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Cosmopolitan Hindustani Under Aurangzeb: Terminological Matters in François Marie de Tours' *Thesaurus Linguae Indiae*

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औरंगज़ेब के ज़माने की भूमंडलीकृत हिंदुस्तानी: फ्रोंसुआ मारी दे तूर के शब्दकोष में पारिभाषिक शब्दावली पर एक टिप्पणी

Abstract The article explores terminological issues in a hitherto hardly explored chapter in early Hindi lexicography, namely in François Marie de Tours' extraordinary dictionary of 1703, the *Thesaurus Linguae Indiae*. The manuscript consists of 490 folios verso and recto organized in four columns: Latin headword, Hindi word in Devanagari, French rendering, and a phonological transcription with an advanced self-styled set of diacritics. Altogether, the language that the author presents in the dictionary and also in his grammar of Hindustani is astonishingly close to Modern Standard Hindi. Both extraordinary documents appear to be meant to go to the press, but for unclear reasons survived only as manuscripts. The dictionary is an important contribution to the early history of Hindi as well as of the early forms of the European encounter with South Asia. The following article is a provisional report on the project at Uppsala University and some of its findings.

Keywords Hindi, François Marie de Tours, Early Hindi, Surat, Hindi dictionaries.

सारांश यह लेख प्रारंभिक हिंदी शब्दकोषकार्य में पारिभाषिक मुद्दों की पड़ताल करता है। केंद्रबिंदु फ्रांसोआ-मरी दे तूर का असाधारण शब्दकोश 1703 है। पांडुलिपि में चार स्तंभों में संगठित 490 पन्नों पर दोनों तरफ सब मिलकर ११,००० लैटिन के शब्द हैं, हिंदी और फ्रेंच अनुवाद के साथ: लैटिन हैडवर्ड, देवनागरी में हिंदी शब्द, फ्रेंच का रूप, और एक स्वैच्छिक लिप्यंतरण के साथ एक उन्नत स्व-शैलीगत सेट रोमन लिपि में। कुल मिलाकर, लेखक जिस भाषा में भी कोश में प्रस्तुत करता है और हिंदुस्तानी के अपने व्याकरण में, वह आश्चर्यजनक रूप से मॉडर्न स्टैंडर्ड हिंदी के करीब है। दोनों असाधारण दस्तावेज प्रेस में जाने के लिए प्रतीत होते हैं, लेकिन अस्पष्ट कारणों से उस वक़्त छपा नहीं यानी केवल पांडुलिपियों के रूप में बच गया एक महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक शब्दकोष है। शब्दकोष का हिंदी के प्रारंभिक इतिहास के साथ-साथ दक्षिण एशिया के साथ यूरोपीय मुठभेड़ की शुरुआत में यह एक महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है। निम्नलिखित लेख उप्साला विश्वविद्यालय में परियोजना और इसके कुछ निष्कर्षों पर एक अनंतिम रिपोर्ट है।

मुख्य शब्द – हिंदी, फ्रांसोआ-मरी दे तूर, प्रारंभिक हिंदी, सूत्र, हिंदी शब्दकोश।

1 Introduction

The article explores the significance of an early Hindustani dictionary written by François Marie de Tours, bearing the date of 1703 (see Figure 1). Its digital version has been made available online some time ago.¹ This highly important dictionary as well as the grammar (see Figure 2) of this French Capuchin missionary, who had been in India probably since the 1680s based in Surat, had remained somehow forgotten by the research community until recently. It is only briefly mentioned by McGregor in his review of early Hindi lexicography (McGregor 2001: 9ff; compare McGregor 2003: 947ff).

The dictionary consists of about 11,000 headwords. Together with the grammar, it is an astonishing early masterpiece of missionary linguistics in South Asia and at the same time an important witness of Hindustani in a Gujarati-speaking environment. The lexicographical material allows a glimpse of the linguistic and cultural history of Early Modern Hindustani as a transregional dialect. At the same time, it opens a neglected chapter in the missionary history of the Capuchin Christian mission to the Indian Subcontinent and the history of the encounter between East and West in the early 18th century (Frykenberg 2003; Alam and Subrahmaniam 2007).

Manuscript 840 in the Indian manuscripts collection at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris—i. e. de Tours' dictionary—appears to have been prepared for typesetting and printing, but it never went to the press. Manuscript 839 in the same collection is a copy of the manuscript from the hands of Anquetil-Duperron

1 <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc96255g> (retrieved February 3, 2021)

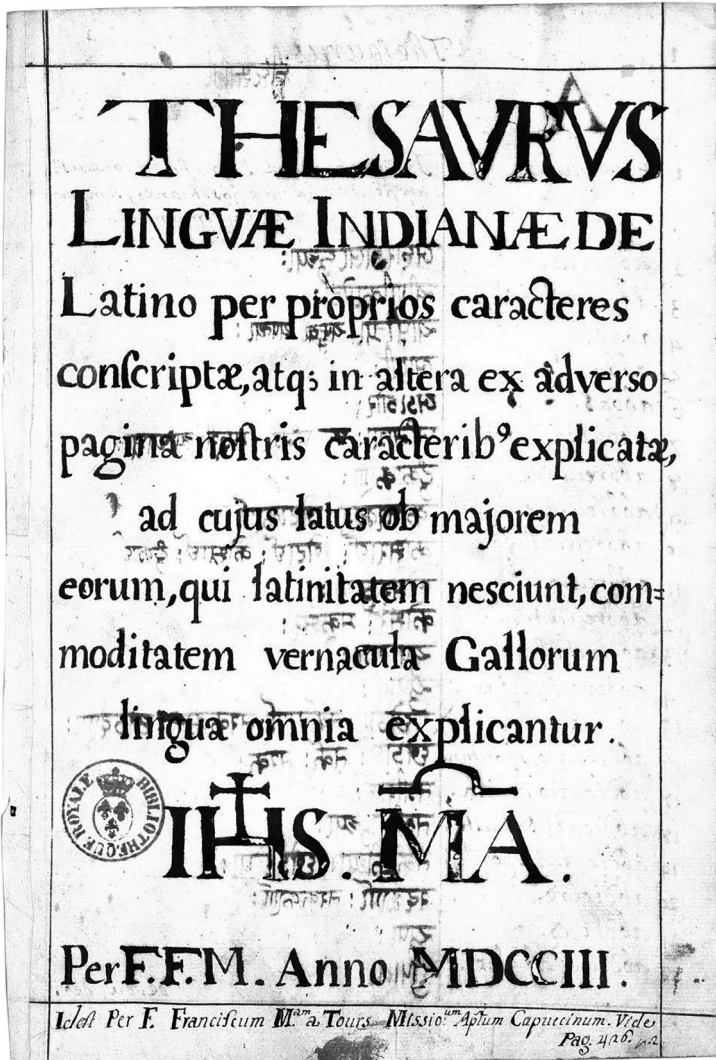


Figure 1. Title page of the dictionary MS 840, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

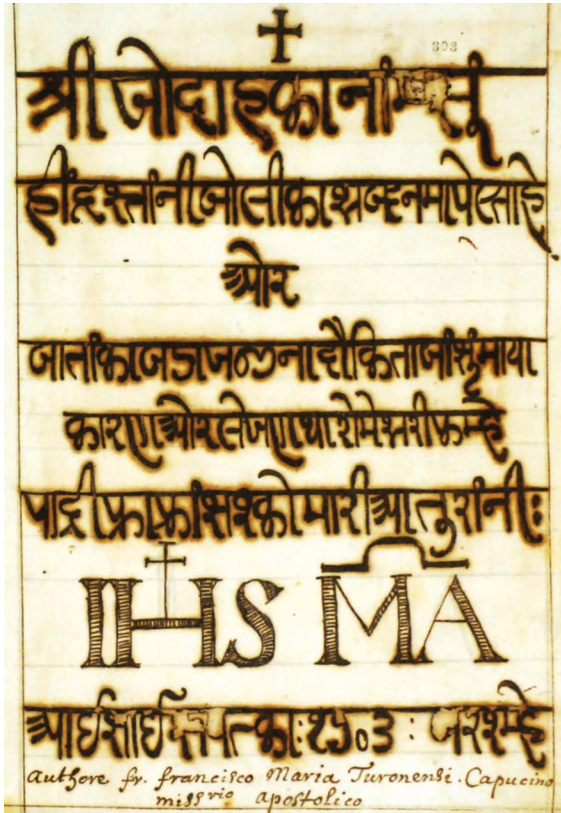


Figure 2. Title page of the grammar, Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or “de Propaganda Fide”, Urbaniana University, Rome

made in the 1780s.² The following article is a kind of report on a project based at the University of Uppsala and funded by the Swedish Research Council. It will give an overview of the project and a provisional insight into the terminological findings.

The planned “webonary” (digital online dictionary) based on François Marie de Tours’ dictionary is intended to be a starting point for an extended open dictionary of early Hindi based on word lists and dictionaries produced before the foundation of Fort William College in Kolkata (1800) and its impact on the development of Hindi/Hindustani.

2 The history of the original manuscript and the copy of Anquetil-Duperron is part of a research project of Gunilla Gren-Eklund (Uppsala) and will be published soon.

2 The historical and linguistic background of de Tours' Thesaurus

The French Capuchin friar François Marie de Tours came to India probably via the Levante and the Safavid empire—i. e., not via the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope—in the 1680s. The Capuchins had built up a wide network of houses in the Near East in the early 1600s. Since then, a steady flow of friars was sent out on missions towards the East. They would usually stay for some time in the Levante to study Arabic and get accustomed to the Orient before travelling further. The Capuchin order had been active in India since 1632 (Neill 1984; Frykenberg 2003).

Once in India, he got based in the Capuchin house in Surat founded about 1640 by Zénon de Beaugé (1603–1687), who had arrived in Goa in 1637—not much loved by the Portuguese and the Jesuits either—together with two other Capuchin friars sent by the Roman Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (founded 1622), the Pontifical office that tried to establish central coordination of worldwide missions of Catholic institutions—mostly religious orders. The Capuchin mission goes back to a request of Matheus de Castro (1594–1679), the first Indian bishop and Vicar Apostolic to the Kingdoms of Bijapur, Golconda, Abyssinia and Pegu (Rubiés 2001; Neill 1984). Surat (see Figure 3) was the then most important maritime trade hub on the Western coast in today's state of Gujarat, and starting point for the pilgrims to Mecca by ship (Malony 2003). The Capuchins established their central office in this place and therefore outside Portuguese hold territory. Surat had been part of the Mogul empire since the conquest of Gujarat in 1573 and hosted offices

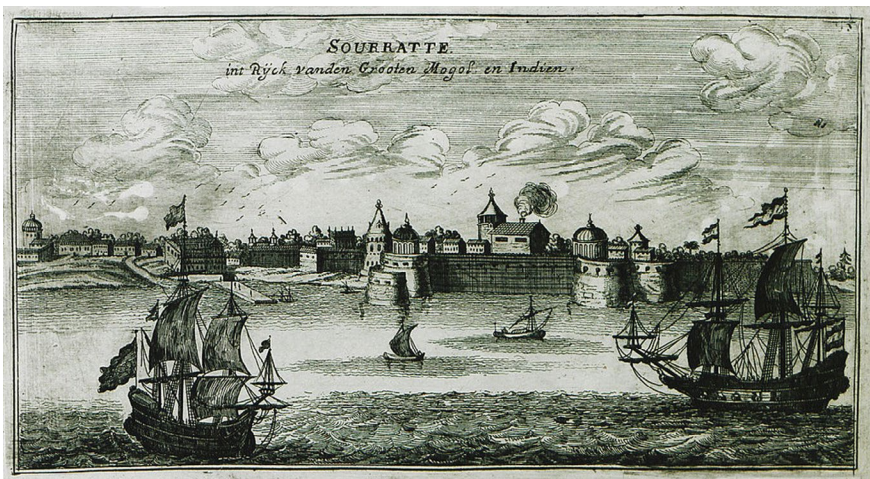


Figure 3. An image of Surat harbour at the beginning of the 18th century

of several European East India Companies in the 16th and 17th centuries before Mumbai (Bombay) took over the role as the central place in maritime trade with European companies.

While Surat remained the centre for Capuchin activities in South Asia, the friars soon opened branches in other places in the South as well as in the North of the empire. Much of de Tours' activities was travelling to the Capuchin houses in different places inside and outside the Mughal empire.

The oldest surviving grammar of Hindi, edited by Tej Bhatia and Kazuhiko Machida, was also written in Surat 1698. Its author was a civil officer of the Dutch East India Company based in Surat, Johan Josua Ketelaar (1659–1719).³ De Tours' dictionary manuscript is only five years younger, i. e. 1703, and was also composed in Surat, even though the surviving manuscript was put on paper during his prolonged stay in Rome (Aranha 2016). The dictionary dated 1703 on its cover page is today found in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, while the grammar composed around the same time is together with the complete archive of the Congregatio in the archives of the Urbaniana University in Rome.

De Tours himself uses the name “Hindustani” in the Devanagari title page as well as in the dictionary, where the Devanagari column has the title “Hīndustānī”—the first “ī” is long in his spelling. This is not necessarily astonishing, since in Marathi and partly in Gujarati, which have influenced his orthography as well as his grammar, the difference between long and short /i/ is blurred, particularly in the old versions of the languages. Otherwise, the language is called *lingua indiana* or *lingua mogolana* in the manuscript. Anyway, Hindustani or “the” Indian language is a term that is not astonishing. It appears, for example, also in Benjamin Schulze's famous early grammar (see below). It has, however, nothing to do with the split of “Hindi” and “Hindustani” which gained prominence after John Gilchrist and the early language primer writings in and around Fort William College in Kolkata in the first decade of the 19th century.

India is proud of the history of its grammatical and lexicographical traditions, starting with the linguistic interpretation of Vedic scriptures. The Sanskrit grammarian Panini (date unclear, possibly 4th–3rd century BC) is often regarded as the greatest grammarian in antiquity worldwide. The grammatical tradition, however, did not extend to the New Indo-Aryan languages. From the 16th century onwards, Europeans started to study Indian languages and write grammars and dictionaries. Joan Josua Ketelaar's grammar and dictionary of Hindi, completed in 1698, has been coined “the oldest grammar of Hīndustānī” by the famous Indian

3 A brief description of the complicated manuscript history and the digitized Utrecht manuscript are available on <https://www.uu.nl/en/special-collections/collections/manuscripts/modern-manuscripts/instructie-of-onderwijsinghe-der-hindoustanse-enspersiaanse-taalen-by-ketelaar> (retrieved July 18, 2020)

linguist Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in an article in 1933 and again by the editors of one of the editions of 2008 in three volumes (Bhatia & Machida 2008; see also Bhatia 1987: 21ff). Ketelaar's grammar and dictionary are almost half a century older than Benjamin Schulze's *Grammatica Hindostanica* of 1745 in Latin, which until 1893 was believed to be the earliest grammar of Hindustani resp. Hindi (Bhatia 1987: 50ff).

It is possible that the head of the first Jesuit mission at the court of Akbar (reigned 1556–1605), Jerónimo Xavier (1549–1617) or one of his successors may have produced a dictionary and a grammar of Hindustani (Maclagan 1932: 50ff, 193ff; Neill 1984; Onenkala 2015), which again may have survived unnoticed in some archive and may come to light at some point in the future. The word list of Hindustani preserved in the Marsden collection (MS 11952) in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London under the name of Jerome (Jerónimo) Xavier appears to be much younger, according to a provisional estimate based on writing and paper. It may, however, eventually be a copy of an earlier word list from the Jesuit mission to the Mughal court. This issue needs further research, but for the time being the earliest grammar and dictionary (with less than 2000 headwords) goes to Ketelaar. Ketelaar produced word lists on different fields, all in Roman script in a rather vague transliteration into Roman script.

François Marie de Tours' dictionary is much more conclusive in many respects compared to Ketelaar. Both of them were based in Surat and must have known each other. The *Thesaurus Linguae Indianae*, dated 1703, consists of 427 pages. The layout of the dictionary is in four columns: Latin headword, Hindi equivalent in Devanagari, French rendering, and transcription with a self-styled set of diacritics. In many cases of Arabic or Persian loanwords, Arabic glosses in Arabic script are added to the last of the four columns in two or eventually three different handwritings in Naskh and Nastaliq script. Latin and Devanagari are rectos, while the French glosses and the transcription of each entry are versos just opposite. Altogether, the language that the author describes is astonishingly close to Modern Standard Hindi. Together with the dictionary, de Tours also composed a grammar of Hindustani.

Both documents—dictionary as well as grammar—appear to display a setup that was meant for the printer. In the case of the dictionary, this is particularly clear because of the numbering of each line on each page. Besides, there are occasional notes for the printer. However, neither the grammar nor the dictionary ever (yet) went into print. They survived in two manuscripts that are now being studied in a project at Uppsala University for the first time in detail.

During his visit to Rome in 1703–1704, as far as we know, nothing but a thin publication written by François Marie de Tours in form of a pamphlet was printed. This pamphlet containing 36 'doubts' (*dubia*) takes a position on the controversy on the so-called Malabar rites and was published in Liège (Belgium). It argues against certain forms of "accommodation" that the Jesuits advocated since the

start of the Madurai Mission at the beginning of the 17th century by the Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili (1577–1656).⁴

The document takes the position in a controversy that was theological, but fought out between Capuchins and Jesuits, and may have been the reason why further publications of François Marie de Tours were blocked from within the Vatican, their value as important documents in missionary linguistics notwithstanding. However, the Capuchin position on the Malabar rites controversy found more and more support in the Vatican, which culminated in the papal constitution *Omnium sollicitudinum* by Benedict XIV from 1744, which restricted accommodative practices of the Catholic mission to a large extent.

The manuscript of the dictionary survived in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS 840), while the grammar is kept in the Archivio Storico of the Vatican.

Before its journey to Paris, the manuscript was preserved in the Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, which is today a part of the archives of the Pontifical Urbania University in Rome. It seems that the dictionary was separated from the grammar towards the end of the 18th century.⁵ However, it obviously had come to Paris in the 1780s, where the original and a copy from the hand of the famous orientalist Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) are preserved in the Oriental manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale (MS 839 and 840). The dictionary was identified as such by Ronald Stuart McGregor (McGregor 2000), but the issue needed further research.

In a brief French introduction to the manuscript, Anquetil-Duperron mentions that he had seen a version of the dictionary (in the form of a manuscript) during his stay in Surat in 1758 in the course of his study of the Zoroastrian textual traditions, and he regrets not having made a copy then. However, he prepared a handwritten copy of the dictionary after he had received the manuscript from Rome in 1784.

One of the interesting facts of the manuscript is that François Marie de Tours used Devanagari with some features of Modi and Gujarati scripts in the manuscript. As is well known, a century later and in Kolkata, John Gilchrist took it for granted that the language he classified as “Hindustani”—different from Hindi—was to be written in Nastaliq. Imre Bangha has however shown that the number of manuscripts from various parts of the Hindi/Hindustani speaking regions is much higher than expected (Bangha 2018). The Hindi/Hindustani binary and its focus on the script is a product of colonial linguistics. It is quite possible that de Tours had

4 More on the significance of François Marie de Tours in the Malabar rites controversy in Aranha 2016.

5 The details of the history of the manuscript is a research subject of Gunilla Gren-Eklund and will be published in due time.

employed an Indian scribe for that part, but in any case, this usage of the script is remarkable. At the same time, the manuscript's constant non-standard orthography is remarkable.

Beyond that, de Tours also developed a rather accurate transliteration with a self-developed system of diacritics that allow an insight into the pronunciation of the Early Modern Hindustani spoken in Surat around 1700. The comparison with Ketelaar shows that his dictionary and grammar were composed in the same epoch and at about the same time as Ketelaar's, but his grammar, as well as his dictionary, are much more extended and profound.

3 De Tours' Dictionary in the context of colonial linguistics

Colonialism did not only change political, administrative and judicial structures. It also had its deep impact on knowledge systems, perceptions and identity. As a kind of fallout of the discourse on orientalism that started with Edward Said's famous study from 1978 (Said 1978), the interaction between colonialism and indigenous knowledge systems has been studied from different angles in recent years.

Sheldon Pollock, with a perspicacious insight into the history of knowledge economies in early colonial South Asia, presents in several publications, particularly in a path-breaking edited volume *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Pollock 2003), the changing agency of the "vernaculars", i. e. modern languages, in the knowledge economies of the 18th century. Pollock's main focus is their exploration in the context of what is often termed "Early Modernity" or "Vernacular Modernity" in contemporary research.⁶ He sees similarities in the development of what he calls the "vernacular millennium" in Europe and India leading to a new form of cosmopolitanism.

Bernhard S. Cohn in his book on *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Cohn 1996) argues that the British Orientalists' study of Indian languages was of primary importance to the colonial project of control and command. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelling friars and missionaries have often been interpreted as agents of colonialism, but it has to be added that the anti-Orientalist and post-colonial gaze is more applicable to the later epoch of colonial domination after the drastic decline of the Mogul empire and the simultaneous rise of the East India Company Raj.

Sumit Guha (2011) explains how "lexical awareness", a central issue in missionary linguistics, has to be interpreted in a broader historical context that goes beyond the binary of the colonizer and the colonized. In recent years, the term

6 Compare also Pollock 2002 and Pollock 2011.

“cosmopolitanism” has been explored as an analytical tool in the study of cultural dynamics of Early Modern India (Lefèvre, Županov & Flores 2015). The focus is on the complexities of the interaction between different discourses, their languages and works of literature, and on the interest bearers in the interaction between South Asia, Europe, and Central Asia. Cosmopolitanism signals a shift from sociality to humanity, from primordial identities as terms of reference for group solidarity towards open discourse in a pluralist setup. The presence of Catholic missionaries in India before the rise of the British East India Company and particularly before the battle of Plassey 1757 in the Mogul empire has recently been discussed in the context of “Catholic Orientalism” (Xavier & Županov 2015).

Part of this endeavour was the linguistic and lexicographical research in New Indo-Aryan languages. This is the starting point of the Hindi grammatical tradition, which Tej Bhatia (1987: 15), therefore, calls “an alien tradition”. In the late 16th century, Christian missionaries started to study Indian languages, write grammars and dictionaries. It is astonishing that this endeavour appears not to have been extended to transregional Hindustani.

The first linguistic exploration of Hindi appears to have been made around the year 1700 and in Surat. It is, however, possible that a grammar of Braj, usually taken as a dialect of Hindi in the standard linguistic taxonomy, was composed in the Persian language about the same time as Ketelaar’s and François Marie de Tours’ grammars and dictionaries, or perhaps even earlier. This grammar constitutes part of the *Tuhfat ul-hind* by Mirzā Khān ibn-Fakhr ud-Dīn. The editor of the critical edition from 1935, M. Ziāuddīn, believes that Mirzā Khān’s grammar was written in or before 1676. Bhatia, however, persuasively suggests that the given evidence may rather refer to the year 1711, or later (Bhatia 1987: 19; McGregor 2003: 942ff).

Ketelaar, who was in the service of the Dutch East India Company, as well as François Marie de Tours, maintained relationships with higher dignitaries of the Mughal administration and even with the court itself. A manuscript kept in the University library in Uppsala from the Christopher Henrik Braad (1728–1781) collection, extracted from the French Capuchin diaries in Surat starting about 1650, mentions the name of Ketelaar, thus it is not impossible that Ketelaar and de Tours might have known each other. There is, however, no indication that the protestant Ketelaar and the Capuchin de Tours have entered a dialogue on linguistic or lexicographical issues.

Until the beginning of the 18th century, Surat was a much more important harbour and coastal town than Bombay on the Western coast, and the residence of a large number of European merchants and missionaries.

4 The dictionary

François Marie de Tours' stay in the region was interrupted by a return to Rome in 1703 as acting procurator of the French Capuchin missionaries in South Asia, and his grammar and dictionary were finished and ready for layout and printing. Several notes for the printer in the grammar manuscript demonstrate that it was meant to be handed over to the printing press for publication. Why this did not happen is not clear, but it might be related to the rivalries between the different orders engaged in India (Aranha 2016).

In his dictionary, François Marie freely translates Christian theological terms using Islamic or Hindu terminology (see Figures 4 and 5). The semantic study of these terms and the word patterns used are part of the project in Uppsala.

18	<i>amissio.</i>	जीव्यार्ष कसारः।
19	<i>amissus.</i>	जीया। जीव्या।
20	<i>amittere.</i>	जीयाः।
21	<i>amitti.</i>	जीयाः।
22	<i>amodo.</i>	आन्शः। आनीशः।
23	<i>amanitas.</i>	पुत्री।
24	<i>amonus.</i>	पुत्रः। तमशकत्रः।
25	<i>amor.</i>	देहिताः। आरः। मोहिजनः।

Figure 4. A recto page from the dictionary

18	<i>perfe.</i>	होदी, हेसदी
19	<i>perdu.</i>	होदी, होदी
20	<i>perdre.</i>	होदी
21	<i>se perdre.</i>	होदी
22	<i>dores en avant.</i>	दोसुन, लोसुन,
23	<i>agréable, plaisante</i>	होदी
24	<i>agréable, plaisant.</i>	होदी, होदी
25	<i>amour.</i>	दोदी, होदी. मोहोदी.

Figure 5. The next page (verso) with the French gloss and De Tours' transliteration

Deus *khodā, prameśvar*

Khudā is Persian (Sanskrit calque *svayaṃdatta-*, in the sense ‘he who determines upon himself’, compare also Skt. *svayaṃbhū* ‘he who has come into existence through himself’), while *prameśvar* is a corrupt spelling of the Sanskrit loanword *parameśvar*. Unorthodox spellings of Sanskrit loanwords appear quite regularly. Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit synonyms are very often mixed even in the sensitive realm of theological terminology.

Fidentia *vīśvās*

Viśvās is still a common Sanskrit gloss for ‘belief’ in modern Hindi, be it in Hindu or Christian contexts. The long “ī” instead of the grammatically correct short “i” is the common orthographical feature, even in the case of Sanskrit loanwords like this one. This relates to a common feature in spoken Gujarati and Marathi not to distinguish between /i/ and /ī/.

Fides divina *dīn, yīmān, mān*

“Divine belief”, different from “trust”, is where de Tours would semantically localize an Arabic loanword that is often used as equivalent to “religion”, *dīn*. The word *īmān* also is a borrowing from Arabic, while *mān* is Sanskrit. Interestingly, the dictionary does not use *dharm* as an equivalent. The words *dīn*, *īmāmn* and *ansāf* (spelling of de Tours) appear again under the headword *religio*.

Fides humana *īnsāf, ītbār*

The dictionary has a different set of Arabic-origin glosses under the headword “human belief”, namely *ītbār* (typically with a long vowel “ī” in place of the Arabic short “i”).

Credere *mānnā, atbārīrakhṇā, īmānrakhṇā*

“To believe” can be used in religious as well as in a non-religious context: *mānnā*, *etbār rakhnā* and *īmān rakhnā* in Modern Standard Hindi (MSH). The treatment of the two parts of a conjunct verb as one word is a common feature in the dictionary, as well as the retroflexion of the infinitive suffix *-ṇā*.

Creare *paidekarṇā*

Creator *paidekarṇār*

“To create” is taken as a religious term: *paidā karṇā* in MSH,⁷ and the designation for “creator” corresponds to *paidā karne-vālā* in MSH, common suffixation forming an agent noun. In this case, the dictionary does not go back to a theological term from either the Islamic or the Hindu world. In some cases, this appears to be

7 The examples in this article are used in MSH and Urdu as well.

an ad hoc decision, but it could also be an effort to develop a Christian terminology, avoiding a terminology with a theological echo from either Hinduism or Islam.

Crucifigere *sūlīmhelaḡāvnā; sūlīkumārñā*

This would in MSH probably be *sūlī meḡ laḡānā* ‘to put on the stake’, ‘to execute’ or ‘to put on the cross’. Similarly, *sūlī ko mārnā* or, more clearly, *sūlī par mārnā*. A Christian religious term (*śūlī*) goes back to Sanskrit *śūlikā*. Interestingly, Arabic *ṣalīb* is not used here, which de Tours must have known from his period in the Levante. This is a completely new effort to explain the meaning of crucifixion in Indian terms.

Salvator *khāles; mukhāles; salāmatīdār; coṭyā*

In this case, Arabic *khālis* and *mukhalliṣ* are used together with the ‘giver of peace’, i. e. Perso-Arabic *salāmatīdār*, and an indigenous nominal form related to MSH *chor-* ‘to release, set free’.

Salus *taslīm; dūā; mūjarā; saām; salāmat; khālasī; coṭ*

Religious ‘salvation; safety’ is glossed with six terms, among them five Arabic, and one being an indigenous (*coṭ*, corresponding to MSH *chūṭ*).

Salutare *dūaikarñā; mūjarekarñā; taslīmkarñā*

‘To save; to liberate; to greet’: Once again, three conjunct verb constructions with an Arabic word as first part plus MSH *karnā* ‘to do’: *dūā* ‘blessing, prayer’, *mūjarā* (short “u”) ‘obeisance’ and *taslīm* ‘greeting’.

Sanctitas *pākījā*

MSH *pākīzā* is a Perso-Arabic loanword and an adjective, meaning ‘delicate, chaste’. In English, “holy” can be nominalised and adjective as well, but MSH *pākīzā* is clearly an adjective. This might be a mistake, since Latin *sanctitas* is clearly a noun.

Sanctuarium *devūḡā*

This must be a derivative of Sanskrit *deva* ‘god’ (originally one of many), similarly to MSH *devālā*.

Sanctus *pākbādhā; pīr; pīrjādā*

Under the keyword *sanctus* “holy” the Perso-Arabic adjective *pāk* ‘purified’ (cf. *pākīzā*), same as in MSH, appears combined with another adjective formation that goes back to Sanskrit *bādhaka/baddhaka* ‘bound, fixed’. The two following words are of Persian origin: *pīr* ‘old, to be respected’ and *pīrzādā* ‘related to the respected (person), son of a pīr’.

Reliquiae bākī

MSH *bāqī* ‘remains’ is a rather prosaic translation, even though it is Arabic in origin.

This short presentation of examples illustrates that the dictionary is rather pragmatic in the use of its theologically relevant terminology. Terminology without theological implications follows pragmatic patterns. It is unclear, who exactly the major informants of de Tours were, but it can be estimated that they belonged to the environment of converts.

5 Conclusion

Research in the semantics, orthography, phonetics and grammatical aspects in Early Modern Hindi lexicography is still in an initial stage. This involves historical linguistics of New Indo-Aryan languages, missionary linguistics, missionary history and cultural and social studies concerning the encounter between East and West in its formative phase.

In his famous Hindustani grammar of 1796, John Gilchrist argues that the language he describes could serve as a medium of administration in the East India Company’s territories better than the traditional Persian (Bhatia 1987: 79ff). This argument finds surprising support in de Tours’ statements on the functional capacity of the Hindustani of his epoch. Hindi—or, to be precise, Modern Standard Hindi (based on the dialect Khaṛī bolī)—is one of India’s 22 scheduled languages and the only official language of the Union of India, as stated in the Indian constitution from 1950 in its famous 8th Schedule in its amended form of 2002. Altogether, Hindi claims a literary tradition that goes back at least to the 12th century, but much of its earlier tradition is connected with dialects that are grammatically and lexicographically quite distinct from Modern Standard Hindi. The hitherto mostly unnoticed dictionary is of great importance for the early history of Khaṛī bolī as a “transregional idiom”, as McGregor calls it without referring to our lexicographer (McGregor 2003). De Tours’ dictionary also is an important trace of the pre-history of Hindi as an official language of India according to its constitution of 1950 and the modern question of the identity of Hindi (Wessler 2020).

The reference to Hindi/Hindustani as the *lingua mogolana* that is understood as lingua franca (*lingua vulgaris*) all over the Empire as well as on the coasts in the vicinity is a strong statement on the significance of Hindi long before the days of Fort William college’s *bhākhā munśīs*, and before Bhāratendu Hariścandra (1850–1885) and the growth of Hindi into its role as the official language of India according to the constitution of 1950.

François Marie de Tours’ dictionary “has the scope of a substantial reference work”, as McGregor rightly concludes (McGregor 2001: 11). As my preliminary presentation of terminological findings demonstrates, the approach of the

dictionary is pragmatic and cosmopolitan: it has a certain preference for Perso-Arabic terminology even when relating to theologically delicate matters, and at the same time it refers to Sanskrit terms as synonyms or in some cases solely to Sanskrit terms. Linguistic decisions on the use of terminology are hardly to be traceable, except that the dictionary does not much refer to Portuguese terms as loanwords.

The planned digital edition could form a basis for a conclusive webonary of Hindi in the Early Modern phase of Indian history, i. e. before the Battle of Plassey (1757) and the growth of the British East India Company Raj, before Lord Macauley's notorious "Minute on Education" of 1835 and its consequences for the status of the so-called vernaculars, and before the change from Persian to Urdu as the language of administration in the East India Company's North Indian territories in 1837.

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