

## Embodying Memories: Early Bible Translations in Tranquebar and Serampore

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The Bible is a storehouse of long-term memories, starting from the creation of the world and moving through various historical periods, geographic territories, and lives of numerous individuals, families, and nations. As the Bible has impacted the lives of countless people, especially their manner of constructing meaning and behavior, thus becoming part of their autobiographical memory, it has retained its positive power. Rendering the memories of the Bible into other languages and cultures requires long-term dedication, teamwork, and unwavering trust that the translated text of the Bible will, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, act on its own and produce worthy results. The memories are also associated with various emotions and loyalties; as such, they either help or hinder people in interpreting their past, especially their identities, as well as their present and their future.<sup>1</sup>

This article examines, from historical and theological perspectives, the early translations of the Bible into Tamil in Tranquebar and into Bengali and Chinese in Serampore. Tamil is my mother tongue, and I can evaluate the etymological, semantic, and historical meanings of words and phrases found in various Tamil translations. I do not, however, understand either Bengali or Chinese; my analysis of these translations therefore rests on purely historical sources. I attempt to highlight how successful Bible translators were willing to learn from the wisdom and life experiences of native scholars and common people, and how they laid firm foundations for better and more profound translations by future generations.

This article does not examine the earlier translations of biblical passages into Tamil or Malayalam or other Indian languages. Before the arrival in 1498 of Portuguese traders under Vasco da Gama, St. Thomas Christians used Syriac in their churches and Malayalam in their everyday contexts. The Portuguese introduced the Vulgate for worship in Kerala, and otherwise they were satisfied with their Portuguese version. The Jesuit missionaries, however, changed the situation; they translated parts of the Bible into Tamil. Their ecclesial loyalty prevented them from giving these translated texts to common people. However, they incorporated them into

their catechisms, storybooks, devotional literature, and grammars. Henrique Henriques (1520–1600), who spent fifty-two years among the Tamils, composed a Tamil grammar entitled *Arte da Lingua Malabar* (1548),<sup>2</sup> plus two additional volumes in Tamil: *Tampirān Vanakkam* (“Worshipping the Self-Existing One,” 1578) and *Adiyār Varalāru* (“History of Saints,” 1586). Thus, he created a basic Tamil vocabulary for Christian communication.

Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) was the next famous Jesuit who interacted deeply with the Tamils. His knowledge of Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Greek, Hebrew, Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit enabled him to coin additional words for Christian worship, theology, and witness. He embraced Sanskrit ways of thought and life so that he could introduce the message of the Gospel to the custodians of Sanskritic religious knowledge and rituals in urban temples that housed vegetarian deities.

Simultaneously, his younger colleague Balthazar da Costa (1610–73) catered to the spiritual needs of the members of other Tamil social strata that worshipped meat-eating guardian deities in villages situated on dry land. Ziegenbalg read and benefited from the Tamil works composed by the Jesuit missionary Jean Venance Bouchet (1655–1732). These Jesuits and their successors continually sought to adapt themselves to the cultural particularities of the Tamil peoples and to translate into Tamil the theological teachings of the Council of Trent (1545–63).

In neighboring Sri Lanka, the Dutch preacher Philippus Baldaeus (1632–72) employed Francis de Fonseca, a native Tamil, to translate the Bible into Tamil. His translation of Matthew’s gospel in the 1670s became well-known. He did not appreciate the Jesuit missionaries either in Sri Lanka or in Tamil country. Nevertheless, the his hand-written Tamil catechism, which I accidentally discovered in the National Library at Munich (Cod. Tamul 6), Germany, demonstrates his indebtedness to Henrique’s *Tampirān Vanakkam*. Like Baldaeus, the German Lutheran Pietist missionaries in Tranquebar too benefited from the Tamil works of Henriques and de Nobili. However, they remained unaware of de Fonseca’s translation.

### **Early Bible Translations in Tranquebar**

The small Danish colony of Tarangambādi (1620–1845), popularly known in European writings as Tranquebar, became the seedbed of modern Protestant

Christianity in and around the great cities of Cuddalore (1717), Chennai (1726, former Madras), Tanjore (1728, now Thanjāvūr), and Kolkata (1757, former Calcutta). The newly established seaport town of Tranquebar (1620) on the southeastern Coromandel Coast attracted Hindus, Muslims, Roman Catholic Christians, German and Danish Lutherans, and people of several other religious and ideological persuasions. It housed two mosques for Muslims, a Roman Catholic Church for Indian Christians, the Zion Church (1701) for all European Protestant Christians, and fifty-one Hindu temples of various sizes. Although Europeans viewed Tranquebar as legally and ecclesiastically a territory of Christendom, belonging to Denmark, Indians felt themselves religiously accountable to the king of Tanjore. The trade treaty of 1620 between the Danes and the king ensured that the Europeans in Tranquebar could freely practice their Augsburg religion, but no Indian was required or expected to follow the Lutheran tenets. Of the eighteen languages spoken in this colony, Tamil occupied the preeminent position, with Indian Portuguese functioning as the means of communication between Indians and Europeans. Few Tamils such as Alagappan, Timothy Kudiyān or Peter Malaiyappan were fluent in German, Danish, Portuguese, and Dutch.

The origin of the first Lutheran overseas mission was inseparably linked, on the one hand, to the troubling affairs of Frederick IV with Elisabeth Helena von Vieregg (1679–1704), the absolute monarch of Denmark, and, on the other, to the Lutheran Pietist leaders in Berlin, Copenhagen, and Halle (Saale). During this time, Frederick's court chaplain Franz Julius Lützens reminded the monarch that he, according to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), had the responsibility to care for spiritual welfare of his subjects at home and in overseas colonies. After much deliberations with his friends in Berlin, Lützens was able to invite Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau to Copenhagen. At his recommendation, the king formally called these Germans his missionaries and fulfilled the ordinances of the Danish Church. He also ordered the otherwise unwilling Bishop of Copenhagen to ordain them for their work in Danish colonies. Following his instructions, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau landed in Tranquebar on July 9, 1706; initially, the local colonial authorities did not welcome them, for fear that their work might encourage the Tamils to claim their rights and thus damage not only Danish commercial prospects but also the existence of the colony itself. As a result, the missionaries endured several types of hardships. Yet, with the help of a few Tamils, who dared to associate with them,

the missionaries developed their work, the most significant part of which was their effort to translate the Bible into Tamil.

*Ziegenbalg's convictions regarding the Bible.* Ziegenbalg, took his Lutheran convictions seriously. He knew the importance of Christ's incarnation: the Logos became flesh and blood. He therefore inferred that God's Word should be incarnated into Tamil so that the Tamils could hear it in their own mother tongue. Like the Jesuits, Ziegenbalg made every effort to understand the historical, cultural, religious, and social meanings of each word that he chose; for this purpose, he compiled two Tamil lexicons: one with words used in Tamil prose, the other, with words used only in poetry. He upheld the missiological implication of Martin Luther's sixty-second thesis, namely, "The true treasure of the church" is the Gospel of "the glory and grace of God." Ziegenbalg concluded that the Tamils should have the entire Bible in their mother tongue, so that they could adequately appreciate God's glory and grace exhibited to them in Jesus Christ and now made relevant by the Holy Spirit.

Additionally, Ziegenbalg often reminded himself of the last words of his dying mother, namely, that the Bible is the greatest treasure that she had given her children. Following the holistic principle of Jesus Christ in preaching God's kingdom and healing the sick and needy, Ziegenbalg defined his mission as a "service to the soul" and "service to the body." He believed that the Tamils should be able to interact with all the texts of the Bible so that they could fully realize the benefits of the Bible for their souls and for their bodies. Using their biblical insights, they would reread their inherited history, religious literature, and sociocultural practices and see how they could make them more humane and harmonious for all people.

Ziegenbalg received much guidance from his Pietist mentors in Germany, particularly Philipp Jacob Spener, August Hermann Francke, and Johann Joachim Lange; these men stressed the Bible in every aspect of their ministry among students in the university, schools, orphanages, and churches. Ziegenbalg liked their sermons on repentance. His own conversion experience underlined the importance of harmony between the Creator and the creature. In this context, he viewed the Bible as the Book of Grace and creation as the Book of Nature; for him, these two Books provided a holistic understanding of human society as it should be. He believed that the Bible portrayed human beings as being created in God's image; yet their fall into sin caused disrupted their relationship with God. Jesus's death on the cross opened a new way of

obtaining forgiveness of sins and the gift of eternal life. Ziegenbalg acted on the conviction that embracing Christ's offer of salvation would reestablish and revitalize harmonious relationships not only between God and human beings, but also among one another, between human beings, and all other creatures. It would lead them to realize their practical role as the responsible stewards of God-entrusted natural resources, time, and opportunities. For all these reasons, the Tamils should have the Bible in their mother tongue.

*Ziegenbalg's translation methods and results.* In order to make a translation that communicated well, Ziegenbalg listened to and learned from Cepperumāl, his cook at home, his seventy-year-old blind teacher and his schoolchildren, the poet Ganapati Vāttiyār, the Tamil boys and girls in his own mission schools, the Tamil converts in the Jerusalem Church, his assistant Peter Malaiyappan, translator Alagappan, and countless dialogue partners. By August 1708 he had digested the contents of 119 Tamil writings, mostly on Tamil bhakti religions and codes of ethical conduct; his reading list included Tamil manuscripts inscribed on palm leaves written by Roman Catholic missionaries and Muslim scholars. He also translated three short works on Tamil ethics into German, namely *Ulaka Nīti*, *Kondrai Vēntan*, and *Nīti Venpā* (respectively, 'Worldly Righteousness,' ethical codes in honor of Śiva as 'King wearing the Kondrai flowers' and 'Righteousness in Venba' meter). The sophisticated level of Tamil ethics toward fellow human beings and other creatures surprised him. He noted that Tamils attained outstanding ethics without the aid of the Bible. If only they could read it in their mother tongue, he reasoned, they would obtain inner strength to fulfill Tamil ideals and enhance their humaneness.

The richness of the Tamil language and Tamil ways of life astonished Ziegenbalg. In 1711 he composed a treatise on Tamil society, entitling it *Malabarian Heathenism*. In it he illustrated Tamil notions of theology and ways of life. In order to substantiate his claims, he quoted from seventy-three Tamil works. Two years later, in 1713, he thematically arranged 145 letters written by his Tamil correspondents and presented their views on the hidden God, the revealed God, spirit beings, and social customs. He appropriately titled his work *The Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods*. He and his colleague Johann Ernst Gründler continued to receive further letters from their Tamil correspondents on various topics and compiled another work, entitled *The Malabarian Correspondence* (1712–14). Here the Tamil correspondents revealed the

deeper levels of their sociocultural and religious world to the German Lutheran missionaries, who were willing to learn from them.

In this context, Ziegenbalg was largely able to transcend the Lutheran hostility toward Roman Catholics that was common in Europe. He acknowledged that he had readily borrowed Jesuit words and phrases for God, human beings, sin, salvation, church, and life. He sought to remove Roman Catholic nuances from these words and phrases and to fill them with Lutheran contents.

Some of these words include *Parāparavastu* (God as the ‘most Supreme Substance or Being’), *Suvicēcam* (‘good news’), *Saruvēcuran* (‘the Lord of All’), *Pāvam* (‘sin’), *Tiruccapai* (‘holy assembly,’ i.e., the church), *Jebam* (‘prayer’), *Karaiyērutal* (‘getting ashore,’ i.e., attaining salvation), and the like. Like the Jesuits before him, Ziegenbalg could not find compatible Tamil words for *Kurucu* (“cross”), *Ispirinthu Cāntu* (“Holy Spirit”), and *Apōstalar* (“apostles”). Therefore, he simply transliterated them. These Jesuit words and phrases had their prehistory steeped in Tamil bhakti religions such as Saivism and Vaishnavism. The Jesuits and later the German Lutherans tried hard to give these words and phrases Christian meanings and encouraged their Tamil adherents to adopt them. These terms, however, have remained ambiguous and contested.

On October 17, 1708, Ziegenbalg began translating the New Testament. On March 31, 1711, after less than two and a half years’ work, he finished the first draft, which he then revised many times before printing the four gospels and Acts on September 25, 1714. By September 1715 the entire New Testament was printed. By the time of his death in February 1719, he had translated also the Old Testament from Genesis to Joshua. It is interesting that he preferred the colloquial form of Tamil as spoken by the fisherman in Tranquebar to the poetic form of Tamil cultivated by the literati. He had no interest in impressing people with beautiful rhymes of words and phrases; instead, he wanted all Tamils, however untrained they might be, to be able to understand the intended meanings of the biblical writers. He called the Bible *Cattiya Vētam*, or “True Knowledge,” which is capable of offering salvation.

Ziegenbalg could have been a much better translator had he not allowed his pride to hamper his work. Overconfidence in his ability, at least as he portrayed it to his European readers, prevented him from seeking corrections and revisions of his draft texts. He confessed that he single-handedly translated the texts and wrote them as prose. Tamil scholars usually used poems to express their ideas, although their

everyday language was prosaic. Instead of seeking their help, Ziegenbalg claimed to have translated biblical texts all alone.<sup>3</sup>

*Successors to Ziegenbalg.* His successors, especially Benjamin Schultze and Christoph Theodosius Walther, spent time revising Ziegenbalg's translation. Schultze explained in detail his procedure in translating the Old Testament. First he read the Hebrew text and grasped its meaning. Then he consulted translations of the same text in English, Spanish, Italian, French, Danish, Dutch, and German. He discussed the content of the text with knowledgeable Tamils and dictated a Tamil version to his assistant Peter Malaiyappan. As the latter read it aloud, Schultze tried to assess whether the Tamil text communicated the same meaning as the Hebrew text and whether those around him could comprehend it; if there were doubts, Schultze sought the help of a Brahmin scholar.

Even with this careful approach, however, Schultze's Tamil is not great. He preferred to spend more time with the texts that he translated, whether it was the Bible or Freylinghausen's hymns or Johann Arndt's *True Christianity* or the *Garden of Paradise*. His interaction with the Tamil people in the schools, at the church, and in the society was fairly limited. Schultze's colleague Walther and his successors, especially Johann Philip Fabricius (1711–91), revised the Tamil texts repeatedly. Fabricius is known for the *Golden Translation of the Bible* (1758–77), which most Tamil Lutherans still use in their worship services.

When Claudius Buchanan, the Evangelical chaplain of Kolkata, visited the Tamil area, he noticed the contributions of these Lutherans to the Tamil Bible. In 1806 he participated in the centenary celebration of the arrival of the Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar and particularly commended their translation accomplishments:

During the whole of the last century, Providence favoured them [i.e., the Hindus in southern India] with a succession of holy and learned men, educated at the Universities of Germany: among whom was the venerable Swartz, called the Apostle of the East; and others not much inferior to him; men whose names are scarcely known in this country [i.e., Britain], but who are as famous among the Hindoos, as Wickliffe and Luther are amongst us. The ministry of these good men was blessed in many provinces in the south of India, and bounds of their churches are extending into this day. The language of the country is called the *Tamul*; and the first translation of the Bible in that language was made, as we said, about a hundred years ago. Like

Wickliffe's Bible with us, it became the father of many versions, and, after a succession of improved editions, it is now considered by the Brahmins themselves (like Luther's Bible in German) as a classical standard of the *Tamul* tongue.<sup>4</sup>

As times changed and translators were able to gain deeper insight into the Tamil language, newer and more accurate translations began to appear. Notable translators were C. T. Rhenius (1790–1838), Henry Bower (1812–85), C. H. Monahan, D. Rājarāgam, and several others.<sup>5</sup> Nowadays, the *Tiruviviliyam* (“Holy Bible,” 1995), translated by an ecumenical group of Roman Catholic and Protestant biblical scholars, is promoted as the common translation for both Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions. It will take time for Protestants to accept this new version of the Tamil Bible because most senior members in Protestant congregations are used to Bower's translation; they have memorized various verses from this Bible. In time, I expect they will begin promoting the *Tiruviviliyam*, and then others will also learn to use it.

In the meantime, a survey of various words used for God shows the linguistic and theological complexity of translation. Most Hindus uphold the teachings of the Rigveda that “the Truth is one, but the learned state it differently” (1.164.46) and thus do not attribute ultimate validity to any one particular divine manifestation. They therefore have difficulty in accepting the distinct claims of the Christian Trinity in general, and of Jesus Christ in particular. Nonetheless, de Nobili and Ziegenbalg happily introduced God using the word *Saruvēcuran* (“Lord of all”); by contrast, Walther preferred *Parāparan* (“the Most Supreme One,” comprising all apparent paradoxes), C. T. Rhenius used *Tarparan* (“Self-Existing Lord”), H. Bower was satisfied with *Dēvan* (“God” as a shining being in the heavens, in the sense of a deity), and the translators of the *Tiruviviliyam* seek to convey the concept of God through the word *Kadavul* (“the One who has gone through everything and yet abides in the innermost of a person”). Except for this last term, all the other words are masculine nouns that have feminine parallels. Also, all translators have had difficulty in finding Tamil nouns that are capable of expressing the personhood and divinity of the Holy Spirit. The transliteration of the Portuguese word *Espíto Santo* (“Holy Spirit”) as *Ispirintu Cāntu* did not satisfy anyone; similarly, the noun *arūbi* (“a formless being”) had its own difficulty. More recently, translators have decided on the phrase *Paricutta Āvi* (“the holy soul, mind, life-power”). Whenever Christians refer to this phrase, they



remind themselves of the personhood and divinity of the Holy Spirit within the Trinity. But, non-Christians have difficulty in comprehending this epithet and theological significance.

*Significance of the Bible in Tamil.* Despite these problems, the Tamil Bible has clearly been significant in the lives of individuals and their families. Most Tamil Christians have come from social strata that were considered to be outside of the fourfold Hindu *Varna* system; as such, they were deemed unworthy and unfit to worship God or read the scriptures of the four *Varnas*. The Tamil Bible became their alternate scripture, which was more readily understandable than the holy texts of the Hindus written in either Sanskrit or *Manipiravālam* (i.e., a mixture of Sanskrit and metric / poetical Tamil). By contrast, the Tamil Bible enabled women and men, girls and boys to gather for corporate worship under the same roof. To some degree, they were able to transcend the social and ritual divisions enforced not only by the *Varna* system but also by countless *jātis* (“birth-based groups”), each with specific habits of eating food, entering marriage alliances, and keeping ritual purity.

The Tamil Bible has taught them how, by God’s grace and faith in Jesus Christ, they can break the endless cycle of births and deaths known as *karmasamsāra* and attain *moksha* (“liberation,” in the sense of salvation); their eternity with God as revealed by Jesus Christ does not begin after their death but starts at the moment, when they subject themselves to the Lordship of Jesus Christ here and now! The fact that God in Christ loves them, cares for them, touches them, and heals them has released remarkable transformative power. With fresh dignity and self-worth, as beloved people created in God’s image, these people seek and reach social upward mobility. Their new attitudes, thoughts, and behavior patterns change the society and make it more humane. These positive characteristics outweigh the limitations found among Christian communities in many places; They are yet to discover ways of not becoming slaves to power, prestige, politics, privileges, and possession of movable and immovable properties, but turning them into opportunities for better service. Despite such challenges, they are clearly on the way toward a better future. The tension of God’s reign as the reality of “already-and-not-yet” is evident in their lives.

### **Early Bible Translations in Serampore**

British Baptist missionaries were preceded in Kolkata by Roman Catholic and Lutheran missionaries. And Anglican ministers and chaplains served their own people in Kolkata, the capital city, which housed the administrative headquarters of the English East India Company. The Battle of Plassey (1757) marks the ascension of the English to political, economic, and military power. The trade and administrative policy of the East India Company was to avoid offending the Muslims and Hindus who worked for them as merchants, translators, intelligence gatherers, soldiers, account keepers, and go-betweens. As a result, the company was anti-Christian in the sense of not wanting to introduce Christianity to Indians.

In 1757 Robert Clive won the Battle of Plassey and began living in Kolkata. John Zecharias Kiernander, who previously worked as a Tranquebar missionary in Cuddalore in the Tamil area, knew Clive and even had named his son after Robert Clive. After the French had taken over Cuddalore, Kiernander as a Protestant missionary had to leave the city. At that time, he decided to move to Kolkata and got Clive's support. There the Anglican clergymen Henry Butler and Henry Cape welcomed him and provided initial support. Soon, Kiernander established a school and it grew to serve 175 children. In Kolkata he also founded the *Lal Girija* ("Red Church"), also known as *Beth Tephilla* ("House of Prayer") or the *Old Mission Church*. In order to make his missionary work self-sufficient, he and his son Robert Kiernander involved in real estate business. When the value of the land plunged, Kiernander lost his money, trust, and credibility. By the 1790s he was frail, bankrupt, and almost blind.

Two years before the Battle of Plassey, the Danes had established their trading post Friedrichsnagar/Serampore (1755), about twelve miles north of Kolkata. Bartholomäus Lebrecht Ziegenbalg, the only surviving son of the founder of Tranquebar Mission, became its first director (1758–60); he invited Kiernander to conduct divine services in Serampore. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, however, Lutheran witness in the city of Kolkata had become almost nonexistent, which led the Baptist missionaries to believe, incorrectly, that they were the first Protestant missionaries there.

*Thomas and Carey in Midnapore.* The Baptist missionaries included John Thomas and William Carey, as well as his wife, Dorothy.<sup>6</sup> When they arrived in Kolkata, they

were not welcome there because, according to the Church of England, they were dissenting non-conformists. In this condition, they did not obtain permission from the Anglican Archbishops of either Caternbury or York. These Baptists were not trained at Cambridge or Oxford. Instead, they came from artisan families such as shoemakers, weavers, and printers. Because of their trades, however, they had learned the art of interacting with all kinds of people, and they were filled with evangelistic zeal to spread God's Word among the Bengalis.

The Anglicans in Kolkata found these characteristics strange and were thus unwelcoming and indifferent. Consequently, the Baptists took employment in an indigo factory in Midnapore; this work provided them opportunity to deepen their knowledge of the Bengali language and culture. Earlier, Carey had learned the basics of this language from John Thomas and Nathaniel Brassey Halhead's *Bengali Grammar* (1778). Fortunately, he polished his Bengali with the learned Brahmin Ramram Basu (ca. 1751–1813), who, as a translator at the Supreme Court in Kolkata, was well-versed in Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian, and perhaps to some extent in English as well. Earlier, he was John Thomas's Bengali teacher. During his continued stay in Midnapore, Carey discovered Bengali ways of constructing meaning and setting priorities for life and action. He observed their hierarichal and horizontal relationships and networks. He noted how the Bengalis coped with uncertainties of life under the changing circumstances of Bengali rulers and the administrators of the East India Company. Carey appreciated their determined perseverance towards a better future and decided to help them with the Bible and his Baptist message and polity.

In 1798 George Udney donated a wooden printing press to Carey so that he could publish his translation of the Bengali Bible. By October of the following year, younger members of the Baptist Missionary Society—William Ward and Joshua Marshman, with their wives—reached Kolkata but were refused entry.<sup>7</sup> They proceeded to the nearby Danish settlement of Serampore. There Col. Olaf Bie, who had personally known the work of the Royal Danish Halle Missionaries in Tranquebar and who respected the exemplary services of the missionary Christian Friedrich Schwartz in Tanjore (1772–1798), granted them permission to live in the settlement.

*Carey and his team in Serampore.* Soon, Carey also joined Ward and Marshman, and this small Danish colony became a hub of Baptist missionary activity. Thee three, as

non-Conformists were self-taught scholars. Their collective ability to communicate with ordinary people eminently prepared them for their translation work.

The Baptist missionaries obtained practical help from Panchanan Karmakar and his younger brother Manohar Karmakar, who skillfully cut the language-specific fonts needed for Bengali and other languages. Using these fonts, the Baptist missionaries printed the entire New Testament in Bengali on February 7, 1801. They understood their work as a preparation for God's reign in Kolkata; they tilled the ground and sowed the seed, and they were confident that, in the future, it would grow and produce results.<sup>8</sup> One of their firstfruits was the carpenter Krishna Pal,<sup>9</sup> who, as a follower of Jesus Christ, dared to renounce his caste pride and ate with the Baptist missionaries, whom he would have otherwise avoided as detestable *mlecchas* ("barbarians"). His conversion encouraged the missionaries to persevere.

In the meantime, in the mission field, away from the English centers of interdenominational rivalry between the members of the established Church of England and the Dissenters, the Baptist missionaries in Serampore and the Anglican chaplains of the English East India Company forged lasting ecumenical friendship for the sake of mission among the non-Christians. In 1804 David Brown, the first Evangelical chaplain, who had lived in Serampore since 1803, became the provost of the newly established College of Fort William. Here the Anglo-Indian civil servants of the East India Company got their training in Indian languages, religions, and cultures.<sup>10</sup> For this purpose, and because Brown needed capable teachers of several Indian languages, he installed William Carey as professor of Bengali and Sanskrit. Carey was enthused about the possibility of working with these scholars in one place and soliciting their help in revising his earlier translation drafts and initiating new translations of the Bible into several Asian languages. On December 14, 1805, he expressed his hope in these words:

We have it in our power, if our means would do for it, in the space of about fifteen years, to have the Word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from the natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here. About 700 rupees per month, part of which we shall be able to furnish, could complete the work. On this great work we have fixed our eyes. Whether God will enable us to accomplish it, or any considerable part of it, is uncertain.<sup>11</sup>

*Accomplishments, hopes for future translators.* By this time, Carey had already composed a grammar for Bengali and Marathi, and he was in the process of compiling a grammar for Sanskrit, which appeared in 1806. In Carey's opinion, Sanskrit was the source of several Indian languages. At the same time, in order to more fully understand the religious attitudes and thoughts of the Vaishnavite Hindus in Kolkata, he and Marshman translated Vālmikī's *Rāmāyanā* into English.<sup>12</sup> They were more than meticulous in their work. Carey and Marshman continually revised their drafts and sought help from Hindus, Muslims, and others,

who both translate and sometimes write out rough copies; and should think it criminal not to do so. But we never print any translation till every word has been revised and re-revised. Whatever helps we employ, I have never yet suffered a single word, or a single mode of construction, to pass without examining it and seeing through it. I read every proof-sheet twice or thrice myself, and correct every letter with my hand. Brother Marshman and I compare with the Greek or Hebrew, and brother Ward reads every sheet. Three of the translations, Bengali, Hindustani, and Sanscrit [*sic*], I translate with my own hand; the two last immediately from the Greek; and the Hebrew Bible before me, while I translate the Bengali. . . . Indeed, I have never yet thought anything perfect that I have done. I have no scruple, however, in saying that I believe every translation that we have printed to be a good one.<sup>13</sup>

Carey believed that the Bible remained the “book of life” and the “fountain of knowledge.” He and his colleagues thought of the vernacular versions of the Bible as lights that would brighten all of India.<sup>14</sup> But their draft translations demanded continuous revisions. For example, Carey often consulted the scholars at the College of Fort William and requested their help to improve his translation. They suggested him better alternatives.<sup>15</sup> Soon he realized that he as an outsider would not be able to grasp the deepest meanings of Indian languages. He could understand the grammar, but had difficulty in empathizing with the nuanced meanings of words, the emotions that they evoke, and associations that they make. He also knew how Europeans who had invested enormous amount of time, energy, and resources in acquiring Indian languages become sick, left India or died. Their knowledge went with them.

Training Indian students to engage with Sanskrit, Hebrew and Greek texts would introduce them to the “original foundations of sacred knowledge.”<sup>16</sup> If they could translate the Bible directly from Hebrew and Greek into their mother tongues,

they would be better equipped to communicate with local peoples. The missionaries further assumed that Indians would learn Hebrew and Greek, which resembled Sanskrit in many ways. They believed that Indians would learn these languages more easily than Europeans because Indian culture and society were greatly similar to the social lifestyles reflected in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, countless Indians had already mastered Arabic, which was “so much more complex and copious than Hebrew.” Similarly, Indians who know Sanskrit could more readily master Greek because Sanskrit grammar was simpler than Greek.<sup>18</sup> Carey and his colleagues thus laid a firm foundation for Indian Christian translators of the Bible. This idea resulted in the formation of the New College in Serampore (1818), in which both Christian and non-Christian students were trained in several disciplines, including theology.

By 1820 Carey and his team had published the entire Bible in five languages: Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindi, Oriya, and Marathi; and the New Testament, in ten other languages: Chinese, Punjabi, Pashto (of Afghanistan), Telugu, Konkani, Multan, Assamese, Gujarati, Bikaner (of Rajasthan), and Kashmiri.<sup>19</sup>

### **Chinese Bible Translations in Serampore**

It is of interest to note that the first Chinese New Testament was printed in Serampore. Carey and his colleagues discovered that Chinese and Sanskrit were the mother languages from which, respectively, several East Asian and North Indian languages arose.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, in order to reach the 300 million Chinese speakers of that time, Joshua Marshman began translating the Bible into Chinese, a difficult task that Claudius Buchanan, the second Evangelical chaplain in Kolkata, persuaded Marshman to accept. In Kolkata he had already met Johannes Lassar (1781–ca. 1835), an Armenian merchant who was born and raised in Macao and was fluent in colloquial Chinese, which he had learned and spoken from his childhood; he was also able to read and write Chinese (most probably Mandarin). Buchanan introduced Lassar to Marshman in Serampore. Buchanan had requested the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to allow two fund-raising sermons to be preached on the necessity of this translation. With the money raised, Buchannan supported Lassar with a monthly salary of 300 rupees for fifteen years.<sup>21</sup> Lassar used the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*, compiled by the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743), and

taught Chinese to Marshman, his son John Marshman, and Jabez Carey. An unnamed Chinese native speaker from Guangzhou seems to have helped them as well.<sup>22</sup>

In order to understand the depths of the Chinese psyche, thought patterns, and construction of meaning and communication in various kinds of relationships, Marshman studied the writings of Confucius, translated some of them into English, and published them in Serampore.<sup>23</sup> Five years later, in 1814, Marshman rejoiced in printing both Confucius's original and its English translation.<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note that Marshman, like Ziegenbalg a century earlier, preferred to use a colloquial form of Chinese and rejected the formal, classical styles of communication by the sociocultural elites. His preference for colloquial language would later be criticized.

If Marshman and Lassar had cooperated with two other contemporary Bible translators—Robert Morrison (1782–1834) in Guangzhou and William Milne (1785–1822) in Malacca, both of the London Missionary Society—their translation would have been different, perhaps better. Since 1814 they had known about each other's work. It seems that Morrison sent his manuscript of Chinese grammar from Macao to Marshman in April 1811. However, Marshman printed it only in 1815<sup>25</sup> and claimed it to be the first English work on Chinese grammar. It seems that differences of opinion regarding Lassar's ability as a translator and loyalties to their respective mission agencies prevented further cooperation.

The Chinese version by Marshman and Lassar, entitled *Sheng Jing*, was printed in 1822. In the following year Morrison and Milne published their version of the Chinese Bible, entitled *Shentian Shengshu*. Hanan notes that both Marshman and Morrison closely followed the words, idioms, and syntax of the Bible as inspired text and sought to fit them into Chinese. As a result, their translation sounded “awkward.”<sup>26</sup> In 1890 John Wherry (1837–1918), a Presbyterian missionary, voiced a similar concern:

Compared with the Bibles in current use to-day the style [of Marshman and Lassar] is crude, often painfully so. Its infelicities are due to too great an effort after literalism, to narrowness of range in the translator's vocabulary, unfamiliarity with important principles of grammatical structure, to the lack of Chinese terms at that early date to express Biblical and Christian ideas. Still, it is surprising how much of the actual contents of the book is good current Chinese, and that a large proportion of it appears, *ipsissimis verbis* [i.e., word for word] in subsequent translations.<sup>27</sup>

Hanan summarized various evaluations of linguistic achievements by Morrison and Milne and concluded that the style of their Chinese translation was “intolerably unidiomatic and disfigured.”<sup>28</sup> William Milne felt that learning Chinese required “bodies of iron, lungs of brass, heads of oak, hands of spring steel, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels, and lives of Methuselah.”<sup>29</sup> Even then, he and his colleague Morrison had to be satisfied with their work being a valuable draft for better translations in future.

### **Troubles in Serampore and Kolkata**

Convinced by their understanding of baptism as requiring immersion, the Baptist missionaries in Serampore translated the Greek verb *baptizō* with an active Bengali verb *doba* (“to sink”); they believed that Bengali speakers would understand this verb more readily than the transliterated Greek verb *baptizō*, as preferred by other Bengali translators.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society, which partially funded the translation of the Bible into Chinese, withdrew its support of the Baptist missionaries in Serampore.

Carey’s appointment in the College of Fort William enabled the Baptists in Serampore to survive and carry on their work for the next few years. Troubles, however, soon erupted in the college. In 1804 John Borthwick Gilchrist (1759–1841), professor of Hindustani, believed that, if Indians would read the Bible in their own languages and compare them with their sacred scriptures, they might consider becoming followers of Jesus Christ. No sooner this idea was placed before the civil service trainees than conflicts broke out. In February 1804 Buchanan reported that Muslim and Hindu employees and associates of the East India Company protested against English disregard for toleration and administrative neutrality; according to Buchanan, “the old civil servants fan the flame.”<sup>31</sup>

In this context, William Ward raised an alarm bell. He wondered whether the priorities of Carey and Marshman in translating the Bible were unrealistic and impractical. In his journal entry of April 27, 1806, he complained that Carey and Marshman wasted their time in attempting to translate the Bible into languages that they did not understand well, that they would not be able to distribute their translated works to others, and that they failed to realize that the grammars and dictionaries of



the Jesuits “are now rotting in the libraries of Rome.”<sup>32</sup> Despite these and other major setbacks, including a devastating fire in 1812, Carey and Marshman persevered with determination, even developing their work further.

In October 1825 the *Quarterly Papers* published a facsimile version of Matthew 4:16 (“The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light”) in thirteen languages.<sup>33</sup> This statement sums up the attitude of the Baptist missionaries toward their work: in comparison to the clarity and brightness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, non-Christian systems of faith and sociocultural achievements appeared dark, inadequate, unclear, and mysterious. Yet, these missionaries were careful to note the presence and preparatory works of God through the Indian societies, cultures, languages, scriptures, and worldviews, with all their moral and religious achievements. In their view, they were grafting the Gospel of Jesus Christ into the already existing knowledge and experience of God among Indians. The resultant Christianity, as it continues to evolve to this day in Indian contexts, is a tribute to the work of these and other missionaries before and after them.

### **Conclusion**

The linguistic aspects of all translations of the Bible, and not its contents, should be understood as tentative drafts because languages are living entities, and they change according to the influences and needs of their context and the spirit of their age. Scholars in successive generations will therefore continually seek to improve the effect and accuracy of communication so that readers and listeners are able to discern and act on the explicit and implicit meanings of God’s Word. In this regard, the pioneer translations by Lutherans in Tranquebar and Baptists in Serampore broke new ground in cross-cultural translation; they utilized translation methods that could be debated and improved. Their imperfect translations were meaningful and powerful enough to positively transform the lives of several Indians. The Baptists in Serampore knew about the translation achievements of the Lutherans in Tranquebar, but they were unwilling to collaborate in their efforts.

Second, the Lutherans and the Baptists did not have to begin their translations from scratch; they had access to grammars, dictionaries, and limited translated works of the Jesuits in their region. The Lutherans got little help from English chaplains at Fort St. George in Chennai; they met English governors there, but the animosity

shown to them by the Danish governor in Tranquebar prevented the English governor from extending any help to the Lutherans. But the situation of the Baptists was different. Initially, the East India Company in Kolkata prohibited Baptist work in the city. After the Danes granted them favor in Serampore, however, the situation changed. Now the Baptists could discuss their ideas and plans with other British Orientalists associated with the Asiatic Society (formed in 1784) in Kolkata, Indian Reformers such as Raja Rammohun Roy, governors-general of the East India Company such as Marquis Wellesley and William Bentinck, and Evangelical chaplains such as David Brown and Claudius Buchanan. Together, they were able to work toward abolishing the abominable socioreligious practices of female infanticide and suttee (widow suicide). With the help of a few scholars of the College of Fort William, they could promote their translation of the Bible into several languages.

Third, these Bible translations embody the memories of their teamwork and attempts to find appropriate words or coin new phrases. The Bibles bear witness to the art of cutting fonts, manufacturing paper, and the use of printing press. In order to make their translations understandable, the missionary-translators examined the sociocultural and religious life of the people in Tranquebar or in Serampore, thus allowing them to use the insights they gained from collaboration with their Indian partners.

Finally, the translations of the Bible in Tranquebar and Serampore have enabled Indian Christians to form alternate communities with an alternate Scripture. Only a few of them are part of the lower strata of the Varna system; most of them are from groups excluded from this system altogether. These Avarna groups derive their inspiration for life from the Bible in their mother tongue;<sup>34</sup> with its help they evaluate their inherited worldviews, assumptions, and traditions and see how they make it better fit to ennoble life for all. The enduring memories of the Bible and their fresh transmissions remain alive, active, and transformative.

—Daniel Jeyaraj

### **Suggested Further Reading**

**The Lutherans in Tranquebar**

- Germann, Wilhelm. "Die wissenschaftliche Arbeit unserer alten Tamulen-Missionare mit Berücksichtigung neuerer Leistungen." *Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle*, 1865, no. 1, pp. 1–27; no. 2, pp. 53–81; no. 3, pp. 85–119.
- Gross, Andreas, et al., eds. *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*. 3 vols. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006.
- Jeyaraj, Daniel. *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: The Father of Modern Protestant Mission; An Indian Assessment*. Delhi: ISPCK, 2006.
- Lehmann, Arno: *It Began in Tranquebar: The Story of the Tranquebar Mission and the Beginnings of Protestant Christianity in India*. Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1956.
- Nørgaard, Anders. *Mission und Obrigkeit: Die Dänish-Hallesche Mission in Tranquebar, 1706–1845*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1988.
- Rosenkilde, Volmer. *Printing at Tranquebar, 1712–1845*. London: Biographical Society, 1949.
- Sandegren, Johannes. *From Tranquebar to Serampore*. Serampore: Serampore College, 1956.

### **The Baptist Mission in Serampore**

- Carey, William: *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the Religious State of the different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of further Undertakings are considered*. Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792.
- Chatterjee, Sunil Kumar, ed. *Family Letters of Dr. William Carey*. Serampore: Carey Library & Research Centre, 2002.
- Daniel, J. T. K. *William Carey's Arrival in India, 1793–1993: Bicentenary Volume; Serampore College, 1818–1993*. Serampore: Bicentenary Celebration Committee, 1993.
- Potts, E. Daniel. *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793–1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967.

### **Notes**

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<sup>1</sup> This essay represents a slightly modified version of a lecture delivered on March 14, 2012 at the Henry Martyn Centre (i.e., the current Cambridge Centre for Christianity Worldwide, Cambridge, UK), It was part of a lecture series commemorating the 200th anniversary of the death of Henry Martyn.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanne H. Hein, "Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil, 1548," *Indian Church History Review* 11, no. 2 (1977): 127–57; Hans J. Vermeer, *The First European Tamil Grammar: A Critical Edition* (Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> Halle Reports, vol. 1, Continuation 1, p. 19: "In der Translation selbstem aber gedenke ich ganz allein zu seyn, ohne daß ich nur einen malabarischen Schreiber bey mir habe, den ich alles in Griffel dictiren könne: Sintemal ich hierinnen keine Hülfe von anderen nötig habe, auch solche nicht bekommen könnte, wenn ich sie gleich verlangte. Denn es ist allhier weder unter den Christen noch Malabaren einer, so da verstünde nur *periodum* rechtmäßig ohne *vitiis* translatieren." (In my translation work, I plan to be completely alone, without even a Tamil clerk to whom I could dictate. For I don't need any help from others in my translation, and could not get any, even if I asked for it. There is no Christian or Tamil here who can translate a single sentence without error.)

<sup>4</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Star in the East: A Sermon preached in the Parish-Church of St. James in Bristol, on Sunday, Feb. 26, 1809, for the Benefit of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East*, 8th American ed. (New York: Williams & Whiting, 1809), 12.

<sup>5</sup> For a fuller history of the Tamil Bible, see Sababathy Kulandran, *A History of the Tamil Bible* (Bangalore: Bible Society of India, 1967); Carōjini Pākkiyamuttu, *Viviliyammum Tamilum*, 2nd ed. (Citampam: Meyyppan Tamilāyvakam, 2000, 1990); Hephzibah Israel, *Religious Transactions in Colonial South India: Language, Translation, and the Making of Protestant Identity* (New York: Palmgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> See C. B. Lewis, *The Life of John Thomas, Surgeon of the Earl of Oxford East Indians, and First Baptist Missionary to Bengal* (London: Macmillan, 1873). For an early biography of Carey, see Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, with an Introductory Essay* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1836).

<sup>7</sup> John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Brothers, 1859).

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Stennett, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Ward* (London: J. Haddon, 1825), 81: “With a Bible and a Press, posterity will see that a missionary will not labour in vain even in India. There is a time to *break down*, a time to *sow*, and a time to *reap*.”

<sup>9</sup> For further information on Krishna Pal, see William Ward, *Brief Memoir of Krishna-Pal, the First Hindoo, in Bengal, who Broke the Chain of the Cast, by Embracing the Gospel* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1822; 2nd ed., London: John Offor, 1823).

<sup>10</sup> Eyre Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India since the Early Days of the East India Company* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924), 111. In 1800 Governor-General Marquis Wellesley started this college to train junior civil servants because “they needed fuller knowledge of India, its customs, laws, languages, and people, before it was wise to place them in stations by themselves. . . . This Fort College had but a short life. For various reasons, partly climatic, partly opposition to Lord Wellesley, the Court of Directors decided to abandon it for a home training at Halleybury.”

<sup>11</sup> Edward Bean Underhill, “Bible Translation,” in *The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society*, ed. John Brown Myers and William John Henderson (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), 279.

<sup>12</sup> William Carey and Joshua Marshman, *The Ramayuna of Valmeeki, Translated from the Original Sungskrit*, vol. 1: *Containing the First Book* (Dunstable: J. W. Morris, 1808), iii–iv: “A considerable degree of interest has for some time been excited in Europe relative to the antiquities and literature, the manners and customs, of the Hindoos. Accordingly every degree of intelligence respecting them has been received with avidity; some of their writings have been translated, dissertations written, and where authentic intelligence has failed, conjecture has attempted to satisfy the public mind. It is not, however, from conjecture, nor even from partial translations, that the public can derive satisfactory information on these subjects. A clear idea of the religion and literature, the manners and customs of the Hindoos, can be obtained only from a connected perusal of their writings.”

<sup>13</sup> Underhill, “Bible Translation,” 285–86.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 13: “A city is not illuminated by filling abundantly with light a single house, or even a small street therein, but by distributing light through all its principal parts. To enlighten India effectually, the Scriptures must be given in the dialects of its different provinces.”

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

<sup>16</sup> William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward, *College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christians and Other Youth in Eastern Literature and European Science at Serampore, Bengal* (London: Black, Kingsbury, Parbury & Allen, 1819), 33.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 30–33: “But, relative to the completion of these different versions of the Scriptures in the dialects of India, *their hope* [of the Baptist missionaries in Serampore] *under the Divine blessing rests chiefly on the exertions of the natives themselves*. . . . It seems reasonable, that *Native Christians in India should not remain for ever without a knowledge of the Languages in which the Sacred Scriptures were given*; a little reflection may, indeed, convince us, that a knowledge of these will ever be desirable. Translations of the Scriptures, however excellent, can never equal the original: were there no other difference, it will always form an important one, that there are many words, both in the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures, which have more than one meaning. . . . As to Hebrew, it is more naturally theirs than ours; it belongs to Asia, and justly forms a principal part of Oriental literature. . . . The manners and customs described in the Sacred Writings assimilate far more with those in India than with those existing in modern Europe; and numerous words occurring therein, are at this day used in India in their proper and natural sense.”

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 33: “To the Greek language the *Sungskrita* [*sic*] scholar has an unerring clue: no two languages of different origin resemble each other more strongly [than these]. In its nouns, the singular, dual, and plural numbers; in its verbs, the active, passive, and middle voices; its twenty prepositions, almost the same in sound as well as force and meaning; its wonderful facility for compounding words, and expressing the nicest shades of idea, render the *Sungskrita* quite a counterpart to the Greek language; while its grammatical structure is so accurate and exquisite, that, compared with the most concise of the *Sungskrita* grammars, the fullest Greek grammar now in use is little more than an imperfect sketch compared with a finished picture. To a youth trained up in the study of *Sungskrita*, therefore, the acquisition of the Greek language can form no hardship.”

<sup>19</sup> W. Carey et al., *Seventh Memoir respecting the Translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the Languages of India, Conducted by the Brethren at Serampore* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1820), 2–8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 44: The Baptist missionaries in Serampore “have found in the course of their work that the dialects of India and of Eastern Asia, numerous as they appear, may almost all be traced to two sources, the *Sungskrita* [*sic*] and the Chinese; and therefore that a knowledge of these two languages sheds a prodigious degree of light over the various languages of India.”

<sup>21</sup> Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, 1:234 and 244.

<sup>22</sup> Patrick Hanan, “The Bible as Chinese Literature: Medhurst, Wang Tao, and the Delegates’ Version,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63, no. 1 (2003): 198: The Chinese Bible printed in Serampore in 1822 was “the work of a mere handful of people: the missionary Joshua Marshman, his collaborator Johannes Lassar (an Armenian from Macao), Marshman’s unnamed Chinese assistant from Guangzhou, and, occasionally Marshman’s son John.”

<sup>23</sup> Joshua Marshman, *The Works of Confucius containing the Original Texts with a Translation: A Dissertation on the Chinese Language and Character*, vol. 1 (Serampore: Mission Press, 1809).

<sup>24</sup> J. Marshman, *Elements of Chinese Grammar, with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Characters, and the Colloquial Medium of the Chinese and an Appendix containing the Ta-Hyoh of Confucius with a Translation* (Serampore, 1814).

<sup>25</sup> Robert Morrison, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1815).

<sup>26</sup> Hanan, “The Bible as Chinese Literature,” 200.

<sup>27</sup> Underhill, “Bible Translation,” 279.

<sup>28</sup> Hanan, “The Bible as Chinese Literature,” 200.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years: The Growth of a Soul* (London: China Inland Mission, 1930), 86.

<sup>30</sup> Underhill, “Bible Translation,” 297–98. See Hanan, “The Bible as Chinese Literature,” 198, for a similar disagreement with regard to Chinese Bible translation as well: “The main doctrinal difference arose with the Baptists, who chose not to participate in the preparation of the Delegates’ Version [1854] because they could not accept the proposed Chinese translation of ‘baptize’ and other words [apostles, bishop, presbyter, deacon, and the like]; instead they continued to use Lassar and Marshman’s version (Marshman was a Baptist) until a new version was made by Josiah Goddard and William Dean.”

<sup>31</sup> Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William of Bengal* (Philadelphia: Benjamin & Thomas Kite, 1817), 214.

<sup>32</sup> A. Christopher Smith, *The Serampore Mission Enterprise* (Bangalore: Centre for Contemporary Christianity, 2006), 319.

<sup>33</sup> *Quarterly Papers for the use of the Weekly and Monthly Contributors to the Baptist Missionary Society*, no. 16 (October 1825), title page.

<sup>34</sup> For information on this category, see Robert Eric Frykenberg, “Āvarna and Adivāsi Christians and Missions: A Paradigm for Understanding Christian Movements in India,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 32, no. 1 (2008): 14–20.