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PAN-SLAVISM IDEOLOGY AS SHOWN IN SANSKRIT GRAMMARS IN POLISH

Generally it is acknowledged that the European interest in Sanskrit grammars arose in the 18th century. However, the missionaries from different orders started their journeys to India already as early as in the 16th century and at least some of them were interested in Sanskrit. At the beginning the missionaries came mostly from Franciscan and Dominican orders but soon they were followed by Jesuits. The first person to be mentioned here in the context of Sanskrit language is Thomas Stephens (1549–1619) whose observations on the nature of Sanskrit are not widely known. However, it was him who already in 1583 in a letter sent to his brother on 24 October wrote about the similarities between languages of the Indo-European family. In the history of linguistics the man to be called the first who discovered similarities between Indian and European languages is William Jones (1746–1794) who on February 1786 at the meeting of Asiatic Society of Bengal of which he was the founder delivered the lecture which is known as third „Anniversary discourse”. In this lecture he pointed to the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, German, Celtic and Persian languages¹. As may be seen the truth is that it was Stephens who observed it more than 200 years earlier.

The first Sanskrit grammar, as it is discovered till now, which was definitely based on direct Sanskrit sources, was the one of Heinrich Roth (1620–1668), a Jesuit missionary who spent 10 years in Goa and Agra, in the northern part of India. The title of his grammar, written in Latin but with many examples given in Sanskrit with the usage of devanāgarī characters was „Grammatica linguae Sanscretanae Brachmanum Indiae Orientalis”. Unfortunately, even if the grammar is very precise in its description of Sanskrit grammar it was not published in Europe before 1988. In the meantime it was kept in manuscript form in Biblioteka

¹ See e.g.: F. Edgerton, „Sir William Jones”, [in:] *Portraits of Linguists: A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western linguistics (1746–1963)*, vol. I, ed. by Th. A. Sebeok, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1966, s. 5–6.

Nazionale in Rome². Definitely it was a big loss for the European knowledge of the rules of Sanskrit grammar and the traditional Indian way of their description³. Judging from the content and structure of this grammar Roth must have used at least some of popular Sanskrit grammars of the Paninean tradition used at his times for teaching and learning purposes⁴.

There were some more missionaries who wrote on Sanskrit grammar in the 17th and 18 centuries. The ones whose names are to be mentioned here are: Johann Ernst Hanxleden (1681–1732), a Jesuit missionary who stayed in southern India for more than 30 years, Jean Francois Pons (1688–1752), a French Jesuit or Benjamin Schulze a German Pietist who died in 1760. All these grammars were of strictly descriptive kind and they have been all kept in manuscript form only.

The first two works on Sanskrit grammar to be published in print in Europe were the works of Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748–1806) a Carmelite priest of Croatian origin who was known also as Filip Vesdin or Johann Philip Wesdin⁵. These were „Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscredamica. Cui accedit Dissertatio historico-critica in linguam Samscredamicam, vulgo Samscret dictam in qua huius linguae existentia, origo, praestantia, antiquitas, extensio, maternitas ostenditur, libri aliqui ea exarati critice recensentur, et simul aliquae antiquissimae gentilium orationes liturgicae paucis attinguntur et explicantur” published in 1790⁶ and „Vyacarana seu locupletissima Samscredamicae linguae institution” published in 1804. The first one was a general introduction to Sanskrit rather than the grammar itself. Paulinus discussed the role and position of this language in the Indian society. The second one was a short theoretical introduction to grammar topics. His works often were not precise and sometimes they definitely included mistakes⁷. The works of missionaries were, at these times, the unique sources of information on Sanskrit.

² *The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth S. J. (1620–1668). Facsimile Edition of Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, Mss. Or. 171 and 172*, introd. by A. Camps and J.C. Müller, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988.

³ For the detailed description of the content of Roth's grammar, see: I. Milewska, „First European Missionaries on Sanskrit Grammar”, [in:] *Christians and Missionaries in India. Cross-Cultural Communications since 1500, With special reference to Caste, Conversion, and Colonialism*, ed. by R.E. Frykenberg and B. Stanley, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, p. 64–66.

⁴ They are described e.g. by H. Scharfe in the 5th volume of the series *A History of Indian Literature* (vol. V, fasc. 2), that is in his *Grammatical Literature*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977.

⁵ More information on Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo see: M. Jauk-Pinhak, „Some Notes on the Pioneer Indologist Filip Vesdin (Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo)”, *Indologica Taurinensia* 12 (1987), p. 129–137.

⁶ This work together with its English translation was re-published by Ludo Rocher in Amsterdam in 1977 (*Paulinus Bartholomaeo a Sancto, Dissertation on the Sanskrit Language: A reprint of the original Latin text of 1790, together with an introductory article, a complete English translation, and an index of sources by Ludo Rocher*, Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Company, 1977).

⁷ Some more information on missionaries in India is to be found e.g. in the book *India and Europe. An Essay in Philosophical Understanding* by W. Halbfass (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990, p. 36–53).

The situation has changed from the moment when British scholars connected with East India Company came to India. Among them there were at least some of extremely brilliant minds. Their endeavors in the try to discover and understand the ancient culture of India, also through the medium of language, were and still are of extreme value. The names to be given here are, first of all, Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), William Carey, a Baptist missionary (1761–1834) and Charles Wilkins (1749–1836). Colebrooke's and Carey's grammars of Sanskrit were both published in India, in Calcutta and Serampore respectively, Wilkins's one in London. All of them started to be available to the European public at the very beginning of 19th century. British scholars were the ones whose knowledge on Sanskrit grammar came out of their direct contacts with Indian pandits who helped them to discover original works of Indian grammatical traditions. In the respect of first-hand information they were similar to the European missionaries who, after discovering Indian vernaculars, soon noticed the existence of the language so important for the whole Indian tradition as Sanskrit was and still is.

This direct knowledge of Indian languages soon reached Europe and thanks to this fact became known to scholars who have never visited India in their lifetime. At first, these scholars were mainly French (e.g. Antoine-Leonard Chézy) and German (e.g. Friedrich Schlegel). However, the one who was the most famous and who became treated as the father of the European comparative grammar was Franz Bopp (1791–1867). His first work on Sanskrit grammar, which concerned conjugation forms as shown in the comparative perspective was published already in 1816. It was soon followed by his, probably most influential among the European scholars, book on Sanskrit grammar namely „Kritische Grammatik der Sanskrita-Sprache in kurzerer Fassung” (first ed. Berlin 1832; sec. revised ed. 1845; third. ed. 1963; fourth ed. 1868)⁸.

It is worth adding that it was also Franz Bopp who was the first to transfer to Europe the story of Nala and Damayantī. He published, already in 1819, the critical edition of its text in Sanskrit together with the Latin translation and his commentaries on chosen grammar topics⁹. As far as first Polish version of this story is concerned two authors should be mentioned. These are Jan Leciejewski (1854–1929), a Sanskritist who published its version entitled „Nal, powieść

⁸ Many more details concerning the history of European Sanskrit grammars is to be found in: I. Milewska, „Main currents in the European tradition of Sanskrit grammars”, [in:] *Vyākaraṇa Across the Ages. Proceedings of the 15th World Sanskrit Conference*, vol. II, ed. by G. Cardona, New Delhi: DK Printworld 2013, vol. II, p. 1–29.

⁹ The book was entitled *Nalus, carmen sanscritum e Mahabharato*, edidit, latine vertit, et adnotationibus illustravit F. Bopp, London 1819. Soon it was followed by its second, revised edition entitled *Maha-Bharati episodium. Textus sanscritus cum interpretatione latina et adnotatibus criticis*, Berlin: Nicolai, 1832. Bopp translated the story of Nala and Damayanti also to German under the title *Nalus und Damajanti, eine indische Dichtung aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt* and published it in Berlin: Nicolai, in 1838.

staroindyjska” in 1885¹⁰ and Antoni Lange (1862–1929), a poet, who gave it a title „Pieśń o Nalu i Damajanti. Baśń staroindyjska z ksiąg Mahabharaty, przekład z sanskrytu, przedmowa Antoni Lange” and published his version in 1906¹¹.

As far as Polish works on Sanskrit grammar are concerned the works of Bopp are of crucial value. Some of them are mentioned by both of their authors Walenty Skorochód Majewski (1764–1835) and Franciszek Xawery Malinowski (1807–1881) as their main source of information. However, it is also obvious that both of them knew directly or indirectly at least some of other Sanskrit grammars coming from the European tradition.

It must be said that Walenty Skorochód Majewski¹² known among the circles of intellectuals as an enthusiast rather than a scholar had the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, as may be seen from the titles of the books he published, which was not only of popular nature. While being a member of the Royal Warsaw Society of Friends of Science already between the years 1813–1816 he delivered some lectures in which he focused on Sanskrit. These lectures were soon followed by publications connected directly or indirectly with the grammar of Sanskrit. The most important one was entitled „Gramatyka mowy starożytnych Skuthów czyli Skalnych Górali itd. itd. s przekładu panów Colebrooke, Carey, Wilkins, Yates, Forster i innych, a szczególnie podług poprawniejszego wydania prof. Boppa w Berlinie dotąd jeszcze nieukończonego, do dyalektu polskiego i innych słowiańskich zastosowana i ulepszona przez Walentego Skorochod Maiewskiego itd... W Warszawie, w Drukarni Łątkiewicza i Litografii Instytutu szkolnego r. 1828”. [The grammar of the language of ancient Scyths or rock mountaineers, Indo-Scythians, Indians, Buddhist mentioned by Herodotus as Sanscrit, i. e. the accurate speech. From the translation made by Colebrooke, Carey, Wilkins, Yates, Forster and others and in particular according to the most accurate, but yet not finished, grammar of prof. Bopp from Berlin; rendered into Polish and other Slavonic dialects and improved by W. S. Maiewski]. The book was then amended and re-published in 1833. The range of names of authors of the European Sanskrit grammars shows that Majewski was well-oriented in the linguistic literature of his times. However, the level of his discussion of many of the linguistic or com-

¹⁰ J. Leciejewski, „Nal, powieść staroindyjska”, *Ateneum* II 2 (1885), p. 273–324.

¹¹ Lange, A. (Polish transl., introd.), *Pieśń o Nalu i Damajanti. Baśń staroindyjska z ksiąg Mahabharaty*, Warszawa: Gabriel Centneszwer i s-ka, 1906 (the second edition of this translation was published in 1921). More information on the European reception of the story of Nala and Damayanti may be found in: I. Milewska, „Nala and Damayanti – Indian epic Love Story in the European Literary Tradition”, [in:] *Rethinking Orient. In Search of Sources and Inspirations*, ed. by A. Bednarczyk, M. Kubarek, M. Szatkowski, Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang, 2017, p. 127–141.

¹² Some general information on W. Skorochód Majewski may be found in Zdzisław Wąsik's chapter published in the book *Towards a History of Linguistics in Poland* (ed. by E. F. K. Koerner and A. Szwedek, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, p. 4). More detailed information is included in the article by M. Wielńska which is entitled „Walenty Skorochód Majewski. The Precursor of Polish Indological Studies”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* LX/2 (2007), p. 157–170.

parative features of the language was not a scholarly one. He wrote his grammar having in mind the idea of the extremely important value of Polish language and one of his main goals was to show the close affinity between Sanskrit and Polish languages. In this respect he tried to follow Bopp's idea of comparative linguistics but his comparativism was the one with ideological background. This ideology was of Pan-Slavism nature. On many pages he wanted to show and stress the importance of Slavic and, in particular, Polish languages. This was, most probably, the main reason he compared it with ancient Sanskrit. However, most of the examples he chose in order to support the idea of affinity were not convincing. They were of naive rather than scientific nature. He tried to compare Sanskrit and Polish alphabets as a whole to show the identical correspondence of separate signs. It was obviously a wrong direction of search. He also included in his book some examples of words coming from Sanskrit and Polish trying to point to their identical meanings. Unfortunately most of the examples again were not supporting his thesis (e.g. he equated Sanskrit 'kuru' with Polish 'król' that is English 'king', 'Budda' with 'Bóg' that is 'God' in English or 'para' with 'parny', that is English 'sultry' (the last example being the most astonishing one). Not only in Sanskrit grammars but also in many other of his numerous works¹³ Majewski highly stressed the importance of Polish language. This shows that he was definitely influenced by the idea of Slavic and, especially Polish, languages being of extreme value in the history of mankind. Regardless of the contents of his books it is worth mentioning that it was Majewski who founded the first printing press in Poland which had Sanskrit characters. He used them in the examples of Sanskrit words included in his books.

The next Polish scholar who occupied himself with the grammar of Sanskrit was Franciszek Xawery Malinowski. But for knowing some of the foreign grammars of Sanskrit available at his times he definitely had an access to the work of his Polish colleague. The fact that he knew the work of Majewski is certified by Malinowski's own words included in the preface to his grammar.

Na tym polu badań językowych s pomiędzy ziomków naszych mam tylko jednego poprzednika w osobie ś. p. Walentego Skorochoda Majewskiego. (F.M. Wstęp, p. XIV)

[In this field of linguistic research out of Polish men I have only one predecessor that is late Walenty Skorochód Majewski.]

The full title of Malinowski's grammar is „Gramatyka sanskrytu porównanego z językiem starosłowiańskim i polskim. Na podstawie sanskryckiej gramatyki Franciszka Boppa” [Sanskrit grammar as compared with Old-Slavic and Polish languages. On the basis of Sanskrit grammar by Franz Bopp]. Already the title is meaningful as the author expresses in it his intention of the comparison between

¹³ Wielińska, *op. cit.*, p. 161–164.

Sanskrit, Slavic and, in particular, Polish languages. This intention followed by the method of research is visible through the whole book. Already in the introduction Malinowski divides languages into three groups which he derives from biblical sons of Noe: Sem, Cham and Jafet. He includes Sanskrit and Slavic languages into the third group and is seeing his task as pointing to the affinities of these languages. He wants to apply the methodology used by Bopp to Slavic languages, first of all, to Polish. He writes:

(...) nie możemy ani żądać ani się spodziewać, ażeby się cudzoziemcy troszczyli zbyt o wyjaśnienie organizmu mowy słowiańskiej, a w szczególności języka polskiego, za pomocą tegoż sanskrytu (...) (F.M. Wstęp, p. VIII).

[(...) we cannot nor demand nor expect that foreigners will care about the explanation of Slavic and, in particular, Polish languages with the usage of Sanskrit (...).]

He continues:

Ja zaś, podając wierny przekład na język polski skróconej w powyżej opisanym sposobie gramatyki sanskrytu wiekopomnej pamięci Franciszka Boppa, usiłowałem wyzyskać organizm sanskrytu ku objaśnieniu ustroju i budowy mowy słowiańskiej w dwu jej narzeczach: w starosłowiańskim i polskim; i w tym celu dodałem do odnośnych paragrafów swoje krytyczne uwagi i spostrzeżenia (...). (FM Wstęp, p. XIV)

[I have tried, giving the accurate translation of the abridged version of F. Bopp's grammar, to use the organism of Sanskrit in order to describe and analyze the structure of Slavic languages i. e. Old Slavic and Polish; I have also added to some paragraphs my critical remarks and observations (...).]

As can be seen the way he exposes Sanskrit grammar is a comparative one. However, he does not give only the information concerning certain rules of Sanskrit grammar as described by Franz Bopp but he adjoins his own remarks in which he often explains how, up to him, Slavic and among them Polish languages are similar to Sanskrit. There are some fragments he adds, which show that he is a follower of Pan-Slavism ideology. He always tries to claim that Slavic or Polish forms of particular words or structures are the best. As far as the grammatical terminology is used to describe the language he tries, in many examples, to give Polish equivalents even if in Europe these terms were mostly given in Latin or, sometimes, in English or German¹⁴. His inventions were

¹⁴ The problem of what is the best way to be used in order to achieve the result of the most accurate grammatical terminology which should be applied to Sanskrit grammar topics is not solved till now. For the discussion see e.g. R. Goldman and S. Sutherland, *Devavāṇīpravesikā. An Introduction to the Sanskrit language*, Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California 1980. It seems that very often the perfect or, in other words, the most accurate way is to keep the Sanskrit grammatical terminology rather than to invent not ideally appropriate equivalents in any of the European languages.

e.g. 'Grafika i Fonetyka' or, in other words, 'Prawopis i Wygłaszanie' which were standing for 'Alphabet and Phonetics' or 'Prawidła Miłodźwięku' used instead of 'Rules of sandhi'.

As is widely known the Pan-Slavism is an intellectual movement according to which all the Slavic people create a unity. Some of Polish scholars and intellectuals like e. g. Bronisław Trentowski (1808–1869) or August Cieszkowski (1814–1894) in their works strongly underline the common Slavic identity and ancestry. As may be seen this philosophical ideology was also applied to language studies. As far as Sanskrit grammars are concerned this is what Majewski tried to do more or less accurately and what Malinowski did in his exposition of Sanskrit language. He was deeply convinced that all Slavic people and their languages should be treated together. In his comparison of Sanskrit and Polish languages he tried to find some more arguments for this thesis. Moreover, he tried to gather arguments for Sanskrit and the Slavic languages as being the nearest „cousins” as he writes:

Jego to krytyczną gramatykę sanskrytu, nie tylko wiernie na polskie przełożyłem, ale zarazem krytycznie opracowałem, uwydatniając miejsca, w których na budowę sanskrytu inaczej się od mego mistrza zapatruję, i na drodze porównawczej wykazując organiczny z nim związek języków: litewskiego, starosłowiańskiego i polskiego. (FM Wstęp, p. VII–VIII)

[I have not only translated his critical grammar of Sanskrit but I have worked on it critically, stressing the fragments in which my opinion on the structure of Sanskrit is different from my Master's views. By comparing it with Slavic languages I have shown the organic closeness of Sanskrit, Lithuanian, Old Slavic and Polish.]

Everywhere in his grammar Malinowski wanted to stress the role and position of Slavic and especially Polish languages while in comparison with Sanskrit as the language of ancient culture of India:

Obecna moja praca wyzyskująca organizm sanskrytu na rzecz mowy słowiańskiej, a w szczególności języka polskiego (...). (FM Wstęp, p. XIII)

[My present work in which I use the Sanskrit language for the purpose of Slavic, and especially Polish language (...).]

As may be seen from this short survey of the beginnings of the European tradition of exposition of Sanskrit grammar most of them were of strictly linguistic character. On this background it appears that two Sanskrit grammars written by Polish authors in the 19th century definitely differ from them by their authors' tries to show the dependencies between Slavic languages and Sanskrit. Both of Polish authors were under the influence of Pan-Slavism ideology and they included its main arguments in their works applying them in their exposition of the grammar of Sanskrit language. In the frame of the analyse of their books it may be easily seen that non-scholarly arguments were used to support the thesis of Pan-Slavism

as being the good explanation of some of linguistic rules of Sanskrit. Examples which are chosen to support the thesis of Slavic languages as the most important ones are of rather weak and confusing nature. These works are not as objective as the grammars written by the main linguists of these times in Europe. Polish intellectual public must have waited till 1932 when the first scholarly grammar of Sanskrit was published. It was the work entitled „Podręcznik sanskrytu. Gramatyka. Wypisy. Objasnienia. Słownik” written by the famous Polish multilinguist Andrzej Gawroński. This very book is definitely the grammar written according to the scholarly rules and it is of descriptive and, at the same time, of comparative kind¹⁵.

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¹⁵ For more information on the works of Gawroński look e.g. I. Milewska, „Andrzej Gawroński: portrait of the Polish linguist, Sanskritologist and translator”, [in:] *Figures Pionnières de l'Orientalisme: convergences européennes*, RES ORIENTALES, ed. by I. Gadoin and Z. Vesel, Paris: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2011, p. 243–250.

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PAN-SLAVISM IDEOLOGY AS SHOWN IN SANSKRIT GRAMMARS IN POLISH

Abstract

The main aim of this article is a discussion of the topic of potential influence of Pan-Slavism ideology on the grammar works of two Polish authors Walenty Skorochód Majewski (1764–1835) and Franciszek Xawery Malinowski (1807–1881). Both of them were the authors of Sanskrit grammars and both of these grammars were based on the ones written by English or German scholars. However, they are different from them in some aspects.

The topic itself should be preceded by a short survey of the European tradition of the discovery of Sanskrit and its grammar. Only on this background, on the basis of comparison, it is possible to judge whether the works of Majewski and Malinowski are different from the most important grammars of the European tradition and whether they may be called ideological in their treatment of Sanskrit language and its grammar.

Keywords: Sanskrit grammars in Polish, panslavism, Walenty Skorochód Majewski, Franciszek Xawery Malinowski