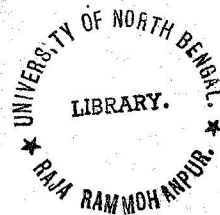


The Centenary Edition

THE ENGLISH WORKS
OF
RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

(SOCIAL & EDUCATIONAL)



SADHARAN BRAHMA SAMAJ
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PREFACE

In connection with the Rammohun Centenary the Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj resolved to publish a Centenary Edition of his works. An Editorial Board consisting of the following members was appointed to carry on the work of publication :—

- Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan.
,, Dhirendranath Vedantavagish.
Dr. J. K. Majumdar M. A., Ph. D.
Mr. Ishan Chandra Ray B. A.
,, Jatindranath Bhattacharyya M.A.
,, Amiyakumar Sen M. A. (convener).

The present volume is based mainly upon the London Edition (1832) of the English works of Rajah Rammohun Ray—an edition which, containing as it does the last corrections in orthography and punctuation made by Rammohun, should, in our opinion, supersede all earlier rescensions. It contains a pamphlet of Rammohun on Suttee and his Bengalee Grammar in the English Language which had not been published before in any of his collected works.

For facility of study tracts and pamphlets have been grouped together according to their subject-matter and arranged in strict order of chronology. Textual variations from earlier editions have been noted in the footnotes but they do not appear to be of any very great significance. Sanskrit texts occurring in the earlier redactions but omitted in the London Edition have also been inserted in the footnotes to give readers an idea of the sources from which Rammohun derived his arguments. The punctuation of the London Edition has been retained as it represents Rammohun's own corrections and is, as a rule, far more consistent than that of the first.

The critical study of Rajah Rammohun Roy's works by Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal M. A., Ph. D. which introduces this volume to its readers gives them some idea

of the significance of Rammohun's standpoint in the history of Indian thought and makes a general survey of his literary works. The notes given at the end of the volume try to form an estimate of Rammohun's position as an interpreter of Hindu law [and a careful student of the intricacies of Bengalee Grammar. They also throw considerable light on the history of controversies which gave Rammohun an incentive to express his views on the pressing problems of his age.

I take this opportunity of thanking, on behalf of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, all who have assisted us in this difficult task. Our thanks are specially due to Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, Ray Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda B. A. and Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, M.A., D.Litt, of the Calcutta University who, though not connected with the Editorial Board, have made, in this volume, valuable contributions towards a proper interpretation of Rammohun. We are also indebted to the authorities of the Forman Christian College and Prof. Upendranath Ball M. A. for the text of the newly discovered tract on Suttee; to Dr. Anilkumar Sen M. B. and Mr. Hemantakumar Chatterjee B. A. who have looked over the proof sheets and assisted us with their valuable suggestions. It is needless to add that without the ungrudging assistance of the editors it would not have been possible for us to bring out this volume within such a short period of time.

We shall consider our labours amply rewarded if the present edition creates in the minds of our countrymen a renewed interest in the life and works of this great-souled son of India.

211, Cornwallis Street,
Calcutta, May 31, 1934. }

Annada Charan Sen,
Secretary, S. B. Samaj.

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A CRITICAL STUDY AND ESTIMATE OF RAMMOHUN ROY'S WORKS

BY

Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D.

A.—Formative Influences—Sources and Origin.

As a general introduction to a critical study and estimate of the Raja's works, I may note that his intellectual ancestry must be sought in four different representative cultures of the world's history.

1. The whole body of Hindu culture and civilisation with the pre-eminent exception of the primitive stage of Nature-worship as represented in the Samhita portions of the Vedas.

2. The various schools and sects of Arabic Philosophy and Theology,—Aristotle's logical moulds and forms of thought in which were cast the materials of the Koran and Shariyat—especially the heterodox sects among whom may be mentioned the Mutazalas, the Sufis, the Muwahidism, and, perhaps, also the masonic body of the Sincere Brethren, the 'Encyclopædists' of the 10th century.

3. The eighteenth century movement of Rationalism represented by the English Deists and Free Thinkers, the sceptics Hume and Gibbon, the French Encyclopædists, and especially the religious sect of the French Theophilanthropists associated with the names of Voltaire and Volney—movements ultimately traceable through Locke's philosophy

to Bacon's protest against authority and the Baconian method of Induction.

4. Lastly, Christian Theology and Philosophy, Old as well as New Testament culture—in the entire range of its historic origin and development.

B.—The Two Rammohun Roys.

At the outset, I would sound a note of warning against the indiscriminate use of the rich but heterogenous materials presented in the Raja's works. For a right understanding and estimate of the Raja's thought and utterance, it is necessary to bear in mind the two essentially distinct but equally indispensable parts which the Raja played on the historic stage. There was Raja Rammohun Roy the Cosmopolite, the Rationalist Thinker, the Representative Man with a universal outlook on human civilization and its historic march; a Brahmin of the Brahmins, a Cheirophant moralising from the commanding height of some Eiffel Tower on the far-seen vistas and out-stretched prospects of the world's civilisation, Jeremy Bentham's admired and dearly loved collaborator in the service of mankind; the peer of the Humes, the Gibbons, the Voltaires, the Volneys, the Diderots or any Freethinker or Rationalist of them all. For him, all idols were broken and the parent of illusions, Authority, had been hacked to pieces. He, the Cosmopolite, was daunted by no speculative doubts, discouraged by no craven fears. For him, the veil of Isis was torn; the Temple had been rent in twain and the Holy of Holies lay bare to his gaze! For he had had his disillusionment, was indeed a thorough *roue* of the *monde* (or *demi-monde*) intellectual. Calmly, fearlessly, truthfully, he probed, fathomed, dissected. And by deep meditation and brooding he had won a glimpse of the Truth.

But there was another and equally characteristic part played by the Raja—the part of the Nationalist Reformer, the constructive, practical, social legislator,—the Renovator of National Scriptures and Revelations. For the Raja

was cast in Nature's regal mould. His was the work of half a dozen giants. His name was Legion. Hindu Pandit, Zaburdasht Moulavie, Christian Padre, the Rishi of a new Manwantara or Yuga, the Imam or Mahdi of a new Tradition, the Prophet or Nabi of a newer Dispensation—by what name shall I call this man ?

C.—*Various Aspects of the Raja's work.*

Yes, the Raja carried on single-handed the work of Nationalist Reform and Scripture Renovation and Interpretation for three such different cultures and civilisations as the Hindu, the Christian and the Mahomedan. Unfortunately the *Manezaratul Adiyān* and other Arabic and Persian works in which the Raja developed his scheme of Moslem religious or socio-religious restoration are lost. But his later writings dealing with the Hindu and Christian Scriptures remain, and are an endless mine of the most precious material to the student of comparative Religion, Sociology and Ethnology.

The Raja's work falls under the following heads—

I. Raja Rammohun Roy—the Cosmopolite, Rationalist, Universalist, standing aloof from ethnic, national, historic limitations and embodiments.

Under this head I note the following divisions :—

(1) As a Rationalist, Deist, Theo-philanthropist, Universalist.

This is the predominant element of the Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin stage of the Raja's mental history, and an element which, however, subsequently enriched, embodied and clothed in particularities, throughout remained at the bottom of all the Raja's deepest and most charactersitic thought.

(2) As a Sociologist—with special reference to Politics, Jurisprudence, Ethics, Economics, and Education, (both pure and applied, theoretical and practical).

(3) As the founder, in a very real sense of the term, of the Science of Comparative Religion, and the classification and development of Religion.

To this Cosmopolitan or Universalistic department of the Raja's work belongs the founding of the Brahma Samaj, which by its trust-deed was to be a meeting-house of the worshippers of the one God, whether members of Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian or other communities. The Raja's Samaj was a meeting-house, a congregation of worshippers, but had no direct social significance whatever.

II. Raja Rammohun Roy, the Practician, the Religious and Social Reformer—the Nationalist reforming national scriptures and national customs on national lines, by the methods of liberal interpretation, historic restoration and renovation, and the reconcilment of Authority with Reason and social well-being.

Under this head will come :—

(1)—The Raja as a Hindu Reformer, religious as well as social ; a Restorer of Hindu Scriptural Truth and Revelation.

(2) The Raja as a Christian Reformer, the Interpreter and Reformer of Christian Scriptural Truth and Revelation.

D.—Classification of the Raja's Works.

1. The Raja's works written from the Cosmopolitan or Universalist or Rationalist point of view.

Prarthanapatra, Brahmopasana, Trust-Deed, Brahma-Sangit, English prefaces to the English Translations of the *Upanishads*, Preface to the *Precepts of Jesus*.

“Answer of a Hindu etc.” “Letter on the Prospects of a Unitarian Christian Mission,” “Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin” (early stage).

“Letter on Education,” “Petitions in connection with the Liberty of the Press.”

The Raja's “Communications to the Board of Control,” “Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females” etc., the Essay on the “Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal.”

II. Raja's works as a Religious Reformer and Scripture-restorer.

1. The Raja's works touching Hindu religious or socio-religious matters.

These may be brought under the following heads :—

(a) The Raja's real and rational views put in a Hindu garb e.g., Shastric authorities alluded to in *Brahmopasana*, Prefaces to the Bengali translations of the *Upanishads* etc. Defence of Hindu Theism, Parts I & II.

(b) What the Raja really thought was the meaning of the pure and original Hindu Scriptures (the work of restoration and renovation). Here the Raja took his stand on the *Upanishads* (Vedas) and the *Vedanta Sutras* (authoritative reduction of the Vedas) as Hindu Scripture or Revelation, e. g. *Vedantasar*, *Vedanta-Bhashya*, *Upanishads*, *Vajra-Suchi*, etc.

Here the Raja taking his stand on the Hindu Scriptures, accepts the infallibility of the Vedas, the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*Advaitavada*), of *Maya*, of metempsychosis, of Karma and also for purposes of reconstruction, the outward myths and paraphernalia of Vedantism. He, however, interprets these doctrines in a fruitful and suggestive way, or makes them non-essential matters. It must be remembered that the Raja philosophically accepted the doctrines of *Advaitavada*, *Mayavada* and possibly also of Re-incarnation, (though this is made non-essential). These doctrines were so interpreted as to make them consistent with the rational and ethical basis of Religion and Society.

(c) Controversies and discussions with Hindu sectarians such as Vaishnavas, Saktas. &c.

Also the Raja's propaganda of Hindu socio-religious reform e. g., *Chari-Prasner Uttar*, *Pathya-Pradan*, *Goswami-Sahit-Vichar*, *Kavitakarer-Sahit-Vichar*, etc., (conducted in Bengali) also *Sati-dahavisayak-Pravandha* (English as well as Bengali).

Here the Raja's rationalism is apparently at its weakest. For, not only the Vedas, but also the Smritis, Puranas and Tantras are employed as sacred authorities by the Raja quite in accordance with the Hindu canons of scriptural inter-

pretation. While express Hindu doctrines such as Avatar (Incarnation and Partial Incarnation) are recognised and sacred authors admitted for the wellknown Puranas, etc., the Raja interprets them all so as to make them compatible with the purest rationalism. For example, incarnation is shown by Shastric authorities to be inapplicable to God, but only to the created and perishable gods and goddesses ; and belief in the existence of the latter as higher degrees of finite beings is deprived of all religious or spiritual significance and thus reduced to harmlessness. A Handbook of Hinduism, according to the Raja, giving the substance of his redactions of all Hindu scriptures (including Puranas and Tantras), his proofs and authorities, and his interpretations, would prove extremely useful in the present age, and may be prepared on the basis of works of this and the preceding class *viz.*, (b) and (c).

(d) Works defending Hindu Scriptures and their teachings from Christian (Missionary) attack, *e. g.*, *Brahmanical Magazine*, Letters of Ram Doss.

Here the Raja attempts a rational exposition and harmony (*Samanvaya*) of the Hindu philosophical systems, and turns the table skilfully against orthodox (Missionary) Christianity. These works stand next to (a) in point of rationalism and freedom of judgment.

2. The Raja's work touching the Christian Religion.

(a) The Raja's views in a Christian garb, *i. e.*, invested with the authority of the Christian scriptures, *e. g.*, *Precepts of Jesus*.

(b) & (c) What the Raja thought was really the meaning of the original Christian Scriptures (the work of Christian Restoration and Interpretation) ; also his controversies with the Missionaries.

This work of Christian Restoration has borne fruit in helping forward the movement of Unitarian Christianity, so much so that the Raja holds a high and honoured place with Price, Priestley, and Channing in the history of that movement.

Here the Raja, accepting the infallibility of the Bible, has to admit miracles including Resurrection, Mediatorship and Saviourship of Christ, his supremacy over all creatures, his pronouncing final doom or judgment, etc. He, however, seeks to disprove from the Bible the Divinity or dual nature of Christ, and the Trinity of the Godhead, and also the doctrines of Vicarious Atonement and Imputation. The miracles are ignored as non-religious and the Mediatorship and Saviourship explained in such a way as to become comparatively harmless from the rationalist's point of view, and as compatible with the latter as possible ; e. g., *The Three Appeals to the Christian Public, the Missionary and Chinese Converts etc.*—the latter, a masterpiece of satire quite worthy of Voltaire at his best.

The Raja was no doctrinaire. He had a wholesome historical instinct, a love of concrete embodiments and institutions, such as characterise the born religious and social reformer. A rationalist and universalist in every pulse of his being, he was no believer in the cult of the worship of Reason, of naked Logical Abstractions. The universal guiding principle of the love of God and Man he sought and found in the Scriptures of the nations, and rose from the barren religion of nature or Theophilanthropy of his eighteenth century predecessors to a liberal interpretation and acceptance of Historic Revelation and the Scriptures, not indeed in any supernatural sense but as embodiments of the collective sense of races of mankind, and as conserving and focussing that Principle of authority, which, in this mundane state, is an indispensable cement and foundation, an elementary factor of communal life, whether in the social, the political or the religious sphere.

"I have often lamented," says the Raja, "that in our general researches into theological truth, we are subjected to the conflict of so many obstacles. When we look to the traditions of ancient nations, we often find them at variance with each other ; and when discouraged by this circumstance we appeal to reason as a surer guide, we soon find

how incompetent it is alone to conduct us to the object of our pursuit. We often find that instead of facilitating our endeavours or clearing up our perplexities, it only serves to generate an universal doubt incompatible with principles on which our comfort and happiness mainly depend. The best method, perhaps, is, neither to give ourselves up exclusively to the guidance of the one or the other ; but by a proper use of the lights furnished by both, endeavour to improve our intellectual and moral faculties."

This has the ring of the 'large utterance of the early gods,' too, and in its sanity, its balance, its nice mental equipoise, is beyond the reach of the Voltaires and Volneys of the world. This rationalistic Raja has verily been the founder and father of the nineteenth century conception of the Scriptures which discards supernaturalism and miracle-monging, and yet retains and reassures for the race these precious treasures, those storehouses of moral and spiritual force, and of living Authority. The Raja's method of interpretation was at once a marvellous 'Novum Organum' applied to the scriptures of the world, and a sure instinct anticipating the historic and evolutionary method of modern sociology. The essential and vital principles held in solution in the Hindu and Christian cultures and civilizations precipitated themselves. The spirit of reason and universalism was breathed into those ancient bodies for giving them an immortality of youth and fresh national vigour.

TRANSLATION
OF A
CONFERENCE
BETWEEN
AN ADVOCATE FOR, AND AN OPPONENT OF,
THE PRACTICE OF
BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE ;
FROM THE
ORIGINAL BUNGLA.

ADVERTISEMENT.¹

THE little tract, of which the following is a literal translation, originally written in Bungla, has been for several weeks past in extensive circulation in those parts of the country where the practice of Widows burning themselves on the pile of their Husbands is most prevalent. An idea that the arguments it contains might tend to alter the notions that some European Gentlemen entertain on this subject, has induced the Writer to lay it before the British Public also in its present dress.

Nov. 30, 1818.

¹ The word 'Advertisement' does not occur in the 1st Edition, (Calcutta, 1818)—*Ed.*

CONFERENCE
BETWEEN
AN ADVOCATE FOR, AND AN OPPONENT OF,
THE PRACTICE OF
BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE.

Advocate.—I AM surprised that you endeavour to oppose the practice of Concremation and Postcremation of Widows,* as long observed in this country.

Opponent.—Those who have no reliance on the Shastru,¹ and those who take delight in the self-destruction of women, may well wonder that we should oppose that suicide which is forbidden by all the Shastrus, and by every race of men.

Advocate.—You have made an improper assertion, in alleging that Concremation and Postcremation are forbidden by the Shastrus. Hear what Unggira and other saints have said on this subject² :

“That woman who, on the death of her husband, ascends the burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven, as equal to Uroondhooti.[1]³

* When a widow is absent from her husband at the time of his death, she may in certain cases burn herself along with some relic⁴ representing the deceased. This practice is called Unoo-murun or Postcremation.

¹ ‘Shastur’ for ‘Shastru’ in the 1st Edition.—*Ed.*

² The corresponding Sanskrit passages are given at the end of this treatise.—*Ed.*

³ ‘Uroondhuti’ in the 1st Edition.—*Ed.*

⁴ ‘relique’ in the 1st Edition.—*Ed.*

“She who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in a region of joy for so many years as there are hairs in the human body, or thirty-five millions.[2]

“As a serpent-catcher forcibly draws a snake from his hole, thus raising her husband by her power, she enjoys delight along with him.[3]

“The woman who follows her husband expiates the sins of three races ; her father’s line, her mother’s line, and the family of him to whom she was given a virgin.[4]

“There possessing her husband as her chiefest good, herself the best of women, enjoying the highest delights, she partakes of bliss with her husband as long as fourteen Indrus¹ reign.[5]

“Even though the man had slain a Brahmun,² or returned evil for good, or killed an intimate friend, the woman expiates those crimes.[6]

“There is no other way known for a virtuous woman except ascending the pile of her husband. It should be understood that there is no other duty whatever after the death of her husband.”[7]

Hear also what Vyas has written in the parable of the pigeon :

“A pigeon devoted to her husband, after his death entered the flames, and ascending to heaven, she there found her husband.”[8]

And hear Hareet’s words :

“As long as a woman shall not burn herself after her husband’s death, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form.”[9]

Hear too what Vishnoo the saint says :

“After the death of her husband a wife must live as an ascetic, or ascend his pile.”[10]

Now hear the words of the Bruhmu Pooran on the subject of Postcremation :

“If her lord die in another country, let the faithful wife

¹ ‘Indras’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² ‘Brahmin’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

“place his sandals on her breast, and pure enter the fire.”[11]

The faithful widow is declared no suicide by this text of the Rig Ved : “When three days of impurity are gone she obtains obsequies.”[12] Gotum says :

“To a Brahmuneé after the death of her husband, Postcremation is not permitted. But to women of the other classes it is esteemed a chief duty.”[13]

“Living let her benefit her husband ; dying she commits suicide.”[14]

“The woman of the Brahmun tribe that follows her dead husband cannot, on account of her self-destruction, convey either herself or her husband to heaven.”[15]

Concremation and Postcremation being thus established by the words of many sacred lawgivers, how can you say they are forbidden by the Shastrus, and desire to prevent their practice ?

Opponent.—All those passages you have quoted are indeed sacred law ; and it is clear from those authorities, that if women perform Concremation or Postcremation, they will enjoy heaven for a considerable time. But attend to what Munoo and others say respecting the duty of widows ; “Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.”

“Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband.”[16]

Here Munoo directs, that after the death of her husband, the widow should pass her whole life as an ascetic. Therefore, the laws given by Unggira and the others whom you have quoted, being contrary to the law of Munoo, cannot be accepted ; because the Ved declares, “whatever Munoo has said is wholesome ; ”[17] and Virhusputi,¹ “whatever

¹ ‘Vrihusputi’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

"law is contrary to the law of Munoo is not commendable." [18] The Ved especially declares, "by living in the practice of regular and occasional duties the mind may be purified. Thereafter by hearing, reflecting, and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Bruhmu¹ may be attained. Therefore from a desire during life of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed." [19] Munoo, Yagnyuvulkyu, and others, have then, in their respective codes of laws, prescribed to widows the duties of ascetics only. By this passage of the Ved, therefore, and the authority of Munoo and others, the words you have quoted from Unggira and the rest are set aside; for by the express declaration of the former, widows after the death of their husbands may, by living as ascetics, obtain absorption.

Advocate.—What you have said respecting the laws of Unggira and others, that recommended the practice of Concremation and Postcremation, we do not admit: because, though a practice has not been recommended by Munoo, yet, if directed by other lawgivers, it should not on that account be considered as contrary to the law of Munoo. For instance, Munoo directs the performance of Sundhya, but says nothing of calling aloud on the name of Huri; yet Vyas prescribes calling on the name of Huri. The words of Vyas do not contradict those of Munoo. The same should be understood in the present instance. Munoo has commended² widows to live as ascetics; Vishnoo and other saints direct that they should either live as ascetics or follow their husbands. Therefore the law of Munoo may be considered to be applicable as an alternative.

Opponent.—The analogy you have drawn betwixt the practice of Sundhya and invoking Huri, and that of Concremation and Postcremation, does not hold. For, in the course of the day the performance of Sundhya, at the prescribed time, does not prevent one from invoking Huri at another period; and, on the other hand, the invocation

¹ 'Bruhm' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² 'Commanded' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

of Huri need not interfere with the performance of Sundhya. In this case, the direction of one practice is not inconsistent with that of the other. But in the case of living as an ascetic or undergoing Concremation, the performance of the one is incompatible with the observance of the other. *Scil.* Spending one's whole life as an ascetic after the death of a husband, is incompatible with immediate Concremation as directed by Unggira and others; and, *vice versa*, Concremation, as directed by Unggira and others, is inconsistent with living as an ascetic, in order to attain absorption. Therefore those two authorities are obviously contradictory of each other. More especially as Unggira, by declaring that "there is no other way known for a "virtuous woman except ascending the pile of her husband," has made Concremation an indispensable duty. And Hareet also, in his code, by denouncing evil consequences, in his declaration, that "as long as a woman shall not "burn herself after the death of her husband, she shall be "subject to transmigration in a female form," has made this duty absolute. Therefore all those passages are in every respect contradictory to the law of Munoo and others.

Advocate.—When Unggira says that there is no other way for a widow except Concremation, and when Hareet says that the omission of it is a fault, we reconcile their words with those of Munoo, by considering them as used merely for the purpose of exalting the merit of Concremation, but not as prescribing this as an indispensable duty. All these expressions, moreover, convey a promise of reward for Concremation, and thence it appears that Concremation is only optional.

Opponent.—If, in order to reconcile them with the text of Munoo, you set down the words of Unggira and Hareet, that make the duty incumbent, as meant only to convey an exaggerated praise of Concremation, why do you not also reconcile the rest of the words of Unggira, Hareet, and others, with those in which Munoo prescribes to the widow the practice of living as an ascetic as her absolute duty?

And why do you not keep aloof from witnessing the destruction of females, instead of tempting them with the inducement of future fruition? Moreover, in the text already quoted, self-destruction with the view of reward is expressly prohibited.

Advocate.—What you have quoted from Munoo and Yagnyavulkyu and the text of the Ved is admitted. But how can you set aside the following text of the Rig Ved on the subject of Concremation? “O fire! let these women, with “bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes coloured with “collyrium, and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of “water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, “but may be, in unison with excellent husbands, themselves “sinless and jewels amongst women.”[20]

Opponent.—This text of the Ved, and the former passages from Hareet and the rest whom you have quoted, all praise the practice of Concremation as leading to fruition, and are addressed to those who are occupied by sensual desires; and you cannot but admit that to follow these practices is only optional. In repeating the Sunkulpyu¹ of Concremation, the desire of future fruition is declared as the object. The text therefore of the Ved which we have quoted, offering no gratifications, supersedes, in every respect, that which you have adduced, as well as all the words of Unggira and the rest. In proof we quote the text of the Kuthopunishut: “Faith in God which leads to “absorption is one thing; and rites which have future fruition “for their object, another. Each of these, producing differ- “ent consequences, holds out to man inducements to follow “it. The man, who of these two chooses² faith, is blessed; “and he, who for the sake of reward practises rites, is dashed “away from the enjoyment of eternal beatitude.”[21] Also the Moonduk Opunishut: “Rites, of which there are eighteen³ “members, are all perishable: he who considers them as

¹ ‘Sungkalpya’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² ‘Chuses’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ ‘18’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

“the source of blessing shall undergo repeated transmutations ; and all those fools who, immersed in the foolish practice of rites, consider themselves to be wise and learned, are repeatedly subjected to birth, disease, death, and other pains. When one blind man is guided by another, both subject themselves on their way to all kinds of distress.” [22]

It is asserted in the Bhugvut Geeta, the essence of all the Smritis, Poorans, and Itihases,¹ that, “all those ignorant persons who attach themselves to the words of the Veds that convey promises of fruition, consider those falsely alluring passages as leading to real happiness ; and say, that besides them there is no other reality. Agitated in their minds by these desires, they believe the abodes of the celestial gods to be the chief object ; and they devote themselves to those texts which treat of ceremonies and their fruits, and entice by promises of enjoyment. Such people can have no real confidence in the Supreme Being.” [23] Thus also do the Moonduk Opunishut² and the Geeta state that, “the science by which a knowledge of God is attained is superior to all other knowledge.” [24] Therefore it is clear, from those passages of the Ved and of the Geeta, that the words of the Ved which promise fruition, are set aside by the texts of a contrary import. Moreover, the ancient saints and holy teachers, and their commentators, and yourselves, as well as we and all others, agree that Munoo is better acquainted than any other lawgiver with the spirit of the Veds. And he, understanding the meaning of those different texts, admitting the inferiority of that which promised fruition, and following that which conveyed no promise of gratification, has directed widows to spend their lives as ascetics. He has also defined in his 12th chapter, what acts are observed merely for the sake of gratifications, and what are not. “Whatever act is performed for the sake of gratifications in this world or the next is called Pruburttuk, and those which are performed according to the knowledge respecting God, are called Niburttuk. All those who perform

¹ ‘Itihases’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² ‘Opunishut’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

"acts to procure gratifications, may enjoy heaven like the gods ; and he who performs acts free from desires, procures release from the five elements of this body ; that is, obtains absorption." [25]

Advocate.—What you have said is indeed consistent with the Veds, with Munoo, and with the Bhuguvut Geeta. But from this I fear, that the passages of the Veds and other Shastrus, that prescribe Concremation and Postcremation as the means of attaining heavenly enjoyments, must be considered as only meant to deceive.

Opponent.—There is no deception. The object of those passages is declared. As men have various dispositions, those whose minds are enveloped in desire, passion, and cupidity, have no inclination for the disinterested worship of the Supreme Being. If they had no Shastrus of rewards, they would at once throw aside all Shastrus, and would follow their several inclinations, like elephants unguided by the hook. In order to restrain such persons from being led only by their inclinations, the Shastru prescribes various ceremonies ; as Shuenjag for one desirous of the destruction of the enemy ; Pootreshti for one desiring a son ; and Justish-tom for one desiring gratifications in heaven, &c. ; but again reprobates such as are actuated by those desires, and at the same moment expresses contempt for such gratifications. Had the Shastru not repeatedly reprobrated both those actuated by desire and the fruits desired by them, all those texts might be considered as deceitful. In proof of what I have advanced I cite the following text of the Opanishut¹ : "Knowledge and rites together offer themselves to every man. The wise man considers which of these two is the better and which the worse. By reflection, he becomes convinced of the superiority of the former, despises rites, and takes refuge in knowledge. And the unlearned, for the sake of bodily gratification, has recourse to the performance of rites." [26] The Bhuguvut Geeta : "The Veds that treat of rites are for the sake of those who are pos-

¹ 'Oopunishut' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

“sessed of desire ; therefore, O Urjoon ! do thou abstain
“from desires.”[27]

Hear also the text of the Ved reprobatng the fruits of rites : “As in this world the fruits obtained from cultivation
“and labour¹ perish, so in the next world fruits derived from
“rites are perishable.”[28] Also the Bhuguvut Geeta : “All
“those who observe the rites prescribed by the three Veds,
“and through those ceremonies worship me and seek for
“heaven, having become sinless from eating the remains of
“offerings, ascending to heaven, and enjoying the pleasures
“of the gods, after the completion of their rewards, again
“return to earth. Therefore, the observers of rites for the
“sake of rewards, repeatedly ascend to heaven, and return
“to the world, and cannot obtain absorption.”[29]

Advocate.—Though what you have advanced from the Ved and sacred codes against the practice of Concremation and Postcremation, is not to be set aside, yet we have had the practice prescribed by Hareet² and others handed down to us.

Opponent.—Such an argument is highly inconsistent with justice. It is every way improper to persuade to self-destruction, by citing passages of inadmissible authority. In the second place, it is evident from your own authorities, and the Sunkulpu recited in conformity with them, that the widow should voluntarily quit life, ascending the flaming pile of her husband. But, on the contrary, you first bind down the widow along with the corpse of her husband, and then heap over her such a quantity of wood that she cannot rise. At the time too of setting fire to the pile, you press her down with large bamboos. In what passage of Hareet or the rest do you find authority for thus binding the woman according to your practice ? This then is, in fact, deliberate female murder.

Advocate.—Though Hareet and the rest do not indeed authorize³ this practice of binding, &c., yet were a woman after having recited the Sunkulpu not to perform Concre-

¹ ‘labor’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² ‘Hureet’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ ‘authorise’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

mation,¹ it would be sinful, and considered disgraceful by others. It is on this account that we have adopted the custom.

Opponent.—Respecting the sinfulness of such an act, that is mere talk : for in the same codes it is laid down, that the performance of a penance will obliterate the sin of quitting the pile.[30] Or in case of inability to undergo the regular penance, absolution may be obtained by bestowing the value of a cow, or three kahuns of kowries. Therefore the sin is no cause of alarm. The disgrace in the opinion of others is also nothing : for good men regard not the blame or reproach of persons who can reprobate those who abstain from the sinful murder of women. And do you not consider how great is the sin to kill a woman ; therein forsaking the fear of God, the fear of conscience, and the fear of the Shastrus, merely from a dread of the reproach of those who delight in female murder ?

Advocate.—Though tying down in this manner be not authorized by the Shastrus, yet we practise it as being a custom that has been observed throughout Hindoosthan.

Opponent.—It never was the case that the practice of fastening down widows on the pile was prevalent throughout Hindoosthan : for it is but of late years that this mode has been followed, and that only in Bengal, which is but a small part of Hindoosthan. No one besides who has the fear of God and man before him, will assert that male or female murder, theft, &c., from having been long practised,² cease to be vices. If, according to your argument, custom ought to set aside the precepts of the Shastrus, the inhabitants of the forests and mountains who have been in the habits of plunder, must be considered as guiltless of sin, and it would be improper to endeavour to restrain their habits. The Shastrus, and the reasonings connected with them, enable us to discriminate right and wrong. In those Shastrus such female murder is altogether forbidden. And reason also declares, that to bind down a woman for her destruction,

¹ 'cremation' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² 'practiced' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

holding out to her the inducement of heavenly rewards, is a most sinful act.

Advocate.—This practice may be sinful or any thing else, but we will not refrain from observing it. Should it cease, people would generally apprehend that if women did not perform Concremation on the death of their husbands,¹ they might go astray; but if they burn themselves this fear is done away. Their family and relations are freed from apprehension. And if the husband could be assured during his life that his wife would follow him on the pile, his mind would be at ease from apprehensions of her misconduct.

Opponent.—What can be done, if, merely to avoid the possible danger of disgrace, you are unmercifully resolved to commit the sin of female murder. But is there not also a danger of a woman's going astray during the life-time of her husband, particularly when he resides for a long time in a distant country? What remedy then have you got against this cause of alarm?

Advocate.—There is a great difference betwixt the case of the husband's being alive, and of his death; for while a husband is alive, whether he resides near her or at a distance, a wife is under his control; she must stand in awe of him. But after his death that authority ceases, and she of course is divested of fear.

Opponent.—The Shastrus which command that a wife should live under the control of her husband during his life, direct that on his death she shall live under the authority of her husband's family, or else under that of her parental relations; and the Shastrus have authorized² the ruler of the country to maintain the observance of this law. Therefore, the possibility of a woman's going astray cannot be more guarded against during the husband's life than it is after his death. For you daily see, that even while the husband is alive, he gives up his authority, and the wife separates from him. Control alone cannot restrain from evil thoughts, words, and actions; but the

¹ 'husband' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.* ² 'authorised' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

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suggestions of wisdom and the fear of God may cause both man and woman to abstain from sin. Both the Shastrus and experience show this.

Advocate.—You have repeatedly asserted, that from want of feeling we promote female destruction. This is incorrect, for it is declared in our Ved and codes of law, that mercy is the root of virtue, and from our practice of hospitality, &c. our compassionate dispositions are well known.

Opponent.—That in other cases you shew charitable dispositions is acknowledged. But by witnessing from your youth the voluntary burning of women amongst your elder relatives, your neighbours, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and by observing the indifference manifested at the time when the women are writhing under the torture of the flames, habits of insensibility are produced. For the same reason, when men or women are suffering the pains of death, you feel for them no sense of compassion. Like the worshippers of the female deities, who, witnessing from their infancy the slaughter of kids and buffaloes, feel no compassion for them in the time of their suffering death; while followers of Vishnoo are touched with strong feelings of pity.

Advocate.—What you have said I shall carefully consider.

Opponent.—It is to me a source of great satisfaction, that you are now ready to take this matter into your consideration. By forsaking prejudice and reflecting on the Shastru, what is really conformable to its precepts may be perceived, and the evils and disgrace brought on this country by the crime of female murder will cease.

[FINIS]¹

¹ 1st Ed. ends with this word.—*Ed.*

Note :—We consider it desirable to supply the following Sanskrit texts quoted by the author in the original Bengali version but left out in the English translation.

- [1] मृते भर्त्तरि या नारी समारीहेद्धताशनं ।
सारस्वतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलीके महीयते ॥ शुद्धितस्वष्टमङ्गिरावचनम् ।
- [2] तिस्रः कोव्यङ्गकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानवे ।
तावन्पादानि सा स्वर्गे भर्त्तरं यानुगच्छति ॥ ”
- [3] व्यालयाही यथा व्यालं वलादुद्धरते विलात् ।
तद्वत् भर्त्तरमादाय तेनैव सह मोदते ॥ ”
- [4] मातृकं पैविकच्चैव यत्र कन्या प्रदीयते ।
पुनाति विक्रुलं साध्वी भर्त्तरं यानुगच्छति ॥ ”
- [5] तत्र सा भर्त्तृपरमा परा परमलालसा ।
क्रीडते पतिना सार्द्धं यावदिन्द्रायतुर्दृश ॥ ”
- [6] ब्रह्मघ्नीवा कृतघ्नीवा मितघ्नीवापि मानवः ।
तं वै पुनाति नारी इत्यङ्गिरसभाषितम् ॥ ”
- [7] साध्वीनामेव नारीणामग्निप्रपतनादृते ।
नान्यो हि धर्मो विज्ञेयी मृते भर्त्तरि कश्चित् ॥
- [8] पतिव्रता सम्प्रदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनं ।
तत्र चित्वाङ्गदधरं भर्त्तरं सान्त्वयत्यत ॥
- [9] यावद्वाग्नी मृते पत्यौ स्त्री नात्मानं प्रदाहयेत् ।
तावन्न मुच्यते सा हि स्त्रीशरीरात् कथञ्चन ॥
- [10] मृते भर्त्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारीहणम् ॥ शुद्धितस्वष्टतं विष्णुवचनम् ।
- [11] देशान्तरमृते पत्यौ साध्वी तत्पादुकाङ्घ्र्यं ।
निधायोरसि संशुद्धा प्रविशिञ्जातवेदसम् ॥ शुद्धितस्वष्टतं ब्रह्मपुराणवचनम् ।
- [12] ऋग्वेदवादात् साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मघातिनी ।
वाहाशौचे निवृत्ते तु श्राद्धं प्राप्नोति शास्त्रवत् ॥
शुद्धितस्वष्टतं ब्रह्मपुराणवचनम् ।
- [13] मृतानुमरणं नास्ति ब्राह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनात् ।
इतरेषु तु वर्षेषु तपः परममुच्यते ॥
- [14] जीवन्ती तद्धितं कुर्यान्मरणादात्मघातिनी ॥
- [15] या स्त्री ब्राह्मणजातीया मृतं पतिमनुब्रजेत् ।
सा स्वर्गमात्मघातेन नात्मानं न पतिं नयेत् ॥
- [16] कामन्तु चपयिद्देहं पुष्पमूलफलैः शुभैः ।
न तु नामापि गृह्णीयात् पत्यौ मृते परस्य तु ॥
भासीतामरणात् चान्ता नियता ब्रह्मचारिणी ।
यो धर्मं एकपतीनानां काङ्क्षन्ती तमनुत्तमम् ॥

- [17] यत् किञ्चान्तरवदन्तुं शक्यम् । तैत्तिरीय संहिता २।१०।
- [18] मन्वथविपरीता या सा स्मितं प्रयासते ॥
- [19] तस्माद् ई न प्रारिष्य; स्वःकामो भूयादिति ॥
- [20] इमा चारौरविषयाः सुपदीवाञ्छीन सर्षिषा मन्विशन्मन्थवा श्वनीवा
- [21] सुरवा चारौरव्ये यामयो ॥ श्रुतिनखधत्तं सप्तदशवर्षम् ।
- [21] श्वान्कृद्गोन्व्यदृतेषु प्रयत्ने च स गान्धर्वे पुरुषं विनीतः ।
- [21] तयोः श्रुयथादंनस्य साधु भवति शैत्यतेऽर्थाद् यत् प्रयो वृत्तौते ।
- (कठ, १ म अ २ व १ श्लोक)
- [22] प्रयासते श्वदंनं यत्रापि श्वदंनोक्तमन्वत् श्रेष्ठ कर्मम् ।
- [22] एतच्छ्रेयो श्रेष्ठमिन्द्रलेन श्रुतं जगत्सर्वं ते पुनरेवापि यत्नः ।
- [22] श्रुतिव्यापानानन्तरं वृत्तानामाः स्वयं शौराः परित्यजन्मन्थवाः ।
- [23] जन्मकालाः परित्यजन्म श्रुतं श्वदंनं व जीयमाना यथाशक्तः ॥ सूत्रक १, २, ७
- [23] यानिमां पूर्णवती वाच मन्वन्तविपत्तिभ्यः ।
- [23] श्वदंनदत्ताः पशुं गन्धर्दकीतिवार्तिनः ॥
- [23] कामान्नामः स्वर्गोपरः जन्मकर्मोक्तमन्वत् ।
- [23] किमपि श्वदंनमन्वत् श्रुतं श्वदंनमन्वत् प्रति ॥
- [23] श्रुतिश्रुत्युपसक्तानां तद्यथाशक्तं वृत्तवत् ।
- [24] व्यक्त्यापानिकां बुद्धिः स्वर्गार्थं न विधीयते ॥ शौता २ अ ४२—४४ ।
- [24] 'यथा तदन्वयमपिवाच्यते' इत्यादि । 'श्वान्नाविद्या विद्याना' । शौता १०।३२
- [25] इह श्रुतं वा काव्यं प्रवृत्तं कर्म कर्तव्यं । निष्कर्मं यानपूर्वकं
- [25] निवृत्तमपिदृश्यते ॥ प्रवृत्तं कर्म संश्लेष्य देवानामिति साधितं । निवृत्तं
- [26] श्रेयमानस्य श्रेयान्त्वित्येति पक्षे च ॥
- [26] श्रुयश्च प्रयश्च श्वदंनमन्वत्सु मन्वन्तु विनिर्दिष्टा शौराः ।
- [26] श्रुतौ हि श्रुतिश्रुत्युपसक्तौ वृत्तौते प्रयो मन्वन्तौ यामञ्छेत्प्राप्तौते ॥
- (कठ, १ म अ २ व २ श्लोक)
- [27] तैत्तिरीयविषया वेदा निवृत्तौ भवार्जुन ॥ शौता २ अ ४५
- [28] इह कर्माविपरीता लोकाः शौचते एवमेवमिन्द्र पुण्यविपरीता लोकाः शौचते । अः, ८।१६
- [29] वैविद्या यां शौचपाः; पुनरुपाया यद्वातिरुद्धा स्वर्गितं प्रयत्नते । ते पुण्यमानस्य
- [29] श्रुत्युत्तरीकमथश्रुतं दिव्यं दिव तदेवमेवात्न ॥ ते न भुञ्जन् स्वर्गलोकां
- [29] विद्याते शौचं पुण्यं सर्वलोकां विद्याते । एवं शौचकर्ममपिपुनरुपाया गान्धाः
- [30] कामकामां चामते ॥ शौता २।२०
- [30] विनिवृत्तं च या गान्धी शौचविषयिता भवेत् ।
- [30] यानिपयत्ने तस्मिन् प्रवृत्तं प्रवृत्तं ॥ श्रुतिनखधत्तं सापत्न्यवर्षवर्षम् ।

A
SECOND CONFERENCE
BETWEEN
AN ADVOCATE FOR,¹ AND AN OPPONENT OF,
THE PRACTICE OF
BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE.²

CALCUTTA,³
1820.

¹ 'For' omitted in the 1st Ed.—*Ed.*

² The 1st Ed. adds :

'TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL BENGALEE.'—*Ed.*

³ The 1st Ed. adds : 'PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION
PRESS,—CIRCULAR ROAD'—*Ed.*

To
THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARCHIONESS OF HASTINGS,
COUNTESS OF LOUDOUN, &c. &c.

The following tract, being a translation of a Bengalee Essay, published some time ago, as an appeal to reason in behalf of humanity, I take the liberty to dedicate to Your Ladyship ; for to whose protection can any attempt to promote a benevolent purpose be with so much propriety committed ?

I have the honour to remain, with the greatest respect,

YOUR LADYSHIP'S

Most obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR.

February 26, 1820.

ON CONCREMATION ;

A SECOND CONFERENCE BETWEEN AN ADVOCATE AND
AN OPPONENT OF THAT PRACTICE.

Advocate.—UNDER the title of Vidhayuk, or Preceptor, I have offered an answer to your former arguments. That, no doubt, you have attentively perused. I now expect your reply.

Opponent.—I have well considered the answer that, after the lapse of nearly twelve months, you have offered. Such parts of your answer as consist merely of a repetition of passages already quoted by us, require no further observations now. But as to what you have advanced in opposition to our arguments and to the Shastrus, you will be pleased to attend to my reply.

In the first place, at the bottom of your 4th page you have given a particular interpretation to the following words of Vishnoo, the lawgiver :¹ "After the death of her husband a woman shall become an ascetic, or ascend the funeral pile,"² implying that either alternative is optional. To this, you say, eight objections are found in the Shastrus, therefore one of the alternatives must be preferred : that is to say, the woman who is unable to ascend the flaming pile shall live as an ascetic. This you maintain is the true interpretation ; and in proof you have cited the words of the Skundu Pooran and of Ungira. I answer : In every country all persons observe this rule, that meanings are to be inferred from the words used. In this instance the text of Vishnoo is comprised in five words : 1st, Mrite, "on death," 2d, bhurturi, "of a husband ;" 3d, bruhmuchuryum, "asceticism ;" 4th, tudunwarohunum, "ascending his pile ;" 5th, va, "or".

¹ The 1st Ed. inserts "दत्ते भर्तुरि ब्रह्मचर्यं" तदन्वारीहणं वा. 'Mrite bhurturi bruhmuchuryum tudunwarohunum va' meaning"—*Ed.*

² The 1st Ed. inserts 'and'—*Ed.*

That is, "on the death of a husband, *his widow should* "become an ascetic, or ascend his pile." It appears, therefore, from asceticism being mentioned first in order, that this is the most pious conduct for a widow to follow. But your interpretation, that this alternative is only left for widows who are unable to ascend the flaming pile, can by no means be deduced from the words of the text; nor have any of the expounders of the Shastrus so expressed themselves.

For instance, the author of the *Metakshura*, whose authority is always to be revered, and whose words you have yourself quoted as authority in p. 27, has thus decided on the subject of Concremation: "The widow who is not "desirous of final beatitude, but who wishes only for a "limited term of a small degree of future fruition, is authorized¹ to accompany her husband."²

The *Smurtu*³ Bhattacharjyu (Rhughoo Nundun, the modern law commentator of Bengal) limited the words of Ungira, that "besides Concremation there is no other pious course "for a widow," by the authority of the foregoing text of Vishnoo; and authorized the alternative of a widow living as an ascetic, or dying with her husband; explaining the words of Ungira as conveying merely the exaggerated praise of Concremation.

Secondly. From the time that Shastrus have been written in Sungskrit, no author or man of learning has ever asserted, as you have done, that the person who, desirous of the enjoyments of heaven, is unable to perform the rites leading

¹ 'authorised' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

²The Sanskrit texts which occur in the foot-notes were quoted in Bengali characters in the 1st Ed. but omitted in the 2nd (London, 1832). The punctuation and spelling of the 1st Ed. have been strictly followed.

अतश्चमीक्षमनिच्छन्त्या अनित्याल्पसुखरूपस्वर्गार्थिभ्या,
अनुगमनं युक्तमितरकाय्यानुष्ठानवदिति सर्व्वसनवनदां.—*Ed.*

³ 'Smartu' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

to fruition, may devote himself to the attainment of final beatitude. On the contrary, the Shastrus uniformly declare that those who are unable to pursue final beatitude, may perform rites, but without desire ; and persons of the basest minds, who do not desire eternal beatitude, may even perform rites for the sake of their fruits.

As Vusishthu declares : ¹ "The person who does not exert himself to acquire that knowledge of God which leads to final absorption, may perform ceremonies without expectation of reward."

² "To encourage and improve those ignorant persons, who, looking only to pleasure, cannot distinguish betwixt what is God and not God, the Srooti has promised rewards."

Bhuguvud Geeta, ³

"If you are unable to acquire by degrees divine knowledge, be diligent in performing works with a view to please me, that by such works you may acquire a better state. If you are unable even to perform rites solely for my sake, then, controlling your senses, endeavour to perform rites without the desire of fruition."

Therefore, to give the preference to self-immolation, or to the destruction of others, for the sake of future reward, over asceticism, which gives a prospect of eternal beatitude, is to treat with contempt the authorities of the Veds, the Vedant, and other Durshuns, as well as of the Bhuguvud Geeta and many others. As the Ved

¹ यस्मै न रीचते ज्ञानं अध्यात्मं मीक्षसाधनं,
ईषा (शा ?) र्पितेन चित्तेन यजेन्निष्कामकर्मणा.

² मूढानां भोगदृष्टीनां आत्मानात्माविवेकिनां,
रुचये चाधिकाराय विदधाति फलं श्रुतिः.

³ अथःसिष्यसमर्थीसि मत्कर्मपरमी भव,
सदर्थमपि कर्मणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्ससि.
अथैतदप्यशक्तोसि कर्तुं मद्योगमाश्रितः,
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान्.

says : ¹ "Knowledge and rites both offer themselves to man ;
"but he who is possessed of wisdom, taking their respective
"natures into serious consideration, distinguishes one from
"the other, and chooses faith, despising fruition ; while a
"fool, for the sake of advantage and enjoyment, accepts
"the offer of rites."

Without entirely rejecting the authority of the Geeta, the essence of all Shastras, no one can praise rites performed for the sake of fruition, nor recommend them to others ; for nearly half of the Bhuguvud Geeta is filled with the dispraise of such works, and with the praise of works performed without desire of fruition. A few of those passages have been quoted in the former conference, and a few others are here given.²

"Works performed, except for the sake of God, only
"entangle the soul. Therefore, O Urjoon, forsaking desire,
"perform works with the view to please God."

"The person who performs works without desire of
"fruition, directing his mind to God, obtains eternal rest.
"And the person who is devoted to fruition, and performs
"works with desire, he is indeed inextricably involved."

¹ श्रेयश्च प्रियश्च मनुष्यमेतस्मै

संपरीत्य विविनक्ति धीरः.

श्रेयोहि धीरीह (ऽ ?) मिप्रियसो वृणीते,

प्रयो मन्दो वीगच्छेमादृवनी (णी ?) ते.

² यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकीयं कर्मवत्सुतः,

तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर १

युक्तः कर्मफलं त्यक्त्वा शान्तिमाप्नोति नैष्ठिकीं,

अयुक्तः कामकारणे फले शक्नोति विवर्धते. २

दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनञ्चय,

बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ क्लमसाः फलहेतवः. ३

एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च,

कर्त्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमं. ४

“Oh, Urjoon, rites performed for the sake of fruition are degraded far below works done without desire, which lead to the acquisition of the knowledge of God. Therefore perform thou works without desire of fruition, with the view of acquiring divine knowledge. Those who perform works for the sake of fruition are most debased.”

“It is my firm opinion, that works are to be performed, forsaking their consequences, and the prospect of their fruits.”

The Geeta is not a rare work, and you are not unacquainted with it. Why then do you constantly mislead women, unacquainted with the Shastrus, to follow a debased path, by holding out to them as temptations the pleasures of futurity, in defiance of all the Shastrus, and merely to please the ignorant ?

You have said, that eight objections are to be found in the Shastrus to the optional alternative deduced from the works of Vishnoo. To this I reply, First. To remove an imaginary difficulty, a violation of the obvious interpretation of words, whose meaning is direct and consistent, is altogether inadmissible. Secondly. Former commentators, finding no such objection to the interpretation given to the words of Vishnoo, as allowing the optional alternative of asceticism or concremation, have given the preference to asceticism. The author of the Metakshura, quoting this text of Vishnoo in treating of Concremation, makes no allusion to such an objection, but finally declares in favour of asceticism.

Thirdly. Even allowing an optional alternative to be liable to the eight objections, former authors have on many occasions admitted such an alternative. For example ¹ :—

Srooti. “Oblations are to be made of wheat or of barley.” But the meaning of this is not, according to your mode of interpretation, “That if it cannot be made of barley, an offering is to be made of wheat.” ²

“Burnt offering is to be made at sunrise or before

¹ श्रुतिः. ब्रौह्मिभिर्यजेत यवैर्यजेत.

² श्रुतिः. उदिते जुहोति अगुदिते जुहोति.

“sunrise.” In this instance your mode of explanation may be applied ; but no authors have ever given such an interpretation, but all have admitted the alternative to be optional.

स्मृतिः. उपासीत जगन्नाथं शिवम्वा जगतां गुरुं. ¹

Here also, according to your opinion, the meaning would be, that if you cannot worship Shivu you should worship Vishnoo. But no authors have ever given such an interpretation to those words, and to give more or less worship to Shivu than to Vishnoo is quite contrary to the decision of all the Shastrus.

Fourthly.—The following text has also been quoted by you in opposition to the optional alternative in question, taken as you assert from the Skundu Pooran ² :—

“On the death of her husband, if by chance a woman “is unable to perform Concremation, nevertheless she should “preserve the virtue required of widows. If she cannot “preserve that virtue, she must descend to hell.” To confirm this text you have quoted the words of Ungira ³ :

“There is no other pious course for a widow besides “Concremation ;” which you have interpreted, that “for a “widow there is no other course so pious.”

I answer, the words of Ungira are express, that there is no other pious course for a widow than Concremation. And the Smartu commentator, having thus interpreted the text, in reconciling it with the words of Vishnoo already quoted, declares, that it conveys merely exaggerated praise of Concremation.

But you, in opposition to the true meaning of the expression and to the interpretation given by the Smartu commentator, have explained those words to suit your own argu-

¹ The 2nd Ed. omits this Sanskrit text. It has been inserted from the 1st Ed. as being necessary for the understanding of what follows.—*Ed.*

² अनुयाति न भर्तारं यदि देवात् कथञ्चन,
तथापि शीलं संरक्ष्यं शीलभङ्गात् प्रतत्यधः.

³ नाभ्योहि धर्माविज्ञेयोमते भर्तारि कर्हिचित्.

ment, that there is no other course more pious than that of Concremation. Perverting thus the meaning of the Shastrus, what benefit do you propose by promoting the destruction of feeble woman, by holding up the temptation of enjoyments in a future state? This I am at a loss to understand.

If the passage you have quoted from the Skundu Pooran really exist, the mode in which the Smartu commentator has explained the words of Ungira ("there is no other virtuous "course,") must be applied to those of the Skundu Pooran, *viz.* that the text of the Skundu Pooran which contradicts Munoo, Vishnu,¹ and others, is to be understood as merely conveying exaggerated praise; because, to exalt Concremation, which leads to future enjoyments that are treated as despicable by the Opunishuds of the Veds and Smriti, and by the Bhuguvud Geeta, above asceticism, in which the mind may be purified by the performance of works, without desire that may lead to eternal beatitude, is every way inadmissible, and in direct opposition to the opinions maintained by ancient authors and commentators².

SECTION II.

In the latter end of the 7th page you have admitted, that the sayings of Ungira, Vishnoo, and Hareet, on the subject of Concremation, are certainly at variance with those of Munoo; but assert, that any law given by Munoo, when contradicted by several other lawgivers, is to be considered annulled:—therefore, his authority in treating of the duties of widows is not admissible, on account of the discord existing between it and passages of Hareet, and Vishnoo, and others. With a view to establish this position you have advanced three arguments—the first of them is, that Vrihusputi says, "whatever law is contrary to the "law of Munoo, is not commendable;" in which the nomi-

¹ 'Vishnoo' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² 'END OF SECTION FIRST'. (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

native case, "whatever law," as being used in the singular number, signifies, that in case laws, given by a single person, stand in opposition to those of Munoo, they are not worthy of reverence ; but if several persons differ from Munoo in any certain point, his authority must be set aside. I reply, it has been the invariable practice of ancient and modern authors, to explain all texts of law so as to make them coincide with the law of Munoo ; they in no instance declare that the authority of Munoo is to be set aside, in order to admit that of any other lawgiver. But you have, on the contrary, set aside the authority of Munoo, on the ground of inconsistency with the words of two or three other authors. In this you not only act contrary to the practice of all commentators, but moreover, in direct opposition to the authority of the Ved : for the Ved declares, "whatever Munoo lays down, that is commendable ;"¹ which text you have yourself quoted in p. 7. And as to what you have said respecting the words of Vrihusputi as being in the singular number, and therefore only applicable to a case in which Munoo is opposed by only one lawgiver, it is obvious that the word "whatever," being a general term, includes every particular case falling under it ; and therefore his law must be followed, whatever number of authors there may be who lay down a different direction. And the reason of this is expressed in the former part of the verse of Vrihusputi, that "Munoo has "in his work collected the meaning of the Veds." From this it follows, that whatever law is inconsistent with the code of Munoo, which is the substance of the Ved, is really inconsistent with the Ved itself, and therefore inadmissible. Admitting the justice of your explanation of Vrihusputi's text, that the authority of any individual lawgiver, who is inconsistent with Munoo, must be set aside ; but that when several authorities coincide in laying down any rule inconsistent with his law, they are to be followed ; one might

¹ श्रुतिः. यत् किञ्चनमुरवदत्तहै मेषजं.

on the same principle give a new explanation to the following text¹ :—

“The person who attempts to strike a Brahmun goes to the hell called Sutnuyat, or of a hundred punishments ; and he who actually strikes a Brahmun, goes to the hell of Suhusruyat, or a thousand punishments.”

Here, also, the noun in the nominative case, and that in the accusative case also, are both in the singular number ; therefore, according to your exposition, where two or three persons concur in beating a Brahmun, or where a man beats two or three Brahmuns, there is no crime committed. There are many similar instances of laws, the force of which would be entirely frustrated by your mode of interpretation.

You have argued in the second place, that the practice of Concremation is authorized by a text of the Rig² Ved, and consequently the authority of Munoo is superseded by a higher authority. I reply : in the 12th line of the 9th page of your tract, you have quoted and interpreted a text of the Veds, expressing that “the mind may be purified so as to seek a knowledge of God from which absorption may accrue, by the performance of the daily and occasional ceremonies, without the desire of fruition ; therefore, while life may be preserved, it ought not to be destroyed.” With this then and all similar texts, there is the most evident concord with the words of Munoo. Notwithstanding your admission to this effect, you assert that the authority of the Veds contradicts the declaration of Munoo. From the text already quoted,³ “that whatever Munoo has declared is to be accepted,” it follows that there can be no discrepancy between Munoo and the Ved. But there is certainly an apparent inconsistency between the text quoted from the ceremonial part of the Rig² Ved

¹ श्रुतिः.. यो ब्राह्मणायावगुरेत्तं श्रुतेन,
यातयात् योनिहन्त्यात् तं सहस्रेण, इति.

² ‘Rik’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ श्रुतिः.. यत्किञ्चिन्मनुरवदत्तहै भेषजं,

authorizing Concremation, and that above quoted from the spiritual parts of the Ved, to which the celebrated Munoo has given the preference ; well aware that such parts of the Ved are of more authority than the passages relating to debased ceremonies. He has accordingly directed widows to live, practising austerities. The text of the Rig¹ Ved, of course, remains of force to those ignorant wretches who are fettered with the desire of fruition, which debars them from the hope of final beatitude. This too has been acknowledged by yourself, in p. II. l. 17,² and was also fully considered in the first Conference, p. 13, line 18. You cannot but be aware too, that when there is a doubt respecting the meaning of any text of the Ved, that interpretation which has been adopted by Munoo, is followed by both ancient and modern authors. In the Bhuvishyu Pooran, Muhadev gave instructions for the performance of a penance for wilfully slaying a Brahmun ; but observing that this was at variance with the words of Munoo, which declare that there is no expiation for wilfully killing a Brahmun, he does not set aside the text of Munoo founded on the Veds by his own authority, but explains the sense in which it is to be accepted.³ “The object of the declaration “of Munoo, that there is no expiation for the wilful murder “of a Brahmun, was the more absolute prohibition of the “crime ; or it may be considered as applicable to Kshutrees, “and the other tribes.” The great Muhadev, then, did not venture to set aside the words of Munoo, but you have proposed to set up the texts of Hareet and Ungira as of superior authority.

Thirdly.—You have quoted, with the view of doing away with the authority of Munoo, the text of Juemini, signifying

¹ ‘Rik’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² ‘line 17th’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ कामतो ब्राह्मणवधे यदेतन्मनुनोदितं,
एकान्ततो विप्रवधवर्जनाय (यं ?) सुदीरितं.
यद्वा च्वादिविषयमेतद्वै वचनं विदुः.

that if there be a difference of opinion respecting a subject, then the decision of the greater number must be adopted ; and therefore, as the authority of Munoo, in the present instance, is at variance with several writers, it must yield to theirs. I reply ; it is apparent that this text, as well as common sense, only dictates, that where those who differ in opinion are equal in point of authority, the majority ought to be followed ; but if otherwise, this text is not applicable to the case. Thus the authority of the Ved, though single, cannot be set aside by the concurrent authorities of a hundred lawgivers ; and in like manner the authority of Munoo, which is derived immediately from the Ved, cannot be set aside by the contradicting authorities of the others either singly or collectively. Moreover, if Ungira, Hareet, Vishnoo, and Vyas, authorized widows to choose¹ the alternative of Concremation, or of living as ascetics ; on the other hand, besides Munoo, Yugnyuvulkyu, Vusishthu, and several other lawgivers have prescribed asceticism only. Why, therefore, despising the authorities of Munoo and others, do you persist in encouraging weak women to submit to murder, by holding out to them the temptations of future pleasures in heaven ?²

SECTION III.

THE quotation from the Moonduk Opunishud and the Bhuguvud Geeta, which we quoted in our first conference, to shew the light in which rites should be held, you have repeated ; and have also quoted some texts of the Veds directing the performance of certain rites, such as,³

“He who desires heavenly fruition shall perform the “sacrifice of a horse.”—In page 17, you have given your final conclusion on the subject to this effect : “That

¹ ‘Chuse’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² ‘END OF THE SECOND SECTION’, (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ श्रुतिः स्वर्गकामोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत,

“rites are not prohibited, but that pious works performed “without desire are preferable to works performed for the “sake of fruition ; and he also who performs those works “without desire, is superior to him who performs works “for the sake of fruition.”—If then works without desire are acknowledged by you to be superior to works with desire of fruition, why do you persuade widows to perform works for the sake of fruition, and do not recommend to them rather to follow asceticism, by which they may acquire eternal beatitude ? And with respect to your assertion, that “rites “are not prohibited,” this is inconsistent with the Shastrus ; for if all the texts of the Veds and lawgivers, prohibiting rites, were to be quoted, they would fill a large volume : (of these a few have been already quoted by me in pp. 5 and 6.) —There are indeed Shastrus directing the performance of rites for the sake of fruition, but these are acknowledged to be of less authority than those which prohibit such rites ; as is proved by the following text from the Moonduk Opunishud¹ : “Shastrus are of two sorts, superior and inferior ; “of these the superior are those by which the Eternal God is “approached.”

In the Bhuguvud Geeta Krishna says² : “Amongst “Shastrus, I am those which treat of God.”

In the Sree Bhaguvut is the following text³ : “Ill-minded “persons, not perceiving that the object of the Ved is to “direct us to absorption, call the superficially tempting “promises of rewards their principal fruit ; but such as know “the Veds thoroughly do not hold this opinion.”

The passages directing works for the sake of fruition are therefore adapted only for the most ignorant. Learned men

¹ ‘Oopunishud :—

हे विद्वेद वेदितव्ये परा चैवापरा च,
अथ परा यथा तदक्षरमधिगम्यते.’ (1st Ed.) - *Ed.*

² अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां.

³ एवं व्यवसितं केचिद्विज्ञाय कुतश्चयः,
फलश्रुतिं कुशमितां न वेदन्ना वदन्ति हि.

should endeavour to withdraw all those ignorant persons from works performed with desire, but should never, for the sake of profit, attempt to drown them in the abyss of passion. Rughoo Nundun quotes and adopts the following words¹ : "Learned men should not persuade the ignorant "to perform rites for the sake of fruition ; for it is written in "the Pooran, that he who knows the path to eternal happi- "ness will not direct the ignorant to perform works with "desire, as the good physician refuses to yield to the appetite "of his patient for injurious food."²

SECTION IV.

IN p. 17, l. 13, of your treatise, you have said, that the Shastru does not admit that widows, in giving up the use of oil, and betel, and sexual pleasures, &c. as ascetics, perform works without desire, and acquire absorption. And for this you advance two proofs : the first, that it appears that Munoo directs that a widow should continue till death as an ascetic, *aiming* to practise the incomparable rules of virtue that have been followed by such women as were devoted to only one husband. From the word *aiming*, it follows, that the duties of an ascetic, to be practised by widows, are of the nature of those performed with desire. Secondly, From the subsequent words of Munoo it appears, that those widows who live austere lives ascend to heaven like ascetics from their youth ; therefore, from the words ascending to heaven, it is obvious that the austerities that may be performed by them are for reward. I reply ; I am surprised at your assertion, that austerities practised by widows cannot be considered as performed without desire, and leading to absorption ; for whether austerities or any

¹ पण्डितेनापि सुखं कामिकर्मणि न प्रवर्त्तयितव्यः, भागवते,
स्वयं निःश्रेयसं विद्वान् न वक्तव्याय कर्म हि,
न राति रीगिणे पथा वाञ्छातपि भिषक्तमः

² 'END OF THE THIRD SECTION'. (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

other kind of acts be performed with desire or without desire, must depend on the mind of the agent. Some may follow asceticism or other practices for the sake of heavenly enjoyments, while others, forsaking desire of fruition, may perform them, and at length acquire final beatitude. Therefore, if a widow practise austerities without the desire of fruition, and yet her acts are asserted to be with desire of fruition, this amounts to a setting at defiance both experience and the Shastras, in a manner unworthy of a man of learning like yourself. As to what you have observed respecting the word *aiming* in the text of Munoo, it never can be inferred from the use of that word, that the asceticism of widows must necessarily be with desire; for with the object of final beatitude, we practise the acquisition of the knowledge of God, which no Shastru nor any of the learned has ever classed amongst works performed with desire of fruition. For no man possessed of understanding performs any movement of mind or body without an object: it is those works only, therefore, that are performed for the sake of corporeal enjoyments, either in the present or in a future state of existence, that are said to be with desire, and that are, as such, prohibited, as Munoo defines¹: "Whatever act is performed for the sake of gratifications in this world or the next is called Pruberttuk²; and those which are performed according to the knowledge of God are called Niburttuk."

As to your second argument, that widows leading an ascetic life are rewarded by a mansion in heaven, I reply; that from these words it does not appear that austerities should necessarily be reckoned amongst works performed for reward; for a mansion in heaven is not granted to those alone who perform works with desire, but also to those who endeavour to acquire a knowledge of God, but come short of attaining it in this life. They must after death remain

¹ इह वासुव वा कास्यं प्रवृत्तं कर्म कीर्त्तते,
निष्कामं ज्ञानपूर्व्वन्तु निवृत्तमुपदिश्यते ;

² 'Pruburttuk' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

for a long time in the heaven called the Brumhulok, and again assume a human form, until they have, by perfecting themselves in divine knowledge, at length obtained absorption. The Bhuguvud Geeta says distinctly¹ :

“A man whose devotions have been broken off by death, “having enjoyed for an immensity of years the rewards of “his virtues in the regions above, at length is born again in “some holy and respectable family.” Koollook² Bhuttu, the commentator on Munoo, says expressly, in his observations on the text of his author, that those ascetic widows ascend to heaven like Sunuk Balukhilyu and other devotees from their youth. By this, it is clearly shewn, that those widows ascend to heaven in the same way as those pious devotees who have already acquired final beatitude, which can only be attained by works performed without desire. And hence the austerities of widows must be reckoned amongst works without desire.³

SECTION V.

IN page 18, you have asserted that a widow who undergoes Concremation⁴ has a higher reward than she who lives as a devotee ; for the husband of the woman who performs Concremation, though guilty of the murder of a Brahmun, or of ingratitude or treachery towards a friend, has his sins, by her act, expiated, and is saved from hell, and her husband's, her father's, and her mother's progenitors, are all beatified, and she herself is delivered from female form.—I reply, you have stated in page 27, commencing at the 3d line, that works without desire are preferable to those performed for

¹ प्राप्य पुन्यकृतां लोकानुषित्वा शश्वतीः समाः,
शचीनां श्रीमतां गेहे योगभृष्टीभिजायते ;

² ‘Koollook’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ ‘END OF THE FOURTH SECTION’. (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁴ ‘Cremation’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

the sake of fruition ; while here again you say, that Concre-
 mation is preferable to asceticism. You have, however,
 assigned as a reason for your new doctrine, that Concrema-
 tion saves progenitors as well as the husband. I have
 already shewn, that such promises of reward are merely held
 out to the most ignorant, in order to induce them to follow
 some kind of religious observance, and to withdraw from evil
 conduct. Therefore, to prefer works performed with a desire
 of fruition, to works without desire, merely on the ground of
 such exaggerated promises, is contrary to all the Shastrus. If,
 in defiance of all the Shastrus, you maintain that such promi-
 ses of reward are to be understood literally, and not merely
 as incitements, still there can be no occasion for so harsh a
 sacrifice, so painful to mind and body, as burning a person
 to death in order to save their (her ?) lines of progenitors ;
 for, by making an offering of one ripe plantain to Shivu, or a
 single flower of Kurubeer, either to Shivu or to Vishnoo,
 thirty millions of lines of progenitors may be saved.¹

“He, who maketh an oblation of a single ripe plantain to
 “Shivu, shall with thirty millions of races of progenitors
 “ascend to the heaven of Shivu.”

² “By presenting a single Kurubeer, white or not white, to
 “Vishnoo or Shivu, thirty millions of races of progenitors are
 “exalted to heaven.”

Nor is there any want of promise of reward to those who
 perform works without desire. In fact, rather more abundant
 rewards are held out for such works than those you can
 quote for the opposite practice.³ “Those who have acquired
 “knowledge in the prescribed mode can, by mere volition,
 “save any number of progenitors ; and all the gods offer wor-

¹ एकं मीचाफलं पक्वं यः शिवाय निवेदयेत्,
 त्रिकोटिकुलसंयुक्तः शिवलोके महीयते.

² एकैव करवीरेण सतिनाप्यसितेन वा,
 ह्रिं वा हरमभ्यर्च्य (चं ?) त्रिकोटिकुलमुद्धरेत्.

³ सङ्ख्यादेवास्य पितरः समुत्तिष्ठन्ति,
 सर्वे देवा अस्मै बलिमाह्वरन्ति.

“ship to the devotees of the Supreme Being.” A volume filled with texts of this kind might be easily written. Moreover, should even the least part of any ceremony performed for reward be omitted or mistaken, the fruits are destroyed, and evil is produced. But there is no bad consequence from a failure in works performed without desire, for the completion of these, even in part, is advantageous. In proof I quote the Bhuguvud Geeta¹ : “Works without desire, if only commenced, are never without advantage ; and if any member be defective, evil consequences do not ensue, as in works performed with desire. And the performance of even a small portion of a work without desire brings safety.”

There is evidently a possibility of a failure in some portion of the rites of Concremation or Postcremation, particularly in the mode in which you perform the ceremony contrary to the directions of the Shastrus. What connection is there betwixt that mode and the enjoyment of temporary heavenly gratifications—a mode which only subjects the widow to the consequences of a violent death !²

SECTION VI.

Again in p. 17, l. 3, you admit it to be more commendable for a widow to attend to the acquisition of knowledge than to die by Concremation ; but afterwards, in order to persuade them to the practice of Concremation, and to prevent them from pursuing the acquisition of knowledge, you observe, that women are naturally prone to pleasure, are extremely devoted to works productive of fruits, and are always subject to their passions. To persuade such persons to forsake Concremation, in order to attempt the acquisition

¹ नेहाभि (ति ?) क्रमनाशीति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते,
स्वल्पस्यस्य धर्मस्य वायते महती भयात् .

² ‘END OF THE FIFTH SECTION’. (1st Ed.)—Ed.

of knowledge, is to destroy their hopes in both ways. In support of your opinion you have quoted the Geeta¹ : "Those ignorant persons who are devoted to works ought not to be dissuaded from performing them."

I reply ; your object in persuading women to burn themselves may now be distinctly perceived ; you consider women, even of respectable classes, as prone to pleasure, and always subject to their passions ; and therefore you are apprehensive lest they should lose both prospects of hope, by giving up Concremation, and attempting to acquire knowledge. For this reason you lead them to the destruction of their lives, by holding out to them the temptation of future reward. It is very certain that all mankind, whether male or female, are endowed with a mixture of passions ; but by study of the Shastrus, and frequenting the society of respectable persons, those passions may be gradually subdued, and the capability of enjoying an exalted state may be attained. We ought, therefore, to endeavour to withdraw both men and women from debased sensual pleasures, and not to persuade them to die with the hope of thereby obtaining sensual enjoyments, by which, after a certain period of gratification, they are again immersed in the pollutions of the womb, and subjected to affliction. The Shastrus have directed those men or women, who seek after a knowledge of God, to hear and reflect upon his doctrine, that they may escape from the grievous pain of this world ; and they have also prescribed daily and occasional rites to be performed without the hope of reward by those who do not seek after divine knowledge, in order that their minds may be purified, and prepared to receive that knowledge. We, therefore, in conformity with the Shastru, make it our endeavour to dissuade widows from desiring future base and fleeting enjoyments, and encourage them to the acquisition of that divine knowledge which leads to final beatitude. Widows, therefore, by leading an ascetic life in the

¹ न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मासङ्गिनां, इति.

performance of duties without desire, may purify their minds and acquire divine knowledge, which may procure for them final beatitude. And consequently there is no reason why they should lose both objects of future hope by forsaking Concremation.

¹ "Oh, Urjoon, by placing their reliance on me, women "and those of the lower classes of Vueshyu and Soodru may "obtain the highest exaltation."

You, however, considering women devoted to their passions, and consequently incapable of acquiring divine knowledge, direct them to perform Concremation; and maintain that, if any amongst them should not burn with their husbands, according to your final decision from the Shastrus, they must lose the hopes that belong to both practices; because, according to your opinion, they are entirely incapable of acquiring divine knowledge, and by not adopting Concremation, they give up the prospect of future gratifications. As to your quotation from the Geeta, to show² that persons devoted to works ought not to be dissuaded from the performance of them, it may be observed that this³ text applies only to rites offered without desire of reward, though applied by you to works performed for the sake of future enjoyment, in direct inconsistency with the authority of the Geeta. The object of this, as well as of all texts of the Geeta, is to dissuade men from works performed with desire. The Geeta and its Commentaries are both accessible to all. Let the learned decide the point.

You have quoted the following text of Vusishthu⁴: "He "who, being devoted to wordly pleasures, boasts, saying, 'I

¹ मां हि पार्थ व्यापाश्रित्य वेपि स्यः पापयोनयः,
स्त्रियो वैश्या स्त्रया शूद्रास्त्रेपि यान्ति परां गतिम् .

² 'Shew' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ 'his' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁴ सांसारिकसुखासक्तं ब्रह्मज्ञीर्षीतिवादिनं
कर्म ब्रह्मीभयधष्टं इत्यादि .

“am a knower of God,’ can neither obtain the consequences procurable from works, nor attain final beatitude, the fruit “of divine knowledge.”

I admit the force of this text. For whether a man be devoted to worldly pleasures or not, if he be a boaster, either of divine knowledge or of any other acquirement, he is indeed most despicable ; but I am unable to see how this text, which forbids vain-glory, is applicable to the question before us, which relates to the Concremation¹ of widows.²

SECTION VII.

In your 20th page, you have stated for us, that we do not object to the practice of Concremation,³ but to the tying down of the widow to the pile before setting it on fire. I reply ; this is very incorrect, for it is a gross misrepresentation of our argument ; because Concremation or Postcremation is a work performed for the sake of future reward, which the Oopunishud⁴ and the Geeta, and other Shastrus, have declared to be most contemptible. Consequently, relying on those Shastrus, it has been always our object to dissuade widows from the act of Concremation or Postcremation, that they might not, for the sake of the debased enjoyment of corporeal pleasures, renounce the attainment of divine knowledge. As to the the mode in which you murder widows by tying them to the pile, we do exert ourselves to prevent such deeds, for those who are witnesses⁵ to an act of murder, and neglect to do any thing towards its prevention, are accomplices in the crime.

In justification of the crime of burning widows by force, you have stated, towards the foot of the same page, that in those countries where it is the custom for widows to ascend

¹ ‘cremation’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² ‘END OF THE SIXTH SECTION’: (1st. Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ ‘cremation’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁴ ‘Oopunishud’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁵ ‘witness’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

the flaming pile, there cannot be any dispute as to the propriety of following that mode : but where that is not the mode followed, and it is the practice for those that burn the corpse to place a portion of fire contiguous to the pile, so that it may gradually make its way to the pile, and at that time the widow, according to the prescribed form, ascends the pile ; in this mode also there is nothing contrary to the Shastrus. You have at the same time quoted two or three authorities to shew, that rites should be performed according to the custom of the country. I reply ; female murder, murder of a Brahmun, parricide, and similar heinous crimes, cannot be reckoned amongst pious acts by alleging¹ the custom of a country in their behalf ; by such customs rather the country in which they exist is itself condemned. I shall write more at large to this purpose in the conclusion. The practice, therefore, of forcibly tying down women to the pile, and burning them to death, is inconsistent with the Shastrus, and highly sinful. It is of no consequence to affirm, that this is customary in any particular country—if it were universally practised, the murders would still be criminal. The pretence that many are united in the commission of such murder will not secure them from divine vengeance. The customs of a country or of a race may be followed in matters where no particular rules are prescribed in the Shastrus ; but the wilful murder of widows, prohibited by all Shastrus, is not to be justified by the practice of a few. From the Skundu Pooran² : “In those matters in which “neither the Veds nor lawgivers give either direct sanction “or prohibition, the customs of a country or of a race may “be observed.” If you insist that the practice of a country or of a race, though directly contrary to the directions of the Shastrus, is still proper to be observed, and to be reckoned amongst lawful acts, I reply, that in Shivu-

¹ ‘alleging’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² न यत्र साक्षाद्विधयो न निषिधाः श्रुतौ स्मृतौ,
दृशाचारैरनुज्ञाचारैस्त्वन धर्मो निवृत्त्यते .

kanchee and Vishnookanchee it is the custom for the people of all classes of one of those places, whether learned or ignorant, mutually to revile the god peculiarly worshipped by the people of the other—those of Vishnookanchee despising Shivu, and of Shivukanchee in the same manner holding Vishnoo in contempt. Are the inhabitants of those places, whose custom it is thus to revile Shivu and Vishnoo, not guilty of sin? For each of those tribes may assert, in their own defence, that it is the practice of their country and race to revile the god of the other. But no learned Hindoo will pretend to say, that this excuse saves them from sin. The Rajpoots, also, in the neighbourhood of the Dooab, are accustomed to destroy their infant daughters; they also must not be considered guilty of the crime of child-murder, as they act according to the custom of their country and race. There are many instances of the same kind. No Pundits, then, would consider a heinous crime, directly contrary to the Shastrus, as righteous, by whatever length of practice it may appear to be sanctioned.

You have at first alleged, that to burn a widow after tying her down on the pile, is one of the acts of piety, and have then quoted our argument for the opposite opinion, that "the inhabitants of forests and mountains are accustomed to robbery and murder; but must these be considered "as faultless, because they follow only the custom of their "country?" To this you have again replied, that respectable people are not to be guided by the example of mountaineers and foresters. But the custom of burning widows, you say, "has been sanctioned by the most exemplary Pundits for a "length of time. It is the custom, then, of respectable people "that is to be followed, and not that of men of no principles." I answer; respectability, and want of respectability, depend upon the acts of men. If the people of this province, who have been constantly guilty of the wilful murder of women by tying them to the pile in which they are burnt, are to be reckoned amongst the respectable, then why should not the inhabitants of mountains and forests be also reckoned good,

who perpetrate murder for the sake of their livelihood, or to propitiate their cruel deities ? To shew that the custom of a country should be followed, you have quoted a text of the Ved, signifying that the example of Brahmuns well versed in the Shastrus, of good understanding, and whose practice is in conformity with reason and the Shastrus, not subject to passion, and accustomed to perform good works, should be followed. And you have also quoted the words of Vyas, signifying that the authorities of the Veds and Shastrus, as well as of reason, being various, the practice pointed out by illustrious men should be adopted. I reply ; you have shewn that the example of men versed in the Shastrus, and who act in conformity with reason and the Shastrus, should be followed ; but can you call those who, in defiance of the Shastrus, wilfully put women to death by tying them down to the pile on which they are burned, illustrious, acquainted with the Veds, and devoted to acts prescribed by the Shastrus and by reason ? If not, their example is to be disregarded. If you can call those, who wilfully tie down women to put them to death, righteous and illustrious, then there is no instance of unrighteousness and depravity. I have already said, that when any act is neither directly authorized nor prohibited by the Shastrus, the custom of the country, or of the race, should be the rule of conduct ; but in the present case, the words are express in prescribing that the widow shall enter the flaming pile. But those who, in direct defiance of the authority of the Shastrus, act the part of woman-murderers, in tying down the widow to the pile, and, subsequently applying the flame, burn her to death, can never exculpate themselves from the sin of woman-murder. As to the words you have quoted from the Skundu Pooran, signifying that the arguments of one who has no faith in Shivu and Vishnoo can have no weight in the discussion of the legality of facts, I reply, this text is applicable to those who worship images. Those who worship forms under any name, and have no faith in Shivu and Vishnoo, their worship is vain, and their words

to be disregarded. In the same way the words of the Koolarnuv¹ : "He whose mouth does not give out the "smell of wine and flesh, should perform a penance and be "avoided, and is as an inferior animal. This is undoubted." These words are applicable only to those who follow the Tuntrus ; and if all such texts are considered otherwise applicable than in relation to the sects to whom they are directed, there is no possibility of reconciling the variances betwixt the different Shastrus. The Shastru, treating of God, contains the following words² : "Acts and rites "that originate in movements of the hands, and other "members of the body, being perishable, cannot effect "beatitude that is eternal."

³ "Those that worship forms under appellations, continue "subject to form and appellation ; for no perishable means "can effect the acquisition of an imperishable end."

⁴ "That man who considers the Being that is infinite, "incomprehensible, pure, extending as far as space, and "time, and vacuity, to be finite, perceptible by the senses, "limited by time and place, subject to passion and anger, "what crime is such a robber of Divine Majesty not guilty "of ?" That is, he is guilty of those sins which are considered as the most heinous, as well as those that are considered ordinary sins. Therefore the words of so sinful a person can have no weight in the discussion of the legality of rites.

¹ आनिषासवसौरभ्यहीनं यस्य सुखं भवेत् ,
प्रायश्चित्ती स वर्ज्याश्च पश्यरेव न संशयः .

² कठश्रुतिः न ह्यध्रुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत् .

³ स्मृतिः , ध्यायन्ती नामरूपाणि यान्ति तन्मयतां जनाः ,
अध्रुवाद्भ्रुस्तु जातास्ति ध्रुवं नैवोपजायते .

⁴ तथा । योऽन्यथा सन्तमात्मानमन्यथा प्रतिपद्यते ,
किन्नेन न कृतं पापं चौरिणात्मापहारिणा .

SECTION VIII.

YOU have stated in p. 2, that in the same manner as when part of a village or of a piece of cloth has been burnt, the village or piece of cloth is said to be burnt, so if a portion of the pile is inflamed, the whole pile may be said to be flaming. Therefore, it may with propriety be affirmed, that widows do in this country ascend the flaming pile.

I reply; you may afford gratification to those who take delight in woman-murder by such a quibble, but how can you avoid divine punishment by thus playing upon words?—for we find in the text of Hareet and of Vishnoo, the phrase “*pruvivesh hootasunum*,” which means *entering into flames*, and the term “*Sumaroheddhutasunum*,” signifying *ascending the flames*. You have interpreted these directions in this way;—that, at a considerable distance from the pile, fire may be placed, and a piece of grass or rope may connect the fire with the pile; and that thus, by ascending the pile, which has not been in the smallest degree affected by the fire, the widow may fulfil the direction of ascending and entering the flaming pile. But I beg to remark, that both in the vulgar dialect and in Sungskrit, the word “*Pruvesh*” expresses only the introgession of one substance into another; as for example, “*Grihu pruvesh*” “*koriachhulam*,” *I entered the house*; the word entered cannot be used unless I actually passed into the house. If a long bamboo be attached to the house and a rope be fastened to that bamboo, no one can in any language say, that in merely touching that rope or bamboo he has entered that house. If a single billet of wood belonging to the pile were indeed inflamed, then you might say, according to your quibble regarding the burning of the cloth and of the village, that the pile was inflamed, and the flaming pile entered; but even this is by no means the case, in the mode in which your pile is used. Unless, however, the pile is so completely in fire that the flames may surround the whole of her body, the woman cannot be said to enter into flame. You

must then, before you can justify your murder of helpless women, prepare a new dictionary ; but there is no great probability of its interpretations being adopted by men of knowledge.

Towards the end of the 28th page you assert, that those who tie down the woman to the pile according to the custom of the country, are not guilty of violation of the Shastrus : for it is to be understood from the words of Hareet before quoted, that until her body be burnt, the widow cannot be delivered from female form, which implies that her body ought to be completely consumed ; and that it is on this account that those who burn her make her fast to the pile, lest by accident any part of the dead body should fall out of the pile, and fail of being consumed, and in that case the burning be incomplete. This practice of tying down, therefore, is also conformable to the Shastru ; and those who, in burning the woman, make her fast to the pile, are not therein guilty of any sin, but rather perform a pious act. In support of this assertion you have quoted the words of Apustumbu, signifying that he who performs an act prescribed by the Shastrus, or he who persuades or permits another to perform a prescribed act, ascends to heaven ; and he who commits an act forbidden by the Shastru, or who persuades or permits another to perform a prohibited action, sinks to hell.

I reply ; you mean to say, that it is not in order to avoid the danger of the widow's flying from the pile from fear of the flames, or from pain, that she is made fast—but merely, lest any fragments of the body should fall from the pile unburnt, that she is tied down to the pile while alive. I ask, is it with an iron chain that the woman is made fast, or with a common rope ? For by securing the body by means of iron, the danger of portions of it being scattered from the pile may undoubtedly be avoided. But if, on the contrary, the body is bound with a common rope, the rope will be consumed before life has altogether quitted the body and the rope, when so burned, can be of

no use in retaining within the pile the members of the body. So far have Pundits been infatuated, in attempting to give the appearance of propriety to improper actions, that they have even attempted to make people believe, that a rope may remain unconsumed amidst a flaming fire, and prevent the members of a body from being dispersed from the pile. Men of sense may now judge of the truth of the reason to which you ascribe the practice of tying down widows. All people in the world are not blind, and those who will go and behold the mode in which you tie down women to the pile, will readily perceive the truth or falsehood of the motives you assign for the practice. A little reflection ought to have convinced you of the light in which such an argument must be viewed, even by those of your friends who have the smallest regard for truth. As for the text you have quoted from Apustumbu, it might have, with more propriety, been cited by us, because it is established by that passage, that those who commit, persuade to, or permit an improper action, descend to hell ; for those that are guilty of wilful woman-murder, by tying women down with ropes, and burning them to death, a practice unauthorized by the Shastrus, and considered as most heinous, and those who persuade or permit others to do so, are certainly obnoxious to the denunciation of Apustumbu. The pretext of custom of the country, or of the object of preventing portions of the body from being scattered, will not exculpate them.

You have written, in page 29, that those who, by the permission of the widow, increase the flames by throwing wood or straw on the pile, are meritorious: for he who without reward assists another in a pious act, is to be esteemed most meritorious. In confirmation, you have quoted an anecdote of the Mutshyu Pooran, that a goldsmith, by affording his gratuitous assistance in a pious act, obtained a great reward. To this I have already replied : for if those who voluntarily commit woman-murder, by tying down a widow to the pile, and holding her down with bamboos to be

burnt to death, are to be reckoned as performers of a pious act, those who assist them in so doing must be esteemed meritorious : but if this be a most heinous and debased crime, the promoters of it must certainly reap the fruits of woman-murder.

In your concluding paragraph you have quoted three texts, to prove the continual observance of this practice during all ages. The first recounting, that a dove entered into the flaming pile of her deceased husband. The second, that when Dhriturashtru was burning in the flames of his hermitage, his wife, Gandharee, threw herself into the fire. The wives of Busoodev (the father of Krishnu), of Buluram, of Prudyoomnu, and of others, entered the flaming piles of their respective husbands. These three instances occurred, as narrated by the Pooran writers, within intervals of a few years towards the close of the Dwapur Yoog. You ought then to have quoted other instances, to shew the continual observance of this practice throughout all ages. Let that be as it may, you yourself cannot fail to know, that in former ages there were, as in later times, some who devoted themselves to the attainment of final beatitude, and others to the acquisition of future pleasure. Some too were virtuous, and some sinful ; some believers, some sceptics. Amongst those, both men and women, who performed rites for reward, after enjoying pleasures in heaven, have again fallen to earth. Those Shastrus themselves declare this fact ; but in the Shastrus that teach the path to final beatitude, the performance of rites for the sake of reward is positively forbidden. According to these Shastrus, numberless women, in all ages, who were desirous of final beatitude, by living as ascetics, attained their object. Evidence of this is to be found in the Muhabharut and other works¹ : "The widows "of the heroic Kooroos, who fell valiantly with their faces to "the foe, and were translated to the heaven of Bruhma². per-

¹ उदके क्रियमाने तु वीराणां वीरपत्नीभिः इत्यादि .

² 'Bruhma' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

“formed only the prescribed ceremonies with water,” and did not burn themselves on the piles of their husbands. I have moreover to request your attention to the fact, that in the three instances you¹ have quoted, the very words “entered into fire” are used. In those three cases, then, it appears that the widows actually entered the flames, and therefore, whatever widow in the present time does not enter the fire, but is burnt to death by others tying her down to the pile, has not performed the ceremony according to the ancient practice you have instanced ; and from rites so performed she cannot even be entitled to the temporary enjoyment of heavenly pleasures ; and those who tie her down, and, pressing on her with bamboos, kill her, must, according to all Shastrus, be considered guilty of the heinous crime of woman-murder.

SECTION IX.

Advocate.—I alluded, in p. 18, l. 18,² to the real reason for our anxiety to persuade widows to follow their husbands, and for our endeavours to burn them, pressed down with ropes : *viz.*,³ that women are by nature of inferior understanding, without resolution, unworthy of trust, subject to passions, and void of virtuous knowledge ; they, according to the precepts of the Shastru, are not allowed to marry again after the demise of their husbands, and consequently despair at once of all worldly pleasure : hence it is evident, that death to these unfortunate widows is preferable to existence ; for the great difficulty which a widow may experience by living a purely ascetic life, as prescribed by the Shastrus, is obvious ; therefore, if she do not perform Concremation, it is probable that she may be guilty of such acts as may bring

¹ ‘yon’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² ‘page 18th, line 18th’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ ‘viz.’ (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

disgrace upon her paternal and maternal relations, and those that may be connected with her husband. Under these circumstances, we instruct them from their early life in the idea of Concremation, holding out to them heavenly enjoyments in company with their husbands, as well as the beatitude of their relations, both by birth and marriage, and their reputation in this world. From this many of them, on the death of their husbands, become desirous of accompanying them ; but to remove every chance of their trying to escape from the blazing fire, in burning them we first tie them down to the pile.

Opponent.—The reason you have now assigned for burning widows alive is indeed your true motive, as we are well aware ; but the faults which you have imputed to women are not planted in their constitution by nature ; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindoo community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy ; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity ? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding ? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient ; but as you keep women generally void of education and

ements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce their inferiority. On the contrary, Leelavutee, Bhanoo-utee (the wife of the prince of Kurnat), and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastrus : moreover in the Vrihudarunyuk Opuishud¹ of the Ujoor Ved it is clearly stated that Yagnuvulkyu imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyee, who was able to follow and completely attain it !

Secondly.² You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprized³ ; for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband ; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly.⁴ With regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed by women, I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayed men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs, by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, but never consider as criminal the misconduct of men towards women. One fault they have, it must be acknowledged ; which is, by considering others equally void of duplicity as themselves, to give their confidence too readily, from which they suffer much misery, even so far that some of them are misled to suffer themselves to be burnt to death.

¹ 'Oopunishud' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² 'Secondly' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ 'surprized' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁴ 'Thirdly' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

In the fourth place,¹ with respect to their subjection passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes ; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards ; while a woman, who marries² but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all worldly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

Fifthly,³ The accusation of their want of virtuous knowledge is an injustice. Observe what pain, what slighting, what contempt, and what afflictions their virtue enables them to support ! How many Kooleen Brahmins are there who marry ten or fifteen wives for the sake of money, that never see the greater number of them after the day of marriage, and visit others only three or four times in the course of their life. Still amongst those women, most, even without seeing or receiving any support from their husbands, living dependent on their fathers or brothers, and suffering much distress, continue to preserve their virtue ; and when Brahmins, or those of other tribes, bring their wives to live with them, what misery do the women not suffer ? At marriage the wife is recognized as half of her husband, but in after-conduct⁴ they are treated worse than inferior animals. For the woman is employed to do the work of a slave in the house, such as, in her turn, to clean the place very early in the morning, whether cold or wet, to scour the dishes, to wash the floor, to cook night and day, to prepare and serve food for her husband, father and mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and friends and connections ! (for amongst Hindoos more than in other tribes relations long reside together, and on this account quarrels are more common amongst brothers respecting their worldly affairs.)

¹ 'In the fourth place' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

² 'maries' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

³ 'Fifthly' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

⁴ 'after conduct' (1st Ed.)—*Ed.*

If in the preparation or serving up of the victuals they commit the smallest fault, what insult do they not receive from their husband, their mother-in-law, and the younger brothers of their husband ! After all the male part of the family have satisfied themselves, the women content themselves with what may be left, whether sufficient in quantity or not. Where Brahmuns or Kayustus are not wealthy, their women are obliged to attend to their cows, and to prepare the cow-dung for firing. In the afternoon they fetch water from the river or tank ; and at night perform the office of menial servants in making the beds. In case of any fault or omission in the performance of those labours they receive injurious treatment. Should the husband acquire wealth, he indulges in criminal amours to her perfect knowledge, and almost under her eyes, and does not see her perhaps once a month. As long as the husband is poor, she suffers every kind of trouble, and when he becomes rich she is altogether heart-broken. All this pain and affliction their virtue alone enables them to support. Where a husband takes two or three wives to live with him, they are subjected to mental miseries and constant quarrels. Even this distressed situation they virtuously endure. Sometimes it happens that the husband, from a preference for one of his wives, behaves cruelly to another. Amongst the lower classes, and those even of the better class who have not associated with good company, the wife, on the slightest fault, or even on bare suspicion of her misconduct, is chastised as a thief. Respect to virtue and their reputation generally makes them forgive even this treatment. If, unable to bear such cruel usage, a wife leaves her husband's house to live separately from him, then the influence of the husband with the magisterial authority is generally sufficient to place her again in his hands ; when, in revenge for her quitting him, he seizes every pretext to torment her in various ways, and sometimes even puts her privately to death. These are facts occurring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that, seeing the women

thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion, that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.

[FINIS]¹

¹ So the 1st Ed. ends.—*Ed.*

A B S T R A C T
OF THE
ARGUMENTS
REGARDING
THE BURNING OF WIDOWS,
CONSIDERED AS A RELIGIOUS RITE.

CALCUTTA :
1830.

ABSTRACT
OF
THE ARGUMENTS, &c.

—:—o:—

SEVERAL Essays, Tracts, and Letters, written in defence of or against the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive, have for some years past attracted the attention of the public. The arguments therein adduced by the parties being necessarily scattered, a complete view of the question cannot be easily attained by such readers as are precluded by their immediate avocations from bestowing much labour in acquiring information on the subject. Although the practice itself has now happily ceased to exist under the Government of Bengal,* nevertheless, it seems still desirable that the substance of those publications should be condensed in a concise but comprehensive manner, so that enquirers may, with little difficulty, be able to form a just conclusion, as to the true light in which this practice is viewed in the religion of Hindoos. I have, therefore, made an attempt to accomplish this object, hoping that the plan pursued may be found to answer this end.

The first point to be ascertained is, whether or not the practice of burning widows alive on the pile and with the corpse of their husbands, is imperatively enjoined by the Hindoo religion. To this question, even the staunch advocates for Concremation must reluctantly give a negative reply, and unavoidably concede the practice to the option of widows. This admission on their part is owing to two principal

* The administration to which this distinguished merit is due, consisted of Lord W. C. Bentinck, governor general; Viscount Combermere, commander in chief; W. B. Bayley, Esq., and Sir C. T. Metcalfe, members of council.

considerations, which it is now too late for them to feign to overlook. First, because Munoo in plain terms enjoins a widow to "*continue till death* forgiving all injuries, "performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, "and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue "which have been followed by such women as were devoted "to one only husband ;" (ch. v. ver. 158.)¹ So Yagnuvulkyu inculcates the same doctrine: "A widow shall live under care "of her father, mother, son, brother, mother-in-law, father-in-law, or uncle ; since, on the contrary, she shall be liable to "reproach." (Vide Mitakshura, ch. i.)² Secondly, because an attempt on the part of the advocates for Concremation to hold out the act as an incumbent duty on widows, would necessarily bring a stigma upon the character of the living widows, who have preferred a virtuous life to Concremation, as charging them with a violation of the duty said to be indispensable. These advocates, therefore, feel deterred from giving undue praise to a few widows choosing death on the pile, to the disgrace of a vast majority of that class preferring a virtuous life. And in consideration of these obvious circumstances, the celebrated Smarttu Rughoonundun, the latest commentator on Hindoo law in Bengal, found himself compelled to expound the following passage of Unggira : "there is no other course for a widow beside "Concremation ;"³ as "conveying exaggerated praise of the "adoption of that course."⁴

The second point is, that in case the alternative be

The Sanskrit passages quoted in the foot-notes were left out in the 2nd Ed. (London, 1832).—*Ed.*

¹ आसीतामरणात् चान्ता नियता ब्रह्मचारिणी ।

यो धर्मं एकपत्नीनां काङ्क्षन्ती तमनुत्तमं ॥

² पितृमातृसुतभातृश्वशुरमातुली ।

हीना न स्यात् विना भर्ता गृह्णीयान्यथा भवेत् ॥

³ नान्यो हि धर्मो विज्ञेयो मृते भर्तारि कर्हिचित् ।

⁴ नान्यो हि धर्म इति तु सहमरणस्त्यर्थ ।

admitted, that a widow may either live a virtuous life, or burn herself on the pile of her husband ; it should next be determined, whether both practices are esteemed equally meritorious, or one be declared preferable to the other. To satisfy ourselves on this question, we should first refer to the Veds, whose authority is considered paramount ; and we find in them a passage most pointed and decisive against Concremation, declaring that “from a desire during life, “of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed.” (Vide Mitakshura, ch. i.)¹ While the advocates of Concremation quote a passage from the Veds, of a very abstruse nature, in support of their position, which is as follows : “O fire, “let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified butter, “eyes coloured with collyrium and void of tears, enter thee, “the parent of water,* that they may not be separated from “their husbands, themselves sinless, and jewels amongst “women.”² This passage (if genuine) does not, in the first place, enjoin widows to offer themselves as sacrifices. Secondly, no allusion whatever is made in it to voluntary death by a widow *with the corpse of her husband*. Thirdly, the phrase “these women” in the passage, literally implies women then present. Fourthly. Some commentators consider the passage as conveying an allegorical allusion to the constellations of the moon’s path, which are invariably spoken of in Sungskrit in the feminine gender :—butter implying the milky path ; collyrium meaning unoccupied space between one star and another ; husbands signifying the more splendid of the heavenly bodies ; and entering the fire, or, properly speaking, ascending it, indicating the rise of the constellations through the south-east horizon, considered as the abode of fire. Whatever may be the real purport of this passage, no one ever ventured to give it an

*In Sungskrit writings, water is represented as originating in fire.

¹ तस्माद्दु ह न पुरायुषः स्व.कामी प्रियात् ।

² इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपद्वीषाञ्जनेन सपिषा संविशन्वन्थवा अन्मीरा सुरत्वा आरीहन्तु यामयो योनिमर्घः ।

interpretation as *commanding* widows to burn themselves on the pile and with the corpse of their husbands.

We next direct attention to the Smrittee, as next in authority to the Veds. Munoo, whose authority supersedes that of other lawgivers, enjoins widows to live a virtuous life, as already quoted. Yagnuvulkyu and some others have adopted the same mode of exhortation. On the other hand, Unggira recommends the practice of Concremation, saying : "That a woman who, on the death of her husband, *ascends the burning pile* with him, is exalted to heaven as "equal to Uroondhooti."¹ So Vyas says, "a pigeon devoted "to her husband, after his death, *entered the flames*, and, "ascending to heaven, she there found her husband."² "She "who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in "a region of glory for so many years as there are hairs in the "human body, or thirty-five millions."³ Vishnoo, the saint, lays down this rule : "After the death of her husband, a wife "should live as an ascetic or ascend his pile."⁴ Hareet and others have followed Unggira in recommending Concremation.

The above quoted passages from Unggira and others, recommend Concremation on the part of widows, as means to obtain future carnal fruition ; and, accordingly, previous to their ascent on the pile, all widows invariably and solemnly declare future fruition as their object in Concremation. But the Bhugvudgeeta, whose authority is considered the most sacred by Hindoos of all persuasions, repeatedly condemns rites performed for fruition. I here quote a few passages of that book. "All those ignorant persons who attach them-

¹ मृते भर्त्सरि या नारी समारीहृताशनम् ।

सारुन्वतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥

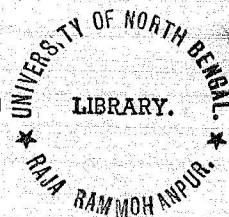
² पतिव्रता सम्यदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनम् ।

तव चित्वाङ्गदधरं भर्त्सारं सान्वपदात ॥

³ तिस्रः कौटुम्बं कौटी च यानि लोमानि मानवे ।

तावन्प्राञ्चानि सा स्वर्गे भर्त्सारं यानुगच्छति ॥

⁴ मृते भर्त्सरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ।



“selves to the words of the Shastrus that convey promises of
 “fruition, consider those extravagant and alluring passages,
 “as leading to real happiness ; and say, besides them there is
 “no other reality. Agitated in their minds by these desires.
 “they believe the abodes of the celestial gods to be the chief
 “object, and they devote themselves to those texts which
 “treat of ceremonies and their fruits, and entice by promises
 “of enjoyment. Such people can have no real confidence in
 “the Supreme Being.”¹ “Observers of rites, after the
 “completion of their rewards, return to earth. Therefore
 “they, for the sake of rewards, repeatedly ascend to heaven
 “and return to the world, and cannot obtain eternal bliss.”²

Munoo repeats the same : “Whatever act is performed
 “for the sake of gratification in this world or the next, is
 “called Pruvurtuk, as leading to the temporary enjoyment
 “of the mansions of gods ; and those which are performed
 “according to the knowledge respecting God are called
 “Nivurtuk, as means to procure release from the five ele-
 “ments of this body ; that is, they obtain eternal bliss.”³

The author of the Mitakshura, a work which is considered as a standard of Hindoo Law throughout Hindoostan, referring on one hand to the authority of Munoo, Yagnu-
 vulkyu, the Bhugvudgeeta, and similar sacred writings, and to the passages of Unggira, Hareet, and Vyas on the other hand, and after having weighed both sides of the question,

¹ यामिमां पुष्यितां वाचं प्रवदन्ताविपश्चितः ।

वेदवादरताः पार्थ नाचदस्तीतिवादिनः ॥

कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।

क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥

भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचित्तसाम् ।

व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥

² ते तं मुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विशन्ति ।

एवं त्रयौधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥

³ इह वामुत्र वा कार्यं प्रवृत्तं कर्म कीर्त्यते ।

निष्कामं ज्ञानपूर्वकं नित्यं चतुमुपदिश्यते ॥

प्रवृत्तं कर्म संसेव्य देवानामिति सार्थिंताम् ।

निवृत्तं सेवमानस्तु भूतान्यत्येति पञ्च वै ॥

declares that "the widow who is not desirous of eternal "beatitude, but who wishes only for a perishable and small "degree of future fruition, is authorized to accompany her "husband."¹ So that the Smartu Rughoonundun, the modern expounder of law in Bengal, classes Concremation among the rites holding out promise of fruition ; and this author thus inculcates : "Learned men should not endeavour "to persuade the ignorant to perform rites holding out "promises of fruition."² Hence Concremation, in their opinion, is the least virtuous act that a widow can perform.*

* Hindoos are persuaded to believe that Vyas, considered as an inspired writer among the ancients, composed and left behind him numerous and voluminous works under different titles, as Muha Poorans, Itihashes, Sunghitas, Smriti, &c. &c., to an extent that no man, during the ordinary course of life, could prepare. These, however, with a few exceptions, exist merely in name, and those that are genuine bear the commentaries of celebrated authors. So the Tuntus, or works ascribed to Shivu as their author, are esteemed as consisting of innumerable millions of volumes, though only a very few, comparatively, are to be found. Debased characters among this unhappy people, taking advantage of this circumstance, have secretly composed forged works and passages, and published them as if they were genuine, with the view of introducing new doctrines, new rites, or new prescripts of secular law. Although they have frequently succeeded by these means in working on the minds of the ignorant, yet the learned have never admitted the authority of any passage or work alleged to be sacred, unless it has been quoted or expounded by one of the acknowledged and authoritative commentators. It is now unhappily reported, that some advocates for the destruction of widows, finding their cause unsupported by the passages cited by the author of the Mitakshura, by the Smarttu Rughoonundun, or by other expounders of Hindoo law, have disgracefully adopted the trick of coining passages in the name of

1 अतश्च मीचमनिच्छन्त्या अनित्याव्यसुखरूपस्वर्गार्थिभ्याः सहनरणानुसरणधीरधिकार इतरकाव्यानुष्टानवत् ।

2 पण्डितेनापि मूर्खैः काव्ये कर्मैश्चि न प्रवर्तयितव्यः ।

The third and the last point to be ascertained is, whether or not *the mode* of Concremation prescribed by Hareet and others was ever duly observed? The passages recommending Concremation, as quoted by these expounders of law, require that a widow, resolving to die after the demise of her husband, should *voluntarily ascend* and enter the flames† to destroy her existence¹*; allowing her, at the same time, an opportunity of retracting her resolution, should her courage fail from the alarming sight or effect of the flames, and of returning to her relatives, performing a penance for abandoning the sacrifice² or bestowing the value of a cow on a Brahmun.³ Hence, as *voluntarily ascending upon and entering into the flames*, are described as indispensably necessary for a widow in the performance of this rite, the violation of one of these provisions renders the act mere suicide, and implicates, in the guilt of female murder, those that assist in its perpetration, even according to the above quoted authorities, which are themselves of an inferior

the Poorans or Tuntrus; conveying doctrines not only directly opposed to the decisive expositions of these celebrated teachers of law, but also evidently at variance with the purport of the genuine sacred passages which they have quoted. The passages thus forged are said to be calculated to give a preference to Concremation over virtuous life. I regret to understand that some persons belonging to the party opposing this practice, are reported to have had recourse to the same unworthy artifice, under the erroneous plea that stratagem justifies stratagem.

* Unggira.

† Vyas.

¹ समारीह्वत्ताशनम् । Unggira.

पतिव्रता सम्प्रदीर्घं प्रविवेश इताशनम् । Vyas.

² चितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहादिचलिता भवेत् ।

प्राजापत्येन शुद्धे तु तस्माद्भि पापकर्म्मणः ॥

³ प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तौ धेनुं दद्यात् पयस्विनीम् ।

धेनीरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मुल्यं न संग्रहः ॥

order. But no one will venture to assert, that the provisions, prescribed in the passages adduced, have ever been observed; that is, no widow ever voluntarily *ascended* on and *entered* into the *flames* in the fulfilment of this rite. The advocates for Concremation have been consequently driven to the necessity of taking refuge in *usage*, as justifying both suicide and female murder, the most heinous of crimes.

We should not omit the present opportunity of offering up thanks to Heaven, whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder, under the cloak of religion; and our character, as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it has been regarded, on account of this custom, by all civilized nations on the surface of the globe.

SOME REMARKS
IN VINDICATION OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY
THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
In 1829
ABOLISHING THE
PRACTICE OF FEMALE SACRIFICES
IN INDIA¹

¹We acknowledge our indebtedness to the authorities of the Forman Christian College, Lahore for the text of this pamphlet.—*Ed.*

REMARKS, &c.

The practice of burning Hindoo widows, on the funeral piles of their husbands, was abolished by the Government of Bengal, on the 4th of December, 1829, in consequence of which, these unfortunate and deluded persons have been completely saved from destruction, for a period of two years and upwards. Certain Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, who find this humane measure detrimental to their own interests, have under the advice of an attorney of the Supreme Court, at the Presidency of Fort William, thought proper to bring the subject before the Privy Council, with the view of having the Regulation rescinded and the practice renewed.

2. Par. As to the propriety, or justice, or humanity of re-establishing such a cruel usage, it may safely be left to the wisdom and discretion of the exalted individuals, before whom in this christian country and enlightened age, the subject is to be discussed.

3. Par. With regard to the question of policy, which to many statesmen seems paramount to justice, humanity, conscience, law and religion; It might have been alleged that the abolition would be an interference with the religious rites of the Hindoos, and would cause insurrection, perhaps revolution in the country, and terminate in the loss of the British possessions in India. On this point I beg to offer a few remarks.

First. If there had been any chance of popular commotion being excited by such abolition, it might have been expected immediately after the measure was adopted in the latter end of the year 1829. About two years and upwards however passed, and no accounts have been received that any widow has been burnt, in opposition to the regulations of government, or even that any attempt at commotion has ever been made.

Secondly. From a reference to the printed official returns, (laid before Parliament) of the number of Suttees within the territories of the Presidency of Fort William, from 1815 to 1828, inclusive, it appears that within the province of Bengal, including the city of Benares (to which place an immense number of the Bengalees, male and female, retire, from religious prejudices to end their days,) and Patna, which is adjacent, and has been long united to Bengal, by political connection as well as by close and constant intercourse, the number of female sacrifices has mounted to 7941, whereas in the whole extent of the upper provinces, classed under the head of Bareilly, we find only 203 in a period of 14 years, (on an average about 14 in each year) ; consequently had there been any chance of any popular commotion, it might have been dreaded in Bengal particularly, where the practice chiefly prevailed. But it is well known that from education and want of physical energy, the natives of Bengal are the last persons in the world to be expected to raise (?) against public authority.

Thirdly. Even in Bengal a greater number of the most intelligent and influential of the natives, landholders, bankers, merchants, and others, felt so much gratified with the removal of the odium, which the practice had attached to their character as a nation, that they united in presenting an address of thanks and congratulation, on the subject, to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, on the 18th of January, 1830,¹ and in like manner, when his Lordship, in his progress to the upper provinces, arrived at Buxar, (situated between Patna, and Benares), persons of the highest rank and respectability, supported by numerous inhabitants, presented another address, expressive of their satisfaction at the abolition of the horrible custom, as will appear by the Calcutta Government Gazette of November 15th, 1830.

Fourthly. It was not religious devotion alone which

¹ Vide the Bengal Hurkaru, or the India Gazette, of the 18th of January, 1830.

prompted the generality of the natives of Bengal, who carried on the practice of widow burning to such an extent ; nor is that their motive for wishing its re-establishment. But it is their worldly interest which many wish to serve under the cloak of religion. Since according to their law of inheritance (the Dāyabhāga) a widow is entitled to inherit the property of her deceased husband, without regard to his condition in life, and therefore is a complete bar to the claims of the father, mother, brothers, sisters and daughters of the deceased, who have all consequently a direct interest in the destruction of the widow.* But in the upper provinces, where the Mitāksharā is respected as the law of inheritance, according to which the rights of the surviving wife are more circumscribed, the relatives of the husband are not much interested in her death ; and in these provinces it is found that the Suttees are comparatively very rare.**

Fifthly. Hence, it is obvious, that as the adherence of the Bengalees to this practice generally springs from selfish considerations of a worldly nature, the abolition of such a fertile source of intrigue and calculating cruelty cannot excite any apprehension of religious enthusiasm in those persons who are conscious of the unworthiness of the cause

* "The whole wealth of a deceased husband, who has no male issue, shall belong to his widow, though there be brothers of the whole blood, paternal uncles, (daughters), daughter's sons, and other heirs." Colebrooke's translation of the Dayabhag. Chap. XI sec. 1. Art 3rd.

** A wife being chaste takes the whole estate of a man who being separated from his co-heirs and *not* subsequently reunited with them, dies leaving no male-issue. Colebrooke's translation of the Mitakshara, Chap. ii. Sec. 1. Art. 39. It should not be overlooked that amongst the Hindoos, brothers very generally, or almost always, live in joint families, and very often first and second cousins also ; consequently the qualification of non-separation has almost annihilated the rights of the widow.

they advocate ; even if the Bengalees had possessed physical energy, and a warlike education. These considerations (and many others might be added) are sufficient to shew, that policy by no means requires the re-establishment of the open perpetration of suicide and murder.

4. Par. It might be alleged, that the British Government has pledged itself not to interfere with the religious rights of its Indian native subjects ; but, it must not be forgotten, that according to common sense, as well as from a reference to precedent and the practice of the local government during the whole period of its dominion in India, it is clear, that this rule was always unequivocally meant to apply to religious observances which are considered incumbent on the people, according to the principles of their own faith, and which are not a nuisance and outrage to public feeling. On this principle, the government, from time to time, prohibited various practices performed in the name of religion ; such as the perambulation of the streets by Nagas, (or naked devotees), infanticide and suicide under the car of Juggannāth, the self-destruction and public burning of lepers, human sacrifices, &c. &c. ; it being found that these practices were only partially observed and consequently merely optional, not incumbent, since their omission involved no loss of civil rights, nor did it bring reproach on those who failed to observe them ; while their observance was highly offensive, a nuisance to the public, and a reproach to a civilised government. The case is precisely the same with respect to widow burning. For, first, in regard to the number of widows burning in the province of Bengal, only one widow out of perhaps thirty, and in the upper provinces, one out of nine hundred and ninety-nine could be prevailed on to perform this horrid sacrifice ; while all the rest lived in the enjoyment of their civil rights and social respect (as shewn by thousands of judicial decrees) ; and again, on the score of nuisance, it is a source of greater offence and disgust to the public than the rest, from its being performed with more publicity and

tumult, and exhibiting the most helpless of human beings expiring under the greatest sufferings. Therefore, a regard to consistency and its own character compelled the government to deal with this practice as they had done with the others before mentioned.

5. Par. In addition to its local observation of the option exercised by widows, of either living an austere life, or of burning themselves with the corpse of the husband, government was furnished with the verdicts of the Pandits of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, and of the Supreme Court of Calcutta : who, notwithstanding their enthusiastic zeal in favour of the practice of concremation, felt compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge, that at most it was entirely optional ; nay, that an austere life was more meritorious.

First. In reply to the question submitted to the Hindoo Law Officers of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, in March 1817, it was stated (P. 174), that "the woman who wishes "to accompany her deceased husband, let her ascend the "funeral pile". In some cases, the widow may be laid on the funeral pile, before it is lighted, by the side of her husband. But, (P. 175) "if she be then destitute of the wish to perform the act of saha gamun (concremation) she must be "lifted off." Again (page 175), "If having arrived at the "place of burning, she determine to burn, the ceremony of "depositing the widow must be again gone through." "If she "afterwards express a wish to rise, she must be lifted off."

Second. The Pandit of the Supreme Court (Mri-tyoonjay) states, (page 178) that according to the Jutta Mala Bilās "ascending the funeral pile is a voluntary act "and not an indispensable one." (p. 182) "The alternative "of leading an austere life being mentioned and any objec- "tion adverse to it, being removed by the comparison cited "in the text, this alternative seems evidently to be recom- "mended by the favoured side of the argument." (p. 182) "In a person who is careless about absorption and desirous "to obtain a paradise of temporary and inconsiderable bliss

“the act of *anoogamun* (following the husband) is justifiable, “but from this reasoning it appears evident that the leading “of a virtuous life is preferred as the *superior* alternative and “that the act of *anoogaman* is held to be of inferior merit,” (p. 182). “No difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of austerity” (p. 183). “Not the “slightest offence attaches either to the women who depart “from their resolution (of burning) or to those who persuade “them to relinquish their intentions.” (p. 183).

6. Par. If we look further into the consequences arising from the successful exertion of European Orientalists, in translating Sanskrit works, in various branches of literature, into the English language, we find that the public is no longer entirely at the mercy of the Brahmans, in the interpretation of the Hindoo law, and Religious doctrine. For example, the translation of the institutes of Menu, by Sir William Jones, which is before the public, and which, to use the language of that immortal translator of an immortal work, is a “system of duties, religious and civil, “and of law, in all its branches, which the Hindoos firmly “believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of the “time by Menu the son or grandson of Brahma, or in plain “language, the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, “but the holiest of legislators, a system so comprehensive “and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as “the institutes of Hindoo law.” (Sir W. Jones's works Vol. VII. p. 76 Preface.)

7. Par. This great legislator, in prescribing the duties of widows, thus ordains: “Let her (the widow) “**continue till death**, forgiving all injuries, performing “harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheer- “fully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which “have been followed by such women, as were devoted to “one only husband ;” (Chap. V, Verse 158, p. 271) “and like “those abstemious men, a virtuous wife ascends to heaven “though she have no child if after the decease of her lord, “she devote herself to pious austerity,” (Ver. 160) But a

widow "who from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace upon herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord" (Ver. 161).

8. Par. Here Menu by the expression "Let her continue till death," imperatively commands the widows to live a life of virtue, piety, and austerity, discountenances her marrying again, and does not admit the idea of any such alternative as that of burning with the corpse of her husband.

9. Par. It cannot be alleged that the Ved may have justified the practice and superseded the authority of Menu; since the Ved itself declares that "whatever Menu pronounced was a medicine for the soul." (Vide Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, lines 21 and 23).

10. par. Nor can it be alleged, that Ungira and some other legislators who recommend widow burning, and also profess to found their doctrines on the Veds, should be considered of equal authority to Menu; since on the contrary the Ved itself in the text above quoted, the authority of which all acknowledge to be supreme, sanctions every precept of Menu, and in addition to this, Vrihaspati declares, "that Menu held the first rank amongst legislators; because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted Menu." (Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, line 25.)

11. Par. Therefore any quotation from other authorities or detached passages attributed to Menu, but not to be found in his code, and inconsistent with it cannot be considered as of any validity. Then, whence, it may be asked arose a practice so repugnant to reason, and so contrary to the most ancient, and highest legislative authority of the Hindoos? Only (I reply) from the jealousy of their Princes, who were unable to tolerate the idea of their wives proving forgetful of them, and associating with other men after their deaths, and their dependants were induced to follow their foot-steps, actuated by the same motives, and also by

the influence of example, while their surviving relations did not fail to encourage the practice, for the reasons above explained, to promote their own interests, and literary men of similar feelings have not been wanting, to support their views, by interpolations, and inventions, under the name of traditions, and quotations, from the Poorāns and Tantras, which all acknowledge to have no limit, or certain standard. But fortunately it is an established rule, that every doctrine founded on these, is to be rejected, when on a fair critical examination it proves to be inconsistent with Menu, the only safe rule to guard against endless corruptions, absurdities, and human caprices.

R. M. R.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

It cannot, I think, be irrelevant to the subject, to bring under the notice of the British Public, that the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoc Widows alive, on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was a measure not indiscreetly or rashly adopted by the Governor General of Bengal, but that it was recommended and officially suggested to Lord William Bentinck,—by the members of the Supreme Council, by the judges of the Sudder Dewany, and Nizamut Adwalut, who are most deservedly entrusted with the power of life and death, over the millions of the Natives of India,—by the officers of Government, holding responsible situations, and possessed of the best local information,—as well as by the long-resident Europeans of the first intelligence and unquestionable respectability ; with the exception of six individuals out of the whole British public living in India.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE ABOLITION.

1. Members of the Supreme Council.
 1. Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief.
 2. The Hon'ble W. B. Bayley.
 3. Sir Carles Metcalfe.
2. Judges of Nizamut Adawlut, or Supreme Criminal Court.
 - W. Leycester, Esq. Chief Judge.
 - A. Ross, Esq. Second Judge.
 - C. F. Sealy, Esq. Third Judge.
 - R. H. Rattray, Esq. Fifth Judge.
3. Officers of Government holding responsible situations, Military, Judicial and Revenue, and long resident Europeans of high respectability.

1st. Those of persons in favour of an immediate and total suppression of the Rite by the authority of Government.

1. Lieut. Colonel Richard Audree.
2. Major W. S. Beatson.
3. Colonel R. H. Cunliffe.
4. Major R. L. Dickson.
5. Lieut. Colonel J. Doveton.
6. Brig. General F. Duncan.
7. Lieut. Colonel W. Dunlop.
8. Lieut. Colonel C. Fagan.
9. Lieut. Colbnel W. C. Faithful.
10. Lieut. Colonel J. Kenedy.
11. W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.
12. Lieut. General G. Martindell.
13. Captain J. B. Neufville.
14. Lieut. Colonel C. Povolen.
15. Brig. General W. Richards.
16. Captain S. Riley.
17. Captain D. Ruddell.
18. Major General Shuldham.
19. Lieut. Colonel E. Simons.
20. Lieut. Colonel H. T. Tapp.
21. Captain C. Thoresby.
22. Lieut. Colonel L. H. Todd.
23. Major F. Walker.
24. Captain G. Young.
25. J. Young, Esq.

2nd. Recommending the immediate suppression of the Rite by the authorised interference of the local magistrates.

J. Dunsmure, Esq.

3rd. Persons who recommend a total and immediate prohibition of the Rite by Legislative enactments, as expedient, safe, and practicable.

1. W. W. Bird, Esq.
2. R. M. Bird, Esq.
3. G. F. Brown, Esq.
4. James Calder, Esq.
5. W. Ewer, Esq.
6. Robert North Collie Hamilton, Esq.
7. A. Stirling, Esq.
8. A. Trotter, Esq.

4th. Persons who recommend a gradual abolition of the Rite by the authorised interference of the Magistrates.

1. Major H. Hall.
2. Major A. Hardy.
3. Lieut. Colonel W. H. Kemm.
4. Major L. Land.
5. Lieut. Colonel J. H. Littler.
6. Brig. General James Price.
7. Lieut. Colonel B. Rope.
8. Lieut. Colonel J. Skinner.
9. Lieut. Colonel E. F. Waters.
10. Lieut. Colonel E. P. Wilson.

5th Persons who abstained from giving any opinion on the subject at large, but apprehended no danger from a prohibition of the Rite, as regards the Native army.

1. Major T. Palmer.
2. Brig. General R. Patton.
3. Lieut. Colonel W. Wilson.

Parties, who entertained sentiments moderately or directly different from those above stated.

1st. Persons adverse to a direct prohibition of the Rite by Government,

1. Brig. General J. W. Adams.
2. Major General J. Arnold.
3. Major Thomas Barron.
4. Lieut. Colonel Wm. Casement.
5. Major C. Frye.
6. Lieut. Colonel C. P. Gilman.
7. Captain J. Nicholson.
8. Brig. General J. O. Halloran.
9. Lieut. Colonel T. H. Paul.
10. Lieut. Colonel W. D. Playfair.
11. Lieut. Colonel H. Roberts.

2nd. Persons adverse to a total prohibition of the Rite as being premature.

1. W. Blunt, Esq.
2. H. Doglas, Esq.

3rd. Persons adverse to every species of official interference with the Rite of Suttee.

1. H. H. Wilson, Esq.
2. Captain J. Cowslade.
3. Brig. General A. Knox.
4. Brig. General J. R. Lumley.

4th. Persons adverse to a prohibition of the Rite, as being a departure from the principles of toleration, but who conceived it would be safe though productive of dissatisfaction.

1. T. Packenham, Esq.
2. W. Wilkinson, Esq.

Abstracted from the Appendix to the Statement submitted by the East India Company, to the King's most Honourable Privy Council.

APPENDIX

PETITIONS AND ADDRESSES
ON
THE PRACTICE OF SUTTEE
(1818—1831)



THE COUNTER-PETITION OF THE HINDU
INHABITANTS OF CALCUTTA
AGAINST SUTTEE. (1818)*

To the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, Governor
General in Council :

The humble petition of the undersigned Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta,

Humbly sheweth,—that your petitioners have with equal surprise and sorrow, perceived a statement in the newspapers, that a petition to your lordship's government, to repeal the orders at present in force against illegal proceedings in burning widows with the bodies of their deceased husbands, was drawn up and had received the signature of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, and we have since learned that a petition to that effect has actually been transmitted to the honourable the Vice-President in Council.

That your petitioners do not know by what authority the subscribers to the said petition have been so designated ; as from the very nature of their petition it appears obvious, that those who signed it must be either ignorant of their

* The July number of the Asiatic Journal (1819) has the following note regarding this counter-petition against Suttee :

“This petition, which explains its own object, was signed by a great number of the most respectable Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta. It will be observed that this documents bears no date. From the date of some Mss. transmitted with it for the Asiatic Journal, we consider it to have been presented soon after the Governor General's return to the seat of government, say, the beginning of August 1818.” The style, the arguments and sentiments expressed all point to its being written by Rajah Rammohun Roy.—*Ed.*

own law or amongst the most inhuman of any class of the community.

That your petitioners would have considered themselves as passing the bounds of respect due to the wisdom of your lordship's Council in presuming to offer any opinion whatever respecting the measures adopted by government for the security of the lives or property of their fellow subjects, were they not impelled to vindicate themselves from the disgrace that, in the opinion of all men impressed with the common feelings of humanity, and therefore most especially in that of your lordship's government, must attach to them in common with the other Hindu subjects of the British Government, if the petition above-mentioned should be considered as expressive of the sentiments of the majority, or of any other portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta, beyond that of the individuals who have been influenced to sign the petition.

That your petitioners are fully aware, from their own knowledge, or from the authority of credible eye-witnesses, that cases have frequently occurred, where women have been induced by the persuasions of their next heirs, interested in their destruction, to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands ; that others, who have been induced by fear to retract a resolution, hastily expressed in the first moments of grief, of burning with their deceased husband, have been forced upon the pile, and there bound down with ropes, and pressed by green bamboos until consumed by the flames ; that some, after flying from the flames, have been carried back by their relations and burnt to death. All these instances, your petitioners humbly submit, are murders, according to every Shastur, as well as to the common sense of all nations.

Your petitioners further beg leave to state to your lordship, that women have been permitted to burn themselves on the funeral piles of men who were not their husbands ; that widows of Brahmins have burnt themselves on a separate pile ; that widows of the other castes have

burnt themselves many years after witnessing or learning the death of their husbands ; that girls of tender years, pregnant women, and women who have been unfaithful to their husbands, have burnt on their funeral piles ; and that the mothers of infant children, have, contrary to the dictates of nature and morality, as well as of law, abandoned their helpless and innocent offspring, to burn themselves with their deceased husbands.

Your petitioners deem it a happy circumstance, that from the just and liberal policy of the British Government in causing the principal sacred depositories of their law to be printed and translated, and thereby secured from interpolation or false exposition, it stands confirmed by authority not to be disputed, that all these are instances of suicide ; which (are, ?) though not only not prevented, but even generally assisted by the bystanders, in direct opposition to the Shasturs of the Hindu faith, which uniformly denounce the most severe punishments as awaiting in a future state, those who thus wantonly embrace self-destruction : and it seems an insult to the known humanity of the British nation, as well as to your lordship's government, even to imagine that such of these practices as have been already so wisely and justly prohibited should be permitted again to exist.

But if your petitioners were surprised at hearing that any set of their countrymen could seriously pray government to remove restraints on the commission of murder or suicide they cannot help astonishment at the boldness that can have dictated such an argument as the conduct of the former Mussulman rulers of India, which your petitioners understand has been adduced, by way of example, in support of the privilege desired. It is not the wish of your petitioners to recount the numberless insults, cruelties, and oppressions of the governments, to which their forefathers submitted ; the slightest acquaintance with history, teaches what sort of tolerance was allowed to the Hindoo religion, whenever it suited the interest or the caprice of a Maho-

medan prince to interfere with its exercise. Most of those who have signed the petition alluded to, may have seen the chief mosque at Benares, and may have heard of the Hindu temple on the site of which it was built. They may have read also some accounts of the degree of protection afforded to the Hindu religion by Iffurkhan, Nawab of Bengal; the tyrannical conversions of Hindus by Tipoo Sultan, took place within their recollection. But setting aside these instances, the general spirit of the doctrines of the Koran sufficiently explains why Mussulman governors should have felt perfectly indifferent, how many, or in what manner, violent deaths took place amongst their Hindu subjects.

Your petitioners having been compelled, by the motives already mentioned, to obtrude their sentiments on this subject on your lordship's notice, beg leave further to submit to the benevolent attention of your lordship's government; that in the opinion of many of the most learned Brahmins, founded upon their Shasturs, all kinds of voluntary death are prohibited; that Manu, whose authority is admitted to be equal to that even of the Veds, positively enjoins widows to lead a life of virtue and abstinence from sensual gratifications; that the Vedant, which contains the essence of all the Veds, as well as the Geeta, forbid all acts done with the view of future temporary reward; and that amongst the inferior authorities, while some, as the Smriti shasturs, actually prohibit all violent death, others, Mitakshura, declare the leading of a virtuous life preferable to dying on the pile of a husband, and a few only insist on the superior merit of con cremation. Amongst these admitted discrepancies of opinion, however, no authority can be found, as to the practices against which the orders of government have been directed; and your petitioners with the greatest confidence maintain, that the authorities which prohibit such self-sacrifices are more entitled to the respect of Hindus, and are actually in higher estimation amongst them, than those by which such sacrifices are countenanced; and they, therefore, reflecting with pleasure and gratitude on the means

that have been adopted to prevent mothers from sacrificing their children at Ganga Sagour, and likewise on the regulations in force against those barbarous Rajputs who made it a rule of their caste to put their female children to death, and also against the practice, formerly frequent, of putting a relation to death, that the crime of the murder might fall on the head of an enemy, look with the most lively hope to such further measures, relative to the custom of burning widows, as may justly be expected from the known wisdom, decisions (?) and humanity, which have ever distinguished your lordship's administration.

And your lordship's petitioners shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

ADDRESS TO LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1830)*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD WILLIAM
CAVENDISH BENTINCK, &c.

MY LORD :

With hearts filled with the deepest gratitude, and impressed with the utmost reverence, we, the undersigned native inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity, beg to be permitted to approach your Lordship, to offer personally our humble but warmest acknowledgments for the invaluable protection which your Lordship's government has recently afforded to the lives of the Hindoo female part of your subjects, and for your humane and successful exertions in rescuing us for ever, from the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as wilful murderers of females, and zealous promoters of the practice of suicide.

Excessive jealousy of their female connexions, operating on the breasts of Hindu princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society, and of their incumbent duty as protectors of the weaker sex, insomuch that, with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows

* On the 16th January, 1830, Lord William Bentinck was presented with addresses on the passing of the regulation abolishing the *Suttee* by Rammohun Roy, Callynath Roy, Huree Hur Dutt, and others. The addresses were signed by 300 inhabitants of Calcutta. There were two addresses, one in Bengali read by Baboo Callynath Roy, the other, a translation of the former in English, read by Baboo Huree Hur Dutt. The similarities of style and arguments show that the address was drawn up by Rammohun Roy and represented his views and sentiments.—*Ed.*

forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power, and under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive, under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands. This system of female destruction, being admirably suited to the selfish and servile disposition of the populace, has been eagerly followed by them, in defiance of the most sacred authorities, such as the *Oopunishuds* or the principal parts of the *Veds*, and the *Bhugvud Geeta*, as well as of the direct commandment of Munoo, the first and the greatest of all the legislators, conveyed in the following words: 'Let a widow continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure', &c. (Ch. 5, v. 158.)

While in fact fulfilling the suggestion of their jealousy, they pretended to justify this hideous practice by quoting some passages from authorities of evidently inferior weight, sanctioning the wilful ascent of a widow on the flaming pile of her husband, as if they were offering such female sacrifices in obedience to the dictates of the Shastrus and not from the influence of jealousy. It is, however, very fortunate that the British government, under whose protection the lives of both the males and females of India have been happily placed by Providence, has, after diligent inquiry, ascertained that even those inferior authorities, permitting wilful ascent by a widow to the flaming pile, have been practically set aside, and that, in gross violation of their language and spirit, the relatives of widows have, in the burning of those infatuated females, almost invariably used to fasten them down on the pile, and heap over them large quantities of wood and other materials adequate to the prevention of their escape—an outrage on humanity which has been frequently perpetrated under the indirect sanction of officers, undeservedly employed for the security of life and preservation of peace and tranquillity.

In many instances, in which the vigilance of the magistrate has deterred the native officers of police from

indulging their own inclination, widows have either made their escape from the pile after being partially burnt, or retracted their resolution to burn when brought to the awful task, to the mortifying disappointment of the instigators: while in some instances the resolution to die has been retracted, on pointing out to the widows the impropriety of their intended undertaking, and on promising them safety and maintenance during life, notwithstanding the severe reproaches liable thereby to be heaped on them by their relatives and friends.

In consideration of circumstances so disgraceful in themselves, and so incompatible with the principles of British rule, your Lordship in Council, fully impressed with the duties required of you by justice and humanity has deemed it incumbent on you, for the honour of the British name, to come to the resolution, that the lives of your female Hindoo subjects should be henceforth more efficiently protected; that the heinous sin of cruelty to females may no longer be committed, and that the most ancient and purest system of Hindoo religion should not any longer be set at nought by the Hindoos themselves. The magistrates, in consequence, are, we understand, positively ordered to execute the resolution of government by all possible means.

We are, my Lord, reluctantly restrained by the consideration of the nature of your exalted situation, from indicating our inward feelings by presenting any valuable offering as commonly adopted on such occasions; but we should consider ourselves highly guilty of insincerity and ingratitude, if we remained negligently silent when urgently called upon by our feelings and conscience to express publicly the gratitude we feel for the overlasting obligation you have graciously conferred on the Hindoo community at large. We, however, are at a loss to find language sufficiently indicative even of a small portion of the sentiments we are desirous of expressing on the occasion; we must therefore conclude this address with

entreating that your Lordship will condescendingly accept our most grateful acknowledgments for this act of benevolence towards us, and will pardon the silence of those who, though equally partaking of the blessing bestowed by your Lordship, have, through ignorance or prejudice, omitted to join us in this common cause.¹

¹“The following was His Lordship’s reply :

“It is very satisfactory for me to find that, according to the opinions of so many respectable and intelligent Hindoos, the practice which has recently been prohibited, not only was not required by the rules of their religion, but was at variance with those writings which they deem to be of the greatest force and authority. Nothing but a reluctance to inflict punishment for acts which might be conscientiously believed to be enjoined by religious precepts, could have induced the British government at any time to permit, within territories under its protection, an usage so violently opposed to the best feelings of human nature. Those who present this address are right in supposing that by every nation in the world, except the Hindoos themselves, this part of their customs has always been made a reproach against them, and nothing so strangely contrasted with the better features of their own national character, so inconsistent with the affections which unite families, so destructive of the moral principles on which society is founded, has ever subsisted amongst a people in other respects so civilized. I trust that the reproach is removed for ever; and I feel a sincere pleasure in thinking that the Hindoos will thereby be exalted in the estimation of mankind, to an extent in some degree proportioned to the repugnance which was felt for the usage which has now ceased’.”

—*Asiatic Journal*, N. S. Vol II, Asiatic Intelligence, p. 139.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT IN DEFENCE OF
THE REGULATION PROHIBITING THE
PRACTICE OF SUTTEE (1830-31)*

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Natives of India, Sheweth,—That a practice has prevailed throughout India, particularly in Bengal, of burning those widows on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands, who could be induced to offer themselves as voluntary sacrifices.

That this barbarous and inhuman practice has been happily abolished by the Government of the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, who has thus conferred an inestimable benefit on the native population of India.

That the regulation prohibiting the practice has been received with gratitude by many, while the majority of the native population have remained passive and acquiescent, although nearly a twelve month has elapsed since the abolition took place.

That, as a proof of your Honourable House of the feeling entertained on the subject by a numerous portion of the native community, the subjoined address was presented to the Governor General in Council expressive of their thanks for his benevolent interference.

*This petition was taken to England by Rajah Rammohun Roy and presented by Lord Lansdowne before the House of Lords to counteract the impression sought to be created by the appeal sent to the authorities in England by orthodox advocates of Suttee belonging to the Dhurmu Subha. It is generally known to be, and is probably the production of Raja Rammohun Roy. For the text of the petition *Vide Asiatic Journal*, N. S. Vol. V, Asiatic Intelligence pp. 20-21.—*Ed.*

[Here the petitioners recited the address presented by the Native Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta to Lord William Bentinck, in January, 1830.]¹

That your petitioners have, however, learned that a number of natives, professing to be attached to the ancient practice, have prepared a petition to your Honourable House, soliciting the re-establishment of the rite of burning their widows; and therefore to prevent your Honourable House from supposing that their sentiments are those of the whole native population, your petitioners respectfully present themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and pray that the Regulation of the local government may be confirmed and enforced.

¹The presentation of the Petition and the Address is thus described by the Asiatic Journal:—

House of Lords, July 1st, 1831.

Suttee. The Marquess of Lansdowne said, he had a petition of a peculiar nature to present to the House, to which he wished to call their lordships' attention. Their lordships, doubtless were acquainted with the fact, that Lord William Bentinck, as Governor General of India, took upon himself some time ago, after giving to the subject that calm and serious attention which is demanded, to issue an order by which a most inhuman practice, that of burning widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was forbidden. In consequence of this, some months after the order was carried into effect, a number of Hindus assembled together and signed a petition, deprecating this intervention with their religious ceremonies, and condemning the interference of the Company and their agents, in thus forbidding the fulfilment of an ancient right. The petitioners prayed that the subject might be investigated before the Privy Council. The petition was forward to the Privy Council, and if it were the wish of those persons to be heard before that body, it would be the duty of the Privy Council so to hear them. But since that petition was presented, an individual who he believed was known to some of their lordships, and whose

That your petitioners cannot permit themselves to suppose that such a practice, abhorrent to all the feelings of nature, the obligations of society, and the principles of good government, will receive the sanction of your Honourable House, much less that, having been abolished, the British name and character will be dishonoured by its re-establishment.

That your petitioners confidently rely on receiving from your Honourable House a full and final confirmation of the Act of the Governor General in Council abolishing the rite of widow-burning.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

abilities were very generally acknowledged in the East—a Brahmin of India, Rammohun Roy—called upon him and stated, that, under the impression which existed in India, that such a petition as that which he had described would be presented, not to the Privy Council, but to the House of Lords, a number of the most influential and intellectual natives of India had met together and determined to send a counter-petition (that, which he held in his hand) to the House of Lords. In the petition they expressed the great approbation with which they viewed this act of the government of India; and they stated their decided conviction, after looking into the Shasturs and Vedas, that the inhuman custom which had been abolished was not authorised by the Hindu religion. They observed, that it was first instituted by certain Hindu princes for private and personal reasons; and they further declared, that one of the most important injunctions of Menu was, that widows should live in the observance of purity and virtue after the death of their husbands—that they should lead a life of chastity and austerity, but that they should not destroy themselves. In his opinion, every human mind must rejoice at the abolition of such a custom. Many of those who had governed India were, he believed, shocked at the reflection that a practice of this description prevailed and that they were without the power of preventing such disgusting scenes.

The petition was laid on the table.

Rammohun on Education.

A LETTER
ON
ENGLISH EDUCATION

CALCUTTA

1823

Sir,

I beg leave to send you the accompanying address and shall feel obliged if you will have the goodness to lay it before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

Calcutta,

I have, etc.,

The 11th December 1823.

RAMMOHUN ROY.¹

¹ *Vide* Selections from Educational Records (Bureau of Education, India) ed. by H. Sharp C.S.I. C.I.E. Part I, p. 98.

This is probably the letter that Rammohun wrote to Bishop Heber requesting him to lay his address before Lord Amherst—
Ed.

A LETTER ON ENGLISH EDUCATION.*

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE WILLIAM PITT,
LORD AMHERST.

MY LORD,

HUMBLY reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language,

*Raja Rammohun Roy was one of the foremost of those who laboured for the spread of English Education. The old Hindu College was established mainly through the exertions of Sir Edward Hyde East, David Hare, and Rammohun Roy. Soon after its establishment there gradually developed a bitter controversy between the 'Orientalists,' *i. e.*, persons who eagerly worked for the encouragement of the study of the oriental languages and against the introduction of English Education, and the 'Anglicists,' *i. e.*, those who advocated the introduction of English Education and scientific culture. Rammohun Roy was one of the most prominent of the Anglicists of those early days. This controversy raged for more than twelve years till it was ended by the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck, dated the 7th May, 1835. At the first stage of this controversy, when the Orientalists had induced the Government to sanction the establishment of a Sangsrit College, Rammohun, understanding fully well the significance of this move wrote and sent through Bishop Heber the above letter as a protest against the proposed measure. It was owing, perhaps, to this agitation that the foundation-stone of the building intended for the Sangsrit College, was laid in the name of the Hindu College (February, 1824,) and the Hindu College was located there along with the Sangsrit College.—*Ed.*

literature, manners, customs, and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sanscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to enlighten the Natives of India by Education,—a blessing to which they must ever be grateful; and every well wisher to the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to this end should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened of the Nations of the West with the glorious ambitions of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of modern Europe.

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sangsrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangsrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sangsrit College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sangsrit in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to those most eminent Professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted

be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed ; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Byakurun or Sangscrit Grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following : *Khad*, signifying to eat. *khaduti* he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *khaduti*, taken as a whole, convey the meaning *he*, *she*, or *it eats*, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word ? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat*, how much in the *s* ? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by those two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly ?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant :—In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity ? What relation does it bear to the divine essence ? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence ; that as father, brother, etc., have no actual entirety, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Veds, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Ved, etc.

Again the student of the Nyaya Shastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to

compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sangscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

Calcutta :

The 11th December 1823.

I have, etc.,

RAMMOHUN ROY.¹

¹ *Vide* Selections from Educational Records. (Bureau of Education, India) ed. by H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E. Part I, pp. 99-101,

BENGALEE
G R A M M A R
IN THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

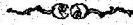
BY RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA :

Printed at the Unitarian Press,

1826.

INTRODUCTION.



It is almost impossible for individuals residing in this Metropolis to remain unheedful of the persevering exertions of many European philanthropists in the noble attempt to ameliorate the moral condition of its inhabitants. Some of these gentlemen, with a view to facilitate intercourse between themselves and the natives, have undergone much labour in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernacular language of the country; while others are diligently seeking access to it, without any expectation of deriving useful information or rational entertainment from any work in the language. This tract, being composed with a view to convey the principal rules applicable to that tongue and a brief outline of the general principles of Grammar, is intended as a humble present for those worthy persons; and should they find it of use by affording them aid in their own studies, or in directing those of others, I shall consider myself well-rewarded for the expence¹ and labor bestowed on its publication.

Calcutta, }
12th June 1826. }

¹ Misprint for 'expense'—*Ed.*

BENGALEE
G R A M M A R
IN THE
English Language.

CHAPTER I.



Section 1.

Man expresses his thoughts principally* by means of oral sounds বক্তৃধ্বনি. Of these some are natural and bear the same signification amongst all nations ; as the sounds of crying and laughing. Others are of conventional adoption ; and of these last the inhabitants of various countries have each their own peculiar sounds for the expression of their ideas. Those conventional sounds form what is called language ভাষা, and are frequently expressed by conventional marks called characters, অক্ষর.

Grammar ব্যাকরণ explains the principles on which conventional sounds or marks are composed and arranged to express thoughts.

Bengalee Grammar explains the principles of the Bengalee Language.

Grammarians divide sounds into what are considered their elementary parts, called letters বর্ণ.

A word পদ is a sound or any number of sounds uttered as one whole, and bearing a conventional meaning.

* Thoughts are also expressed by gestures of the body or by other symbols or marks.

A sentence বাক্য is formed of as many words* as serve for the expression of a thought.

Letters, words, and sentences, therefore, form the whole subject of Grammar.

Orthoepy is the right use of letters in pronunciation.

Orthography is the right use of letters in expressing sounds by marks called writing.

Etymology divides words into Classes, and teaches the variations in words that express circumstance; such as আমি, আমাকে, আমার; দিলাম, দিলে, দিলেক

Syntax teaches the construction of words in a sentence as arranged merely to express thought.

Prosody teaches the arrangement of words in a sentence in relation to their sounds.

Section 2.

Of Orthoepy and Orthograph(y).

উচ্চারণ শুদ্ধি এবং লিপি শুদ্ধি.¹

Letters are divided into two classes; Consonants ব্যঞ্জন or হ্রস্ব, and vowels স্বর.

A Consonant is a sound which contributes to the formation of a word but cannot be itself pronounced without the assistance of another letter, as ক, খ, ঙ্গ.

A Vowel is a letter which can be pronounced by itself, and joined to consonants serves to render them utterable, as অ, আ, ঙ্গ.

The Bengalese, in imitation of the Sungskrit Grammars, divide their letters into 34 consonants and 16 vowels; but several of these are of rare use, except in writing Sungskrit words in the Bengalee character.

* These may be either expressed, as "John sleeps" or only in part understood, as "Go" i. e. Do thou go; or wholly understood as in reply to the question, Have you eaten? the term "Yes" is equal to, "I have eaten."

¹ i. e. শুদ্ধি—*Ed.*

Consonants.

ক*	খ	গ	ঘ	ঙ
ku,	khu,	gu,	ghu,	õñu,
চ	ছ	জ	ঝ	ঞ
chu,	chhu,	ju,	jhu,	iñu,
ট	ঠ	ড	ঢ	ণ
ttu,	tthu,	ddu,	ddhu,	anu,
ত	থ	দ	ধ	ন
t(u),	thu,	du,	dhu,	nu,
প	ফ	ব	ভ	ম
pu,	phu,	bu,	bhu,	mu,
য	র		ল	ব
yu,	ru,		lu,	wu or bu,
শ	ষ	স	হ	ক্ষ
shu,	shhu,	su or shu,	hu,	kshu or khu.

Vowels.

অ	আ†	ই	ঈ	উ‡	ঊ§
u,	a,	i,	ee,	oo,	õõ,
ঋ	ঌ	ৱ	ঌ	এ	ঐ
ri,	ree,	li,	lee,	e,	ei,
ও	ঔ	অ• ¹	অঃ		
o,	ou,	ung.	uh.		

ৱ, ব, ব্, ষ, ঋ, ঌ, ৱ, ঌ, অ• and অঃ are found only in words that are originally Sungskrit.

*In expressing the sounds of the Bengalee characters in the English or, as it is termed, the Roman character, the letter u is intended to be pronounced as in hut ; a as in father ; i as in fit ; e as in obey ; o as in boat ; ou as in house.

† অ. ঈ. উ. ঋ. (ঌ ?) and ঌ are the corresponding long vowels of অ. ই. উ. ঋ. and ৱ ; So ঐ. ঔ. are the corresponding diphthongs of এ. and ও. The Consonant kshu is a double letter.

‡ oo as in good.—§ õõ as in moon.

¹ • = ং—Ed.

The first class ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ঙ together with অ, আ, এ, ঐ, ও, ঔ, and হ are gutturals.

The second class চ, ছ, জ, ঝ, ঞ with য, শ, ঙ, and ঙ are palatines.

The third class ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ, ণ, with র, ব, ঝ, and ঞ are linguals.

The fourth class ত, থ, দ, ধ, ন with ল, স, ব, ঞ and ঙ are dentals.

The fifth class প, ফ, ব, ভ, ম with উ and ঊ, are labials.*

As no consonant can be pronounced alone, the sound of the vowel অ is added to each consonant in the alphabet, as if it were inherent.

Section 3.

On the sounds of individual letters.

The second and fourth letters of each of the five classes are the corresponding aspirated letters of the first and third ; *khu*, for instance, is the corresponding aspirated letter of *ku* ; and *ghu* of *gu* ; as is already pointed out in the Alphabetical Table.

ঙ

Is pronounced like a nasal o ; as in ঙ্কারায় নমো নমঃ
oñkarayu numo numuh.

ঞ

Is sounded like a nasal** i ; as in ঞ্কারঃ *inkaruh.*

ট

Is sounded sharply like the common English *t* in *tale* without any peculiar position of the tongue.

* এ, are (and ?) ঐ, are also classed among palatines in Sungskrit, and ও and ঔ among labials.

** It is more correctly pronounced with an intermediate sound betwixt *i* and nasal.

ড

Is likewise pronounced exactly like the English *d* in *door*.

ত

Is pronounced with the tongue more advanced betwixt the teeth than the Roman *t*. The provincial sound of *t* in the word *butter* expresses ত exactly.

দ

In like manner must be pronounced with the tongue between the teeth, as in the provincial mode of pronouncing *d* in *ladder*, approaching to the sound of *th* in *thus*.

ফ

Is pronounced somewhat like the aspirated *p* in *philosopher*. The difference between their respective sounds is, that in pronouncing ফ the lips are brought more close to each other than in sounding the English *ph*.

অ•

The mark • ng, called অলুবার, is placed among the vowels ; as it always follows a vowel both in writing and pronunciation ; as in অ• ung ; গুরু gooroo, গুরু• gooroong.

অঃ

This mark is also classed among the vowels, on account of its being invariably used after a vowel. It has precisely the same power as হ without an inherent vowel after it, as in রামঃ ramuh, হরিঃ hurih.

On variations from the regular pronunciation.

ছ

By ignorant writers is frequently used to express the sound of *s* in words of foreign origin ; as in মোছিলমান, পাত্ছা, &c.

ঞ

When it forms the first member of a compound with

চ, ছ, জ, or ঙ, is sounded like soft *n* as সঞ্চয়, বাঞ্ছা, পিঞ্জর, বাঞ্ছা, &c. But when it is preceded by জ, both of them are pronounced like *gu* with a nasal accent, as in আজ্ঞা *agnā*; and when preceded by চ or শ, it is sounded like a hard nasal *n*, as in জাঞ্জা *jachnā*.

ড

With a mark below it thus *ḍ*, is pronounced with an intermediate sound betwixt *d* and *r*, which is produced by an attempt to pronounce *r* with the tongue applied to the same part of the palate as in pronouncing *d*; as বড়, খাঁড়া, বুড়া &c. To distinguish it from the real ড or *d* when writing Bengalee in English characters, aspirated *rh* may be used with some propriety, as most nearly approaching the true sound of this form of the letter.

ঢ

Besides its usual sound *dh*, it is sometimes pronounced still harder than ড or *rh*, and is often distinguished by a stroke below it, as a substitute for the English *h*; as in রুঢ় *roorhh*, দৃঢ় *drithhh* &c.

These two letters ড *du* and ঢ *dhu*, it may be remarked, are always sounded as ড *rh* and ঢ *rhh*, except in the beginning of words; as ডাল and ঢাল, or when placed second in order in compound letters, as ষণ্ড, দাঢ্য, or even first, if compounded with ব্, র ড, as উড, বড্, গড্ডরিকা.

ণ

Is found only in Sungskrit words as before observed; and when joined with another letter, this is sounded like ন or the English soft *n*; as কণ্ঠা.

ম

When the second member of a compound consonant, frequently loses its own sound in pronunciation, doubling generally the consonant to which it is attached, and giving it a sort of nasal sound; as পদ্ম, স্মৃতি, &c. Instead of pronouncing Pudmu, Smriti, as the natives of the Upper Pro-

vinces properly do, Bengalese, without exception, pronounce *Puddnu*, *Shririti*, &c.

য

Has the sound of *j* in the beginning of words, as in *যম* ; as well as in the beginning of syllables, as in *অযুযোগ*, with a few exception, as in *বিয়োগ* *আয়াস* &c. ; and when it is the first member of a compound with another *য* it has also the sound of *j*, as in *ভ্রায়* : But in all other situations it has precisely the power of the English *y* in *yoke* as *ব্‌ক্য*.

ব্

Is written in the Alphabet as having the sound of either *w* or *v* dental or *b* labial. But it has the former sound only when compounded with another consonant ; as in *দ্বার* *dwar* ; except *ব*, which has a tendency to double the consonant to which it is prefixed ; as in *বব্বর*, and except *গ*, or *ম*, as *স্বামী*, *অম্ব*.

শ ব স.

In Sungskrit these three letters are described as possessing distinct sounds pronounced with different organs, and are respectively called *Taluvyu* or palatine, *Moordhunya* or lingual, and *Duntyu* or dental. In Bengalee however with certain exceptions, they are indiscriminately pronounced as *sh* and almost as indiscriminately written ; though, for the sake of Etymology, it were to be wished that orthography in this respect were more attended to.

It may be remarked¹, however, that *য* is seldom written at the beginning of a word ; that *শ* has the sound of *s* before *র*, *ঋ*, or *ন*, as in *শ্রী*,² *শৃগাল*, *শ্রম* ; and that *স* has the same sound of *s*, when forming the first member of compounds with *ত*, *থ*,

¹ Misprint for 'remarked'—*Ed.*

² *i. e.* *শ্রী*—*Ed.*

ন, র, or ঞ as in the words শুব, স্থান, জ্ঞান, স্রক, সৃষ্টি or when affixed to প as in বীপা.

ক

Is asserted by Grammarians, on Etymological grounds, to be a compound of ক and ব; but it is pronounced as if formed of খ and ব, as in পরীক্ষা *pureekhya*

For the vowels ঁ and ঃ, লি and লী may be substituted in writing, and রি and রী for the vowels ঞ and ঞা; except when expressing Sungskrit words in Bengalee characters.

Section 4.

On the conjunction of letters.

When vowels follow consonants so as to be pronounced in the same syllable or by one impulse of the voice, they are liable to a change from the form in which they are written at the beginning of a syllable; except the two last mentioned vowels ° and ঃ, as well as ঁ and ঃ which undergo no change whatever. The first vowel অ is not expressed by any mark when pronounced after a consonant, as কর “do you” which, in fact, is composed of four letters viz. ক, ঞ, র, অ; but both the অs are omitted in writing.

Original forms of vowels,

Their change.

অ a	কা ka
ই i	কি ki
ঈ ee	কী kee
উ oo	কু koo
ঊ ðð	কূ kōō
ঋ ri	কৃ kri
ঌ ree	ক্ৰ kree
এ e	কে ke
ঐ ei	কৈ kei
ও o	কৌ ko
ঔ ou	কৌ kou

१ Signifying the number seven, stands frequently at the head of Bengalee accounts, for the name of Gunesh a Hindoo deity, supposed to have been possessed of the head of an Elephant and the body of a man, who as the leader of the destructive spirits, is invoked to avert their malignant influence. The figure १ having a fancied resemblance to the trunk of an Elephant, conveys an allusion to that deity.

◌ This mark called by Grammarians চন্দ্রবিন্দু *Chundru-vindoo*, when placed over a letter, gives it a strong nasal sound as in বাঁস *bañs*. For the purpose of denoting this mark, a stroke, just over the letter may be used in writing Bengalee in the Roman character.

This mark when separately used, is prefixed to the names of deceased persons.

When a word terminates in a consonant, in order to shew that the last letter bears no inherent অ, the mark is, or rather ought to be, always placed under the consonant, as ব্রক্, দিক্, করিলাম্. This nicety in writing Bengalee, however, is frequently omitted. It may assist the learner in reading, therefore, to know, that except real Bengalee adjectives and those nouns and adjectives that end in double consonants, as খাট *khatu*, ছোট *Chhotu*; রুদ্র, *roodru* শব্দ *shubdu* ভদ্র *bhudru* &c. in no adjective or noun is the letter অ pronounced at the end of a word either simple or compound, as উত্তম্ *Oottum*, সূন্দর *Soondur*; রাম্ *Ram*, রামদাস্ *Ramdas* মহাদেব *Muhadev* &c.*

The rules which are laid down in some Grammars to explain the changes remarked to take place in vowels and consonants, for the sake of sound, when two words are brought together to form a compound word, are applicable only to the Sungskrit language, and can serve but to perplex

* The inherent final অ of Imperative Mode 2 person when dis-respect is not meant, as মার, মারহ, and of the Indicative mode 2 person present, as মার, and also of the Future Tense 1 person, as মারিব, as well as the past tense 3 person when respect is not meant, as ছিল, মারিল, is pronounced.

students of Bengalee, as that language receives such words readily formed from the Sungskrit ; as মূৰাৰি compounded of মূৰ *a demon* and অৰি *enemy*, signifying Krishnu a Hindoo Incarnation, who is said to have destroyed that Demon ; পরমেশ্বর compounded of পরম *the highest* and ঈশ্বর *the Lord*, signifying the Supreme Being. If any student be desirous to know the rules for the particular changes made in simple words, when united to form compounds, let him acquire those laid down in the beginning of Sungskrit Grammars.

CHAPTER II.

Section 1.

ETYMOLOGY.

পদবিধান

All words may, in the first instance, be divided into two classes.

A word which names the subject of our thought or the principal object of a mental operation, is called *a substantive* বিশেষ্য, and that which expresses what is considered as attributed to a subject is called *an attributive* বিশেষণ.

*Division of Substantives.**

A substantive is the name of a subject of which we have a notion ; either through our external senses, as *Ram, man* ; or by our internal powers of mind, as *hope, fear, submission*.

Some names are appropriated only to particular individuals, as *Ram, Shyam, John, Richard*, and are called *proper names* ব্যক্তিসংজ্ঞা ; whilst others are applied to a class of individuals when considered as having some general property

* This work is chiefly intended for the use of English students, and therefore words are subdivided according to the system adopted by European Grammarians, without meaning any preference whatever,

in common, as মনুষ্য *man*, হস্তী *elephant*; or to the classes of individuals of which each class is considered as having some general property distinguishing it from other classes, as বৃক্ষ *tree*, পশু *animal*, and are called *common names* সাধারণনাম.

A second class of substantives consists of words which are used to imply particular individuals, though not in themselves significant of any definite object, or of any class of objects, as *I, thou, He*, আমি তুমি সে (পুরুষ). These are called *Pronouns* প্রতিনাম.

Division of Attributives.

Attributives may be divided into six classes; Adjective, Verb, Participle, Adverb, Preposition, Conjunction, and Interjection.

Such attributives as express the properties or circumstances of nouns without relation to time, are called *Adjectives*, গুণাত্মকবিশেষণ; as ভাল *good*, মন্দ *bad*, পূর্ণ *full*.

While those that express the attributes (or accidents) of nouns with absolute relation to time, are called *verbs*, ক্রিয়াত্মকবিশেষণ as আমি মারি *I strike*, সে মারিলেক *he struck*.

And those that express the circumstances of nouns with regard to time depending on that noted by another verbal attributive, are called *participles*, ক্রিয়াপেক্ষ ক্রিয়াত্মক বিশেষণ; as সে প্রহার করত বাহিরে গেল; He went out, continually *beating*.

Such as express the attributes of other attributives are called *Adverbs*, বিশেষণীয় বিশেষণ; as তিনি শীঘ্র যান, he goes *quickly*, তিনি অত্যন্ত মৃদু হন he is *very* mild.

Such as, when correctly placed before or after a word, express the relation of another attribute or noun to that word, are called *Prepositions*, সম্বন্ধীয় বিশেষণ; as *towards, for* &c. রামের প্রতি *towards* Ram.

Such as, when placed between sentences, express the attribute of copulative or disjunctive relations between the thoughts conveyed by those sentences, and when correctly used between words, express their agreement in accident without governing them, are called *Conjunctions* সম্বন্ধস্বার্থ

বিশেষণ ; as, আমি তাঁহাকে অশ্ব দিলাম কিন্তু তিনি গ্রহণ করিলেন না I gave him a horse, but he did not accept of it ; আমি ও তুমি একত্র যাইব I and thou will go together.

But those that express the momentary passions or emotions of the speaker, though uttered alone, are called *Interjections*, অন্ততাব বিশেষণ, as হায় আমি অযোগ্য কৰ্ম করিলাম alas I have done wrong !

Section 2.

Of Cases.

The relations of a noun to a verb, as *Ram beats*, or of one noun to another, as *Ram's house*, are generally expressed by some peculiarity in the termination of the noun ; as ঘর, a house, ঘরের house's ; or by its relative position, as বালক ঘর ভাঙ্গিলেক, *the boy* broke the house* ; or lastly by the aid of a preposition generally placed in Bengalee after the noun, as সে ঘর হইতে গেল, *he went from the house*, and are called *cases* পরিণমন.

In Bengalee, cases may be reduced to four ; the nominative, accusative, locative, and genitive.

The nominative is that case in which a noun stands when coupled with a verb, so that together they convey a meaning, though separated from all the other words of the sentence expressed or understood ; as সেবসিল *he sat down*.†

* The word "boy" being situated in the beginning of a sentence and being capable of performing the action breaking, is reckoned the nominative case ; and the "house" being placed after the verb in English and close to it in Bengalee and being a passive object, is considered as in the accusative case. Here relative situation, without any change in the termination and without the aid of a preposition requires that one should be the nominative and the other the accusative. In some instances, such as "John beats Thomas", the peculiar situation of the word John and that of Thomas alone serves to denote the former as the nominative and the latter as the accusative.

† The nominative therefore denotes the agent, when the verb related to it is either active or neuter ; as I love, I walk, or

The original form of a noun is used in Bengalee, in denoting the nominative case ; as হরিদাস কহিলেন, *Huridas said*. But it is frequently found in the form of the locative case also, when the noun meant as the nominative is a monosyllable or dissyllable, accompanied with an active verb, as বেদে কহেন the *Ved* says, ষোড়ায় তাহাকে মারিলেক the *horse* killed him.

The accusative denotes that the noun in that form is the object to which an action passes on either really or metaphorically, from another noun in the nominative form ; as আমি শ্যামকে মারি I strike *Shyam* ; মৃত্যুক¹ জয় করিবার নিমিত্ত তিনি ঈশ্বরকে ভজিতেছেন he is worshipping *God* to conquer *death*. It is formed by adding কে * to the proper nominative form of a noun, as সে পুত্রকে পড়াইতেছে he is instructing his son ; But this mark কে is very often omitted in nouns signifying vegetating objects, and especially those which are destitute both of animal and vegetable life ; as, সে আপন রোপিত বৃক্ষ আপনি কাটিতেছে or সে আপন রোপিত বৃক্ষকে আপনি কাটিতেছে he is hewing the *tree* planted by himself ; সে পুস্তক পড়িতেছে, he is reading the *book*.

In such instances as “*Ram gave the book to Shyam*”, where the action of giving passes on from *Ram* first to the *book* and secondly to *Shyam*, the termination কে is added always to the object which is second in view, as হরি বহু ধন হরিদাসকে দিলেন *Huri* gave much money to *Huridas*. আমাকে

expresses the object acted upon, if the verb agreeing with it is passive ; as *I am loved* : It cannot, therefore, be considered synonymous with “agent” but should be called অভিহিতপদ, i, e. both an agent or correctly speaking, the subject of an accident whether in an active or a neuter sense—and the object acted upon when it is made the subject of discourse.

* Sometimes in poetry and most frequently in the language of the natives of the eastern part of Bengal রে or এরে is used instead of কে ; as, তিনি তাহারে ও তাহার পুত্রেরে মারিলেন, he beat him and his son.

¹Misprint for মৃত্যুকে—*Ed.*

পুত্র দেও, grant a son to me ; and sometimes to the object which is first in view, should that object be rational and definite ; as আপন পুত্রকে আমাকে দেও, give me your own son. †

The locative case denotes that the noun in that form expresses the location of the accident referred to in the sentence. It is formed by adding এ or এতে to the nominative, as সে প্রভাতে আসিআছে he arrived at *day-break* ; সে ঘরে, or ঘরেতে, আছে ; he is at *home*. But those nouns that end in আ, have either তে or য় instead of এ or এতে ; as মৃত্তিকাতে or মৃত্তি(স্ত্রি)কায় in earth ; and to those that end in ই ঙ্গি, উ, উ, এ, ঐ, ও, or ঔ, the syllable তে only is added to signify location ; ছুরিতে in the knife, হাতীতে in the elephant.

The Genitive case denotes a noun having a direct or indirect relation to some other noun in the sentence, limiting really or figuratively the sense of the noun it is related to. It is formed by adding এর to the nominative ending in a consonant or অ, as রামের ঘর, Ram's house ; and by adding র to a noun ending in any other of the vowels, as রাজার ধন the king's wealth. Here the word "house" is restricted from meaning any house to signify the individual house of Ram. The noun in the Genitive case has thus the power of an attributive understood.

The instrument employed by an Agent in effecting an accident either active or neuter, is frequently expressed by adding দিয়া to the nominative case or দ্বারা to the Genitive, or sometimes by adding the symbols of the locative case to the nominative form of nouns signifying inanimate objects ; as ছুরি দিয়া, or ছুরির দ্বারা, ‡ or ছুরিতে *through or with a knife*.

*The object first in view is often first mentioned ; but in most cases the sense must be sought from the context.

† Hence there is no necessity of introducing the dative case in Bengalee ; altho' it is unavoidably used in Sungskrit, both from the peculiarity of its termination in that language and from the variety of its application.

‡ The real force of দিয়া and দ্বারা will be explained when treating of prepositions.

As instrumental nouns are generally indicated by prepositions, but seldom by their termination ; we may perhaps dispense with an additional case called the *instrumental*.

When in expressing an accident one subject is represented as proceeding out of or departing from another, the latter is denoted by the preposition হইতে added to the nominative form of nouns in the singular number and to the Genitive form in the plural, as গ্রাম হইতে *from a village* মন্ত্রীদের হইতে *from the counsellors*, বেণেদের হইতে *from the Banyans*. † Hence we might perhaps also dispense with the *ablative* case in the Bengalee language.

When a noun is pronounced with a view of calling, really or figuratively, the attention of the object addressed, the proper nominative form is used without any inflexion ; as হে রাম O Ram ! হে সূর্য্য O Sun ! ও ভাই O brother ! ‡ মহাশয়েরা O Gentlemen ! The *vocative*, therefore, as a distinct case appears unnecessary.

Section 3.

Of Number.

When a thing, or a number of things forming one class, is considered as one object of thought, the noun signifying the same is used in its original form called the singular number এক বচন ; as মনুজ a man, জগৎ a world ; and when more than one individual or collective object (or in some languages more than two objects) are considered as the subjects of discourse, the noun signifying them is generally found in another form than the singular, which is named the plural number বহু বচন ; as মনুষ্যেরা men.

In Bengalee those nouns only which denote rational creatures or objects personified vary the form of the singular to express their plurality, as পণ্ডিত Doctor, পণ্ডিতেরা Doctors.

† The change produced in the Pronoun আমি and the others by the addition of হইতে, প্রতি, কর্তৃক will be noticed in the chapter treating of Prepositions.

‡ The force of each of the vocative particles will be explained when treating of interjections.

In other nouns plurality is denoted only by some words expressive of number, as গরু a cow, গরুসকল cows, literally, all cows. But when a man is styled গরু for his stupidity, to express plurality of number, the plural form of the noun is adopted ; as পশুরা animals, that is stupid men ; এই গরুদিগেগে জ্ঞান দেও give knowledge to these cows, that is, to these stupid men. We may also say সকল মনুষ্য or মনুষ্যসকল all men, in expressing the plural. Such nouns of number admit generally of declension like substantives in the singular number.

The cases and numbers of Bengalee nouns are exhibited in the following examples.

Example of a noun ending in a consonant as বালক্, or in অ* as মনুষ্য, and having a plural form.

Singular Number.

Nom.	বালক্	a boy
Acc.	বালক্কে	a boy or to a boy †
Loc.	বালকে‡ or বালকেতে	in a boy
Gen.	বালকের	of a boy or a boy's

Plural Number.

Nom.	বালকেরা	boys
Acc.	বালকদিগে** or বালকদিগে	boys or to boys
Loc.	বালকদিগেতে	in boys
Gen.	বালকদিগের or বালকদের	of boys

* See in page 15, (p. 118 of this edition) the remarks on the pronunciation of অ at the end of a word.

† See in page 22 (p. 123 of this edition) the remarks on the accusative case.

‡ In the locative form nouns ending in অ change it into এ or এতে ; as যুদ্ধে যুদ্ধেতে, in a war ; and these locatives are pronounced in the same manner as those that end in a consonant. When the noun ends in ত the first form is preferable ; as হাতে in the hand, প্রভাতে at day-break.

** This case is compounded of বালক a boy, দিগ expressing plurality, and কে the symbol of the accusative, and in the second form (বালকদিগে) ক of কে is changed into গ.

Nouns signifying inferior animals are likewise declined ; except that they have no regular plural number. Their plurality as already observed may be denoted by adding সকল to the word before the symbols of the cases.

Example of a noun ending in any of the proper vowels except অ.

Singular.

Nom.	গরু*	a Cow
Acc.	গরুকে	a Cow or to a Cow
Loc.	গরুতে†	in a Cow
Gen.	গরুর	of a Cow or a Cow's

Plural.

Nom.	গরুসকল	Cows
Acc.	গরুসকলকে	Cows or to Cows
Loc.	গরুসকলে or গরুসকলেতে	in Cows
Gen.	গরুসকলের	of Cows

Nouns implying vegetating objects and such as are destitute both of animal and vegetable life, are declined like those that signify inferior animals, except that the symbol কে in the accusative case of the former is sometimes, and in that of the latter very frequently omitted ; as বৃক্ষ or বৃক্ষে কাটিলেন he hewed the tree ; পুস্তক পড়িলেন he read the book. See page 22.¹

Section 4.

Remarks on the Cases.

The termination of the nominative case is sometimes changed when contempt is implied or intended ; and thus altered may be declined regularly, as Nom. ** রামা, Acc. †† রামাকে, Loc. ‡ রামায় or রামাতে, Gen. § রামার.

* This and similar nouns sometimes convey plurality even in the singular form ; as গরুকে ঘাস দেও give grass to the Cow or to the Cows.

† See in page 23 (p. 123 of this edition) the remarks on the locative case.

¹ See page 122 of this edition—*Ed.*

** উক্ত or অভিহিত. †† কক্ষ. ‡ অধিকরণ. § সম্বন্ধ(ক?).

Nouns of one syllable ending in a consonant admit of having the letter অ added ; as রামা Rama instead of Ram. But such as end in অ have অ changed to আ ; as কৃষ্ণা instead of কৃষ্ণ.

Nouns of more than one syllable ending in a consonant add এ ; as, মানিক, মানিকে ; গোপাল, গোপালে ; except when the noun is compound and the latter word composing it is a monosyllable containing a short vowel ; when it follows the usual rule of monosyllables : as রামধনা for রামধন a name compounded of Ram and Dhun.

Nouns ending in ই or ঐ change the final vowel to a soft এ, as হরি হরে, কাশী, কাশে or কেশে.

Nouns ending in উ change that vowel to ও ; as শত্ৰু, শত্রো.

Nouns ending in আ, if dissyllables, having the first syllable terminated in আ also, change the former আ to এ and the latter to ও ; as রেধো for রাধা ; but others seldom admit of any change ; as রমা, ঞ্জামা, তারা.

সরূপ, সরূপো ; গনেশ, গনেশ¹ ; and some others are irregularly formed. This contemptuous manner, in which superiors speak of and address men of inferior birth and menial employment, is one of the degrading consequences of aristocracy in this country. As it is strongly hoped that in a few years under the blessings of the British Rule, one man will know his duty to another, these expressions will then be scarcely used ; and I will therefore not proceed further on this subject.

The phrase হাতে মারিলেক and some others would seem to shew, that the accusative case is sometimes formed by adding এ ; but in these cases the noun is, in fact, in the Locative case, and the phrase may be translated "he struck (me) on the hand."

Section 5.

Of Gender

লিঙ্গ.

The variations in the form of a noun which in many

¹ Misprint for গণেশ—*Ed.*

languages mark either a real or figurative distinction of sex, are little known in Bengalee.

Of those that admit of this change the names of Males ending in অ or আ when applied to females of the same kind are generally formed by changing অ to ইনী ; as কৈবর্ত a keivurttu, কৈবর্তিনী a female keivurttu ; and by adding নী to আ ; as ধোবা, a dhoba, ধোবানী a female dhoba ; সেকরা a sekra, সেকরানী a female sekra.

Nouns denoting rational creatures ending in ই, উ or a consonant, except ন, ল, often add নী for the feminine ; as হাড়ি a harhi, হাড়িনী a female harhi ; মালি a mali, মালিনী (or মেলেনী) a female mali ; কলু a kuloo, কলুনী a female kuloo ; কামার a kamar, কামারনী a female kamar.*

Those ending in ন add ঙ্গে in the feminine ; as মোসলমান a moossilman, মোসলমানী a female moossilman ; পাঠান a patthan, পাঠানী a female patthan ; and those that end in ল most frequently add ইনী or আনী ; as চণ্ডাল a chundal, চণ্ডালিনী a female chundal ; মোগল a mogul, মোগলানী a female mogul.

Names of inferior male animals ending in a consonant, add ঙ্গে or ইনী to form the feminine ; as শিয়াল a Jackal, শিয়ালী a she Jackal ; বাঘ a Tiger, বাঘী or বাঘিনী a tigress ; শাপ a snake, শাপিনী a female snake.

Those which end in আ often change that vowel to ঙ্গে ; as ভেড়া a Ram, ভেড়ী a(?) Ewe ; ঘোড়া a horse, ঘোড়ী or ঘুড়ী a mare.† Under this rule may be classed such nouns ending in আ as signify a kinsman when they are applied to his wife : Thus খুড়া an uncle on the father's side, খুড়ী the wife of খুড়া.

Those that end in ই, ঙ্গে, add নী ; as হাতি হাতিনী. The feminine of many nouns similar to the above is formed by prefixing স্ত্রী a female ; as চীল, Kite, স্ত্রীচীল a female Kite ; শশক a hare, স্ত্রী শশক a female hare.

* They often pronounce নাপ্তিনী for নাপিত নী a female of the napit tribe, transferring the ই of the প to the ত.

‡ In the feminine form, as well as in Gentiles and compound nouns, an original long vowel is sometimes changed into a short one ; as ঘোড়া, ঘুড়ী ; গোয়াল, গোয়ালিনী.

The feminine of some others signifying a tribe or nation is expressed by the common Genitive form, as বারেন্দ্রের মেয়ে a female of the Varendru tribe ; ইংরেজের বিবি an English woman.

CHAPTER III.

Section 1.

Nouns irregular.

বাপ a father, মা a mother ; ভাই a brother, ভাজু * a brother's wife ; বুন a sister, বুনাই a sister's husband ; মাসী a mother's sister, মেশো the husband of a মাসী ; আড়িয়া a bull, গাই a cow.

Sungskrit words signifying females are used in Bengalee in their original form, as found in Sungskrit Dictionaries ; as ব্রাহ্মণ, ব্রাহ্মণী ; শূদ্র, শূদ্রা ; ব্যাঘ্র, ব্যাঘ্রী &c.

To introduce in a Bengalee Grammar such rules regarding the feminines as might afford a knowledge of the mode of their formation in Sungskrit would, I think, be attended with much perplexity to a student, without proportional benefit.

Since no distinction of Gender is found in this language in the forms of its verbs, pronouns, or adjectives, as সে পুরুষ¹ ভাল হয়, এবং সে স্ত্রী ভাল হয় "that man is good, and that woman is good ;" any further discussion of this subject would only occasion the student useless labour.

Section 2.

Gentiles.

From names of countries words may be formed signifying objects having relation to those countries under the following rules ; and the words so derived are equivalent to a Genitive case in their signification ; as হিন্দোস্থানী of or belonging to Hindoostan.

If the name of a place ends in আ, the word denoting relation is generally formed by adding ই to the original.

*উ in ভাজু is soft and short like উ in চালু rice.

¹Misprint for পুরুষ—Ed.

Thus ঢাকা becomes ঢাকাই, that is, a person or thing of Dhaka ; ভূষণা ভূষণাই of Bhōshhna ; নদিয়া, নদিয়াই. In common conversation নদেই is in use, but not in writing.

Names ending in ই or ঈ do not change their termination, except in the common form of the Genitive case ; as কাশী, কাশীর ব্রাহ্মন¹ a Brahmun of Kashee.

When the name of a place ends in a consonant or in অ, ঈ or এ is often added to denote relation ; as ভাগলপুর, ভাগলপুরী or ভাগলপুরে a person or thing of Bhagulpoor ; কৃষ্ণনগর কৃষ্ণনগরে of Krishnu Nugur ; বর্দমান বর্দমানে (রাজা) the Raja of Burdhman.

Nouns ending in a consonant if of one syllable, and if আ precede the termination, add frequently the vowel ও to it, and change আ into এ to express perpetual residence in, or close relation to, the primitive ; as গাছ a tree, গেছো an animal or man that continually resides in a tree ; মাছ fish, মেছো that which chiefly lives upon fish. If the vowel be অ instead of আ, ও is only added to the noun ; as বন, forest, বনো * one that resides principally in a forest ; খড়ো a house chiefly made of grass. Nouns of more than one syllable ending in a consonant, add often এ or ইয়া ; as পর্বত, mountain পর্বতে, or পর্বতিয়া, mountainous ; কুমীর (Sungskrit কুম্ভীর) a crocodile, কুমিরে (নদী) a river full of crocodiles. Here the long ঈ is changed into a short one. বানর, monkey, বানরে or বানরিয়া, he who professionally exhibits monkeys ; হরিণ deer, হরিণে (লাফ) deer-like jump ; পাথর stone, পাথরে (চূণ) rock-lime ; গঙ্গাজল the water of the Ganges, গঙ্গাজলে one that swears falsely by the water of the Ganges.

To avoid a multiplicity of rules, we may reckon such derivatives as মুটে or মুটিয়া, he who carries burthens, from মোট burthen, মেটে or মেটিয়া muddy, from মাটী mud, and others, among irregular derivatives.

Names formed in the above manner, if added to other

* In speaking it is sometimes sounded বনো.

¹ Misprint for ব্রাহ্মণ—Ed.

nouns, may be often used as attributives ; as ঢাকাই লোক men of Dhaka.

Such Sungskrit words as imply persons or things as related to a country, profession, or other circumstance, are generally used in Bengalee, as দ্রাবিড় a person or a thing of দ্রাবিড় Druvirh, a Province in Dukshhun ; মৈথিল of the country of মিথিলা Mithila ; গৌড়ীয় one of গৌড় Gourh ; নৈয়ায়িক he who is a professor of ন্যায় Logic.

Section 3.

Of the derivation of abstract nouns.

To express the conduct of a class of objects not held in respect, add মি or আমি to the noun signifying that class ; as ছেল্যা a child, ছেল্যামি childishness or the conduct of a child ; বানর a monkey বানরামি monkey-tricks, or conduct like a monkey. ঘরামি, from ঘর a house, though formed in this manner, is to be considered as an exception, signifying not house-building but a house-builder.

An abstract signification may be expressed by adding আই to some Bengalee substantives and adjectives : as বামন a brahmun, বামনাই brahmunship ; ভাল good, ভালাই goodness ; ঠগ mischievous, ঠগাই mischievousness.

There is no general rule for forming abstract nouns in Bengalee from substantives expressing real objects, or from adjectives ; but those already used in Sungskrit are introduced into Bengalee : such as মনুষ্য or মনুষ্যতা humanity derived from মনুষ্য man to signify what exclusively constitutes the state of being man ; উত্তম or উত্তমতা goodness derived from উত্তম good to signify the state of being good. Thus by the addition of ত্ব or তা to every Sungskrit substantive or adjective an abstract noun is commonly formed.

Several abstract nouns of other forms found in Sungskrit are also used in Bengalee : as ধৈর্য or ধীরতা slowness from ধীর slow ; সৌন্দর্য স্বন্দরত্ব handsomeness from স্বন্দর handsome ; গৌরব respect from গুরু respectful.*

There are few in use in the language of Bengal, and

* Vide the latter part of the chapter on adjectives.

Section 4.
Compound Nouns.
or সমাস.

those may be reduced to four classes. First, such as are composed of a noun in the nominative form and of a passive participle, though sometimes bearing an active sense, are pretty frequent. The former word of the compound, though in the nominative form, is often substituted for the accusative or the locative; as হাত ভাঙ্গা * one whose arm is broken. In this instance হাত is the nominative and ভাঙ্গা is the passive participle having a passive sense. But হাড় কাটা † (ছুরি) signifies that knife which is capable of cutting the bone : in this case হাড়, bone, though in the nominative form, is a substitute for the accusative, and কাটা cut, though in the form of a passive participle, has an active sense. গাছ পাকা ‡ from গাছ a tree and পাকা ripe, a fruit become ripe on the tree ; the former is meant as the locative case and the latter has an intransitive sense.

The second class consists of such as are composed of two nouns, in the first of which the nominative form is substituted for the genitive or locative case and the latter, though in the nominative form, may end in either এ, ও, or আ: As তাল পুখুরে ** composed of তাল a kind of tree and পুখুর a pond, a pond of Tal or Palmyra trees, that is a pond surrounded by Tal trees ; কান তুলসী †† of কান the ear and তুলসী a kind of small tree (Ocimum Sanctum) held sacred by Hindoos, or the leaf of that tree, implying one who always keeps the leaf of the তুলসী tree in his ear to appear a devotee ; বানরমুখো ‡‡ compound of বানর monkey, and মুখ face, he who has the face of a monkey, that is, one who resembles a monkey in the face ; মুখচোর of মুখ face and চোর thief, one who has the face of a thief, that is, bashful in conversation. Sometimes to complete the sense a preposition must be un-

* Sung. ভগ্নহস্ত broken-handed.

** Sung. তালপুষ্করিণী.

† Sung. অস্থি ছেদী a bone-cutting (knife.)

†† Sung. তুলসী কঙ্ক. (?)

‡ Sung. বৃক্ষ পক tree-ripened (fruit.)

‡‡ Sung. বানরামুখ

derstood between the two words compounded : As, ঘরপাগল§ composed of ঘর house and পাগল madman, the preposition জন্তে “for” is understood, one mad for, or madly attached to, his house ; সোণা মোড়া * of সোণা gold and মোড়া covered, the preposition দিয়া “with” is understood, that is, a thing covered with gold. To form the feminine several of these compounds change এ, ও, or আ, to ঐ, as বানর মুখী, ঘর পাগলী.

The third class consists of those which are composed of an adjective and a noun, which though in the nominative form, ends in ও or এ ; as মিষ্ট মুখো composed of মিষ্ট sweet and মুখো mouth, that is, one of sweet conversation ; কটা চুলে composed of কটা red and চুল hair, that is red-haired.

The fourth consists of such as are compounded of two words, generally signifying mutual or vehement action, having the final vowel changed into ই : as মারা মারি formed from মারা † beating, that is, reciprocal beating ; দৌড়া দৌড়ি from দৌড়া, running, that is, hard running. Sometimes under the above form we repeat a noun signifying an object used generally as an instrument of an action to imply mutual operation through that instrument, as হাতহাতি “fighting each other hand to hand.”

There may be some compounds that are not included in the above rules ; but a due attention to those stated, may enable a student to trace the mode of their formation, should he meet with any such in reading or conversation.

The above rules are also calculated to illustrate the formation of those Sungskrit compounds called সমাস. Such as চন্দ্রমুখ,¹ compounded of চন্দ্র² the moon and মুখ face ; “he whose face is like the moon,” or “moon-faced” ; ছুরাছুরা of ছুর evil and আছুর mind, that is “evil-minded” ; গৌরাদ্ধ of গৌর white

§ Sung. গৃহোন্নত. * Sung. স্বর্ণমু(ম?)ণ্ডিত.

† মারা is the passive participle “beaten” and sometimes is used to signify the act of beating ; as স (শ ?) রণাগতকে মারা ভাল হয়না. “It is not proper to beat one seeking protection.”

¹ i. e. চন্দ্রমুখ—Ed. ² i. e. চন্দ্র. In both these cases ঞ্চ is used for ঞ্জ perhaps for want of types to represent ঞ্জ—Ed.

and **অঙ্গ** body, "white-bodied"; **ভূপতি** of **ভূ** the land and **পতি** lord, "Lord of the land"; **হস্তকৃত** of **হস্ত** hand and **কৃত** made, that is "a thing made by the hands"; **সৈন্যজয়ী** of **সৈন্য** army and **জয়ী** victorious, "one who defeats an army"; **পিতৃধর্ম** of **পিতৃ** father and **ধর্ম** religion, "the religion of one's own father"; **জলচর** of **জল** water and **চর** living, "what lives in the water."

টা or **টি** is frequently annexed to nouns or to the numerals attached to them. When attached to names of animated objects, the use of **টা** implies indifference or contempt, as **একটা কুকুর** "a dog", **একটা মল্লয়া** "a fellow". Connected with names of inanimate objects it conveys generally an idea of magnitude, as **একটা ঘর** "a house"—not a very small one.

টি is often attached to names of animated objects, when they are mentioned with pity or affection, as **একটি বালক** "a poor or dear boy." Applied to inanimate objects it conveys the idea of insignificance, as **একটি টাকা** "a small sum of one rupee".

গাছা is generally prefixed to names whose principal dimension is length, as **একগাছা দড়ি** "a rope." **টুকি** a little, is often added to the names of liquids, as **জলটুকি** "a little water".

গোটা about, is prefixed to numbers when precision is not intended, as **গোটা চারি টাকা দেও** "give about four rupees".

গুলা attached to names denotes aggregation without respect, as **বালক গুলা** "a crowd of boys," **টাকা গুলা** "a sum of rupees".

গুলিন has the same meaning in a diminutive sense, and is applied where pity or affection is felt towards the object, as **বালক গুলিন** "a collection of poor boys".

খান is applied to the names of objects that are flat or nearly so, without affecting their signification; as **এক খান কাপড়** "a piece of cloth".

খান is added to cloth when it consists of webs of a particular length, or to a gold-mohur; as **এক খান কাপড়** "a web of cloth", **এক খান মোহর** "a gold mohur piece". All these particles, when affixed to numbers, shew that the individual objects are indeterminate; but when immediately attached

to the objects, render the sense most frequently definite : as একখান নৌকা আন “bring a boat”; নৌকাখান আন “bring the boat”; একটা বালককে দেও “give to a boy”; বালকটাকে দেও “give to the boy”.

The examples given above show, that nouns after being joined to any of these particles are declined regularly ; বালকটাকে দেও “give to the boy” &c.

The vowel ই added to a name through all its inflections, gives it a particular emphasis, as সে ব্যক্তিই মারিলেক “that very man beat”; আমাকেই দেও “give to me and to me only”. So ও is added to signify conjunction in the accident without comparison ; as আমিও যাইব, “I also will go”; or with an implied comparison, as সে আমাকেও তুচ্ছ করিলেক, “he despised even me,” that is to say, “he despised others, and even me whom he ought much more to respect”.

A word signifying an accident is sometimes repeated to denote the frequency or higher degree of it : as থর থর “frequently moving”. A word followed by a similar sound of equal length, bearing no meaning, is thereby extended in its signification, as কাপড় চোপড় আছে ? “Is there anything of the cloth kind or of the nature of cloth ?” জল টল আছে ? “Is there any kind of liquid ?”

CHAPTER IV. Of Pronouns.

প্রতিসংজ্ঞা.

A second class of nouns called Pronouns consists of words which are used to imply particular individuals, though not in themselves significant of any definite object or any class of objects ; as, I, thou, he ; আমি, তুমি, সে (পুরুষ).

Pronouns are used to denote either, first, the person speaking as the speaker, as, আমি I ; secondly, the person spoken to as such, as, তুমি thou ; or thirdly, as substitutes for the name of any other subjects previously expressed or understood ; as, সে he, she, or it. When the subject of discourse is neither the speaker nor the person addressed, it may be

a person or thing considered either as present, or as absent ; and in the latter case, as either distantly or nearly viewed ; the first is expressed by এ “this” ; the second by সে “he, she, or it” ; the third by ও “that.”

If in denoting a subject of discourse, a pronoun absolutely requires a clause of a sentence to be joined with it, it is called the relative pronoun ; * যে আমাকে ভুট্ট করিলেক, he who has pleased me.

This first person is used to denote the name of the speaker, but though this be its primary use, it may be made to express a number of persons figuratively associated with himself ; as “we must fight” that is, I and others must associate in the act of fighting.

আমি I is thus declined,

	Singular	Plural
Nom. . . .	আমি	আমরা
Acc. . . .	আমাকে†	আমাদিগেগ্
Loc. . . .	আমাতে or আমায়	আমাদিগেতে
Geni. . . .	আমার	আমাদের

By the vulgar মুই is used for আমি “I”, and is declined thus.

	Singular	Plural
Nom. . . .	মুই	মোরা
Acc. . . .	মোকে	মোদিগেগ্
Loc. . . .	মোতে	মোদিগেতে
Geni. . . .	মোর	মোদের

* In many Asiatic languages the relative pronouns dispense with an antecedent ; but both in Sungskrit and Bengalee, it is requisite that the pronoun সে (he, she or it) be placed before the verb which completes the sentence, as a substitute for the antecedent ; as যে আমাকে ভুট্ট করিলেক সে আমার আত্মীয় হয় literally “who has pleased me he is my friend” ; that is “he who has pleased me is my friend.”

† Pronouns are declined like nouns, and the accusative case of a pronoun appears to be that from which the rest are formed ; but in the nominative case of the first and second person plural there is an omission of আ ; as আমরা, we ; তোমরা ye ; instead of আমার and তোমার।

তুমি Thou, is thus declined.

Singular	Plural
Nom : . . তুমি	তোমরা
Acc : . . তোমাকে	তোমাদিগেগ
Loc : . . . তোমাতে or তোমায়	তোমাদিগেতে
Geni : . . . তোমার	তোমাদের

Instead of তুমি also তুই "thou" is used, when contempt is meant to be expressed towards the person spoken to, It is thus declined.

Nom . . . তুই
Acc . . . তোকে &c. in the other cases like তুই.

সে he, she, or it, is used instead of the name or designation of a person or thing considered as distantly absent and already named or designated ; and is thus declined.

Singular	Plural
Nom . . . সে *	তাহারা
Acc . . . তাহাকে †	তাহাদিগেগ
Loc . . . তাহাতে or তাহায়	তাহাদিগেতে
Geni . . . তাহার	তাহাদের

When the third person is mentioned respectfully তিনি or তিহ is used for সে in the nominative form and in the other cases a nasal accent is placed over the first syllable ; as তাঁহাকে &c.

এ "this," is used for a third person or thing considered as present to the speaker. It is declined thus.

Singular
Nom . . . এ this
Acc . . . ইহাকে this or to this.

* The word সে is often added in Bengalee to the noun and serves somewhat like the article "the" in English, to indicate the particular subject of communication ; as সে চৌকি কি হইল what has become of that chair ? or what has become of the chair ? সে ব্যক্তিকে দেখিতেছি I am seeing that man ; i, e, I am seeing the man who has already been known to me and to yourself.

† From due attention to what I observed in page 22 (p. 122 of this edition), the student will see the propriety of omitting the symbol

In the other cases, it is declined like সে ; that is, the other cases are formed from the accusative ; such as ইহাতে, in this ; ইহার of this ; ইহারা * these.

When the third person present is mentioned with respect, ইনি is used for এ in the nominative, and in the other cases ; the first syllable has the nasal sound ; as, ইঁহাকে &c,

ও "that" is used for a third person or thing considered as at a short distance from the speaker, and is declined like এ ; as Nom. ও Acc. উঁহাকে &c. When respect is conveyed to the person spoken of, উনি is used for ও ; as Nom. উনি, Acc. উঁহাকে. **

When the subject spoken of, is indicated by a clause of a sentence, the word যে "who or which" is used to give such clause a nominal sense ; as, যে তোমাকে মারিলেক, he who has beaten thee : যে here meaning person in general, is limited by the following clause. In a respectful sense যিনি is used for যে, which in the other cases is declined like সে ; as, য়াহাকে † whom or to whom ; so য়াঁহাকে &c. when respect is implied.

কে in the accusative form of a pronoun signifying such objects as are destitute of animal and vegetable life ; as, তাঁহা আমাকে দেও give me that (thing) instead of তাঁহাকে আমাকে দেও.

* In all the oblique cases, এ and ও are used as substantives ; such as ইঁহাকে দেও give to this (man) : ইঁহারা য়ায় these (men) go ; উঁহারা য়াইতেছে those (men) are going : But in the nominative form, এ and ও are chiefly used like adjective Pronouns ; as এ ব্যক্তি ব্যাকরণ পড়িয়াছে this man has read Grammar ; এ ব্যক্তিকে দেও give to this man ; ও ব্যক্তি ব্যাকরণ জানে না that man does not know Grammar.

** When হা drops from the oblique cases in conversation, উ is changed into the original ও ; as, ওঁকে দেও give to that (man) &c. So ইঁ in "ইঁহাকে" this or to this, and in the other oblique cases is changed into the original এ, when হা drops in conversation, as একে দেও give to this (man) একে মার beat this (man) &c.

† In conversation, the second syllable "হা" in the oblique cases of a pronoun is often omitted, as তাকে instead of তাঁহাকে

When an object of enquiry is indicated by a clause of a sentence expressed or understood, the word কে who, or কি what, gives such clause an interrogative as well as nominal use. কে is used when the object of enquiry is a rational, and কি when it is an irrational being ; as কে তোমাকে মারিলেক, Who beat thee? If the object of interrogation is time or place, কবে or কখন "when" is used in the former case, and কোথা "where" in the latter ; as কবে যাইবে, When wilt thou go? কোথা যাইতেছ, Where art thou going? If the manner, in which an accident takes place, is questioned, কেমন "how" is generally used ; as, কেমন আছেন, How is he? কি* পড়িতেছ, What art thou reading?

কে is declined like যে : কবে, কোথা and কেমন are indeclinable. কি is thus declined,

Nom.	কি
Acc.	কি
Loc.	কিসে or কিসেতে
Geni.	কিসের.

কোন্ ending in ন stands for কে, কি, কবে, or কোথা. It is indeclinable and invariably used as an adjective ; as কোন্ ব্যক্তি তোমাকে মারিলেক, Who did strike thee? Or literally, What person did strike thee? কোন্ পুস্তক পড়িতেছ, What book art thou reading? কোন্ দিবস আসিবেন, What day will he come? কোন্ স্থানে যাইতেছ, To what place art thou going?

কোন "any" ending in অ or ও applied to nouns, expresses indefiniteness as to the individual of the class of objects named by such nouns ; as কোন মনুষ্য ঘরে আছেন Is there any person in the house? কোন পুস্তক ঘরে আছে, Is there any book in the house?

কেও or কেহ "any one" is used for a person, when the individual is indefinitely mentioned ; as কেও ও স্থানে আছেন, Is there

him or to him ; একে for ইহাকে this or to this ওকে for উহাকে that or to that ; যাকে for যাহাকে he whom or he to whom ; কাকে whom or to whom.

* Here কি is the accusative connected with the verb "to read."

any person in that place? কোন or কেহ when repeated, is individuals indefinitely without conveying interrogation. কোনো কোনো ব্রাহ্মণ some Brahmuns, কেহ কেহ রাজা some kin.

আপন own, is always prefixed to a noun which, as such, peculiarly related to the noun or pronoun that precedes it. as সে আপন পুত্রকে অতিশয় প্রীতি করে he loves his own son ver much ; সে আপন রাজ্য ত্যাগ করিলেক he forsook his own kingdom.

আপনি self, is added to the pronouns আমি, তুমি, সে, ও, এ, যে and কে, to give to them a particular emphasis ; as আমি আপনি I myself ; তুমি আপনি thou thyself ; সে আপনি he himself ; ও আপনি that (man) himself &c.

আপনি is used for the second person when respect is meant. In this case it requires a verb in the third person ; as আপনি কোথা যাইতেছেন equivalent to the phrase, Pray, Sir, where are you going ? and is declined like other pronouns ; as Nom. Sing. আপনি, Acc. আপনাকে Loc. আপনাতে Gen. আপনার. Plu. আপনারা, আপনাদিগেগে, আপনাদিগেতে,* আপনাদের.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION OF ATTRIBUTIVES**

Of Adjectives.

গুণাত্মক বিশেষণ.

Such attributives as express the properties or circumstances of nouns, without relation to time, are called adjectives গুণাত্মক বিশেষণ ; as good, bad &c.

Hence adjectives are prefixed to nouns, the property or circumstances of which they express, and these nouns are either expressed, as বড় মনুষ্য a great man, ছোট ঘর a small house, or understood, as বড়কে সন্মান কর honor a superior (person.)

* The use of the Locative plural of nouns and pronouns is rare in practice : The Genitive case plural joined with an appropriate preposition is used to convey the meaning ; as আমাদের প্রতি &c.

** See page 17 (p. 119 of this edition).

When nouns are expressed, the adjectives that join them admit no variation of case, number, or gender ; as বড় মনুষ্যেরা superior men ; বড় কন্যাকে to the elder daughter ; except those Sungskrit adjectives that are used in Bengalee, which frequently admit of the variation of gender ; as জ্যেষ্ঠা কন্যাকে to the eldest daughter ; জ্যেষ্ঠ পুত্রকে to the eldest son.

But when nouns are understood and not expressed, adjectives whether of Sungskrit origin or not, are declined like nouns, according to the rules applicable to substantives ; as বড় "great" or "large" implying here a great one or the great one, is thus declined.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. . . .	বড়	বড়রা
Acc. . . .	বড়কে	বড়দিগেগ
Loc. . . .	বড়তে*	বড়দিগেতে
Geni. . . .	বড়র	বড়দের

ক্ষুদ্র, a Sungskrit adjective, "small" or "little" implying here a little one or the little one.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. . . .	ক্ষুদ্র	ক্ষুদ্রেরা
Acc. . . .	ক্ষুদ্রকে	ক্ষুদ্রদিগেগ
Loc. . . .	ক্ষুদ্রে or ক্ষুদ্রেতে	ক্ষুদ্রদিগেতে
Geni. . . .	ক্ষুদ্রর	ক্ষুদ্রদের

Adjectives both Bengalee, and Sungskrit used in Bengalee, equally admit after them or after their substantives when expressed টা, টি, গাছা, গুলি, গুলিন, খান or থান, in the same sense and the same way as substantives do ; as বড়টাকে দেও give the large one &c. বড় বোড়াটাকে দেও give the large horse. For particulars the student may refer to Page 42¹.

Many Sungskrit adjectives used in Bengalee are formed from Sungskrit substantives or adjectives ; as ধাৰ্মিক pious, from ধৰ্ম piety ; মাসিক monthly, from মাস a month ; জ্ঞানী wise,

* In Bengalee adjectives, এ is omitted in এতে of the Locative case singular and in এর of the Genitive as বড়তে for বড়তে and বড়র for বড়ের. This distinction is not allowed in Sungskrit adjectives.

¹ Page 134 of this edition—*Ed.*

from জ্ঞান wisdom, নিৰ্ধন poor, from the negative নিব্ and ধন wealth ; অলৌকিক uncivil, from অ* the negative and লৌকিক civil. From their application, and from a reference to their meaning given in English and Sungskrit Dictionaries, a student may know to what part of speech these words belong, and from what substantives or adjectives they are derived, though he will find himself unable to trace their exact formation without studying Sungskrit.

To form a notion of compound adjectives, I refer the student to the rules for compound nouns from Page 38 to 41¹ ; especially to the latter part, treating of Sungskrit compounds.

The following and similar compounds are generally used in Bengalee : বন্ধুহীন formed of বন্ধু friend and হীন less, i. e. friendless ; ধৰ্ম্কার্য্য of ধৰ্ম্ piety and কার্য্য act, i. e. act of piety ; জ্ঞানশূন্য of জ্ঞান knowledge and শূন্য without, i. e. ignorant, জলপ্রায of জল water and প্রায plenty, i. e. a country where there is plenty of water ; সজীব of স্ with and জীব life, i. e. alive ; সৰ্বজ্ঞ of সৰ্ব all and জ্ঞ knower ; i. e. all wise ; সভাস্থ of সভা assembly and স্থ situated, i. e. member of an assembly ; অহুগত of অহু after (preposition) and গত going, i. e. follower ; ভাগ্যবান* of ভাগ্য prosperity and বান an affix implying possession, i. e. prosperous ; বুদ্ধিমান² of বুদ্ধি intellect and মান্ the same as বান্, i. e. intelligent.

When Sungskrit adjectives are used, the Sungskrit terminations তর and তম express the degrees of comparison.

* The negative অ is changed into অন "un" when prefixed to a word that begins with a vowel ; as অল্পকুল kind, অনল্পকুল unkind.

¹ Page 132-135 of this edition—*Ed.*

** A word ending in অ, আ, ঞ্ or one of the first four letters of each of the five classes or having অ, আ or ঞ্ in the last but one, has the affix "বত্" changed into বান্ when applied to a male object, as ভাগ্যবান্ and into বতী to a female ; as ভাগ্যবতী, and the rest have মান্ or মতী, as বুদ্ধিমান্ an intelligent (man) বুদ্ধিমতী an intelligent (woman.)

² i. e. বুদ্ধিমান্—*Ed.*

The termination তর expresses that the attributive exists in a greater degree in the noun to which the adjective is attached than in another noun which is the subject of comparison ; as শ্রামহইতে রাম বিজ্ঞতর হবেন Ram is more learned than Shyam ; তম indicates that the attributive exists in a more intense degree in the noun to which it is attached than in a plurality of objects which are the subjects of comparison, as রাম ও শ্রাম হইতে হরি বিজ্ঞতম হবেন compared with Ram and Shyam, Huri is the wisest of the three.

It may be remarked that the Sungskrit and Bengalee idiom, in this instance, differs remarkably from the English, which does not require Huri to be included in the first instance with the two persons who are compared with him.

The common mode, however, of expressing the degrees of quality is by prefixing অতি "very" and অত্যন্ত or অতিশয় "most" to an adjective ; as তিনি অতি জ্ঞানবান্ he is very learned ; অত্যন্ত জ্ঞানবান্ most or eminently learned.

Bengalee adjectives have no distinction of gender, as I observed before. But those that are borrowed of Sungskrit, admit of this distinction, and are used as they are found in Sungskrit ; as উত্তম excellent, উত্তমা excellent (woman) ; * সুন্দর handsome, সুন্দরী handsome (woman.)

When the circumstance attributed by an adjective is considered independently of its attachment to any subject, the name of that circumstance is called an Abstract Noun ; as ক্ষুদ্রতা littleness, composed of ক্ষুদ্র little and তা an affix, which being a substitute for "ness" implies abstraction. In দৈর্ঘ্য¹ slowness from ধীর slow, and in many other instances, change in form indicates abstraction. As these and other abstract nouns are formed from adjectives according to rules laid down in Sungskrit Grammars, and are only thence adopted into the Bengalee language, their formation may be minutely ascertained from the study of Sungskrit.**

* Such as end in অ, with a few exceptions, are made feminine by changing অ into আ ; as দীর্ঘ tall দীর্ঘা a tall (woman.)

¹ Misprint for দৈর্ঘ্য—Ed.

** In referring to Dr. Wilson's Sungskrit Dictionary, while

CHAPTER VI.

Of Verbs.

ক্রিয়াস্বক বিশেষণ.

Verbs (or আখ্যাতিক পদ) have already been defined to be those words which express the attributes (or accidents) of nouns with absolute relation to time ; as “মারিলাম” I did beat.

Attributes (or accidents) with relation to time having been considered as of two kinds, verbs are divided accordingly into two classes, Transitive সক্রমক, and Intransitive অক্রমক.

A transitive verb is one which expresses an accident as passing, though sometimes figuratively, from a subject (Agent or কর্তা) to an object (কর্ম); as তিনি রামকে মারিলেন he beat Ram ; সে মহা যোদ্ধা¹ সমুদ্রকেও ভ্রস্ত করিলেক that great hero frightened even the ocean.

An intransitive verb expresses the accident as existing in the subject of discourse ; as রাম বসিযাছেন Ram has sat down.

A transitive verb may be used in two ways, one in the active sense কর্তৃ বাচ্য, and the other in the passive কর্ম বাচ্য. It is called active, when the agent is considered as the principal subject of discourse, as রাম মারিলেন Ram beat, and passive, when the object is principally considered, as আহার দরিদ্রকে দেওয়া গিয়াছে food has been given to the poor,

OF MODES.

প্রকার.

The verb, as expressing accident connected with time, implies relation to a subject, which may be either positive, conditional, or desiderative, designated respectively the

correcting this proof, I find that the derivation of almost all the Sungskrit adjectives in common use among the Bengalese, given by me as examples in Pages 56 and 57 (pp. 141-142 of this edition), is fully explained in that work. I therefore confidently recommend to students to refer to the pages of that useful Dictionary, when they may wish to ascertain the derivation and the application of any word of Sungskrit origin.

¹ i.e. যোদ্ধা—Ed.

Indicative, (or অবধারণ) as আমি মারিতেছি I am beating, the Subjunctive, (or সংযোজন) as যদি আমি মারি if I beat, or the Imperative Mode, (or নিষেজন) as মার তুমি do thou beat. The last includes those modes in other languages called by Grammarians Optative, Precative &c.

OF TENSES.

বিভক্তি বাচ্যকাল.

The various relations of time, as present, past, or future, to the accident expressed by a verb, are called Tenses ; and are denoted by certain inflections ; as আমি মারি I do beat, আমি মারিলাম্ I did beat, আমি মারিব I shall beat.

OF CONJUGATION.

ধাতু রূপ.

The inflections of a verb to express the difference of Modes and Tenses constitute its conjugation, which is of one kind in Bengalee verbs. These inflections (or বিভক্তি) may be considered as formed from the verbal noun ending in the letter “ন” which denotes the attribute, (as for example from মারণ্ the accident “beating” or “to beat” are formed different parts, such as মারি, মারিলাম্, মারিব &c.) according to the following Rules ; in which it may be observed that terminations expressive of person are modified according as the pronoun prefixed is the first, second, or third.

It ought to be observed in this place, that there is no modification of termination in Bengalee verbs expressive of number, (or বচন,) as “মারি” I or we beat, according as the pronoun “I” or “we” is expressed or understood ; আমি “মারি” I beat, আমরা “মারি” we beat. This is the case with the second and third Person ; as তুমি “মার” thou beatest, তোমরা “মার” ye beat ; তিনি “মারেন্” he beats, তাঁহারা “মারেন্” they beat. Nor is there in Bengalee verbs any modification of termination expressive of Gender (or লিঙ্গ) ; as সেঁ কি হইল ? What has become of him, or of her ? This circumstance tends greatly to facilitate the acquisition of the language.

Verbal nouns, from which different parts of Bengalee verbs are formed, may be divided into three classes, ending in

অন্, ওন্ or আন্ respectively. While the two first lose the final syllable “অন্” or “ওন্” to form the Root, before inflection, throughout all the tenses and modes, the third loses only the final ন্. In their stead affix ই as a mark of the first person present of the Indicative and Subjunctive modes ; as “মারি” I beat from “মারণ্” (to beat) a verbal noun ending in অন্ ; “খাই” I eat from খাওন্ (to eat) ending in ওন্ ; বেড়াই I walk from বেড়ান্ (to walk) ending in আন্. The second person present is formed by substituting অ for the above ই, in verbs of the first class, and ও in those of the second and third ; as মার thou beatest ; খাও thou eatest ; বেড়াও thou walkest. For the third person present এন্ is used in the first class, and ন্ only in the others, after rejecting the final অন্, ওন্, or আন্ ; as, মারেন্ he beats, খান্ he eats ; বেড়ান্ he walks.

In the past tense ইলাম্, ইলে,* and ইলেন্ are joined to the root, indicating the first, second, and third persons ; as, মারিলাম্ I did beat, খাইলাম্ I did eat, বেড়াইলাম্ I did walk, &c. So ইব, ইবে, and ইবেন্ in the future tense ; as মারিব I will beat, খাইব I will eat, বেড়াইব I will walk &c.

In like manner and ইতাম্, ইতে, and ইতেন্ to the Root, in the past tense of the subjunctive Mode ; as মারিতাম্, মারিতে, and মারিতেন্ for the first, second, and third persons.

To form the Imperative Mode, অ or অহ্ is affixed to the root of the verbs of the first class in the second person present, as মার, মারহ্ beat thou, and ও to that of the verbs of the second and third classes ; as খাও eat thou, বেড়াও walk thou.

So উন্ in the third person, without distinction of any class ; as মারন্ let him beat ; খাউন্ let him eat ; বেড়াউন্ let

* The natives of the eastern part of Bengal frequently, and poets sometimes, use ইলা instead of ইলে, in the past tense second person, and ইবা instead of ইবে in the future, as for মারিলে thou didst beat, they say মারিলা ; for মারিবে thou wilt beat, they use মারিবা. In poetry ইলা also is, some times, but rarely, used for ইলেন্ in the past tense third person, when respect is intended.

him walk ; and ইও in the second person of the Imperative future ; as মারিও, beat thou in future ; so খাইও, বেড়াইও.

By affixing ইতে the Infinitive Mode and present participle are formed, as মারিতে to beat or beating, খাইতে to eat or eating, বেড়াইতে to walk or walking &c. ; by ইয়া the past participle, as মারিয়া having beaten, খাইয়া having eaten, বেড়াইয়া having walked &c. ; by ইলে the conditional participle, as মারিলে* if beating.

আ being added to the root of the verbs of the first class, and ওয়া to that of the verbs of the second, implies the passive participle or mere accident ; † as মারা beaten or the act of beating ; খাওয়া eaten or the act of eating. In the latter sense it is used as a Gerund ; as মারা beating, মারার of beating, মারাতে in beating.

Verbs of the third class have no such form of Gerund ; but they admit অ or আ in the form of their verbal nouns in the same sense ; as বেড়ান or বেড়ানা to walk or the act of walking.

ইবা affixed to the root of any verb gives it the meaning of a Gerund ; as মারিবা beating, মারিবার of beating, মারিবাতে in beating ; so খাইবা eating, বেড়াইবা walking &c.

Verbal nouns also are used as Gerunds, as মারণ্ beating, মারণের of beating, মারণে in beating : So খাওন্ &c. For the sake of distinction, we may call those that end in আ or ওয়া, the first Gerund, those ending in বা, the Second, and such as end in অন্, ওন্, or আন্ the third Gerund.

Variations of termination in these three classes are so few, that the introduction of more than one conjugation for Bengalee verbs would, I think, be unnecessary.

From a due attention to the above Rules, the reader will perceive that the first person present of the Indicative Mode is that form from which the rest are varied ; the second and

* On this subject the reader is further referred to the Chapter Participles.

† Active verbs will have this form, signifying accident of sitting down.

third persons of the same tense, the Imperative present, and the passive participle only excepted. Therefore from a knowledge of its form as “মারি” I beat, খাই I eat, বেড়াই I walk, (which a Bengalee Dictionary ought to supply) he will be able to conjugate the remainder with much facility.

Verbal nouns of the first class are rendered causal, by putting আ before the final ন্ ; as from করণ্* to do is made করাণ্ to cause to do. Those of the second class require যা before ন্ ; as from খাণ্ is formed খাওয়ান্ to cause to eat. But those of the third class admit no Causal sense.†

Causal verbs end in আন, and are accordingly conjugated after the form of those of the third class, throughout all the Modes, as করাই I cause to do, করাও thou causest to do, করান্ he causes to do, &c.

Verbs of the third class and causal verbs admit no Gerund of the first form, ending in আ or ওয়া; but they have Gerunds of the second and third descriptions ; as বেড়াইবা, বেড়াইবার, বেড়াইবাতে ; বেড়ান্ or বেড়ান, বেড়ানের. বেড়ানেতে ; করাইবা, করাইবার, করাইবাতে ; করান্ or করান, করানের. করানে or করানেতে.

To illustrate the foregoing rules, the following example

* Here ণ is substituted for ন merely in conformity with the rules of Sanskrit orthography.

† Where a verb of the first or second class is changed by admitting the above mentioned আ or যা in its verbal noun, this addition expresses that the noun, which was the nominative to the verb, is no longer the subject of discourse, though admitted to be the agent of the same accident, under the causative influence of another noun then considered as the subject of discourse. Hence the latter noun is placed as the nominative to the verb thus varied, which is, therefore, called a causal verb ; as for example, “তিনি ধর্ম পুস্তক পড়েন” he reads the holy book, the verb “পড়েন” in this sentence becomes causal thus, “আমি তাঁহাকে ধর্ম পুস্তক পড়াই” I cause him to read the holy book. Here the third person, (he) which was the nominative to the verb (“পড়েন” reads) in former sentence, is superseded in the latter by the Person the nominative to the causal verb. (“পড়াই” causative)

is given in the Conjugation of the verb “মারি” of the first Class.

The Indicative Mode in the Bengalee language has three simple tenses. (present, past, and future) independent of any compound tense formed by a participle with an auxiliary verb.

Indicative Mode
Present Tense

Singular or Plural Number.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 আমি or আমরা মারি* | I or we beat |
| 2 তুমি or তোমরা মার | thou beatest or ye beat |
| 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা মারেন | he beats or they beat. |

Past tense.

Singular or Plural Number.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 আমি or আমরা মারিলাম † | I or we did beat |
| 2 তুমি or তোমরা মারিলে | thou didst beat or ye did beat |
| 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা মারিলেন | he or they did beat. |

* This form of the present tense in Bengalee and in many other languages, sometimes, describes an accident that happens usually, without confining it to a particular time, as আমি প্রাতঃকালে পড়ি I read in the morning; that is, I have been and am now in the habit of reading in the morning.

† It is to be observed, that in conversation most frequently, “ই” in the second or third syllable of an inflected verb and in the third syllable of a causal verb, as originally indicating the first person of the present tense, is scarcely pronounced, in the other parts of the verb, as instead of মারিলাম Marilam, they pronounce Marlam; for মারিব Maribu, Marbu; for মারিও mario, maro or mero; for মারিতে Marite, marte; for মারিলে marile, marle; for মারিবা mariya, marya; for মারিবা mariba, marba. So instead of শূইলাম shooilam, they pronounce shoolam; for শূইতে, shooite, shoote; for শূইলে shooile, shoole; for শূইয়া shooiya, shooya. Here and in like instances, ষ has rather a double sound after a vowel.

When ই is dropped, its preceding র is vulgarly changed into ল in conversation, as কলাম instead of করলাম.

Future tense.

Singular or Plural Number.

- 1 আমি or আমরা মারিব I or we will beat
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা মারিবে thou wilt or ye will beat
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা মারিবেন he or they will beat.

Subjunctive Mode *

Present Tense

Singular or Plural Number

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা মারি† if I or we beat
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা মার if thou or ye beat
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা মারেন if he or they beat.

“তে” in the Present definite and the preter Imperfect, which will hereafter be described, is, sometimes, in hurried pronunciation, changed into চ and joined with “ছি or ছিলাম,” when the ই of the second or third syllable is not sounded, as for করিতেছি, kuritechhi, kurchchhi: for বাইতেছি, jaitechhi, jachchhi; and for করিতেছিলাম kuritechhilam, kurchchhilam; for বাইতেছিলাম jaitechhilam, jachchhilam. But nothing can justify such corruption.

* The subjunctive mode requires, for the completion of the sentence in which it is found, another verb. The former implying a supposition and accompanied by a hypothetical particle, such as যদি, যদিপি, and the latter its consequence or resulting accident, whether affirmative or negative; as যদি সূর্য উদয় হয়েন, তবে অন্ধকার থাকিবে না If the Sun rise, there will be no darkness.

† The present tense of the Indicative (Subjunctive ?) Mood is the same as that of the Indicative, with the particle “যদি” prefixed to it; but the verb, which completes the sense in the present tense of the Subjunctive Mode, is commonly found in the future tense of the Indicative, and generally preceded by the adverb “তবে” then; as যদি তুমি মার, তবে আমি মারিব if thou beat, then I shall beat.

The particle “যদি” if, is sometimes understood; as তুমি মার আমি মারিব should thou beat, I shall beat: and in this case the word “তবে” is often prefixed to the latter verb, as indicating the particle “যদি”, which is not here expressed; as তুমি মার তবে আমি মারিব should thou beat, then I shall beat.

Past tense.

Singular or Plural Number.

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা মারিতাম,* If I or we had beaten.
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা মারিতে, If thou hadst beaten or if ye had beaten.
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা মারিতেন, If he or they had beaten.

The Subjunctive Mode has no future tense ; since the present tense conveys futurity conditionally. The past tense of the subjunctive Mode is often used to express the frequency of an accident in the past time ; and in this case it requires no other verb to complete the sense and stands for the Indicative Mode ; as, আমি রাজ বিদ্যালয়ে পড়িতাম I used to study in the Royal College.

Imperative Mode.

Present Tense,

Singular or Plural Number.

- 2 Person. তুমি or তোমরা মার, or মারহ, Beat thou, or beat ye
- 3 Person. তিনি or তাঁহারা মারুন, Let him or them beat.

Future tense.

- 2 Person. তুমি or তোমরা মারিও,** Beat thou or beat ye in future time.

Supine, or what English Gramarians call the Infinitive Mode.

মারিতে to beat.†

Present Participle

মারিতে beating ; ‡

* The second verb, which completes the sense, is used in the same form ; as, যদি তুমি আমাকে মারিতে, আমি তোমাকে মারিতাম if thou hadst beaten me, I would have beaten thee.

** In conversation মারিও is generally contracted to মেরো. So খাইও, যাইও and others that have, in like manner, the vowel অ in the first syllable, are generally contracted to খেও, যেও &c.

† As, তাহাকে মারিতে আমি আসিয়াছি I have come to beat him ; আমাকে মারিতে দেও allow me to beat.

‡ As, আপন পুত্রকে মারিতে আমি তাহাকে দেখিলাম I saw him beating his own son.

Past Participle.

মারিষা having beaten.*

Conditional participle.

মারিলে If I, thou, or he, be beating.†

Passive Participle,

মারা beaten‡

মারা is also used as a Gerund ; as মারা beating, মারার of beating, মারাতে in beating. §

Second Gerund.

মারিবা striking, মারিবার of striking, মারিবাতে in striking.

Third Gerund.

মারণ striking, মারণের of striking, মারণে or মারণেতে in striking.

The auxiliary verb “আছি” I am, is defective, being formed only in the present and past tenses of the Indicative Mode.

Indicative Mode.

Present Tense.

1 আমি or আমরা আছি	I am or we are.
2 তুমি or তোমরা আছ	thou art or ye are.
3 তিনি or তাঁহারা আছেন	he is or they are.

*As সে তোমাকে মারিষা যাইতেছে having beaten thee, he is going away.

† This is applicable to both past and future tenses, and each is distinguished by the verb that follows it, as সে মারিলে, আমি তাহাকে মারিতাম if he was beating, I would have beaten him, সে মারিলে, আমি তাহাকে মারিব if he be beating, I shall beat him.

‡ As, সে মারা যাইবেক he will be beaten ; Intransitive verbs have of course no passive participles ; but they have Gerunds of the same form ; as চলা to walk from “চলি” I walk ; চলার of walking ; চলাতে in walking.

§ As, চাকরকেও মারা ভাল নহে. It is not proper to beat even a servant, মারার বদলে (পরিবর্তে) মারি, striking is (justified) in return for striking ; অন্তকে মারাতে অনেক দোষ ; there is much harm in striking others.

Past tense

- 1 আমি or আমরা আছিলাম or ছিলাম * I was or we were.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা আছিলে or ছিলে thou wast or ye were,
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা আছিলেন or ছিলেন he was or they were.

The present participle as “মারিতে” “করিতে” &c. and the past participle as “মারিষা” “করিষা” &c. are compounded with the auxiliary verb “আছি” I am, after the initial vowel আ being dropped from the verb, to express some particulars of accident with regard to time ; as “মারিতেছি” I am beating, compounded of “মারিতে” beating, and “ছি” am ; “মারিতেছিলাম” I was beating, of “মারিতে” beating, and “ছিলাম” I was ; “মারিষাছি” I am having beaten or I have beaten, of “মারিষা” having beaten, and “ছি” am ; “মারিষাছিলাম” I was having beaten or I had beaten, of “মারিষা” having beaten, and “ছিলাম” I was.

These four compounds are used as tenses of the Indicative Mode, in addition to the three simple tenses already given ; and they are conjugated as follow.

Of Compound Verbs.

Indicative Mode.

First “মারিতেছি” present tense definite, composed of মারিতে and ছি, expressing that the accident is already commenced but not yet completed.

- 1 মারিতেছি I am or we are beating.
- 2 মারিতেছ thou art or ye are beating.
- 3 মারিতেছেন he is or they are beating.

The second “মারিতেছিলাম” composed of “মারিতে”, and “ছিলাম”, which may be designated as Preter-Imperfect, speaking of an accident in past time, which either remained unfinished or of which the completion is not expressed.

- 1 মারিতেছিলাম I was or we were beating.
- 2 মারিতেছিলে thou wast or ye were beating.
- 3 মারিতেছিলেন he was or they were beating.

*. In the past tense the initial vowel আ is always omitted ; but in poetry it is often preserved.

The third “মারিষাছি” composed of “মারিষা”, and “ছি” which is called Preter-Perfect, implying an accident in past time, not interrupted nor annulled by another accident up to the time present.

- 1 মারিষাছি I or we have beaten.
- 2 মারিষাছ thou hast or ye have beaten.
- 3 মারিষাছেন he has or they have beaten.

The fourth “মারিষাছিলাম” composed of “মারিষা”, and “ছিলাম”, which may be termed Preter-Pluperfect, speaking of the completion of an accident in past time supposed to have been followed by another accident at a certain time past.

- 1 মারিষাছিলাম I or we had beaten.
- 2 মারিষাছিলে thou hadst or ye had beaten.
- 3 মারিষাছিলেন he or they had beaten.

By attention to the illustrations already given of the use of participles with the auxiliary verb, the student will be able to join them or the infinitive Mode with verbs of different roots, when their sense admits such coalition ; as “মারিষা” having beaten, with “ফেলি” I throw, implying “having beaten, I throw him” that is, I kill him ; having always an active sense : * So “মারিতে চাহি” I want to beat, of “মারিতে” to beat, with “চাহি” I want ; “মারিতে পারি” I can beat, of “মারিতে” to beat, and “পারি” I can ; “মারিতে লাগি” I begin to beat, of “মারিতে” to beat, and “লাগি” † I begin ; “মারিষা থাকি” of “মারিষা” having beaten, and “থাকি” I exist, I stay, or I use ; that is, “I exist having beaten” or I am used to beat ; ** “মারিতে যাই” I go to beat, of “মারিতে” to beat, and “যাই” I go : Many other instances may be introduced. We therefore stand in no need of unnecessarily multiplying modes on every occasion of the junction of two accidents.

* Such verbs as শুনিষা ফেলি I throw (it) having heard, জানাইষা ফেলি I throw (him) having informed, are not admitted.

† This phrase is generally used by the vulgar.

** The present tense of the verb “থাকি”, when compounded with the past participle and preceded by the subjunctive particle “যদি,” is rendered the subjunctive Mode ; as যদি আমি টাকা লইয়া থাকি, আমি

Each of the three simple Tenses, sometimes, figuratively stands for one of the others, according as the context suggests ; as আইল the past tense (meaning "did come") when it follows the question "রত্নই আসিযাছে" has dinner come? or any similar question, implies "it comes" in a present tense or "it has come" in the preter perfect. Again, যে পর্যন্ত "আমি থাকি" in the present tense (as long as "I stay") when it precedes such a phrase as "ভুমি থাকিবে" (you will stay,) implies future time ; that is, as long as I shall stay, you will stay. So "আপনি ইহা করিবেন" in the future tense (you will do this, Sir) is often used as a respectful form of address, for the present imperative mode, that is, do this, Sir. But the four compound tenses very seldom undergo these variations.

It ought to be observed and duly attended to, that in addressing a second person of respectability, the word "আপনি" self, or "মহাশয়" greatly liberal person, which literally signifies a third person, is generally used ; and consequently the verb governing is placed in the third person instead of the second ; as, আপনি or মহাশয় ইহা করিয়াছেন literally "himself" or "the greatly liberal person" has done this, meaning "you have done this".

When contempt is meant to be conveyed towards the person addressed, "তুই" is substituted for "ভুমি" thou, (as noticed at page 47¹ ;) the verb corresponding, consequently, changes its inflections, by admitting ইস্ for the last অ or ও of the second person in the present tense ; such as "মারিস" for "মার" thou beatest : "আছিস" for "আছ" thou art, "মারিতেছিস্" for "মারিতেছ" thou art beating ; "খাইস" for "খাও" thou eatest, "দেখাইস" for "দেখাও" thou showest. So the last

করিয়া দিব if I have taken money, I will return it. The particle "যদি", expressed or understood, produces this change in the original use of the verb "থাকি" in the Indicative Mode present tense and not in the other tenses ; as for example "যদি আমি করিয়া থাকিব" or "যদি আমি টাকা দিতেছিলাম" &c. conveys no sense.

¹ Page 137 of this edition—*Ed.*

অ or ও of the second person present, and the last এ of the second person past of the subjunctive mode are changed into ইস্; as “যদি তুই মারিস” for “যদি তুমি মার” if thou beat; “যদি তুই মারিতিস” for “যদি তুমি মারিতে” if thou hadst beaten.

In the past tense, ই is substituted for the last এ of the second person, as “মারিলি” for “মারিলে” thou didst beat; “ছিলি” for “ছিলে” thou wast; “মারিতেছিলি” for “মারিতেছিলে” thou wast beating; “মারিষাছিলি” for “মারিষাছিলে” thou hadst beaten. As “মারিষাছ” (thou hast beaten) is composed of the participle “মারিষা” having beaten, and “আছ” thou art, the auxiliary verb present, it admits “ইস্” like the present tense, in conveying contempt; as “মারিষাছিস” for “মারিষাছ” thou hast beaten. The change of এ into ই is observed in future tense also; as “মারিবি” for “মারিবে” thou wilt beat.

In the imperative mode present, the last vowel is dropped; as “মাব্” for “মার” beat thou, “খাব্” for “খাও” eat thou; and in the imperative future স is substituted for the last vowel; as “মারিস” for “মারিও” beat thou in future time. The perversion of the second personal pronoun and of its corresponding verbs is, generally, made by proud and unreflecting masters, in addressing their servants; it is therefore not requisite that a gentleman, in studying Bengalee, should pay much attention to the above forms,

In speaking of a third person, if no respect is meant to be shewn, the pronouns “সে” he, she, or it. “ও” that, “এ” this, and “যে” he or she who, or it which, implying the third person, are invariably used, (as noticed in pages 48-50,¹) and the final “ন” is omitted in every corresponding verb in the third person, throughout all the tenses of the indicative and subjunctive modes; and এ, which precedes ন, is changed into অ in the past tenses simple or compound; as for the present tense, “মারে” instead of “মারেন” he beats, “মারিতেছে” for “মারিতেছেন” he is beating. For the past and future, “মারিল” instead of “মারিলেন” he did beat, “মারিতেছিল” for “মারিতেছিলেন” he was beating, “মারিষাছিল” for “মারিষাছিলেন”

¹ Pages 137-38 of this edition—*Ed.*

he had beaten, “মারিত” for “মারিতেন” he would have beaten. “মারিবে” for “মারিবেন” he will beat : Except the preter-perfect, which being, in fact, formed of a compound participle and the auxiliary verb “আছি” in the present tense, rejects ন only ; as “মারিযাছে” for “মারিযাছেন” he has beaten.

In the imperative ক is substituted for the last “ন” of the third person ; as “মারুক” for “মারুন” let him beat.

ক is frequently used for the last ন of the third person future, and of the past tense simple ; as, “মারিবেক” or “মারিবে” may be substituted for “মারিবেন” he will beat ; “মারিলেক or মারিল” for “মারিলেন” he did beat.

A verb having a single consonant in its root, and verbs of two syllables ending in ন, that is dropped before inflection, admit ষ in the place of ন in the third person present, when no respect is implied ; as “খাই” I eat, has the third person in a disrespectful sense, “খায়” for “খান” he eats ; “যাই” I go, has “যায়” for “যান” he goes, “কামাই” I shave, has “কামায়” for “কামান্” he shaves.

All the causal verbs, being composed of more than one syllable, are included in the above exception ; as “দেখাই” I shew, has “দেখায়” for “দেখান্” he shews, “হাঁসাই” I cause to laugh, has “হাঁসায়” for “হাঁসান্” he causes to laugh, the third person present. But such verbs as “বাখানি” I explain, retaining ন in all the Modes, and “সামালি” I take care, having more than two syllables, in the verbal noun, are included in the general Rule ; as “বাখানে” for “বাখানেন” he explains, “সামালে” for “সামালেন” he takes care.

The use of “সে” “এ”, “ও” or যে the third personal Pronouns, in speaking of a person or thing without respect, is frequent in practice, and consequently the above rules, shewing the corresponding changes to which verbs are subjected, require particular attention.

“মুই” used by the vulgar for “আমি” varies from it in the form only, but has the same changes in the terminations of its corresponding verbs that the principal pronoun “আমি” admits ; as মুই or আমি মারি I beat ; মুই or আমি মারিলাম I did beat, মুই or আমি মারিষ I will or shall beat.

As the verb হওন to be, and the irregular verb “যাওন” to go, both of the second class, are very frequently used in various senses, simply and compoundedly, it may be well to conjugate them at full length.

হওন to be, to become, to come into existence. *

Indicative Mode.

Present Tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা হই I am or we are &c.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা হও thou art or ye are &c.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা হন He is or they are &c.

Past tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা হইলাম I was or we were &c.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা হইলে thou wast or ye were &c.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা হইলেন he was or they were &c.

Future tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা হইব I. or we will be &c.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা হইবে thou wilt or ye will be &c.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা হইবেন he or they will be &c.

* The phrase “তিনি জ্ঞানবান হন,” he is wise, is an example of the first sense; “তুমি কিঞ্চিৎ ক্লশ হইয়াছ” thou hast become *rather* thin, of the second; and গত বৎসরে সন্তান হইল last year the child came into existence, i.e. last year the child was born, of the third. In fact in the first sense it is very often, and in the second it is always, accompanied (as we find in other languages) with an adjective or a participle active or passive, or with two substantives considered as one; as “তিনি অবোধ হন” he is unintelligent, “তিনি বড় ক্রোধী হন” he is very passionate, “তিনি শীঘ্র হত হইবেন” he shall soon be killed, অশ্ব পশু হয় a horse is an animal. It is also accompanied with an abstract substantive in the first sense; as, “তাঁহার জয় স্বরায় হইবেক” his victory soon will be, that is, his victory will soon take place. The verb “হই” I am, very seldom implies mere existence; while the defective verb “আছি” I am, is scarcely used in any of these senses, generally implying mere existence or existence in reference to location, as “তিনি আছেন কি মগ্নিষাছেন” is he existing (i.e. is he alive) or is he dead; “ঈশ্বর সর্বকাল আছেন” God is for ever; তিনি কি ঘরে আছেন is he at home?

Subjunctive Mode.

Present Tense.

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা হই* if I or we be &c.
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা হও if thou or ye be &c.
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা হন if he or they be &c.

Past tense.

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা হইতাম† if I or we had been &c.
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা হইতে if thou hadst or ye had been &c.
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা হইতেন if he or they had been &c.

*Imperative Mode.**Present Tense.*

- 2 Person হও be thou or be ye &c.
- 3 Person হউন let him or them be &c.

Future tense.

হইও let him or them be in future.

Infinitive Mode or Present Participle.

হইতে to be, or being.

Past Participle.

হইয়া having been.

Conditional Participle.

হইলে if I, thou, or he be.

Gerund হওয়া being, হওয়ার of being, হওয়াতে in being.

Second Gerund.

হইবা being, হইবার of being, হইবাতে in being.

Third Gerund.

হওন being, হওনের of being, হওনেতে in being.

* যদি আমি তোমার পিতা হই আমাকে অবশ্য মাগ্ন করিবে; If I am thy father, thou must respect me; যদি পুত্র সন্তান হয়, আমি বড় আহ্লাদিত হইব, if a son come to existence (i.e. if a son be born) I shall rejoice much.

† In this past tense, the verb "হই" some times implies mere existence in reference to location, as যদি আমি সেখানে হইতাম (or properly speaking, যদি আমি সেখানে থাকিতাম,) তিনি এ দুঃখ পাইতেন না *had I been there, he would not have experienced such distress,*

A knowledge of the present participle “হইতে” being, and of the past participle “হইয়া” having been, will enable the student to form easily the four regular compound tenses, as হইতেছি &c. হইতেছিলাম &c. হইবাছি &c. &c. হইযাছিলাম &c., as from the explanation given of the application of the verb “হই” I am and verb “আছি” I am, in note* p. 86,¹ the reader will perceive that these two are most frequently used in different senses, and consequently there can be no impropriety in compounding one with the other.

In the phrases “আমাকে যাইতে হয়,” “তোমাকে লইতে হইল,” “তাহাকে দিতে হইবেক,” such adjectives as “আবশ্যক”² incumbent, “উচিত” proper, are understood before the verb, agreeing with the infinitive mode in the third person, as আমাকে যাইতে (আবশ্যক) হয় it is incumbent upon me to go; তোমাকে লইতে (উচিত) হয় it is proper for you to receive.

বটে is principally adopted as a term of affirmation or assent and is sometimes used in that sense with the verb হওন্ implied and not expressed, but in the present tense only and in this sense admits of inflection, as আমি বটি ye: I am, তুমি বঠি ye: thou art, তিনি বঠেন ye: he is.

যাওন্ to go, to pass or to be.*

Indicative Mode.

Present Tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা যাই I or we go.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা যাও thou goest or ye go.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা যান he goes or they go.

In the past tense of the Indicative, as well as in the conditional participle, যাই is changed into গে, and in the past participle into গি; But in the latter, if not compounded, this change, though admissible, is not necessary, as গিয়া or যাইয়া.

* তিনি আপন দেশে যাইতেছেন he is going to his native country, is an example of the first sense; বৃথা দিন যাইতেছে days are passing in vain, of the second; টাকা দেওয়াগেল money has been given, of the third.

¹ Page 158 of this edition—*Ed.*

² i. e. আবশ্যক—*Ed.*

Past Tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা গেলাম I or we went.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা গেলে thou or ye went.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা গেলেন he or they went.

Future Tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা যাইব I or we will go.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা যাইবে thou wilt or ye will go.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা যাইবেন he or they will go.

Subjunctive Mode.

Present Tense.

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা যাই if I or we go.
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা যাও if thou or ye go.
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা যান if he or they go.

Past Tense.

- 1 যদি আমি or আমরা যাইতাম if I or we had gone.
- 2 যদি তুমি or তোমরা যাইতে if thou hadst or ye had gone.
- 3 যদি তিনি or তাঁহারা যাইতেন if he or they had gone.

Imperative Mode.

Present Tense.

- 2 Person যাও go thou or go ye.
- 3 Person যাউন let him or them go.

Future Tense.

যাইও go thou or go ye in future.

Infinitive Mode or Present Participle.

যাইতে to go, or going.

Past Participle. গিয়া or যাইয়া

Conditional Participle. গেলে if I, thou, or he go.

Gerund.

যাওয়া going, যাওয়ার of going, যাওয়াতে in going.

Second Gerund.

যাইবা going, যাইবার of going, যাইবাতে in going.

Third Gerund.

যাওন going, যাওনের of going, যাওনেতে in going.

The four compound tenses are, in like manner, formed by coupling the participle যাইতে or the past participle গিয়া with the verb "আছি"; as যাইতেছি, যাইতেছিলাম, গিয়াছি, গিয়াছিলাম &c.

ON THE NEGATIVE SENSE.

Bengalee verbs are made negative by affixing to them the negative particle না,* throughout all the tenses of the Indicative Mode.

Present Tense.

- 1 আমি or আমরা করি না I or we do not.
- 2 তুমি or তোমরা কর না thou dost not, or ye do not.
- 3 তিনি or তাঁহারা করেন না he does not or they do not.

So আমি করিলাম না I did not ; আমি করিব না I will not do ; আমি করিতাম না I would not have done &c. But the present form is used often with negatives in a past sense ; as আমি করি না I do not or I did not ; but when “নাই” is affixed instead of “না” to the present tense it is used to express past time in an absolute sense ; as আমি করি নাই I have never done. Hence this form is generally used for the negative preter-perfect or preter-imperfect.

The negative form of the present tense of the Imperative Mode implies solicitation and not negation ; as কর না pray do thou ; করুন না let him do, if he pleases. The future tense of the Imperative with the particle “না” is used for the present also ; as করিও না do not do at any time. As to the other parts of the verb, the negative particle is put before them ; as না করিতে ; না করিয়া ; না করিলে ; না করা ; না করিবার &c.

In the subjunctive mode the verb, which is preceded by a subjunctive particle, frequently has “না” before it ; but the verb that completes the sense, generally precedes the negative particle না ; as আমি যদি না যাই, তুমি আসিবে না if I do not go, thou wilt not come ; যদি আমি তোমাকে না দেখিতাম, তুমি আসিতে না if I had not seen thee, thou wouldst not have come.

নাই alone stands for the first, second, or third Person of the verb “আছি” in the present tense, when negatively

* Sometimes in Poetry and very rarely in conversation, “না” is placed before the verb, and in the latter, it is carelessly pronounced like নে or নি.

meant ; as আমি নাই I am not, তুমি নাই thou art not, সে নাই he is not : So নহি or নহি (I am not) is often substituted for the first person present of the verb “হই” in the negative form ; নহ or নও (thou art not) for the second ; and নহেন or নন্ (he is not) for the third.

In the three simple tenses of the Indicative Mode, নারি is some times substituted for পারি না or না পারি I cannot do, in commonly light conversation ; as আমি নারি I cannot do ; আমি নারিলাম I could not do ; আমি নারিব I shall not be able to do.

On the Passive voice.

The Bengalee verb, like that of other originally uncultivated languages, has no regular passive form. The passive participle of a transitive verb such as ধরা beaten, ধরা apprehended, supplies this deficiency, when compounded with the verb যাই I go, (throughout all its tenses, simple or compound) agreeing in person with a noun or pronoun in the nominative case, considered as united with the passive participle. Indicative Mode. আমি ধরা যাই, I go apprehended ; meaning I am apprehended or I am about to be apprehended ; তুমি ধরাযাও thou art apprehended ; তিনি ধরাযান he is apprehended ; Past tense. আমি ধরা গেলাম I went apprehended, or was apprehended &c. আমি ধরা যাইব I shall go apprehended or I shall be apprehended. Compound Tenses আমি ধরা যাইতেছি I am going apprehended or getting apprehended &c. আমি ধরা যাইতেছিলাম I was being apprehended &c. আমি ধরা গিয়াছি I have been apprehended &c. আমি ধরা গিয়াছিলাম I had been apprehended &c.

Subjunctive Mode. Past Tense. আমি ধরা যাইতাম I would have been apprehended &c.

Imperative Mode. Present Tense.

- 2 Person ধরা যাও be thou or ye apprehended.
- 3 Person ধরা যাউন let him or them be apprehended.

Future Tense. ধরা যাইও be thou or ye apprehended in future. Infinitive Mode, or past participle. ধরা যাইতে to get apprehended ; or getting apprehended. Past Participle. ধরা গিয়া having been apprehended. Conditional Participle. ধরা গেলে if apprehended.

Gerund. ধরা যাওয়া being apprehended, ধরা যাওয়ার of being apprehended, ধরা যাওয়াতে in being apprehended.*

Second Gerund. ধরা যাইবা, ধরা যাইবার, ধরা যাইবাতে. So the third Gerund. ধরা যাওন, ধরা যাওনের, ধরা যাওনে.

Though Intransitive verbs do not admit of a passive sense, they admit of that form but in the third person only ; as, “চলা যায়,” walking takes place. (This sometimes seems equivalent to the sentence “চলা যাইতে পারে” walking can take place ;) চলা গেল walking took, or has taken, place, &c,

Transitive verbs also have the same compound form, the former implying mere action, agrees with the latter in the third person only, as করা যায় performance takes, or can take, place. করা গেল performance took, or has taken, place, &c.**

When a transitive verb which has two objects acted upon, as explained in page 22,¹ is rendered in the passive form, the object first in view is the subject of the passive verb ; as রামকে টাকা দেওয়া গিয়াছে money has been given to Ram, which thus stands in the active voice আমি রামকে টাকা দিয়াছি I have given money to Ram.***

* In translating the verb “যাই” found in the pasive form, the idiom of the English language sometimes requires it to be rendered by “am” and sometimes by “get” or “happen” as well as literally to “go”.

** আমাকে জানা যায় না (literally) to know me never happens, i.e. I am unsearchable ; তোমাকে দেখা গেল to see thee happened, i. e. thou hast been seen : তাঁহাকে ধরা যাইবেক to apprehend him will take place, i. e. he shall be apprehended. The pronoun found in each of these sentences in Bengalee is formed and meant accusatively, though in translating it into English, the pronoun may be properly used in the nominative form, in conformity with the idiom of that language.

*** In the passive sense if the agent of the action is not mentioned, the first person is generally understood as the agent of it, especially in the future tense ; as টাকা দেওয়া যাইবেক money will be given, that is, money will be given by me.

¹ Page 122 of this edition—Ed.

Of Irregular Compounds.

Irregular compounds are formed by prefixing to verbs an uninflected noun, adjective, or participle, instead of having it in the objective or in any other case, governed by a verb ; as গাছ কাটি I cut down the tree, of গাছ a tree and কাটি I cut down ; জল খাই, of জল water and খাই I swallow ; মাল্লুষ চিনি of মাল্লুষ a man and চিনি I distinguish i. e, I am able to distinguish ; বড় করি I render (him, her or it) great or greater, of বড় great or greater and করি I render ; ভ্রস্ত করি I make (him) frightened, of ভ্রস্ত frightened and করি I make. From নষ্ট destroyed and করন to make, come নষ্ট করন to destroy, নষ্টকরি I do destroy &c. From ব্যস্ত disturbed and হওন to become, are made ব্যস্ত হওন to become disturbed, ব্যস্ত হইয়াছি I have become disturbed &c. From মারি striking and খাওন to get, come মারি খাওন to get beating, মারি খায় he gets a beating &c.

OF CAUSAL VERBS.

Causal verbs are regularly conjugated in the active voice, as noticed in Page 68¹. While to avoid obscurity in the meaning, the Bengalese rarely use them in a passive sense ; but by compounding their verbal nouns in ন or না, (expressing mere causal action) with the verb “যাই” in the third person, they conjugate them in that person only ; as ধরান যায় causing seizure takes place ; দেখান যাইতেছে or দেখানা যাইতেছে to cause to see is taking place*.

Whatever noun or pronoun stands as an agent, or properly speaking as a subject of an accident, and is nominatively placed with an intransitive verb (except the verb “মরি” I die which, in fact, has no causal form) becomes the

* If any one should insist upon conjugating causal verbs in the passive sense, let him use the verbal nouns as passive participles and join them with the verb “যাই” in the usual form of the passive voice, in such instances as permit at all this construction.

¹ Page 148 of this edition—*Ed.*

object acted upon, when the verb is rendered causal ; as তাঁহাকে চালাই I cause him to march, comes from the Intransitive verb তিনি চলেন he marches : In the same manner, the agent of a transitive verb becomes the accusative in a causal sense, if the action in this sense passes on to the agent of the transitive verb ; if not, the agent becomes instrumental ; as তিনি খান he eats, in the transitive form, becomes আমি তাঁহাকে খাওয়াই I cause *him* to eat, in a causal sense ; তিনি ঘট গড়েন he makes a jar, becomes in the causal sense আমি তাঁহার দ্বারা ঘট গড়াই I make a jar *through him*.

ই in the first syllable of verbs is generally changed into এ and উ into ও, when rendered causal, as লিখি I write, লেখাই I cause him to write ; উঠি I rise, ওঠাই I cause him to rise or raise him.

ON INTERROGATION.

Interrogation is often implied by prolonging the sound of the last vowel of a verb or it's affix, throughout all it's tenses, without introducing change or addition in form, or using an interrogative particle with it ; as তুমি যাইতেছ art thou going ? তুমি গিয়াছিলে didst thou go ? তুমি যাবে না wilt thou not go ? &c. A question is some times conveyed by placing the interrogative article কি before or after the verb ; as তুমি কি যাবে, or তুমি যাবে কি wilt thou go ? তুমি কি না যাবে, or তুমি কি যাবে না, wilt thou not go ? . নাকি is often substituted for কি, when the person who questions has previously some idea of the subject interrogated ; as তুমি নাকি যাবে Is it that thou wilt go ? or art not thou to go ?

Sometimes a verb is repeated, the former in the affirmative form and the latter in the negative, and কি is placed between them to convey interrogation, as তুমি যাবে কি না যাবে, properly speaking তুমি যাবে কি না, wilt thou go or not ?

Exceptions.

The future tense of the verb থাকি I stay, if preceded by the past participle, implies, dubiously, an accident taking place in the past time ; as আমি তাঁহাকে মারিয়া থাকিব, I think I have beaten him, or I may have beaten him.

The verbal noun আইসন্ to come, drops the vowel ই, as আমি আসিলাম I came, আমি আসিব I will come &c. Except in the present tense of the Indicative Mode and the second person present of the Imperative ; as আমি আইসি I come ; তুমি আইস come thou. * The স of the verbal noun is also dropped frequently in conversation from the imperfect tense and the conditional participle ; as আইলাম I came ; আইলে if coming.

দেওন্ to give, though of the second class, is inflected as if the verbal noun were দন্ ; as “দি” I give “দিলাম” I gave &c. Except in the second and third persons of the present tense of the Indicative Mode and of the Imperative, and also in the passive Participle, in which instances it is inflected according to the Rules applicable to verbs of the second class ; as দেও thou give ; দেন্ or দেয় he gives ; দেও give thou ; দেউন or দেউক let him give ; দেওয়া to give or given.

So নেওন্ to take, to spend, from the Sungskrit root নী, is inflected as if the verbal noun were নন্ ; as নি I take ; নিলাম I took ; নিব I will take &c. with the above exceptions ascribed to the verb দি I give ; as নেও thou takest &c.

The verbal noun লওন্ to receive or to accept, from the Sungskrit root লা, is of the second class, and is conjugated accordingly ; as লই I receive, লও thou receivest, লন্ he receives &c. But those unacquainted with Sungskrit, from the similarity existing between “নেওন্” and “লওন্” in their pronunciation, transcription, and meaning, confound one with the other.

উ in the first syllable of some verbs of the first or second class is changed into ও in the third person present of the Indicative Mode and in the passive participle ; as সে ধোয় he washes ; ধোওয়া to wash or washed.

পেওন to drink, a defective verb of the second class, admits the following words in conjugation, পিতেছে, পিতেছিল, পিযাছে, পিযাছিল, পিবেক, পিমা, পিলে, পিবার ; and in these instances, it imitates the verb দেওন্ before noticed.

* In conversation the ই of আইসন্, is always dropped,

CHAPTER VII.

Of Participles.

ক্রিয়াপেক্ষ ক্রিয়াত্বকবিশেষণ.

Participles are those words which express the circumstances of nouns with regard to time, depending on that noted by another verbal attributive ; as তিনি পুস্তক পাঠ করিয়া বাহিরে গেলেন he went out, having read the book.

In the Bengalee language আ or ওয়া affixed to the roots of transitive verbs, denotes the object being acted upon prior to the time expressed by the verb to which it is attached, and these are consequently called passive Participles ; as মারা পড়িল he fell *beaten*, i. e. he became exhausted by beating.

The passive participle is sometimes used adjectively ; as এ উত্তম লেখা পুস্তক হয় this is a well written book ; and sometimes joined to the verb যাই,* serves to represent a passive verb ; as নদী দেখা যাইতেছে the river is seen. Intransitive and transitive verbs have gerunds of this form, as explained in Pages 66 and 98.¹

Such Sungskrit passive Participles as end in ত, as হত killed, and in তব্য, as কর্তব্য proper to be done, are often adjectively used in Bengalee ; But such as end in অনীয়, as দানীয় worthy of donation, and in য়, as দেয় fit to be given are sometimes in use.

Participles having other terminations than আ or ওয়া, relate to the agent of an accident. They are four in number and are commonly called active Participles, as মারিতে beating, হাস্য করত while smiling, মারিয়া having beaten, দেখিলে if seeing.

Of the four active participles, the first ending in ইতে * is called the present participle, the time of the accident

*For particulars the student may refer to Pages 96-99. (Pp. 163-65 of this edition).

**This form of participle is often used as an Infinitive Mode, See page 66 or 74. (Page 147 or 151 of this edition).

¹ Pages 147 and 164 of this edition—*Ed.*

denoted by this form and that of the verb to which it is attached being considered as one ; as *রাম তাহাকে ভূমির উপর পড়িতে দেখিলেন* Ram saw him falling on the ground. This form of participle, when repeated, implies repetition or continuation of the accident ; as *সে আপন শত্রুকে মারিতে মারিতে নগরে প্রবেশ করিলেক* he entered into the city, repeatedly or constantly beating his enemy, *সে চলিতে চলিতে মৃত প্রায় হইল* by continual walking, he became almost dead. But this mode of repetition is not considered elegant in writing.

অত affixed to the verbal noun *করণ* after rejecting as usual the final *অণ্*, gives it the sense of the participle *করিতে* repeated, as *করত*, for *করিতে করিতে*, constantly doing. This is the second form of the active participle, and has always the same agent with the verb to which it is attached ; it has also, like irregular Compounds noticed in page 99¹, an uninflected noun before it ; as *তিনি শত্রুকে প্রহার করত বাহিরে গেলেন* he went out, repeatedly or continually striking his enemy ; which is equivalent to *তিনি শত্রুকে প্রহার করিতে করিতে বাহিরে গেলেন*. But such unity of agency is not invariably implied by the participle ending in *ইতে*, as *তিনি তথায় না যাইতে আমি যাইব* I will arrive there before he *arrives*.

The third active participle ends in *ইয়া*, as *করিয়া* having done, *খাইয়া* having eaten, and is called the past participle, because it always implies the priority of the accident denoted by the participle to that which is expressed by the verb that follows it ; both this form of the participle and its verb have always the same agent ; as *তিনি পুনঃ ২ যুদ্ধ করিয়া নানা দুঃখ পাইয়া শত্রুকে পরাস্ত করিলেন* having fought frequently, and having experienced much suffering, he defeated his enemy,

The fourth form of the active participle ends in *ইলে*, as *করিলে*, *দেখিলে* &c. and is called the conditional participle, since it principally stands for the subjunctive mode and requires, in like manner, another accident to complete the sense ; as *তিনি আমাকে মারিলে আমি মারিব* if he be beating me, I will beat him, or if he beat me, I will beat him ; *তিনি মারিলে*

¹ Page 165 of this edition—*Ed.*

আমি তাঁহাকে মারিতাম if he had beaten me, I would have beaten him.* All the active participles are indeclinable, and have the noun before them in the nominative case, expressed or understood: Except those that end in ইতে, which, in some instances, are immediately related to an objective case. See p. 106¹. So intransitive verbs have the present participle in ইতে, the past in ইয়া, and the conditional in ইলে. They are used similarly and are indeclinable.

From the examples of those already given in the preceding chapter, it will be evident that all the participles are formed from verbs, and consequently they express either a transitive or intransitive sense, according to the classification of the verbs from which they are derived; as এ সম্বাদ জানিয়া শুক্ হইলাম having learnt this news, I became insensible; তিনি শুইলে আমি শুইব I will sleep, should he sleep.

Such Sungskrit active participles, as end in তা, as দাতা a giver, and in অক, as সেবক a servant, are in frequent use.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Adverbs.

বিশেষণীয় বিশেষণ.

Adverbs, as expressing the attributes of other attributives, are necessarily joined to an adjective, verb, or parti-

*The Conditional Participle, like the Subjunctive Mode, admits of the adverb “তবে” before the latter verb which completes the sense; as তিনি গেলে, তবে আমি যাইব if he be gone, then I shall go. This form of the Participle, when placed before the word “পর” or “পরে” after, is substituted for a noun implying mere accident; as তুমি গেলে পর যাইব after thy departure I will go; or I will go after you have gone. But when this form is used, without a preceding noun expressed or understood, it implies an attempt at an action or accident; and in this case, it requires that the verb which follows it should be of the same root; as দিলে দেওয়া যাইতে পারে if an attempt be made to give, it may be given. i. e. I can give, if I choose.

¹ Page 168 of this edition—*Ed.*

sometimes to an adverb ; as তিনি অত্যন্ত মুছ হবেন, he is very mild ; তিনি শীঘ্র যাইতেছেন he goes quickly ; তথায় ঝটিয়া পুনরায় আইলেন he having quickly gone thither, came again ; তিনি অত্যন্ত শীঘ্র যাইতেছেন he is going very quickly.

Adverbs are generally indeclinable ; but when used emphatically, admit of having ই or ও added to their termination ; as এখন now এখনি at this very time, এমনো even to this time ; এমন thus, এমনি even so or this very way, এমনো even in this manner ; সে আজই যাইবেক he will go this very day.

There are many words in Bengalee that are sometimes used adverbially, sometimes as adjectives or substantives liable to declension ; as the word পূর্ক (before) in the following sentence, “তোমার যাইবার পূর্ক তিনি আসিয়াছেন he had come before your departure,” is used as a mere adverb, but in the phrase “পূর্কের মহুয়া men of ancient days,” the word “পূর্ক” is substantively used, and in the phrase “পূর্ক বৃতান্ত ^১ ভুলিয়াছ hast thou forgotten the former circumstance,” পূর্ক is rendered as an adjective.

Many of those that are used as adverbs, especially such as relate to time or place, admit of having added to their termination, এ, এতে or য* the symbols of the locative case ; as পর or পরে after, নিকট or নিকটে near &c. The following list comprehends the Adverbs that are most common and gives some examples of their use.

একবার once, as একবার দেও give thou once ; so দুইবার &c. একবারে at once, as সকল একবারে দেও give all at once ; so দুইবারে &c. বার বার, পুনঃ পুন several times ; পুনর্বার, আরবার, পুনরায় again ; প্রথমে at first or in the first place, as তাঁহাকে প্রথমে দেও give him first ; শেষে, সর্বশেষে lastly ; as এ সন্তান সর্ব শেষে জন্মিয়াছে this child was born lastly ; মধ্যে, মাঝে in, in the midst ; ক্রমে, ক্রমে ২ ***অল্পে ২ by degrees ; as তিনি ক্রমে ২ শত্রুর রাজ্য জয় করিলেন he by degrees conquered the kingdom of his enemy ; ধীরে ২ or ধীরে slowly ; মন্দ ২ † gently ; as

* See Page 23 (p. 123 of this edition). ^১ Misprint for “বৃত্তান্ত”—Ed.

**When a word is intended to be repeated, the figure 2 is often added to it to imply repetition.

†This adverb is frequently applied to the motion of the wind.

বায়ু মন্দ ২ বহিতেছে the wind blows gently ; শীঘ্র, &c... quickly ; অতি, অতিশয়, অতিবাদ, অত্যন্ত may be prefixed to and other adverbs of a similar nature to imply quality great degree ; as অতি শীঘ্র যাইতেছেন he goes very quickly. অতি ধীরে রথ চলিতেছে the carriage goes very slowly. In such phrases as “অতি প্রাতে” “অত্যন্ত রৌদ্র” “অতিশয় ক্রোধ,” অতি and others are used adjectively. এথা or এথায় here ; সেথায় there ; যথায় to or at what place, তথায় to or at that place, as যথায় ভূমি থাকিবে তথায় আমি থাকিব I will stay wherever you stay ; literally, at what place you will stay, at that place I will stay ; যথায় ভূমি যাইবে তথায় আমি যাইব I will go wherever you go ; literally, to what place you will go, to that place I will go. The correlative “তথায়” to or at that place, is sometimes omitted, as যথায় ভূমি যাইবে আমি যাইব to what place you go, I will go. যথা তথা or যেথা সেথা *hither and thither*, to or at any place indiscriminately ; as ইহা বিশিষ্ট লোকের উচিত নয় যে যথাতথা বেড়ান it is unbecoming of a Gentleman to walk in all places indiscriminately ; কোথা, কোথায় where ; এখানে,* is the same as এথায় here, যেখানে the same as যথায় to or at what place, সেখানে is the same as তথায় to or at that place, both in use and signification ; ওখানে to or at that place not very distant.

দূরে at a distance or far off ; নিকট, নিকটে near ; সম্মুখে, আগে *before* ; সাক্ষাতে in presence ; পশ্চাৎ after ; পশ্চাতে, পাছে behind ; পার্শ্বে or পাশে by side ; অহুসারে according to. These and others similar to them having immediate relation to a noun or pronoun, govern it in the genitive case ; as রামের নিকট যাও go thou near Ram, তাহার পশ্চাতে চলিল he walked behind him &c.

এবে, এখন,** now ; আজি to day ; পূর্ব, পূর্বে before or previously ; পর, পরে after or afterwards ; কালি, কল্য to-morrow or

‡ বেগে is generally used for motion from one place to another, as তিনি বেগে চলেন he walks quickly.

* এখানে, like এথায়, is composed of “এ” this and “স্থানে” corruptly used here থানে a place in the locative case. So যেখানে of যে and থানে ; সেখানে of সে and থানে ; and ওখানে &c.

** এখন is composed of “এ” this and “খন” corruptly used for

in Bengalee yesterday, পরশ্ব implies the day after to-morrow or in Bengalee the day before yesterday ; প্রভাতে, প্রভূষে, ভোরে at sun-rising ; সকালে, প্রাতে in the morning, বৈকালে in afternoon.

রাত্রে, রাত্ৰিতে, রাত্ৰিকালে, at night ; দিবাতে, দিবাভাগে, দিবসে, during the day ; মধ্যাহ্নে at mid-day, সায়াহ্নে, সায়াহ্নকালে, in the evening ; বেলায় in any portion of day, প্রতি দিন daily ; প্রতি সপ্তাহ weekly, প্রতিমাস monthly ; প্রতি বর্ষ annually ; সদা, সর্বদা, সর্বক্ষণ, always, কদাচ at any time. It is generally used with a negative verb ; as কদাচ দিব না I never will give, কদাচ আসিবে না thou must not come. কদাচিৎ seldom ; কখনং now and then ; যাবং as long ; তাবং so long.

যাবং or তাবং before a noun, being expressive of whole number or quantity, is adjectively used, as যাবং বস্তু এ সংসারে দেখি সকল নশ্বর every thing that we see in this world, is perishable, তাবং মনুষ্য দুঃখ ভাগী হইবে all mankind are liable to grief ; but when spoken alone, each is used adverbially ; as যাবং তুমি থাকিবে তাবং আমি থাকিব as long as you stay, so long I will stay, or I will stay as long as you. In this case the correlative তাবং is frequently omitted. যখন at what time ; তখন at that time, which is often used as a correlative to “যখন” ; as যখন তুমি আসিবে তখন আমি প্রস্তুত হইব I will be prepared when you come ; literally, at what time you will come I will at that time be prepared. This correlative like others is sometimes omitted. কবে at what time ? or more correctly on what day ? কখন when, তবে then, which is often prefixed to the latter verb of the subjunctive Mode, See Page 72.¹

যত as many or as much, তত so many or so much, এত so many or so much of a thing considered as present ; কত how many or how much, কেন why ? প্রায় almost ; যেমন as or in what manner, তেমন so or in that manner, correlatives to যেমন ;

“ক্ষণ” time or moment in the locative case. So কখন of “ক” interrogation and “খন” instead of ক্ষণ ; and যখন of “য” a substitute for যে what and “খন” for “ক্ষণ.” So তখন of “ত” for তৎ that and “খন” for “ক্ষণ”.

¹ Page 150 of this edition—*Ed.*

এমন in this manner ; কেমন how or what kind ; as কেমন আছ
how art thou ? তিনি কেমন মনুষ্য হইলেন what kind of man is he ?
কেমনে by what means.

কিছু a little ; অধিক too much ; যথেষ্ট much ; না, নাই, নহে not ;
হঠাৎ suddenly ; দৈবাৎ, দৈবাধীন, অকস্মাৎ by chance ; বুঝি per-
haps, literally, I suppose ; ভাল well ; যথার্থ truly, really ; হাঁ,
বটে yes ; পরস্পর mutually ; পরম্পরায় traditionally or by report ;
অধিকন্তু moreover ; পূর্বাপর of a long time.

Adverbs of quality are often formed by adding the word
“পূর্বক” (which may in English be generally rendered by
“with”) to substantives signifying quality, as ধৈর্য্য পূর্বক
যুদ্ধ¹ করিলেন he fought with resolution, বিচক্ষণতা পূর্বক আপন
পরিবারের প্রতিপালন করিতেছেন he is maintaining his family with
prudence.

সেখান and others ending in খান, তথা and its similar
words, as যথা &c. and such as end in খন, as এখন, তখন &c. as
well as পূর্ব, কল্য, কালি, পরম্ব and আজি, and the pronoun আপন
admit কার after them to signify relation ; as সেখানকার সমাচার
the news of that place, এখনকার মনুষ্য men of our time.

CHAPTER IX.

Of Prepositions.

মহাক্কীয়² বিশেষণ.

Prepositions may be defined to be such words as, when
correctly placed before or after a word, express the relation
of another attribute or noun to that word ; as সে নগর হইতে
গেল he went from the Town, expressing relation between
the act of going out and the Town, the motion having had
it's (?) beginning in the Town : This may therefore be ren-
dered, he left the Town. রাম হইতে রাজা পত্র পাইলেন the Prince
received a letter from Ram. Here the preposition “হইতে”
shews relation between Ram and the letter, as having been
addressed or dispatched by Ram. রামের প্রতি তিনি ক্রন্দ³ আছেন

¹ i. e. যুদ্ধ—Ed.

² Misprint for মহাক্কীয়—Ed.

³ i. e. ক্রন্দ—Ed.

he is angry with Ram, shewing relation between Ram and anger as being directed towards him.

English Prepositions, such as of, to, in, have no corresponding words in the Bengalee language, their respective significations being expressed by the Genitive, accusative, and locative cases. See pages 21 to 24.¹

সহিত * with, expresses the relation of union, though frequently in a figurative sense, and governs its preceding noun or pronoun in the Genitive case ; † as দুধের সহিত জল মিশ্রিত করিয়াছে he has mixed water with milk, আমার সহিত আইস come with me.

বিনা without, expresses the opposite of সহিত. As denoting the relation of disunion, it must have a noun or pronoun before it, which is used in the nominative case ; as ধর্ম বিনা জীবন বৃথা হয় life without virtue is vain, তিনি বিনা কে রক্ষা করিতে পারে who can save except him.

হইতে from, implies the relation of separation, though sometimes figuratively. It governs the noun or pronoun denoting the object quitted in the nominative case ; as বৃক্ষ হইতে পত্র সকল পড়িতেছে the leaves are falling from the tree, তোমা হইতে কেহ কষ্ট পায় না no one experiences pain from thee. It implies also the relation of agency or comparison ; as কুম্ভকার হইতে ষট সকল নিম্নিত² হয় Jars are made by the Potter ; রাম হইতে শ্যাম পটুতর হইল Shyam is more active than Ram.

দ্বারা through or by, expresses the relation of instrumentality and has a noun or pronoun denoting the instrument ; as হস্তের দ্বারা তিনি মারিলেন he beat with his hands.

But দিয়া also expressing instrumentality, follows the instrumental noun in the nominative case ; as ছুরি দিয়া লেখনী

* In English "with" sometimes implies instrumentality, as he writes with a pen, a construction which সহিত does not admit.

† The noun preceding, sometimes, omits the symbol of the genitive case, according to the Rules in Sungskrit applicable to compound words ; as আপন পুত্রের সহিত or আপন পুত্র সহিত with his own son.

¹ Pages 122-24 of this edition—*Ed.*

² i. e. নিখিত—*Ed.*

প্রস্তুত করিলেন he prepared the pen with a knife ; that is, through a knife. See Page 24¹.

প্রতি towards, denotes the relation of approach generally in a figurative sense, governing, in the genitive case, the noun or pronoun before it that denotes the object of figurative approach ; as তিনি রামের প্রতি দয়া করেন he feels compassion towards Ram ; that is, compassion is extended to Ram.

পানে towards, is used like প্রতি, except that it implies the relation of an approach, frequently in a real sense ; as রামের পানে দৃষ্টি করিলেন he looked at Ram ; that is, his sight was directed towards Ram.

উপর upon, or against, denoting the relation of superior opposition, requires a noun or pronoun implying the inferior object really or figuratively to be put in the genitive case ; as পর্বতের উপর গৃহ নির্মাণ করিলেন he built the house upon the mountain, তোমার উপর একশত টাকা হইয়াছে a sum of one hundred Rupees has accumulated against thee.

আমা for আমি in the nominative case, তোমা for তুমি, তাহা for সে, ইহা for এ, উহা for ও, যাহা for যে, কাহা for কে, are always used before the preposition “হইতে” and also before the word “কর্তৃক” a substitute for হইতে, as denoting agency. But before “প্রতি” these substitutes are used optionally ; as আমা প্রতি or আমার প্রতি.

The foregoing prepositions are indeclinable. While such words as নীচে beneath ; মধ্যে among or in ; জন্তে for ; উপরে upon ; ভিতরে within ; উচ্চে above, though they are found in the locative form, may, in common with some others, be enumerated among Prepositions by English Grammarians ; as পৃথিবীর নীচে জল সর্বদা পাওয়া যায় water is always found under the ground ; তিনি সকলের উচ্চে স্থিতি করেন he resides above all ; তোমাদের মধ্যে among you, সংসারের মধ্যে in the world ; তোমার জন্তে for thee ; বৃক্ষের উপরে upon the tree, ঘরের ভিতরে within the house. But they are also used in the nominative form as adjectives joined with substantives ; as নীচ ভূমি low ground ; উচ্চ স্থান high place &c. see Page 54.²

¹ Page 123 of this edition—*Ed.*

² Pages 141-42 of this edition—*Ed.*

সঙ্গে, সাতে, in the locative form, are used for accompaniment and ব্যতিরেকে for exception ; as তোমার সঙ্গে or সাতে যাইব I will go with thee ; ব্রাহ্মণ ব্যতিরেকে বেদের অর্থ কেহ স্বয়ং জানিতে পারে না no one can acquire himself a knowledge of the purport of the Ved except a Brahmun. The substantives such as নিমিত্ত and কারণ, originally signify the cause or motive of an accident, but the former in the locative or in the nominative form and the latter in the nominative form only are, some times, used as substitutes for the preposition “for” ; as তোমার নিমিত্তে or তোমার নিমিত্ত আমি শ্রম করিতেছি I am labouring for thee ; মনুষ্যের কারণ মনুষ্য প্রাণ দেয় man offers his life for man.

Many Sungskrit words that are commonly used in Bengalee, are compounded with inseparable Particles called উপসর্গ by Sungskrit Grammarians. These particles are twenty in number, and admit of no change in their terminations. They, however, generally change or modify the usual meaning of the words with which they are compounded ; as দান donation, with the preposition “অ” placed before it, means receipt or acceptance ; জয় victory prefixed by “পর”, implies defeat. Here, and in like instances, a complete subversion of the original meaning is indicated by the particles ; while in many other instances, a change with regard to degree or quality is only conveyed ; as নাশ destruction, preceded by “বি”, signifies utter destruction. In a few instances no change whatever is observed in the original meaning ; as স্মৃতি and প্রসূতি both equally imply birth or production. An enumeration of these Particles in this place may assist the student in tracing such compound words. These are as follow.

1 প্র, as প্রকাশ sun-shine or manifestation ; 2 পরা, as পরাজিত conquered ; 3 অপ, as অপবাদ blame 4 স, as সম্পর্শ touching ; 5 নি, as নিয়ম agreement ; 6 অব, as অবকাশ leisure ; 7 অহু, as অহুমতি permission ; 8 নিবু, as নিরর্থক vain ; 9 ছবু, as ছর্গম inaccessible ; 10 বি as বিপদ adversity ; 11 অধি, as অধিপতি Master ; 12 স্ব, as স্বকৃত virtue ; 13 উৎ, as উৎকৃষ্ট superior ; 14 পরি, as পরিচয় acquaintance ; 15 প্রতি, as প্রতিকার revenge ; 16 অভি, as অভিধান appellation ; 17 অতি, as অতিক্রম¹ trans-

¹ i. e. অতিক্রম—Ed.

gression ; 18 অপি, as অপিবান concealment ; 19 উপ, as উপকার favour ; 20 আ, as আকাঙ্ক্ষা desire. For further examples and their respective meanings, the student may refer to a Sungskrit or Bengalee Dictionary.

CHAPTER X.

Conjunctions.

সমুচ্চয়ার্থ বিশেষণ.

Conjunctions are such words as, when placed between sentences, express the attribute of copulative or disjunctive relations between the thoughts conveyed by those sentences, and when correctly used between words, express their agreement in accident, without governing them ; as রাম এ নগরে বাস করিবেন যদি রাজাকে ধার্মিক দেখেন Ram will reside in this Town, *if* he find the Monarch endued with virtue ; রাম নগরে গেলেন, কিন্তু শ্যাম তাঁহার সঙ্গে গেলেন না Ram went into the Town, *but* Shyam did not accompany him ; রাম শ্যাম উভয়ে বিজ্ঞ হইলেন Ram *and* Shyam both are wise.

Conjunctions in Bengalee, like those in English, are indeclinable, and in application also they, for the most part, resemble their respective corresponding conjunctions in the latter Language : I have therefore contented myself with enumerating those that most frequently occur, giving examples of the use of such only as have some thing peculiar in their mode of application.

এবং and ; যদি, যত্বপি if ; তবে then ; যে that ; as তিনি কহিলেন যে তোমার সহিত তাঁহার শত্রুতা নাই he said that he has no enmity towards you : যেহেতু, কেননা, কারণ because ; অতএব, এ কারণ, এ নিমিত্ত therefore ; ও and, also, even ; আর and ; কিন্তু but ; বরং rather ; তথাপি, তত্রাপি, তবু yet, nevertheless, as বরং আমি দেশ ত্যাগ করিব, তথাপি (তত্রাপি or তবু) *দুঃস্থায়িকারে থাকিব না I shall rather forsake my country than live under a corrupt Government ; যত্বপিও though, notwithstanding, as যত্বপিও ব্রাহ্মণ অতিমান্ত হন তথাপি দুর্বৃত্ত ব্রাহ্মণ কোনমতে মাগু নন. *Though* a Brahmun is

to be much respected, nevertheless a wicked Brahmun by no means deserves respect ; কিম্বা অথবা or ; বা generally implies uncertainty ; as আমি বা যাই I may perhaps go. তিনি যান বা he may perhaps go. যদিও although ; as আমি তাঁহার বাটী যাইব না যদিও (or যতপিও) তিনি আমাকে নিমন্ত্রণ করিয়াছেন I will not call at his house, although he has invited me ; যদি না unless, composed of “যদি” if and “না” not ; as আমি তোমাকে পুনরায় আসিতে দিবনা, যদি না তুমি প্রাতঃকালে আইস I will not permit thee to call here, unless (or if not) thou come early in the morning.

All the foregoing conjunctions serve only to connect sentences, except এবং, আর, ও, and কিম্বা, as well as বা, which are applicable both to sentences and words ; as আমি পড়িতেছি এবং (আর, ও) আমার ভ্রাতা পড়িতেছেন I am reading and my brother also is reading ; আমি এবং (আর, ও) আমার ভ্রাতা পড়িতেছেন I and my brother are reading ; তিনি থাকিবেন কিম্বা (or অথবা) আমি থাকিব either he will stay or I shall, তিনি কিম্বা (or অথবা) আমি থাকিব he or I will, stay. Besides ও, when used for “also” or “even”, follows a noun or pronoun connected with another as a member of a sentence either expressed or understood ; as আমি ও যাইব I also will go ; that is, He is going, I also will go. সে আমাকেও তুচ্ছ করিলেক he despised even me. See Page 44.¹

CHAPTER XI.

Of Interjections.

অন্তর্ভাব বিশেষণ.

Such words as express the momentary passions or emotions of the speaker, though uttered alone, are called Interjections অন্তর্ভাব বিশেষণ ; as হায়, আমি অযোগ্য কৰ্ম করিলাম alas ! I have done wrong.

Interjections implying various passions, are of different sorts. Those that convey grief or pain are হায়, আহ, উহ ah, alas, oh ; and those that solicit protection are ত্রাহি দোহাই save ; Such as are expressive of compassion are আহা ; of

¹ Page 135 of this edition—*Ed.*

repentance হাঁ ; of contempt ছি ; of admiration আচ্ছা, বাহবা, উত্তম well, excellent ; of approbation হাঁ ; of sudden prohibition হাঁ হাঁ ; of disgust মহা ভারত ; of surprize, আ, আশ্চর্য্য strange ; and of calling attention. ও, হে, গো, রে, লো ; which are in general use, and they are termed vocative Particles. See Page 25,¹

লো is applicable to females and রে to males ; they both imply disrespect : গো is common to both the sexes and is a familiar term ; হে is a still more familiar term, and is applied to males only or to a multitude : ও is used indifferently : It always precedes the name of the object addressed ; as ও মহা রাজ্জ O king ! ও দুৰাচার O wicked ! ও ঠাধর² O Lord ! while the others follow the name or a verb in the Imperative Mode, or in the Interrogative sense ; as ভাই হে O brother ! মা গো O mother ! মাগী * লো O woman ! ভৃত্যরে O servant ; দেও হে give thou O man, দেখ গো see thou O man or woman, খারে eat thou O man, যালো go thou O woman ; খাবেনাহে ? খাবেনাগো ? খাবিনালো ? খাবিনারে ? wilt thou not eat ? খাবেহে ? খাবেগো ? খাবিলো ? খাবিরে ? wilt thou eat ? They sometimes come after a word adopted for interrogation ; as কি হে what O man ? কেন গো why O man or woman ? কোথারে where O man ? কবে লো when O woman ? &c. They however stand before the noun, when preceded by the vocative particle ও ; as ওহে or ও গো ভাই, O brother ! ও লো মাগী O woman ! ওরে ভৃত্য O servant ! হেঁ is some times substituted for ও before them ; as হেঁ হে ভাই O Brother, হেঁরে ভৃত্য O, Servant ! &c.

লো and the other particles, when compounded with ও, are often used in their respective applications, without requiring another word to join them ; as ওহে, ওগো ওরে, ওলো ; meaning to call the attention of the object then actually present. হে is sometimes used for objects worthy³ of religious or civil adoration and it is, in this case, applicable to both the sexes ; as হে সূর্য্য O sun ! হেলেশ্বী⁴ O goddess of fortune !

* A name of contempt applied to An old woman.

¹ Page 124 of this editon—*Ed.* ² i. e. ঠাকুর—*Ed.*

³ Misprint for "worthy"—*Ed.* ⁴ Misprint for হে লক্ষ্মী—*Ed.*

হে মহারাজ ! ঐশ্বর্যোতে অন্ধ হইও না O King ! do not be blinded with power.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Syntax.

অনয়.

A complete sentence must contain, at least, one noun and one verbal attribute expressed or understood* ; as রাম যান Ram goes : If the verb be transitive, another noun must be added ; as রাম তাহাকে মারিলেন Ram beat him.

To those may be added attributes of quality to the nouns and of circumstance to the attributes ; as দুর্বৃত্ত প্রভু তৃত্যকে সর্বদা আপনার ও পরের ঘরে অত্যায়ে পূর্বক নিগ্রহকরে এবং, তাহাকে পশুর গায় বরঞ্চ পশুহইতে অধম জ্ঞানকরে a bad master always beats his servant unjustly at home and abroad and treats him like a beast or rather worse than a beast.

The noun or pronoun of which a verb is considered as the attribute, is placed in the nominative case ; as রাম যাইতেছেন Ram is going. See Page 20 and Note * in the same page.¹

The verb agrees in person only ‡ with the noun in the nominative case ; as আমি যাইব I will go, তুমি যাইবে thou wilt go.

The object of an active verb is put in the accusative case ; as আমি তাঁহাকে দেখিয়াছি I have seen him. See page(s) 23 and 24 and Notes* and † in the latter page.²

Nouns denoting the time or place of an accident are put in the locative case ; as আমার ঘরে বসিয়াছেন he has sat down in my house. See Page 23.³

So a noun expressing the instrument of an accident is sometimes used in the locative form, as রাম খড়্গেতে (or খড়্গা

* See Note † in Page 2(20?). (Page 121 of this edition.)

‡ See Page 63. (Page 145 of this edition.)

¹ Page 121 of this edition—*Ed.*

² Pp. 122-23 of this edition—*Ed.* ³ P. 123 of this edition—*Ed.*

দিয়া) শত্রুর শিরচ্ছেদ করিলেন Ram cut off his enemy's head with a sword. See Page 24.¹

When the sense implied by a noun is limited by another, that which limits the sense is put in the Genitive case ; as মনুষ্যের মস্তক the head of a man. See Page 23.²

When one noun is compared with another, that in which the quality compared is found in the smaller degree indicated by the preposition হইতে, is put in the nominative form ; as স্ত্রীহইতে পুরুষ বলবান হন man is stronger than woman. See Pages 58 and 120.³

The adjective generally precedes the noun as ভাল মনুষ্য a good man, বড় ঘর a large house. See Page 54.⁴

A sentence generally commences with a noun or pronoun in the nominative case, unless that noun have an adjective prefixed to it, and always ends with a verb. The other parts of speech consisting of Participles, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections require no particular rules for their relative position in a sentence. They have the order already mentioned in the examples given in the Chapters treating of them respectively ; এক বৃহৎ ব্যাঘ্র বন হইতে গ্রামের মধ্যে রাত্রিকালে প্রবেশ করিয়া নানা উপদ্রব তথায় ভূরিকাল ব্যাপিয়া করিতেছিল পরে এক সাহসাস্থিত মনুষ্য সেই পশুর নহিত যুদ্ধ করিয়া তাহাকে নষ্ট করিলেক সেই অবধি গ্রামের লোক সচ্ছন্দতা পূর্বক আপন ২ কর্ষ করিতেছেন. A large Tiger entering into a village by night from a forest, committed various mischiefs there for a length of time ; afterwards a courageous man having combated with the animal, put it to death. From that time the inhabitants of the village have, with comfort, engaged themselves in their respective professions.

Such adverbs however as ভাল well মন্দ badly are generally placed immediately before the simple or compound verb to which they are attached ; as সে ইংরেজী ভাল লিখে he writes English well.

¹ Page 123 of this edition—*Ed.*

² *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

³ Pp. 143 and 145 of this edition.—*Ed.*

⁴ Page 140 of this edition—*Ed.*

⁵ i. e. যুদ্ধ—*Ed.*

A sentence especially a short one sometimes begins with a noun or pronoun in an oblique case, as তাঁহাকে আমি কদাচ ত্যাগ করিবনা I will never forsake him ; মনুষ্যের চরিত্র মনুষ্যকে মান্ত কিম্বা অমান্ত করে. The conduct of a man renders him respectable or disrespectable ; স্ননীতি ব্যক্তির বিত্তা অধিক শোভার সামগ্রী হয় in a moral man learning is considered an additional ornament ; যাহা হইতে লোক নির্বাহের বিঘ্ন হয়না সে স্ননীতি মনুষ্য হয় he by whom the peace of society has not been disturbed, is a moral man ; literally, by whom the peace of society has not been disturbed, he is a moral man. See Page 46.¹

Compound nouns both Bengalee and Sungskrit, as specified in Page 41, as well as irregular verbal compounds as noticed in Page 99,² are subject to the same rules that are applicable to simple nouns and verbs, as পণ্ডিতদের মণ্ডলীতে তিনি তোমার প্রশংসা করিলেন he expressed thy praise in the assembly of the learned. They may be thus rendered compounds, পণ্ডিতমণ্ডলীতে তিনি তোমাকে প্রশংসা করিলেন in the learned assembly he did praise thee. In both instances মণ্ডলী is used in the locative case and “করি” as the transitive verb, having the word প্রশংসা as its objective in the former and the term তোমাকে in the latter.

As to the use of the infinitive mode with the verb হওন, the reader may refer to Page 90.³

In conversation, as well as in poetry, তো is some times added to a noun or pronoun in the nominative case or to its verb to imply uncertainty, as to the result or to express resolution ; as আমি তো যাই I go or will go (though I am not sure of success,) আমি তো করিব I will do so whether others join me or not : But when it is joined to an oblique case, it hardly implies anything additional except resolution in some instances ; as তাহাকে তো দেখিব I must see him. So কো is rarely added to a verb in the negative form in familiar conversation and in poetry also without introducing any change in the meaning ; as আমি যাই না কো I have never gone, আমি গেলাম না কো I did not go, আমি যাব না কো I will not go.

¹ Page 36 of this edition—*Ed.* ² Pp. 133 & 165 of this edition—*Ed.*

³ Page 160 of this edition—*Ed.*

The following sentiments afford specimen of various forms of address according to the relative rank of the speaker and the person addressed.

Those in which corrupted Persian words are found have evidently been introduced through the Hindoostanee language.

A servant wishing to know the commands of his master, if a man of high rank, says “এ ভৃত্য (or গোলাম) হাজির আছে হজুর হইতে কি আজ্ঞা হয়.” This servant (or slave) is in attendance, what is your presence’s command ? that is, I am at your service, will you order me to do any thing ?

The expectant of favors from a person of superior cast says, “অনেক দিবস ওই পাদ পদ্ম ধ্যান করিতেছি ঠাকুরের¹ কৃপা ব্যতিরেক নিস্তার নাই.” For a long time I have been meditating on that lotus-like foot. There is no refuge but in your Lordship’s favor.

An inferior in addressing a superior says “এ পরিজন মহাশয়ের অনেক ভরসা রাখে.” This dependent has a strong hope in thee.

মহাশয় and আপনি are also used between equals amongst respectable persons, and these words have their corresponding verbs in the third person instead of the second as noticed in page 81² ; “মহাশয় or আপনি কি করিতেছেন” Pray, Sir, what are you doing ? তুমি is used towards an inferior, and sometimes towards equals if great familiarity exists, A master, in addressing a steward, says “তুমি পত্র প্রস্তুত করিয়াছ” hast thou prepared the letter ?

তুই is addressed to menial servants or persons of low birth when disrespect is intended. তুই কোথা যাইতেছিস is equivalent to the phrase, Fellow ! where art thou going.

OF PROSODY.

ছন্দ.

Prosody teaches the rules of arrangement of words in a sentence in relation to their sounds,

In Bengalee the vowels, আ, ঈ, উ, ঋ, ঌ, এ, ঐ, ও and ঔ are,

¹ i. e. ঠাকুরের—Ed.

² Page 155 of this edition—Ed.

in imitation of Sungskrit, considered as having long sounds, whether each is pronounced separately or joined to a consonant ; as আ কা, ঙ্গ, কৌ &c. These admit no change in pronunciation whether prefixed to a consonant or to the ° (অনুস্বার) or : (বিসর্গ) ; as আক্ ঙ্গক্ &c. অ'°, আঃ. On the other hand the vowels অ, ই, উ, ঋ, ঌ, have short sounds, whether pronounced alone or added to one or more consonants, as অ, ই, ক, কি, ত্র, &c. ; but when placed before compound consonants, or the অনুস্বার or বিসর্গ, or even before a consonant not followed by a vowel, they form long syllables equivalent to those of the former class ; as শব্দ, বৃন্দ, অ°, অঃ, অক্, কক্ ; &c.

In arranging words in a sentence, if they are placed according to their respective sounds in point of measure for the sake of harmony, the composition is termed poetical or কাব্য, by which language becomes more calculated than it otherwise would be to rouse human passions, especially if the words are accompanied with music.

But as the natives of Bengal have neither music* nor a language well adapted for poetry, little or no inducement exists to a foreigner to study its prosody ; I have therefore noticed only two or three measures of verse that are in frequent use, and refrain from introducing a separate Chapter treating of Prosody. The first is called পয়ার consisting of two lines, both ending in the same vowel and consonant : Each line consists of fourteen consonants or disjoined vowels, divided into not less than seven nor more than fourteen syllables ; as

রাজা বলে গোসাঁঞি বাসায় আজি চল :

করা যাবে উপযুক্ত কালি যেবা বল.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Ra-ja bu-le go-sāin ba-sae a-ji chu-lu.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

ku-ra ja-be oo-pu-jook-tu ka-li je-ba bu-lu.

* Such natives of Bengal, as are versed in the music of the upper provinces of India in general dislike the music of their native place.

ডাক হাঁক-ঢাক ঢোল মাল্ শাট্ শার্ব :

বাক্যেতে পৰ্ব্বত কিন্ত কার্যে তিনাকার

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Dak Hank Dhak Dhol Mal-Shat Shar ;

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

ba-kye-te purb-but kin-too kar-je ti-la-kar.

ত্রিপদী which is next in use, also consists of two lines ; both, like the পয়ার, ending in the same vowel and consonant. Each line is divided into three parts, the first two of which also end in the same vowel and consonant, each of them consisting of eight consonants or disjoined vowels : the third part contains ten such letters ; as

নদী যেন গড়-থানা, দ্বারে হবশীর থানা, দূরে হতে* দেখে হয় শঙ্কা ;
দয়া সর্ব মঙ্গলার, লজিবাবরে শক্তি কার, সমুদ্রের মঞ্চে¹ যেন লঙ্কা.

There is another form of the ত্রিপদী shorter than this ; which instead of having eight letters in each of the two first divisions, contains six and the last division of each line consists of eight letters in stead of ten ; as

আমারে কাশীতে, নাদিল রহিতে, ভূতনাথ কাশী বাসী ;
নেই অভিমানে, আমি এইস্থানে, করিব দ্বিতীয় কাশী.

A measure of verse called তোটক is rarely used. In Bengalee it consists of two lines, each of which is composed of twelve letters, the third, sixth, ninth, and the twelfth letters being long and the rest short ; as

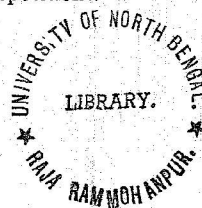
দ্বিজ ভারত তোটক ছন্দভণে,
কবিরাজ কহে যত গৌর জনে.

In this measure the length of the syllables, contrary to the other cases, is strictly regarded.

FINIS.

* হতে is used here for হইতে as in conversation and যেন for যেমন. The student will meet with many other instances of poetic license in the perusal of metrical compositions.

¹ i. e. মঞ্চে—Ed.



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY'S TRACTS ON SATI

1818—1831.

I.

Warren Hastings, after assuming the duties of the Governor-General of Bengal, employed Pandits to compile a digest of Hindu law. This digest named *Vivadarnavasetu*, 'the bridge over the sea of disputes,' was first translated into Persian, and from Persian into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhead, and printed and published in London (1776) under the name, *A Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordinations of the Pandits*. In the concluding paragraph of chapter xx of this work it is stated (p. 286) :—

"It is proper for a Woman, after her Husband's death, to burn herself in the Fire with his Corpse; every Woman, who thus burns herself, shall remain in Paradise with her Husband Three Crore and fifty Lacks of years, by Destiny; if she can not burn, she must, in that case, preserve an inviolable Chastity; if she remains always chaste, she goes to Paradise; and if she does not preserve her chastity, she goes to Hell."

These provisions of the officially published digest of Hindu Law convinced the British authorities that Sati was "authorized by the tenets of the religion of the Hindus." At the suggestion of Sir William Jones the government of Lord Cornwallis employed the famous Pandit Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana of Triveni to compile a more extensive digest. Jagannatha's digest entitled *Vivadabhangarnava* was translated into English by H. T. Colebrooke and published in four volumes. This English translation is widely known as Colebrooke's Digest. Book iv, chap. 3, sec. 1 of this Digest (vol. ii, pp. 567-574) deals with the self-immolation of the widow wherein original texts prescribing *anumarana*, *anvarohana*,

or *anugamana*, 'following the husband to death or to his funeral pile,' are quoted and explained. These texts are borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from two older digests, Vijnanesvara's commentary on the *Yajnavalkyasmṛiti* called the *Mitakshara* (about 1100 A. D.) and Smarta Raghunandana Bhattacarya's *Suddhitatva*. The *Mitakshara* is the earliest extant and most authoritative digest of Hindu Law and usage and Raghunandana's works hold undisputed sway in Bengal. Raja Rammohun Roy approached the question of Sati, not as a social reformer in the ordinary sense of the term, but as a *Smarta* or orthodox student of Smṛiti, or the codes of Hindu law attributed to the ancient Rishis. In this note I propose to make an attempt to determine the place of Raja Rammohun Roy among the Smartas.

The inclusion of so determined an opponent of the Sati rite as Raja Rammohun Roy among the Smartas may sound paradoxical to many. But there have been, not only in the proto-historic period when the Rishis lived, but even in the late historic period, learned brahmins and Smartas who opposed the cruel rite with as much zeal as Raja Rammohun Roy. One such learned brahmin is Bana, the author of two Sanskrit prose works, *Harsacarita* and *Kadambari*, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A. D. and was attached to the court of the Emperor Harsa. In the *Harsacarita*, chapter v, Bana writes that when king Prabhakaravardhana of Sthanisvara (Thanesvara), father of Harsa, was on the point of death, Harsa's mother, queen Yasovati, burnt herself to death on the river Sarasvati. It was not a case of *anumarana*, but one of ordinary suicide, and, in his account of the cremation of the body of the deceased king, Bana does not state whether any other wife of his mounted the funeral pyre of her lord. In his *Kadambari* Bana condemns *anumarana* in unmeasured terms. In this prose romance the hero, Chandrapida, exclaims irrelevantly :—

"This practice called *anumarna* is absolutely fruitless. This practice of putting an end to one's own life on the death of the father, brother, friend or husband is followed by the uneducated ; it is due to delusion of mind, ignorance, hot-headedness, short-sightedness, gross heedlessness ; it is a digression from the path of duty on account of foolishness. Life should not be put an end to till

it leaves of itself.....It does no good to the deceased. It cannot bring the deceased back to life ; it is not the way to increase religious merit ; it is not the way to gain the world of bliss ; it cannot prevent one from falling into hell ; it cannot enable one to see the deceased ; it cannot enable one to meet the deceased. The finite soul, lacking freedom, is carried to another world as a result of *karman*, and there the sin of committing suicide is attached to it. If the person lives, she can do immense good to the deceased and to herself by offering water and other funeral oblations ; but if she dies, she can do no good either to the deceased or to herself."

Bana was not a professional *smarta* or student of Hindu law, but he was a learned brahman. His declaration that *anumarana* was fruitless, nay sinful, leads one to think that he did not take the texts prescribing *sati* ascribed to ancient Risis like Angiras, Vyasa and Harita seriously.

These texts declaring also the rewards of the rite could not have been unknown to Bana, for he makes queen Yasovati say in the *Harsacarita* just before her self-immolation :—

"Going before, like the dust of your father's feet, to announce his coming to the heavens, I shall be highly esteemed of the hereloving spouses of the gods."

Medhatithi, the author of the earliest extant and most elaborate and authoritative commentary on the Code of Manu, assumes a similar attitude and opposes *anumarana*. Manu provides (v. 157) :—

"At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruit ; but she must never even mention the name of another after her husband has died."

Commenting on this stanza Medhatithi writes :—

"This is explained in detail.

"As for Manu self-murder is forbidden for woman also.

(Opponent) "The injunction of Angiras that '(wife) should follow her husband to death' must also be always carried out. The fruit of this rite is also extolled.

(Reply) "In connection with the desire for reward, *anumarana* stands on the same footing as the *Syena* sacrifice. If, following the injunction, 'creatures should be destroyed by the performance,

of the *Syena* sacrifice', and blinded by very deep hatred, any one undertakes the performance of the rite, it does not thereby become a meritorious action. Similarly, if, in spite of the prohibition (of Manu), any one, desiring the rich reward, infringes that prohibition and immolates herself, such self-immolation can not be recognised as an act really in accordance with scripture. Therefore there is prohibition of self-immolation of the woman on the death of her husband.

"Moreover, this injunction (of the smṛiti of Angiras) is opposed to the direct Vedic injunction, 'one should not put an end to oneself before the expiry of the allotted term of life (for gaining heaven)', and, therefore, this injunction of the smṛiti should be understood in a different sense."

Yajñavalkya ordains (I. 86):—

"The woman who has lost her husband should not be without (the protection of) father, mother, son, brother, mother-in-law, father-in-law or maternal uncle; otherwise she is blameworthy."

Commenting on this Vijñanesvara writes in the *Mitakshara*, "This (stanza) supports the practice of asceticism. Vishnu enjoins, "After the death of (her) husband, practice of asceticism, or ascending the pile after him (*anvarohana*).' Great reward follows from ascending the pile after him." Vijñanesvara goes on to quote stanzas attributed to Vyasa, Angiras, Sankha and Harita that directly enjoin and extol the reward of the self-immolation of the widow. Medhatithi, who probably wrote at least a couple of centuries before Vijñanesvara, was too great an authority to be ignored. Vijñanesvara quotes him saying, *kaisciduktam* 'it is said by some' and writes a rejoinder. He says in reply to Medhatithi that there can be no analogy between the *syenayaga* and the self-immolation of the widow. About the vedic prohibition of suicide Vijñanesvara says:—

"One who desires *moksha* (final salvation) should not put an end to herself before the expiry of the allotted term of life because, if one dies, it is not possible for her to gain salvation or enjoyment of the great happiness of union with Brahman obtainable by the knowledge of Self possessed by one the blemishes of whose mind have been removed by the performance of daily duties and occasional ceremonies and who studies and practises meditation.

Therefore life should not be cut short for enjoying the transitory and inferior happiness in heaven. But she who does not desire *moksha*, but only desires the transitory and inferior happiness in heaven, should perform self-immolation like other rites performed with a view to gain reward, and thereby she is not blameworthy."

Later compilers followed Vijnanesvara and *anumarana* came to be recognized as *dharma*. Raja Rammohun Roy in his tracts on Sati undertook the great task of refuting Vijnanesvara in accordance with the method followed by the orthodox Smartas. His task would have been easier if he had before him the great commentary of Medhatithi on *Manusmriti*. But, as his writings show, he knew only Kulluka Bhatta's brief commentary on Manu, and no other. But in spite of this and other disadvantages the acumen with which Raja Rammohun Roy carried out his work entitles him to be regarded as one of our greatest Smartas.

In his Tract No. 1. Raja Rammohun Roy begins by making the advocate of *Sati* reproduce all the texts quoted by Vijnanesvara and Raghunandana in support of the rite. In his reply as the opponent, like Medhatithi, he takes his stand on the stanza of Manu quoted above as directly forbidding *anumarana*. Raja Rammohun Roy does not go so far as Medhatithi and say that *anumarana* enjoined by Angiras is a sinful rite like the *syehayaga* enjoined by the Veda, but, citing the well-known stanza of Vrihaspati, says that an injunction of any other smriti that is opposed to Manu is not commendable. The bulk of Rammohun Roy's tracts 1 and 2 is devoted to replying to Vijnanesvara's absurd statement that a widow who is not desirous of final beatitude (*moksha*) but only desires heavenly bliss for a limited period of time, is authorised to follow her husband to death. He attaches as much importance to the Vedic text which prohibits suicide as does Medhatithi, and, quoting passages from the *Bhagavadgita*, the *Upanishads* and other texts shows that final beatitude (*moksha*) and not heavenly bliss for a limited period, promised by the advocates of *Sati*, is the goal of human life.

Rammohun Roy's opinion about the well-known stanza from the Rigveda (X. 18. 7) cited by the advocates of *Sati* in support of the rite shows his critical acumen. Raghunandana provides that

this stanza should be recited by the priest when the widow enters into the fire of the funeral pyre of her husband. The stanza, as read by him, runs :—

इमा नारीरविधवा सुपत्नीराज्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।

अनयथा अनमीवा सुरत्रा आरीहन्तु जलयीनिमग्रे ॥

Rammohun Roy's English translation of this stanza in its present form will be found in tract no. 1 (p. 10) and again in tract no. 3 (p. 61). A comparison of Raghunandana's reading of this stanza with the reading in the original (Rigveda) as interpreted by Sayana shows that in place of—

आरीहन्तु जनयो यीनिमग्रे

(Let the wives first enter the house.)

of the original Raghunandana reads—

आरीहन्तु जलयीनिमग्रे

(O Agni ! let her enter into fire.)

This stanza recurs in two of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* (xii, 10. i; xviii, 18, 7) and in the *Taittiriya-Aranyaka* (vi, 10, 8). For *samvisamtu* (let them enter) in the first line of the stanza in the Rigveda, the Atharvan has *samsprisantam* (let it be applied*) and the *Taittiriya-Aranyaka*, *samsmrisantam*, meaning the same thing. But in all these recessions the reading of the last part of the second line is identical, आरीहन्तु जनयो यीनिमग्रे. Raghunandana cannot be held responsible for the alteration of the reading. A Rigvedic stanza authorising Sati is first referred to in a passage of the *Brahma-Purana* quoted by Raghunandana and others. This Puranic text is not quoted by Vijnanesvara in the *Mitakshara*, but by Aparaditya, the author of an elaborate commentary on the *Yajnavalkyasmṛiti* called *Apararka* compiled in the second half of the twelfth century. Aparaditya writes that the Rigvedic stanza referred to in the Purana is the one beginning with *ima nariravidhava*. Aparaditya could not have referred to the stanza thus unless *janayo yonimagre* had already been altered to *jalayonim agne*. So the alteration of the reading of the stanza must have been affected by the advocates of *anumarana* before Aparaditya, probably even before Vijnanesvara, though the latter does not refer to it. Raja Ram-

mohun Roy did not possess the modern facilities for finding out the correct reading of the Vedic *mantras*. Yet with remarkable intuition he questions the genuineness of the reading of Raghunandan in tract No. 3. (p. 61).

Another instance of Raja Rammohun Roy's critical power is the detection of a spurious text of Manu. One of his opponents produced this stanza of Manu quoted by Kamalakarabhattacha in the *Nirnyasindhu* :—

तथा च मनुः— ब्रह्मचर्यं चरेदापि प्रविशेद्वा हुताशनं ।

“Manu also says, ‘(A widow) should perform asceticism or burn herself.’”

In his Bengali tract no. 3 (not translated and incorporated in English tract no. 3) Rammohun Roy writes on this stanza :—

“The *Nirnyasindhu* may be a modern or an old book. In the first place, if it is a modern book, it is without authority. Perhaps some person, intending to bring about the death of women, has published this book containing spurious texts. Secondly, if the book had been an old one, and if it had originally included this passage attributed to Manu, the author of the *Mitakshara* would certainly have supported *Sahamarana* (widow's dying with her husband) with this stanza of Manu quoted in the *Nirnyasindhu* in the section on *Sahamarana*; Kullukabhattacha in his commentary on Manu would certainly have explained this stanza in the section on the duties of the widow. Smarta Bhattacharya (Raghunandana) in his book refers to an old *Nirnyasindhu*, but never refers to this stanza in the section on *Sahamarana*. Therefore it is evident that a modern writer intending to kill women has interpolated the passage in the old *Nirnyasindhu*.”

Raja Rammohun Roy's conclusion that Kamalakar's *Nirnyasindhu* is a modern, that is to say, post-Raghunandana, compilation is absolutely correct. In the printed text of Kamalakar's *Nirnyasindhu* we find copious references to Raghunandana's works collectively named *Gaudanibandha*, the Bengal Digest.

Besides great learning and critical acumen, Raja Rammohun Roy's tracts on Sati disclose his admirable mental balance and

restraint. The concluding portion of his tract No. 2 and other passages show how keen was his feeling for the unfortunate widows. He was not also indifferent to what foreigners thought of the Hindus on account of the prevalence of such cruel rites. In the concluding paragraph of tract No. 3 published in 1830 after the prohibition of the rite by the government of Lord William Bentinck, Raja Rammohun Roy thanks Heaven for rescuing "our weaker sex from cruel murder, under the cloak of religion; and our character, as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it has been regarded, on account of this custom, by all civilized nations on the surface of the globe," (p. 66). But in his tracts he approaches the question of *Sati*, not with his eyes fixed on "civilized nations on the surface of the globe" outside India, but, as we have already seen, as an orthodox student of the Brahmanic smriti. In the concluding paragraphs of his recently discovered fourth tract published in England Raja Rammohun Roy takes his stand on the code of Manu (pp. 75-76) and not on humanitarian or other considerations. Modern Hindu social reformers cannot be expected to possess the Raja's faith in the sacred books of the Brahmans. Still the method followed by him in dealing with *Sati* is the proper method for dealing with Hindu social abuses because it does not differ materially from the historical method. In the injunctions from different sources discussed above two courses only are provided for the widow: ascetic life or *anumarana*. But in the earlier codes a quite different course is prescribed. It is called *niyoga*, appointment, analogous to the Jewish Levirate, a custom by which a dead man's brother or next of kin or even a member of the same caste could raise issue on his widow. The funeral hymns of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda are reminiscent of a primitive practice of the self-immolation of the widow on her husband's funeral pyre. But this practice was then performed only symbolically. The widow was first made to lie down by her dead husband on the funeral pyre. She was then made to rise and return home with the recitation of the following stanza which occurs both in the Rigveda (X. 18. 8) and the Atharvaveda (XVIII. 3. 1):—

"Go up, O woman, to the world of the living; thou liest by this one who is deceased; come to him who grasps thy hand, thy

second spouse thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband."

Commenting on this stanza Saunaka writes in the *Brihaddevata* (vii. 13-15) :—

"With this (stanza) 'Rise up, O woman' the wife ascends (the funeral pyre) after her dead (husband). The younger brother of the departed, repeating (the stanza), prohibits (her). The Hotri ought to perform this rite, should there be no brother-in-law, because a Brahmana enjoins that (the widow) should not follow the departed (husband). This law regarding women may or may not apply to the other castes (than brahmans)."

This stanza shows that in the Vedic period the primitive custom of self-immolation of the widow was forbidden among those who represented the progressive elements of the population, and was only occasionally practised by non-Brahman castes. It probably survived among those backward communities in whose culture primitive elements were stronger. Among the brahmans and other castes that followed them levirate (*niyoga*) was commonly practised. The earliest extant Dharmasutras make no reference to the mounting of the funeral pyre of the deceased husband by the widow and provide *niyoga* only. It is stated in the *Dharmasutra* of Gautama (xviii. 4-6) :—

"A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law. Let her obtain the permission of her gurus,.....(On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain) by a Sapinda, a Sagotra, a Samanapravara, or one who belongs to the same caste."

Vasishtha in his *Dharmasutra* (xvii. 55-56) ordains that a widow should practise asceticism for six months, and then, after offering funeral oblations to her deceased husband, she may live with another man for offspring. Baudhayana in his *Dharmasutra* extends this period of asceticism to full one year. So it will be seen that the *Brihaddevata* and the earliest Brahmanic codes gives greater prominence to *Niyoga* or the appointment of a widow to have issue by another man than to asceticism. This preference for *Niyoga* of the oldest Brahmanic codes fits in well with the other aspects of early Brahmanic or Vedic civilization characterised

by love of life and abhorrence of the renunciation of the world and of suicide.

A different type of mentality finds expression in the code of Manu which prescribes life-long asceticism for the widow (v. 155-158) and condemns *niyoga* (ix. 65). This provision of life-long asceticism for the widow by Manu is in harmony with his approval of renunciation of the world and entering the order of hermits in the wood (*Vanaprastha*) and of wandering religious mendicants in old age, whereas the Dharma-sutras of Gautama, Vasistha, Baudhayana and Apastamba disapprove the adoption of ascetic life for man.

Immolation of the widow represents another, a non-progressive primitive type of mentality. The standard authority for the performance of *Sati*, as we have stated above, is a group of stanzas attributed to Angiras and others, wherein the high reward of the rite is described. These are first referred to by Medhatithi and quoted in full by Vijnanesvara. In describing the reward that awaits the Sati and her deceased husband these authors go to absurd lengths. I shall quote one of their stanzas in Raja Ram-mohun Roy's translation :—

“Even though the man had slain a brahmun, or returned evil for good, or killed an intimate friend, the woman expiates those crimes.” (p. 6)

The meaning of this stanza is that wife's self-immolation cleanses the husband of the great sin (*mahapataka*) of *brahma-hatya*, brahman-slaughter. But even our Raghunandana could not swallow this statement without qualification. He writes :—

तत्र वैदिकं ब्रह्मघ्नपतेश्च निषिद्धान्मन्त्ररीयं तत्पापवत् एव सहस्रशीघ्रारः ।

“As the cremation of a (deceased) husband guilty of slaying brahman in this life is forbidden, the self-immolation of the wife saves a husband from the sin of slaying brahman in a previous birth.”

In spite of the texts of Angiras, Harita and others, prescribing self-immolation of the widow, the statement of Saunaka in the Brihaddevata quoted above could not be ignored. Vijnanesvara and others tried to avoid the difficulty by quoting texts enjoining

that, like widows of other castes, a brahman widow should not burn herself in a separate pile, but must ascend the pile of her deceased husband. The terms *anugamana* and *anumarana* are used to denote the self-immolation of the widow, not only in texts that prescribe the rite, but also in texts that forbid the brahman women to practise the rite. So the language of the texts does not justify the observation of Vijnanesvara and others that what is forbidden for the brahman woman is not self-immolation on the funeral pyre of the husband, but only self-immolation on a separate pyre. Raghunandana distinguishes *anumarana* from *sahamarana*, and following him, Raja Rammohun Roy translates *anumarana*, post-cremation, and *sahamarana*, con-cremation. But the word *sahamarana* does not occur in the texts and it is not used by older compilers of digests like Vijnanesvara, Aparaditya and Madhava.

The foregoing sketch of the history of Sati may be summed up thus :—

(1) As stated by Saunaka in the Brihaddevata, a Vedic (Brahmana) text prohibited the practice of self-immolation of the widow, and this injunction was not only followed by brahmans, but, with rare exceptions, by non-brahman castes who followed the brahmans.

(2) In course of time the practice became more popular among the non-brahman castes. Therefore the brahman law-makers, to prevent its spread among the brahmans, prohibited its practice by brahmans in the name of Brahma.

(3) This fresh injunction having proved ineffective, later lawyers, explained it away by saying that what was forbidden is self-immolation by mounting a separate pyre.

The lesson that we derive from the history of *Sati*, therefore, is that the brahmans originally regarded *Sati* as a sinful practice and only withdrew their opposition as a result of the pressure exercised by the folk-custom. After fully discussing the texts relating to *Sati* Raja Rammohun Roy comes to very nearly the same conclusion. In the concluding portion of tract No. 3 he writes :—

“Hence Concremation, in their opinion, is the least virtuous act that a widow can perform”. (p. 64)

In dealing with what they consider as social abuses modern reformers would do well to follow the method adopted by Raja Rammohun Roy. They may not have his faith, but they ought to approach the time-honoured customs and superstitions in a sympathetic spirit and first endeavour to trace their origins and development. This historical method is likely to disarm opposition.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

II

The question of Suttee had, very early, attracted the attention of the East India Company. Missionaries and other social reformers had been, for a long time, agitating both in India and in England, for the abolition of this custom which appeared to them to go directly against all considerations of humanity. During the administration of Lord Moira and Amherst an order was issued requiring magistrates to take steps that Suttees might perform their sacrifice at their pleasure and that no one should be allowed to persuade or use any compulsion. In 1818, however, the orthodox supporters of Suttee drew up and actually transmitted to the Honourable the Vice-President in Council a petition to repeal the orders in force against illegal proceedings in connection with the rite. It was, consequently, felt necessary by the liberal section of the community to address a counter-petition to the Governor General in Council lest the orthodox petition should be "considered as expressive of the sentiments of the majority or any other portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta beyond that of the individuals who have been influenced to sign the said petition." (p. 84)

This counter-petition was published in the Asiatic Journal for 1819. It presents interesting points of resemblance with the standpoint and style of Rammohun. It lays the same emphasis on the cruelties associated with the performance of the rite as the First Conference on the Practice of Burning Widows Alive.¹ Like this treatise again, the petition quotes Manu "whose authority is equal to that even of the Veds" positively enjoining widows to lead a life of abstinence from sensual gratifications;² and invokes the

¹ P. 84 *cf* p. 13.

² P. 86 *cf* p. 7.

Vedant and the Geeta against "acts done with the view of future temporary reward".¹ The style, itself, adorned as it is with sonorous phrases and weighty clauses is peculiarly reminiscent of Rammohun's other writings. Miss Collet points out that the petition "bears traces of his hand"; but she objects to one paragraph² "reflecting very harshly on Mahommedans so unlike Rammohun that it must have come from another source". But we find that Rammohun refers in his "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females" to Mussulmans as introducing "their own tyrannical systems of Government" "*destroying temples, universities and all other sacred and literary establishments*". It is, therefore, necessary to include it among the works of Rammohun.

Now that the entire question had been brought to the notice of Europeans it was thought desirable that Rammohun's First Conference should be translated into English and this was done in November, 1818.

The orthodox party, however, did not remain idle. A pamphlet in small quarto pp. 48 was drawn up by some of the Pundits in Calcutta as an answer to the 1st Conference of Rammohun. Sent forth without any name or title-page the pamphlet was written in the form of a dialogue between Bidhaok (an advocate) and Nishedhok (an opponent). A manuscript note on the first blank leaf informed the reader that it was published by Cashee-nath-Turkabagish by the desire of Cala-chand-Bhose. This work was evidently intended for the perusal of Europeans also, as an English translation was prefixed to the original. The following will give us some idea of its trend of reasoning:—

(i) It is ordained by the Sankha, Smrittee, Poorans and other Sacred Books, that "the women on the death of their husbands, should die in *Suhu-muruna*, that is to burn (should burn) themselves alive with the corpse of their respective husbands; and that, in want of the corpse, (they) should die in *Unoo-muruna*, that is to burn (should burn) with something belonging to their husbands."

(ii) This is followed by quotations from Angira, Purasura,

¹ P. 86 cf pp: 10-11.

² Pp. 85-86.

Hareeta, and Muhabharata all recommending the practice from advantages the widow is deluded with the hope of obtaining.

(iii) The Advocate next proceeds to interpret the saying of Vishu-rishee who suggests two alternatives, asceticism and concremation, regarding both as purely optional. But it being liable to eight faults asceticism is reserved only for those who cannot ascend the pyre.¹

(iv) He now takes up the case of Munoo who prescribes asceticism for widows. This he tries to get rid of by quoting the following saying from Juymini :—"where there arises any inconsistency among laws, that maintained by many is preferable" and hence the recommendations of Ungira, Hareet and others should outweigh the law of Munoo. He further adduces a passage from the Rig-Veda recommending the practice and concludes that the law of Munoo on that subject means nothing more than that a woman who may, by any accident, be prevented from performing *Suhumurun* or *unoo-murun* ought to devote herself to a life of austerity.

When the Opponent points out that Veda itself forbids the self-immolation of widows "in hopes of attaining Surga or bliss in heaven" as "by means of living still the duties usual and occasional can be performed for purifying the mind" and as "by hearing of and fixing our mind on Brahma we can attain final beatitude"; the Advocate replies that when one Smriti appears to have one meaning and another a different one both are held to be as law and then adds triumphantly "see therefore that a woman's burning herself for the sake of connubial happiness in heaven has no way been forbidden"; if she wishes final beatitude she may embrace a life of austerities.²

(v) The Opponent quotes *Kuthopanishut* and *Geeta* to prove that acts done for rewards must be regarded as degrading in nature. The Advocate answers: "Listen then to a Smriti 'A man wishing heaven for himself shall perform Ushwamedha-jauga', and again, 'A man wishing heaven for himself shall perform Jotistum Jauga.' These and other *Sruties*, are they to lose their

¹ For Rammohun's answer *vide* pp. 23-27. ² *Vide* Pp. 29-33.

spirits? That is to have no effect? Say what is your answer." They are indeed (as the Opponent himself concedes) for those who, previously filled with "amours, wrath and covetousness", are not inclined to enter disinterestedly into the service of the Supreme God; else they, freed from all restrictions, would be "like an elephant without guide."¹

(vi) When Nishedhok says "If you maintain that disinterested actions are better than those self-interested, why do you, then; instead of permitting husbandless women to adopt the law of Brahmachurya, which gives final beatitude, endeavour to preserve the self-interested practices" of Suttee; the Advocate replies that the attainment of beatitude being by itself a self-interested motive Suttee is preferable as it saves the husband and three generations and enables the woman "to get herself rid of her feminine sex."²

(vii) Moreover, says the Advocate, "it is very improper that the women who have never been conscious of so much as the meaning of the word wisdom shall be desired to follow the system of sacred knowledge;" "it would be attended with no other success than to condemn them both for the one and for the other"; i.e. they would not lead the life of chastity recommended or they would be too dull to do it from proper motives.³

(viii) The Advocate even supports the cruelties associated with Suttee by pointing out that the Shastras (which he quotes) recommend the observation of the usages and customs of a country. When the Opponent demurs that this will make the customary killing of man by men residing in forests and mountains blameless, the Advocate replies, "By no means, for the actions of these rude foresters are not approved by men of fidelity and laws on the head of *Suhumuruna* have been regularly maintained by holy sages, philosophers and the learned."⁴

(ix) "How can the Sunkulpa be completed," asks the Opponent, "because it is pronounced with a promise to mount a burning pile? instead of which they mount it before it touches fire." "Whatever you say" replies the Advocate, "regarding the incom-

¹ Vide Pp. 35-37.

² Vide Pp. 37-39.

³ Vide Pp. 39-42.

⁴ Vide Pp. 47-49.

pletion of the Sunkalpa, arises from your inattention: for should a little part of the village or cloth be consumed by fire, it is then said even by learned men, that the village or the cloth was burnt. In the same manner a little-burning pile is also called a burning pile, and in that case the Sunkulpa is not incomplete." He further seeks to justify the binding of widows to the funeral pyre in the following words:—"In the aforesaid text of the Hareet it was expressed, that until the women themselves cause their bodies to be wholly consumed in the fire, they could not finally get rid of their sex. In which case should any part of their bodies, while burning asunder in the piles be slipped out thereof it cannot be wholly consumed"; hence they have to be bound to the pile.¹

(x) The Advocate finally concludes by reciting an example from the Mutsya Pooran and pointing out that those who assist in the performance of Suttee reap glory for being associated with a religious act.

The pamphlet caused some commotion among the contemporaries of Rammohun especially among those Englishmen who were opposed to Suttee and it was fervently hoped by them (as an editorial in a journal of those days expressed) that "Rammohun should favour the British Public with an English translation of his reply" to this orthodox defence of what they regarded to be an inhuman practice. It is needless to point out that Rammohun rose equal to the occasion and refuted the arguments of his opponent in his Second Conference (translated 1820).

On the 14th January, 1830, a petition against the abolition of Suttee was presented to the Governor-General by the orthodox section of the Hindu Community in which Suttee was referred to as a "sacred duty" and any interference with the rite as "an unjust and intolerant dictation in matters of conscience." The Government was also cautioned against accepting interpretations of Hindu religious thought from persons "who have apostatized from the religions of their forefathers" and "defiled themselves by eating and drinking forbidden things in the Society of Europeans." It was accompanied

¹ Vide Pp. 49-57.

by a paper of authorities signed by 123 Pundits who sought to answer the arguments of Rammohun in his Second Conference.

They point out that the inference drawn from the text of Vishnoo that of the two alternatives, austerities and con-cremation, the first is of superior merit is not tenable; because from other texts it appears that here "the order of meaning has preference over that of reading"; hence concremation is preferable to asceticism. Moreover an ascetic life, if practised, is liable to the danger of a widow's falling away from the path of virtue. Nor can they accept the second argument that "austerities gradually purify the minds for, by succession, it is the only cause of final beatitude which constituted the object of the most excellent spirits" and are, consequently, preferable to concremation which "gives a temporary and small degree of heavenly fruition"; for, according to them, "it appears in law that it is inexpedient for a woman (who is capable to perform concremation which can be done by a short time suffering and which, after the enjoyment of many heavenly blessings bestow final beatitude)." There is also "no contriarity of the doctrines of Manu regarding concremation." In *Nirnaya-sindhu* there is a text from Manu which speaks of two alternatives giving the first place to con-cremation. Moreover there are many duties, *nitya* or perpetual and *namitia* or periodical, which have no place in his code; and *Sruti* in a famous text used in the *sankulpa* sanctions the rite.¹

To counteract the impression made by the petition and the letter of authorities accompanying it the liberal part of the community presented, on the 16th January, an address to Lord William Bentinck eulogising him for the abolition of the rite. This address has been accepted on all hands as the composition of Rammohun. The Rajah also wrote an "Abstract of Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows" where, brushing aside all personalities, he successfully refuted the orthodox point of view.

Not satisfied with the reply of the Governor-General the Dhurmu Suva sent an Appeal to the King in Council against the abolition of Suttee. Rammohun was indefatigable in his exertions against

¹ For Rammohun's answer to these arguments *vide* Pp. 58-66 and 70-79.

this orthodox movement. He published and circulated in England a tract entitled "Some Remarks in Vindication of the Resolution Abolishing Female Sacrifices" while through his influence a counter-petition, presumably written by himself, was presented before the House of Lords by the Marquess of Lansdowne on June 13, 1832. The orthodox petition was heard before the Privy Council composed of the Lord President (Marquess of Lansdowne) the Lord Chancellor, Marquess Wellesley, Earl Amherst, Lord John Russel, Sir Jas Graham, Sir E. H. East, the Master of the Rolls and Mr. Charles Grant who submitted a report against the petition. The orders passed by His Majesty in Council are quoted below:—

Whereas this day there was read at the Board a Report from a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, dated the 7th July instant, in the words following, viz.,—

Your Majesty having been pleased by your order in Council of the 11th of May, 1831, to refer unto this Committee the humble petition of certain Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, &c., setting forth that (here the petition is inserted); the Lords of the Committee, in obedience to your Majesty's said orders of reference, had taken the said petition into consideration; and, having heard counsel for the petitioners thereupon, and also on behalf of the East India Company, their Lordships do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your Majesty, that the said petition should be dismissed.

His Majesty, having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof and to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the said petition be, and the same is, hereby dismissed the Board.

This decision of the Privy Council sounded the death-knell of all agitations against the abolition of Suttee.

A. K. SEN.

J. K. MAJUMDAR.

RAMMOHUN'S LETTER ON ENGLISH EDUCATION

During the early years of its administration the East India Company was not specially interested in education. It did not interfere with the indigenous system of education prevalent in the country nor did it seek to introduce any improved method of general instruction for the common people. It was left to missionaries, private societies and individuals to set up schools of a new type in India, and although the Court of Directors recognised "the utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives," and "their acquiring a knowledge of the English language" as "the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object" they did not go beyond making annual grants to a few schools.¹

The Company did not, at that time, consider it a part of their responsibility to educate their subjects; but whenever any of their officials established institutions like the Calcutta Madrassa (1781) or the Benares Sanskrit College (1791), they encouraged such activities by their seal of approval and pecuniary assistance. The main principles which governed their efforts in this direction were two-fold *viz.*, these institutions sought to qualify "the sons of gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State,"² and thus prove "a nursery of future doctors and expounders of law" for assisting "European Judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit." They were also intended to endear the government to the natives by "our exceeding in our attention towards them and their system, the care shewn even by their native princes."³ Naturally these Sanskrit Colleges and Madrassas concentrated their attention on the spread of traditional culture among the people.

There was, however, considerable dissatisfaction felt about this

¹ Despatch dated Feb. 16, 1787.

² *Education in India*—Howell p. 1.

³ Letter from J. Duncan, Resident, Benares (January 1, 1792).

state of affairs. As early as 1792 Charles Grant, an employee of the Company, in his celebrated Observations, pointed out the desirability of imparting western ideas to the natives of India and laid special emphasis on the utility of introducing, among them, "the principles of mechanics and their application to agriculture and the useful arts." Lord Minto lamented that science and literature were in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. He also expressed his firm conviction that the "uncultivated state of the minds of the natives" was, in a great degree, responsible for "the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country."¹

The first official recognition of the responsibility of the Company for the intellectual advancement of the natives of India was embodied in sec. 43 of the East India Company Act of 1813 wherein it was stipulated that "a sum of not less than one lac of Rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and *for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences* among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." The Court of Directors in their letter to the Governor General in Council gave their own interpretation of the second condition. They said that in Sanskrit "there are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of plants and drugs and on the application of them in medicine," as well as "treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics including Geometry and Algebra" which might be made to "form links in the communication between natives and gentlemen in our service" so that by such intercourse, the natives might "*gradually* be led to adopt modern improvements in the sciences."² Thus following a policy of *not yet* they still clung to their older ideals.

Meantime several institutions for spreading western culture were established in Bengal; the Hindu College (1817) the Baptist Mission College of Serampur (1818) and the Bishop's College (1820) being

¹ Lord Minto's Minute (March 6, 1811).

² Despatch of the Court of Directors (June 3, 1814).

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the earliest of their kind and the two systems of education, indigeneous and western, went on developing side by side.

In July, 1823 a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in this part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and, from time to time, submitting to government the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt in view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character."¹ It was also entrusted with the superintendence of all the Government Seminaries and the expenditure of the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees per year. It was the attitude of this Committee towards the introduction of western sciences which led Rammohun to address his celebrated letter of protest to Lord Amherst.

In 1811, Government had promised to establish colleges for the advancement of Hindu literature in Nadia and Tirhut. This promise was sought to be redeemed by the foundation of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. It was originally intended that the College, when established, should not only promote Hindu culture but also "seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge."² The Committee, however, decided that, in the first instance, the college should impart instruction only in the sacred literature of the Hindus as contained in the Sanskrit language.. In July 1823, the British India Society advised that they had transmitted, by permission of the Court of Directors, "an extensive philosophical apparatus" to be placed entirely at the disposal of the College. The Government assigned a salary for a "professor of experimental philosophy" and communicated their instructions to the General Committee. The question of imparting "European knowledge" thus came within the range of practical politics. The Committee admitted indeed that the "curiosity and intelligence of the students of the Sanskrit College will be excited" by these "*amusing as well as instructive experi-*

¹ Resolution, (July 17, 1823).

² Resolution, (Aug. 21, 1821).

ments," but was very lukewarm in its support of the proposal. It put special emphasis on difficulties and "contented itself with providing for a very small number of pupils on the science side." Thus a committee of European officers, by an irony of fate, practically rejected a proposal for disseminating scientific knowledge of the west among natives of India.¹

It was under these peculiar circumstances that Rammohun, fully conscious of the supreme importance of scientific knowledge for the regeneration of India, protested emphatically against the policy of the General Committee with regard to the Sanskrit College.

At a time when scientific education had not received that importance which it deserves in the curricula of even Western Universities, it was the far-sighted vision of Rammohun which made him insist, in no uncertain terms, upon the inclusion of science in the educational system of his own country. Not that he was blind to the value of the indigenous sanskritic culture of India; his association with the Vedanta College and his controversies with Christian missionaries are sufficient to show what interest he felt in the wisdom of the past; but he was fully convinced that without scientific education no future progress was possible for any country, far less for India.

While forwarding Rammohun's letter to the General Committee the Deputy Persian Secretary wrote:—"In furnishing your Committee with a copy of the paper, His Lordship in Council cannot abstain from remarking, that it is obviously written under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of education, and course of study, which it is proposed to introduce into the new college, that the defects and demerits of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, are therein represented in an exaggerated light, and that the arguments in favour of encouraging native learning, as well as the positive obligation to promote its revival and improvement, imposed on the Government by the terms of the Act of Parliament directing the appropriation of certain funds to the object of Public Education have been wholly overlooked, by the writer."²

¹ Letter of the General Committee (Oct. 6, 1823).

² Letter dated Jan. 2, 1824 published in J. B. O. R. S. XVI. Part II, Rammohun as an Educationist.

The contention of the Governor-General in Council that Rammohun's letter was written "under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of education" proposed for the Sanskrit College appears to be untenable when we remember that "the gradual diffusion of European knowledge" also formed part of its original object. In accusing Rammohun of overlooking the obligation of Government to promote and revive native learning the Governor-General in Council forgot that "the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of the sciences" was another item as much obligatory on the Government as the one referred to in his letter.

Mr. J. H. Harrington, the President of the Committee went one step further. He was of opinion that "had the views taken in the letter been even less accurate the Committee would still conceive it entitled to no reply, as it has disingeniously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application to Government against the cultivation of Hindu literature, and in favour of the substitution of European tuition, is made professedly on the part, and in the behalf of natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen. The letter of Rammohun Roy does not therefore express the opinion of any portion of the natives of India and its assertion to that effect, is a dereliction of truth, which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration."¹ It may be pointed out in this connection that in the letter itself Rammohun always speaks on his own behalf; nor does he make, explicitly or implicitly, any suggestion that he was speaking on behalf of anybody else. Before charging Rammohun with "dereliction of truth" Mr. Harrington ought to have remembered that the Hindu College was established in 1817 mainly as a result of the earnest desire of a large section of the Hindu Community itself; and that its popularity among the natives of Calcutta plainly indicated the existence of a considerable section of Rammohun's countrymen who favoured his views.

Well might Howell say:—It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English education in India, that at the very

¹ J. B. O. R. S. XVI, Part II Rammohun as an Educationist.

time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning."

Rammohun's interpretation of Sec. 43, of the East India Act, 1813 was, however, supported by the Court of Directors who wrote as follows to the Governor General in Council :—

79. The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindu College and it may be affirmed of the Muhammadan, were two; the first to make a favourable impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of natives; and the second to promote *useful learning*. You acknowledge that if the plan has had any effect of the former kind it has none of the latter; and you add "that it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had."

82. With respect to the sciences it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the oriental books. . . .

83. . . . But we apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning but *useful learning*. No doubt in teaching to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have need to be consulted while everything which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In progressing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous,

not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned."¹

To these admonitions of the Court of Directors, Mr. Harrington and his Committee could only reply that popular feeling was against such innovations and that Oriental literature "was, by no means, an unprofitable course" for Indians. They were, however, compelled by the strong attitude of the Court of Directors, to assure the Governor General in Council that they would "endeavour in persuance of the sentiments and intentions of Government" to "introduce Western culture" when it could be done "without offending the feelings or forfeiting the confidence" of those whom they wanted to benefit by such introduction.² Thus as early as 1824, the year of the establishment of the Sanskrit College, the principles which Rammohun advocated were, at least, partially recognised by the General Committee. By 1827, Medical and English classes had been formed in the Sanskrit College. In 1828 the students were reputed to have "learnt to handle human bones without apparent repugnance and assisted at the dissection of other animals." The Report for 1829 made a further announcement that Rs. 300 per mensem had been assigned for the establishment of a hospital in its vicinity.³

A. K. SEN.

RAMMOHUN ROY AS A GRAMMARIAN

Raja Rammohun Roy's intellectual activities were all embracing. Among his countrymen, he was an innovator in many directions, and he may, with justice, be described as the first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother-tongue. His *Bengali Grammar in the English Language* was printed at the Unitarian Press, Calcutta, and was published in 1826—one of the earliest books to

¹ Despatch, February 18, 1824.

² Letter of the General Committee (18th August, 1824).

³ Fisher's Mamoir (Evidence before the Select Committee 1831, Vol. I Public : Appendix I.)

be brought out from his printing house, the establishment of which was another instance of the many-sided activities of the Raja. The work was written with the avowed intention of helping sympathetic Europeans to acquire the language of the country. "Some of these gentlemen", as Rammohun says in his *Introduction*, "with a view to facilitate intercourse between themselves and the natives, have undergone much labour in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernacular language of the country; while others are diligently seeking access to it, without any expectation of deriving useful information or rational entertainment from any work in the language. This tract, being composed with a view to convey the principal rules applicable to that tongue and a brief outline of the general principles of grammar, is intended as an humble present for those worthy persons."

Rammohun, however, was not the first writer in the field of Bengali grammar. Portuguese missionary activity in Bengal in the 17th and the 18th centuries necessitating the acquirement of the vernacular for preaching the Roman Catholic faith, was responsible for the first grammar of the Bengali language, which was published from Lisbon in 1743. Padre Manoel da Assumpcam an Augustinian friar whose centre of work was at Bhowal near Dacca, wrote this brief grammar in the Portuguese language. The Bengali, he has described is tinged with the peculiarities of the Dacca dialect, and it was only natural that it would be so, as he had no model before him and there was no acknowledged standard for Bengali prose, although a sort of common poetical language had long been established for the whole of Bengal. No Bengali types were available at the time, so Padre Manoel used the Roman type, with the Portuguese values of these. His romanisation of Bengali was purely on a phonetic basis—it was a phonetic transcription of the words as actually pronounced, and not a systematic transliteration of the Bengali orthography. Following Padre Assumpcam, the Englishman, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed published his grammar of Bengali from 'Hooghly in Bengal' in 1778, and in this book Bengali types were first used. Halhed's book was a considerable advance on the pioneer efforts of Padre Assumpcam, and Halhed had not only a greater

ommand over the language but also he had studied what literature was available to him, and he moreover knew and appreciated such ancient Indian grammatical tradition as was applied to Bengali—a matter which Padre Assumpeam ignored, having approached Bengali not as a cultivated language with its background of Sanskrit, but as a *patois* which had to be brought within the pale of civilised studies for the first time. Halhed's book stands at the head of all modern European—and Indian—endeavour to describe and properly study Indian languages, and this attitude with its under-current of modern and scientific investigation was acquired by Rammohun. After Halhed came the grammar of William Carey (Serampore 1801; second edition, 1805; fourth edition 1818; fifth edition, 1845), and Sir G. C. Haughton's *Rudiments of Bengalee Grammar* (London, 1821). Carey's was the fullest and most careful work on Bengali so far published, and doubtless Rammohun Roy, who completed his book by June 1826, was much influenced by Carey. It is likely that in addition to the above, there were one or two other Bengali grammars prior to Rammohun but we do not know whether any Bengali-speaker previous to Rammohun wrote a grammar of his mother-tongue. Following Rammohun, twenty-four years after his book was published, the biggest book on the subject by Shama Churn Sircar came out in 1850. But in many respects, Rammohun's Grammar appears not to suffer in the least by being the older work. This pioneer grammar of his mother-tongue by a Bengali is marked by a most refreshing sanity and clarity of linguistic sense which form quite a striking evidence of the conspicuous intellectual brilliance of its author.

Rammohun's definitions display a careful study and appreciation of the various grammatical categories, as discussed by the grammarians of both English and Sanskrit. In many instances, Rammohun gives equivalent Bengali terms, which are partly taken from Sanskrit, and are partly Rammohun's own coinings. The care which Rammohun took in this matter certainly shows a certain amount of solicitude for his mother-tongue—this fixing of a grammatical terminology in Bengali indicating Rammohun's desire to see scientific writing facilitated in that language. Some of Rammohun's own coinings

are strikingly good, and deserve being given vogue because their expressiveness. In this matter, a further advance was made in the Bengali version of his grammar, which appeared in 18 after his death. Rammohun's Bengali technical terms as given in his grammar have been discussed by Professor Ramesh Chandra Banerji, M.A., in an interesting article published in the Bengali journal *Bharatavarsha* for Sravana 1339 (Bengali Year), pp. 278—280. Rammohun's use of a new word "পরিণমন" (*Parinamana*) to mean *case*, in place of the ordinary Sanskrit word कारक (*karaka*) is, for instance, a literal translation of the Latin word *casus* = 'fall', and he adopts the view of the Greek grammarians (which is the basis of later European grammatical thought) that apart from the nominative where the noun is standing erect, as it were, the other *cases* of the noun are instances of something being done to it, are instances of its *fall* and *obliqueness* which idea Rammohun seeks to indicate by the word *parinama* = 'bending', 'obliqueness'. *Mood, or Mode*, as he calls it, using the form which approaches Latin more, he renders as প্রকার (*prakāra*), which is quite a good rendering, considering that the idea of verbal moods is not inherited from Sanskrit grammar. And his translations of the names of the various moods (*Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative*) are equally noteworthy. In a few other instances his translations are not happy. He did not use the term *post-position*, but he employed the common European grammatical notion of *prepositions* for the *post-positions* of Bengali, and calls prepositions, সম্বন্ধনীয় বিশেষণ (*sambandhaniya visesana*).

From the point of view of a learner of Bengali the grammar is a sober statement of the salient facts of the language. There is a good section on pronunciation in relation to orthography, replete with careful observations, and practical with accompanying transliterations. Following Gilchrist's transcription, *u* is used for the Bengali ঊ in these transliterations. In the section on the declension of the noun, Rammohun shows a good analysis of the Bengali noun cases—he ignores the arrangement of the Bengali declension on the lines of the Sanskrit paradigm of the noun, and adopts four inflected cases (*Nominative, Accusative, Locative and Genitive*)

instead of the seven of Sanskrit (inflected and post-positional in Bengali) usually given in Bengali grammars. In his book Rammohun always differentiates between the native Bengali elements of morphology and the Sanskrit elements in the borrowed Sanskrit words. Ordinary grammarians give a preponderating stress on the learned or Sanskrit element, both in vocabulary and in inflexion, relegating a position of utter insignificance to the genuine Bengali elements in both. This refreshing display of common sense and linguistic penetration is found in our earliest Bengali grammarian, but later authors adopted the Pandit's attitude towards the language, looking upon it as an aberration from the language of the Gods. Rammohun's keenness of intellect which looked into things that form the basis rather than dwelling upon outward inessentials is fully evidenced from his grammar also.

The paradigms for the pronoun are along the same simple lines as in the case of the noun. And the conjugation of the verb being from the modern rather than the Sanskrit standpoint, it gives a proper classification of the tenses, simple and compounded. In this matter Rammohun has to teach even the most elementary things to many a present-day Bengali grammarian whose works are taught in the schools now; those latter show a strange bluntness to the nature and origin of the Bengali tenses, the simple past and the past perfect and imperfect being often all of them lumped together as অতীত (*atita*) or past. Other aspects of grammar are treated with equal care and inclusiveness. Some Bengali idioms have also been touched upon in the section on Syntax.

The section on Prosody is rather perfunctory. Rammohun essayed some verses in his mother-tongue, in the shape of a few devotional poems, and he figures at best as a mediocre poet only. He did not have the music of poetry himself, and so he says 'the natives of Bengal have neither music nor a language well adapted for poetry', and 'such natives of Bengal as are versed in the music of the upper province of India in general dislike the music of their native place.' He is not to be blamed for that, as the folk-music of Bengal was a *terra incognita* to learned Bengalis of the time, and the possibilities of the Bengali language in verse music were still a possibility only. Rammohun contented himself by

just giving the characteristics of the পয়ার (*payar*) the ত্রিপদী (*tripadi*) and the তোটক (*totak*) metres; but his analysis of the *payar* is sound enough, when he says that 'each line consists of fourteen consonants or disjoined vowels, divided into not less than seven and not more than fourteen syllables'.

On the whole, we may say that Rammohun acquits himself very well as a grammarian of his mother-tongue, and his work is not only worthy of him, but has also a value for students of Bengali—even among Bengali-speakers—one hundred years and more after its first publication.

SUNITH KUMAR CHATTERJEE.

