.

Rest of the groups mentioned by Grierson in this section are not described geographically although they are still divided by different literary traditions and genre. One important group of poets is the critical school in which we see the first attempts to systematise the art of poetry. Khem and Kesab Dās settled forever the canons of criticism and in the later years, Cintāmanī Tripaṭhī and brothers followed them, developing the rules laid by them. Kālī Dās Tribedī who presented the first major anthology of poetry called *Hajārā*, another important primary source for Grierson, also found a place here.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, there was a rise in the reforming sects which had their respective literatures in the vernacular languages. Some of these sects were the Dadupanthis (headed by Dādū), the *Prāṇ Nāthi*s (followers of Prāṇ Nāth) and Sikhs following Guru Gobind Siṃh.

Ending the description of the Augustan Age, Grierson mentions two other poets – Nazīr Akbarābādī and Bihārī Lāl Caube. Regarding Nazīr, Grierson stops at saying that he was a lewd but popular poet whereas Bihari Lāl Caube has a whole paragraph about him and is acknowledged as "the mine of commentators" (xxi).

The rich history of vernacular literature comes to a halt in the eighteenth century which is a "comparatively barren" period. It is a period of "fall" and "decline", of "intrigue" and "prince struggling with prince", of "a general loss of authority", of "cessation", of "...branches of literature...[in] a similar decay" (xxi). The bards have either written of "bloodshed and treachery" or "preferred to remain silent" (xxii). This is a period which had "no original authors of first rank" (xxii) and the only great names are those who have written commentaries on other people's works. Of the last, the best known were Uday Nāth Tribedī and Jaswant Siṃh, the authors of the *Ras-candroday* and of the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* respectively. Along with these, there appeared a number of anthologies such as the *Sat-kabi-girā Bilās* of Bal Deb, the *Kābya Nirṇaya* of Bhikhari Dās. The end of the century is "redeemed from barrenness" (xxii) by the *Prem Ratna*, the work of one of the few poetesses of India—Bībī Ratan Kuar.

Rama Sundari Mantena makes an important comment regarding the colonial vernacular research. She finds that "despite being aware of the rich literary history, colonial philology managed to bring down the vernacular literary cultures to a ground zero point from which new and modern literary languages were constructed in order to facilitate modern literary production, the development of new genres of writing and modes of communication" (Mantena, *Origins of Modern* 159).

The first half of nineteenth century ending with the Great Revolt (Mutiny in Grierson's words) of 1857 makes another "well marked epoch". The literary field which had become barren in the previous century saw renaissance in this period. Grierson asserts that this was also the birth of Hindi language which was "invented" by the British and the first literary creations in it were by Lāllu ji Lāl, "under the tuition" of Gilchrist at the Fort Williams College. Invention of printing press impacted the vernacular literature a great deal. However,

this technical innovation saw an uneven introduction. While in Banaras print culture was quick to flourish, it had not penetrated the central India where literature of an old kind still persisted in the form of critical commentaries and prosody by poets like Padmākar Bhatt. Imitation of more famous literature was also underway. For example, Bikram Sāhi wrote *Satsai* in imitation of Bihari's *Satasai.* In Banaras, with the supply of printed books a new audience was formed which in turn resulted in an increased demand of books. Several works of importance were thus created. One such important work was the translation of the MahaBhārata into Hindi by Gokul Nāth.

Grierson mentions a new school of critical writing comprising of Babu Harishchandra, Raja Shiv Prasad, Lāllu ji Lāl and Kṛṣṇnand Byas Deb. These included a range of genres from journalistic writing, school books as well as anthologies in emulation of Sanskrit lexicons. Another genre that emerged in this period was the Hindi drama. Grierson decided to not touch upon literature written after 1857 in detail.

In the essay, "Popular Vernacular Literature of North India" mentioned earlier, we get a glimpse of Grierson's thoughts on the above questions. After refusing to consider the literature created by Muslims to be Indian, he has this to say about the modern Indian literature of North India:

> ...nor have I dealt with modern literature. The conquest of India by England and the introduction of the printing press have greatly changed the literary outlook of the country. For over a century Indian writers confined Western knowledge, and little that comparable to the great works of the classical The soil so sedulously tilled is now beginning it is too early to say whether the writers come to the front will survive to become classics in their turn. (123)

Greatest Star in the Firmament of Medieval Indian Poetry: Canonising Tulsīdās

Although Grierson does comment upon literary language and techniques of the texts, the true merit for him is based upon two criteria – popularity amongst common people which is the main appeal of the vernacular; and Christian morality. In light of these two criteria we will discuss how bhakti became the ideology of Christian morality for the Indologists and bhakti literature occupied the prime space within the historical narrative of vernacular literature. But this approval and promotion of bhakti was not uniform. Vijay Pinch in "Bhakti and the British Empire" (2003) writes how the "extremist phase" of Kṛṣṇ-bhakti "based on the love

of a man for a woman" does not find favour in Grierson's scheme of moral literature. For Grierson this could only be a corruption of true Christian bhakti. Kṛṣṇ bhakti is firmly associated with lewdness. "Kṛṣṇ's legendary exploits as an incarnate God were far from edifying. He is said to have divided the days of his youth between dallying with the herd-maidens among whom he grew up, and destroying demons . . . Our religion has only been debased by association with [Kṛṣṇ-bhakti] lewdness" (qtd. in Pinch 180). On the other hand, the pure love between father and son portrayed in the Rāma bhakti tradition receives applause. "There was nothing licentious in the character of Rāma… nothing was ignoble or sensual in the worship directed to him" (Pinch 181). He further adds:

> The contrast between the Rāma worshippers of northern India and the Kṛṣṇ worshippers of Bengal is most marked. The northern Indian is brave, sober, and hard-working. We recruit our armies from his villages. It was the sepoys of northern India who had the courage to stand up against the sahibs in the great Mutiny. It was the villagers of northern India who, in that same Mutiny, gave asylum to hundreds of Englishmen and women fleeing for their lives, and who refused under all temptations to give them up ... Rāma worship has made a nation of men. (qtd. in Pinch 181)

The poetry of Tulsīdās is presented by Grierson as the gold standard of literary merit in Indian literature. It encompasses in it all the qualities that Grierson finds desirable in literature. In fact it can be said the main spring of inspiration behind the whole project of the book was the essay that he wrote on Tulsīdās in 1886 and the notes gathered to contextualise his literature in the medieval vernacular literary tradition, which were expanded to form *MVLH*. Why was Tulsīdās so central to Grierson's conception of vernacular Indian literature? I believe the reasons are twofold and interlinked with each other. For him Tulsīdās' literature embodied the spirit of the vernacular ideology. He believed that Tulsīdās' literature had its importance not just in the literature of India but its larger general history. His works, especially, the *Rāmacaritmānas* had found universal acceptance across classes and region "from Bhāgalpur to the Panjab and from the Himālaya to the Narmadā" (Grierson, *MVLH* 42). He quotes Growse on the ubiquity of the book with a copy "in ever one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old" (qtd. in *MVLH* 42). However, he agreed with opinion of Growse according to whom that the Sanskrit Paṇdits despised Tulsīdās' work as "an unworthy concession to the illiterate masses" (qtd. in Atkins intro). And this precisely was the appeal of the book for Grierson. The literary merits of Tulsīdās' works are affirmed

by their wide popularity. Or rather, their wide popularity constituted the literary merits of the book for Grierson. Anything which could touch people's lives across class, region and time had to be the best that literature could offer. He writes, "It has been interwoven into the life, character, and speech of the Hindu population for more than three hundred years, and is not only loved and admired by them for its poetic beauty, but is reverenced by them as their scriptures" (*MVLH* 42).

That brings us to the second point of Tulsīdās' appeal. His *Rāmacaritmānas* was not just loved and admired but revered as a scripture, "It is the Bible of a hundred millions of people, and is looked upon by them as, as much inspired as, the Bible is considered inspired by the English clergyman" (Grierson, *MVLH* 43).

The importance that the Sanskritists accorded to the vedas, Grierson gave to "*Tulsīkṛt Rāmāyaṇa*". It is once again Paṇḍits versus the people. "Paṇḍits may talk of the *veda*s and of the Upaniṣadas, and a few may even study them, others may say they pin their faith on the Purāṇas: but to the vast majority of the people of Hindostan, learned and unlearned alike, their sole norm of conduct is the so called *Tulsīkṛt Rāmāyaṇ*" (*MVLH* 43). If *Rāmacaritmānas* is the Bible of India, by extension "Rāmanand was the original saviour of Upper India" and Tulsī Dās "the great apostle who carried his doctrine east and west and made it abiding faith" (*MLVH* 43).

The religion "preached" by Tulsī Dās is imagined as radically different from the other religions. Its "purity" and "nobility" is to be extolled. The medieval period in Hindustan is evoked as "an age of immorality" and "an age of license" where on the one side was "the Tantric obscenities of śaivism" and on the other side, worship of Kṛṣṇ was debased to "harlotry" by the Vaiṣṇav writers. This resulted in a situation where "the bonds of the Hindu society were loosened" (Grierson, *MVLH* 43). In the mean time, "the Mughal empire was being consolidated". In this background, Tulsīdās' "stern morality" saved the country. Victorian morality of Grierson vastly preferred moral restrain preached by Tulsīdās over licentious abandon of the other Hindu religions. In Tulsīdās' world there is no extreme worldly love between man and woman. Instead love is expressed as brotherly affection, wifely devotion and duty towards one's neighbour.

He attempts to sketch a biographical note of Tulsīdās from diverse sources. He writes down diverse legends associated with the life of Tulsīdās involving ghosts and gods and Mughal emperor Shāhjahān. He carefully analyses all the information believing "out of this tissue of

childish legends it is perhaps possible to extract a few threads of fact" (*MVLH* 45). He writes how the legend involving Emperor Shāhjahan confining Tulsī Dās for refusing to perform a miracle for him was anachronistic with the poet having died (in 1624) before the Emperor was born (1628). Against this indigenous historiographic tradition of hagiography, he attempts to build a biography based on provable facts. He carefully constructs an account of Tulsīdās' life where he is able to separate the information which is common in all accounts from the contested details in which case he gives all the versions. He contrasts this with what he considers to be a fact and about which there is reasonable certainty, Tulsīdās' deed of arbitration. The reason he invests space and money in printing the photographs and three full pages of transliteration and translation of the deed is to establish an alternative historiography in biographical criticism that is based upon verifiable facts. The point that Mantena makes about colonial arcive formation can be extended to the process of rationalisation of historical accounts we see in cleaning the hagiographic or oral-mythic biographical narratives which in the process "delegitimized precolonial practices of history—rendering them ahistorical (or non verifiable) in light of the new historical method. The narratives themselves got demoted to information and genres were dismissed. V. S. Pathak thought that it was a travesty that colonial scholar-officials were unable to read historical narratives from the Indian textual traditions as conveying the past in a meaningful way" (*Origins of Modern* 13). In the positivist framework the "mythic" was seen as polluting the sense of the history and the modern textual practice was employed to 'recover' what was truly historical.

Another historiographic tradition that he wanted to establish and hence spent considerable time and space explaining in the chapter on Tulsī Dās was the textual critical practice of editing. For the modern literary historiography the concerns of authenticity and authorship are crucial. Who wrote a text, when was it written and which version of the text is original and authentic in case of multiple versions, these questions were important for the new historiography. Although such concerns were not unknown to the medieval Indian criticism but its scope was limited. With the flourishing of printing press and publishing houses, there was a proliferation of textual versions especially of well loved classics like Tulsīdās' works. But there was no standardisation of editorial practices. Anybody could get books published with not just their own interpretations but their own creations under the name of another well established author.

In the context of publishing practice of Tulsīdās' works, Grierson finds that:

> All the commentators have a great tendency to avoid difficulties; and to give a simple passage mystical meaning which Tulsī Dās never intended. They are unfortunately utterly wanting in critical faculty. Though there are abundant materials for obtaining an absolutely accurate text of at least the *Rāmacaritmānas*, the commentators have never dreamed to refer to them, but they have preferred trusting their inner consciousness. As an extreme example I may mention one who drew up a scheme of the number of verses each section of a canto ought to have , in a numerically decreasing order, after the pattern of the steps of a bathing *ghāt* because the poem is called a lake (*mānas*). Nothing could be prettier than this idea; and so he hacked and hewn his unfortunate text to fit this Procrustean bed and then published it with considerable success. It never occurred to him or his readers to see if this was what Tulsīdās had written; and if they had done so, the ludicrous nature of this theory would have been evident in the first place. (*MVLH* 49)

S. M. Katre in his *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* explains the challenges of textual criticism in Indian context. Transmission of texts in India has been done orally as well as through written texts. While a disciplined culture of oral education and memorialisation of important religious texts like the Vedas performed under the strict supervision ensured that srutis of Vedas were transmitted across 3000 years unaltered, secular texts did not enjoy similar protection and preservation. Compared to the institutional oral transmission of the Vedās, the written texts had scope of witnessing graver interruptions. Their preservation was mainly confined to collection of the manuscript and copying them down. This copying however was accorded great respect and merit by praising it as a religious act in the later literary cultures. But discrepancies and corruptions entered in the process of copying through human error as well as owing to political, religious and language change.

In the case of individual author the extent of divergence between his first written copy and orally transmitted version is not usually great and similarly the local versions are also curtailed. Another scenario is when the author himself reduces his work to writing either in his own hand or getting it written under his direct supervision. The term for such a manuscript in textual criticism is called autograph. This autograph becomes the original authority so far as that particular text is concerned. The repeated insistence by Grierson on Tulsīdās' texts having being written in his own hand hence, reflects this philological understanding. Another effect of this stress on the materiality of the literary traditions is transferred to the persona of Tulsīdās wherein he is invested with historical existence as opposed to the legendary one.

Grierson points out the necessity of printing “a correct text” of Tulsīdās’ works. The available printed editions in bazaars were very deficient according to him. He names one by Paṇḍit Rāma Jasan as the best amongst the available but that too was “only a modernised copy of the *textus receptus*”. *Textus Receptus* (Latin: “received text”) is the name given to the succession of printed Greek texts of the New Testament and has an important place in the Biblical textual criticism. The term *Textus Receptus* has also been applied to other ancient texts in other languages, traditionally copied and passed down by scribes. In the addendum to the chapter, he gives a sample from the “true text” of the *Rāmacaritmānas* based upon the Banaras and the Rājpur Mss. It is heavily footnoted with each footnote showing the reading of that particular word in the *textus receptus*. This is spread over full pages. On comparing the *textus receptus* with the autograph, Grierson concludes that the original has been grossly manipulated. He notes that “Tulsīdās wrote phonetically the words as they were pronounced at his time, and in an archaic dialect. In the printed books the dialect is altered to the standard of the modern Hindi and spelling improved according to the rules of Pāṇini” (Grierson, *MVLH* 50). He complains that on opening a printed edition at random he could find 35 variations from the original in a page containing 23 lines.

Bhakti or How to Make Christianity National Religion of India

As pointed out earlier, a major section of *MVLH* is devoted to vernacular literature written in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Most of this was religious literature. Although he was yet to use the term ‘bhakti’ in *MVLH*, this religious literature written in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was to be termed as the bhakti literature by him in subsequent years.

Bhakti as a religious and philosophical concept occupied an important space in the orientalist discourse around religions of India. Karen Pechilis Prentiss describes it as a reaction against Max Mueller’s assertion, describing Vedās as the true and original religion of India. The writings on bhakti have their origin within the Orientalist tradition in H. H. Wilson’s *Sketch of the Religious Sects of India* (1847). Subsequently, M. Monier-Williams, and G. A. Grierson further added to and theorised bhakti. Krishna Sharma in her ground breaking work, *Bhakti and Bhakti Movement: Towards a New Perspective* (1887) has postulated that the definition and theorisation of bhakti and bhakti movement was artificially formulated by the Western indologists of the nineteenth century. The process of this distorted understanding of bhakti started when bhakti was associated exclusively first with Kṛṣṇ worship and later with Vaiṣṇavaism as a whole.

> ...The standards of judgement employed by these indologists had their origins in the Christian theological exercises undertaken in the 17th century Europe. The increasing emphasis on the Christian conception of personal God was a necessity to counter the growth of the modern European philosophy and its imperosnalisation of God. Philosophy separated itself from theology. As a result of this Christian theology emphasised religion being a matter of faith, emotions and personal belief, quite different from the rational and logical emphasis utilised by philosophy. From this originated the new definition of theism articulated as belief in personal God. Hence, 'Monotheism was defined as belief in One Personal God; and the philosophical explanations of the oneness of God in personal terms, as either pantheism or monism.' (Sharma, 9)

Sharma juxtaposes this Western conceptualisation of theism and pantheism with Hinduism in which no such division between religion and philosophy had taken place. She explains that Hindu thinkers did not differentiate between pantheism and monism; and the idea of an impersonal God (*Atmān* and *Brāhmaṇ*) was interconnected with worship of numerous personal deities or gods without any contradiction. So, in the Western eyes Bhakti was contextualised in a way that was entirely different from the Hindu tradition.

This faulty conceptualisation of Bhakti had a long tradition involving H. H. Wilson, Albrecht Weber[5], Lorinser[6], Monier-Williams[7] and George Abraham Grierson. It originated in the writings of Wilson who presented bhakti as a religion in his *Sketch of Religious Sects of India* (1846). Bhakti finds a casual mention in his description of Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal where he wrote, "their religion" can be summed up in one word "Bhakti". Albrecht Weber and Monier-Williams expanded this stray remark by Wilson into an identifiable "Bhakti religion" which in turn was equated with Vaiṣṇavaism. Detailed study of "Kṛṣṇ bhakti" undertaken by Weber was effectively presented as an elaboration of "Bhakti religion". Lorinser in his work on

[5] Max Weber (21 April 1864 – 14 June 1920) was a sociologist who wrote on many themes but he is an authority in the study of different societies and religions. His book *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* analyses the differences between the orthodox doctrines of Hinduism, the heterodox doctrines of Buddhism and proposed that the caste system and Hinduism were barriers for the development of capitalism in India.

[6] Dr. Franz Lorinser was a Sanskrit scholar who translated the Bhāgavad Gītā, *Die Bhagavad-Gita: Uebersetzt und erlautert,* into German along with commentaries in 1869. He believed that the Gita, owed its 'purest and most greatly praised teachings' to the New Testament.

[7] Sir Monier Monier-Williams, (12 November 1819 – 11 April 1899) was the second Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford. He studied, documented and taught South Asian Languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Hindustani. He wrote extensively on Hindu Philosophy and translated many works into English. His book *Hindu Literature : Comprising The Book of Good Counsels*, *Nala and Damayantī*, *The Rāmāyaṇa*, and Ś*akūntalā* are note worthy. He also compiled the Sanskrit to English Dictionary.

Bhāgvat Gītā termed it as a scripture of Bhakti. Monier-Williams described Vaishanvism as a monotheistic faith and contrasted it with *Advaita Vedānta* which was represented as monistic thought. With this, Bhakti acquired broader connotations and occupied a greater space in relation to Hinduism as a whole. Sharma finds in her research that through Monier-Williams writings Bhakti was firmly established as monotheistic religion in its Western technical sense. In other words, it became a religion of love and devotion for a personal God.

George Abraham Grierson contributed an entry on 'Bhakti-Mārga' in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* in the year 1909. In this he gives a historical account of Vaiṣṇavism and addresses it as "ancient monotheistic religion of India". He races its antecedents to *Bhāgvatas* and in the *Ekāntika-Dharma* mentioned in *Mahābhārata*. He however, added another factor to the history of Bhakti by linking it to the medieval vernacular bhakti poets. The rise of religious sects led by the bhakta poets was understood as the resurgence of Bhakti religion in medieval times. It was followed by further theorisations to trace its roots in the systems of Vedanta evolved by medieval Vaiṣṇavaa *ācāryās* like Rāmanuja, Nimabārka, Mādhava and Vallabha.

In bhakti literature, Grierson saw two of his main concerns unite. Bhakti literature was written in vernacular and was very much a part of the living traditions of India. It breathed in people's lives and hearts and stood apart from the elite literary culture of the pundits and the court. The other was Grierson's visualisation of 'bhakti religion' as a monotheistic religion similar to Christianity.

Sharma states that these theories on Bhakti found ready acceptance among Indian scholars since according to her they could not avoid working within the limits of modern academic apparatus devised by Western scholars for studying Hinduism. R. G. Bhandarkar was the first Indian scholar who expressed difference of opinion with the Western Indology on Bhakti but only to the extent that he refused to accept the Christian origin of Bhakti. He wrote with detailed proofs from ancient Hindu texts to prove that Bhakti had its roots in antiquity. He, however, retained Bhakti's equivalence with Kṛṣṇ worship and Vaiṣṇavism. Not only did he prove that monotheism was an indigenous Hindu development that preceded Christianity, he stated Bhakti was a *kshatriya* reform of brahman religion. Both these ideas were later accepted by Grierson and his views on Bhakti modified accordingly.

In his writings on vernacular literatures, Grierson applied whatever had been established as the nature of bhakti in the Western scholarship to all the medieval bhakta poets like Kabir,

Tulsī Dās, et cetera. He had grouped them all together under Vaiṣṇavism and the only differentiation was between Rāma worshippers and Kṛṣṇ worshippers, both forms of Vishnu. Sharma finds it curious that Grierson did not notice the ideological differences amongst the medieval bhaktas, some of whom could not be placed in the Vaiṣṇava tradition since he had direct access to original works and possessed specialised knowledge of vernacular literature. She conjectures that "since Bhakti had already been defined as a religious cult in the Western scholarship, he must have operated with the simple logic that the '*bhakta*s' who professed 'bhakti', were professing the 'Bhakti religion'" (86).

John Stratton-Hawley contradicts Sharma's reading of scholarship on Bhakti and states that unlike what Sharma believed, European thought on Bhakti was only half the picture and the idea of "Bhakti movement" was a result of a complex give and take of ideas between Western Indologists and indigenous scholars of Hindi literature and Hinduism. Through tracing the term "movement" in the expression "Bhakti movement" across writers on Bhakti, he asserts that "the development of the idea of the *bhakti* movement was at least as much the cultural stepchild of nation-building in North India—hence the close tie to Hindi—as it was a reflex of Europeans' efforts to make sense of the religious history of India as a whole" (Stratton-Hawley, "Introduction to Bhakti" 220).

He argues that while Grierson's formulation did have considerable influence on the literary historians like Rāmacandra Shukl and Hazāri Prasad Dvivedi, Grierson himself owed much to Indian writers and theologians such as Sitārāmaśaran Bhagvānprasad "Rūpkalā". Rūpkalā's possible influence on Grierson is explored by Vijay Pinch in his essay.

Stratton-Hawley insists that in established theories of Bhakti "we have a complex, bilingual, bicultural story, not the simple product of Orientalist Christian conceptions, as Sharma so forcefully argued" (220). He deflects the criticism launched by Sharma on the Orientalist dubbing of Bhakti as essentially an artificial formulation to her acceptance of the term "Bhakti movement". It must be said that even after creating a fairly complex genealogy of the concept of "movement-ness" of Bhakti movement, Stratton-Hawley does not have much to say on the primary allegation of formulation of Bhakti in exclusively Vaiṣṇava terms and presenting Vaiṣṇavaism as a theistic religion.

Stratton-Hawley's view of the idea of Bhakti being a mutually constructed discourse between the Western Indologists and Indian thinkers writing both in Hindi and English is not only silent on the unequal terrain of colonial discourse formation but also ignores the ties between

colonial power and knowledge formation. When he refers to Vijay Pinch's article on the relation of mutual influence of Grierson and Rūpkalā, he chooses to turn a blind eye to Pinch's demonstration of the intentions behind the Orientalist investment in the project to theorise Bhakti.

Bhagavan Prasad[8] was an immediate subordinate to Grierson when the latter was an Inspector of Schools in Bihar. Although there are no records of any direct interaction between the two, it is quite unlikely to be otherwise since Rūpkalā was not only one of Grierson's immediate subordinates but also shared the same area of scholarly interest. In fact in his articles on *Bhaktamāla*, Grierson had referenced Rupkalā's edition of *Bhaktamāla*. However, Pinch notes they shared "more than a scholarly devotion to bhakti and Vaiṣṇava hagiography" (165). They occupied different spaces in their service to the British empire. He goes on to quote Ranajit Guha's view on the liaison between the two:

> If politics of collaboration was informed by Humean idiom of Obedience – however uneasy that obedience might have the hushed, almost hopeless, urge for enfranchisement among the colonized - it drew its sustenance, at the same time, from a very different tradition - the Indian tradition of Bhakti. All the collaborationist moments of subordination in our thinking and practice during the colonial period were linked by Bhakti to an inert mass of feudal culture which had been generating loyalism and depositing it in every kind power relation for centuries before the British conquest. (qtd. in Pinch 167)

This view is bolstered by open declarations in support of the British empire in Rūpkalā's writings.

While Bhakti might have been working to generate loyalty amongst the imperial servants, British scholars of Indology had another not so hidden agenda. And that was to promote Christianity in the Indian subcontinent and replace Hinduism from the pedestal that it occupied in the Indian society.

[8] Sitārāmśaran Bhagvān Prasad (1840-1932) was a civil servant like Grierson but in the 'Uncovenanted' or Provincial Civil Service, and worked for thirty years in the Bihar Education Branch of the Bengal Presidency, where he rose to the rank of Sub- Inspector of Schools. He came from a family of respected scholar-exegetes in the Vaishnava bhakti (Vishnu-centred devotional) tradition. During the later years of his life he attracted a sizeable following as 'Rupkala' ('art-form') a mystic-devotee, poet and guru.

This interest in furthering the spread of Christianity was by no means a new agenda. Christian missionary activities had a long history in the colonies, not least in India. It was also not restricted to the British imperial efforts. It is in the service of Christian faith that we see a common interest and an intra-imperialist alliance between nations which were otherwise embroiled in a bitter battle for their share in the dominance of the world. We have already seen this work in the earlier chapter on Tassy. It is through his interactions with the Christian theologians in general and with J. von Dollinger, a Church historian, in particular that the role of Tassy's scholarship is exposed much beyond his obvious Christian bias. It was a dream shared by all European powers.

Krishna Sharma focuses upon the heavy investment of Orientalist scholarship in linking Hinduism to Christianity. She also accuses Western scholarship on Hindu religions of creating artificial arguments that furthered the Christian agenda in India. At the root of this, according to her, was the rise of a renewed post-Enlightenment theology which had to construct new arguments to ensure its survival in an increasingly rational and scientific world. Vijay Pinch however locates the attitude of Orientalists towards Hinduism and other world religion in 'Victorian devotionalism' (a term he borrows from Owen Chadwick).

He argues this further in writing about the historical relationship between Hinduism and Christianity. "The 'infinite diversity' of Victorian devotion included, in the wake of the Oxford Movement[9] and rising Anglo-Catholicism, an increased fascination with the historical Jesus and the increasing, and increasingly idiosyncratic, use of ritual and symbolic ornamentation in worship" (173). This intellectual shift was accompanied by textual-historical study of the Bible, the new found respect for other religious traditions (especially in south Asia), and unorthodox outlets towards search for religious truth.

This increasing respect for other religions did not mean easy acceptance. On the contrary, it was merely a shift in tactics towards approaching them (Hinduism in our case). Max Mueller, the celebrated Indologist and comparativist was apparently neutral regarding evangelical Christianity and the missionary project. Monier Monier-Williams, Mueller's colleague at Oxford whose contribution to the work on Bhakti we have encountered earlier on in this

[9] The Oxford Movement was an early nineteenth century movement which argued for the restoration of some of the older Christian traditions and for absorbing them into Anglican theology and liturgy. It was a movement begun by the High members of the English Church, but their association with the University of Oxford gave the movement the name. Several tracts were published with relation to this movement, thereby the movement's philosophy was termed as Tractarianism. John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie were two prominent Tractrians. The Oxford Movement later developed into Anglo-Catholicism.

chapter, occupied the Boden Chair[10] at Oxford. There is a clear link of using the scholarly work by Indologists directly or indirectly for the missionary agenda.

Pinch gives an example of two North Indian missionaries, John Muir of Banaras (1810-82) and F. S. Growse of Mathura (1836-93) to showcase the change in the attitude of Christian efforts. The confident evangelism of the first half of nineteenth century argued for biblical origins of *Bhāgwat Gītā* whereas the more comparative posture of the second half dropped the discussions on the origins and emphasised commonalities between Christianity and Hinduism. This trajectory is also reflected in Grierson's own engagement with historical links between Hinduism and Christianity. We have already learnt as much from his essay on the Nestorian antecedents to his change in opinion after Bhandarkar. It is important to note that although he might have discontinued the line of enquiry towards establishment of Christian influence on the Bhakti ideology, he maintained his efforts to tie Hinduism and Christianity together in a bid to establish shared moral values.

There is no evidence of Grierson having an explicit religious upbringing. Pinch suggests that considering his biographical information he was by birth a member of the Church of Ireland, a 'province' of the Anglican Communion. He also notes that his brother Charles became the bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore. However, Pinch comes across an article by Grierson in the missionary quarterly journal *The East and the West* (1906) published by the Society Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (an organ of the Church of England). This article is important because even though the larger points expressed here remained the same as those in his Royal Asiatic Society lecture in 1907, they were argued from an unabashed Christian vantage point. In the essay he argues against the Protestant aversion towards Hinduism and attempts to present it as "being wholly evil, wholly pagan, wholly anti-Christian" (Pinch 179). He on the contrary believed that there were many shared elements between the two religions and "that it is our duty to foster and purify these elements rather than to destroy them" (179). The entire essay is an address to other Christians from Grierson in the capacity

[10] The position of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford was established in 1832 with money bequeathed to the university by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Boden, a retired soldier in the service of the East India Company. He wished the university to establish a Sanskrit professorship to assist in the conversion of the people of British India to Christianity. The first two professors were elected by Oxford graduates, as the university's statutes provided. Horace Hayman Wilson won by a narrow majority in 1832, and the 1860 election was hotly contested between Monier Monier-Williams and Max Mueller. Both of them campaigned aggressively to prove the value of their scholarship to the missionaries cause. For more on this very interesting election which represented the contestation of different attitudes amongst the British intelligentsia towards the empire's changing role in post-1857 India, see Wolfe, John. *Religion in Victorian Britain. V – Culture and Empire*; and van der Vīr, Peter. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*.

of a Christian follower. Pinch points towards the phrases that Grierson used candidly, writing of 'our own religion ... founded in Palestine', of 'our Lord's birth', of 'our Lord's time', and of how 'our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the little village on the outskirts of Jerusalem'. The Anglican audience of the journal might have brought out his own religious convictions but it is eye opening to see how the ostensibly secular Oriental scholarship was deliberately kept sanitised from overt religious impositions. The aims of religious, linguistic and literary writings are unmasked through such writings for internal religious consumption.

For Grierson, appropriation of Bhakti to Christian value system was integral to his imperial duty. Perhaps it is his position as a colonial administrator-scholar that gave him crystal clarity in understanding the functions of various participants in colonial rule. He elaborates on his vision in his advice to the missionaries, administrators and scholars. He urges the missionary audience ,

> ...to see how to become the religion in India, Christianity must necessarily grow. As long as it is exotic, something from a foreign land, and preached by foreign missionaries who impose upon their converts western and western systems of theology, unsuited to an oriental mind, it cannot hope for wide acceptance. Only an Indian Christianity based on Indian principles which come from within could have a hope of eventually becoming the national religion of our Indian empire. (qtd. in Pinch 181)

His pleaded officials and 'for the serious study of the Indian vernacular by all interested in our great Eastern possession, administrators or as missionaries'. He had been stressing upon the need to shift the focus from Sanskrit studies to studies in vernacular languages and literature since the 1880s. The reason for this impassioned appeal to the cause of vernaculars is not his love for ordinary people but quite utilitarian concerns. "Believe one who has tried it", Grierson urged; "the quotation of a single verse of Tulsīdās or of a single pithy saying of the wise old Kabīr will do more to unlock the hearts and gain the trust of our eastern fellow-subjects than the most intimate familiarity with the dialectics of śankara or with the daintiest verse of Kālīdās" (qtd. in Pinch 181).

Pinch interprets his insistent advocacy to shun Sanskrit in favour of vernacular languages as "an anti-orientalising sentiment". He qualifies this statement by explaining 'orientalising' in the sense of "displacement and de-contextualization". He did not understand this critique to be contradictory to Empire, but rather an obligation of Empire - built out of a personal

religious communion with his 'fellow-subjects'. He agrees with Bayly's assertion that Grierson 'reversed a hundred years of official thinking' in turning the tide away from the Sanskritist research and towards vernacular languages and cultures. But he emphasises that the reason Grierson did so was because of his Christianity.

Language, Literature and Region Formation

As per Pollock who introduced and theorised the concept, vernacularisation[11] (1998, 2000, and 2006) entailed region formation from functional regions of the cosmopolitan era to the formal regions of the vernacular era or the second millennium. Vernacular polities were produced as an effect of the conscious decision of writers to create vernacular literary cultures. Through creating literature in vernacular languages writers were reshaping the boundaries of their cultural universe. It meant renouncing the larger world (cosmopolitan space) for the smaller place (vernacular region).

The basic geographical template by which the culture was conceptualized shifted from amorphous space into definite place. Medieval age saw breaking down of Prākrits into deṣī ('of place') languages which demarcated the spatial limits of regional polities. There was a rise in creation of literature in modern Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Braj, Oriya, Bengali, Kannada, Gujarati and Marathi.

In India, language and region have been not only been inextricably linked but had a stronger affiliation than between region and ethnicities as seen in Europe. Pollock has done a comparative analysis of the vernacularisation process in Europe and Indian subcontinent. Even though the time period of vernacularisation and rise of vernacular polities in both the geographical regions were happening simultaneously and might appear analogous, the dimensions of processes of power that shaped them were quite different. Providing concrete evidence, he writes,

> Think only of how language naming in South Asia serves to remove the vernaculars from the realm of tribal affections and affiliations characteristic of European language appellations. The cosmopolitan codes of India were named for language-specific processes of grammaticality—Apabhramasha (decayed), Prākrit (natural), Sanskrit

[11] For his theorisation of vernacularisation see: "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000-1500," "The Cosmopolitan Vernacular," *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit,Culture, and Power in Premodern India* and "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History."

> (perfected). The names for the vernaculars, for their part, seem as a rule to abstract them from the domain of the group and locate them in what seem almost ecospheres. If we take seriously the term for the vernacular, *deś-bhāṣā,* "language of Place," then we must conclude it was far more often region that made a language (and a people) than the reverse. "Kannada" thus betokens the language of the "cultivated land of black soil"; Malayalam that of the "sandalwood mountains"; Dakani that of "the south "; Brajbhāṣā that of the place of Kṛṣṇa's birth; Gwaliyarī, Bundelī, Sindhī, and so on the languages of those places. In Europe, by contrast, language names reflect facts of biology and ethnology and so belong to peoples, like French, the language of the Franks, or English, that of the Angles. It is no accident that in its historical semantics the term *deśī,* the cultural practices of Place, which was used to reference the new culture-power complex of the vernacular millennium in southern Asia, should contrast so dramatically with the trope of biological descent used in Europe (e.g., *natus,"*[in]born," yielding "native," and ultimately "nation"). (Pollock, *Language* 474)

He further adds that the concept of mother tongue or one's native language was absent in South Asian societies. Concomitantly, this meant celebration of language diversity instead of condemnation. Language as a component of ethnicity is entirely a modern phenomenon in South Asia. It was never the "indispensable pole of identification" in South Asia before modernity made it such. Cynthia Talbot, however, has different views on the matter. She believes that the idea of linguistic groups constituting cultural communities was by no means introduced to India by the British. To validate her view she points out that language (more specifically, the Sanskrit language) was the main feature thought to differentiate the civilized from the barbaric in ancient India. This perception proved that language was important to Indian conceptions of culture, region, and community well before the modern age. At least at the level of elite cultural practice, there was a clear consciousness of affiliation with one regional language rather than another and even a certain degree of pride. In her opinion, both post-Orientalism and modernist theories of nationalism posit too radical a rupture between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. The scale and exclusivity of modern communities may be a new development, but the processes leading to identity formation are much the same as in

the past. Whether in medieval or modern India, various attributes or cultural practices like language, political allegiance, and a shared history were selectively deployed in order to mobilise the sense of community. Conceptions of a regional identity that merged linguistic and political affiliation were articulated during the era of the Kakatiyas (1175-1325 C.E.), when the territorial boundaries of the state were largely congruent with the Telugu-speaking area, and they continued to persist even after the demise of the Kakatiyās.

Mishra in "The Mortality of Hindustani" reminds that after the establishment of colonialism, early philologists like William Jones and administrators like Thomas Macaulay introduced a new definition of vernaculars as Prākrit languages of the indigenous people (72). When conceptualised as languages spoken by common people, the idea of vernacular already underwent a shift from being defined in relation to region to being defined in terms of people. This usage transformed the relationship between language, people and place in a fundamental manner.

She also argues that the notion of vernacular as a language of place cannot be directly applied to the modern period when "the place-ness of language itself is being rigorously contested by the colonial state and various non-official pressure groups" (Mishra, "Beyond Powerlessness" 4). Colonial philology was after all not an academic exercise in isolation. It was integral to the mechanics of the colonial rule. The 1837 Act and the 1856 educational policy required determination of vernacular language of a region which in turn led to the debates within the government and local identity groups regarding the actual geographical domain of the Indian languages.

Grierson's Linguistic Geography

Grierson writes that the Aryan languages resided in the larger part of India covering the entire northern plains, reaching to the lower ranges of Himalaya (in the form of Pahāri dialects) and enveloped the fertile grounds on the both sides of the Brahmputrā as well as the entire course of the Indus.

The Indo-Aryan Vernaculars were segregated into three main divisions based upon linguistic considerations. This variety in the linguistic considerations also coincided with the geographical distribution of the various languages.

The division of Indo Aryan languages by Grierson can be represented in the following table:

A. The Midland Language-

1. Hindi

B. Intermediate Languages-

a. More nearly related to the Midland.Language: 2. Panjabi 3. Rajasthani 4. Gujarati 5. Eastern Pahari, Khas Kurd, or Naipili 6. Central Pahari 7. Western Pahar

b. More nearly related to the Outer Languages: 8. Eastern Hindi

C. Outer Languages-

a. North-Western Group: 9. Lahnd 10. Sindhi

b. Southern Language: 11. Marathi

c. Eastern Group: 12. Bihar 13. Oriya 14. Bengali 15. Assamese

There are fifteen languages in total under this description. The division of Indo-Aryan vernaculars in groups is based on their respective geographical locations. At the centre lies the Midland language (corresponding to the ancient Madhyadeśa) right in the middle of the North Indian plains. It is followed by the Intermediate languages that fall in between the Midland language and Outer languages and represents the latter shading off into the former. "There is no hard and fast geographical frontier between each language, for, unless separated by some physical obstacle, such as a wide river or a range of mountains, languages of the same family are not separated by boundary-pillars, but insensibly merge into each other" ("Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" 50).

The midland language is identified as Hindi by Grierson. The intermediate languages which have a mixed character represent Hindi as shading off into the Outer languages. They are further divided into roughly two groups on account of the dominating influence of one of the two languages. The intermediate languages on the West have a stronger influence of Hindi which very gradually fades off as one moves away from the centre towards the West. The eastern Intermediate language which is called Eastern Hindi, even though it is called Hindi, has much stronger element of the Outer languages.

Eastern Hindi has three main dialects, Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi and possesses a great literature, dating from at latest the fifteenth century. Tulsī Dās, the greatest poet of medieval

India and author of the so-called Hindi *Rāmāyana*, wrote in an old form of Awadhi, and since his time Awadhi has been the dialect most employed for poetry, dealing with the history of Rāma, while the Braj Bhākhā form of Hindi has been reserved for poetry dedicated to Kṛṣṇ.

One important difference between Hindi and the Outer languages that Grierson finds is that Hindi had what he calls analytic grammar where as Outer languages were outgrowing the analytical phase and moving towards synthetic grammar like Sanskrit. He writes that in most of the Outer languages the declension of nouns was still analytic, but in all, the conjugation of the verb, owing to the use of pronominal suffixes, was strongly synthetic. With respect to grammar, the Intermediate languages follow the same trend of influence as in other respects. The western Intermediates are similar to Hindi whereas Eastern Hindi is closer to the Outer languages.

Bihari occupies a special place in Grierson's body of work. While it was common to consider Bihari as a dialect of Hindi with most Bihari intellectuals too claiming Hindi as their mother tongue, Grierson maintained that Bihari was a different language altogether and one of the Outer languages as opposed to the Mid-land Hindi or Intermediate languages. It occupied a considerable area which is delineated by him as including nearly the whole and Chota Nāgpur Provinces, as well as the eastern United Provinces of Āgrā and Awadh. The eastern boundary may be taken as the River Mahānanda in the District (Purṇia of the maps), and in the west it extends to Benares and beyond. Its northern boundary is the Himalaya and its southern the northern border of the district of Siṃhbhūm in Chota Nāgpur. Bihari has three main dialects- Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri.

While explaining his restrictive use of the term "Hindi" as a language of ancient Madhyadesh, he differentiates it from the lax manner in which the Europeans had been using the term. There were multiple ways in which "Hindi" was being used, each meaning not quite the same referent. While in its Persian meaning it meant "of or belonging to India", as opposed to, he specifies, "Hindu", a person of the Hindu religion. In this generalised Persian meaning, Hindi could be used to describe any Indian language. However, it was more commonly used to collectively term the four languages spoken between the Bengal and the Punjab- Bihari, Eastern Hindi, Hindi and Rajasthani. In using the term "Hindi" for the Mid-land language, he delineates the language spoken fairly closely. The madhyadeś or the Mid-land consisted of the greater part of the Gangetic Doāb and of the plains country immediately to its north and south. Its centre may be taken as the city of Āgrā. From this it extends on the

north to the Himalaya and on the south to the valley of the Narmadā. On the west it goes beyond Delhi, and on the east to about Kānpur. On its west lie Panjabi and Rajasthani, and on its east lies Eastern Hindi.

Javed Majeed in his analysis of LSI finds in Grierson's geographical imagination a nuanced presentation of the complexity of the linguistic situation of India that is at odds with conventional colonial linguistic mapping as well as India's post-colonial linguistic geography. Referring to Both Manu Goswami (2004) and Matthew Edney (1997)'s work he explains the conventional colonial practice of stressing the discrete spatial partitioning of territory with no porous boundaries to the visual device of the map. The LSI, on the other hand, drew explicit attention to the fictiveness of drawing boundaries in linguistic maps. It focuses on the difficulties of fixing boundaries between languages. He achieved this by introducing the visual device of shading to represent the linguistic regions on the map. Instead of strict borders we have languages shading into each other. Similarly in its description it used the vocabulary of waves, tides and melting. For example, Hindi 'melts into Oriya' or when referring to Sirāikī the sense of spreading and merging of languages is presented as 'the tide progressed westward from its starting point, it gradually lost its body and force'. Elsewhere, he has used the imagery of overflowing languages, referring to how Kashmiri had 'overflowed the Pir Pantsal range into the Jammu province of the State'. The diction was in direct conflict with the conception of the world in imperial geography which used clear boundary lines.

However, post-independence Indian state's main concern was to reign in linguistic sub-nationalisms and hence a different approach was necessary towards mapping the polyglot terrain. The State Reorganisation Commission's Report of 1955 tried to eliminate linguistic uncertainty by containing clearly defined languages within administrative bodies. The complicated multilingualism of India is suppressed by solidifying the fluid zones of simultaneous existences of languages and dialects into compartmentalised languages. Majeed concludes his argument with the assertion that Grierson's *LSI* "occupies a third space between the 'colonial' and the 'national', alongside other more nuanced notions of India which were sidelined by the imperatives of the nation-state" (230). However, when he says "It was the postcolonial nation-state that sought to fix boundaries, speakers of languages, mother tongues, and the internal-domestic and external-foreign, not the 'colonial' *LSI*", he is creating a false dichotomy between colonial and postcolonial conceptions that needs to be refuted. In all the processes of language administration mentioned above the post-

independence Indian nation-state, by and large, continued the colonial language policy. The history of colonial philology in India detailed early on in the chapter demonstrates beyond any doubt that there was a well established colonial tradition of language planning that post-independence language policy of India was predicated upon. And hence, it cannot really be said to have achieved the status of a 'post-colonial' nation state. The other issue is that by hanging colonial in quotes alongside *LSI*, he is somehow undercutting the complicity of *LSI* in the colonial project. *LSI* does not inhabit a third space. There is no third space. It does however represent what we have come to understand by now as the liberal strand within the colonial rule. It would be good at this point to revisit Grierson's very engaging and scholarly address to the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in London in 1906 and the discussion after it. Grierson ends his speech by hoping that the survey would induce the Western scholars to examine the "literatures of the great modern vernaculars,- no mean heritage of no mean land,- it will by that alone have done much to increase the sympathy between us and our great Eastern Empire" (Grierson and Mond 592). And if there was any doubt in anyone's mind as to the utility of such an exercise, the Chairman, Sir Charles James Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I. E., LL.D., opens the discussion after Grierson's lecture with the following little speech:

> ...The other reflection is, I think, the immense importance, from a political point of view, of spreading among our administrative services, and especially the civil and educational services, an intimate knowledge of the languages and vernacular literatures of India. Sometimes one finds in India a tendency to depreciate studies of this kind, and a disposition to think that labour spent upon them is of little use in what is called the practical work of administration. On the other hand, I have known many whose efficiency and influence were increased by the knowledge they possessed of the minds and ideals of the people, which can only be learned by a study of their language and literature. I am convinced that we want more and more of such knowledge in our dealings with India, and that it is of highest political importance to develop and extend The alternative is not pleasant to contemplate. If officers do not learn the languages and read the literatures of the people, they must depend upon representations of the wants and wishes of the people as expressed and interpreted by the small minority who use English. ... but there are also many things in which India is very unlike England, and these are things which it greatly concerns us, both for the good of the people and for security of the Empire, to know. And to such knowledge

> the only adequate key is a thorough acquaintance with the popular speech, and with the minds the people as exhibited in their spontaneous and indigenous literature. (qtd. in Grierson and Mond 593)

Literary Geography in *MVLH*

Just as languages are central in the production of geographical regions, similarly literature is crucial in formation of its separate identity. And literary histories have a specific role in this production of regional as well as linguistic identity. It supplies a language and its people with an ancestry of literary achievements to take pride in. The capacity of a community to produce literature is viewed as an evidence of its advanced civilisational status. Hence, literature and its history have a legitimising function. The combined efforts of language, literature, history and region bolster the identity of a people. In fact, all these categories produce and strengthen each other's claims. We have discussed earlier the role of language and literature in region formation. Literary histories contribute in this project by constructing a spatial field through literary events, movements and authors.

Ira Sarma has engaged with the issues of conceptualisation of geography and literary historiography in the context of Hindi literature. She considers literary histories as the tools to achieve "the symbolic conquest over the territory allocated to the literary language" ("The Hidden Spatiality" 35). Obviously, it is not a natural process of language and literary development but a highly political and partisan act aimed towards staking claims of power. A literary history reorganises space and interprets it to create a narrative of sovereignty and legitimacy. In a densely multi-lingual nation like ours, each space has simultaneous claims of multiple languages. The literary histories right from the nineteenth century till now follow a monolingual model of history writing. In this model only one language can legitimately exist in and have claims over a territory. The literally bloody fight of language claims over territory has different identity formations allied with the warring languages. These often have religious, caste, racial and other such identity formations fall behind the linguistic factions. Sarma observes that very often the spatial dimensions of literatures and their histories remain unexplored and the historiographers tend not to acknowledge the spatiality of literary activity. However, in recent times there is an increased awareness of this dimension of literature and literary history. To uncover the ideological agendas of the historiographers, it is required to make visible the areas which ware claimed by the literary history and the criteria forwarded for these claims.

Sarma ("George Abraham Grierson's Literary Hindustan") further finds that the literary geography in *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* is established in two ways- one is through the historiographical discourse and the other by naming of places and regions throughout the text. She goes on to follow both these geographies to map what she calls "Grierson's literary Hindustan". In the introduction to his work, Grierson outlines Hindustan as 'Rājputānā and the valleys of the Jamunā and of the Ganges as far east as the river Kosī'. He excludes 'the Panjāb or Lower Bangāl'. The area constituting Hindustan in MVLH corresponds roughly to contemporary Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, as well as the east of Bihar and the north-western half of Madhya Pradesh.

Grierson defines 'Hindustan' to his own specification and does not match with other concepts of 'Hindustan' current outside of this book. Barrow has analysed various meanings of the term from the seventeenth century onwards. It began with understanding Hindustan as the region under the Mughal rule. Over time, the meanings and the region covered under the term changed. The region termed Hindustan was different for the cartographers. However, Grierson's Hindustan is quite different from the conventional understanding even amongst the Indologist. He truncates the region entirely for his own scholarly agenda. It is a section of land that is selected under no uniform category. While the "Rājputānā" is an administrative province, the other part is clearly a geographical unit that is bounded by rivers. The clear demarcations are regarding what it is *not:* it does not include the Punjab and the Lower Bengal. It also does not stretch beyond the river Kosī. It is worth noting that by excluding the Punjab and the lower Bengal, he automatically excludes a huge section of Muslim population and kept his Hindustan largely Hindu. Even within the area demarcated by him, the Muslim population and culture find nearly no representation. Sarma ("Hidden Spatiality") contends that this was one of the aspects that contributed "to the 'Hinduisation' of the Hindi literary landscape" (49) and later led to the work being utilised by the national project of Hindi.

This Hindustan is sketched in with details through the historiographical discourse provided in the text. The territory is laid out by making various names of places or regions the subject of discussion. Grierson commences by establishing Rājputānā as the place of the earliest production of vernacular literature of Hindustan and briefly describes the continuation of this tradition into the seventeenth century at the courts of Mewār and Mārwār. Space is privileged as a category over time as the bards of the later periods are not treated in their temporal context but in connection with their region.

Once he ran down a brief account of Rājasthānī literature over a time period of these many years, Grierson moves back in the time to "revert to the growth of vernacular literature in the Gangetic valley coincident with the rise of the Vaiṣṇava religion at the commencement of the fifteenth century" (*MVLH* xvii). At this point he merely mentions the Rāma worshippers Rāmaānand, Kabīr and Tulsīdās briefly and does not locate them geographically. However, he does locate Rāma himself as 'the deified prince of Awadh'. But when it comes to the Kṛṣṇ branch of Vaiṣṇav religion, the practitioners work as placeholders to depict the geographical breadth of its influence from 'the magic poetry of Mīrā Bāī in the west' to the 'Bidyāpati Ṭhakur in the east'. The 'Kṛṣṇā cult' had its strongest root in Braj which is described as 'the country of cowpens and the scene of the childhood Kṛṣṇ and of his early amours with the herd-maidens of Gokula (Grierson, *MVLH* xix)'. In this tradition of Kṛṣṇ worship is mentioned Sūrdās who is the 'blind bard of Āgrā'. Within the same tradition is mentioned Tānsen who although was based in Gwalior which is not far from Agra, occupies a different symbolic space altogether in MVLH, that of Emperor Akbar's Delhi court. The Mughal court at Delhi was another corner stone in the geographical imagining of literary Hindustan as is clear from it being assigned its own school of literature in the book. It was a collection of reputed poets from different parts of the Mughal empire but their poetry was in the service of the state.

The third School of poetry which is once again linked to a geographical place is that of the Rāma worshippers based in the Banaras. It had its most illustrious practitioner in Tulsīdās who in Grierson's words was 'the guide and saviour of the Hindustan'. Banaras and Rāma worship are elevated by contrasting with the 'Tantra-ridden Bengal' or 'the wanton orgies carried under the name of Kṛṣṇ worship'. Seventeenth and eighteenth century poets are not anchored geographically in the text. Sarma notes that "it is only when Grierson turns to Hindustan under the Company in the first half of the nineteenth century (chapter X) that the space of literature re-enters the limelight" ("George Abraham" 200). The tenth chapter is divided into four parts representing four selected regions. "The star of literature during the first half of the nineteenth century," Grierson announces, "shone brightest in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, at Banaras and in Audh" (*MVLH* 107). The two cities of Pannā and Rewā, in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand respectively, "formed a centre from which issued well-known standard works on the art of poetry" ("Sarma, "George Abraham" 200).

Grierson describing the influence of Tulsī Dās' *Rāmacaritamānas* comments that it influenced not just a series of writers and the 'unlettered multitudes' over the centuries but

“especially over the crowd who sprung into existence with the introduction of printing at the beginning of the present century” (*MVLH* xx). The printing press was not uniformly distributed across the Hindustan. It had not “yet penetrated to Central India, and there the old state of affairs continued” (xxii). It was in Banaras “on the contrary the art of printing gave a new audience to the learned; and to supply the demand thus created, several works of the first importance appeared” (xxii). Such activity was centred around Banaras with translations in Hindi by Gokul Nāth, new critical writings by Hariṣcandra as well as textbooks and other writings by Rājā Śivprasād. Lallujī Lāl and Kṛṣṇānand Byās Deb represented the Calcutta civilisation.

The primary contention of Sarma’s essay on *MVLH* is that Grierson’s work provides the literary historiography of Hindi literature with national aspirations with an easy framework to appropriate the histories of multiple linguistic and literary traditions. She finds that the unusual choice of privileging space, as in literature of Hindustan, over language, as in the literature of Hindi or Hindustani or Rājasthanī or Bihārī or any other language for that matter, does not perform its supposed function of equalising all languages falling within the territory of the titular Hindustan. Instead, it results in the subordination of the multitude of languages under a single territory. This scheme of organisation of space proposes a unified cultural system that did not exist. As an example she suggests that if there were to be written a literary history of Rajasthan, it might have provided different geographical and historical pattern with greater detail and more room for development both temporally and geographically. In *MVLH*, the details are lost. Some regions and time periods are provided with far more space than others. This uneven treatment of the subject matter creates a disbalanced literary historiography in which some literary cultures accrue richness and influence over the more neglected ones. And in practice she found the region with greater textual concentration in *MVLH* was the one that he has elsewhere called the midland or the traditional ‘Hindi’ region. This leads to the creation of a hegemonic position for Hindi language and literature over the other literary cultures which eventually made it easy for them to be subsumed in the overarching framework of Hindi literary history.

While the geography of Grierson’s literary Hindustan might have emphasised the heartland tradition with its emphasis on the Rāma and Kṛṣna bhakti traditions, in my opinion it is not a necessary outcome of taking a large , linguistically heterogenous unit, in this case Hindustan, as a category. It appears to me a result of Grierson’s unequal and eclectic treatment of the subject matter at hand. The manner in which Rājāsthānī, and Bihārī even more so, literary

cultures are relegated to comparatively much smaller space, was completely avoidable. The Rājasthānī and Hindi literary traditions were anyway treated separately with their individual timelines, to have written a history of literature of Rajasthan was not impossible. In fact it is done so in the text just in the cursory and negligent manner. In other words, the territorial and literary hierarchy that we witness in *MVLH* is not necessarily inevitable with "the subsumption of several literary standards under one system" (Sarma, "George Abraham" 206).

The other important point she raises is linked to the territoriality of Hindi. According to her, in the 1880s, the term 'Hindi' had not yet automatically denoted a territory and the 'Hindi belt' was not a linguistically unified region. The suggestion is that Grierson's unifying the multiple literary traditions under one supra-regional space like Hindustan provided the base for any such future consolidation of Hindi. My view is that even though Hindi had not yet acquired an official territory of its own but it was marching very swiftly and aggressively on the path of getting one. Hindi's usurpation of other linguistic and literary traditions was successful not with the help of Grierson's work but despite it. Or at least despite his attempts to re-establish vernacular languages and literatures in the face of 'official vernaculars' like Urdu and 'Hindi'.

The accusation of indirectly expanding the 'Hindi' literary field both temporally as well as spatially from the heartland by including the Rajasthani bardic literature which "would otherwise not be incorporated into the history-and spatially" (Sarma, "George Grierson" 205) does not ring true. Bardic literature had in fact been long part and parcel of the originary narratives of Hindi/Hindui literature. Cand Bardāi's *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso* was considered Hindui literature in Tassy as well as attempts to date the texts had been seen in both Bhartendu Harishchandra as well as Śiv Siṃh Sengar.

Sarma pits Grierson's linguistic foundations for his avoidance of 'generalising terms like Hindi and Hindustani' as opposed to the 'neutral vernacular'. The reason was indeed his linguistic considerations but using the term 'vernacular' was not for any attempted neutrality. In fact it was a partisan pitch towards establishing 'real vernacular' literatures as can be gathered from the preface of the text. By the 'vernacular' he meant any of the three languages, 'Mar'wari, Hindi, and Bihari, each with its various dialects and sub-dialects'. And that is also the reason for neglecting the Urdu-Persian culture of Delhi and Lucknow "even though the geography of Grierson's literary Hindustan allows for an incorporation of this

cultural strand" (Sarma, "George Abraham" 206). Hindustan was already an accepted political and geographical entity, 'Hindi' was not. By preferring 'vernacular' as the category, Grierson is also very deliberately denying his support to 'Hindi'.

Another manner in which MVLH strengthens the Hindu-Hindustan connection is by evoking a symbolic landscape. A significant amount of literary landscape is occupied by the Braj and Banaras. Sarma writes:

> The mention of the ghāt reminds the reader of Benares' status as one of India's holy cities...the Asi Ghāt marks the southernmost end of the sacred zone of the city and is the starting point of an important pilgrimage. Grierson indirectly defines the space which Tulsī Dās occupies as Hindu territory: it is the "Hindu community" or "Hindu population" who consider the *Rāmacaritmānas* their "scriptures" and "sole norm of conduct. ("Hidden Spatiality" 46)

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Conclusion

Through the study of the nineteenth century historiography of Hindi literature it is evident that the question of vernacular animated the literary as well as socio-political sphere of North India. The nineteenth century begins with the identification of Hindi and Hindustani as the vernacular languages by Gilchrist who at the Fort William College worked towards promoting modern prose writing in these languages and standardising them through production of grammars and dictionaries. However, these languages were identified as divided along religious lines with Hindi being the language of Hindus and Hindustani or Urdu as the language predominantly used by the Muslims.

In the examination of Garcin de Tassy's scholarly work on Indian literature, this understanding witnessed first in the output of scholarly work from the Fort William College is found to have been continued. Hindui or old Hindi and Hindustani are accepted to be the vernacular and *koine* language spoken in Hindustan. However, Tassy's work is unique in including Dakhni as part of Urdu. As per Tassy, Hindustani included Hindi, Urdu as well as Dakhni. He pronounces Hindi and Hindustani to be one language with a double literature.

With the advent of the Hindi movement with a clear goal to establish nagari script for the court language and a socio-political agenda to consolidate Hindu position in the power structure, a separate, idependent and autonomous identity is sought for Hindi language. Urdu or Hindustani's claim as a vernacular language is decried. Identifying as the vernacular language invested the language with representational power of the populace and concretised its space in the official and political spheres. Last thirty years of the nineteenth century saw bold strides by Hindi towards asserting its space as the main vernacular of Hindustan and in literary sphere, creation of a segregated literary tradition with total severance from any association with Hindustani literary culture. Even as this was the mainstream opinion of the indigenous participants of the scholarly literary sphere of Hindi, it was by no means an uncontested one. While the mainstream opinion of Hindi movement is represented by Bhārtendu Hariścandra in this work, the other two Indian historians hold contrary positions.

Rājā Śivprasād although at the forefront of the Hindi movement, was ofthe opinion that the main demand of Hindi movement must be restricted to the adoption of nagari characters instead of Persian ones. He argued that dividing Hindi along the religious lines in fact weakened the nationalist character of Hindi and limited its *jātiya* identity to a single

community. Śiv Siṃh Sengar does not make any direct interventions on the matter. Nonetheless, when the bhāṣā literature and literary traditions was being unreflectively misrepresented as exclusively Hindi literature and literary tradition, Sengar does not participate in this trend and very deliberately decides to keep the term bhāṣā as opposed to Hindi.

A more pronounced stand in favour of bhāṣās or plural vernacular literature and literary tradition is taken by George Abraham Grierson. This thesis presents a detailed account of the history of the concept of vernacular in colonial imagination in India and places Grierson in the long but frail tradition of liberalism that had stood in favour of using the actual vernacular spoken by common people. It is proposed and proved that Grierson brings back the attention on the vernacular in the sense of bhāṣā as opposed to the rheresed arguments in or against Hindi or Urdu. Grierson's entry point in the debate on vernacular is on the other spectrum of Tassy's view of a composite and syncretic literary culture. Grierson completely discounts Urdu's claims as vernacular and straightaway labels it as both foreign and cultivated, two counts that deny its vernacular status. Even as he pitches bhāṣā literary culture to represent the true literary culture of Hindustan, the fourth chapter of this work shows how he provided the framework which was loaded in favour of a Vaiṣṇavite Hindi tradition and was easily appropriates by nationalist aspirations of Hindi. In effect, for the entire nineteenth century the subject of literary history under consideration, Hindi literature, was not resolved and these issues carried on to the next century when the debate was clinched by a highly sectarian and Hinduised Hindi movement and all the earlier histories were smoothly assimilated under the umbrella of Hindi literature and literary traditions.

Another primary concern of this thesis was the Generic question. What makes a literary history? What is its purpose? And how were literary historical practices modernised? The thesis identifies literary history as an organising technology which was only one of the many traditional organising practices. It, hence, does not look only at the transition from older forms of literary history to modern forms of historiography but from traditional indigenous organising practices to the newer organising practice which privileged modern literary historiography. The thesis argues that the new literary historiography was predicated on the modern organising and classificatory practices and disciplines of antiquarianism, textual criticism, source criticism, philology etc. While antiquarianism, bibliographical exercises as well as archivisation produced the literary corpus required to be classified, it was textual critical practices of manuscriptology, close reading, dating of texts, source criticism etc.

processes the older forms and facilitated their transformation into the modern format. This process was contextualised by the hierarchical colonial knowledge practices which rendered all the indigenous knowledge as "sources of information" instead of "sources of knowledge" and the framing discourse delegitimised the indigenous practices of classification especially historical classification.

By employing the model of transition from premodern knowledge organisation system and practices to the modern organisation system and practices, it was possible to bypass the debate of history being a Western import or conversely proving there was indeed indigenous examples of history writing. Pre-modern and modern historical practices are differentiated while making the arguments and it is stressed that the same transition from pre-modern practices of historiography to modern rational and scientific historiography was undergone in Europe as in India.

The experiments of organising the literary knowledge in new formats are viewed as instances of "regenerated genres", a term borrowed from Ralph Cohen who identifies these as ones that "make us question the generic combinations we have come to accept, and our consciousness of history as a given" (qtd. in London 111).

The first example of the Genric encounter that is taken up in this work is the fascinating work by the French scholar Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani* This work which announces itself as a literary history even though it self-admittedly does not follow a chronological ordering precedes literary history in any other Indian vernacular language by a few decades. To present the double literature of Hindui and Hindustani to the European audience, Tassy re-envisions and re-orders it in a manner which is novel to both Indian and European literary traditions. It follows the alphabetical ordering of the writers by their takhallus or pen names, a practice that he adopted from the Indic tazkira format that was the source of majority of the information that he utilised for writing his work. His work was probably the only one which presented a unified history of both Hindi and Urdu literary traditions. He classified the literary works according to both the classical traditions of Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand and European classificatory principles on the other. In lieu of a larger structure of ordering, several classificatory and ordering categories were created. When some information spilled out of one scheme of classification, another was created for the spilled over material and it was ordered once again. It needed an entire range of paratexts to somehow contain this new literature and make sense of it. The whole range of

prefaces, introduction, main biographical dictionary, addenda, annexure, tables etc. were mobilised to somehow deal with the information at hand. Another unique feature of *Histoire* that is identified in the course of analysis in this thesis is the great amount of ethnographic details provided by Tassy. He is far ahead of his times in locating literature as a cultural practice embedded in the daily lives of people. His detailed glossary of the numerous folk as well as classical forms of literature too was a new feature which was not seen in any other literary classification in the body of literary scholarly work.

The Indian historians and litterateurs worked frenetically to gather the essentials for writing of a modern literary history. The first task of scholars and partisans of Hindi was writing and compiling anthologies, readers and collections to create a body of literature, build a canon and bring it into common circulation. Although anthologies and selections were available through traditional genres like *kāvya saṅgrahs*, *gutkā*s and *bhakta mālās,* they were used as part of the corpus of 'Hindi' literature in educational enterprises of the East India Company. Bābu Śivprasād's *guṭkā* and Bhārtendu Hriścandra's Sundarītilak as well as *Śivsiṃh Saroj,* all fulfilled this purpose. The indigenous scholarly activity in this period was focussed on the assessing of individual literary works, rewriting traditional biographies along modern historiographical principles as well as writing first tentative chronologies of individual genres like poetry and drama as done by Hariścandra.

Near the close of the nineteenth century Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literatures of Hindustan* inaugurates narrative literary history. He establishes new rules of literary historiography through his work especially on periodisation, source criticism and canonisation. He names a period to reflect the general ruling sentiment in the major literary creations of that period. From within the general class of the writers, he selects writers to take on the mantle of period-hero. Unlike all pervious works of literary history, he differentiates the writers of higher literary merit from those of lesser merit from amongst available literature. The date of popular texts must be determined only after a minute analysis of original handwritten manuscripts. For Grierson, the inclusion of both historical as well as literary criterion in writing of literary history has two considerations. The first is that each writer must be viewed in the context of the situation of the country. This will help in ascertaining the development of sensibilities as well as treatment of literature of the period concerned. The second, it is deemed equally important to bring analytical gaze to the literary aesthetics of the poet for a good literary history.

While Tassy and Grierson had support of Orientalist institutions and their respective governments, all the major pioneering attempts at the indigenous level were individual endeavours with no or very limited direct institutional support of any kind. All the three Indian historians considered in this thesis occupied similar social and class position in the society. All three were rich men with access to traditional learning, Persian knowledge as well as modern western education. They possessed such rich private collection of sources that they could create their works in the absence of external institutional support.

With time the Hindi literary sphere in the nineteenth century constructed its independent identity, simultaneously carrying out experiments in genres as well as evolving a creative, historical and critical idiom. As older manuscripts came to light and more historical information was collated, there was more material to put together a literary history. However, at the close of the nineteenth century literary history of Hindi still remained an unstable genre with its main subject, Hindi literature, still not fixed.

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