Anundoram Barooah (1850-89), Sanskrit scholar, commentator, lexicographer and civil servant, is remembered for his contribution to Sanskrit studies, particularly for his grand scheme of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* in twelve volumes of a thousand pages each, and his *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, which has been hailed by V. Raghavan as deserving of "the highest commendation" for its "size, range and methology." The fifth Indian to enter the I.C.S., an able administrator and indefatigable Indologist from Assam, Anundoram Barooah died in his prime at the age of thirty-nine.

Biswanarayan Shastri (b. 1925), distinguished Assamese writer, Sanskrit scholar, educationist and former Member of Parliament, presents this monograph mainly for the benefit of the general reader.

Inset on the cover is a sketch of Anundoram Barooah by Pramod Ganapatye

SAHITYA AKADEMI
REVISED PRICE Rs. 15·00

Anundoram Barooah

Biswanarayan Shastri

ANUNDORAM BAROOAH

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE

ANUNDORAM BAROOAH

Biswanarayan Shastri

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Rabindra Sarobar Stadium, Block V-B, Calcutta 700029
29, Eldams Road, Teynampet, Madras 600018
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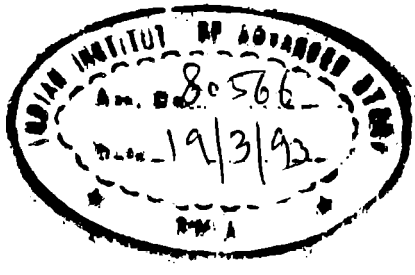

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Dedicated
to the sacred memory of my father
Benikanta Dev Goswami
who taught me *Amarakosha*
before I acquainted myself with
the alphabet.

Preface

Anundoram Barooah is a great name in the world of Oriental scholars. Born in Assam in the year 1850 Anundoram qualified for the Indian Civil Service at the age of twenty-two and earned the distinction of being the fifth Indian to join the ICS. He is remembered today for his contribution to the study of Sanskrit and his grand scheme of analysing the growth of Sanskrit language and literature in the historical perspective. He conceived the idea of presenting the study of Sanskrit language in twelve volumes, each volume of one thousand pages. Before the cruel hand of destiny took him away at the prime of his life, when he was barely thirty-nine, he could complete only one and half volumes of the projected twelve.

The volumes under this scheme and the individual works, which he edited, compiled or composed, were published between 1877 and 89 and became rare to the average students of Sanskrit. In view of this, in 1965 the Publication Board, Assam, decided to reprint all his works. As the then Secretary of the Board I had collected the works and completed the preliminary preparation for publication.

Though, earlier, I had gone through the popular biography of Anundoram by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, now, for the first time, I got a real opportunity to study the works of Anundoram Barooah and made a comparative study of the works in the light of the new researches carried on those aspects. I was tempted to write a critical appraisal of the works of Barooah and felt that such work would not only acquaint the readers with his work

but also throw light on the stage of research in Sanskrit in the latter part of the nineteenth century. However the circumstances did not allow me to complete the proposed work.

A few years back when the Sahitya Akademi entrusted me with the task of writing a monograph on Anundoram Barooah for their Makers of Indian Literature Series, I accepted the offer gladly. But soon I realised that there existed a sea of difference between my proposed work and the monograph I had undertaken to write, in its contents and treatment and approach. As the monograph is biographical in nature, and popular in approach, I had to give the events of his life and discuss the scholarly works making them intelligible to the average reader.

In writing this monograph I have depended on *Anundoram Barooah* by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, and the material relating to his genealogy, education, service-life are taken from it, although some of the events relating to his service-life have been supplemented by the corroborative account from the biography of Romesh Chunder Dutt and the autobiography of Surendranath Banerjea. Extracts from the letters published in the biography by Dr. Bhuyan have been freely used. In making the assessment of the works of Anundoram I have arrived at my own judgment, as I have understood them. However, the references given by Dr. Bhuyan have made my task easy in tracing the originals. With a sense of gratitute I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, without whose work it would have been hardly possible for me to give a connected account of the life of Barooah.

I am fully aware of my omission and commission, for which I crave the indulgence of the readers. In English transliteration of the Sanskrit words and the English rendering of the Sanskrit verses, diacritical marks should have been used. Since the work is meant for the general reader, these have been avoided. For the same reason, the notes and references too have been kept to the minimum.

I hope, this humble work on the life and work of a great scholar will be a handy one to the general readers, and, perhaps to the scholars as well.

14th November '83
"Ritayan", Gauhati-3

BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI

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1

The Family and the Background

Anundoram was born in May, 1850 at Rajaduar, North Gauhati, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite modern Gauhati. His father, Gargaram Barua, was a *Sadaramin* under the British administration, an officer similar to the Extra Assistant Commissioner in the present administrative set up. His mother Durllabheswari was the first wife of Gargaram. Anundoram was the third of the four sons of his parents, his two elder brothers being Parasuram and Janakiram and the younger Maniram. Gargaram married again and his second wife Purnima, gave him three sons, Atmaram, Amritram and Keshabram.

In his biography of Anundoram Barooah, Dr. S.K. Bhuyan has traced the genealogy of Anundoram. According to him, Durgacharan, a forebear of Anundoram was in the service of the Ahom king, Sukhampha, in the middle of the 16th century at Gargaon (in the Sibsagar district) the capital of Ahom kings. While Ahom kings ruled over the eastern and the central regions, the Koch kings held their sway over the western region of the then Assam. The two kingdoms were, at times, at war. Tradition has it that in the year A.D. 1555 a letter was received in the Gargaon court. It was sent from Kochbehar, the capital of the Koch kings. Nobody in the Royal Court of Gargaon was able to decipher the script till Durgacharan came forward to try his hand and read the letter in the darkness of night. The letter was written, so goes the legend, with earth-

worm's fluid, with the result that the letters were not visible in the day-time. The King was pleased with Durgacharan and appointed him Mazindar Barooah, an officer in the Royal Court. The king also re-named him Manikchandra because the invisible letters on the paper, which he deciphered, shone like jewels (*manik*) in the darkness. Manikchandra (Durgacharan) became the Chief of the Royal Archives at Gargaon. He was granted revenue-free land and many other favours by king Sukhampha.

North Gauhati used to serve as the main outpost on the western boundary of the Ahom kingdom which sometimes extended beyond this point. It was the main town in the western part and served as the second capital of Assam. One of the descendants of Manikchandra migrated to North Gauhati from Gargaon and settled there. Gargaram, father of Anundoram, was the eighth descendant of Manikchandra, who was appointed Mazindar Barooah in his teens by the last of the Ahom Kings. After Assam came under the British in A.D. 1826, he was appointed *Sadaramin*, an officer of the district court by the British Administration. Thus Gargaram served two masters—first the Ahom king as Mazindar Barooah, in the line of his forefathers, and then the new master, the British, as *Sadaramin*. Thus Gargaram had in him the trends of two distinct traditions.

Gargaram was well-versed in Sanskrit and followed the traditions and customs of Assamese Society. As an officer under the British Government he picked up new ideas associated with the new administration. He combined a deep interest in Sanskrit with an urge for accepting the new values, well adjusted with the traditional. This was reflected in Anundoram's immense love for Sanskrit with an urge for a new interpretation of the traditional learning. Anundoram inherited this from the old aristocracy and the new administration to which Mazindar Barooah and *Sadarmin* Gargaram had belonged. The office of the *Sadarmin* was one of the most important offices available to the local people in the early years of British administration in Assam. Dinanath Bezbarua, father of Lakshminath Bezbarua (A.D. 1868-1938), the foremost figure in Assamese literature, also belonged to the old nobility of the State. Dinanath later on was appointed a Munsif (Extra Assistant Commissioner). Lakshminath, it was noticed, inherited, to a great extent, the love for

Sanskrit and keen interest in medieaval Vaishnava literature, from his father.

The family of Mazindar Barooah was Kayastha by caste. They had the Brahmin priests to do the daily *puja* of the household deity. One of the priests was Pandit Haragovinda Sharma, who initiated Anundoram into Sanskrit learning. Religious ceremonies were performed regularly. Gargaram had landed property besides the salary from the Government. Thus it is evident that Anundoram was born in a well-to-do aristocratic family. Anundoram's two elder brothers, Parasuram and Janakiram received English education. Parasuram served in a foreign Steamer Company at Gauhati and lived a life styled after the foreigners.

North Gauhati had seen the rise and fall of dynasties and kingdoms, and experienced the onslaught of invading armies. Many successful battles were fought here by the rulers of Kamarupa (Assam) against Mughal and Pathan invaders. It was in North Gauhati that Syed Feroz, the great General of Emperor Aurangzeb, was killed in a battle when he invaded Kamarupa, and this event is recorded in an inscription on a stone rampart built to mark the occasion. Earlier, when Md. Iben Bakhtyar, who had conquered Laksmanavati, the capital of the Gauda kingdom, entered Kamarupa, his entire army was liquidated at North Gauhati in A.D. 1206. The event is commemorated in an inscription on a rock, known as *Kanaivarasivowa sil* which, according to legend, Lord Krishna used as his seat while fishing.

Surrounded by evergreen hills and hillocks, North Gauhati has been praised as the most sacred place of pilgrimage in *Kalika Purana*. The hills and the dales, the rivers and rivulets of the region have been described as equal in sacredness to the Ganga, Varanasi, Shri-saila, etc., in *Yoginitantra*. The region abounds in ruins of temples and ramparts. Asvakranta, the temple sanctified by the legendary foot prints of Krishna, and the temple of Manikarneswara, on the banks of the Brahmaputra, bear witness to the glory that was North Gauhati.

The past glory of his birth place left a lasting influence on the mind of young Anundoram. According to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, after his Entrance Examination Anundoram engaged himself in collecting traditional accounts of important places and families of the region. The result of these efforts, unfortunately, is not

available to us but we can link this early interest of Anundoram to his later work, *On the Ancient Geography of India.*

Assam came under British administration in 1826 much later than many other parts of the country. And within a few years the process of integration was completed. When the new system of administration was put into operation some officers were recruited from the local aristocracy who had their education in the traditional method. But soon district schools were established in Assam following the Education policy of the East India Company for imparting English Education. This was the first major step taken by the new administration to transform the society.

In the beginning there was a great deal of controversy over the pattern of education to be adopted. There was no Education Policy and the Government of the East India Company was in a dilemma. While many distinguished Indians in the early nineteenth century were for the traditional method of education, Raja Rammohun Roy pleaded for the Western system of education through English medium. Lord Macaulay, the then Education Member of the Council of the Governor General of India, after taking into consideration the conflicting views and the need of the Government as visualised by him, submitted a detailed report on the Education Policy to be followed by the Government. In his report, Macaulay recommended the English pattern of education and his recommendations were accepted by the Government. In pursuance of this policy two district schools in Assam, one at Gauhati and the other at Sibsagar, were established in 1836-37, fourteen years before the birth of Anundoram. Anundoram was a student of the Gauhati School in the late fifties of the nineteenth century, that is, in the early stage of English education in Assam.

The progress of education in the early years was not at all satisfactory. Bengali was introduced as medium in the primary schools. The disappointing and discouraging trend in the sphere of education in the State had been pointed out earlier by Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, the pioneer of education in Assam, in a memorandum submitted to J. Mafat Mills, when he was deputed by the Government to inquire into the condition of Assam under the early British rule. Mills accepted this memorandum and added it as an appendix to his report, which he

submitted to the Government in 1851. To apprise the readers of the state of education in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century in Assam, an excerpt from the long memorandum of Dhekial Phukan is quoted below:

"We are constrained with regret to acknowledge that education in the country under the enlightened Government of England is in a retrograde state. During the prosperity of the native Government, the education of the respectable classes in Sanskrit knowledge always formed an object of the social care and attention of the State. . . Since the annexation of the province to the British Empire, Sanskrit Education, owing to the want of encouragement, has gradually been abolished. A certain number of institutions styled Vernacular Schools have been established in the country. Instructions in these Schools are imparted in a foreign language, viz. Bengalee, which is but imperfectly understood by the teachers themselves, not to speak of the pupils. The education which they afford is of the simplest and most elementary kind, the students seldom aspire to a higher knowledge than a mere acquaintance with simple reading and writing."

Such was the state of education in Assam when Anundoram was born. It is a wonder that brought up in this educational background of discouraging trend, Anundoram entered the competitive examination and beat his Calcutta competitors who had all the advantages of better educational facilities. In this context a brief reference to the forces which paved the way for the spread of English education in Calcutta, the then capital of India and the nerve-centre of trade and commerce of the Bengal Presidency, to which Assam was initially attached, after its annexation, will help understand the social changes that took place in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The British power had attained a firm foot-hold in the country after the battle of Plassy in 1757 and gradually the country came into contact with the West. The port of Calcutta served as the centre of trade, and along with trading of commodities exchange of ideas took place. Therefore, it was natural that Calcutta, the seat of British administration and the centre of commerce, became also the seat of learning.

Although, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Calcutta Education Society, a voluntary organisation, had

been trying to spread English education, it was only after the establishment of the Hindu College in 1817 that it took a definite shape. It served as a catalytic agent not only in spreading English Education but also in diffusing Western culture. Dr. R.C. Mazumdar observed: "The introduction of English education broke the barriers which had hitherto effectively shut India from the Western World" (The British Parmountcy and Indian Renaissance, Part II Chapter III).

It is of interest to note that this contact with the West at this point of time was very significant, since the West itself was undergoing a profound intellectual change in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The French revolution in 1789, along with change in the system of Government, provided the background of liberalism that England experienced in the early nineteenth century. This was reflected in the values of life of those who received Western education in Calcutta. The elite society of the English educated people in their new-found joy started denouncing everything that was Indian. However, a sobering influence was brought to bear upon the mind of these people by the Brahmo Samaj movement of Raja Rammohun Roy.

Two trends, one of complete denunciation of everything that was Indian and the acceptance of all that was western, and the other of favouring the Western method of education for a new interpretation of the ancient Indian culture, were discernible in the elite society of Calcutta. These two trends and their cross currents, were dimly visible in Assam of the forties and fifties of the nieeteenth century. Anandaram Dhekial Phukan (1829-59) the first awakened man in the sleeping Assam, proceeded to Calcutta for higher studies before the establishment of Calcutta University. He received western education but was not westernised in his thoughts and living. He imbibed the spirit of western liberalism, tempered by Indian heritage. He followed Raja Rammohun Roy.

On his return to Assam after his studies in Calcutta, Dhekial Phukan joined the Government service as an officer. But this was not the only field of his activities. He saw and realised the pitiable condition of the society in that transitional period and wanted to transform it through education. He strongly advocated the use of mother tongue as the medium in the schools and

courts of Assam instead of Bengali. He wanted material progress and prosperity for the people and felt that the same could not be achieved without elementary education being imparted in one's mother-tongue to start with. He wanted social change but had strong faith in Indian civilisation and culture. For his catholic views and his efforts to usher in a new era through education, he can be compared to Raja Rammohun Roy. Colonel Hopkinson, the then Commissioner of Assam said: "Considering the peculiar circumstances of Assam in which Anandaram (Dhekial Phukan) was placed, one is bound to call him even a greater genius than Raja Rammohun Roy."

Dhekial Phukan initiated the change in social values based entirely on Indian culture. However, there were people who were inclined to imitate everything that was western and considered themselves progressive. They adopted new habits and manners and did not believe in traditional values. Parasuram, Anundoram's eldest brother, and his circle, represented this view and they lived a completely westernised life. Parasuram used to live at Gauhati and his style of living was completely different from that in which his father lived. He and his friends were not only habitual drinkers but paraded their practice as a mark of progress and change. Anundoram used to stay with his eldest brother while he was a student in Gauhati school, and Dr. Bhuyan thinks that it was here that Anundoram acquired the drink-habit which lasted to the end.

These mutually contradictory atmospheres, the atmosphere of his North Gauhati home, where his conservative father Gargaram exercised considerable influence and which was more or less on the pattern of old aristocratic society, and the new atmosphere at Gauhati shaped in the ideal of Parasuram, had a lasting influence on Anundoram. He was inspired by the hoary Indian heritage, remained a believer in it; though outwardly he lived a fully westernised life.

2

Early Education

Anundoram lost his mother when he was only six or seven. While she was living Gargaram had married a second wife, Purnima. There is no evidence to show how the step-mother treated Anundoram. Very likely the family environment was good and Anundoram started his education under the loving care of his father.

Anundoram received his early education at the local lower primary school at North Gauhati. Nothing is known of this period of his life. It was uneventful; he was an average student of the school, unnoticed by his teachers or the people.

After his primary education he was admitted to the District High School at Gauhati, which was just across the river Brahmaputra. Many people from North Gauhati used to come daily to Gauhati by crossing the river on country boats. They returned home in the late afternoon or evening after the day's work was over. They included students, employees in offices and businessmen. Anundoram had thus to cross the river Brahmaputra twice a day. Finding it troublesome, later on he used to stay at Gauhati with his eldest brother Parasuram. Whether at home or Gauhati, he was always under the care of his father. This is evident from the fact that when Gargaram was transferred to Goalpara, Anundoram accompanied him and was admitted to the Goalpara School. After two years at Goalpara, Gargaram came back to Gauhati, his original place of work and Anundoram was again admitted to the Gauhati School. In his works,

Anundoram gave his identity in autobiographical verses, speaking highly of his parents, Gargaram and Durllabha and his elder brothers Parasuram and Janakiram. His preference for Janakiram, whom he has immortalised by naming his commentary on *Mahaviracharita* after him, was perhaps due to the fact, that Janakiram was a man of letters.

At home, Pandit Haragovinda Sharma was entrusted with teaching Sanskrit to Anundoram. After Hargovinda, Pandit Kalikanta taught him Sanskrit. The preliminary course of traditional Sanskrit studies in those days included memorising Amara's *Namalinganusasana*, learning the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody, and studying *Pancatantra*, *Raghuvamsa*, etc. Anundoram completed this course while he was a student of the Gauhati High School. His good grounding in Sanskrit, more particularly in Sanskrit lexicography, served as a spring-board for him in later years in carrying on intensive studies in Sanskrit. Studies in Sanskrit lexicons were his speciality and all the research works he undertook were based directly or indirectly on the studies of lexicography. He is credited with memorising *Amarakosha* which he could recite. Balinarayan Bora, C.E, who was a contemporary of Anundoram wrote to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan: "I know that he (Anundoram) has a great aptitude for Sanskrit studies, for he was known to have been able to recite from memory the whole *Amarakosha* even at the early age of 12 or 14."

No doubt, his early acquaintance with *Amarakosha* prepared him later to edit it with the commentary of Kshiraswami and extracts from a number of other commentaries and also to compile *Nanarthasamgraha*, a collection of Sanskrit words having more than one meaning.

As a boy Anundoram was reserved in his behaviour and studious in nature. Balinarayan Bora, who studied in the same school with Anundoram, stated (in the letter cited): "I met him in school days in Assam for two or three years, but we hardly exchanged a word, as he had the habit of being rather reserved, exclusive and too attentive to his books. . . ." Chandramohan Goswami, a renowned educationist of his time, who taught English to Anundoram in the Gauhati High School noted his studiousness and aptitude for Sanskrit and Mathematics, which were to be his main prop in the competition for the Indian Civil Service.

The period when Anundoram was a student of the Gauhati High School (1859-64) was the early period of modern education in Assam and neither there were adequate facilities for good education nor there were high ideals set before them. The students had to grope in darkness. Anundoram and some of his contemporaries earned name and fame for themselves and shone in their respective fields. Phatic Chandra Barooah, Manik Chandra Barooah, Col. Jalnur Ali Ahmed, Balinarayan Bora, Madhab Chandra Bordoloi, to name only a few, became renowned personalities in those days in Assam.

3

In Calcutta

Anundoram passed the Entrance Examination in 1865. Though he was placed in the second division, a scholarship was awarded to him for higher studies outside the State, because a college was yet to be established in Assam. Though he did not lack the means to support himself in Calcutta, the award of scholarship greatly encouraged him.

Anundoram was admitted into the L.A. Class (later F.A. and I.A.) of the Presidency College, the premier educational institution in Calcutta. In the Presidency College Anundoram found a new world, the world of scholarship and learning of which so far he was quite unaware. The College had then a galaxy of brilliant students, who later became famous in their chosen fields. Surendranath Banerjea the orator and patriot, was one year senior to him. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Biharilal Gupta, who successfully competed for the Indian Civil Service, were his classmates. We shall have to tell something more about Romesh Chunder, the civilian-historian, who after retirement from service became the President of the Indian National Congress.

Of the teachers of the then Presidency College mention may be made of Gurudas Bandyopadhyaya (later Sir) and Maheshchandra Nyayaratna (later Mahamahopadhyaya) who left indelible impressions on the mind of young Anundoram. Gurudas, an accomplished scholar, was considered a genius. He was fresh from the University when he was appointed an Assistant Profes-

sor in Mathematics. Maheshchandra Nyayaratna, an erudite traditional scholar with modern ideas and thoughts, inspired the students. Anundoram's dedication to the study of Sanskrit literature may be traced to the inspiration he had received from the Nyayaratna.

Sir Gurudas Bandyopadhyaya, who later became the Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University and a puisne judge of the Calcutta High Court has recorded the following incident: "I made acquintance of Romesh Chunder in the year 1865, when he was a student in the first year class of the Presidency College. I had just been appointed an Assistant Professor of Mathematics. I used to set a few questions for the students to answer at home. On two successive occasions Dutt had not done his home task. On my asking him the reason for his failure, he told me he had no taste for Mathematics and found the work uncongenial. I took him aside and spoke to him gently: 'For the Mathematics you have to do, I said, you do not really want the genius of a Newton or Laplace. You have only to make up your mind to get through your work and it will be done.' He said nothing in reply, but I saw my rebuke had sunk deep. From that day I noticed the young student showed very satisfactory progress in my subject. I was very young myself, and had just been out from College, and for Romesh Chunder to take my advice in such good part and turn it to such good account, was to my mind a proof of his good sense and strength of purpose. It struck me then that the young student had in him stuff of which great men are made." (R.C. Dutt, *Romesh Chunder Dutt*, pp. 11-12.)

This observation by an eminent man of his time, who used to teach Mathematics in the Presidency College, speaks volumes about the quality of head and heart of Romesh Chunder. His letter to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan about Anundoram, written on 24th January 1912, almost after half a century, reveals the fact that Anundoram had been the best among his students on the subject he taught. He writes:

"I became acquainted with Mr. Anundoram Barooah as a first year student of the Presidency College in 1865, when I was temporarily appointed as an Assistant Lecturer of Mathematics in that college. I came into contact with him almost every day for a period of one year and the impression he left on my mind

was a very favourable one. He was very modest and unassuming, and he did his work in the class remarkably well. There was no problem in Mathematics, simple or difficult, set by me in the class, which Mr. Barooah failed to solve. He was quick in arriving at his solutions and they were generally simple and ingenious. The first year class in the Presidency College that year was a splendid class, containing many very brilliant students, such as the late Mr. R.C. Dutt, the late Babu Karttick Chandra Mitra (who afterwards obtained the Prem Chand Roy Chand scholarship and was for many years a leading pleader of Midnapur), Babu Trailokyanath Bose (for many years a leader of Dacca bar), Mr. B.L. Gupta, and Babu Umakali Mukherjee, one of the leading Vakils of the High Court. Of these Babu Karttick Chandra Mitra, Trailokyanath Bose and Umakali Mukherjee were exceedingly good in my subject, and Mr. Barooah was unquestionably the brightest of the bright brand of young students. It is worthy of note that his class fellows never grudged to admit his superior merit. It is a matter of deep regret that his brilliant career of public service was cut off so early."

When these brilliant young men had thronged the corridors of the Presidency College, they were inspired by the example of Satyendranath Tagore (an elder brother of the poet Rabindranath), who was the first Indian to enter into Indian Civil Service.

It was a difficult ambition to achieve not only because of the stiffness of the competition, but also for the reason that the idea of crossing the sea met with strong opposition from the families. After his graduation in 1868 Surendranath Banerjea, who was one year senior to these young students, made preparations to proceed to England for competing for the Indian Civil Service. Romesh Chunder and Biharilal also decided to follow suit, because to be accepted into the Indian Civil Service was considered the acme of success at that time. While Surendranath had the premission of his elders for proceeding to England for the Indian Civil Service, Romesh Chunder and Biharilal met with opposition from their families. Moreover, they were in the fourth year of the college and yet to complete the course for graduation. However, both prepared secretly for their journey and made necessary arrangements for their study in England. When Surendranath sailed for England in 1868, Romesh

Chunder and Biharilal also accompanied him.

For some reasons, not precisely known, Anundoram did not or could not accompany his friends. Perhaps he was not taken into confidence by them. He himself might have stayed back due to strong opposition from his father. The question of finance in England may have been also a reason for Anundoram's not joining the team. However he decided to wait and continued his studies in the college.

Next year, Anundoram graduated and stood third in order of merit. The Government decided to award scholarships to deserving students for studies in England so that they could compete for the Indian Civil Service alongwith British students. The much awaited opportunity came to Anundoram when the Calcutta University conducted an examination for selecting the candidates for studying in England. Anundoram took the examination and topped the list of successful candidates, though he secured the third position in his B.A. His main 'competitor' in a sense, would be Romesh Chunder, if he were in India, who stood second in the previous L.A. Examination and Anundoram occupied a much lower position, the 6th. But Romesh Chunder was already in England and so the field was somewhat clear for Anundoram. Karttik Chandra Mitra and Trailokyanath Bose, who secured the first and second places in the last B.A. Examination respectively, pushing Anundoram to the third, could not beat him in this examination, even though Karttik Chandra was uniformly 'the first' in both L.A. and B.A. examinations. Fortune smiled on Anundoram.

On the recommendation of the examiners of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, at its meeting held on 29th January, 1869, it was decided "to award State scholarship to Anundoram Barooah of the Presidency College" for his studies in England. Anundoram won the scholarship of £ 200 a year tenable for 3 years in England. He also won, in another competitive examination, the Gilchrist scholarship of £ 100 a year tenable for five years in England. These two scholarships enabled him to fulfil his ambition of competiting for the Indian Civil Service.

4

Four Years in England

Anundoram arrived in England in May, 1869. On his journey he had the company of Mr. H. Woodrod, sometime D.P.I. of Bengal, who introduced him to Lord Mayo, the Viceroy and the Governor General of India.

Soon after his arrival in England Anundoram joined one of the Civil Service coaching institutions in London and plunged into his studies. In April 1870 he appeared in the first examination of the Indian Civil Service. Out of 369 candidates who sat for the examination only 41 qualified for the final examination. Though Anundoram had less than a year at his disposal for preparing for the examination he succeeded and occupied the 38th position in the list of successful candidates. It was no mean achievement for a twenty-year-old student from the Brahmaputra valley, who beat hundreds of English students on their own ground. This inequality had been pointed out in a statement by Professor Morley of the University College, London. He said that the Indians had to "maintain themselves alone in a strange country, for a chance of beating two or three hundred Englishmen on their own ground and in their own subjects of study." Anundoram did much better in the final examination for the Indian Civil Service held in May, 1872, occupying the seventh position in the list of successful candidates. Anundoram had shown a steady improvement, he rose from the second division in the Entrance examination to the sixth position in the first division in L.A. (he also occupied the first place in Mathematics

in this examination and obtained the Duff scholarship) and from there to the third position in B.A. and finally to the first position in the test held for awarding the State scholarship: a gradual but steady rise, and now the coveted Indian Civil Service. Among the British examiners were E.B. Cowel, the eminent Sanskrit scholar, and the poet and critic Matthew Arnold.

The marks secured by Anundoram in the first and the final examinations for the Indian Civil Service will indicate how he had improved and done better in the final than in the first examination.

In the first examination held in 1870 marks secured by Anundoram were as follows:

In Sanskrit 256 out of 500, in Mathematics 836 out of 1200, in English composition 39 out of 500, in English literature 110 out of 500, in English history 60 out of 500, and in Psychology 94 out of 500; thus the total marks he secured in this examination was 1395 out of 3700, which enabled him to occupy the 38th position. It deserves mention that Anundoram occupied the fourth position in Mathematics. In the final examination, 1872, he secured much higher percentage of marks:

454 out of 500 in Sanskrit (90%),
364 out of 400 in Bengali,
291 out of 400 in Hindusthani,
184 out of 400 in Hindi,
206 out of 350 in Economics,
180 out of 250 in Indian History and Geography,
733 out of 1500 in law.

Anundoram also received prizes for his proficiency in Sanskrit, History and Bengali. In the previous year, 1871, his Presidency College friends Romesh Chunder Dutt, Biharilal Gupta and Surendranath Banerjea, who successfully competed for the Indian Civil Service, occupied the second, fourth and twentieth position respectively. Sripada Babaji Thakur of Bombay, was the only other Indian student to succeed in the examination of 1871, but he was not admitted into ICS on the ground of age. However, he was admitted next year.

The Indian competitors for the Indian Civil Service had to

face many odds as had been pointed out by Professor Morley. They were discriminated in the matter of allotment of total marks for the subjects they were bound to select. For instance, the total marks allotted to Greek and Latin were 1500 while only 500 were allotted to Sanskrit. The English students could offer Greek and Latin, while the Indian students, for obvious reasons, had to offer Sanskrit. Romesh Chunder had pointed out this unequal treatment in the competition in a letter to his elder brother: "We are at a disadvantage as compared with English students. For they take up Latin and Greek, the full marks in those subjects are 1500, and English students easily get more marks in those subjects than we possibly do in Sanskrit."

Though placed on such an unequal footing the Indian students did well by their hard work about which Professor Morely observed: "They came to this country well educated, were liberal of mind, most friendly to England, amiable, upright and indefatigably hard working men, in character and general attainment answering to the best class of English students. They worked steadily for about twelve, usually, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen hours a day, as men well might, who had at stake so much as they were staking on success in the required Examination." Anundoram was no exception to this; rather he worked harder than many of his friends.

Though Anundoram was successful in the examination, he faced a problem regarding his age. According to the rules which governed the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service, a candidate should be more than nineteen and less than twenty two years. The age given by Anundoram was not acceptable to the examining authority and a question was raised as to his admissibility into the cadre of Indian Civil Service. However, the then Under Secretary of State for India Sir Grant Duff took a sympathetic view and Anundoram was admitted to the cadre.

Surendranath Banerjea who successfully competed in 1871 crossed the age limit and hence his name was dropped from the list. Similar was the fate of Shripada Babaji Thakur of Maharashtra. Surendranath fought to the last. The argument advanced in support of his age, that the age of a child in India was calculated from the time of conception, did not hold good. Ultimately he sought the intervention of the court which, how-

ever, upheld his argument and Surendranath was declared successful. Surendranath has stated his and the case of Anundoram in his autobiography, *A Nation in the Making (1931)*: "Among the Indian candidates who competed with us for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 was another remarkable man whose early death deprived the world of a Sanskrit scholar of great promise, I mean Anundoram Barooah. In regard to him also there was the difficulty about the age to which I have referred, but, the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in his. He came from Assam and distinguished himself at the examination of the Calcutta University. Having obtained a State Scholarship, he went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service. He secured a place for himself among the successful candidates in 1869".

Anundoram arrived England in the spring of 1869 and competed for the I.C.S. in 1870, not in 1869. Surendranath's statement that the question of age "was no longer raised in his" (Anundoram's) case is in conflict with the account given by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, the biographer of Anundoram Barooah, who says that there was a great deal of correspondence between the authority which conducted the examination for the Indian Civil Service and the Secretary of State for India. When Anundoram was admitted to the cadre, the matter was raised in the British Parliament. No doubt the precedent of Surendranath was of great help to Anundoram.

Along with the examination for the Indian Civil Service Anundoram prepared for the Bar-at-Law by enrolling himself in the Middle Temple Inn. In 1870 he enrolled himself for the Matriculation examination of the London University and studied for the B.Sc. examination. Thus he prepared for three different examinations, simultaneously. Nobody knew it. Of course, the study for the B.Sc. was helpful in his competing for the Indian Civil Service. He successfully passed all the three examinations.

In England Dr. Col. Jalnur Ali, father of the late Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (1905-77), the fifth President of India, was his close friend and both resided together. The two friends for sometime used to stay in a village called Netly. Taraknath Palit, who was preparing for the Bar-at-Law, was also a friend of Anundoram. Taraknath described him as reserved, introvert and a man of few words, but very studious.

Anundoram's genius was praised by the professors of the London University such as Carpenter, Professor of Mathematics, Henry Morely, Professor of English and Theodor Goldstueker, Professor of Sanskrit.

He also received an award of £ 75 in a competitive examination in Sanskrit and £ 30 each in Bengali, History and Sanskrit for proficiency.

Mention of an interesting incident will not be out of place here. When Anundoram successfully competed for the Indian Civil Service, only four Indians had preceded him. Hence, the rather unfamiliar name Anundoram Barooah aroused curiosity in many a mind. Mr. Alec Macmillan, M.A., I.C.S. was so obsessed with the name that he wrote a long poem on Anundoram Barooah. This poem is the first piece in the volume of poems of Macmillan, which he styled as *A Rhapsody in Rhime*. Dr. S.K. Bhuyan has quoted a few stanzas from this long poem of the retired I.C.S. officer. Two stanzas are given below:

'Tis not the strain that thrills the air,
At mid-night when the bulbul sings,
'Tis not the name damsel fair. . .
Know then, that it's nothing more or less,
Than what seven syllables express,
The name of that late passed' C.S.
Anundoram Barooah

In this poem there is a reference to the controversy that arose on the question of his age as to his eligibility to the Indian Civil Service.

You know my Nundy[1], tattlers say
That ere you passed the other day,
You played a horoscopic hoax
On our good easy English folks,
By dropping out an awkward year
In counting up your ages sum,
(The evil-speaking *Pioneer*[2]
Thus libelleth Anundoram).

1. Nundy = Anundoram
2. *Pioneer*, an Englisn journal of Allahabad.

Mr. Alec Maçmillan had written this long humourous poem when he saw the name of Anundoram Barooah in the list of persons who qualified for the Indian Civil Service in 1872. Mr. Macmillan was familar with the surnames "Tagore", "Banerjee", "Dutt", etc., but "Barooah" was a strange surname. He mused on the name Anundoram Barooah and composed the poem. It is not known if the poem ever came to the notice of Anundoram. (The poem was published in a volume by the author. Professor P. Sesadri of the Banaras Hindu University, has drawn the attention to this foregotten volume in which this poem is included).

5

In the Indian Civil Service

Anundoram Barooah was admitted to Indian Civil Service in 1872. He left England and arrived in Bombay on the 9th September, 1872, and from Bombay proceeded to Calcutta, the capital of British India. He stayed for sometime in Calcutta before joining his duties.

As per rules a person having been admitted to the I.C.S. cadre was entitled to indicate his preference as to the province where he would like to serve. Anundoram opted for Assam and he was appointed Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar, Assam. From Calcutta he proceeded to Gauhati *en route* to Sibsagar. He met his father and other members of the family after eight years. They were glad to receive him, crowned with glory. Gargaram was overwhelmed with joy; his son was the first B.A., the first Bar-at-Law and the first I.C.S. in Assam, a tripple crown.

Gargaram wanted to take him into the caste by performing *prayascitta* (atonement) which Anundoram politely refused. Gargaram also desired to see his son married without delay but Anundoram preferred to wait. After a few days' stay at Gauhati Anundoram arrived at Sibsagar and took charge of his office on the 11th December, 1872. Thus began an almost new experiment for him and for the British administration in Assam.

Some of the British administrators harboured doubt if an Indian, however highly educated, would be able to discharge his duties efficiently. Such doubts were the outcome of deep-

rooted prejudice of the conqueror against the conquered. Of course, there were exceptions. Some British administrators desired to entrust young educated Indians with more and more responsibilities.

Colonel Campbel was the Deputy Commissioner and Lieutenant Grey was Assistant Commissioner of Sibsagar when Anundoram joined his duties. For some time he pulled on well with them but after a few months he felt humiliated and asked for a transfer to Bengal.

Mr. Barooah was superior to Lt. Grey in official rank and, therefore, he used to hold the charge of the District in the absence of Col. Campbel, the Deputy Commissioner. This was not to the liking of Lt. Grey and he felt particularly offended when Mr. Barooah asked Lt. Grey for an explanation on a certain official matter. Lt. Grey complained to his superior about this. The result was that when the Deputy Commissioner went out of head-quarters next, the charge of the District was given to Lt. Grey, bypassing Mr. Barooah. Mr. Barooah resented this action.

Another humiliating incident, narrated by Chandramohan Goswami, teacher of Anundoram and recorded by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan in his biography *Anundoram Barooah*, was indeed galling. During Anundoram's service in Sibsagar, Col. Kitting, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, visited Sibsagar and a dinner was hosted by the District Administration in honour of the visiting guest. Anundoram and Col. Dr. Jalnur Ali (father of the late President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed) were the only two Indians invited to the dinner. But, to their great surprise, a separate table was set for them. They felt humiliated and did not hide their feelings.

It was common knowledge that both these incidents made Anundoram sore and he got transferred to Bengal. He left Assam in 1874 never to return to the province of his birth. Col. Jalnur Ali also got transferred to North-Western India.

Anundoram was in Sibsagar for a period of less than two years. It is on record that he was hospitable and polite to the visitors from the rural areas and attended to their problems promptly. He led a very simple life and was loved by the people around him. His handsome physique, though not robust, impressed people. Nothing is known about his literary activities of

this period. Perhaps he planned and prepared the scheme for compilation of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* while in Sibsagar.

In Bengal Anundoram was posted in Mymensingh as an Assistant Magistrate. Thereafter he served in many places, Dinajpur, Burdwan, Raniganj, Katwa, Khulna, etc., in different capacities. He was appointed District Magistrate of Noakhali in 1884. He went on leave in December, 1888, due to illness and died on the 19th January, 1889, at the age of 39, in Calcutta at the residence of his friend Sir Tarakanath Palit.

In those days there was a strong section which opposed entrusting Indians with the responsibility of the District Administration and the Government also more or less subscribed to it. Some of the Indian leaders took up the cause of Indian I.C.S. officers, which received support from Sir William Hunter and others in England. Mr. Barooah, Mr. Dutt and Mr. Gupta were put temporarily in charge of Districts as test cases.

Anundoram had held the charge of Dinajpur District in 1880 as the District Magistrate and Collector, temporarily for a few months, while his friends Romesh Chunder and Biharilal, though senior to him by one year, were allowed to hold such temporary charge later in 1881. "Among Indian Civilians Anundoram was the first Indian to hold the charge of a District." (*Life and Works of Romesh Chunder Dutt* by J.N. Gupta ICS). All the three proved that they were as efficient as any British officer in discharging their duties and responsibilities. And in 1882 the British Government in India made a proposal for appointing Mr. Anundoram Barooah and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt as District Magistrates and Collectors.

When this proposal was being considered by the authorities, the Anglo-Indian section opposed it tooth and nail. The appointment of Romesh Chunder Dutt in 1883 as the Joint Magistrate of Dacca was cancelled 6 days after the order was issued. The Anglo-Indian journals were venomously vociferous against the proposal of appointing any Indian to the post of District Magistrate. The *Pioneer*, a leading Anglo-Indian journal published from Allahabad voiced opposition to such appointments in the clearest language. In its leader of the 20th October, 1882 the *Pioneer* wrote: "The administration of districts means the Government of the country. . . . All reasonable men know, of course, that natives are perfectly well qualified to be judges.

And no political difficulties arise in connection with their tenure of judicial appointments. But the executive line is another matter altogether. It may be doubted whether the literature of the subject would yield any serious defence of the position that the natives ought to be put in charge of districts."

However, some of the English men in India and England wanted that Indians be treated equally with their British colleagues in the matter of appointment and promotion. While speaking on the Ilbert proposal in the Indian Council in March, 1883, Sir William Hunter observed that Indians were being deprived of their legitimate dues in not being allowed to be appointed as District Magistrates and cited two examples: "On the 17th January (1883), a native Civilian was, in the ordinary course, appointed Joint Magistrate, with power of a Magistrate of the first class, at the important station of Dacca. On the 23rd January, he received a letter from the Secretary to the Bengal Government, cancelling the appointment and transferring him to a less eligible district, on the ground that the opening out of the Dacca and Mymensingh Railway was bringing a number of Europeans into Dacca District." (R.C. Dutt, *Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 20).

This 'native' was Romesh Chunder Dutt. The reason for opposition to the appointment of an Indian as District Magistrate was clear: there was a sizable British population and so no native should use magisterial authority. The English planters and businessmen very often made representations to the Government not to allow any Indian to exercise the power of District Authority. Romesh Chunder writes about this in a letter to his elder brother:

"My own prospect is not very bright. When I was last at Krisnanagar, Mr. Stevens informed me that I had a fair chance of being an officiating Joint Magistrate within a year. The representations of the planters have, I have reasons to know, prejudiced both the Magistrate and the Commissioner, and it may be years before I am recommended to be a Joint. But I feel a pride in being thus a martyr to my duty."

As has been stated earlier, there were a few who advocated giving more responsibility and authority to the Indian Civil Servants, but a strong section opposed it. The Government was for the moment in a dilemma. The dilemma had been presented

by the *Pioneer* in its issue of 20th October, 1882. "The present Government has, for some time past, been alive to the fact that, before long, it would practically have to choose between one of the two courses forced on its election by the progress of time. It would either have to deny promotion to native civilians, however fairly they might have earned it, however pressing their claims, as derived from ability combined with seniority. or, it will have to violate the principle on which the British administration of India has so far been founded, and put the executive political authority of the State into the hands of native officials."

Putting the executive authority of the State into the hands of native officials, according to this journal, was to undermine the foundation of the British administration of India which meant rule by the conqueror. The atmosphere that prevailed in the administrative set-up of the Government was not at all congenial for Indians when Anundoram, Surendranath, Romesh Chunder and Biharilal entered into the service of the British Crown in India, and all of them had to go through more or less foul weather. Within a few years Surendranath was dismissed from the service, and he found his place in the national movement for the liberation of the country and rose to be the President of the Indian National Congress. Biharilal was pushed into the judiciary and thus Romesh Chunder and Anundoram remained in the executive line. It goes to the credit of the British rule in India that inspite of race-prejudice prevalent in those days and the virulent opposition from the Anglo-Indian community it was decided to promote Anundoram and Romesh Chunder, two Indian Civilians, to be the District Magistrates permanently in 1884. It is rather interesting to note that both these persons distinguished themselves not only in service as officials but in exploring India's heritage and laying it before the civilised world – Anundoram, through his studies of Sanskrit language and literature and Romesh Chunder by his historical survey of the country's past, who also made his mark in Bengali literature. He was persuaded to write in Bengali by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya, who asked him for contributing articles to *Banga-darsan*. When Romesh Chunder expressed his diffidence about writing in Bengali and its style, he said "Do not worry about the style, whatever a man like you writes will be style. If you have a gift in you, style will come of itself."

(J.N. Gupta, *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 68). There was no Bankimchandra to Anundoram.

Anundoram was in the Indian Civil Service nearly for sixteen years and served at different places in different capacities. As a Civilian he earned a name. Besides his official work he undertook social work for the people of the locality where he served. He found an opportunity to serve the people better when he was in Noakhali. He ushered in a new era by all-round development, within the limitations of the region, and this good work was remembered long.

The different places where Anundoram was posted had a bearing on his literary work, because they were associated with the planning and production of some of his works.

It is believed that he planned compiling an *English Sanskrit Dictionary* when he was at Sibsagar, Assam. Though some preliminary work was done during 1873-74, the actual work started after 1874. From Sibsagar in Assam Anundoram came to Mymensing in Bengal, where he gave a definite shape to his plan and the work of compilation proceeded. In a business like manner he collected, in advance, the names of the prospective buyers of the dictionary; the prominent names ran to 30. It was in Burdwan, where he had been transferred from Dinajpur, that the first part of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* was published in May, 1877. He was encouraged by Max Mueller, to whom he sent 60 pages of the printed files of the Dictionary. He published the *Mahaviracharita with Janakiramabhasya*, and, *A Companion to the Undergraduates of the Calcutta University* from Raniganj in Burdwan where he was the subdivisional officer. From Khulna *Bhavabhuti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature* was published in 1878. From Goalpara the second part of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* was published in 1878. He published the third part of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* with the monograph *On the Ancient Geography of India* in 1880, when he was the Joint Magistrate and Collector in Dinajpur. He was twice District Magistrate in Noakhali between 1884 and 1888 and by then he had completed his major works and published them. It is evident that though Anundoram's official duties and responsibilities were heavy and became heavier and heavier as the years rolled on, his devotion to his study never slackened. He had to work hard, indeed very hard, which told upon his health and

from this he could not recover. Nabin Chandra Sen aptly remarked that "the Creator had created him a *Brahmin Pandit* but destiny by dragging him in to the Indian Civil Service caused his untimely death." (Anundoram was not a Brahmin by caste, the reference is to his scholarship.) Balinarayan Bora described Barooah's efficient and honest discharge of arduous official duties and ceaseless hard work in the study of Sanskrit language and lexicography at the same time as "burning the candle at both ends."

Anundoram conceived the project of *A Comprehensive Grammar of Sanskrit Language* in twelve volumes of thousand pages each. For carrying out such a huge project the facilities available in India were quite inadequate and more so at places where he was posted and so he decided to proceed to England for consulting rare books and manuscripts. Accordingly he took two years' furlough from November, 1881 and started for England. After two years' stay in London and hard labour in the British Museum he returned to India in October, 1883. Though he had identified himself with the study of Sanskrit and for its sake spent two years of hard earned leave in the midst of books in the British Museum, in service he never neglected even for a moment his official duties. The record of his service to the British Crown for sixteen years from 11th December, 1872 to 9th December, 1888, with two years of leave, is a remarkable and impressive one.

When Anundoram Barooah died, his death was mourned in India and England. The *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindoo Patriot* and other journals published long obituary notices paying him tributes for his contribution to the study of Sanskrit. In his convocation speech at Calcutta University in 1890, Sir Gurudas Bandyopadhyaya, Vice-chancellor, made a touching reference to the death of Anundoram Barooah, who was a member of the University's Senate: "Mr. Anundoram Barooah was a distinguished graduate of this University, and a no less distinguished member of the Civil Service. Amidst the engrossing duties of his office he could find time and partly execute literary works of profound scholarship. . . . " Referring to Anundoram, Mr. Smith observed, "The people of England were beginning to reckon the great men of India among their own great men".

"Mr. Cook had left Noakhali. One Indian Civilian has

joined as the District Collector. He was not my classmate but a co-student in the Presidency College. He used to reside in the Hindu Hostel in Calcutta where one of my friends, now a renowned Deputy Magistrate, resided. The two were close friends. Within a year of his stay in England he (Mr. Barooah) qualified for the I.C.S. He was a Brahmin from a different province and proficient in Sanskrit. The creator created him as a Brahmin *Pandit* but destiny dragged him in to the Indian Civil Service and caused his untimely death. He used to finish his office work quickly and the rest of the time he devoted to compiling a Sanskrit Dictionary. He was short-built, not robust, his physiognomy being that of an average Indian. He was sober in nature." So testifies in his *Amar Jiban* (My Life), pt. III, Nabinchandra Sen, Deputy Magistrate and the poet of *Plassy Yudhda*, who observed Anundoram from a distance. Balinarayan Bora's graphic pen-picture of Anundoram is worth quoting:

"He never married. Wedded to literature alone, he devoted to it all his talents, all his capacity for work, all his energy and all his leisure. . . This singleness of purpose was characteristic of Mr. Barooah. The industry and application which it demanded made him lead a too sedentary life. He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, and had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty. His life was a meteoric flash and blaze, which burnt up the substance in its lightning course, dazzling mankind for a moment, and disappearing for ever from view.

"From the above it may perhaps appear to many that this great man was a mere machine, that cannot be credited as having a soul and human sympathy, a mere word-making and figure-calculating machine. But it is not so. His work in the cause of learned humanity is the best proof of his human feeling. His solitude was only the necessary precondition to his work. He did not live as an ascetic, away from mankind. He lived and worked among men, with men, and came in daily contact with them while discharging his official duties. . . He had a few intimate friends, for he did not seek cheap popularity by playing to the gallery, or by showing himself all over the shop, or making speeches at the slightest provocation." (Balinarayan Bora's letter to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, dated 19.11.1919 from Darjeeling.)

His close friends included Sir Taraknath Palit, Romesh

Chunder Dutt, Biharilal Gupta and a few others. He was loved and admired by his friends. When Anundoram desired to establish a printing press at Berhampore in Bengal, Biharilal purchased a bungalow for him at Berhampore on the bank of the Ganga, where Anundoram installed his press and raised a beautiful garden. It was Taraknath who offered hospitality to the ailing Anundoram and made all efforts to save his life, but could not succeed. Anundoram breathed his last at Taraknath's residence in Calcutta. Romesh Chunder Dutt was his another very close friend. The friendship between the two started when they were students of the Presidency College, and it lasted till the death of Anundoram. Both being in the same profession, these two noble sons of India had a common interest in Indian heritage and culture. Whenever the two friends met, they discussed matters which ranged from history to literature, from linguistics to poetry. On a memorandum submitted to the Government of Assam, which was sent for his opinion on the question of the independent status of Assamese language, Romesh Chunder gave his learned verdict that Assamese was different from Bengali, and, in the course of his argument, observed; "I have known an educated young Assamese for many years, and I could never understand him when he spoke Assamese, or quoted from Assamese poetry." This "educated young Assamese" was, of course, Anundoram. And this was when, during the early period of the British rule in Assam, Bengali was introduced in the Schools and the courts and a claim was made that Assamese was a dialect of Bengali. The *Assamese Dictionary* compiled by Rev. Miles Bronson was disputed and the Government sought the opinion of Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt.

Anundoram had some landed property, a building and a press besides cash deposits in some banks. When Anundoram was on his death bed Taraknath tried to save this property from getting lost by having a will executed but before this could be done Anundoram died. Some moneys were later on available to Anundoram's relatives but the other properties were lost.

Anundoram's brothers died in their twenties and thirties. Therefore only his other relations claimed his property. Nothing is known about what happened to his huge collection of books and manuscripts and his own works then still in manuscript

form. All his belongings were lost.

Though he was away from his family and never visited them since he had left Assam in 1874, he did not forget them for a moment. He maintained a close contact by correspondence. He took care of his younger brother Maniram, whom he sent to England for higher studies. Unfortunately Maniram could achieve nothing and returned to India becoming unsound in mind and died a premature death.

Anundoram cherished the loving memory of his parents. His mother died when he was about six years old, and his father in 1873 when Anundoram was serving at Sibsagar. His two elder brothers, Parasuram and Janakiram also died prematurely. In the autobiographical verses inserted in his works following the tradition of Sanskrit writers Anundoram has identified himself as the son of Durllabha (mother) and Garga (father) and as brother of Parasuram and Janakiram. He held Janakiram in high esteem and described him as one 'who was well-versed in mathematics, grammar and history.' Anundoram has immortalised Janakiram by naming his commentary on the drama *Mahaviracarita* by Bhavabhuti after his brother, calling it the *Janakiramabhasya*. It may be mentioned here that Romesh Chunder also held his elder brother Jogesh Chunder Dutt in similar high esteem and affection. When he was bed-ridden with paralysis, Romesh Chunder expressed his feelings towards his elder brother thus.

Yet if patience in our woe,
Trial and trouble silent borne,
Sanctifies life below,
Saint's garment thou hast worn,
Thine is sweet souled resignation,
And thy life, a dedication.

R.C. Dutt, *Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 146.

The printing press Anundoram established at Bagbazar in Calcutta was named Maniram Yantra after his younger brother Maniram. The name has another significance. The printing press was purchased from the village Manirampur, the village in which Surendranath Banerjea was born. The brother and the friend, both are remembered here. (It was likely that this prin-

ting press was shifted to Berhampur).

Though during the tenure of his service he was in Bengal and not directly associated with Assam or Assamese society he took pride by calling himself as "one born on the bank of Lauhitya," in "Pragjyotisha" etc. This gives an inkling of his mind, his affection for his family, and the land of his birth.

Anundoram was by no means addicted to formal religion but he believed in God and His Will. When Anundoram refers to the premature death of his elder brother Janakiram, in his early twenties, he speaks of the "Will of the Creator of the Universe, Whose Ways cannot be ascertained by human logic." Though polite and mild Anundoram had a keen sense of self-respect. When he felt humiliated by the authorities' unjust action at Sibsagar he got himself transferred from Assam to Bengal. There are other instances to show that he would not acquiesce in any affront to his self-respect. He was forth-right in his dealings and quick in action.

In spite of having a high regard for his father, he could not obey him when the latter asked him to undergo *prayascitta* (atonement) after his return from England. He considered it hypocrisy and firmly stuck to his view.

Anundoram never married, though he was not a misogynist. Asked why he would not marry, he would point to his books and say "They are my wife, I do not like to indulge in bigamy."

He was kind to the poor, compassionate to the suffering and generous to the learned *Pandits* who helped him in his pursuit of knowledge. He treated his servants with grace and instructed them to give alms to beggars. Many incidents may be cited, pointing to his kindness towards his dependents and subordinates.

Anundoram was not averse to seeking success in the mundane world. He established printing presses for printing his works and sold the publications with the acumen of a professional publisher.

When he was the District Magistrate at Noakhali (now Bangladesh) he conceived the idea that goods produced in Noakhali could be exported to England and America and goods imported from those countries, and drew a plan for foreign trading. For this purpose, he proposed to raise a fund of rupees two to three lakhs. Among those who failed to appreciate his

venture was the Deputy Magistrate Nabinchandra Sen, who ridiculed it as an utopian project.

Anundoram was a hard working person. He worked hard in his office to finish the days' work quickly, only to work still harder in his study at home. To help him in his research he engaged a number of Sanskrit *Pandits*. At times there were five such *Pandits*, whom he remunerated generously for their services. He liked their company and discussed with them literary problems. He found pleasure in study, the study of Sanskrit classics and in some measure Latin and Greek. The study opened a new door for him, the door of a world where prevailed only peace and happiness. He considered mental happiness supreme and found pleasure in his work. He found the mind as the seat of all pleasure. What he says in the preface to *Nanarthasamgraha* deserves to be quoted here:

"There are philosophers who see no good except in material comforts, and who would, if they could, put down with a high hand all classical studies. They forget that the mind is the seat of all pleasures, that there are purer and loftier pleasures than matter can afford, and that so long as man and mind are constituted as they now are, knowledge will ever continue to be the most prolific source of human happiness."

It is, therefore, no wonder that Anundoram devoted his entire leisure and energy to classical studies especially the study of Sanskrit language and literature. Sanskrit was his first love and it remained so to the last. He felt inspired to study more and more Sanskrit while he was a student in Calcutta, and in England he discovered new methods of investigation. He did not let go a single day or moment without studying Sanskrit. When he visited England for the second time in 1881, he engaged himself in studying manuscripts of Sanskrit lexicons and passed two years among the book-shelves of the library.

6

Literary Genius

It is true Anundoram did not produce popular fiction, poems or drama but he created literature of a high order. If literature means the communication of thoughts and feelings from heart to heart, *sahridaya-hridya-samvada*, he did communicate noble thoughts and inspiring ideas to his readers. He was not "a *carpenter* but a creator" and created literature for proper understanding of the evolution of human thought, thought expressed through (Sanskrit) words.

A work of art is the creation of a poetic mind, an expression of individuality and that individuality never repeats itself. By this criterion the critical works produced by Anundoram are works of art, with an astonishing wealth of noble thoughts. The proof of a poetic mind is that in contact with which our minds also are moved along with it. When we find that this is wanting, we call the work dull and drab. Therefore a powerful poetic personality is justified in a work by itself.

Poetic genius is of two kinds, creative and reflective. They are like the two sides of a coin. While one side is seen, the other side remains hidden; when one sees one side, one imagines the other side. Anundoram's genius is reflective and manifests itself in his critical studies of Sanskrit grammar, lexicons, rhetoric and prosody. From this it will be wrong to jump to the conclusion that he lacked creative intellect. The Sanskrit verses he composed and inserted in the works he compiled, or edited, bear eloquent testimony to a high order of poetic sensibility,

fancy and imagination. One may think that had he decided to compose a Sanskrit *kavya* it would have been of a high order. Anundoram was a born litterateur and he produced literature of a very high order. His thoughts have opened and inspired the minds of many, both in Europe and Asia. Coming closer to the State of Assam to which Anundoram belonged, one would see to what extent K.K. Handiqui, the ronowned Sanskritist was influenced and inspired by the ideals set by Barooah. Handiqui's English translation of *Nausadhiya-Carita* was dedicated "To the Memory of Anundoram Barooah, I.C.S., author of *A Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, *Prosody*, *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, etc. one of the pioneers of Sanskrit Research in India." Herein lies his achievement.

Sanskrit literature is rich in many respects, more particularly in *kavya*, drama and rhetoric. It is hardly possible for a person, however gifted, to produce today a *kavya* or a drama in Sanskrit, which would be equal in merit to the works of Kalidasa, Bana or Bhavabhuti. In fact, no one can, at present, make a mark as creative writer in Sanskrit, not because one lacks the capability but for the simple reason that the readers cannot appreciate it in the way a Sanskrit work of imagination was appreciated in the glorious days of Sanskrit. Hence, Anundoram chose to investigate the Sanskrit grammar, lexicography and rhetoric. He recorded the results of his investigation in English for the wide world and also compiled *An English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. However, his creative mind came into play when he composed a commentary in Sanskrit on Bhavabhuti's *Mahaviracarita*.

Study and appreciation of Sanskrit literature have their own difficulties. Except a few, most of the Sanskrit works in poetry are not easily comprehensible to those who have no high proficiency in that language, and even for the proficient it is not always easy reading and at times one cannot make much of them without commentaries. In *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, A.B. Keith says: "The great poets of India wrote for audience of experts; they were masters of the learning of their day, long-trained in the use of language and they aimed to please by subtlety, not simplicity of effect. They had, at their disposal a singularly beautiful speech and they commanded elaborate and most effective metres." "To the trained ear the music of the

poetry is so enthrallingly bewitching that the mere recitation of the verses in the proper manner produces a sense of exhilaration."

Study of Sanskrit language and literature was not just an intellectual pastime for Anundoram. It was his heart and soul. Whatever he wrote, he did it with deep feeling. It was not mere brain work indifferent to life itself. He delved deep into the vast store-house of Sanskrit with the firm conviction that the study of Sanskrit, the age-old vehicle of Indian thought, was for him the only way to a full appreciation of Indian culture. Speaking about Max Mueller, R.K. Dasgupta says: "The discipline of comparative study in the field of language, religion, and mythology of which he was pioneer and vigorous exponent, was essentially a search for the universal history."

This remark is applicable to Anundoram in his search to find out the origin of words. He hoped "the day is not distant when our countrymen will care more for our home literature than they now do for Shakespeare and Bacon, for Addison and Johnson." "The whole field of national literature is entirely in our hands and it is much to be regretted that our countrymen do not yet fully see that it is in our power to improve it to a great extent."

In the early nineteenth century, the European scholars started studying Sanskrit and proved that the origin of the Indo-European languages—Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, Latin, is one. While Sanskrit and Iranian, the language of Avesta, by retaining some common characteristics formed one group; Greek, Latin, etc. formed another. By a comparative study of these classical languages a link among them and also their relation with the modern languages could be established. A set of definite rules governing the development of the languages related to the classical languages could also be framed. The establishment of such a link has enabled scholars to explain the common motifs of the myths and legends of the East and the West and thus has enriched human knowledge.

The example set by the Western scholars inspired Anundoram and he took words and their meanings in Sanskrit as the subject of his investigation. His reference to the German scholar Bopp in one of the benedictory verses, prefixed to the second volume of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, is very significant:

"By adopting which (Sanskrit) as the subject matter of his investigation, the foreign scholar Bopp has established a new theory, the theory which explains the relations that exist among the languages."

The main object of his indepth study of Sanskrit was to attract more and more attention of the Western World to its glory. Anundoram says in one of his verses: "Victory to Sanskrit the ancient speech! Testimony to its living power is provided by the fact that sufficient interest is being taken in it by foreign scholars. Let this book help the interest of those islanders (Britishers) grow even stronger than before." (See appendix, Sanskrit verses).

Anundoram has expressed his love and admiration for Sanskrit in his work *Bhavabhuti and his place in Sanskrit Literature:*

> "To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language. Most touching scenes have been drawn in heart-rending words. Most noble images have been clothed in most sublime language. Most terrific pictures have been couched in terror-producing expressions."

Speaking about Anundoram's love for Sanskrit and the works he had undertaken, Romesh Chunder Dutt, known for his deep understanding of Indian culture, observed in his work, *History of Civilisation in Ancient India (1899)*: "Among my countrymen the great reformer Raja Rammohun Roy and Dayananda Saraswati turned their attention to Sanskrit literature... and lastly my learned friend Mr. Anundoram Barooah of Bengal Civil Service has published a handy and excellent *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* and is now engaged in a *Sanskrit Grammar* of formidable size and erudition."

Anundoram specialised in the study of Sanskrit Grammar and lexicography; he was recognised as an authority in India and Europe. On his premature death the Indian press made elaborate references to his achievements and scholarship.

The *Hindoo Patriot* in its issue of 21st January, 1889 observed: "His scholastic attainments were well-known throughout the

country. His Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary are worthy of a scholar, who had made this branch of knowledge a special study." The same *Hindoo Patriot* criticised Romesh Chunder for his "radicalism" and his "new-fangled ideas" advocated in the latter's *Peasantry of Bengal* (1875).

Anandacharan Tarkachudamani, a Sanskrit *pandit*, who helped Anundoram in his work, recalled that Mr. Barooah discussed controversial questions of Sanskrit rhetoric and grammar with him and argued till he (Barooah) was convinced.

Anundoram engaged Sanskrit *pandits* of important seats of learning to furnish him with information about manuscripts and views of other *pandits*. For instance, Pandit Isanachandra Tarkaratna worked for him in Banaras. Anundoram could not often go to Banaras and, therefore, he referred important questions to Tarkaratna from time to time for obtaining views of the *pandits* there. This process helped him to come to a decision on disputed points. While investigating into a problem in a particular subject Anundoram's approach was logical. He did not accept the views of the ancient authors and commentators without examining them. On the other hand, he did not want to impose his views on his readers. He analytically examined the subject in question and stated his views for consideration and acceptance by scholars. For instance, he did not hesitate to point out the defects in the *Namalinganusasana* of Amara Sinha or the mistakes committed by Mallinatha in his commentaries. However, he was neither dogmatic in his views nor did he suffer from vanity or pride. In an obituary notice in the Trubner's Record in 1889 Cecil Bendall, the Keeper of Oriental books in the British Museum, says:

"European editions of Sanskrit classics generally consist of text with, occasionally, a few original explanatory notes, and at best more or less meagre extracts from the great native commentators. Indian editors on the other hand, do not really elucidate either the text or the commentary, but compose a super learned commentary, which is often as in the case of Taranath on the Siddhanta Kaumudi. . . obscurer than the work professed to be explained. Vaduya (Barooah) takes a most useful middle course, and without being carried away by the authority of Mallinatha or even by that of Amara Sinha or Panini explains both the commentary and the text. This is most useful to European students."

Mr. Barooah's study set an example since he gave the views of different commentators which enabled students of Sanskrit to study them. To quote Cecil Bendall again: "There are plenty of helps for Kalidasa and Manu themselves but for the due understanding of Mallinatha, Govindaraja or Kulluka[1], to what work can one refer a pupil?. . . Here, then, was a good and new departure worthy of imitation by the Sanskritists in all lands, and especially in India."

The right spirit in criticism of Sanskrit classics is to maintain a balanced view based on reasoning which is neither influenced by loyalty to the ancient authors nor the ignorance of the views of the commentators. Anundoram followed the middle path, and this has been praised by many as a new trend in modern research, Cecil Bendall goes on: "Vaduya (Barooah) brought to bear on the criticism of Sanskrit texts, something of the spirit of what we understand by classical scholarship. He neither discusses the old scholiasts and grammarians with the slavish obsequiousness of a mere follower of tradition, nor ignores them like the uninitiated foreign critic, but rather weighs one with another and adjusts the results by the standard of modern research."

As stated earlier, Anundoram's approach and acceptance or rejection of a view would be based on logical arguments. He indicates this by quoting a popular Sanskrit verse at the beginning of his work on prosody, which forms Book X of his grand scheme of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*. The meaning of the verse is: "The reasonable sayings are acceptable even though spoken by a child, other things (devoid of reason) should be rejected, even if they are from the mouth of the Creator (Brahma)." He has strictly followed this principle in his literary criticism and tried to evaluate the merit objecctively. His long training in classical studies moulded his mind in logical thinking, which he applied judiciously in expressing his views on works and authors. Without being eulogistic or indifferent to the merit he could be sincere and just in his appreciation of others. Of Max Mueller, whom he regarded as the leading light and from whom he received encouragement, he says: "the most renowned scholar, if not the most accomplished

1. Mallinatha is the famous commentator of *Kavyas*. Govindaraja and Kulluka are the commentators of *Manusamhita*.

of the day." This observation of Anundoram about Max Mueller was not in the least an attempt at belittling the achievement of that great savant, but indicative of his own nature of evaluation. Incidentally this assessment of Max Mueller, made nearly a hundred years ago, has been echoed by a modern scholar from Deutsch Land.

Making an assessment of the scholarly pursuit of Max Mueller Professor Johannes H. Vogit of Stuttgart University, West Germany says: "Measuring Max Mueller by his own yardstick one may ask what is still remembered of his scholarly labours of a life-time? It seems he is remembered mainly for two works, the edition of the Rigveda and the edition of the Sacred Books of the East. The first was an academic event in Europe and a religious event in India. . .

"His second achievement. . . the edition of the Sacred Books of the East laid the foundation stone to the study of comparative religion. . .

"All his other writings on linguistics, literature, anthropology and religion fill dusty shelves; they are now-a-days hardly consulted by the specialists. It may be true that they lacked originality and are not attractive any more, and probably are not even indicative of the history of those subjects. This result, as we see it today, may not have been fully visualised by him." (*F. Max Mueller: What he can teach us: Max Mueller: A Man of His Age*, p. 116.)

There is a striking similarity in the thinking of Max Mueller and Anundoram. Both wanted to trace the origin of mankind; Max Mueller through the study of comparative religion and common myths, Anundoram through analyses of the language, i.e. Sanskrit, the word and its meaning. Talking of Max Mueller, Johannes H. Vogit observes: "His mind was set on discovering the origin of mankind, religious, philosophical thinking and languages. His attention was therefore rarely focussed on details, it was attracted by the general, by the history of mankind as a whole and by the forces behind the historical process. In other words, he was a philosopher in the disguise of a linguist."

Speaking about the language and the word-sound significance in his preface to *Nanarthasamgraha*, Anundoram hints at the root and observes: "The immense power which now man wields over matter and force which is daily astonishingly increasing and which

has contributed so much to widen his mental comforts is not a little due to the most wonderful medium of thought, which has enabled us to utilise the labour of our forefathers, to thoroughly test and fully and correctly store up our knowledge, and to accurately convey it to others. It is this invaluable inheritance which has un-approachably raised us above other animals. It is this inestimable boon which props up our social organisation and makes it spiritual and God-reaching. Its influence is greater, greater the scale of civilisation. . . . in the most civilised countries it directs our destinies and models our movements. What this language is. . . .how it has grown and developed is necessarily of the deepest human interest and must command the sympathies of the most materialistic man."

One will find the same thing spoken in a different context by Professor Max Mueller: "The one great barrier between the brute and the man is language. . . .Language is our Rubicon and no brute will dare to cross it. And as man's history in the past was constantly influenced by language, it would be influenced by language in future. Words, containing ideas, have sown discontent among families and friends, and nations, and the contenders have ever been ready to lay down their lives for an idea. On the other hand, words embodied the intellectual history of mankind. What people call 'mere words' are in truth the monument of the fieriest intellectual battles, triumphal arches of the greatest victories won by the intellect of man. . .Every word is the palace of human thought, and in scientific etymology we possess the charm with which to call these ancient thoughts back to light." (Johannes H. Vogit, *Max Mueller: The Man and His Ideas*, p. 9.)

He further says: "We have come to recognise resemblances even in the face of distant nationalities separated by forms, sounds, and systems and to form some idea of the different states of civilisation in the different stages of human progress. But we have scarcely advanced beyond the threshold of the grand museum of philology, we have hardly formed even a rough idea of its outlines and variety of its contents."

Anundoram raises the question of the utility of research: "What is the good of these enquiries? Whether we can arrive at any definite results, and if so, whether we shall be gaining by such discoveries?"

He gives the reply himself: "To the first objection I reply that it is too hasty to prejudge a question. If workers have hitherto failed, it is purely due to imperfect materials at their command and partly to filling up the long gap by their own imagination. Their very error ought to make us very cautious to draw more from facts and less from imagination. It is never easy to discover truths. But the honest searchers deserve as much sympathy as the fortunate discoverers, who have immensely profited by the labour of their predecessors.

"The second objection is easily met. If we can satisfactorily prove the evolution of any one language from the simplest elements of animal life, we prove the evolution of every language, we see more clearly the connection and interdependence of different languages and have a firmer grasp of human life, its origin, course, objects, and end." (Preface to *Nanarthasamgraha*).

This shows how the minds of the two great scholars one in India and the other in England worked and how they wanted to trace the origin of civilization more or less on the same path. From a careful perusal of all the works of Anundoram and the scheme he prepared for the production of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*: *Analytical, Historical and Lexicographical*, in 12 Volumes, it becomes clear that he was more interested in an in-depth study of all the aspects of the Sanskrit language than in its literature. He made a detailed study of the Sanskrit grammar from the point of word-formation from the roots; of the lexicography by comparing the sound represented by the spelling of a word, its primary and secondary meanings; of the style of speech governed by the rules of rhetorics and prosody, usually neglected by the critics. A cursory glance at the names of the works he has compiled and edited will be enough to give one some idea of the scope of the study he undertook. He was well-equipped for the study with his Sanskrit background and knowledge of Latin and Greek. He made use of his knowledge of these three classical languages in his investigation of the formations of Sanskrit words, which he would restrict to three thousand in number. He states clearly the advantage that the Sanskrit language provides for such an intensive study: "For the most minute and impassioned study of these questions, no language is comparable to Sanskrit. From the earliest times, we have a long unbroken series of able grammar-

ians devoting their whole attention to their thorough consideration. They trace back all words and expressions to roots and affixes, which do not altogether amount to three thousand." (Preface to *Nanarthasamgraha.*)

Anundoram wrote a commentary on *Mahaviracharita*, by Bhavabhuti, in simple Sanskrit, which shows his mastery over the language. Writing a commentary on a drama does not fall within the scope of his investigation, yet he undertook it from the stand point of linguistic study. This prompted him to write a monograph on Bhavabhuti, whom he placed at the top among the Sanskrit playwrights.

Anundoram's English style is simple and lucid. Though he wrote on Sanskrit in English, his English does not suffer from the technicalities of Sanskrit. Nor is it unintelligible to those who are not proficient in Sanskrit. Anundoram thought of presenting a detailed account of the Sanskrit language by analysing the historical development and lexicographical changes from the earliest period to the modern times. This comprehensive plan shows the range of his imagination and scholarly pursuit. He circulated the scheme among the scholars in India and Europe and it was well received. He planned to cover all the aspects of the Sanskrit language in the proposed grammar of twelve volumes. The plan for the grammar is not to be understood in its popular conventional sense but in a wider prespective. Of the projected twelve Volumes he could complete and publish only the tenth volume, the prosody, and the first part of the third volume, *Nanarthasamgraha* under the head '*Letter and its Changes*'.

The scheme for compilation of a Comprehensive Sanskrit Grammar of such a formidable size and erudition, no doubt, was an ambitious one, and he did not live long to complete this project, but it gives an idea of his thinking, and the way he wanted to treat the Sanskrit language in its entirety. While appreciating the plan, Max Mueller observed: "I confess, I felt almost overwhelmed by the grandeur of it (the scheme). But only if you carry some portion of it, you will have done a very useful work. It is a great undertaking, and will require for its completion a long life, a long purse, and a long patience." (Oxford). To help the reader appreciate the aspects intended to be covered, the prospectus of the work as prepared, published

and circulated by Anundoram is reproduced below :

THE SCHEME
A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language
PROSPECTUS OF THE WORK

In course of publication *A Comprehensive Sanskrit Grammar* in 12 volumes, royal octavo. Its object will be to simplify the rules of grammar as far as possible, to examine their historical growth and illustrate them fully from the existing literature, both ancient and modern, and to offer a complete commentary on all the *Vedas*.

1-2. The preface will comprise the first two volumes of about 1,000 pages each.

The *Astadhyayi Sutras, Varttika Sutra, Unadi Sutras, Phit Sutras, Linganusasan Sutras,* will be quoted, translated and examined with extracts from the *Siksas* and *Vedic Pratisakhyas*. The Vedic vocabulary (*Nighantu*) and Yaska's views (*Nirukta*) with Devaraja's explanation (*Nirvacana*) will be fully produced and in the material parts compared with the explanations of the Vedic commentators. Panini will be still further illustrated by complete exhibition of his *Ganapatha* and reproduction of material parts of Patanjali, Vamana and Bhattoji Dikshita, and where necessary compared with the classical commentators and occasionally with modern grammarians.

3. The third volume will treat of letters and their changes. It will be prefaced with *Nanarthasamgraha* or practical arrangement and examination of *Amara, Hemachandra, Medini, Viswa, Trikandashesa, Haravali, Anekartha, Halayudha,* and *Avyaya-kosha*. It will consist of about 1,000 pages.

4-6. The fourth to sixth volumes will treat of (1) roots, (2) primary and (3) secondary derivatives. Each volume will consist of about 1000 pages.

7. The seventh volume will treat of verbs, and will consist of about 1,000 pages. It will be prefaced with alphabetical arrangement and historical examination of roots as given by Sanskrit authorities, (1) Panini's *Dhatupatha*, (2) *Nighantu* and its commentaries, (3) *Kavikalpadruma*.

8. The eighth volume will comprise three parts, (1) Compounds, (2) Declension, (3) Syntax. It will consist of about 1,000 pages.

9. The ninth volume will treat of accent and will consist of 500 pages.

10. The tenth volume will treat of prosody and will consist of about 500 pages. It will be prefaced with translation and examination of *Pingala-sutras* as explained by Halayudha, and as regards Vedic metres with further exhibition of the views of Saunaka as explained by Sayana. It will be supplemented by the first publication of Narayana Bhatta's commentary on *Vritta-ratnakara.*

11. The eleventh volume will consist of explanatory tables and will consist of about 500 pages. It will be issued in two parts, the first part with the first published volume and the second part with the last volume.

12. The twelfth volume will be of index and will consist of about 2,000 pages royal octavo or 1,000 pages royal quarto.

The work will be published in complete volumes. The volume on prosody will be first published followed by the volume on verbs.

Times in its obituary appreciation of Max Mueller observed: "If Professor Max Mueller had done nothing else but conceived and planned this (Sacred Books of the East) undertaking the cultivated world would have been his debtor." Max Mueller with the collaboration of 20 others could complete all but two of this fifty volume project. Anundoram's project of *A Comprehensive Grammar of Sanskrit Language* compared well with that of Max Mueller's, as one and a half volume of the twelve-volume-project was published and that too without having any collaboration.

7

Literary Works

Practical English Sanskrit Dictionary

Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary was published in three volumes, the first volume was published in May, 1877, the second volume in 1878 and the third one in 1880. Two other works, namely, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* and *On Ancient Geography of India* were added to the second and the third volumes of this Dictionary, respectively.

The idea of a bi-lingual dictionary having Sanskrit as one of the languages i.e. Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit, was first conceived by a retired Army official, Lieutenant Colonel Boden, who served for a long time in the British Army in India, and donated his entire savings to the Oxford University for creating a chair for Sanskrit, after his name. He had a definite objective in his mind, the objective of producing an English-Sanskrit dictionary which was considered necessary for translating scriptures in English into Sanskrit. M.M. Williams the second occupant of the Boden chair says: "Colonel Boden stated most explicitly in his Will (dated August, 15, 1811) that the special object of his munificent bequest was to promote the translation of scriptures into Sanskrit, so as 'to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion'." (Preface to *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).

When, in 1832, professor H.H. Wilson offered his candidature for the Boden chair, his principal claim was his lexicogra-

phical work. His successor Monier Monier Williams "following in the footsteps" of his venerated master made it the chief aim of his "professional life to provide facilities for translation of our sacred scriptures into Sanskrit."

M. Monier Williams planned two (English-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-English) dictionaries as an integrated project, for which he received a huge collection of words and phrases in Sanskrit from H.H. Wilson. The founder of Indology in Oxford, Horace Hayma Wilson died in 1850. Monier Monier Williams was elected to be the Boden Professor of Sanskrit mainly on his contribution to the Lexicography. It is to be noted that the renowned scholar Max Mueller was also a candidate for the post and he was already Deputy Professor of Modern European languages in the University, but he was not voted by the electorate to the post. Of the 1443 voters, (all M. A.s were eligible to vote), 833 preferred Monier Williams to Max Muller, who could draw only 610. This may be explained as due to the emphasis laid on lexicography by the University. Monier Williams published the first part of the project, i.e. *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit* in 1851. This is the first English-Sanskrit Dictionary, which gives Sanskrit equivalents for English words. Prior to this H.H. Wilson published his first *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* in 1819 and the second one in 1832, and at his behest the well known Sanskrit scholar Professor Goldstueker published a portion of his compilation of *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

Monier Williams in the preface to the new edition of his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899) speaks about his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, but makes no mention of Barooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. He says: "I laboured at this for seven years, and although the result (published in a thick volume by the Directors of the East India Company in 1851) cannot, I fear, be said to meet the needs of the present day, yet it should be borne in mind that it was a pioneering work."

The first edition of Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* was published in 1872 and an enlarged new edition was published after 27 years in 1899. He had consulted the "great seven-volumed *Sanskrit-German Thesaurus* compiled by the two eminent German Sanskritists, Otto Boehtlingk and Rudolf Roth" to whom he acknowledged his indebtedness. Otherwise he claims complete originality for his work. Monier

Williams visited India thrice between 1875 and '84. He stayed as Government guest in the Government House at Belvedere (Calcutta) and met a number of Sanskrit *pandits* and oriental scholars. But he did not meet Barooah who was not far away from Calcutta, and whose *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* had by that time been released for sale. Before Anundoram undertook compiling his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* the lexicographical field in relation to Sanskrit had been trodden both ways, Sanskrit to English, Sanskrit to German, and English to Sanskrit by the Western Sanskrit scholars. Anundoram was the first Indian scholar to enter the field of "dry, dreary, and thankless drudgery of writing dictionary" and that too, English to Sanskrit. But his greatness does not lie so much in his being the first Indian scholar who undertook the task of compiling an English-Sanskrit lexicon as in the originality of the dictionary's plan, the newness of his approach to the problem and the remarkable simplicity in expression. Barooah's work differs qualitatively from that of Monier Williams.

This background of the English-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-English bilingual dictionaries has been traced here in order to show how the idea of such dictionaries had been conceived and translated into action and the extent of work that had been done in Europe by the Western Sanskritists before Anundoram undertook compiling his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. In the preface to the first volume of his dictionary, he acknowledges "receiving much assistance from Wilson's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and Monier Williams' *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*." However, he makes no reference to Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* published in 1872. Though the first English-Sanskrit dictionary was published in 1851 the European Sanskrit scholars paid more attention to the production of dictionaries from Sanskrit to the European languages, such as Sanskrit-German, Sanskrit-English etc. Therefore, it was time for somebody to start the reverse and produce a good *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* whose need had begun to be keenly felt. Barooah emphasises this point in the preface to the first volume of his Dictionary. "The want of a practical *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* is felt so much at the present time that it calls for no apology for an attempt to remove that want, although it will probably be unanimously admitted that the task is beset with the greatest difficulties."

These were mainly due to the fact that Sanskrit was no longer a language used for administration or business or mass-communication or conversation in the daily work. Therefore, new ideas, new concepts, new expressions, new terminologies in English (and other European languages) cannot be expected to have equivalent terms of expression in Sanskrit. Therefore an English-Sanskrit Dictionary cannot be had by just putting a Sanskrit-English Dictionary upside down. This was pin-pointed by Prof. Max Mueller in his review of Barooah's Dictionary, published in the *Academy*, in 1881: "That an English-Sanskrit Dictionary cannot be produced by the simple process of putting a Sanskrit-English Dictionary topsy-turvy is well known by this time to all scholars. . .Mr. Anundoram Barooah's work is a most credible beginning in this branch of Sanskrit scholarship, and contains a number of happy renderings of English words and phrases. But the great difficulty consists in this, that so many ideas are utterly unknown in Sanskrit literature, and words have actually to be framed, which if they do not render the original ideas exactly, approximate at all events sufficiently near to become in time their proper equivalents."

Barooah was fully conscious of this problem and, therefore, classified the English words into three categories for the purpose of giving their Sanskrit equivalents: "(1) those for which there are exact or very near equivalents in Sanskrit; (2) those for which there are no equivalents, but the phrases in which they occur and the ideas conveyed by them, are represented by different modes of expression, (3) those which have evolved from new discoveries in science and thought and for which there are no equivalents or equivalent modes of expression."

Keeping in mind this classification of English words for the purpose of giving their Sanskrit equivalents Barooah followed certain principles. For instance, for those English words which fall in the first category he gives only limited Sanskrit equivalents which are the nearest acurate expression of the ideas. This practice of parsimony in selecting Sanskrit equivalents for the English words has been followed mainly for two reasons; first, not to swell the volume (Goldstueker had swelled his volume of *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by giving explanatory expressions; 640 pages of his work covered up to the word *arimdama* only); and secondly, to restrict choice to the most appropriate and

exact equivalents. V.S. Apte, the reputed lexicographer from Pune, who has *The Students' English-Sanskrit Dictionary* to his credit, while acknowledging the assistance, he has got from Barooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* has pointed out this characteristic as a defect. He has also given a comparative analysis of the works of Monier Williams and Anundoram Barooah:

"The Dictionaries of this description (English-Sanskrit) that I know of, are two in number: one by Professor Monier Williams and another by Mr. Anundoram Barooah of Calcutta. Both these Dictionaries though valuable in themselves, are not accessible to the students. . . Professor Monier Williams' Dictionary, having been compiled nearly 35 years ago (1851), chiefly by inverting the then Sanskrit-English Dictionaries, is naturally open to the fault of being often not practical." (This explains the remarks of Professor Max Mueller that "an English-Sanskrit Dictionary cannot be produced by the simple process of putting Sanskrit-English Dictionary topsy-turvy.")

Monier Williams states in the preface to his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* that he proceeded "to translate Webster's Dictionary systematically into Sanskrit, omitting words, phrases etc. of which no classical equivalents could be found or suggested." The result has been that many of his synonyms appear more like coined words than classical expressions used by standard Sanskrit authors. In contrast to this, in Barooah's work, though only a few synonyms are given of an English word, those synonyms, as far as practicable, are from the standard works in Sanskrit literature. To quote Apte again:

"Mr. Anundoram Barooah's work is eminently practical: it abounds with quotations from several standard authors; the renderings are generally happy, and the work has, at least, a classical appearance. The fondness for giving quotations has induced the writer to give several quotations for illustrating such words as *gam*, *iti*, *tatra*, *vada* etc., of the meaning of which there is no doubt, nor any confirmation needed. But one great defect of his otherwise very useful work is that it gives too few equivalents."

The number of equivalents of an English word in Sanskrit may be quite large as there are a great number of synonyms of a Sanskrit word. For instance, the word *svarna* (gold) has over fifty synonyms, the word *Surya* (Sun) has more than a hundred

given in different lexicons in Sanskrit; while some of the synonyms are original words, others are compounds of words. It is neither desirable nor possible to put all the synonyms against a corresponding English word. Anundoram has always been consistent in finding out the etymological meaning of a word, and from this primary meaning he proceeds to the secondary meaning of the word. One or two instances will show his steadfastness to the principle and his painstaking research in giving the meaning in the sense it is used by the standard writers. In this respect he differs from others.

Anundoram calls *vaidurya*, a variety of stone, *cat's eye*, while H.H. Wilson calls it *lapis luzuli*. Our author traces the meaning in its etymology and says that it stands for "produced at a distance" *vi*+*dura*+*snya* and supports his contention on the strength of *Visvakosa*, which says that it is produced in the mountain Balavya. Then coming to the practical use he calls it *cat's eye* and cites verses form the *Mahabharata* and *Sisupala-vadha* where it is compared with cat's eye. (*Maha. Shanti.* 38. 37; *Magha.* 3.45)

Again certain words in Sanskrit are just descriptive, which by etymology mean many things but confined to one in use. We may cite the example of the word *ratrijagra*, which means *one who does not sleep in the night*, but the word is used to denote a dog. Now the question to be decided is: whether the word *ratrijagra* be given as equivalent of the English word dog.

The two lexicographers, Monier Williams and Barooah, who preceded Apte adopted different principles. While the former gives quite a good number of synonyms the latter prefers to stick to one, two or three. Apte after comparing the two works states the relative advantages and disadvantages of both. "Mr. Barooah in his Dictionary has given only a few equivalents, in some instances, only one, where there were 5 most commonly used; Prof. Williams has very often given too many equivalents, grouping together common and rare, synonyms proper and epithets. In the former case the students will hardly have any room left for choosing his word, while in the latter, he will be at a loss to see which to choose."

Apte has pointed out another defect in Mr. Barooah's "otherwise very useful work" that it has so many cross references that the reader often loses his way in the process of finding out

the Sanskrit equivalent of a particular English word: "He has pursued the course of referring one word to another, but this is, in some cases, carried to such an extent, that when a word, as directed, is referred to another, that again is referred to some other word of a synonymous nature, which in its turn is referred to another, till the reader returns to the original word, apparently without having his labour rewarded." However such instances are not many.

That Barooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* was of immense help to Apte in compiling his own Dictionary has been gratefully acknowledged by him; while doing so he has brought out its merit: "It now remains for me to do the grateful duty of acknowledging my obligation to those that have assisted me in the preparation of the Dictionary in one form or another. Foremost amongst them stand the works of Mr. Barooah and Prof. Williams both of which I most frequently consulted. Monier Williams' Dictionary though inferior in several respects to Mr. Barooah's, has several happy renderings of short words and expressions, especially where ideas purely English have to be clothed in Sanskrit garb; I have freely referred to the learned professor's valuable renderings. But my acknowledgements are chiefly due to Mr. Barooah from whose work I have derived much substantial assistance, in the suggestions of equivalent words and phrases, more particularly from his numerous quotations from such works as are not accessible to me or being accessible I had no time to go through them."

In an English-Sanskrit Dictionary one cannot give all the Sanskrit equivalents. It is sufficent if those equivalents which are used very frequently in the standard works are given. A particular English word conveys a number of senses, has a number of meanings or shades of meanings. For instance, Webster gives 21 senses under "line" and 20 under "strong", all of them not different senses, but have peculiarity in uses, while some of the senses are technical. The compiler giving Sanskrit synonyms will do justice to the subject if he takes the totality of the senses which are conveyed by the English word and also the technical meaning of the word.

Again, certain words, phrases or idioms are peculiar to English as in the case of many languages, for which there are no corresponding words in Sanskrit. In such cases words are to be

coined. Monier Williams has inserted quite a large number of Sanskrit words which have never been used in Sanskrit literature. The defect in coined words is that an explanation in Sanskrit is required and has to be added. In most of the cases where Sanskrit equivalents are wanting, Barooah adopted the method of putting Sanskrit garb on the English words and has given them as Sanskrit equivalents. Take for example, the words, "sponge", "soap", "Latinity"; these words are given Sanskrit case endings, to make Sanskrit equivalents: *sponjam*, *sabanam* and *Latinam*, respectively.

Anundoram's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* was well received by the public and the press when its first volume was published in 1877. The *Hindoo Patriot* in its issue of 6th August, 1877, commended the work, saying that the author "deserves all praise for the patience and perseverance with which he is pursuing it. We have the first volume of the great work before us. It has been prepared with much care and labour."

The *Englishman* published a long review of the work in its issue of 6th August, 1877. This review throws much light on the arrangement and planning of the work and has interesting remarks to make about the Sanskrit equivalents of some of the English words. The relevant portion of the review is quoted below:

"Mr. A. Barooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* will be of great service to students. He has adopted, in our opinion, the wise course of giving, in many cases, the authorities for the renderings he selects. The object of translating from English into Sanskrit is to gain an accurate literary knowledge of the latter language. No one will require, in this or any other country, to use the Sanskrit language for business purposes. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Barooah has much increased the value of the Dictionary by his frequent references to Sanskrit literature. . . We may anticipate that Mr. Barooah's work will obtain all the recognition it deserves. It seems to us far more perfect in its way than the English-Sanskrit Vocabularies which aided or rather worried the students of twenty years ago."

"The English-Sanskrit Vocabularies of twenty years ago" is no doubt Monier Williams' *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. By the oblique reference without mentioning the work by name a comparison has been made and Barooah's work is commended

as a superior one. The learned reviewer takes pains to point out one defect "the only fault" he found in the "copious work". All Sanskrit scholars may not agree but the reviewer's words are worth quoting: "The only fault which we can find in the copious *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* is that the author seems to feel himself bound to give Sanskrit equivalents for every English word without stopping to enquire whether the idea which it represents was familiar to the ancient Hindus or not. For instance, we doubt whether the Sanskrit word, which he gives for bank *dhanagaram* which being literally translated is a 'house of wealth' covers exactly the same ground as the modern English term. Some of his translations remind us of our perplexed struggle in school-boy-days to describe the Battle of Sinope in Latin hexametres. Why should 'asp' require any Sanskrit equivalent? If the Egyptian species denoted by that name is found in India (a matter of which we must plead the most profound ignorance) it would surely be better to give some more precise equivalent than *ativisaluh ksudra-sarpa-bhedah*, a small species of serpent of a very venomous character. We prefer the clown's description of this "worm" which is equally scientific and more amusing . . . Writing makes an accomplished man in Sanskrit as in every other language, and those who wish to acquire an accomplished knowledge of Sanskrit cannot do better than provide themselves with Anundoram Barooah's work."

To accept the view that only such Sanskrit equivalents as have got currency in Sanskrit literature and in the sense with which the ancient Indian society was well acquainted be given would mean that the compiler's choice would be so restricted as to make him omit half of the equivalents given in the work. The objective, we should think, is not merely "to gain an accurate knowledge of the literature" but is much wider, that is, to go into the depths of the connotations of the words in the two languages.

V. Raghavan in his foreword to the reprint of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* by Barooah refers to three English-Sanskrit Dictionaries; the first one by M. Monier Williams (1851), the second by Anundoram Barooah (1877-80) and the third one by V.S. Apte (1884) and says: "By size, range and methodology, Barooah's deserves the highest commendation." He says:

"A balance is kept in the selection of shades of meaning of

English words and in the incorporation of Sanskrit equivalents for them and the compiler has, without committing the excess of resorting often to coining new words, tried to cite near usages of parallels from the works of classical Sanskrit poets. Several of these last mentioned citations are not only apt and idiomatic but also form striking co-incidence in the two languages. New words whose creation could not be avoided are coined with due regard to the genius of the language and in extreme cases, the author is not averse to retaining in Sanskrit garb the English word. 'Idiomatic rather than literal' has been the guideline in the citation of equivalents. For conserving and utilising better the space, he has omitted whatever could be got at by cross reference or by consulting a book of Sanskrit grammar or a technical treatise. Profusion of compounds is a major characteristic of Sanskrit and as Monier Williams says in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Preface p. xii, Ist edn.), to omit them is to un-Sanskritise the language. Here again Barooah has followed the middle path of showing a few select and typical compounds, allowing the user to make out, on his own, the others."

It is interesting to note that all the three English-Sanskrit Dictionaries had been published in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There has been no fourth one so far, no new scholar having engaged himself in such a project. Why? Is it because the work is dry, dreary and a thankless job? Or, are the three Dictionaries so good as to exclude the need for a fourth? Or, the objectives and nature of Sanskrit studies have been completely changed in the twentieth century? The number of Sanskrit-English Dictionaries, standard or otherwise, has however been on the increase. Monier Williams, it is true, is better known in the scholarly world for his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1871) than for his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* (1851). The issue of a reprint in 1971 of Barooah's Dictionary is a tribute to its enduring worth.

On the Ancient Geography of India

This work was prefixed to the 3rd volume of Anundoram's *English Sanskrit Dictionary* published in 1880. That a treatise

on the ancient geography of India was prefixed to a work on lexicography would seem incongruous; but the incongruity disappears as one looks at the sub-heading "Geographical names rendered into Sanskrit."

Anundoram made a systematic attempt to trace the etymology of the geographical names and to find out their primary meaning. He had also shown how some of the words were used in their secondary meaning. This explains and justifies the publication of the treatise along with the 3rd volume of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. However, Cecil Bendall, Keeper of the British Museum, London, thought that the treatise, "On the Ancient Geography of India" had suffered from being prefixed to the Dictionary. He observed:

"Not content with commencing with such a magnum opus as a Dictionary, he added to its second and third volumes two new and original works, viz. his *Sanskrit Grammar* and a list of Sanskrit Geographical names, illustrated by a valuable prefatory essay. Both are thoroughly original works, and rather suffer by being united with the dictionary; the latter is, I believe still a unique contribution of Indian research."

Perhaps, the precedent prompted the Pune lexicographer V.S. Apte to add three appendices to his *Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1890) viz., on Sanskrit prosody, on the dates of Sanskrit poets (which gives the dates, works etc. of some of the important Sanskrit writers, such as Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, etc.) and on place names of ancient India. Acknowledging his indebtedness to Anundoram Barooah's work Apte writes: "In this part of the work I have to cordially acknowledge the help I have derived from Cunningham's Ancient Geography, but particularly from Mr. Barooah's essay prefixed to the third volume of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*."

This shows the usefulness of the essay of Mr. Barooah, "On the Ancient Geography of India", which, within a few years of its publication, though prefixed to the third volume of his *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, was cited as authoritative by so eminent a Sanskrit scholar as V.S. Apte.

Anundoram wanted to go into the origin of every word and its formation and semantic changes, which was not an easy job. He says: "A whole life may be spent, nay, several lives may be spent and yet the history, use, and force of words may not be

thoroughly known. The more you read, the more extensive becomes the sphere of your study, the more painfully conscious you are of your ignorance and the extreme limitedness of your knowledge. The more you go over the same work, the deeper you study the same subject, the more convinced you are how short-sighted were your old views and how highly they needed the light of your further study. The more you consult the labour of your fellow workers, the more you consider the different stand-points from which the same question may be viewed, the more glaring are your shortcomings and the defects of your work."

How thoroughly Anundoram tried to trace out all the changes in the connotation of a word may be appreciated from a single example picked up at random from this work. This will also show the relevance of prefixing this work to the Dictionary:

"The word India derives its name from Sindhu corrupted into Sindh or Hind, which is said to have originally meant 'flowing'[1], then a 'river'[2], then some 'particular rivers', specially the Indus, best known to all travellers whether from the West or East. That it was not restricted to the country now known as Sind is apparent from the description of 'the conquest of the quarters' by Udayana in the 19th *taranga* of *Kathasaritsagara*, where it is expressly placed in the north[3]. Hence, it was that early Greek writers meant by India nothing more than Sindhu-desha, the country around the Indus and that Arrian, a writer of the second century, in the second chapter of his *Indica*, wanted to limit his India to the east of Indus. Among our ancestors, it was always known as Bharata-Varsha and the following is the definition of it: 'The country to the north of the sea and to the south of the Himalaya is Bharata-Varsha (or the continent of Bharata), the abode of the children of Bharata'."[4]

The arrangement of the place-names in *On the Ancient Geography of India* has not been in alphabetical order, because this portion was intended to be an introduction to his work *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. The author wanted to treat some

1. *Rigveda* 1.11.6.
2. *Raghu* XIII-9.
3. Somadeva, *Kathasaritsagara*, *Lambaka* 3, *taranga* 5, 107-8.
4. *Vishnupurana*, 11.3.1.

of the geographical names in their historical aspects, which is not merely identifying ancient places under modern names. He selected the most important place-names which are frequently referred to in Sanskrit literature, Vedic and Classical. The manner of treatment of the place-names in this treatise differs from that of Alexander Cunningham, whose *The Ancient Geography of India* was published from London in 1871. For identification of names and location of the places, Cunningham divides them into three sections: "each broadly after the prevailing religious and political character of the period which it embraces, as the Brahmanical, the Buddhist and the Muhammadan". "Ancient geography of India would embrace the rise, extension and decline of Buddhist faith from the era of Buddha, to the conquest of Muhammad Ghajni. . . ."

For arranging the names of places he also divides ancient India into five regions, namely, (i) Northern India, (ii) Western India, (iii) Central India, (iv) Eastern India and (v) Southern India. Barooah makes no such division and treats them on the basis of importance.

There are some works on the geography of ancient India, besides that of Cunningham, mostly in German and French. Among the authors of those works mention may be made of H.H. Wilson, Lassen, and M. de Saint Martin. M. de Saint Martin for his first work collected the materials of ancient geography of India from Greek and Latin sources. His other long essay is an appendix to the translation of the *Life and Travels* of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. These works were published before Mr. Barooah's.

That Barooah had consulted these works is evident from the references he makes to these and other works. It may be that Anundoram gathered the idea for adding his essay, *On the Ancient Geography of India* as introduction to the 3rd volume of his Dictionary from M. de Saint Martin's note *On the Ancient Geography of India* which was given as an appendix to the translation of Hwen Thsang's *Life and Travels.*

Some works on the ancient geography of India were published after Barooah's work. Nandalal Dey compiled *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.* He collected his materials "from a variety of sources, Sanskrit, Pali, etc.", and "the arrangement of the place-names," he says, "has been made

strictly alphabetical."

Anundoram follows a different method. He first traces the names in literature and puts the references chronologically to show the changes that any particular name has undergone in the course of time and also its location. He has profusely quoted from the sources to drive his point home and looks at the problem in historical perspective. He holds that ancient geography is an essential adjunct to history, and hence he gives an accurate and convincing account of the ancient geography for a full appreciation of history.

While discussing the identity of the places and clearing up doubtful points Anundodram took pains to collect evidence from all possible sources. He sums up the position as follows: "The subject is so obscure, there is so much conflicting testimony about the identity of different places and at the same time so many words, such as *Saindhava*, are derived from geographical names which alone can explain their true sense that I shall be shirking my duty if afraid of being tedious I were to omit evidence on which my views are founded."

While Anundoram acknowledges his indebtedness to Alexander Cunningham's work he differs from him in presenting his own views. "His (Cunningham) work is a standing monument of what a long, useful life can achieve. But there are so many doubtful points that admitting my deep obligations to that accomplished scholar, I shall do best to give my own account of ancient India."

Anundoram divides his introduction into 170 paragraphs and discusses in detail the points arising out of conflicting views on the identity of places. His approach to the problem is limited and is indicated in his following observation: "It was my intention to discuss the true import of other words on which antiquarian discussion hinged. But the preface is already long, perhaps too long, for a small work of this nature."

It is clear from the above observation and also from the work itself that *On the Ancient Geography of India* is neither a geographical dictionary of ancient India nor a comprehensive treatise on all the geographical names of ancient India found in the literary works. To make up for this deficiency in the work Barooah added an alphabetical list of geographical names with their Sanskrit equivalents. However, the list is incomplete.

Anundoram's views on the identity of place-names have been

referred to and quoted by many oriental scholars in preference to the views of other writers, specially because the former has quoted extensively from literature. Anundoram was satisfied that "my unpretentious labours are thoroughly appreciated by European fellow-workers and my views already received a French exponent in the veteran scholar M. Felix Neve, Emeritus Professor in the University of Louvain."

Although many works on the subject have been published later, Anundoram's work retains its usefulness.

Nanarthasamgraha

This work was originally published as an introduction to the Second Volume of Anundoram's *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* in 1878. The work is something more than a mere compilation of such words as have many (more than one) meanings or connotations.

There are many lexicons in Sanskrit which deal with words having more than one meaning or connotation. While some of them are published, a few are still in manuscript form. Anundoram consulted not only the printed *koshas* but the *koshas* in manuscript and collected words from them for his work. In the process of collecting words from the different *nanartha koshas* in Sanskrit, the author has gone deep into the nature and history of the words. He has tried to trace out the origins of the words and the changes in their sounds, spellings, connotations and implied meanings, and has explained every change historically. In the preface to *Nanarthasamgraha*, he says:

"In this Volume, I intend to treat of letters and their changes. There is no grander subject for the students of science, none more interesting to the students of language. The immense power which man now wields over matter and force, which has contributed so much to widen his material comforts is not a little due to the most wonderful medium of thought, which has enabled us to utilize the labours of our forefathers, to thoroughly test and fully and correctly convey it to others. It is their invaluable inheritance which has unapproachably raised us above other animals. It is this inestimable boon which props up our social

organisation and makes it spiritual and God-reaching."

Though Anundoram has not dealt with the philosophy of word-meaning like Bhartrihari, he has discussed the link between words and God. (Bhartrihari has described this as one without beginning and end, and also the cause of the universe).

The author raises some fundamental questions, whose relevance is greater today regarding the utility of undertaking an investigation into the origins of words and their meanings and convincingly answers those who object that no definite results are obtainable from such an investigation or it is of no real use.

The author studied all the available works on Sanskrit lexicography, Vedic and Classical, and noted the characteristics of each. He traced the differences in the treatment of words in the different lexicons and showed the improvement or otherwise made by a latter *kosha* upon a former one in arranging the words and giving their meanings:

"Sanskrit lexicography is broadly divisible into Vedic and general and special vocabularies. The first is too important to be silently passed over. It is the nucleus of the various Vedic commentaries and the best history of the growth of earliest ideas. It will have my earnest examination in the general introduction. The other *koshas* either treat of names of things (*namamala*) or of words used in many senses (*nanarthakosha*). Many of the important words of the former *koshas* necessarily come under the latter. Their other words are mostly either undisputed or unimportant. I shall have occasion to refer to important words of this class under the rules of Panini and the greater part in the body of my work. It is the *nanartha* or homonymous words as treated in our best *koshas* that I now present before the public. I do so partly for lexicographical purposes to give in original the view of our highest authorities. But my principal object is historical, to shew how words and senses multiply. A careful examination will shew that in every grammatical word, every sense is clearly traceable to the original idea or ideas conveyed by the roots or the component parts of the word and wherever any sense is not traceable, it is clearly due to mistakes of writing and in a few cases to misconception or misuse and very rarely to arbitrary use. . . .

"I will also reveal that many words are nothing but different forms of the same sounds or similar forms of different sounds.

The former owe their origin to natural causes; the latter to clerical mistakes."

The author has collected the words having more than one meaning from twelve Sanskrit lexicons: (1) The *Nanarthavarga* of Amara's *Namalinganusasana*, (2) *Visvaprakasha* of Maheswara, (3) *Anekarthasangraha* of Hemachandra, (4) *Anekarthakanda* of Halayudha's *Abhidhana Cintamani*, (5) *Nanarthavarga* of Purushottama Dev's *Trikandasesa*, (6) *Nanartha* of Purushottam's *Haravali*, (7) *Nanartha Sabdakosha* of Medinikara, (8) *Anekarthadhvanimanjari* of one Mahalaksmana (This title has been referred to by the name *Nanarthadhvanimanjari* by Wilson) (9) *Matrikanighantu*, (10) *Sasvata*, (11) *Ekaksara*, and (12) *Avyaya*.

Anundoram has discussed the relative merit of the twelve lexicons and assigned dates to each of them. On this basis he has shown the indebtedness of one to the other, or their interdependence. Then he goes about the arrangement of words in those works, since all the Sanskrit lexicons do not follow the same system of word-arrangement. Each lexicon has followed its own method, and the words have been arranged on different plans which present difficulties in tracing the words. For instance, in the *Nanarthavarga* of *Namalinganusasana* by Amara the words have been arranged by "simply the final consonant without any attempt at further classification. The *avyayas* or indeclinable words are placed in a separate class, arranged according to final consonant although not shown as such in the printed editions. No rule has been followed in arranging meanings so that it is often difficult to know without extraneous evidence which meaning refers to which word." Coming to the *Visva-prakasha*, known as *Visva*, Borooah observes: "Its arrangement is first by final consonants, divided into monosyllables, disyllables etc., ultimate consonant being regarded as a separate syllable, e.g., *arthin* under three syllables, *yaksharaja* under four syllables, and so on. The final arrangement by affixes, words with the same suffix being always grouped together. The arrangement of signification is also much superior to Amara's as the first notice of a word always precedes the scenes specified under it." In this arrangement, in order to find out a word, one should know to which group the word belongs.

Hemchandra in his *Anekarthasamgraha* adopts a new method

which differs from Amara and Maheswara (*Visva*). "The first classification is by syllables, next by final consonants, and lastly by initial letters more or less alphabetical," he points out.

Even in regard to what is called alphabetical, there is a difference of opinion between Maheswara and Hemachandra, because both have their own concepts of letters. So far as alphabet is concerned, Maheswara in *Visvaprakasa* seems to follow the modern concept of alphabet. He regards '*ksha*' as a different letter and places it after '*ha*'. It my be noted here that Purusottama Vidyavagisa of Assam, who produced a new Sanskrit grammar, (A.D. 1568) namely, *Prayogottamaratnamala* counts '*ksha*' as one letter and supports its separate identity. Hemachandra on the other hand strictly follows the old alphabetical system and places '*ksha*' after '*sa*'.

Halayudha has his own plan for arrangement of words. His plan seems to be quite arbitary. "Among the indeclinables, the *nanartha* and *ekartha* words are mixed up." Medinikara has tried a compromise between Maheswara and Hemchandra by incorporating principles from both. His arrangement of words "is mid-way between *Visva* and Hemchandra. They are arranged first according to the final consonants and next according to syllables as in *Visva*, but the final arrangement is more or less alphabetical as in Hemachandra."

Anundoram has taken all the methods into consideration and for the benefit of the reader arranged the words strictly in an alphabetical order. Moreover, this arrangement "enables the reader to compare the various *koshas* and see how far they are indebted to each other." Our author in his *Nanarthasamgraha* at first arranges words in the alphabetical order and then quotes from the different *koshas* which have given different meanings to the words. For instance, he takes a word from *Amara* and the meaning of the word is given first, by quoting from *Medini*, and then is followed by meanings from *Visvaprakasa*, Hemchandra and *Trikandasesa*. The scheme is to quote first from Medini since among the *nanarthakoshas* it is more exhaustive than the others, and then other *koshas* wherein the word figures.

The author has added to the work the complete text of *Sabdabheda-prakasa* in original which is followed by detailed and exhaustive notes on the important words. The notes given in English helps those who are not very proficient in Sanskrit.

Barooah notes that "many words and many senses owe their origin to mistakes and misconceptions and when these words and these senses are generally accepted, we are bound to admit them in our list." The author suggests: "Exclude the foreign imports and eliminate the mistakes and misconceptions that have been great factors in enlarging the bounds of language and note in the case of coin-words the invention of man, every word with more than one signification will shew how one idea grows out of another and how the human intellect has developed."

Anundoram concludes his scholarly preface on a human note by quoting a couplet from Purushottama Deva which purports to say: "Since the range of literature is so vast and words endless, it is not possible to fully trace out all the import of any word and how and when and by whom what word was used in what denotation."

Bhavabhuti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature

This small monograph was intended to be prefixed to Anundoram's edition of *Mahaviracharita*, more simply called *Viracharita*, which he edited with a Sanskrit commentary named *Janakiramabhasya*, but the publication of this work was deferred and it appeared after a year, in 1878.

Though small in volume this is one of his two original works, the other being *Janakiramabhasya* in Sanskrit. At the beginning and also at the end of this work Anundoram praises Bhavabhuti and places him at the top of all the Sanskrit poets and dramatists. His admiration for Bhababhuti knows no bounds. Anundoram writes:

"Throughout the whole range of Sanskrit literature from the simple lessons of *Hitopadesha* to the most elaborate polish of *Naishadha*, from the terse vigour of Sankaracharya to the studied majesty of *Magha*, from the harmonious grace of Kalidasa to the ornate picturesqueness of *Kadambari*, there is probably no writer who can come up to Bhavabhuti in his wonderful command of Sanskrit language and surprising fluency and elevation of diction. The most difficult verses with the most complicated prosody seem to flow from his tongue without in-

terruption, without any effort, without a moment's reflection."

In Anundoram's view the epithet *vasyavak* (one who commands language) and the title of *srikantha* given to Bhavabhuti by the scholars of his day are fully justified.

The monograph ends with an eloquent expression of the author's profound love for Sanskrit, and his boundless reverence for Bhavabhuti.

"And among the foremost to elevate the language (Sanskrit) and enrich the literature of ancient India stands the name of our poet Vasyavak-Kasyapa-Bhatta-Bhavabhuti-Srikantha . . . May we hope that with the diffusion of Sanskrit he will be as appreciated in the farthest corners of the world as he is on the bank of the Sipra and near the ruins of Vijayanagar."

It would appear from a self-referring in Malati-Madhava by Bhavabhuti that he was not duly appreciated by his contemporaries. He, however, had the unshaken self-confidence to declare firmly: "This labour of mine is not intended for those, who have shown contemptuous attitude to my work. Do they know anything? There might be some one somewhere, or, some one may be born in future, equal to me in merit (who might appreciate it), because the world is vast and the time is eternal." We may say that this desire of Bhavabhuti has found its fulfilment in the person of Anundoram, born twelve hundred years later on the bank of the river Lauhitya.

It has been stated before that Anundoram was more interested in the study of the Sanskrit language, of the words and their meanings, than in the quality of the literature as such and the treatment of the plot or embellishment. He has in the same trend analysed the three dramas of Bhavabhuti, focussing more attention on the linguistic aspects than on dramaturgy. Of course, he is not oblivious to the literary merit of the works, but he is more concerned to bring out the works in the unique selection of words and their most appropriate use. The following quotation, to cite only one instance, will give an indication of the emphasis he laid on aspects of his study.

"A cursory glance at the plays of Bhavabhuti may indeed lead one to conclude that he was well-versed in *Amarakosha*. In some cases, he has exhausted the synonyms given in the lexicon, as for instance, the synonyms for bone, saw, blood. In other cases he has used a great many of the synonyms given there, as

for instance synonyms of earth, water, monkey, slaughter, war. But deeper study will shew that he has used words, which do not occur at all in the lexicon or not in the sense in which he has used."

Speaking about the characteristics of the language of the three works of the dramatist the author asserts that it was Bhavabhuti who was the first to write dramas based on *Rama-katha*. Bhavabhuti was the pioneer and all others followed him. Barooah then fixes the date of Bhavabhuti by advancing arguments and evidences from Sanskrit literatures and concludes: "I may say ,in a few words that so far as I can see Bhavabhuti preceded Amara Sinha but succeeded Kalidasa and that I cannot place him later than the fifth century A.D." (The modern scholars place Bhavabhuti in the eighth century A.D.).

Though Anundoram was attracted by the language used by Bhavabhuti he does not fail to point out other qualities in his dramas. Putting his finger on certain words and idioms he says that a single idiom may unfold a history:

"Various causes have left the field of Indian eloquence almost an uninterrupted desert and the writings of Bhavabhuti, irrespective of the music of classical Sanskrit, which is probably unrivalled, will always be admired and passionately studied by every lover of India and Indian literature as a masterpiece of Sanskrit eloquence showing the high degree of perfection to which the art would have reached under more favourable circumstances.

"But the plays of Bhavabhuti are interesting not simply for its language, not simply for its poetry, but instructive alike to the students of Sanskrit for the idioms they contain, to the historians for the light they throw on the state and manners of the country, to the geographer for the solution of some of the difficult questions of ancient Indian geography."

Barooah discusses the three plays of Bhavabhuti and traces the socio-cultural history of ancient India from the Vedic performance of *Yajna* to the beef-eating, from the role of preachers in the Vedic age to that of their counterparts in its Buddhist age, from the quest of knowledge by women to the sacrifice of beautiful girls before a goddess, etc.

True to his abiding interest in the history of words he explains the word *godana* in its literary sense as 'offering a pair

of cows' in preference to the usual secondary meaning of tonsure (*cudakarana*).

According to Anundoram *Viracharita* abounds in many dramatic events while Uttararamacharita lacks dramatic events and episodes, and hence, this play is more in the nature of a *kavya* than a drama. He says, however, that Bhavabhuti skillfully depicts the scene of archery by Lava and Kusha in the hermitage of Valmiki and has brought the dramatic theme to a climax by uniting Rama with Sita in the happy ending of a protracted separation.

Malati-Madhava, says Anundoram, "is decidedly the best of Bhavabhuti's plays. The story is entirely original, of general interest, and well-suited for theatrical representation. Its incidents are varied and ably represented and some of them highly attractive."

Anundoram has analysed each Act and made comments on the different aspects. His estimate of Bhavabhuti as a dramatist is unequivocal: "We must not forget the surrounding circumstances, the society in which he lives and the rules to which he is subject. If these be taken into consideration, Bhavabhuti will be found to rank among the greatest dramatists of the world."

Anundoram has included in his essay the views of European scholars like Colebrooke, Wilson and Elphinstone. Elphinstone says: "The best dramatic authors are Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. The first excels in tenderness and delicacy and is full of highly poetical description . . . the other dramatist possesses all the same qualities in an equal degree, accompanied with a sublimity of description, a manly tone, and a high martial spirit, that is without example in other Hindu poets that I have heard of." Wilson concludes his observation on Bhavabhuti in these words: "There is more passion in the thoughts of Bhavabhuti than in those of Kalidasa, but less fancy."

Viracharita

Viracharita (life of hero) is a seven-act play which describes the exploits of Rama from his arrival at the hermitage of Visvamitra to his accession to the throne of Ayodhya. During this

period all his exploits—killing the demons who obstructed the performance of sacrifice, duel with Parasurama and finally the killing of Ravana and his followers in Lanka are acts of heroism. Hence, the name *Viracharita*.

This is the first play of Bhavabhuti as is evident from the autobiographical references made by the dramatist at the beginning of the play.

Anundoram analyses the play historically, geographically and from the stand-point of literature. Why Anundoram had chosen this drama for writing a Sanskrit commentary on it can be appreciated from his observation:

"Historically," he says, "the play deserves our careful attention for the light it throws on several important questions." For instance, he says, the reference to beef-eating and the killing of a female calf is of historical importance. Beef-eating has been mentioned again in the fourth act of Uttararamacharita and Barooah traces the origin of the practice to the *Samhitas* and cites Bhava Misra, who describes the quality of beef. He also considers the geographical reference as of great importance and observes: "The play is interesting for giving us the precise position of Malayachala" while "Valmiki was ignorant of even the position of Vindhya."

Speaking about the literary merit of the work, he says: "To students it is a profitable study to learn the idioms of the language. To lexicographers it is a fruitful source to know the history and use of that most important class of words, the verbs or rather roots, for which they will vainly seek in popular vocabularies; poetically it has all the merits."

Every Act of the drama shows minute knowledge of Bhavabhuti in all branches of learning. For instance, the first Act shows his Vedic knowledge, the second shows his thorough acquaintance with the legends of the country, the third abounds in references to *Yoga*-philosophy, the fourth exhibits his knowledge of politics and so on. Anundoram's remark about the society is significant: "It no doubt shows only the special knowledge of a particular man (Bhavabhuti) but it can be easily inferred that the education of the audience, before whom the play was acted, also covered the same surface in general, although it may not have reached the same depth."

Viracharita, according to Anundoram, was first published by

Francis Henry Trithen in London in 1848. After that several other editions of the work were published in India and Europe and Anundoram consulted all the available editions for preparing his own edition. H.H. Wilson mentions two commentaries on *Viracharita*, one by Jagaddhara and the other by Malanka, but these two commentaries were not available to Barooah. He had seen some of the extracts from these commentaries quoted by others and was not satisfied with them.

In the commentary named *Janakiramabhasya*, the author has explained the text in chaste and simple Sanskrit and has "spared no labour to clear up all the allusions in it, which are probably as many as in any other Sanskrit play."

Anundoram quotes copiously from a wide range of Sanskrit literature to support his views. One or two instances will indicate his approach to such words as need further treatment rather than elucidation. To identify Mahendra *dvipa* he quotes from *Visnupurana* and *Raghuvamsa*. To state the connotation of *Vajapeya* he quotes from *Vajasaneyasamhita* and the commentary of Mahidhara. He has also given the parallel quotations from the *Ramayana* and the Ramaic dramas to show that while Srikantha has followed the *Ramayana* faithfully other playwrights of the Ramaic dramas have taken liberties in their treatment of the plot and the sequence of events.

The *Janakiramabhasya*, has a significance of its own. He has not only followed the basic principle of writing a *bhashya* but, adhering to tradition, has inserted autobiographical verses at the beginning and at the end of every Act of the play. It is interesting to note that he has used the title of each Act in his description of himself. For instance, he says of himself as one who has passed his boyhood (*atikranta-kaumara*) and has explained thus the first Act, named *Kaumara*.

When the work was published it was well received by the press and the public. The Calcutta Gazette commented: "It is a critical dissertation of the age of dramatic works of Bhavabhuti. It is an original work and displays considerable erudition and research." Commending the work, Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna wrote in a letter to Anundoram: "I have carefully gone over the first two Acts of the drama and I can honestly say that the manner in which you have discharged the duties of editor and commentator has afforded me the greatest

pleasure. Your notes are full of most interesting matter and display an amount of Sanskrit learning that would be creditable to any Sanskrit scholar.".

Namalinganusasana of Amara Sinha

Anundoram Barooah published two parts of this work with the commentaries of Kshiraswami and Rayamukata Brihaspati, and extracts from several other commentaries in 1887-88. He had planned to publish this work part by part but could not complete it due to his untimely death. The first part is from the beginning to the word *agni*, while the second part ends with the word *purana* of *sargavarga*.

Namalinganusasana better known as *Amarakosha* or simply *Amara* after the name of its author Amara Sinha, is the most popular lexicon in Sanskrit. It is the oldest extant of its kind. The popularity of the work can be judged from the number of commentaries written on it by scholars belonging to the Buddhist, Jaina and the orthodox Brahmanical schools, though the author of the *kosha* was a Buddhist. Traditionally, students of Sanskrit were supposed to memorise *Sabdanusasana*, i.e. grammar and *Namalinganusasana*, meaning *Amarakosha*, which gives not only the synonyms of words but states the gender of the words.

Anundoram was credited with the capacity of reciting the entire *Amarakosha* from memory when he was twelve or fourteen years old. This background must have inspired him to take up the study of this work and should have been of immense help in preparing his own edition with two commentaries. He also emphasises the need of a new edition of *Amarakosha* tracing its importance. He says:

"Amara's *Linganusasana* is the most popular lexicon in the Sanskrit language and for upwards of 1000 years has received the best attention from the greatest scholars of India. The literature connected with it is a library in itself and the commentaries form a unique store-house of most valuable lexicographical information. The evidence the commentators adduce in support of their views is often so apt and unshakable that it is unques-

tionably the best lexicographical collection for modern Sanskrit literature and its importance is heightened by the fact that it is impossible now to procure all their authorities or to place absolute reliance on what are available, as they have suffered much from time and corruption. The three voluminous compilations of recent years are the highly commendable results of most assiduous labours and have thrown a flood of light on Sanskrit language and literature. But so far as orthography is concerned and to some extent also as regards uses and history of words, I venture to predict the field will have to be considerably extended if not explored again with the aid of the full and forcible evidence collected by these commentators. It is no wonder, therefore, that a critical edition of *Amara* is considered a great desideratum both in India and in Europe by such scholars as Burnell, Egeling and Zacharine." His observation about the commentaries on *Amarakosha* and their comparative study deserves mention.

"The study of words is always a great help to learn the manners, customs, and early history of a people. The commentaries to *Amara*, in addition, throw direct light on some of the vexed questions of Indian chronology. Several of the Bengal commentators directly or incidentally mention the date of composition and as most of them quote several authors, a chain can be easily formed about their relative age. Professor Max Mueller somewhere observes as his opinion or as the opinion of another high authority that new discoveries in Indian chronology generally upset what are previously regarded as facts and last only for a few years to be again upset by other discoveries. This must always be, so long as hasty deductions are based on insufficient data. As yet not a thousandth part of the vast Sanskrit literature has been published and made known to the public and I do not believe even a hundredth part of the published literature has been thoroughly sifted and analyzed. If Sanskrit studies make as good progress in the next century as in the present, the prediction of Dr. Wilson of Bombay may be verified that Indian history will be as well known as any other ancient history."

He further states that the text has been preserved with fidelity and the difference of opinion in some readings is due mostly to similarity of characters, and cites *yadavamdhanam* of Subhuti for *padabandhanam* of Svami as a glaring instance of this nature.

Among the large number of commentators, mention may be made of the following: Asadharapandita*, Nachiraja* (Jaina), Subhutichandra* (Buddhist), Kshiraswami, Rayamukuta Brihaspati, Raghunatha, Paramananda. Bhanujidiksita, Nilkantha, Chaturbhuja, Lokanatha, Sarvananda, Mallinatha*, Apyayadiksita*, etc. Anundoram collected a number of commentaries in manuscript on *Amara* from the Deccan College of Poona, Banaras, Kharagpur, Chattagram and other places in India and consulted many others in the India Office Library, London. He made a comparative study of all the available commentaries and found that of Kshiraswami's and that of Rayamukuta's were the best and most useful, and these two commentaries were incorporated in his edition of *Amarakosha*. He made it a point to note from other commentaries also where they differed from the above two. The commentators have given the process of word formation and explained the difficult and obscure passages. In this respect the commentary of Kshiraswami, the oldest among the available ones, excels others. Its importance lies in the fact that Kshiraswami quotes numerous authorities, sometimes without naming them, in support of his statement. Of the lexicographical authorities and commentaries quoted or referred to by Kshiraswami, the following names are noteworthy, Katya, Muni, Bhaguri, Malakara, *Nighantu*, *Sasvata*, *Amaramala*, *Namamala*, *Abhidhanakara*, *Abhidhanasesa*, *Anekartha*, Shriharsha, Durga, Bhoja, Rudra, Gauda etc. Kshiraswami while supporting his opinion quotes Katya, who precedes Amara. For instance, that the solar year begins from the month of *Margasirsa* (*Agrahayana*) he cites the authority of Katya; while Amara says it begins from the month of *Magha*. He also at places refutes Amara with the authority of Katya, Bhaguri etc. Rayamukuta also refers to many authorities. It is, therefore, quite natural that Anundoram has added these two commentaries to his edition.

A study in the text and the commentaries of Amara leads to the opening of the vast Sanskrit literature. This has been the main reason for our author to take up the study of this neglected branch of Sanskrit literature. He has not looked upon the

*The commentaries marked with asterisk have not been mentioned by Barooah. The commentary by the famous commentator Mallinatha, named *Amarapadaparijata* is regarded as an important and useful one.

kosha merely as compilation of words and their meanings, but as a repository of source material of social history lying hidden in the words which he tried to unravel.

Barooah added a preface in English to the first part of the work he published. It gives an idea of his plan of editing the work and the labour he put in collecting and studying the manuscripts of the commentaries. After referring to the popularity and historical importance of *Amarakosha*, Barooah notes the traditional divisions of the work and the recent divisions made by the German scholars. While dealing with the text he says "the text of *Amara* has been preserved with a fidelity, which is not remarkable if we remember the rare attention it has received during the last ten centuries" and points out the differences, where they occur in the readings of the text and the readings of commentary of Kshiraswami. He also discusses the arrangement of verses and orthography, fixes the date of Kshiraswami and mentions the authorities from which Kshiraswami drew his material, which range from Katya and Bhaguri to Jinendrabodhi. In the arrangement of words Anundoram would prefer the alphabetical order as he did in *Nanarthasamgraha*, but the same cannot be followed here in *Amarakosha*, because the work has been divided into *Svargavarga*, *Patalavarga* etc., and the words are grouped accordingly. In the arrangement of the verses he has not followed the usual four-foot pattern. Barooah believes that Amara Sinha used six-foot verses also and has arranged as such.

Amarakosha and most of the other *koshas* also have a *nanartha* section and even there the alphabetical order has not been followed for the simple reason that the *koshas* were meant to be learnt by heart and not for use like a modern dictionary. In this connection A.B. Keith's view is noteworthy:

"Of lexica two main classes exist, synonymous, in which words are grouped by subject matter, and homonymous (*anekartha*, *nanartha*), but the important synonymous dictionaries usually include a homonymous section. As the books were intended, not for reference, but for learning by heart, the principle of alphabetic order was not considered essential, they are, accordingly, divided on various principles, often on more than one, thus the longer article may come first, or the arrangement may be by the final consonants, or the initial letters or the two

combined, or the number of letters; in some cases information is given as to gender, sometimes with an appendix on it, and gender occasionally is taken into account in fixing the order." (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 412-13).

Prosody

This work forms Volume X of Anundoram's projected *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* in 12 Volumes. This volume was published first as the materials were ready with him. It consists of a prefatory translation and examination of *Pingala-sutras*, and the prosodical part of the Shaunka's *Rik-pratisakhya*, and supplementary edition of *Agneya-cchandas shastra* and Kedara Bhatta's *Vrittaratnakara*, with Narayana Bhatta's commentary, containing a succinct account of *Prakrita* prosody and a full discussion of metrical problems. From this some idea of its range and manner of treatment may be formed. As proposed in the plan, Barooah discusses the Vedic and Classical metres, goes to the basic question of prose and poetry and the criteria for distinguishing poetry from prose. He says that the study of metres helps in restoring correct reading of the Vedic and classical Sanskrit: "The study of prosody is still more useful. It is indeed our only means yet for restoring the original text of the *Rigveda* and of the poetical portion of the other *Vedas*."

As for classical Sanskrit text "a practical acquaintance with prosody," says Anundoram, "enables us often to detect all ordinary faults of omission, insertion, and alteration." He takes prosody as part of grammar: "Prosody is at once the simplest and the most important branch of Sanskrit grammar. Its rules do not depend on authority. Any one with a good ear accustomed to read Sanskrit is able to detect what is poetry, what is not poetry, and where there is break of poetry, in whatever garb it may be presented."

Tracing the development of metres the author first discusses the Vedic metres, their symmetry and irregularities. He complains that "the writers on Vedic prosody simply give the names of Vedic metres and the number of syllables each consists of.

The rules of sequence which are essential to all poetry and the irregularities in which Vedic poetry abounds are nowhere explained."

Then Barooah criticises the views of Mahidhara and Sayana on the concept of verse and points out their defects. He also states the defects on the basis of calculation in the classical metres and says "this volume is intended to remove these defects and present Vedic and classical prosody in what appears to me the clearest and easiest way." However, before presenting his own views Barooah presents the views of Pingala, the best authority on prosody. Pingala does not deal with Vedic metres but only with those of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit.

While explaining Pingala, Anundoram discusses *Srutabodha*, *Vrittaratnakara* and *Chhandomanjari*, the three important works on prosody. Pingala's rules are divided into eight chapters, of which the last one is supposed to be a later interpolation. These rules are translated and explained by Anundoram. He also appends "the prosodical chapters of the *Agnipurana*. They are the rules of Pingala rendered into *anushtup* and show the reverence in which he is held for a comparatively long time." The text of *Vrittaratnakara* with a commentary forms the main portion of the work and the author has taken great care to present a correct reading of the text.

In the index of metres he gives the names of 713 metres arranged in alphabetical order and mentions 15 undescribed metres. Some of the metres are simply variations in name or come under the main metre. This index helps the reader to find out the definition as well as illustration of a metre in the works on prosody.

A Companion to the Sanskrit Reading Under-Graduates of the Calcutta University

The course of studies in Sanskrit for the F.A. and B.A. Examinations of the Calcutta University for the year 1878-79 included *Meghadoota* or *Abhijnana-sakuntala*, *Raghuvamsa*, cantoes 1-9, *Kumara-sambhava*, contoes 1-7, *Ravanavadha* or *Bhattikavya*, cantoes 1-5, and Anundoram wrote notes on the

important aspects of the texts and on the commentaries. It might appear a popular guide book for examinees, but the treatment was of such a high standard that it was considered to be an important contribution to the advancement of Sanskrit learning.

The work was well-received by the press and the public, and scholars like Cecil Bendall of the British Meseum commented on it warmly. Bendall said: "But small in bulk though it is, I cannot but consider it an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship."

The intention of writing notes on the Sanskrit selection for the examinees of the university was to instil a spirit of independent investigation in the minds of the young students. He intended that the students should read the text and commentaries with an open mind and try to understand the views of the commentators in an historical perspective.

To drive home this point Barooah cites the word *avarodha* and its meaning or meanings. The word was first probably used to mean a confinement, then the enclosure itself, and afterwards the person who lives in confinement, and its connotation extends to the Royal seraglio and the Royal ladies there. The expansion and change in connotation of the word points to changes in the social system and Barooah wants the students to understand this.

Vamanasutravritti, Vagbhatalankara and Saraswati-kanthabharana

Kavyalankara-sutravritti of Vamana, *Alankara* (rhetoric) of Vagbhata and *Saraswati-kanthabharana* of Bhoja, works on rhetoric with extracts from the old commentaries, were published in a single volume in 1883. Since the price of this big volume was found to be prohibitive, *Saraswati-kanthabharana* was issued separately in 1884.

The main object of Anundoram Barooah in editing the works on rhetoric and prosody was to trace the changes in the formation of word and its meaning in historical perspective. With this end in view he took up illustrations from Prakrit literature for discussion. The Sanskrit renderings of Prakrit verses are taken

up and the correct readings of Prakrit verses are restored with the help of Vararuci's and Hemachandra's grammars of Prakrit. Barooah also tries to correct mis-readings of the text with the help of Sanskrit grammar.

While referring to the Prakrit passages quoted in *Saraswati-kanthabharana* Anundoram says: "It is not always easy to restore the correct text of Prakrit passages, when they abound in vernacular terms or the connection in which they occur is not clear."

He has also tried to trace the illustrations in the original works. "The quotations are chiefly from Shalivahan's *Saptasati*, *Ravanavadha* and *Satyabhama-samvada* or similar poems on the same subject. . . .It was my intention to correct the errors of my edition by comparing with the originals of these works, but I have been grievously disappointed. The last work is utterly unknown although the copious citations leave little doubt in my mind that such a work once existed, if not available now."

Barooah gives nine guidelines, based on the grammatical works of Vararuci and Hemachandra, to determine the correctness of reading and also the differences in orthography in *Paishaci* and *Magadhi*. Tracing the differences in *Prakrit* portions quoted in those works he forms his own opinion: "On some *Prakrit* points, however, the *Saraswati* is likely to throw useful light. The dialect of two *Raksasas* in the third Act of *Venisamhara* is regarded by our *pandits* as *Paishaci*, but the readings do not correspond either with the *Paishaci* or any other dialect mentioned by Vararuci. The *Saraswati* gives it as *Magadhi* and its readings entirely correspond with rules of Vararuci." According to Barooah "the *Saraswati-kanthabharana* is probably the best rhetorical work in Sanskrit, but the refinement of its classification and difficulties of its language have deterred our *pandits* to study it carefully."

The editor has added notes to the *Saraswati-kanthabharana*. In the notes he quotes from the lexicons and gives Sanskrit renderings of the *Prakrit* verses, which enable the reader to grasp the meaning quickly.

Sir George Grierson classifies the *Prakrit* in three great stages; primary *Prakrit*, of which the Vedic language and its successor Sanskrit are literary forms; second *Prakrit*, represented in literature by Pali, by the *Prakrit* of grammarians, of drama and literature generally, and by the *Apabhramsas* of the modern

vernaculars.

Neither Vamana nor Vagbhata is the first classical writer of Sanskrit poetics. Perhaps Dandin is the first of the rhetoricians who is followed by Bhamaha. In Vamana's *Kavyalankara* one finds an echo and completion of the doctrine of Dandin. Vamana was the minister of Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) and therefore he is placed in the eighth century. Being "later than both Dandin and Bhamaha, Vamana has a more developed idea of the nature of *kavya*; it is not merely words and meaning or sense, but there must be qualities and figures as well. But he also seeks to fit all elements in Dandin into a scheme, based on the doctrine of *riti*, a new word for style.

There was therefore, justification for taking up Vamana's *Kavyalankara* with *vritti* for editing, which throws light on poetics. However, Barooah is more concerned with linguistics than poetics as such. Why Vagbata is selected is not quite clear. The utility and importance of *Saraswati-kanthabharana* has already been seen.

In editing these works Anundoram took great pains in procuring old manuscripts from different places and in comparing them for determining correct readings of the texts. He was in close touch with R.D. Bhandarkar and the pandits of Banaras, Pandit Ishan Chandra Tarkaratna, Pandit Damodar Kaviratna and Pandit Ramkrishna Vidyaratna who assisted him in the task of procuring manuscripts.

Sanskrit Compositions

Anundoram's Sanskrit commentary *Janakiramabhasya* on *Viracharita* of Bhavabhuti is in simple prose with quotations from a wide range of Sanskrit literature. He composed a number of autobiographical verses in Sanskrit which were inserted in this work, particularly at the end of each Act of *Viracharita* the drama. There are a few benedictory verses also. Some of these Sanskrit verses are given in English translation below. However the melodious flow of the Sanskrit original with harmonious blending of sound and meaning cannot be rendered in the English translation.

1. The drama *Viracharita*, on Janaki and Rama, the words and meanings of which are difficult to comprehend, was composed by Bhavabhuti.

2-3. I, Anundoram Barooah, son of Durllabha and Garga (rama) and the brother (younger) of Janakirama, born in Pragjyotishpura, make my obeisance to Janaki and Rama, who are worshipped all over India, and explain that work with the commentary, named *Janakiramabhasya.*

4. The Act (*anka*) named *Kaumara*, has with great pleasure been explained by Anundoram, son of Durllabha and Garga (rama) who has already passed his boyhood (*atikrantakaumara*).

5. The brother of Parasuram, born on the bank of Lauhitya[1] has elucidated this Act (dealing with Rama's) accosting Parasurama (*Parasurama-samvada*).

6. This third Act, of mixed actions (*samsrista*) full of difficult words, has been explained in the commentary by one, who is bereft of Janaki[2] (Janakirama).

7. Light has been thrown upon this Act of *Viracharita* by a servant of the master of India, who had been a resident of the Middle Temple in the best city in England.

8. One who considers the absence of knowledge, not the absence of beloved (wife) as the jungle (*aranya*), has composed this lucid and chaste commentary on the Act, named *Aranyaka.*[3]

9-11. One, who was first in the city of Sibsagar (Assam), the quarter of Siva, then at Nasirabad in the quarter protected by Indra (east), then at Arajaraja in the quarter of Kubera (north), and is now at the city, called Burdwan, in the middle part (of Bengal) being entrusted with the administration under the command of the Government of Bengal, has simplified this sixth Act, full of difficult verses.

12-19. I had a loving brother, named Janakiram, the beloved son of my parents, born in Pragjyotishpura, who acquired an extensive knowledge in mathematics, grammar,

1. Lauhitya, the river Brahmaputra.
2. There is a pun in the word Janaki i.e. Janaki and Janakiram.
3. Barooah refers to himself as unmarried and contradicts the popular saying 'that a household looks like a forest without a housewife.'

and history, and was always eager for the welfare of his country. In the year seventeenth of this twentieth century (1917 *samvat*, i.e. 1860 A.D.) at the will of the creator of the world, Whose ways cannot be understood by logical reasoning, he without perfecting the historical work, which he had undertaken, left for his heavenly abode in the prime of his youth. It is to perpetuate his memory, that this commentary composed for those who are well versed in Grammar, *Mimamsa* and *Nyaya*, is named after him (Janakiram). On Thursday, the fifth day of the (bright) moon, the twelfth day of the month of Aswina (September) in the thirty fourth year of the above mentioned century (Samvat 1934 i.e. 1877 A.D.) this work (*bhasya*) was completed. I bow to the merciful Almighty and beseech the scholars to ignore the blemishes (which may have crept in) in the work.

Some of the benedictory verses prefixed to the first and second volumes of his *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* are rendered into English below :

In which language the *adikavi* Valmiki composed the *Ramayana* narrating the holy and divine performances of Rama, in which the wonderful *Kadambari* of excellent sentiments has always been shining high, in which the great genius of Sankara was inspired to produce the *bhasya* (on *Brahmasutra*) aimed at God-realisation, let that refined speech remain ever victorious and live till the day of deluge.

The language which presents the pure, wise and noble philosophy of Sugata to the wide world, being delighted by which (language) the descendant of Taimur lived in pleasure, which by a work (*Sakuntala*) attracted the mind of the greatest of the German poets, let that speech of ours, the *Bharati* (Sanskrit) of India, pour nectar in the ears of the people everywhere.

Bopp, the foreign born scholar, whose investigation (into Sanskrit) has advanced a new thesis by showing clearly the basic relation and similarily that exist among the different languages, and the glory of the Aryans which has been reduced by the Non-Aryans in modern times, has been re-

stored again to its pristine glory with the help of (Sanskrit) language, let that beautiful speech (remain ever victorious).

BENEDICTION PREFIXED TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF *A Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary*

I make my obeisance to Him, the cause of birth and death and the sourse of all existence through different births, Whose power is beyond imagination, Whose creation the world shines bright by His grace, Whose existence is not visible to the living beings but Whose grace is always manifested day and night, and the secret of Whose creation, though explicit, none is able to comprehend.

Dedication

I do in veneration bow to Durllabha and Gargaram, my progenitors, my gurus on earth and now immersed in Brahma, the two, who, in my childhood enveloped me with their affection, being oblivious of their own existence, who by undergoing varied sufferings beyond description brought me up and who in their own land had lived the lives which were a source of delight to others.

Anundoram composed some more verses praising his parents, the fourth foot of each verse ending in a refrain of "Durllabha-Gargaraman" with epithets like *jananaguru* and *paramaguru.*

The last verse in *sloka* metre says:

At the feet of my parents through whose unlimited grace the task I undertook has been completed, offer this work with great veneration.

Sanskrit Verses

मंगलाचरणम्

यस्यैश्वर्यं न चिन्त्यं जगदिदमखिलं भासयत्युच्चमुच्चं
यस्यास्तित्वं न दृश्यं प्रकटितमनिशं शोभनं भूतजातैः।
वैचित्र्यं यस्य सृष्टेः स्फुटमपि नियतं शक्यते केन बोद्धुं
तं वन्दे भावभूतिं भवमरणजनिं कारणं कारणानाम् ॥१॥

ग्रन्थविसर्जनम्

यौ बाल्ये संप्रदृष्टौ दृतसकलदृदास्तां मयि स्नेहवन्तौ
याभ्यां स्वीकृत्य दुःखं विविधमतिकथं वर्द्धितोऽहं तदानीम्।
यौ स्वे देशे नितान्तं सकलजनमनो ह्लादयन्तौ निवृत्तौ
वन्दे तौ ब्रह्मनिष्ठौ भुवि जननगुरू दुर्ल्लभा-गर्गरामौ ॥२॥

यौ कौमारे कुमारं निजविशदधिया साग्रहं मां व्यनैष्टां
याभ्यां मे शीलवृत्तं चरितमपि ययोश्चानदानात् प्रपन्नम्।
स्थित्वा पर्याप्तकालं मम हृदयगतौ कालधर्मेण यातौ
वन्दे तौ मुक्तिभाजौ दिवि चरमगुरू दुर्ल्लभा-गर्गरामौ ॥३॥

स्मृत्वा यौ देवकल्पौ प्रथमपदमथो पुस्तकस्यास्य वद्धं
विघ्नः सर्वप्रकारः सततमुपनतो यत्प्रसादान्निरस्तः।
कर्मण्यस्मिन् समाप्ते परिणतमनसानुग्रहानभ्युपेत्य
वन्दे तौ स्वर्गसंस्थौ मम परमगुरू दुर्ल्लभा-गर्गरामौ ॥४॥

ययोर्विततकारुण्यादारब्धमवसायितम्।
निदधे परया भक्त्या तयोः पित्रोः पदेष्विदम् ॥५॥

यस्यामादिकविः पवित्रचरितं रामस्य दिव्यं व्यधात्
यस्याश्चित्ररसा विचित्ररचना वाभाति कादम्बरी।
या भाष्ये गहनां धियं वितनुतेऽभीशं परां शंकरे
जीव्यात् साप्रलयं समुज्ज्वलतरा संस्कारपूता गिरा ॥६॥

यस्यै शुद्धविबुद्धसौगतमतं पृथ्वा भहद् धार्यते
रेमे तैमुरवंशभूषणमतीवानन्दयित्रा यया।
या शर्मण्यकवीशचित्रमहरद् ग्रन्थेन तेन क्षणात्
सा नो भारतभारती श्रुतिसुधां सर्वत्र कीर्यात् सदा ॥७॥

यामाश्रित्य वपा विदेशजनिनोद्भावि शास्त्रं नवं
भिन्नानां वचसां प्रदर्श्य सुतरां सम्बन्धसारं स्फुटम्।
आर्याणां विषये निरस्तमहिमानायैरिदानीन्तनैर्
डत्थासीष्ट पुनस्तमामतिरुचा सार्या गिरा मञ्जुला ॥८॥

येषां धीनयमार्गणभुजबलैः सर्वत्र भूः सन्नता
येषां विश्वजनीनदर्शनगुणैः सर्वाः कलाः पोषिताः।
येषामाग्रहसंभृता जयति सा पौरातनी भारती
तेषां द्वीपभुवां ततो दृढतरा भूयाद्यातिभूयसी ॥९॥

महाकवि-भवभूतिविरचितस्य वीरचरितस्य जानकीरामभाष्यम् ।

नाटकं वीरचरितं प्रणीतं भवभूतिना ।
जानकीराम-संबद्धं वाक्यार्थदुष्परिग्रहम् ॥१०॥
प्रणम्य जानकीरामौ सर्वभारतपूजितौ ।
जानकीरामसंश्रेण भाष्येण विवृणोम्यहम् ॥११॥
जानकीरामसोदर्यो दुर्ल्लभा-गर्गनन्दनः ।
आनन्दरामबड़ुया प्राग्ज्योतिष्पुरसम्भवः ॥१२॥
श्रीमदानन्दरामेण दुर्ल्लभा-गर्गसूनुना ।
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भ्राता परशुरामस्य लौहित्यतटजन्मनः ।
परशुरामसंवादो वृन्त्रेनायं स्फुढीकृतः ॥१४॥
संसृष्टोऽयं तृतीयोऽकः संसृष्टो विषमैः पदैः ।
जानक्या विप्रयुक्तेन भाष्येण विशदीकृतः ॥१५॥
इंलणुनगरेन्द्रस्य मध्यायतनवासिना ।
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समलो विमलैः श्लोकैः षष्ठोऽकों विमलीकृतः ॥२०॥
आसीन् मे दयितो भ्राता जानकीरामविश्रुतः ।
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स्वदेशस्य हिते कार्ये सदा प्रवणमानसः ॥२२॥
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