

24. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, V, p. 46; VI, pp. 12, 19; IX, pp. 47-8, 74-5, 83; Gumperz, 'Language Problems', p. 82; Gumperz, 'Some remarks on Regional and Social Language Differences in India', in *Introduction to the Civilization of India* (Chicago, 1957), p. 33; John J. Gumperz and C. M. Naim, 'Formal and Informal Standards in the Hindi Regional Language Area', in Charles A. Ferguson and John J. Gumperz, editors, *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia: Studies in Regional, Social and Functional Variation, International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXVI, 3 (1960), p. 95; Ashok R. Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu* (Poona, 1968), chart facing p. 16.
25. See, for example, Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/Hindavi* (Delhi, 1984), pp. 287-9.
26. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, Part 1, p. 45.
27. Ibid.
28. See Karen B. Leonard, *The Kayasths of Hyderabad City*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969.
29. *Census of India, 1911, Volume XV, Part I*, pp. 255, 273; William Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh*, Volume III (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 184, 213-16, 264-7, 274-7; Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu*, p. 9; Percival Spear, editor, *The Oxford History of India*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1958), p. 195.
30. Jurgen Lütt, *Hindu-Nationalismus in Uttar Pradesh 1867-1900* (Stuttgart, 1970).
31. Kerrin Dittmer, *Die Indischen Muslims und die Hindi-Urdu Kontroverse in den United Provinces* (Wiesbaden, 1972).
32. Jyotirindra Das Gupta, *Language Conflict and National Development* (Berkeley, 1970).
33. Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/Hindavi* (Delhi: 1984).
34. In this regard see the writings of the American anthropologist Edward T. Hall, especially chapters 3 and 4 of his *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, 1977). Hall argues that 'once learned, behavior patterns . . . habitual responses . . . [and] ways of interacting gradually sink below the surface of the mind and, like the admiral of a submerged submarine fleet, control from the depths' (p. 42).
35. See Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 98.
36. During our period, 'Nagari' when used by Hindi supporters, often had the meaning of both Hindi and the Nagari script used to write it. Hence the name of the Sabha implies a concern with both language and script. Shri Ray Krishna Das, Interview, April 6, 1972, Banaras.
37. Brass, *Language*, pp. 8-9.

CHAPTER II

The Development of Differentiation

It is my opinion that Hindi and Urdu are two very different languages. The Hindus of this country speak Hindi, while Muslims and those Hindus who have studied Persian speak Urdu. Sanskrit words abound in Hindi as Arabic and Persian words abound in Urdu. There is no necessity to use Arabic and Persian words in speaking Hindi, nor do I call that language Hindi which is filled with Persian and Arabic words.¹

Introduction

Long before the beginning of the Hindi movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the ingredients existed for the differentiation of Khari Boli into the two distinct entities of Urdu and Hindi: the Urdu and Nagari scripts, and two differing sources for higher vocabulary, the classical languages of Persian and Arabic, and Sanskrit. From one point of view, the Hindi-Urdu controversy could be traced back to the medieval Muslim invasions of India and the resulting Indo-Persian linguistic synthesis which came to be known as Urdu. Another point of view appears in a recent study by an Indian scholar, who argues that the excessive Persianization of what he calls Hindi/Hindavi, formerly the common literary language of Hindus and Muslims, in the eighteenth century led to the dramatic linguistic and literary split between Hindi and Urdu.² From still another point of view one could claim that the first important expression of differentiation between Hindi and Urdu took place in Fort William College in the first years of the nineteenth century. Here, with the encouragement of some of the officials and instructors, two distinct prose styles, both based on Khari Boli, began to develop though their identification with separate religious traditions lay decades in the future. The rapid expansion of publishing and journalism later in the century strengthened the existing differentiation between Hindi and Urdu, and made impossible any assimilation between the two.

Similar ingredients for differentiation existed within the Hindi tradition long before the start of the Hindi movement. In the realm of poetry, the regional standard Braj Bhasha overshadowed Khari Boli until well into the twentieth century. Little poetry of any consequence appeared in Khari Boli until the 1880s, nor did this tradition reach respectability

in full until the 1920s with the appearance of the Chayavad (romantic or symbolist) movement. In the more practical realm of script, Nagari had several cursive variants, the most important of which—the Kaithi script—enjoyed considerable popularity in Bihar and the eastern UP, and sometimes even received the patronage of local or even provincial governments. Assimilation eventually outpaced differentiation in these two realms, however, and neither Braj Bhasha nor Kaithi posed any serious threat to Khari Boli Hindi in the Nagari script by the time of independence.

The Early Literary History of Urdu and Hindi

Scholars have traced the literary heritage of Urdu to as early as the fourteenth century, when a language known as Dakani flourished in the Deccan.³ Some of them assert that Dakani's grammatical basis stems from several closely related dialects—including Khari Boli—of the eastern Punjab and western UP.⁴ The earliest prose literature in this medium consisted largely of the treatises and popular tracts of various Sufi orders, written in many cases using a vocabulary largely free from Persian and Arabic terms and drawing instead on Sanskrit and local languages. Poetry in Dakani began to appear before the close of the sixteenth century; one of the earliest poets was Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (ruled 1580–1611), renowned ruler of the Deccan Muslim kingdom of Golconda. Dakani poetry borrowed Persian literary forms and used Persian and Arabic vocabulary, but also freely employed indigenous metres and vocabulary and included both Persian and Indian literary themes.⁵

The Mughal campaigns of the seventeenth century not only put an end to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda which had patronized Dakani, but also brought southwards the influence of the more Persianized Urdu of north India. While the style of the north eventually triumphed in the ensuing struggle, it was a poet of the south who established Persianized Urdu as a suitable vehicle for poetry in Mughal India. Wali (1667–1707) though born in the Deccan used a language style much like the Urdu of Delhi, and his visit to that city around the turn of the century marked the beginning of a poetic tradition in the north where Urdu had hitherto been considered unfit for poetry. A line of major Urdu poets arose in Delhi and continued well into the nineteenth century, while somewhat later poets in the eastern UP city of Lucknow began to rival their colleagues in Delhi. As Persianized Urdu gained in popularity and prestige, an older Muslim tradition of writing

poetry in Braj Bhasha, Avadhi, and other literary regional standards gradually came to an end, while many north Indian Hindus began to employ this new literary medium.⁶ Like Urdu poetry, Urdu prose showed little development before the early eighteenth century. Persian furnished the normal medium for prose, and heavily influenced early Urdu prose.⁷

Some historians of Hindi literature claim an ancestry for prose in Khari Boli Hindi stretching back to the sixteenth century, but they can adduce only a handful of examples before 1800.⁸ The tenuous nature of their claims becomes apparent when one authority argues on the strength of a single example that polished prose existed in Khari Boli Hindi more than sixty years before the founding of Fort William College, yet only a few pages later admits that 'in reality at that time [c. 1800] prose works existed in neither Urdu nor Hindi'.⁹ Poetry in Khari Boli Hindi, as we have seen, did not appear until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Because of this lack of antiquity in Khari Boli Hindi's literary tradition, Hindi supporters of the nineteenth, and Hindi historians of the twentieth century usually include the older literary traditions of Braj Bhasha, Avadhi, and other regional standards in discussing 'Hindi' literature of the more distant past. When discussing the literature of the more recent past and the present, however, they largely ignore these other traditions in favour of Khari Boli. Thus the myth of the antiquity of 'Hindi' literature masks the reality that Khari Boli Hindi literature lagged far behind its rival Urdu. Part of the process of the construction of myths through which elites attach value to symbols of group identity, then, seems to involve ignoring ambiguities or contradictions in these symbols.

The College of Fort William

On 10 July 1800, the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, announced the founding of the College of Fort William in Calcutta. He intended that the new institution should improve both the education and the discipline of the young servants of the East India Company in India. The proposed curriculum included instruction not only in English, classics, geography, mathematics, modern European languages, and the natural sciences, but also in Hindu and Muslim law, Indian history, and Indian languages. For classical languages the College offered Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, and for vernacular languages Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Bengali, and Hindustani.¹⁰ Wellesley also announced that after January 1801 no civil service appointments would be given to

anyone failing to pass the appropriate language examinations.¹¹ Since few if any textbooks existed in any of the Indian vernaculars, a major portion of the efforts of the Indian and European language instructors went into creating such materials.

In 1800, neither the Hindi nor Urdu forms of Khari Boli had prose traditions of any importance.¹² Through the efforts of European and Indian scholars, teachers, and linguists at the College and at the nearby and closely-connected Serampore Mission, a new tradition of prose in both forms came into being. While the majority of the Hindi and Urdu works created at these institutions were language textbooks or missionary tracts and translations, some achieved significant popularity as works of literature. A new kind of literature blending Indian and Western forms and content now existed to serve as a model for future writers of Hindi and Urdu.

The most important European scholar in the development of Hindi and Urdu prose was an energetic Scotsman, John B. Gilchrist. Arriving in India in 1782, the 23-year-old Gilchrist soon embarked on the creation of his *English and Hindoostanee Dictionary* published in two parts in 1786 and 1790. Other works followed: *A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language* in 1796, an *Appendix* to the grammar and dictionary in 1798, and *The Oriental Linguist*, an introductory treatise on Hindustani, also in 1798. In 1799 Wellesley appointed him as a teacher of Hindustani and Persian to the Company's junior civil servants, and a year later as Professor of Hindustani in the College. Gilchrist continued his connection with the college for more than three years, eventually resigning in 1804. During his tenure he authored or supervised the writing of a good many textbooks in several languages, saw them through press, continued his teaching duties, and invented a system of transliteration in Roman letters for Indian languages. For many years after his resignation and return to Britain, he continued to teach and to produce works on Hindustani.¹³

Gilchrist's writings suggest that the ingredients for the bifurcation of Khari Boli into two forms existed at the very beginning of the rise of the new prose tradition. Writing in 1798 about some of the difficulties in the composition of his Hindustani dictionary, carried out with the aid of Indian colleagues, he noted:

My learned associates, were some of them with their mind's eye roaming for far-fetched expressions on the deserts of Arabia, others were beating every bush and scampering over every mountain of Persia, while the rest were groping in the dark intricate mines and caverns of Sanskrit [sic] lexicography, totally overlooking in these pedantic excursions the most

essential reflections, that my operations were avowedly directed to, and calculated for the open, accessible plains of Hindoostan.¹⁴

Gilchrist's words clearly imply that Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian scholars felt obliged to stuff the vernaculars with classical vocabulary. A quarter century later Captain Price, one of Gilchrist's successors at the College, referred to the same phenomenon. 'The great difference between Hindee [Hindi] and Hindoostanee [Urdu],' he wrote in 1824, 'consists in the words, those of the former being almost all Sanskrit [sic] and those of the latter, for the greater part Persian and Arabic . . .'¹⁵

The College favoured Hindustani (Urdu) over any form of Hindi, presaging the later attitudes of many British officials towards the two. The regulations establishing the College made no mention of Hindi among the subjects to be taught, although a Nagari writing master appeared on the rolls of the Hindustani Department in 1801, the year in which instruction actually began. Later appointments included 'Bhakha' (Hindi) pandits, and in 1807 a revision of the regulations (confining the institution to instruction in Oriental languages and literatures) added Hindi to Hindustani, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi. Hindi was not seriously taught until 1815, however, and did not receive formal recognition as an important vernacular until 1825, only a few years before the College ceased to be a viable educational institution. Moreover, no separate department of Hindi ever seems to have existed; both teaching and the writing of textbooks in Hindi appear to have been subsumed under the Hindustani department. The great majority of works produced by this department were in Hindustani (some of which were printed in the Nagari script) while only a few works appeared in Khari Boli Hindi and Braj Bhasha.¹⁶

Though most of the works in Hindi and Urdu by the European and Indian scholars of the College had little popularity or influence, being chiefly intended as textbooks and readers for language students, a few of them achieved a considerable reputation. *Prem Sagar* (*The Ocean of Love*) of Lallu Lal, a Bhakha pandit, first appeared in 1805 and went through at least fifteen editions during the nineteenth century, including several in English and at least one in the Gujarati script. This book consisted of a translation from Braj Bhasha verse into Khari Boli Hindi prose, and told the story of the life of Krishna based on the Sanskrit scripture, the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Lallu Lal deliberately set out to exclude words from languages associated with Muslims, so although a few Persian and Turkish words crept in, the vocabulary overflowed with Sanskrit, Braj, and Avadhi borrowings.¹⁷

Several Urdu works enjoyed a popularity even greater than that of

Prem Sāgar. Singhasun Butteese, a collection of stories by Lallu Lal and Kazim Ali Jawan went through at least eighteen editions by 1900, many of them in the Nagari script, while *Bueta Puchese* by Lallu Lal and Mahar Ali Khan, a similar collection, went through at least twenty-two editions, including several translations into English.¹⁸ *Bāgh-o-Bahār*, a collection of tales translated from Persian by Mir Amman under Gilchrist's supervision, proved the most popular of all, reaching thirty editions by 1900, including translations into English and French.¹⁹ The language of *Singhasun* and *Bueta* has been described by one scholar as 'a strange mixture of Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic, Braj Bhasha, Avadhi and Bihari words',²⁰ a mixture which might well have represented a linguistic compromise between the Hindu and Muslim joint authors.

Early Nineteenth Century Prose Writers in Hindi and Urdu

Early nineteenth century prose literature in both forms of Khari Boli showed considerable variation in vocabulary sources, as we have seen, and authors saw no discrepancy in using the Nagari script for both Hindi and Urdu. Moreover, a brief glimpse at the careers of the four most important writers in Khari Boli Hindi during this period indicates that they had no objections to drawing from both Hindi and Muslim cultural traditions. Two of these writers, Lallu Lal and Sadal Mishra, served as pandits in the College of Fort William, while the other two, Munshi Sadasukhlal and Insha Allah Khan, had more independent literary careers.

Lallu Lal (c. 1763–c. 1824), a Gujarati Brahman from Agra, first joined the staff of the College in 1801. During his tenure he authored at least twelve works, among them prose writings in Braj Bhasha, Khari Boli Hindi, and Hindustani. Sadal Mishra, a Bihari Brahman, worked at the College from 1803 to 1809. The works accredited to him include a translation of a Sanskrit text into a Khari Boli Hindi flavoured with Braj Bhasha and the regional standards of Bihar, and the *Rāmcharitra*, a heavily Sanskritized Khari Boli version of the story of the Hindu deity Rama. Mishra also authored a Hindi-Persian vocabulary, and edited a version of the *Rāmcharitmānas*, the most famous work of the great sixteenth century Avadhi poet Tulsidas.²¹

Munshi Sadasukhlal (c. 1746–c. 1824), a Kayasth from Delhi, spent several years in the service of the East India Company at Chunar, a city of southeastern UP. Though he authored many books, including a good deal of poetry in both Persian and Urdu, the work which won him a place among Khari Boli Hindi writers was a translation of portions of

Sanskrit scripture, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, in which he made extensive use of words borrowed directly from Sanskrit.²² The last of the quartet, Insha Allah Khan, son of a Muslim courtier at Murshidabad,²³ spent much of his life at the court of the Muslim ruler of Oudh after a brief sojourn at the Mughal court in Delhi. By the time of his death in 1818 he had won some little reputation as an Urdu poet. In 1803 he wrote a work in Khari Boli entitled *Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī* (*The Story of Queen Ketki*) in which, though using the Urdu script, he made a deliberate and successful attempt to exclude words of Arabic and Persian origin. Despite his success in this, however, some Hindi scholars have refused to accept his work as Hindi because of what they consider to be a Persianized word order, and some historians of Urdu literature have classified it as Urdu.²⁴

This brief survey reveals an important characteristic of the earliest Khari Boli prose in Hindi and Urdu: this literature shows none of the later rigid divisions between Hindu and Muslim, Nagari and Urdu scripts, or Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic vocabularies. The three Hindu authors wrote in languages associated with Muslims, while the Muslim author had the greatest success in excluding Persian and Arabic words. Works in Hindustani (Urdu) appeared in both the Urdu and Nagari scripts, and in several cases both Hindi and Urdu texts included vocabulary from several languages. While the three Hindus made extensive use of words borrowed directly from Sanskrit in writings derived from Hindu scriptures—they could hardly have borrowed suitable Arabic and Persian words for this purpose—they did not feel obliged to reject the Muslim cultural heritage in their other writings. The identification of Hindi with Hindu and Urdu with Muslim lay in the future, though a new prose model of highly Sanskritized Khari Boli excluding Persian and Arabic words now existed. In terms of our theory, a potential symbol for differentiation now existed for the transformation of an ethnic group into a subjectively conscious community.

Later Writers in Hindi and Urdu Prose

During the next half century prose literature in the Urdu form of Khari Boli began to flourish and by the mid-nineteenth century had a well-established tradition. Unlike Khari Boli Hindi, Urdu had a well-developed poetic tradition to serve as a model for style, although Urdu authors faced a major problem in deciding the degree of Persianization to be allowed.²⁵ Literary prose in Khari Boli Hindi did not begin to prosper until the third quarter of the century, although large numbers of tracts, pamphlets, and translations of scripture by missionaries began

to appear in the early part of the century, followed later by large numbers of elementary school texts. Often these publications used a style with few Arabic and Persian words, and many Sanskrit ones.²⁶ The second half of the century saw a steady expansion in the production of works in both the Hindi and Urdu forms of Khari Boli. The bulk of this production appeared in prose, though a substantial fraction appeared in poetry.

By the end of the century two distinct prose styles had evolved in both forms of Khari Boli, according to George Grierson, author of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Lucknow became the major centre for a highly Persianized style of Urdu whose writers delighted in composing sentences which, except for an auxiliary verb at the end, were 'throughout Persian in construction and vocabulary', while Banaras became the hub for a highly Sanskritized style of Hindi whose writers made heavy use of words borrowed directly from Sanskrit.²⁷ Between these two extremes lay two more moderate styles, one associated with Urdu authors in Delhi who used a far less Persianized language, and the other with authors in Agra who avoided excessive Sanskritization and freely admitted widely used foreign words into their writings.²⁸

The categories posited by another contemporary observer, the Indian scholar Ayodhya Prasad Khatri, tallied for the most part with those of Grierson. Khatri, a resident of Muzaffarpur in western Bihar, proposed five different styles of Khari Boli in his book *Khari Boli kā Padya (Khari Boli Poetry)* published in 1887. These included: Maulvi's Hindi, Pandit's Hindi, Munshi's Hindi, Pure Hindi, and Eurasian Hindi. Maulvi's Hindi, full of long and difficult Arabic and Persian words, and Pandit's Hindi, full of equally forbidding Sanskrit terms, corresponded with the styles of Lucknow and Banaras. Pure Hindi, which used neither foreign nor difficult Sanskrit words, and Munshi's Hindi (known to Europeans as 'Hindustani') which lay between the extremes of Lucknow and Banaras, roughly matched the Hindi of Agra and the Urdu of Delhi. The remaining style, Eurasian Hindi, employed formidable English expressions.²⁹

Thus Khari Boli Hindi writers could choose their style from somewhere along a spectrum ranging from a less Sanskritized Hindi allowing the use of foreign words to a highly Sanskritized Hindi eschewing them. Similarly Urdu writers could choose a style lying somewhere between a moderately Persianized to an excessively Persianized Urdu. At the two extremes, Hindi and Urdu approached mutual unintelligibility, differentiated by script, vocabulary, and even grammatical features, while in

the middle ground they approached uniformity, differentiated mainly by script (and sometimes not even by that). Moreover, the very choice of subject matter influenced style, Hindu contexts (such as commentaries on scriptures) encouraging Sanskrit vocabulary, and Islamic contexts Arabic and Persian vocabulary.³⁰ Even the writings of a single author could display different styles. During the latter decades of the century, however, as the process of multi-symbol congruence began and intensified, Hindi writers clustered into two groups rather than spreading over the entire spectrum, those who adopted a more Sanskritized style and those who opted for a more Persianized one. The issue continued to agitate the Hindi literary world into the next century.³¹

Among the foremost in the ranks of Sanskritizers, though a resident of Agra, stood Raja Lakshman Singh (1826–1896). A graduate of Agra College in English and Hindi, and a Deputy Collector, he translated several Sanskrit works as well as English legal texts into Hindi. While the nature of many of these works made a Sanskritized vocabulary natural, Singh went further by intentionally avoiding the use of Arabic and Persian words. The preface to his Hindi version of the Sanskrit poet Kalidasa's *Raghuvāsa*, published in 1878, made his viewpoint clear:

It is my opinion that Hindi and Urdu are two very different languages.

The Hindus of this country speak Hindi, while Muslims and those Hindus who have studied Persian speak Urdu. Sanskrit words abound in Hindi as Arabic and Persian words abound in Urdu. There is no necessity to use Arabic and Persian words in speaking Hindi, nor do I call that language Hindi which is filled with Persian and Arabic words.³²

By this time the process of identifying Hindi with Hindu and Urdu with Muslim had been underway for more than a decade, and Singh's views underline the first half of this equation unambiguously.

Raja Shiva Prasad (1823–1895), though a resident of Banaras, ranked among the best-known advocates of a more Persianized style. A long-time government servant who eventually became Inspector of schools in the NWP, he authored about forty works, mainly school texts, using both Hindi and Urdu, and both the Nagari and Urdu scripts. These works contained both Sanskritized Hindi and moderately Persianized Hindi approaching Urdu. In 1845 he founded the first Nagari-script newspaper of the NWP, the *Benares Akhbār*, whose style was Urdu with a few Sanskrit words.³³

His views on the proper style of Khari Boli showed considerable inconsistency, however, for he made strong statements on behalf of both Hindi and Urdu at different times. On one occasion he wrote that Urdu was becoming the mother tongue of the province, and that no one

could justify forcibly introducing Sanskrit words entirely unfamiliar to the people merely because he used the Devanagari script.³⁴ Yet a few months later he denounced the influence of Persian and Urdu as destructive to the Hindu nationality.³⁵ Despite the apparent contradictions in his opinions, Prasad vigorously supported the Nagari script for both educational and administrative purposes throughout his career. Perhaps the judgement of two of his successors in the Hindi literary world sums up his position the most equitably: they regarded him as one who worked hard for the Nagari script, but wrote Hindi mainly in a style borrowing from Persian and Urdu.³⁶

Whatever the merits or demerits of Sanskritized or Persianized Hindi, the reading public clearly preferred the latter, provided the authors used familiar words. The most popular writer in either Hindi or Urdu before World War I was Devki Nandan Khatri (1861–1913). Khatri, a resident of Banaras, wrote in a simple style of Khari Boli using the Nagari script that nevertheless made extensive use of common Persian and Arabic words. His two best-known series of novels, *Chandrakāntā* and *Chandrakāntā Santati*, published beginning in 1888, brought him both fame and fortune.³⁷ The income from these novels—highly romantic fantasies in the *dāstān*³⁸ tradition of Urdu literature, filled with kings and princesses, magicians and spirits, jungles and palaces—enabled him to found his own press within ten years, and continued to support his family for many years after his death.³⁹ In the Urdu literary world, a similar style of Khari Boli proved most popular. Here writers of the Delhi school such as Nazir Ahmad, Pandit Ratan Nath Saṁshar, and Abdul Halim Sharar, who avoided the excessively Persianized style of the Lucknow school, gained the greatest acceptance.⁴⁰

Bharatendu Harishchandra (1850–1885), almost universally recognized by Indian and Western scholars as the first great writer of Khari Boli Hindi, used both styles of Hindi, much like his contemporary Raja Shiva Prasad. One Indian scholar divides his writings into two categories: first, one which imitated ordinary conversation and employed a few common Persian and Arabic words, and second, one which dealt with more serious subjects and used many Sanskrit words, occasionally to excess.⁴¹ Bharatendu championed the cause of both Hindi and the Nagari script even more vigorously than Prasad, and sometimes even ridiculed his older contemporary for using unfamiliar and jaw-breaking Persian words in his school texts. In addition, both the quality and quantity of his literary output far exceeded that of Shiva Prasad. Besides writing numerous essays, plays, a good deal of poetry, and translations

from English, Sanskrit, and Bengali, Bharatendu also found time to establish several Hindi periodicals, to befriend and patronize many younger Hindi authors, and to be the centre of a circle of prominent writers.⁴²

The Language of Poetry: Braj Bhasha vs. Khari Boli

Although Bharatendu used Khari Boli almost exclusively for prose (except for passages in local dialects or regional standards, especially Bhojpuri, in some of his plays), he turned to Braj Bhasha for most of his poetry.⁴³ His poet companions also wrote almost exclusively in Braj Bhasha. In doing so they continued a lengthy tradition: for more than two centuries the great majority of 'Hindi' poets had composed their verses in Braj Bhasha, and most of the rest in Avadhi. Only a handful of Khari Boli Hindi poets had appeared before Bharatendu began his career, and the earliest poem of any importance in this medium appeared a year after his death when Shridhar Pathak (1859–1929) translated Oliver Goldsmith's 'The Hermit'.⁴⁴

Thus, Khari Boli Hindi had won acceptance as a vehicle of prose but not as an instrument of poetry, the older and more prestigious form of Hindi literature. Two years after Bharatendu's death in 1885, Ayodhya Prasad Khatri, the first champion of Khari Boli Hindi poetry, fired the opening salvo of a controversy that continued for several decades. In his book *Khari Boli kī Padya (Khari Boli Poetry)*, Khatri, a resident of Bihar, pleaded for the use of Khari Boli for Hindi poetry. He also spent a considerable sum to publish and distribute his work to a large number of well-known Hindi supporters.⁴⁵

His efforts met with little initial success, however, for his views must have succeeded in antagonizing nearly everyone. He asked Urdu writers to abandon their own script for Nagari, and Hindi poets to give up Braj Bhasha for Khari Boli. He argued that Urdu was only one style of Hindi, that Urdu poetry was Khari Boli poetry, and that Braj Bhasha poetry was not Hindi poetry. To identify Urdu with Hindi would certainly have offended both Hindi and Urdu supporters, while to exclude Braj Bhasha from the realm of Hindi would certainly have angered Hindi advocates. Both Hindi and Urdu partisans had made great efforts to assert the separate identities of their respective forms of Khari Boli, and Hindi lovers regarded Braj Bhasha as part of Hindi's glorious literary past.⁴⁶ Khatri's attempt to assimilate Urdu with Hindi and to differentiate Braj Bhasha from Hindi was bound to fail.

Khatri did succeed, however, in starting a debate in the Hindi literary

world. For several months in 1887 and 1888 a series of articles attacking and defending Khari Boli as a medium of poetry appeared in *Hindustan*, the NWP&O's only Hindi daily.⁴⁷ Shridhar Pathak, the defender, had earned a reputation as a poet not only of Khari Boli but also of Braj Bhasha. Radha Charan Goswami, the attacker, edited the Hindi newspaper *Bharatendu* in Brindaban in western NWP&O.⁴⁸

Their debate centred around four primary issues: the proper relationship of the languages used for prose and poetry, the linguistic identities of Braj Bhasha and Khari Boli, their technical capabilities, and their poetical qualities. Goswami declared, not surprisingly, that the language of poetry and prose could never be the same. Just as Sanskrit playwrights had used Sanskrit for their poetic sections and the less polished Prakrit for their prose, so Hindi writers should use Braj Bhasha for poetry and Khari Boli for prose. Pathak, as had Khatri, maintained that the language of prose and poetry should be the same, namely, Khari Boli.

Goswami claimed that Khari Boli and Braj Bhasha could not be considered separate languages since in his opinion only minor grammatical differences divided the two. Furthermore, he feared that accepting Khari Boli as a medium of Hindi poetry would mean creating another vehicle for the spread of Urdu. Pathak, on the other hand, alleged that the two rivals must be regarded as separate languages, since major, not minor grammatical differences separated them. Unlike Khatri, he neither equated Hindi and Urdu nor excluded Braj Bhasha from the world of Hindi poetry.

Pathak took the offensive on the issue of technical capabilities pointing out that Khari Boli was used and understood over a far wider area than Braj Bhasha, and that the former had become the almost exclusive medium for prose. In addition, Braj displayed a regrettable lack of standardization; several different local forms often appeared for the same word. Goswami confined himself to the simple assertion that those who said Braj could be understood only in a limited area erred.

Goswami had the better of the argument on the issue of poetical qualities. He observed with pride that Braj boasted a roster of poets second to none, and had become a fit language for poetry through centuries of polishing and refinement. Conversely, no poetry worth the name had appeared in Khari Boli, nor did it allow the use of the best Hindi metrical forms. Only those poets who could not write good Braj Bhasha poetry, he added with a touch of malice, wanted to write in Khari Boli. Pathak conceded that Khari Boli had very few poets, but pleaded that the newer medium had just entered childhood and given

time could acquire the same qualities of sweetness and melodiousness which characterized Braj. In addition, Braj had reached its limits in several ways and should now make room for the newcomer. Even if one granted for the sake of argument that all Hindi poetry up till now had been in Braj, this did not mean that Braj must continue to be the only medium in the future. Pathak contended further that Khari Boli poets could draw on a wide variety of metrical forms and observed that the forms commonly used for Braj composed only part of the forms which could be used for Hindi.

In time, Pathak's case eventually proved to be the stronger, but the outcome remained in doubt for nearly three decades. By the turn of the century Khari Boli poetry had become more respectable. Hindi poets had begun to realize that Khari Boli presented them with a more flexible medium than Braj to express their feelings about the new political and social movements of their time. Braj literature had long centred around the life and loves of Krishna, the most important avatar of the great Hindu deity Vishnu. Khari Boli, lacking any tradition of religious themes, could better fit the multitude of new secular themes, especially nationalism, which demanded expression in the early twentieth century.⁴⁹ Moreover, Khari Boli had the immense advantage of widespread use in prose, whether Hindi or Urdu. In this regard, we must give considerable significance to the fact that no movement ever developed to make Braj Bhasha the language of prose.

Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1864–1938) played the most prominent role in the gradual acceptance and eventual supremacy of Khari Boli as a medium of poetry. A Brahman from western NWP&O, Dwivedi spent several years of his life in Bombay where he came under the influence of Marathi poetry, which made extensive use of Sanskrit metrical forms.⁵⁰ Dwivedi advocated a Sanskritized style of Hindi, strongly opposing Urdu and those who used Urdu words in Hindi, and recommending Sanskrit words to replace Urdu words. Equally important, he took to heart a dictum of Wordsworth's that the language of poetry and prose should be one and the same, and worked tirelessly to make Khari Boli Hindi that language. To Dwivedi it seemed that separate languages for poetry and prose would only handicap the spread of Hindi literature among the people.⁵¹ His position as editor of *Saraswatī*, the most influential literary magazine in Hindi during the first two decades of the twentieth century, gave Dwivedi's views considerable importance. During his tenure of more than twenty years, he influenced many younger poets and writers through his painstaking revision of the works

they submitted for publication. One of his proteges, Babu Maithili Sharan Gupta (1886–1965), became a major Hindi poet.⁵²

The unremitting efforts of Dwivedi and his associates gradually brought Khari Boli poetry from a defensive to an offensive position.⁵³ During the first meeting of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (Society for Hindi Literature) in Banaras in 1910, the new organization called on Shridhar Pathak and Radha Charan Goswami to renew their debate of more than twenty years earlier.⁵⁴ The disputation which followed made clear that the issue had become not whether Hindi poets should use Khari Boli, but rather how much they should continue to use Braj Bhasha.

During the second meeting of the Sammelan a year later in Allahabad, Pandit Badrinath Bhatta (later to become Professor of Hindi in Lucknow University) declared that the day of Khari Boli's rival had passed, though the Hindi language would not be the Hindi language without Braj poetry. He went on to poke fun at Braj supporters for not understanding the importance of a suitable national language.⁵⁵ Replying to those who extolled the superior poetic qualities of Braj, he remarked caustically that in an age when India needed men, the excessive sweetness and melodiousness of Braj had turned Indians into eunuchs.⁵⁶ During the fifth meeting of the Sammelan at Lucknow in 1914, Maithili Sharan Gupta spoke even harsher words: he called the advocates of Braj Bhasha enemies of India's national language, Khari Boli Hindi.⁵⁷

By 1914, then, the Hindi literary world had accepted Khari Boli as the most important, though not the only vehicle of Hindi poetry, and opposition to the new medium had become muted.⁵⁸ With the beginning of the Chayavād (romantic) movement in Hindi literature, a series of highly talented poets established Khari Boli as *the* medium for Hindi poetry once and for all.⁵⁹ Yet the Braj Bhasha tradition continued to find support. The September 1913 issue of *Saraswati*, for example, reported that the schools of the United Provinces⁶⁰ still taught Hindi poetry only in Braj Bhasha.⁶¹ Babu Jagannath Das 'Ratnakar', one of the last prominent poets of Braj, kept on writing until well after 1920, while other Braj poets persevered long after independence.⁶²

In sum we may ask what led to the eventual triumph of Khari Boli as the medium of Hindi poetry? First, the newcomer had the tremendous advantage of already being by far the most widespread prose medium (in both Hindi and Urdu) of any of the regional standards⁶³ of Hindi. As a result, many north Indian Hindu nationalists had already accepted Khari Boli Hindi as the most appropriate candidate for a national

language. Moreover, Khari Boli Hindi's lack of a poetic tradition of religious literature or of erotic literature of dubious moral value made it more capable of dealing with new secular themes. Finally, after Dwivedi's successful Sanskritization of Khari Boli poetry, no one could seriously oppose the new literary medium on the grounds that it threatened to become Urdu.⁶⁴ The linguistic symbol of Khari Boli Hindi had been further manipulated and refined.

Patterns of Publishing: Languages

While the arguments on the proper style for Hindi and the proper language for poetry ebbed and flowed, the river of Hindi publications turned into a torrent, threatening to overwhelm the more modest stream of Urdu. During the approximately sixty years from 1868 to 1925, publications in languages representing the Hindu heritage (chiefly Sanskrit, Hindi, Sanskrit-Hindi, and Hindi-Sanskrit) generally increased, sometimes dramatically. During the same period, publications in languages representing the Islamic heritage (mainly Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and their combinations in dual-language works) generally decreased, sometimes strikingly. (See Table 1.)

In theoretical terms, as social mobilization (see Chapter I) increased—mirrored by the total number of publications—Islamic heritage languages failed to assimilate Hindu heritage languages—reflected by the decline in the one, and the increase in the other. The rate of social mobilization outstripped that of assimilation, and Hindi became increasingly dominant. The most important period in this process came in the first ten or fifteen years of the twentieth century. Prior to this the Islamic-heritage languages had nearly equalled or even exceeded Hindu-heritage publications in numbers. After this they had lost their former position for good. (See Table 1.)

The career of Prem Chand (1880–1936), one of the greatest novelists and short-story writers in both Hindi and Urdu, illustrates this process. A Kayasth educated in the Persian and Urdu literary tradition, Prem Chand usually wrote his works in Urdu before rewriting them in Hindi. While he continued this practice well into the 1920s, he gradually turned more and more to Hindi for his livelihood, since this medium assured him a wider and more appreciative audience and greater remuneration.⁶⁵

The best documentation for this massive change comes from a series of quarterly reports of the books and periodicals published or printed in the territories under their jurisdictions issued by various provincial

TABLE 1

Trends in the Growth Rates of the Production of Books and Periodicals in the United Provinces, 1868-1925

A. Islamic-Heritage^a

Year	Total	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Urdu-Arabic	Other
1868	332,586	217,153	82,913	27,320	—	5,200
% Grand Total	39.1	25.5	9.7	3.2	—	0.6
Base	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	—	1.00
1884	488,062	284,511	109,801	30,200	31,300	32,250
% Grand Total	47.3	27.5	10.6	2.9	3.0	3.1
Base	1.47	1.31	1.32	1.11	1.00	6.20
1900	777,745	548,030	74,255	35,550	69,945	49,965
% Grand Total	41.2	29.0	3.9	1.9	3.7	2.7
Base	2.34	2.52	0.90	1.30	2.24	9.61
1914	813,655	688,505	24,975	3,000	59,250	37,925
% Grand Total	23.9	20.3	0.7	0.1	1.7	1.1
Base	2.45	3.17	0.30	0.11	1.89	7.29
1925	591,640	513,085	10,800	4,250	45,475	17,850
% Grand Total	12.6	11.0	0.2	0.1	1.0	0.4
Base	1.78	2.36	0.13	0.16	1.45	3.43

Note ^a All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Quarterly Pubs Rpt* and the *UP Quarterly Pubs Rpt* for the years indicated. All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%; rounding off means that the total percentages for separate Islamic-heritage languages will not always exactly equal that for Islamic-heritage languages as a whole. The category 'Other' includes various two- or three-language combinations of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu.

governments. This series, which began in 1868 in most provinces and continued throughout the period of British rule in India, displayed several imperfections, particularly during its earlier years. Carelessly framed definitions brought about the inclusion of illegitimate materials such as time-tables, class lists, and catalogues. On the other hand, the

Table 1 (Continued)

B. Hindu-Heritage^b

Year	Total	Hindi	Sanskrit	Hindi-Sanskrit	Other	GRAND TOTAL (A+B)
1868	412,882	392,316	10,866	9,700	105,836	851,304
% Grand Total	48.5	46.1	1.3	1.1	12.4	
Base	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1884	432,282	392,882	20,000	19,400	112,580	1,032,924
% Grand Total	41.9	38.0	1.9	1.9	10.9	
Base	1.05	1.00	1.84	2.00	1.06	1.21
1900	890,992	758,992	68,750	63,250	218,168	1,886,905
% Grand Total	47.2	40.2	3.6	3.4	11.6	
Base	2.16	1.93	6.33	6.52	2.06	2.22
1914	2,131,086	1,868,926	71,350	190,810	454,147	3,398,888
% Grand Total	62.7	55.0	2.1	5.6	13.4	
Base	5.16	4.76	6.57	19.67	4.29	3.99
1925	3,585,507	3,078,241	148,900	358,366	501,891	4,678,858
% Grand Total	76.6	65.8	3.2	7.7	10.7	
Base	8.68	7.85	13.7	37.0	4.74	5.50

Note ^b All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Quarterly Pubs Rpt* and the *UP Quarterly Pubs Rpt* for the years indicated. All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%; rounding off means that the total percentages for separate Hindu-heritage languages will not always exactly equal that for Hindu-heritage languages as a whole. The column labelled 'Hindi-Sanskrit' includes both Hindi-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Hindi works. The category 'Other' includes English as well as several languages such as Nepali, Marathi, and Bengali, and several dual-language combinations such as Sanskrit-Nepali and Sanskrit-Prakrit. The combination of English and other languages in 'Other' due to limitations of space obscures two rather different patterns. The numbers and percentages of English fluctuated unevenly, while those of the other languages grew steadily and at a rate roughly twice that of the grand total of all languages.

difficulties of procuring copies of each work for the compiling officials resulted in the exclusion of legitimate titles. Hence one must use these reports with some caution, often resting content with what they reveal of general trends. Nevertheless, they constitute by far the most complete and detailed source for the publishing history of British India.

We will focus on what this source reveals about publishing in the NWP&O, since this province was the heart of the Hindi movement, the centre of the Hindi-Urdu controversy, and the chief producer of Hindi works. During the period 1868–1925, the production of books and periodicals in the various languages of the province showed differing patterns of growth or decline. As Table 1 shows, the total production increased about 5.5 times (the most rapid increases occurring after 1900) which provides a rough measure of the performance of individual languages or groups of languages.

The two major groups of languages, Hindu-heritage and Islamic-heritage, fared rather differently. The former grew a little more slowly than average until about 1900, and then expanded much more rapidly, while the latter grew a little faster than average in the earlier period, and then declined precipitously. By 1925, Hindu-heritage languages had increased their share from one-half or less to slightly more than three-quarters of the total. In the meantime Islamic-heritage languages had decreased from nearly one-half at one point to about one-eighth. The total of other languages, including English, maintained a roughly constant proportion of production.

Throughout our period the two chief languages of publication, Hindi and Urdu, together accounted for somewhere between 65 and 75 per cent of the total, but their relationship changed dramatically. In 1900, as in 1884, the number of Urdu works published equalled nearly three-quarters of the number of Hindi works, and accounted for close to 30 per cent of the grand total. By 1925, however, the number of Urdu publications had shrunk to one-sixth the number of Hindi, and made up only 11 per cent of the grand total. Moreover, Urdu works had actually declined in absolute numbers to a level below that of 1900. In striking contrast, Hindi works quadrupled in number between 1900 and 1925, and grew from 40 and 66 per cent of the grand total.

Relationships among Hindu-heritage languages themselves underwent less striking changes. While Hindi works accounted for the great majority throughout our period, their proportion declined somewhat, mainly due to the rapidly increasing number of dual language works in Sanskrit-Hindi or Hindi-Sanskrit. Since many of both combinations

dealt with religion, the evidence suggests numbers of writers increasingly used the vernacular, Hindi, to popularize the Hindu religious tradition in the classical language, Sanskrit. These dual-language texts multiplied at a greater rate than any other language or language combination. By 1925 they ranked third after Hindi and Urdu in absolute numbers.

Relationships among Islamic-heritage languages showed more remarkable changes. Until approximately the turn of the century, Persian and Urdu between them accounted for the great majority of works in this category. Thereafter the number of publications in Persian fell precipitously until composing only a tiny fraction of Islamic languages works in 1925. The number of Arabic publications shrank almost as drastically. By 1925 the two classical languages combined accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of total publications as opposed to over 13 per cent in 1884. Dual language Arabic and Urdu works showed more stability, maintaining a slightly varying proportion of Islamic works for most of our period. Many of these, like their dual language Sanskrit and Hindi counterparts, dealt with religious themes, suggesting a similar though less marked increase in the use of the vernacular to popularize works in the classical language.

Another trend of considerable importance deserves mention: throughout our period educational works—grammars, language primers, etc.—made up a significant proportion of publishing totals, especially of those works published in large numbers. Thus in 1868, nine works appeared in 10,000 or more copies (for a total of 221,000) in Oudh and the NWP; all but 30,000 of these appeared in Hindi or Nagari, and the majority of them fell into the category of educational works printed by the government. The greatest number printed for any single work, 100,000, was for a Hindi primer teaching the Nagari alphabet. In 1914, thirty-four works appeared in 10,000 or more copies (for a total of 465,000) in the UP; all but 40,000 of these appeared in Hindi (295,000) or Urdu (130,000), and the majority of them (385,000) came under the category of educational works. The production of school texts became a lucrative business: a significant proportion of the income of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in its earlier years, for example, was earned through the creation of such texts. These facts show the importance of publishing, especially school texts, in the social mobilization of potential supporters' of Hindi.⁶⁶

Patterns of Publishing: Geographical

Publishing in the United Provinces (NWP&O) displayed a high degree of concentration. (See Table 2.) Throughout our period, six cities—

Banaras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh, Agra and Kanpur—accounted for about 80 per cent of the total production. Three of these cities in the eastern portion of the province—Banaras, Allahabad, and Lucknow—usually accounted for over 60 per cent of all publications. One of these—Banaras—showed much higher growth than any of the others, accounting for a third of all works published in the province in 1925.

Statistics for the chief languages of publication in these cities show some significant trends. (See Table 2.) Certain cities dominated the production of works in various languages much of the time. Lucknow usually outranked any other city in the publication of Islamic-heritage language works, whether Arabic, Persian or Urdu. Banaras soon became the leader in Sanskrit, and eventually surpassed Allahabad in Hindi and in dual-language Hindi-Sanskrit or Sanskrit-Hindi works. In all six cities, the proportion of Urdu works declined very substantially between 1868 and 1925, though at different rates, and in four of them the absolute numbers declined as well. Only in Lucknow did Urdu hold its own, and even there Hindi had taken a slight edge by 1925. In contrast, the proportion of Hindi works increased in five of the six cities, and in all of them the absolute numbers increased also, sometimes by enormous amounts.

During the same period significant changes also occurred in the regional distribution of Hindi and Urdu works. (See Table 3.) In the eastern NWP⁶⁷ Hindi works held a commanding lead from the beginning, while the proportion of Urdu works gradually declined. In Oudh Urdu maintained a marked advantage, and even by 1925 lagged only slightly behind Hindi. The greatest change took place in the western NWP⁶⁸ where up to 1900, as in Oudh, Urdu usually held the lead over Hindi. Between 1900 and 1914 the balance shifted decisively in favour of Hindi, and by 1925 Hindi works outnumbered Urdu by more than six to one. In terms of absolute numbers, only Oudh showed a continuing increase in Urdu publications between 1868 and 1925; in both the eastern and western portions of the NWP the numbers shrank to less than half their 1900 levels. In short, these statistics suggest a picture of an increasing tide of Hindi works from the east pushing a diminishing flow of Urdu works back into the west with Oudh slowly but inexorably being submerged.

Some incomplete statistics for journalism (see Table 4) give us a similar picture, but with a few important differences. During the period 1869 to 1900 (no figures were available for 1914 and 1925) the numbers for newspaper circulation in the province showed the dominance of

TABLE 2
Trends in the Growth Rate of Publications in Various Languages in Selected Cities of the United Provinces between 1868 and 1925

Year	Hindi	Sanskrit	H-S/S-H	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Total
Banaras							
1868	9,400 (22.0)	1,000 (2.3)	1,000 (2.3)	20,800 (48.7)	—	—	42,275 [5.0]
1884	121,053 (69.3)	15,350 (8.8)	1,500 (0.9)	15,250 (8.7)	—	—	174,778 [16.9]
1900	67,300 (42.3)	28,200 (17.7)	2,750 (1.7)	4,000 (2.5)	—	—	159,050 [8.4]
1914	474,240 (72.5)	30,550 (4.7)	56,010 (8.6)	47,550 (7.3)	—	—	654,402 [19.3]
1925	1,154,500 (73.6)	102,900 (6.6)	104,116 (6.6)	6,000 (0.4)	—	—	1,569,026 [33.5]
Allahabad							
1868	233,085 (69.7)	100 (0.0)	—	55,613 (16.6)	—	—	334,458 [39.3]
1884	58,490 (60.7)	4,000 (4.2)	2,000 (2.1)	20,100 (20.8)	—	—	96,440 [9.3]
1900	386,350 (63.4)	3,500 (0.6)	6,000 (1.0)	95,950 (15.7)	2,300 (0.4)	1,800 (0.3)	609,548 [32.3]
1914	306,050 (50.9)	7,000 (1.2)	26,500 (4.4)	60,500 (10.1)	500 (0.1)	500 (0.1)	601,460 [17.7]
1925	484,910 (63.5)	—	69,600 (9.1)	37,400 (4.9)	2,200 (0.3)	1,000 (0.1)	763,630 [16.3]
Lucknow							
1868	54,650 (27.4)	—	—	69,200 (34.7)	50,124 (25.2)	15,450 (7.8)	199,224 [23.4]
1884	120,000 (34.2)	—	7,200 (2.0)	122,515 (34.9)	24,301 (6.9)	17,100 (4.9)	351,266 [34.0]
1900	111,125 (23.8)	17,050 (3.7)	14,450 (3.1)	176,150 (37.7)	41,000 (8.8)	22,850 (4.9)	467,300 [24.8]
1914	171,025 (27.5)	4,000 (0.6)	22,700 (3.6)	232,125 (37.3)	10,875 (1.8)	1,500 (0.2)	622,825 [18.3]
1925	273,240 (44.2)	2,000 (0.3)	23,500 (3.8)	267,965 (43.4)	4,600 (0.7)	1,500 (0.2)	617,730 [13.2]

(contd.)

Table 2 (Continued)

Year	Hindi	Sanskrit	H-S/S-H	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Total
Aligarh							
1868	—	—	—	1,000 (100.0)	—	—	1,000 [0.1]
1884	500 (33.5)	—	—	991 (66.5)	—	—	1,491 [0.1]
1900	8,500 (30.6)	—	—	18,750 (67.6)	—	—	27,750 [1.5]
1914	292,266 (58.4)	2,000 (0.4)	5,100 (1.0)	168,560 (33.7)	—	—	500,826 [14.2]
1925	272,450 (78.4)	—	21,050 (6.1)	31,475 (9.1)	2,000 (0.6)	500 (0.1)	347,575 [7.4]
Agra							
1868	74,350 (55.5)	5,500 (4.1)	8,700 (6.5)	18,975 (14.2)	3,400 (2.5)	—	133,934 [15.7]
1884	12,350 (25.2)	—	4,300 (8.8)	11,720 (24.0)	5,200 (10.6)	—	48,915 [4.7]
1900	33,850 (33.1)	—	1,000 (1.0)	44,310 (43.4)	4,300 (4.2)	250 (0.2)	102,210 [5.4]
1914	43,500 (52.4)	—	4,500 (5.4)	22,000 (26.5)	—	—	83,000 [2.4]
1925	219,140 (66.7)	200 (0.1)	23,500 (7.2)	15,600 (4.8)	—	—	328,401 [7.0]
Kanpur							
1868	5,000 (8.9)	—	—	24,950 (44.5)	16,750 (29.9)	6,100 (10.9)	56,050 [6.6]
1884	—	—	—	47,450 (29.0)	68,900 (42.0)	9,700 (5.9)	163,900 [15.9]
1900	54,025 (23.0)	2,000 (0.8)	9,200 (3.9)	99,885 (42.5)	24,305 (10.3)	10,450 (4.4)	235,300 [12.5]
1914	226,085 (71.9)	2,000 (0.6)	17,500 (5.6)	44,965 (14.3)	7,100 (2.3)	—	314,300 [9.2]
1925	227,950 (94.6)	1,000 (0.4)	5,500 (2.3)	5,000 (2.1)	—	—	240,950 [5.2]

Note: All figures have been compiled from the *Quarterly Publications Reports*. Numbers in parentheses = percentages of total publications of the city; numbers in brackets = percentages of total publications in the province for the year. The totals of the separate languages do not equal 'Total' since several languages or language combinations—e.g., English, Urdu-Persian, etc.—have been omitted. H-S = Hindi-Sanskrit and S-H = Sanskrit-Hindi.

TABLE 3
Proportions of Hindi and Urdu Publications
in Three Regions of the United Provinces
between 1868 and 1925

Year	Eastern NWP		Western NWP		Oudh	
	Urdu	Hindi	Urdu	Hindi	Urdu	Hindi
1868	76,413 (20.2)	242,485 (64.2)	71,535 (26.1)	94,875 (34.6)	69,205 (34.7)	54,956 (27.5)
	377,433		274,334		199,537	
1884	36,775 (13.4)	179,543 (65.6)	122,321 (30.3)	92,439 (22.9)	125,415 (35.3)	120,900 (34.1)
	273,643		404,215		355,066	
1900	102,650 (13.1)	459,752 (58.8)	262,405 (41.9)	186,615 (29.8)	182,975 (38.2)	112,625 (23.5)
	782,170		626,110		478,625	
1914	113,550 (7.3)	813,790 (62.5)	331,905 (22.7)	883,611 (60.5)	243,050 (38.2)	171,525 (26.9)
	1,301,162		1,460,976		636,750	
1925	75,400 (3.0)	1,727,910 (69.0)	168,370 (11.0)	1,058,991 (69.1)	269,315 (42.0)	291,340 (45.4)
	2,504,156		1,533,422		641,280	

Note: All figures have been compiled from the *Quarterly Publications Reports*. The figures in parentheses represent the percentages of the total publications in all languages for the region concerned. All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1 per cent. Thus in 1900, for example, 13.1 per cent or 102,650 of the publications in all languages in the eastern NWP were in Urdu. The single figure immediately below the two percentages for each region represents the total publications for that region. The sum of the three regional totals will be found to tally exactly with the corresponding Grand Total for the entire province in Table 1.

Hindi in the eastern NWP, the equal ascendancy of Urdu in the western NWP, and the complete hegemony of Urdu in Oudh. Overall Urdu maintained a commanding lead throughout this period, but Hindi had begun to gain ground rapidly by the turn of the century. Imperfect and

TABLE 4
Newspaper Circulation in Various Vernaculars
in the United Provinces
from 1869 to 1900

Region and Language	1869	1884	1900
EASTERN NWP			
Hindi	229(10.7)	4,420(45.3)	16,250(72.5)
Urdu	356(16.6)	2,688(27.6)	5,680(24.9)
Hindi-Urdu	1,250(58.2)	2,640(27.1)	—
Other	314(14.6)	—	600 (2.6)
Total	2,149	9,748	22,800
WESTERN NWP			
Hindi	1,164(10.8)	1,092 (4.7)	9,164(21.1)
Urdu	8,958(83.4)	21,781(93.0)	33,651(77.4)
Hindi-Urdu	615 (5.7)	—	450 (1.0)
Other	—	540 (2.3)	200 (0.5)
Total	10,737	23,413	43,465
OUDH			
Urdu	—	26,765	27,780
TOTAL			
	12,886	59,926	94,045
Hindi	1,393(10.8)	5,512 (9.2)	25,684(27.3)
Urdu	9,314(72.3)	51,234(85.5)	67,111(71.4)

Note: All figures were compiled from the monthly or quarterly reports of circulation in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers* for March 1869, April 1884, and January 1900 respectively. Figures in parentheses represent percentages of regional or overall totals.

partial as the data are, they still clearly display the gradual rise of a subordinate Hindi vis-a-vis Urdu, a rise which paralleled that in publishing, though lagging several decades behind.

One other interesting piece of evidence, though not directly related to publishing, gives us an idea of the relative strength of Hindi and Urdu among literate citizens of the NWP&O in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. (See Table 5.) For a few years in the mid-1870s, the annual provincial post office reports included statistics on the number of Hindi, Urdu, and English letters sent through imperial and district post offices for selected periods. The proportions of letters in the three

TABLE 5
Numbers of Non-official Letters in Hindi, Urdu, and English Received in District and Imperial Post Offices in the NWP&O in the Second Week of December 1875

	Number	Percentage
Hindi	82,206	(33.2%)
Urdu	99,905	(40.3%)
English	65,719	(26.5%)
Total	247,830	(100.0%)

Source: *NWP Gen Dept Progs*, August 1876, pp. 27-35.

languages show little variation from one report to the next, so one period will do as well as another. The picture that emerges shows a slightly dominant Urdu, Hindi a close second, and English a more distant third. To look at the matter another way, the number of Hindi letters sent equalled more than 80 per cent of the number of Urdu letters sent. Given the roughly equal number of literate Hindus and Muslims in the population and assuming an equal propensity to communicate through letters, we can surmise that while a significant fraction of educated Hindus used Urdu to correspond, a much larger proportion of them used Hindi.

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth century the twin processes of assimilation and differentiation manifested through the development of various media in Hindi and Urdu. Assimilation outstripped differentiation *within* the Hindi tradition. Nagari became the dominant script (see Chapter III) and Khari Boli the dominant regional standard in prose and poetry. Differentiation outpaced assimilation, however, *between* Hindi and Urdu. Neither side accepted the script of the other, nor was any assimilation possible here. And neither side accepted the classical language sources for vocabulary of the other though here assimilation was possible.

Since the underlying population of Hindus far exceeded that of Muslims, as mobilization proceeded apace during the course of the century, increasing numbers of Hindus turned toward Hindi for cultural, political, and economic reasons. In Brass's terms, an increasingly self-conscious community, the second level in the transition between an

ethnic group and a nationality, began to emerge. The reflection of this process in the various media meant that Hindi publications and newspaper circulation steadily increased and eventually ousted Urdu from its former influential if not dominant position. To put the matter another way, the number of Hindus in the equation Urdu = Muslim + Hindu began to shrink while the number of Hindus in the equation Hindi = Hindu began to expand. In different media this process proceeded at different paces: the publishing industry showed the most rapid advance of Hindi; the postal services, the very incomplete evidence suggests, witnessed slower progress; the world of journalism exhibited the slowest change of all.

The process of multi-symbol congruence by which Hindi and Hindu became more closely identified took place at different speeds not only in different media, but also in different geographical areas. In the publishing industry, for example, Hindi enjoyed an early superiority in the eastern NWP, but did not reach the same position in the western NWP until the 1910s, and barely pulled abreast of Urdu in Oudh by the mid-1920s. A similar, though more slowly developing pattern, characterized the growth of newspaper circulation. As we shall see in the next chapter, the same picture of a more Hindi east, a more Urdu west, and a chiefly Urdu Oudh typified the development of education.

Finally, another aspect of the process of multi-symbol congruence deserves attention, namely, the existence of a number of potential symbols within the Hindi tradition. At least three contentious issues showed that unanimity did not prevail among Hindi supporters: the Kaithi script, better established than the Nagari in much of the NWP&O and in Bihar, posed a major challenge (see Chapter III); the Braj Bhasha poetic tradition presented an even greater challenge as we have seen; and the matter of the proper language style for Khari Boli Hindi stimulated a great deal of controversy. In short, part of the process of multi-symbol congruence involves the selection of sub-symbols for the master symbols. Which Hindi? Khari Boli for the present and future, but also Braj Bhasha and Avadhi for the past. Which script? The Nagari, though less well-established, and not the Kaithi. Which style? A more Sanskritized style for some, a less Sanskritized style for others. The master symbol 'Hindi' evolved from a complex and often opposing set of sub-symbols.

NOTES

1. Ramchandra Shukla, *Hindī Sābitya kā Itihās* [*The History of Hindi Literature*] (Kāśī, 1968), p. 419, quoting Raja Lakshman Singh from the introduction to his prose translation of a Sanskrit work, *Raghuwāṣa*. Translation mine.
2. Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/Hindavi* (Delhi, 1984).
3. Some students of Hindi literature claim Dakani as part of the Hindi literary heritage. See Chapter 4, 'The Language called Dakani', in Rai, *A House Divided*, for a thorough discussion of scholarly opinions on this language.
4. Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 45–51; S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 2nd edition (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 205–7. See also Rai, *A House Divided*, Chapter 4.
5. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan*, pp. 205–7; Rai, *A House Divided*, Chapter 4, *passim*; Sadiq, *A History*, pp. 45–51.
6. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan*, pp. 207–8, 210–11; S. N. Faridi, *S. N. Faridi Presents Hindu History of Urdu Literature* (Agra, 1966), *passim*; S. S. Narula, *Scientific History of the Hindi Language* (Delhi, 1955), p. 81; Rai, *A House Divided*, Chapters 5 and 6; Sadiq, *A History*, pp. 53–65, 64–144 *passim*.
7. Rai, *A House Divided*, Chapters 5 and 6; Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Allahabad, 1940), pp. 5–6, 240–1.
8. R. A. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey of Hindi Literature* (Delhi, 1966), p. 136; Shukla, *Hindī Sābitya*, pp. 387–98.
9. Shukla, *Hindī Sābitya*, pp. 390, 393. Translation mine.
10. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773–1835* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 47–8.
11. T. W. Clark, 'The Languages of Calcutta, 1760–1840', London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, *Bulletin*, XVIII (1956), pp. 459–60; Atique M. Siddiqi, *Origins of Modern Hindustani Literature: Source Material. Gilchrist Letters* (Aligarh, 1963), pp. 34–5.
12. Sayyid 'Abdul' I-Latif, *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature* (London, 1924), p. 27; Krishna Kripalanai, *Modern Indian Literature: A Panoramic Glimpse* (Bombay, 1968), p. 36.
13. Siddiqi, *Origins*, pp. 19–31, 34–42, 155; Priyaranjan Sen, 'Hindi in the College of Fort William', *Calcutta Review*, LIX (April–June 1936) 142–3; Gilchrist, *The Hindee Roman Orthographic Ultimatum* (London, 1820), p. 52.
14. Siddiqi, *Origins*, pp. 63–4, quoting Gilchrist, *Appendix* (Calcutta, 1798), n.p.
15. Shardadevi Vedalkar, *The Development of Hindi Prose Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century (1800–1856 A.D.)* (Allahabad, 1969), p. 51, quoting a letter of Price from *Bengal Public Consultations*, Fort William, 11 October 1824.
16. Sisir Kumar Das, *Sabibs and Munshis: An Account of the College of Fort William* (Calcutta, 1978), pp. 46–56; Kopf, *British Orientalism*, pp. 165–6, 217–19; Siddiqi, *Origins*, pp. 103, 105, 159–60; Vedalkar, *The Development of Hindi*, pp. 36–7, 41–2, 52 n. 61.
17. Sir George Abraham Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India* (Calcutta, 1903–28),

- IX, Part 1, pp. 35–6; Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi*, 64–8; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, 398–400.
18. In the case of these two works I have kept the contemporary spelling.
19. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, Part 1, pp. 30–1, 35–6.
20. Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi*, p. 59. The term 'Bihari' includes three different regional standards of Hindi spoken in Bihar, namely, Bhojpuri (also spoken in Uttar Pradesh), Magahi or Magadhi, and Maithili. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, V, Part 2, p. 4.
21. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, p. 316; Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, Part 1, p. 39; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 397; Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi*, pp. 72–4.
22. Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 394–5.
23. Murshidabad was the capital of the Muslim governors of Bengal until the advent of British rule.
24. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, Part 1, p. 39; Sadiq, *A History*, pp. 125–30; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 397.
25. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, Part 1, p. 46.
26. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, 136–7; Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi*, pp. 84–121, 127–39, 149–62. While a few newspapers in the Nagari script began to appear by the 1820s, their language was Urdu as often as not. (Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi*, pp. 166–87). In general, Urdu journalism developed sooner and maintained a substantial lead over Hindi journalism well into the twentieth century.
27. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, p. 48.
28. Ibid.
29. Shitikanth Mishra, *Kharībolī kā Āndolan [The Khari Boli Movement]* (Kāśī, 1956), pp. 159–74.
30. R. S. McGregor, *Hindi Literature of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 71, 73.
31. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, pp. 175–7.
32. Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 419, quoting Singh. My translation.
33. Narula, *Scientific History*, p. 82, n. 3; *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 21 May 1870, p. 4; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 409.
34. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1867–68, p. 32.
35. Shiva Prasad, *Memorandum: Court Characters, in the Upper Provinces of India* (Banaras, 1868), pp. 5–6.
36. Shyam Sundar Das, *Merī Ātmakahānī [The Story of My Life]* (Prayāg, 1957) p. 22; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 416–18.
37. So popular were Khatri's works that versions of his novels appeared in Urdu also. See *NWP&O Quarterly Pubs Rpt* for the period 1900–1920 *passim*.
38. See the Glossary for the meaning of this term.
39. Shri Durga Prasad Khatri (son of Devki Nandan Khatri), Interview, Banaras, 29 October 1971; *UP Admin Rpt*, 1914–15, p. 72. See also T. W. Clark, editor, *The Novel in India: Its Birth and Development* (Berkeley, 1970), especially the chapters on the Hindi novel by R. S. McGregor and on the Urdu novel by R. Russell.
40. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, IX, pp. 48, 138; Sadiq, *A History*, pp. 316–44.

41. Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 441–3.
42. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, pp. 162–3; Jurgen Lütt, *Hindu-Nationalismus in Uttar Pradesh 1867–1900* (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 65–98; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 438–43.
43. The few exceptions, written in Khari Boli, included works celebrating a visit of the Prince of Wales to India, the victory of British Indian troops in Egypt, and the lyrics of some popular songs. Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 564–6.
44. Ibid, pp. 564–6; *Up Educ Progs*, May 1903, p. 33.
45. Mishra, *Kharībolī kā Āndolan*, pp. 158, 179.
46. Ibid, pp. 158, 166, 174–5, 179.
47. The description of the controversy which follows has been drawn mainly from Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, pp. 175–83.
48. Ibid; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, pp. 436, 559.
49. For numerous examples of nationalistic themes expressed in Khari Boli Hindi poetry, see Dharam Paul Sarin, *Influence of Political Movements on Hindi Literature (1906–1947)* (Chandigarh, 1967).
50. Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, p. 211; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 583.
51. Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, p. 211; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 384.
52. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, pp. 150, 166, 179–80, 185; Shukla, *Hindī Sāhitya*, p. 585.
53. An important part of their efforts consisted in the moral condemnation of a large body of highly erotic poetry written chiefly in Braj, and focusing on the voluptuous charms of the female sex. For example, in 1901 Dwivedi authored an article in *Saraswatī* in which he pleaded for an immediate stop to the composition of such works and the proscription of those already existing. See Rakesh Gupta, 'The Nayaka-Nayika-Bheda Sahitya of Hindi', *Hindī Review* (Varanasi), II, 3 (April 1957), pp. 102–9.
54. *Pratham Hindī-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Kāśī, Kāryavivaraṅ—Dūsarā Bhāg [The First Hindi-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Kāśī, Report—Second Part]* (Prayāg, 1910), pp. 27–33, 57–9; Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, pp. 224–5.
55. *Dvītiya Hindī-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāg, Kāryavivaraṅ—Dūsarā Bhāg [The Second Hindi-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāg, Report—Second Part]*, 2nd edition (Allahabad, [1925]), pp. 228, 233.
56. Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, p. 225.
57. Ibid, pp. 228–9.
58. Ibid, pp. 233–6.
59. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, pp. 181–204.
60. The North-western Provinces and Oudh became the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902.
61. *UP SVN 1913*, p. 1254.
62. Dwivedi, *A Critical Survey*, p. 185; Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, p. 235; Narula, *Scientific History*, pp. 97–8.
63. See the section of Chapter I entitled 'Linguistic and Social Background' for descriptions of the regional standards.
64. Mishra, *Kharī Bolī kā Āndolan*, p. 323. See also Christopher R. King 'Forging a New Linguistic Identity: The Hindi Movement in Banaras, 1868–1914', in

Sandria B. Freitag, editor, *Culture and Power in Banaras: Community Performance, and Environment, 1800–1980* (Berkeley, 1989), especially pp. 190–2.

65. Govind Narain, *Munshi Prem Chand* (Boston, 1978), chapters 2 and 3, *passim*. See also Amrit Rai, *Premchand: Kalam kā Sipāhī [Soldier of the Pen]*, (Allahabad, 1962), and Madan Gopal, 'What Price Premchand?' *The Statesman Weekly*, (7 July 1984), p. 12.
66. See King, *The Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, pp. 207, 210, 273–82, 452–4.
67. Eastern NWP here means all those districts east of a north–south line drawn through the eastern boundary of Kanpur district.
68. Western NWP here means all those districts west of a north–south line drawn through the eastern boundary of Kanpur district.

CHAPTER III

Government Language Policy

It is highly important that justice should be administered in a language familiar to the judge, but it is of no less importance that it should be administered in a language familiar . . . to the people at large; and it is easier for the judge to acquire the language of the people than for the people to acquire the language of the judge.'

Introduction

The linguistic history of North India showed a remarkable continuity in the area of administration for several centuries before British rule. Muslim rule brought Persian as the official language and the chief vehicle of culture in Muslim courts. During the eighteenth century the prestige of Persian continued unabated despite the rapid decline of the Mughal Empire. As the British East India Company rose to power, Persian remained the official language of administration well into the nineteenth century.

British dominion, however, eventually brought about significant linguistic changes. In the 1830s English took the place of Persian on the higher levels of administration, and Indian vernaculars on the lower. In much of north India, Hindustani (i.e., Urdu) in the Persian script² became the official vernacular, while Hindi and the Nagari script failed to reach a similar status, except for a few isolated instances, until late in the century. In the 1870s and 1880s Hindi, in turn, began to replace Urdu in the Central Provinces and Bihar, and by 1900 in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. In the Punjab, however, which came under British control in the late 1840s, Urdu dominated the vernacular level of administration throughout the century and well into the next.

In the gradual process of linguistic change, a complex set of relationships developed among the language attitudes of the British and the Indians, British language policy, Indian reactions to that policy, Indian initiatives towards that policy, and British reactions to Indian reactions and initiatives. This chapter emphasizes the British contribution, while Chapter V emphasizes the Indian role. Although both were parts of a single process, convenience dictates their partial separation for analytical purposes.