

Research article

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An Overview of Early Modern Missionary Dictionaries of Konkani and Marathi

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Abstract: This article provides an overview of missionary dictionaries of Konkani and Marathi compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To give an idea of the linguistic landscape in which the dictionaries were compiled, the article begins by sketching the language situation in early modern western India, mainly from the viewpoint of early modern European lexicographers and grammarians in India. The second part of the article provides an overview of extant and nonextant dictionary manuscripts and their editions.

Keywords: lexicography, missionary linguistics, Konkani, Marathi

1 Introduction

It is well known that religiously motivated linguistic endeavours have often had a considerable influence on the development of a language. Historical examples of this include the nine-century effort of translating more than 5,000 Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan from the seventh century onwards. In the process, a vast number of neologisms were created, which enabled the Tibetan language to express a whole range of new philosophical and religious concepts (Braarvig, 2018). Early modern Christian missionary linguistics has also influenced languages throughout the world to various degrees. An example of this is Konkani, where missionary linguistics and the literary production of catechisms and postils contributed to the development of distinct Christian dialects (Katre, 1966, p. 181).¹ Otto Zwartjes (2011) has provided a good overview of early modern Portuguese missionary grammars, which has greatly facilitated the ongoing in-depth study of various grammatical traditions. Gonçalo Fernandes (2020) has continued this work by attempting to trace European models for three early modern grammars of Konkani and Marathi. However, there is no equivalent overview of the lexicographical side of missionary linguistics. This article aims to fill a part of this gap by providing an overview of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century missionary dictionaries of the closely related Indo-Aryan languages Konkani and Marathi. Marathi is today the mother tongue of 83 million people in India and the official language of Maharashtra, while Konkani is the official language of the neighbouring state of Goa and is spoken as a mother tongue by 2.26 million people in the country (Census of India, 2011).

2 Study

The study begins by sketching the language situation in early modern western India, focusing on the coastal regions, to give an idea of the linguistic landscape in which the missionary dictionaries of Konkani and Marathi were compiled. The linguistic landscape will be described mainly from the perspective of European lexicographers and grammarians in India. Since the missionary linguists com-

¹ For an overview and discussion of early modern Konkani catechisms, see Eliasson (2022, pp. 190–225).

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piled their dictionaries in the coastal areas, particularly Goa and the area around Bombay, the overview will focus on the coast and not go into detail about the relationships between the different languages used in the interior of Maharashtra and South India, a region known as the Deccan.

The second part of the study provides an overview of missionary dictionaries of Konkani and Marathi compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2.1 The early modern language situation in western India

In the preface to his Hindustani grammar from the first years of the 18th century, the French Capuchin friar François Marie de Tours (†1709)² analyses Indian languages into three categories (de Tours, 1704, Folios 308r–309v). The first of these is the “scientific language” (*Lingua Scientifica*) or Sanskrit (*Sanskrita*), which, like Latin in Europe, is used for books of law, science, stories, history, prayers, etc. The second is the “common or universal language” (*Lingua Vulgaris seu Universalis*), spoken throughout the great Mughal Empire and along the coasts. This language, “which is also called Moghul and Indian” (*quam etiam Mogolanam et Indianam vocant*), is Hindustani, the language described in François Marie de Tours’ Latin-Hindustani-French dictionary *Thesaurus Linguae Indiae* (de Tours, 1703; de Tours & Anquetil-Duperron, 1784).³ François Marie travelled widely in India, and his claim that Hindustani was used throughout the Mughal Empire and along the coast is probably based on first-hand experience. The third category comprises regional vernacular languages (*Lingua Gentilitia*) such as Marathi and Konkani, spoken in Maharashtra, Goa, and other areas along the Indian west coast.⁴

Eighty years after François Marie de Tours, the French Indologist Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) made a similar assessment of Hindustani as an Indian *lingua franca*. In 1784, he wrote in a letter that in Surat he communicated with Parsi teachers in Persian, but for his daily needs, both in Surat and during his travels along the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, in Bengal, and in the interior of the Indian peninsula, he had to speak “Maure” or “Indoustan” (Anquetil-Duperron, 1784). These seem to be different names for Hindustani, possibly in Persian and Devanagari script respectively, or with larger or smaller proportions of Perso-Arabic vocabulary. Anquetil-Duperron sketches a linguistic landscape in which the divisions between languages are not always sharp. He writes that five principal languages are spoken along the Indian west coast, which he calls the “Malabar coast”. Listed from south to north, and cited from Kieffer (1983, p. 181), they are as follows:

1. “pure Malabar or Tamil” (*Malabar pur ou Tamoul*)
2. “Canarin”
3. “Marate”, spoken from the “lands of Bonsolo” all the way to Surat
4. “the language of Gujarat or the Hindu” (*le langue du Guzarate ou l’Indou*)
5. “Maure”

2 While the date of birth of François Marie de Tours is unknown, it seems well established that he died in 1709 in Patna in eastern India (Aranha, 2015, p. 346; Gren-Eklund, 2022, pp. 87–88). Sources that give his year of death as “1707 or 1709” (Péricard-Méa, 2021) seem to overlook the existence of a letter sent by François Marie from Lhasa on 27 January 1708 (Kaschewsky, 2020, p. 38) and letters in which his contemporaries Giuseppe da Ascoli and Giovanni da Fano provide details of François Marie’s death (Gren-Eklund, 2022, p. 88).

3 For an extensive study of François Marie de Tours’ *Thesaurus*, see Gren-Eklund, 2022. The *Thesaurus* has been edited and made searchable online in a project at Uppsala University (Wessler, 2023).

4 In the preface to his *Instructie Ofte Onderwijsinghe Der Hindoustaanse en Persiaanse talen*, Joan Josua Ketelaar (1659–1718), an officer of the Dutch East India Company, described the language situation in India in the late seventeenth century in terms of less clear-cut categories. He did not contradict François Marie de Tours, but described a continuum of dialects and mixtures of different languages and related them to geography and religion. Ketelaar divided the Hindustani language into two groups, one spoken by Muslims and the other by “heathens”. The former, which varied according to the region, was a mixture of Persian and local “heathen” dialects. The purest form of the Hindustani of the Muslims was spoken in Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Kashmir (Pytlowany, 2018, p. 152).

The language referred to as “pure Malabar or Tamil” is probably Malayalam rather than Tamil. Anquetil-Duperron was neither the first nor the last European to confuse the nomenclature or to have imprecise ideas about the relationships between the languages of the South Indian coasts (cf. Aranha, 2010).

The term “*Canarin*” and its variants in various European languages are historically ambiguous and have been used for the Dravidic language Kannada, spoken in present-day Karnataka, as well as for the Indo-Aryan language Konkani (Grierson, 1906, p. 362, 1905, p. 163). In several of the dictionaries described below, Konkani is referred to as “*lingoa Canarim*”, “*lingoa Canarina*”, etc., and the confusion of terminology has occasionally led to erroneous cataloguing in archives (see section 2.3.3.1 below). In Anquetil-Duperron’s overview of the languages along the Indian west coast, however, “*Canarin*” seems to refer to Kannada.

Anquetil-Duperron further writes that the language of Goa is a mixture of Marathi and *Canarin* (Kieffer, 1983, p. 182). This makes sense if “*Canarin*” is understood as Kannada. Due to the geographical position of Goa, the Konkani spoken there is heavily influenced by Kannada, and the Goan scholar Manoharrai Sardesai (2000, p. 46) has confirmed that the early modern Goan Konkani described by Diogo Ribeiro in the 1620s (see below) shows considerable Kannada influence. On the other hand, Konkani is so closely related to Marathi that they have sometimes been treated as dialects of the same language.⁵

By the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa in the early sixteenth century, Konkani seems to have been mainly a spoken language (Katre, 1966, pp. 174–175). Two codices of Konkani prose literature, transliterated into Roman script in the context of the early Catholic mission in Goa and now kept in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga in Portugal, contain a Konkani prose version of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Braga Cod. 771-772*, 16th c.). These are among the oldest known literary texts in Konkani and are invaluable for understanding the history of the Konkani language and Goan culture. Whereas some scholars (e.g. Pereira, 1973, pp. 20–21) have taken these Konkani prose texts to be transliterations of manuscripts written in some Indian script, the style of the texts has led others, including myself, to conclude that they are most likely written records of oral narration dating from around 1600 (Miranda, 2011, p. 17; Eliasson, 2022, pp. 140–143). This makes them extremely interesting and quite unique as examples of extensive written records of an Indian language spoken more than 400 years ago. Rocky Miranda’s (2011) examination of the Konkani version of the *Mahābhārata* in *Braga Cod. 771-772* offers valuable insight into the linguistic peculiarities of this text, as well as guidance for assessing its relationship to texts and narratives within the larger Marathi cultural sphere, of which Konkani speakers in Goa were and still are a part.

North of Goa, Marathi was spoken along the coast as far as Surat in Gujarat. Anquetil-Duperron writes:

The Marathi, which has its own characters, extends from the lands of the Bonsolo to Surat. The Europeans and the indigenous people of the land who are Christian use [the name] “*Maraste*” for the Marathi that is used in this part of the coast towards Bombay and mixed with Hindustani and *Canarin*. (cit. from Kieffer, 1983, pp. 182–183. My transl.)

“The Bonsolo” or Bhonsle were a leading clan in the Maratha Empire, which was consolidated as a major Indian power under Shivaji Bhonsle in the second half of the seventeenth century. As a distinctive feature of Marathi, Anquetil-Duperron mentions “its own characters”, presumably the Modi script, which was used alongside Devanagari for writing Marathi. He also acknowledges a variant of Marathi spoken around Bombay, “mixed with Hindustani and *Canarin*”, known as “*Maraste*”. The lat-

5 On this note, George Abraham Grierson wrote: “The reason for our calling this language Marāṭhi and not Kōṅkaṇī is that the national literature is written in a language which is mainly derived from the northern dialects of Puna and Satara, and not from those spoken in the Konkani” (Grierson, 1905, p. 164).

ter term is attested in later Christian literature as a Marathi dialect from the area around Bombay. In 1778, an anonymous catechism with the title *Christanchi Sastrazza Cathexismo* was printed at the press of the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome in a language referred to in the imprimatur as “*lingua Marastta*” (Anon., 1778, p. 5). A similar dialect is described in the *Vocabulario da lingoa Canerim do Norte* (Anon., 1664); see section 2.2.4 below.

Anquetil-Duperron’s “*Maure*” is the same language as the Hindustani described in François Marie de Tours’ *Thesaurus*, namely the *lingua franca* that they were able to use in large parts of the Indian subcontinent (de Tours, 1704, Folios 308r–309v; Anquetil-Duperron, 1784). It is natural to surmise that “the language of Gujarat or of the Hindus” is Gujarati, but in the following description of the language situation along the northern part of the Indian west coast in the mid-18th century, Anquetil-Duperron complicates the picture:

In Gujarat, in Ahmedabad, in Thatta in Sindh, the current languages are Persian, Marathi, pure Hindustani and Hindustani altered by the Banians, with more or less rounded *Nāgarī* characters. (cit. from Kieffer, 1983, pp. 182–183. My transl.)

This list of languages used in Gujarat does not include Gujarati, but only “Persian, Marathi, pure Hindustani and Hindustani altered by the Banians”. The Banians or Baniyas are a group of castes associated with trading and influential in western India. According to historian Michael Pearson, the Baniyas of Gujarat were an economically important group throughout maritime Asia in the early modern period, and in the city of Goa they even outranked the local Saraswat Brahmins (Pearson, 1987, p. 113). It seems that the expression “Hindustani altered by the Banians” is either Anquetil-Duperron’s way of describing Gujarati, or it refers to a local variety of Hindustani, in which case he did not identify Gujarati as an distinct language. Given the dialect continua between the various regional languages, it is possible that Anquetil-Duperron or his informants conceived of the different Gujarati dialects as “Hindustani altered by the Banians” and a form of “Marathi used in this part of the coast towards Bombay and mixed with Hindustani and *Canarin*” (cit. from Kieffer, 1983, p. 181. My transl.) Indeed, Gujarati “closely agrees in its main characteristics with Western Hindi”, while also sharing important features with Marathi and Konkani, such as a three-gender system, perfect tense with *-l-*, and the pronunciation of *ḍ* between vowels as a retroflex voiced stop, as opposed to the Hindi flap sound (Grierson, 1908, pp. 327–331).

Defining an Indian language is not always easy, because the boundaries between languages are sometimes indistinct, and language forms can be described either as mixtures of different languages or as one language influenced by another. The process of defining and demarcating languages has been complex and politically sensitive in the case of Hindustani/Hindi/Urdu as well as in the case of Marathi and Konkani (King, 1999; Pereira, 1971). The Hindustani of Surat must have had a regional touch, and hence a postscript of François Marie de Tours’ Latin-Hindustani-French *Thesaurus Linguae Indiae* states that it is a dictionary of the “Hindustani of Surat” (Fabronus, 1704, p. 426). The regional flavour of the language described by François Marie is attested to by a note on the pronunciation of the letter *ja* in the preface to his *Grammatica*, which states that before *e* and *i* it is pronounced as *g* (i.e. *ḍj*) and otherwise as *z* (de Tours, 1704, Folio 312r). This is the main rule in Marathi and Konkani, and a similar tendency can be observed in Gujarati (Grierson, 1908, p. 330; Katre, 1966, p. 60; Navalkar, 1894, p. 7). The Indic script used by François Marie is a form of Devanagari with features similar to Modi, which also indicates local influence, as Modi is a cursive script mainly associated with Marathi.

As Paolo Aranha has pointed out, François Marie de Tours’ promotion of Hindustani at the expense of local languages accords well with his “vision of a cosmopolitan Christianity”. Aranha (2015, pp. 342–343) contrasts this with the Jesuits, who focused on local languages and in some cases Sanskrit. Most or all of the early modern writings in Indian languages by Catholic missionaries in Goa are in regional languages, usually prose in Konkani and poetry in Marathi. It is tempting to see a dif-

ference here between Jesuit and Franciscan missionary ideologies, but the picture is not that simple. According to Aranha (2015, p. 345), the Jesuits paid as much attention to Hindustani as to the various local languages, but “did not attribute any pre-eminence to Hindustani vis-à-vis the other literary languages they cultivated, but rather treated it as just another *lingua gentilia*”. Moreover, even the Franciscans in Goa wrote in Marathi and Konkani, though not as much as the Jesuits. Gaspar de São Miguel, Manuel Bautista, the indigenous Domingos de São Bernardino, and Amador da Santa Anna were all Franciscans who wrote in Marathi/Konkani in the seventeenth century (Morje, 1984, pp. 25–27). The choice of Konkani and Marathi rather than Hindi was probably mainly motivated by which languages were in common use among the local population. Hindi must have been much less common in Goa than in Surat. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were the champions of the missionary ideology and strategy known as *accomodatio*, which tended to favour variegated localised variants of Christianity, in contrast to the cosmopolitan vision of François Marie de Tours.⁶

Although there is evidence that people travelling along the west coast could make themselves understood in Hindustani, the role it played in the lives of the local inhabitants from Vasai and southwards was apparently too small for the early modern missionaries to find it worth writing in or about. There and in South India the missionaries consequently chose local languages and dialects. In Goa, they wrote in Konkani and Marathi, and in the area around Bombay, they wrote in a Konkani/Marathi dialect of Thane and Vasai. The Christian missionaries became pioneers of writing in Goan dialect, and their works are important sources for reconstructing the spoken language of the seventeenth century.

2.2 Overview of Konkani and Marathi dictionaries

This section gives an overview of early dictionaries of Konkani and Marathi with European reference languages, composed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2.2.1 Vocabulario da lingoa Canarim, Diogo Ribeiro

The best-known example of the early modern Konkani dictionaries is a Konkani-Portuguese dictionary compiled by anonymous Jesuits and further developed by Diogo Ribeiro S.J. (1561–1635), who also expanded and edited the Konkani grammar of Thomas Stephens S.J. (Esteuaõ, 2012). Toru Maruyama has published a 392-page edition of this dictionary (Ribeiro, 2005), based on “a xerox copy” of a manuscript that I have not been able to trace.⁷ The complete title of the dictionary is: “*Vocabulario da lingoa Canarim feito pellos Padres da companhia de Jesus que reside na Christiandade de Salcete e novamente acrescentado com varios modos de fallar pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Companhia. Anno 1626.*” (‘Vocabulary of the Canarim language made by Fathers of the Society of Jesus who reside in the Christian community of Salcete and further augmented with various ways of speaking by Father Diogo Ribeiro of the same Society. Anno 1626.’) The title suggests that the manuscript was the result of an ongoing process of addition and improvement in which many people within the Jesuit sphere took part.⁸

6 Consider, for example, the Jesuits Roberto de Nobili and Constanzo Beschi in South India, or Matteo Ricci in China. In Goa, the Christian Marathi *purāṇas* composed by Thomas Stephens and Étienne de la Croix are examples of Jesuits adopting Indian literary conventions in the first half of the seventeenth century.

7 Maruyama (2005) states that his edition is based on “a xerox copy of the original manuscript”, obtained “by courtesy of Ames Library of South Asia, University of Minnesota”. Indeed, this library lists two manuscripts in its catalogue. However, these have turned out to be photocopies of unknown originals, received from Dr Trois Johnson, who had collected a large amount of material while in the Peace Corps in India (personal communication with David Faust, 27 September 2019).

8 Gérard Colas (2011, pp. 42–43) has suggested that 18th c. Jesuit dictionaries of Telugu were produced in a similar “semi-collective” way.

This dictionary often presents alternative forms of a given Konkani word and examples of phrases in which it is used, along with their Portuguese translations. L. A. Rodrigues (2018b), who wrote several articles about early modern Konkani dictionaries in the 1970s and 1980s, has compiled 244 Konkani proverbs obtained from Ribeiro's dictionary. This gives a unique insight into the Konkani spoken in Salcete in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Sardessai writes that the dictionary contains "loan words from Sanskrit, Kannada, Persian and Arabic, some of which are no longer in current usage in Konkani", and remarks that it is obvious even to "a casual observer" that the language described in the dictionary is "more akin to Konkani spoken in the Kannada region than to Konkani spoken in Goa" (Sardessai, 2000, p. 46).

Ribeiro's quotation of idiomatic phrases and sentences in Konkani "throws light not only on the characteristics of the language current in the seventeenth century but also on various religious beliefs and social customs and manners of the times" (Sardessai, 2000, p. 46). The mix of "classical and popular words" in Ribeiro's dictionary leads Rodrigues (2018c, p. 19) to surmise that they were "probably often collected from written and colloquial sources respectively". The "written sources" of the vocabulary of these dictionaries, according to Rodrigues (2018g), are Braga Cod. 771 and 772, a view supported by the fact that works included in the Braga codices are explicitly mentioned in Ribeiro's dictionary. For example, the entry on "*Kăyâ*" refers to *Kṛṣṇacaritrakathā*, and those on "*Sănuârû*" and "*Vissămbhătă*" refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ribeiro, 2005, pp. 137, 290, 362). This shows that the texts in Braga Cod. 771–773, and particularly the *Kṛṣṇacaritrakathā* and the Konkani *Rāmāyaṇa*, were important written sources for the dictionary, at least for Diogo Ribeiro's expansion of it. It is also interesting that a Marathi work (*Kṛṣṇacaritrakathā*) is cited as evidence for the meaning of a word in Konkani.

2.2.2 Vocabulario da lingoa Canarina, anon.

In 1973, a facsimile of another anonymous Konkani-Portuguese dictionary manuscript in Latin script, 204 folios long, was printed as *Vocabulario da lingoa Canarina com versam portugueza* (Anon., 1973). According to Miranda (Miranda, 2011, p. 18), it contains quotations from the Konkani *Mahābhārata* version in Braga Cod. 771–772. The dictionary manuscript was acquired by Prof. Dr J. M. Silva Cunha, in March 1965, from a Mr A. Tavares de Carvalho in Lisbon. Apparently dating from the seventeenth century, it was written in a single hand and consisted of 204 unnumbered leaves. According to the seller, the book had been acquired in London ('Preface', 1973).

Vocabulario da lingoa Canarina is not identical with Ribeiro's dictionary. According to Rodrigues (2018f, p. 2), it is an enlarged manuscript version of it. As far as I can judge, it is written in a different hand than that of the manuscript used by Maruyama. The orthography is similar, but *Vocabulario da lingoa Canarina* does not use the diacritical mark ˘ for short vowels. An interesting entry, indicating that Viṣṇuism was the dominant force in forming the missionaries' understanding of Hinduism, is the following: "*Visttnnu, uâ. Nome proprio de principal Deos, o q[ue] adoras estes gentios de oriente*" ('Viṣṇu. Proper name of the principal God, which these gentiles of the East adore') (Anon., 1973, Folio 200r).

2.2.3 Manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

The Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP) in Lisbon holds three sixteenth–seventeenth century manuscripts of Konkani and Marathi dictionaries, catalogued as Cod. 3044, 3195, and 3049.

2.2.3.1. Vocabulario da lingua canarim, anon. (BNP Cod. 3044 and 3195)

BNP Cod. 3044 and 3195 are both Portuguese-Konkani dictionaries, although the library catalogue erroneously states that the language of the latter is Kannada. This discrepancy is probably a result of

the historical ambiguity of the term “*Canarim*”, which could refer to either Kannada or Konkani. The catalogue itself identifies this source of confusion, here in my translation:

The *canarim* or *canari* (Kannada) is a language of the Dravidian branch, a language spoken in the state of *Canará* (Karnataka), a state of the Indian Union bordering Goa in the south; in the Portuguese literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word *canarim* was used to designate the inhabitants of Goa and Maharashtra (The Konkani, a region bordering the Arabian Sea).⁹

The catalogue dates Cod. 3044 to 1551–1650 and Cod. 3195 to the seventeenth century (‘Vocabulário Da lingua canarim [Manuscrito]’, n.d.; ‘Vocabulario da lingua Canari: começa pelo alphabeto, dos nomes da nossa lingua peraque, mais facilmente se ache[m] os nomes que buscamos [Manuscrito]’, n.d.). According to Rodrigues (2018f, p. 2), both are “Jesuit works, and the latter is a rearranged version of the former, and slightly augmented with a few more entries”.

The title of the dictionary of BNP Cod. 3044 (188 folios) is “*Vocabulario da lingua Canari Começa polo alphabet dos nomes da nossa Lingoa perique mais facilmente se achẽ os Nomes que buscamos*” (‘Vocabulary of the Canari language, beginning with the alphabet of the words of our language, so that the words we search for can be found more easily’). The manuscript begins with a few pages containing an unfinished “a” section of a Portuguese-Konkani dictionary. This is followed by several blank pages before the main dictionary begins with “a” on f. 46. The dictionary ends with the letter “z” and concludes with the words “*Laus Deo*” (‘Praise be to God’) and, added by another hand in a different ink, “*et beata Virg*” (‘and the blessed Virgin’) on f. 178. Again, a few blank pages follow before a new Portuguese-Konkani dictionary with the title “*Vocabulario da lingua canarim*” begins on f. 185 and ends on f. 188 with Portuguese words beginning with “ac”.

As far as I can see, the *Vocabulario da Lingua Canari* (Microfilm 14 [1626]), which has been published as digitized microfilm by the British Library’s Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP636-3-14>, accessed 24 February 2024), is identical to BNP Cod. 3044, beginning on f. 46.

The title of the dictionary in BNP Cod. 3195 is simply “*Vocabulario da lingua canarim*”. The dictionary occupies pp. 93–221 of the manuscript. It ends with the words “*Finis Laus Deo*” (‘The end, Praise be to God’) and is followed by an additional dictionary page with words not found in the dictionary itself (pp. 223–224) and a page with reading instructions explaining the Roman orthography used for Konkani and giving examples of corresponding letters in Kannada script (p. 225). Finally, there is a dialogue in Konkani between a master and his disciple including Christian formulae such as the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Commandments of the Church (pp. 226–253). As the library catalogue states, the manuscript is fragile and damaged by humidity and insects (‘Vocabulário Da lingua canarim [Manuscrito]’, n.d.). The microfilm reproduction of BNP Cod. 3195 to which I have had access is often difficult to read, and I often have had to guess about the exact spelling of words.

2.2.3.2. *Ianua Indica*, Ignazio Arcamone (BNP Cod. 3049)

Cod. 3049 contains a work with the title “*Ianua Indica sive pro Concannica et Decanica Linguis manuale Indias*” (‘Gateway to India or manual of the Indian languages of the Konkani and the Deccan’) by Ignazio Arcamone (ca. 1614–1676), who was born in Bari and entered the Jesuit Order in 1631. It contains a grammar of Konkani (ff. 2–71), a Latin-Konkani vocabulary (ff. 71–117), a description of the “dialect of the language of the Deccan” (“*Dialectus pro lingua Decanica*”, ff. 118–127), and lists of Konkani and “*Decani*” characters (ff. 128–136). The “*Decani*” of this treatise is not the southern vari-

9 “O canarim ou canari (kannad), é uma língua do ramo dravídico, língua falada no estado de Canará (Karnatak), estado da União Indiana limitrofe de Goa pelo sul; na literatura Portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII a palavra canarim foi usada para designar os habitantes de Goa e Maharashtra (Concão, território com estreita relação com o Mar Árabe)” (‘Vocabulário Da lingua canarim [Manuscrito]’, n.d.).

ety of Hindustani known today as Deccani or Dakhani. Instead, Arcamone uses the terms “*Decani*” and “*Decanica*”, as well as “*lingua Marast*”, to refer to the Marathi language spoken in the Deccan interior, as opposed to the Konkani spoken along the Konkani coast. Although *Ianua Indica* contains a Konkani dictionary as well as a grammar of both Konkani and Marathi, it is only mentioned in a footnote in Otto Zwartjes’ (2011, p. 46) standard work on early modern Portuguese missionary grammars. Technically, Arcamone was not Portuguese but Italian, and the grammar is in Latin rather than Portuguese. Nevertheless, it was written by an early modern Jesuit missionary in the Portuguese sphere of influence and is an important part of the same linguistic enterprise as the Portuguese grammars written by other missionaries in the same period.

The section on “*caracteres concani e decani*” lists the characters in columns with Roman transcription, “*Concanica*” characters, and “*Decanica*” characters (Arcamone, 17th c., Folio 127r). While the “*Decanica*” script is a version of Devanagari or Modi, the “*Concanica*” characters are a form of Kannada script. As BNP Cod. 3195 and *Ianua Indica* both present Kannada script as the script used for Konkani, it seems that the use of Kannada script was a characteristic of Konkani, as opposed to Marathi, which was written in a variety of Devanagari or Modi. The dictionary section of *Ianua Indica* (“*Vocabularium Latino Concannicum*”) is Latin-Konkani in Roman script. Although the dictionary is handwritten, Arcamone follows the practice of indicating [a:] by “a” and [ɐ] by italic “a”. For retroflex consonants, Arcamone sometimes uses barred letters (ṅ, ṭ, ḍ, ḷ).

2.2.4 Dicionário Concani-Português e Português-Concani (Lisbon, ACL, Azul 138)

The Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (ACL) holds a manuscript catalogued as Azul 138, containing one unpaginated and 345 paginated folios of an anonymous Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani dictionary in Roman script. The handwriting is very neat and the manuscript is well preserved. The title, *Dicionário Concani-Português e Português-Concani*, was added later and does not belong to the original manuscript. The Konkani-Portuguese section ends on f. 179v, and the Portuguese-Konkani section begins on f. 184r. The catalogue contains no information on when and where the manuscript was written.

2.2.5 Vocabulario da língua da terra (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 46-VIII-36)

Manuscript 46-VIII-36 from the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon is a Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani dictionary, apparently from the seventeenth century, with the title *Vocabulario da língua da terra*. The dictionary is written on paper, in 399 folios, two columns. The last pages (ff. 385–399) contain a list of proverbs. The title page states that the dictionary was composed by Diogo Ribeiro S.J. and copied for the use of F. Amaro Azevedo at his expense (“*composto pello P. Dioguo Ribeiro da Comp.^a de IESV. Do uso do P. Amaro de Azevedo. Tresladado a sua custa*”).¹⁰ This is one of two Konkani dictionaries of which the British Library’s Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) has published digitized microfilms. According to the EAP website, the microfilms are owned by Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr (TSKK) in Porvorim, Goa (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP636-3-13>, accessed 12 February 2024).

2.2.6 Vocabulario da lingua Canerim do Norte, anon. (London, SOAS Ms. 11125 [Marsden])

Ms. 11125 in the Special Collections of SOAS bears the title “*Vocabulario da lingua Canerim do Norte, concertado e acrescentado em 1664*” (‘Vocabulary of the Canarian language of the North, elaborated and expanded in 1664’). The manuscript comes from the collection of William Marsden and is a 108-folio Portuguese-Northern Konkani dictionary in alphabetical order. Up to f. 97v., the handwriting is some-

¹⁰ I am thankful to Fátima Gomes, Técnica Superior at the Biblioteca de Ajuda, for information about manuscript 46-VIII-36.

times hard to read, and the diacritic marks are almost impossible to distinguish. Sometimes there are what appear to be spelling mistakes made by a negligent copyist with insufficient knowledge of the language, as in the entry “*Saluador. Sârâcã. â. m.*”, where the intended word must be “*tāraka*”. From f. 97v. (“*Sessenta*” and onwards), the entries are written in a different and neater hand.

The language described is probably more or less the same dialect of Marathi/Konkani as that described in the early modern *Arte Canarina na lingua do norte* (Anon., 1858), written by an anonymous author who, according to Cunha Rivara (1858; cf. Grierson, 1905, p. 65), was probably a Franciscan or Jesuit in Thane on the island of Salsette. This island is now a part of Greater Bombay and is not to be confused with Salcete in southern Goa, where Jesuits were also active. In the seventeenth century, Francisco Vas de Guimaraens wrote a work in this dialect on the Passion of Christ. It is known as “*Purāṇ*” and has been popular among Catholics in Thane (Grierson, 1905, p. 65).¹¹ A similar Marathi dialect from northern Konkani is used in the above-mentioned anonymous catechism *Christanchi Sastrazza Cathexismo* from 1778, where the dialect is called “*lingua Marastta*” (Anon., 1778; Jośi, 1962; see also Eliasson, 2019).

2.2.7 Vocabulario Canarim com alfabeto Portugues (Rome, ARSI, Opp. NN. 354)

The Roman Jesuit Archives (ARSI) hold an anonymous Portuguese-Konkani dictionary manuscript with the title *Vocabulario Canarim com alfabeto Portugues*. It contains 210 folios and comes from the library of the Jesuit college at Rachol. I have only seen photographs of a handful of its pages, but according to Zwartjes (2011, p. 274), who refers to an unpublished conference paper by Pratapananda Naik, it has 1,000 more entries than Ribeiro’s dictionary and was probably written by one of his Jesuit successors.

2.2.8 Other manuscripts

In the online catalogue of the Goa State Central Library (<http://centrallibrary.goa.gov.in>, accessed 26 September 2019), I have found three manuscripts listed, one of which is attributed to Jesuit Fathers and one to Diogo Ribeiro S.J.:

1. Ribeiro, Diogo. *Vocabulario da Lingua Canary*. Sr. No. (Manuscript): 41
2. Padres de Campanhia de Jesus, Salcete. *Vocabulario da Lingua Canary*, Canary-Portuguese, Portuguese-Canary, Vol. I. Sr. No. (Manuscript): 40
3. Padres de Campanhia de Jesus, Salcete. *Vocabulario da Lingua Canary*, Canary-Portuguese, Portuguese-Canary, Vol I. Sr. No. (Manuscript): 39

According to Rodrigues (2018a, pp. 3, 24), there were two manuscripts of dictionaries in the Central State Library in Goa, Ribeiro’s and another possibly compiled by Franciscans. It is possible that Rodrigues regarded the latter two manuscripts in the above list as parts of one and the same dictionary and assessed their authorship differently than the library catalogue, or perhaps he knew of a manuscript that I have not been able to find. Rodrigues’ writings do not always meet current academic standards, but they nevertheless give an idea of the manuscript situation in Goa. He mentions at least five Konkani dictionaries compiled by Jesuits between approximately 1560 and 1670 that are available in Goa, each of which being an enlarged version of the previous one. In a 1984 article, Rodrigues (2018e, p. 39) refers to the following dictionaries:

¹¹ Grierson supplies the following bibliographic details: Guimaraens, Francisco Vas de, *Declaração novamente feita da muita Dolorosa Morte e Paixão do Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo. Conforme a Escreverão os quatro evangelistas*. Lisboa 1659. Reimprimado Mombahim 1845.

1. “two tomes of vocabulary by Diogo Ribeiro, s.j.”
2. “two tomes [...] by the Franciscan friar Gaspar de S. Miguel”
3. “one Konkani-Portuguese vocabulary by Miguel de Almeida, s.j.”

The dictionary by Miguel de Almeida (1607–1683/87) is probably the seemingly no longer extant dictionary that Zwartjes (2011, p. 274) attributes to Miguel de Almeida S.J. and refers to as *Vocabularium Benedicti Pereyra conversum in linguam concanicam et divisum in duas partes: altera explicat vocabula lusitana in lingua concanicam, altera explicat vocabula concanica in linguam lusitanicam*. Morje (1984, p. 23) describes Almeida’s dictionary as an augmented version of Ribeiro’s; but judging from the title, it was actually a Portuguese-Konkani and Konkani-Portuguese dictionary based on an earlier dictionary by Benedict Pereyra S.J. (1606–1681). This is supported by Sommervogel (1890, p. 189, 1960, p. 509), who states that Almeida converted Pereyra’s *Thesauro da lingua portugueza* into a dictionary of Konkani.

The “two tomes” by the Franciscan friar Gaspar de São Miguel (ca. 1595–1647) that Rodrigues mentions are probably two of the following three manuscripts listed by Zwartjes (2011, p. 274), none of which I have been able to trace:

1. *Dictionarium et ars lingua Canarinae* (MS, 17th c., no further details)
2. *Diccionario da lingua canarina, e portugueza* (MS, no longer extant)
3. *Vocabulario da Lingua Portugues e Canari* (according to Zwartjes preserved in the “Central Library of Panaji”, presumably Goa State Central Library, but I have not been able to find it in their catalogue)

In an article from 1982, Rodrigues (2018d, pp. 17–18) gives another list and relates it to the holdings at the Central Library in Panaji:

1. A Konkani-Portuguese manuscript in the old Portuguese *Liceu Nacional Afonso de Albuquerque de Nova Goa*, later Government Higher Secondary School, in Panaji, with the title *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarim, feito pelloos Padres da companhia de Jesus, que residião na Christandade de Salcete, e novamente acrescentado com varios modos de fallar pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da companhia. Anno 1626*. According to Rodrigues, this is the same as the Konkani-Portuguese vocabulary of Diogo Ribeiro dated 1626 in the Central Library, though in another hand.
2. Rodrigues further mentions that the *Liceu* has a “Portuguese-Konkani vocabulary, which is also the same as Diogo Ribeiro’s Portuguese-Konkani vocabulary, existing in the Central Library, the former being very badly preserved and the pages bound all in disorder.”
3. Another “Portuguese-Konkani vocabulary in very bad condition” at the *Liceu*, of which the still extant 170 pages contained about 7,700 entries.

I am not sure how to relate Rodrigues’ details to the entries in the online catalogue of the Goa Central State Library, but they could be useful for making a systematic survey of all extant Konkani dictionary manuscripts and their interrelations. Apart from the dictionaries mentioned above, Zwartjes (2011, pp. 274–275) lists the following dictionary manuscripts:

1. Manuel Banha, *Vocabulario da lingua concani* (MS, no longer extant); *Dictionarium linguae Canarinae et lusitanae* (MS, 17th c., no further details)
2. Antonio de Saldanha, S.J. (1598–1663), *Vocabulario de lingua Concanica* (MS, 17th c., no longer extant). According to Zwartjes, again supported by an unpublished conference paper

by Pratapananda Naik, Saldanha also compiled a work entitled *Varios modos de fallar* ('various modes of speech')

3. Leo Cinnamo S.J., Vocabulario Canarin vertido en Portuguesa (MS, no further details)

Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts are traceable.

3 Conclusion

As this survey shows, there exists a rich body of especially Konkani dictionaries from the early modern period. The missionary linguistic works on Marathi, on the other hand, are few in number, despite the fact that Jesuits such as Thomas Stephens and Étienne de la Croix produced extensive literature in Marathi already in the early seventeenth century.

A systematic study of all these manuscripts, their interrelationships, and possible European model dictionaries, has not yet been performed, but would be a valuable contribution to the history of the Konkani language. A more detailed study of the vocabulary of the various dictionaries, along with morphological and phonetic features, could also clarify questions about who the missionary linguists got their information from, and which dialects they concentrated on. It would thus also contribute to the study of missionary linguistics and be a welcome complement to Zwartjes' work on Portuguese missionary grammars.

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