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Kristapurāṇa: Reshaping Divine Space

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Divine space

IF a *place* is simply a physical location, the word *space* can be used for something shaped by mental processes. Physical places influence our lives by putting limits to the physically practicable, whereas spaces exercise their influence through mental processes like shaping our beliefs, values and sentiments. A space may be a mental superstructure based on an actual place, but, since its power is mental, it is not necessary that this place physically exists. One such space, with power to affect the lives of human beings, is *heaven*. Belief in heaven has had and still has great impact on many people's thinking and acting. Heaven can be regarded as a part of a more general conceptual space inhabited by (ideas of) the divine and/or spiritual. I will refer to this as *divine space*.

Language has the power to create new spaces and reshape old ones, but also to close doors to unwanted spaces by making it difficult to speak about them. By means of language, some are convinced of the existence of heaven,¹ and by means of language others are convinced

of the falsity of the same idea, and its power loses hold of them.

Catholic mission in early modern Goa

The early Catholic missionaries, who came to the then Portuguese colony Goa from the early years of the sixteenth century and onwards, found a divine space already defined by an impressive Hindu vocabulary. Wishing to see people embracing the Christian faith, they needed strategies for convincing people to change their beliefs about the divine and leading them to a perception of divine space that was in accordance with Christian views. In due time the official Catholic Church chose a strategy of closing the door to spaces that we can call Hindu, by repression of indigenous languages and religious practices and by opening an analogous space defined by Portuguese and Latin words. This was done partly by campaigns of destroying temples and Hindu scriptures from 1540 onwards,² partly by a decree in 1684 (by Viceroy Francisco de Tavora) that all official church communication must henceforth be in Portuguese, and Goans must abandon their

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mother tongue, and another decree in 1704 (by the apostolic legate Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon) which seriously restricted the possibility of letting Christianity embrace indigenous cultural practices.³ Because of the *padroado* system, by which the Portuguese kings got the right and duty to deploy clerics and run the churches in their colonies, the Portuguese authorities controlled the Catholic mission in Asia throughout the early modern period.⁴ This knit state and church tightly together and limited the scope for the Church to act as an independent force in relation to the Portuguese colonial power.

Thomas Stephens and his *purāṇa*

There was, however, another significant trend in the early modern Catholic mission in Goa, namely that of inculturation, exemplified by Stephens and other Jesuits. Most notable among these is Thomas Stephens (1549-1619), the author of the well-known Marathi epic known as *Kristapurāṇa*. Stephens “fled from England” in his twenties, due to harassments he faced because of his Catholic faith,⁵ and joined the Jesuits in Rome with a wish to be sent to India. His wish was granted and he reached Goa in 1579, when he was 30 years old.⁶ Stephens became an important person in the Jesuit mission in Goa, where he stayed until his death in 1619, except for a year at Basein College north of Mumbai.⁷ Stephens’ work was followed by a wave of Christian literature in various dialects of the closely related languages Marathi and Konkani,⁸ but he may also have influenced both the structure and vocabulary of works of the Italian Jesuit Robert de Nobili, who wrote in Tamil.⁹ Apart from his big *Kristapurāṇa*, Stephens wrote a few letters to family members and religious superiors in Europe, a grammar of the

Konkani language in Portuguese – *Arte de Lingoa Canarim* – and a little catechism for children – *Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarim* – both printed posthumously in Rachol in 1640 and 1622 respectively.¹⁰ *Kristapurāṇa* is written in a language that Stephens himself as well as most scholars identify as Marathi.¹¹ Stephens’ desire, as he wrote in a letter to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, was “to see in this province some books printed [...] in the script of the place, as was done in Malabar, with great profit for the Church in that region”,¹² was not put into effect. Instead, *Kristapurāṇa* was printed in Roman script three times during the seventeenth century – 1616, 1649 and 1654, all in Goa – but none of these seem to be available today.¹³ The analysis and references in this paper rely on Nelson Falcao’s edition from 2009, which is based mainly but not exclusively on two manuscripts in Devanagari script, found in 1923 in the William Marsden collection in London.¹⁴

Kristapurāṇa is a Christocentric retelling of the Bible in more than 10,000 verses, a biblical epic in two parts corresponding to the Old and New Testaments. In the prose preface in Marathi, Stephens expresses his hope that “[...] through that story, everybody will come to know the true God (*paramesvara*) and his only son Jesus Christ, the Jesus apart from whose name there is no other name under heaven (*svarga*) through which one gets salvation (*mukti*).”¹⁵

Each chapter of *Kristapurāṇa* forms a sort of dialogue sermon, where the voice of the priest is often interrupted by questions and commentaries mainly from Brahmins in the audience. In the first chapter, Stephens describes how a priest (probably himself) was teaching children in Salcete the catechism on a Sunday evening, when a Brahmin came to him

with a request to give them a Christian *purāṇa* in Marathi. Now when the old *purāṇas* are forbidden, he says, people may otherwise resort to gambling for pastime. The priest was pleased with the request and promised to start telling what would become the *Kristapurāṇa* part by part every Sunday.¹⁶

In the Portuguese dedication to the archbishop of Goa, Stephens explains that the work is written as a sort of catechism in the style most pleasing to the natives.¹⁷ The style and language is explained in more detail in Stephens' Marathi preface:

All this is written in Marathi. Seeing that Marathi is the most fitting language among the languages of the land for the message about things related to God, but that people do not understand pure Marathi [...] I left out several difficult words of past great poets and, in the manner of present [?] great poets, mixed it with a number of easy words from the language of the Brahmins and so made the poetry easy [...]. And those who still sometimes miss the elegance and beautiful language of the old poetry will enjoy reading this poetry [...].¹⁸

Kristapurāṇa is written in the same *ovī* metre as had been used several hundred years earlier by Mukunda and Jñānadeva,¹⁹ as well as by Stephens' contemporary Ekanātha and his grandson Mukteśvara.²⁰ Thus, Stephens embraced the literary form used in and associated with a Hindu (predominantly Vaiṣṇava) religious and literary tradition. He also embraced the Hindu vocabulary of these authors and tried to redefine the divine space that they had defined and make it compatible with the Catholic faith. *Kristapurāṇa* is full of idiomatic expressions with deep Hindu

connotations, such as *vaikumṭha* for heaven and *vaikumṭharājā* ("King of *vaikumṭha*") for God. In Hindu usage, *vaikumṭha* is the name of Viṣṇu's heaven and *vaikumṭharājā* an epithet of Viṣṇu. In Stephens' usage, the words refer to the God of Christianity and his heaven. In this way, Stephens used words familiar to the people of Goa, but gave them partly new meanings.

Signal and signification

To understand what Stephens does in order to reshape or redefine divine space, I will rely on Ferdinand de Saussure's theory of a *sign* as "combination of a concept and a sound pattern."²¹ A sign in this sense the unity of a word and the concept it expresses or stands for. A sign thus consists of two parts, the *concept* and the *sound pattern*, also referred to as *signification* and *signal* respectively.²² Since "the link between idea and sound is intrinsically arbitrary",²³ any signification can be represented by any signal.

Applying this idea and terminology to Stephens' usage of "Hindu" words like *vaikumṭha* and *vaikumṭharājā*, his strategy can be described as keeping the signal but altering the signification. The signal *Vaikumṭharājā* is the same sound pattern as used by the Hindus for talking about Viṣṇu, but in Stephens' usage its signification is the God of Christianity. A sign being the combination of signification and signal, i.e. of concept and sound pattern, altering the signification means altering the sign as a whole. The *vaikumṭharājā* of *Kristapurāṇa* is therefore not the same sign as the identically pronounced and written *vaikumṭharājā* of a Vaiṣṇava discourse, since it signifies a different concept. Nevertheless, the concepts of Viṣṇu for Vaiṣṇavas and God for Christians are so similar that they, so to speak, hold analogous places in their respective linguistic systems, both

containing the concept of Supreme Being. Therefore, Stephens could use the signal *vaikunṭharājā* for the Christian concept of God and thereby form a new Christian sign related to the old Hindu one, but with a meaning fitting better in his message.

In Saussure's structuralistic theory, a language is "a system based entirely on the contrasts between its concrete units"²⁴ which means that a sign is defined by being what the other signs are not. If all signs are defined by their mutual differences, changing the meaning of one sign has consequences for the entire linguistic system. In view of this, what Stephens does can be described as entering a new linguistic system and trying to reshape it by changing the significations of certain signs and to a lesser extent introducing new signs, primarily Portuguese loan words like *pādri* for a priest and *spīritu sām̐tu* for the Holy Spirit.²⁵

Reshaping divine space

To show how Stephens does this, I will begin with words used for heaven and then move on to the related concept of salvation. The most common words for heaven in *Kristapurāṇa* are *svarga* and *vaikunṭha*, both used independently as well as in compounds like *svargasthāna* ("place/land of heaven"),²⁶ *svargamaṁdira* ("house of heaven"),²⁷ different versions of *svarga rājya*²⁸ ("kingdom of heaven"), and *vaikunṭhīcā rāja* ("kingdom of heaven").²⁹ In Marathi, *svarga* is generally translatable as 'sky' or 'heaven', whereas *vaikunṭha* exclusively refers to heaven. More specifically *vaikunṭha* is a name of Viṣṇu's paradise in Hindu mythology, whereas *svarga* sometimes but not exclusively refers to Indra's heaven.³⁰

Kristapurāṇa often seems to treat *svarga* and *vaikunṭha* as synonyms. Jesus' ascension to

heaven is described as an ascension to *svarga* and *vaikunṭha* alike.³¹ Still the terms are not entirely synonymous. For example, Stephens tells us that Jesus ascended through ten *svargas* before he reached the gate of *vaikunṭha*:

So ascending ten	<i>aisā dāhā svargā</i>
<i>svargas,</i>	<i>kramītā</i>
Everything was	<i>caranāṁṭaḷi rāhile</i>
under his feet.	<i>samasta</i>
Then he reached	<i>maga vaikunṭha dvāra</i>
	<i>ṭhākita</i>
The gate of	<i>pātalā javaḷi</i> ³²
<i>vaikunṭha.</i>	

The impression that *vaikunṭha* is higher than *svarga* is confirmed later in the same chapter, when Jesus is exhorted to establish his throne "above all *svargas* in the holy *vaikunṭha*".³³ So Stephens treats *vaikunṭha* as a name of the highest heaven or highest realm of *svarga*, which is in accordance with Vaiṣṇavaite terminology, which places *vaikunṭha* above all other worlds or *lokas*.³⁴

It is interesting how Stephens handles the fact that *vaikunṭha* is a sign borrowed from a Vaiṣṇavaite language system, where it implies the concept of Viṣṇu as Supreme Being and king of *vaikunṭha*. Indeed, Stephens accepts and uses many divine epithets that would normally be understood as epithets of Viṣṇu. Nelson Falcao, maybe correctly, interprets this as an appreciation of the underlying monotheism of Hinduism. He writes that Stephens "accepts the whole of the Vaiṣṇavaite tradition and attributes names like Vaikunṭhanātha, Vaikunṭharānā, Vaikunṭharāyā, Vaikunṭhanāyaka, Vaikunṭharājā and others for God the Father and the Son of God."³⁵ However, I would argue that the Vaiṣṇavaite attributes

that Stephens uses for God are not names, but *epithets* with meanings like “king of *vaikunṭha*”.³⁶ Stephens never uses any proper name of Viṣṇu or any other Hindu god. Using epithets like *vaikunṭharājā* for God is a subtle way of saying that it is really not Viṣṇu but the God of Christianity who is king of *vaikunṭha*.

In Christian theology, heaven is a realm of eternal life and unparalleled joy, where those who are saved from sin, death and the devil, will live in communion with God. Stephens' principal Marathi words for salvation are *mukti* and *mokṣa*, and he treats *vaikunṭha* as the place where the blessed enjoy *mukti/mokṣa*. Only a few verses after the one quoted above, with Jesus standing in front of the gate of *vaikunṭha*, Stephens paraphrases the famous passage in Psalm 24:

Lift up your heads, you gates;
be lifted up, you ancient doors,
that the King of glory may come in.
Who is this King of glory?
The LORD strong and mighty,
the LORD mighty in battle.³⁷

In Stephens' version, Jesus is not King of glory but King of *mukti* and *mokṣapada*:

They say: Listen, *hmaṇati parisāho rāje*
kings,
Open your gates, *tumace dāriṭhe*
ughadīje
And, O Gates, give *āṇī dāriṭhe ho tumhi*
place *vosarije*
For the invincible *āḍala jivivācem*
Soul!
The King and *mukticā rājā cakravati*
Emperor of *mukti*
Has come to enter, *praveśavyā ālā hmaṇati*
they say.

Then those guards *tevhāṁ te rākhaṇāmīta*
ask: *pusatī*
Who is that King of *kavaṇa to rājāmutkicā*³⁸
mukti?

The answer is:

This Lord of angels, *hāci boḍavyācā svāmī*
the life of the world, *jagajivana*
King of *mokṣapada*! *mokṣapadācā rājā*³⁹

Thereafter Jesus enters the house of *mokṣa* (*mokṣa āśrama*) accompanied by the blessed *bhaktas* or pious ones:

Telling such *aisā āpurva dāuna*
marvellous *yejusvāmī*
things, Lord Jesus,
Together with the *bhāgyevamīta*
blessed *bhaktas*, *bhaktāmsamāngamī*
With great *thora haserī mokṣa āśramī*
laughter into the
house of *mokṣa*
He entered. *praveśa kelā*⁴⁰

As the gate through which he enters is the gate of *vaikunṭha*, the house of *mokṣa* is obviously the same as *vaikunṭha*.⁴¹

Hindu *mukti* means liberation from *saṁsāra*, this world. *Saṁsāra* implies *punarjanma* (rebirth), which does not fit into Christian ideas of what man needs to be liberated from. Christianity has no concept of rebirth in that sense, but the word *punarjanma* reminisces of the biblical idea of being born again.⁴² Stephens draws on this idea in the eighth chapter of *Kristapurāṇa*, but avoids the word *punarjanma*. Instead, he speaks about a *navā janma* (new birth) in this *saṁsāra* through the grace of the Holy Spirit, by means of baptism, and firm faith.

Now the new birth begins. Without human intercourse
It comes through the grace of the Holy Spirit
In the world (saṁsāra).

That is the birth of baptism
And firm faith. It is the holy birth
Of the Lord's grace.

Like the Hindu concept of *punarjanma*, this *navā janma* takes place in *saṁsāra*. But if every new birth in a Hindu worldview by implication means at least temporary deprivation of *mukti*, this *navā janma* is rather a birth out of *saṁsāra* and into the state of *mukti*.⁴⁴ Those who are born with this *navā janma* will not get the inheritance of *saṁsāra*, but the supreme inheritance of *svarga*:

God does not give those children
The inheritance of *saṁsāra*.
An excellent inheritance he gives
Of the world of *svarga*.

The joy of *vaikunṭha*
Together with the angels

The Lord will let us enjoy it endlessly.

In this way, Stephens almost completely ignores the word *punarjanma*, but introduces the similar word *navā janma* and gives it a very different meaning. Described with Saussure's terminology, he introduces a similar signal and provides it with a new signification. The Hindu *punarjanma* signifies continued confinement in *saṁsāra*, but the Christian *navā janma* signifies liberation from *saṁsāra*. When the word *punarjanma* is finally used in II.43/44.28, it stands for the resurrection of the body at the time of the last judgement.⁴⁶

Stephens ignores the Hindu concept expressed by the signal *punarjanma*, introduces the similar signal *navā janma*, and gives it an opposite signification, and finally introduces the sign of *punarjanma* with a signification that is different from the one current in Hindu contexts but applicable in a Christian message.

Conclusion

The analysis in this article has treated words for heaven and salvation used in Thomas Stephens' *Kristapurāṇa*. The analysis has focused on how Stephens treats words linked with concepts in the Hindu/Vaiṣṇava language system from which they are taken, concepts difficult or impossible to accommodate in Stephens' Christian worldview. Such word-concept links are *vaikunṭha* as the abode of Viṣṇu, and *mukti/mokṣa* as liberation not only from death, but also from rebirth. In the case of Viṣṇu and *vaikunṭha*, Stephens handles the problem by using epithets like *vaikunṭharājā* for God, but never uses any of Viṣṇu's proper names. It is not what he says about *vaikunṭha* as

such that most dramatically alters the concept expressed by the word, but what he says about its king, *vaikunṭharājā*. The king of *vaikunṭha* that *Kristapurāṇa* refers to is not Viṣṇu, but the triune God of Christianity. Similarly, the most dramatic altering of the concept expressed by *mukti/mokṣa* is not brought about by what is said about *mukti/mokṣa* as such, but through tinkering with words that express what *mukti/mokṣa* are understood as liberation from. Stephens rids *samsāra* of *punarjanma* and gives *punarjanma* a new meaning, significantly different from the unwanted concept of rebirth. By altering the concepts expressed by words less crucial for his message, Stephens manages to alter even the central concepts without explicitly redefining them, and also without criticizing or refuting the concepts expressed by the same words in Hindu usage. His work can be read as an attempt to reshape what I have referred to as divine space. By giving familiar words the capacity to express new concepts, he made it possible to imagine divine space in a new way. From another perspective, it can of course be seen as an attempt to obscure or rid the same words of the capacity to express competing Hindu ideas.

Although the Christian literary activity in Marathi and Konkani was seriously impeded by the above-mentioned decrees in 1684 and 1704, and although using words with strong Hindu connotations in a Christian context may seem radical, *vaikunṭha*, *svarga*, *mukti* and *mokṣa*⁴⁷ all seem to have been in use throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It seems that *mukti* was more used than *mokṣa* and *svarga* more than the stronger Hindu sounding *vaikunṭha*. Stephens' own Konkani catechism, printed posthumously in 1622, using *svarga*, *vaikunṭha* and *mukti*, seems quite representative

in this regard.⁴⁸ The Jesuit Antonio de Saldanha, in both his mid-seventeenth century works about Saint Anthony of Padua, one in Marathi and the other in Konkani, used *mukti* and *svarga*.⁴⁹

The Konkani-Portuguese dictionary that, as the title says, was composed by Jesuits and revised by Diogo Ribeiro S. J. in 1626 has variants of all these words. It translates 'Suārgu' as *Ceo*⁵⁰, 'Vāincuttā' as *Paraizo celestial*, 'Mugti' as *Bem-aventurança* or *Salvação*⁵¹ and 'Mokhe' as *Bem-aventurança*.⁵²

Vaikunṭha and *svarga* are both used in *Christanchi Sastrazza Cathexismo*, a catechism written in a Marathi dialect spoken around present day Mumbai by an anonymous author and printed in Roman script in 1778.⁵³ The same is the case in a long passion poem in Marathi published by Anant Kakba Priolkar as *Kristācem yātanāgīta*.⁵⁴ According to a remark in the manuscript that he found in Goa, it was composed by a Father Manuel Jaques de Noronha, born and living in Goa, and written down by a Manuel Saluador Rebello, living in Madgaon, in 1768.⁵⁵

On the Hindi or Hindustani side, the French Capuchin missionary François Marie de Tours, chose Persian words for heaven and salvation instead of using the Sanskrit vocabulary adopted by the Marathi and Konkani authors. He composed a Latin-Hindi-French thesaurus in 1704 and a sort of outline for a catechism in Latin and Hindi with supplemented vocabulary, known as *Fragmentum Fabrianum*. As per my knowledge, none of them was ever printed. Instead of using the Sanskrit vocabulary of the Marathi and Konkani authors, de Tours' thesaurus has *āsmānn* for *caelum*, *bacht* for *paradisum*, *khālasī* and *salāmat(i)* for *salvatio*.⁵⁶ Assessing the reasons and consequences of this

choice is beyond the scope of this article. It may be due partly to the languages having different stocks of words or the missionaries different target groups, but might also be the outcome of different theological or linguistic ideas.

Whereas Nelson Falcao and others have praised *Kristapurāṇa* as an example of successful inculturation of Christianity in India,⁵⁷ Alexander Henn has insisted that it must be understood in light of the violent campaigns against Hinduism in Goa that preceded it.⁵⁸ Thomas Stephens was a child of his time, and as a Catholic priest in Portuguese Goa, he was inevitably a part of a repressive system where the Catholic Church was tightly knit to the colonial power. Nevertheless, Stephens' work

testifies to a high esteem of Indian languages and literary art. I will let this article end with an excerpt from a passage in the first chapter of *Kristapurāṇa*, where Thomas Stephens praises the Indian language that he had so painstakingly made his own:

Like the jasmine *jaisī puṣpāmāṃji puṣpa*
blossom among *mogarī*
flowers
Or musk among *ki parimaḷāṃmāji*
perfumes, *kasturi*
So graceful among *taisī bhāṣāmāji sājirī*
languages
Is Marathi. *marāthiyā*⁵⁹

Notes

¹ A similar idea is expressed in Romans 10:17: "Consequently, faith comes from hearing the message, and the message is heard through the word about Christ." All Bible quotes in this article are taken from NIV.

² A. Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity*, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2014, p. 40; G.S. Tulpule, *Classical Marāṭhī literature: from the beginning to a. d. 1818*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1979, p. 379.

³ Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa*, p. 73.

⁴ E. Koepping, 'India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma/Myanmar', in P.C. Pahn (ed.), *Christianities in Asia*, Singapore, Blackwell Publishing, 2011, p. 16.

⁵ See Stephens' letter to his brother (dated 24 Oktober 1583) in N. Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Ṣṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, Bengaluru, Khrīstu Jyoti Publications, 2009, p. 1671.

⁶ C. Veliath, 'Thomas Stephens – a human monument of inculturation in India', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Foreign Studies, Sophia University*, no. 46, 2011, pp. 161-162.

⁷ Cf. N. Falcao *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter. A Study of Inculturation in the Kristapurāṇa of*

Thomas Stephens, S.J. (1559-1619), Anand, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 2003, pp. 7-10.

⁸ Cf. Tulpule, pp. 379-386.

⁹ G. Nardini, "Roberto Nobile's *Vivāha dharma*", in A. Flüchter and R. Wirbser (eds.), *Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures. The Expansion of Catholicism in the Early Modern World*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2017, p. 233.

¹⁰ See Falcao, *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter*, p. 11.

¹¹ *Kristapurāṇa* 58/59.120, in N. Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Ṣṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, Bengaluru, Khrīstu Jyoti Publications, 2009.

¹² "Fr. Stephens' Letter to Rome – 1608", in N. Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Ṣṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, p. 1685.

¹³ Falcao *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁴ Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Ṣṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, Bengaluru, Khrīstu Jyoti Publications, 2009. Concerning the relation of the Marsden version to other extant versions, see Falcao, *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter*, pp. 22-23;

Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Sṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, pp. 1586-1656.

¹⁵ Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Sṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, p. (75): “[...] tiye kathevaraunu samastāṁsi satyavāntā paramesvarā vā teyācē yekāci putrā jesu kristāci voḷakhi hovāveyā, jeyā jesuvāṁconu āṇiyeka nāmva jeāce varaunu prāṇiyāsi mukti joḍe aiseṁ svargākhāluterē nameḷe.”

¹⁶ *Kristapurāṇa* I.1. 126-181.

¹⁷ Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Sṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, pp. (83)-(84): “[...] uma obra composta a modo da terra, e no estilo de que os naturaes mais gostam, a qual contém uma instrução e como cathecismo [...]”

¹⁸ Falcao (ed. and trans.), *Phādar Thomas Sṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, p. (78): “heṁ sarva marāṭhiye bhāsenā lihileṁ āhe. heā desīnceāṁ bhāsāmbhitura hī bhāsa paramesvarācē vastu niroḷāsi yogya aisi disali mhaṇaunu, paṇa sudha marāṭhī madhimā lokāsi nakāḷe dekhunu [...] māgileāṁ kavesvarāṁci bahutekeṁ avaghaḍeṁ utareṁ saṁḍunu sāmḷuceṁyāṁ kavesvarāṁciye ritupramāṇeṁ āṇiyekēṁ soṁpūṁ brāhmaṇāṁce bhāsecīṁ utareṁ ṭhāṁ ṭhāṁ misarita karunu kavitva soṁpeṁ keleṁ [...] āṇi je kavaṇa yekādeveḷāṁ purvileāṁ kavivāṁca struṅgāru vā baravi bhāsa adyāpīṁ āṭhavatāti te heṁ kavitva vācunu saṁtosu māṇitī [...]” All translations from Marathi are my own.

¹⁹ A. Master, *A Grammar of Old Marathi*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 13.

²⁰ J. Wilson, ‘Notes on the Constituent Elements, the Diffusion, and the Application of the Marāṭhī Language’, 1857, in J.T. Molesworth, *Molesworth’s Marathi-English Dictionary*, Pune, Shubhada-Saraswat Prakashan, 1996, p. xxvii.

²¹ F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Roy Harris, London, Duckworth, 1983, p. 67.

²² Saussure, p. 67.

²³ Saussure, p. 111.

²⁴ Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, p. 105

²⁵ E.g. *Kristapurāṇa* I.1.7, I.1.127.

²⁶ *Kristapurāṇa* II.37/38.113.

²⁷ *Kristapurāṇa* II.35/36.51.

²⁸ *Kristapurāṇa* II.32/33.80, II.29/30.58.

²⁹ *Kristapurāṇa* II.42/43.45.

³⁰ Molesworth, *Molesworth’s Marathi-English Dictionary*, pp. 773, 879.

³¹ *Kristapurāṇa* II.57/58.43, II.57/58.54.

³² *Kristapurāṇa* II.58/59.25.

³³ *Kristapurāṇa* II.58/59.52: “sakaḷa svargā varute/pavitra vaikūṁṭhātem”.

³⁴ L. González-Reimann, ‘Cosmic Cycles, Cosmology, and Cosmography’, in Jacobsen, Knut A., Helene Basu, Angelika Malinar and Vasudha Narayanan (eds.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Available from: Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Gothenburg University Library, (accessed 25 June 2015).

³⁵ Falcao, *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter*, p. 202.

³⁶ See e.g. *Kristapurāṇa* II.32/33.98, II.2.62, II.1.9, II.2.34, II.7.2, II.2.58, II.58/59.45.

³⁷ Psalm 24:7-8.

³⁸ *Kristapurāṇa* II.58/59.31-32.

³⁹ *Kristapurāṇa* II.58/59.37.

⁴⁰ *Kristapurāṇa* II.58/59.42.

⁴¹ Cf. also *Kristapurāṇa* II.48.94, where Jesus tells the criminal hanging on the cross besides his own: “Today you will be with me in *muktipada*” (*āji mājhe saṁve vartasi/mutkipadi*). The verse corresponds to Luke 23:43 and the locative form *muktipadi* obviously stands for Vulgate’s *in paradiso*, “in paradise”.

⁴² Cf. the story about Jesus and Nikodemus in John 3.

⁴³ *Kristapurāṇa* II.8.40-41. Here *Kristapurāṇa* differs slightly from the corresponding text in John 3:5, where the new birth comes through “water and the Spirit” only.

⁴⁴ Cf. Romans 6:3-14; Galatians 2:19-20.

⁴⁵ *Kristapurāṇa* II.8.42-43.

⁴⁶ Falcao, *Phādar Thomas Sṭīphanskṛta Khrīstapurāṇa*, p.1495.

⁴⁷ More precisely, vernacularized variants of these words were in use. The following account gives transliterations of standardized Marathi forms rather than the variants used in the early modern texts.

⁴⁸ Stephens, Thomas. *Doutrina Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim*, Rachol, Goa, 1622. Facsimile in: Saldanha, Mariano, *Doutrina Cristã em Lingua Concani pr Tomás Estêvão, S. J. Impressa em Rachol (Goa) em 1622. Segunda edição, fac-similada, Com Introdução, Notas e Glossário*, Lisbon, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1945, pp. 25, 32. For an analysis of how the theme of salvation is treated in *Doutrina Christam*, see Eliasson, Pär, *Mukti in Kristapurāṇa. How Thomas Stephens S.J. (1549-1619) conveys a christian message of salvation in words with Hindu connotations*, (MA thesis), University of Gothenburg, 2015, pp. 41-44.

⁴⁹ A. K. Priolkar (ed.), *Pādrī Āmtoniyu da Sāldadāñja viracita Sāmtu Āmtonicī jivitvakathā*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1964, no. 1, 2, 286, 506, 522, 532; A. K. Priolkar (ed.), *Sancto Antonīchī Acharyā*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1963, pp. 14, 70, 72.

⁵⁰ T. Maruyama (ed.), *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarim feito pellos padres da Companhia de Jesus que reside na Christandade de Salcete e novamente acrescentado com varios modos de fallar pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Companhia. Anno 1626*, Nagoya, Nanzan University, 2005, p. 312

⁵¹ Maruyama (ed.), *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarim*, p. 207

⁵² Maruyama (ed.), *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarim*, p. 204.

⁵³ E.g. Mīnā (ed.), *Uttara koṃkanī marāṭhī bolicā graṃtha. Kristāṃcī sāstrājā katheśijhmu*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1962, 1:5, 1:8; 2:2. See also M. Jośī, "Prastāvanā" p. 3-5, in: J. Mīnā (ed.), *Uttara koṃkanī marāṭhī bolicā graṃtha. Kristāṃcī sāstrājā katheśijhmu*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1962.

⁵⁴ A. K. Priolkar (ed.), *Kristācem yātanāgīta*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1959, no. 52, 71, 102 (*bhūmīm vaikumṭhī* for "in the garden of Eden"), 111, 145 (Jesus is given the epithet *muḡtipati*, "Lord of *mukti*"), 63, 79, 150.

⁵⁵ Priolkar, "Prastāvanā", p. 4, in: Priolkar (ed.), *Kristācem yātanāgīta*, Mumbai, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1959.

⁵⁶ *Thesaurus*, pp. 113, 145, 273. Cf. *Fragmentum Fabronianum*, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6.

⁵⁷ E.g. Falcao, *Kristapurāṇa: A Christian-Hindu Encounter*.

⁵⁸ E.g. Henn 'Kristapurāṇa: Translating the Name of God in Early Modern Goa'.

⁵⁹ *Kristapurāṇa* I.1.123.

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