



History of Translation in India



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CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

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Foreword

History is not only about the past but also about how the present evolves. Things are inter-related and inclusive in the world. There is no history of a subject but of subjects. History of a language is not only about the language, but also about its culture and the people who speak it. It is for this reason that a historical study is always composite in nature. History of translation is to give an account of what is translated, how it is translated and how it contributes to the development of a language. The study of translation historically is an emerging area of research in the field of Translation Studies. India has many translation traditions that have existed across the ages and have shaped the development of modern Indian languages and literatures. The National Translation Mission intends to add to these traditions, to record them, and create a discourse on translation. In these pursuits, it is heartening to know that NTM has brought out a thematic volume titled the History of Translation in India.

History of Translation in India is a unique collection of articles in Translation Studies. So far there has been no such huge contribution from Indian languages to this evolving field of Translation Studies. This cumulative volume will answer the question of what has happened so far in translation in India. History of translation is never an easy assignment. In India, information on translations in Indian languages has not been documented yet. The National Translation Mission (NTM) has been working towards the preparation of bibliographic records of translations in Indian languages. Apart from the knowledge text translation, NTM is also working for research in the field of Translation Studies. Hence, this book is a well-researched and well-thought endeavor of the NTM to disseminate and strengthen the knowledge in the field of translation. I hope the book will attract and benefit both translation theorists and practioners.

D. G. Rao
Director

Introduction

Translation and interpretation have existed for a very long time, probably as long as the human language itself. These pursuits of communication have not only existed for long but have also thrived through diverse cultures and traditions. Therefore, an endeavour like History of Translation perhaps requires no justification. In that perspective, this introduction is mostly customary and slightly facilitative in gaining a bird sight view of the intellectual contents of this book. I am happy to present History of Translation in India, a commingling of translation practices across languages, across cultures and across timescales. This book is an anthology in disguise, attempting to present a coherent account of beginning and advancement of translation in some languages with special reference to the Indian context.

Though there is not enough writing available on the translation activities that have existed in the past in India, the case of translation here is highly intriguing. The history of translation in India is intriguing for several reasons; the most salient among them is the linguistic and literary richness that have sustained here for ages. It is a common understanding that India has been a land of linguistic diversity and distinguished literary traditions. This characteristic of India is undebatable. However, it is also important to note that translation has played a pivotal role in sustaining the linguistic and literary richness in India. The pluralities of language and culture contribute to India's richness, on the one hand, however, on the other hand, especially with respect to documentation, they pose an intellectual challenge of a kind. The languages here embody identifiably distinct and understandably compatible traditions of writing and translation so much so that it is difficult to decide where to begin, and it is difficult to determine what language not to include in a limited time frame. In addition, a single volume also has to delimitate its scope somewhere.

From the disciplinary perspective, the following points are worth consideration: (a) If we can record the intellectual

experiences of our earlier thinkers on translation, then only we can strengthen the discipline of Translation Studies in India. To answer the question of translation theory in India, one has to build upon what has happened so far in India. (b) It would be wrong to assume that the literature in any language can thrive without getting translated into and/or without receiving translations from the literatures of other languages. Therefore, the history of translation in any language also presents an informal history of the literature of that language. (c) Arguably, the translation activities in some languages received higher patronage than others. Consequently, the written materials in some languages grew more than others. (d) Translation has served as the custodian of tremendous resources of the civilisation and literacy, and in turn it has facilitated them some sort of immortality. (e) As an academic exercise the history of translation is not simply an account of translation from one language to another. Rather, it is a description of what, how and why something is translated.

The idea of a thematic volume has been doing the rounds at the National Translation Mission for quite some time. The Project Advisory Committee for NTM also appreciated this initiative and maintained that the Mission should bring out thematic volumes regularly. Several scholars directly associated with the Mission as well as assisting it externally have emphasised on the necessity of it. However, it could take off only now. For the purpose, we shortlisted some relevant articles published in the Translation Today and then invited papers from scholars of repute. The response was better than we expected as the contributors transformed our request into a vibrant canvas. There are two dimensions to the task undertaken by each author. On the one hand, it looks quite easy for the fact that there was something to refer to and work upon. On the other hand, it turns out to be a Herculean task for there is so much and so diverse to express in the form of a crisp paper. Our esteemed readers will notice that the contributors of this volume have succeeded in achieving that. An obvious shortcoming of this volume is the absence of oral traditions. It is beyond doubt that a different set of resources and references would be required to address this shortcoming. Needless to say, another thematic volume is in the offing, and

hopefully, that will make up for this shortcoming.

T. Vijay Kumar analyses the history of translation in Telugu and its role in the making of Telugu language and literature. Ramesh C. Malik and Panchanan Mohanty theorise the colonial translation history of Odia descriptively. They have studied the history of translation in Colonial Odisha from socio-religious, political, educational, linguistic, and economic issues of colonial Odisha. Avadhesh Kumar Singh studies the translational practices in different periods in Hindi literature. Sushant Kumar Mishra writes about translation in Maithili. Maya Pandit describes how translation culture in Marathi was pushed from a central literary polysystem to a peripheral position. K. M. Sheriff analyses the roles of translations from European languages into Malayalam in the making of modern Malayalam prose and fiction. V. B. Tharakeshwar examines two assumptions in the context of pre-colonial translation practices in Kannada; one how was translation seen as empowering the vernaculars to become literary languages, two how Sanskrit high texts were made available in vernaculars so that the texts were accessible to the people who were earlier kept away from these texts. In another paper, Tharakeswar puts forth the idea of going beyond binaries such as Western/Indian, colonial/indigenous, Kannada/Sanskrit while theorising the pre-colonial notion of translation and he views that one should study earlier texts in the socio-political space. T. S. Satyanath studies medieval Kannada literature while analysing various modes of telling and rendering. He discusses the strategies used by the medieval Kannada writers to reproduce texts which are radically different from the source texts. Govinda Raj Bhattarai gives a brief survey of translation in Nepali. Priyadarshi Patnaik compares Sanskrit *Bhagabat* and Odia *Bhagabat* and analyses the variations between them and tries to explore the becoming of translation in pre-colonial days. Aditya Kumar Panda surveys translations into Odia historically from Sanskrit and English. Biswadip Gogoi gives an account of translation in Assamese historically. Debendra K. Das and Dipti Ranjan Pattanaik attempt to give the readers a cultural history of Odisha by examining the translated texts in Medieval Odisha. Sudesh Manger studies translations from English to Nepali and its

influence on Nepali literature. Mrinmoy Pramanick recounts the history of culture and intelligentsia of the 18th and 19th century around Bottola, commercial space for books and describes how it offers an alternative voice to urban colonial Bhadrolok culture. P. Ranjit observes English to Malayalam translations in periodicals at the beginning of the 20th century. Nilufar Khodjaeva describes the historical evolution of translations from Indian literatures into Uzbek. Finally, Anil Thakur offers a history of machine translation in this country.

As stated earlier, the history of translation is natural and a volume comprising papers focussing on specific languages and literatures is natural too. The present book is a coming together of scholarships on an array of issues pertinent to language, literature, culture and translation, and I am happy to note that it also contains a paper on the History of Machine Translation in India. This article is a distinct characteristic of this volume. I must admit that authors of established credentials have put in considerable efforts and their best foot forward in illuminating the critical and scholarly works that have constituted the mainstay of some principal languages of India. Therefore, it was a privilege to edit this volume, and now it is a pleasure to present it for the general consumption and academic utility in Translation Studies. I sincerely hope that this book would generate a good response among the readers. The readers would be delighted to know that Anthony Pym and Jeremy Munday have appreciated this endeavour and have complimented the National Translation Mission for it. A text with historical underpinnings often attracts the metaphor of a journey. In the same breadth, the readers may now unwind in an eventful and illuminating journey. Bon voyage.

Tariq Khan

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Translation as Negotiation: The Making of Telugu Language and Literature

T. VIJAY KUMAR

Abstract

In terms of the number of native speakers, Telugu (the official language of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in the southern part of India) ranks third among Indian languages after Hindi and Bengali. This study of the literary trajectory of Telugu notes how translation was inscribed in the emergence of the Telugu language, created as it was out of a mixture of Sanskrit, tribal and Dravidian tongues. It examines the various stages of translation through which the Telugu language passed and the responses of its literary culture to translation not only from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, but also from English canonical texts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Introduction

Translation in Telugu, as perhaps in most Indian languages, is more practised than theorised. In a multilingual country like India where almost everyone is at least bilingual, translation—both in letter and spirit—is bound to have connotations quite different from those in the West. Sujit Mukherjee points out that “*Rupantar* (meaning ‘change in form’) and *anuvad* (‘speaking after’ or ‘following’) are the commonly understood senses of translation in India, and neither term demands fidelity to the original” (1980). He further observes, “The notion that every literary translation is a faithful rendering of the original came to us from the West, perhaps in the wake of the Bible and the need felt by Christian missionaries to have it translated into different Indian languages” (1980).

Contrasting the “very relaxed” attitude in India towards translation with the Western attitude, G. N. Devy writes in a similar vein: “The implicit idea of translation as a fall from the origin and the ethical and aesthetic stigma attached to it are foreign to Indian literary culture” (1994, XIII).

Taking translation not as an act of ‘carrying across’—a text from one fixed language and culture into another—but as a process of negotiation of power, this essay argues that Telugu language as well as Telugu literature have been ‘formed’ through processes of linguistic, cultural, and political negotiations. The first part of the paper offers a brief overview of Telugu language to show how it has evolved by accommodating the influences of dominant languages without losing links with its linguistic siblings. The second part outlines the various phases of Telugu literature and focuses on two of them—the Age of Puranas and the Modern Period—to illustrate the contribution of translations to the growth of original literature.

Telugu is a Dravidian language spoken by about 74 million people (according to the 2001 Census; excluding second-language speakers, and the diaspora) in the southern Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and neighbouring states, as well as in countries outside India such as Bahrain, Fiji, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates as well as in USA, UK, Australia. In terms of the number of native speakers, Telugu¹ ranks third among the Indian languages. The Telugu alphabet is a descendant of the Brahmi script of ancient India, and Telugu often exhibits a clear dichotomy between the written and spoken styles, in addition to a number of sharply distinct local and regional dialects and divisions between Brahmin, non-Brahmin, and Dalit speech and, more recently, writing.

Ethnologists extend various explanations for the etymology of the word ‘Telugu’. While some suppose it to be a corruption of the Sanskrit ‘Trilinga’ (‘the country of the three lingas’), others trace its roots to the Proto-Dravidian ‘Tenungu’ (‘ten’ = south; ‘tenungu’ = Southerners). Still others insist that the word ‘Telugu’ owes its origin to tribal languages such as

Gondi (telu = white + unga (Gondi) = plural form: “Telunga”= people of fair complexion).² While it might be impossible, and even unnecessary, to decide in favour of any one of these explanations, the diversity of possible sources of the name does provide a clue to the plural heritage of the language and its composite character.

While the earliest Western account of the Telugu language was given by Frederic Bolling (1640?–1685) in *Friderici Bollingii ...* (1678; the full title runs into a paragraph!), the first European to make a systematic study of the language was the German Lutheran missionary Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760). To Schultze goes the credit of publishing the first book on Telugu grammar, *Grammatica Telugica* (Buddi kaligina vANDla lopala vokadokadiki punyapudova cUpincce nUru jnAna va;anAla ciMnna pustakaM (Mores Vitamque Christano digmam delineanles, 1747, 1728), and the first printed book in Telugu, *Mokshaniki Konchu Poyye Dova* (*Via sive Ordo Salvitis*) (1746). Besides being the earliest translator of the Bible into Telugu (the New Testament by 1727, and the Old Testament by 1732), Schultze also published several Telugu books—*Catechismus telugicus minor* (1746), *Colloquium religiosum telugice* (1747) and so on.³

The history of the Telugu language is a history of survival and self-enrichment through negotiation with the other and often dominant languages, as we shall see below. It is possible to identify four broad stages in the history of the Telugu language:

1. 200 B.C.E.–500 C.E.
2. 500–1100 C.E.
3. 1100–1400 C.E., and
4. 1400–1900 C.E.

During the first phase (200 B.C.E.–500 C.E.) we only come across Telugu place names and personal names in Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Telugu country. Telugu was exposed to the influence of Prakrit as early as the third century B.C.E. The language of the people was Telugu, but the language of the rulers was Prakrit. Battles between the

Guptas of North India and the Pallavas of South India during 400–500 C.E., however, quite effectively killed the royal language. For the next 500 years, Telugu was influenced by Sanskrit, and it is from Sanskrit that Telugu absorbed the *tatsamas* (Sanskrit equivalents).

For the next nearly four and a half centuries during the Satavahana rule (230 B.C.E–207/210 C.E.), Prakrit was the royal language in Andhra. *Tadbhavas* (Sanskrit derivatives) from Prakrit infiltrated the Telugu language, but Telugu did not die. It incorporated the words it needed from Prakrit and discarded the rest.

In the second phase (500–1100 C.E.) the literary languages were confined to poetic works, flourishing in the courts of kings and among scholars. Phonetic changes that occurred in the popular language are reflected in the literary language, although the two streams remained apart in grammar and vocabulary. Telugu came under the direct influence of Sanskrit about this period. It appears that literature also existed in Telugu during this time, because we find literary style in the inscriptions some three centuries *before* what is regarded as the first literary work in Telugu—Nannaya Bhattu's *Mahabharatam*. However, it was during 1000–1100 C.E.—with Nannaya's *Mahabharatam*, and with Telugu being used extensively in inscriptions and poetry—that Telugu re-established its roots and dominated over the royal language, Sanskrit. During the time of Nannaya, the popular language diverged considerably from the literary language.

During the third phase (1100–1400 C.E.) the literary language became stylized and rigid, closing itself off from the influence of contemporary spoken language.⁴ During the fourth period (1400–1900) many changes took place, culminating in today's form of Telugu. The prose language of the nineteenth century shows educated speech as the basis, with occasional influences from the literary language. Also evident is the influence of the Urdu language on Telugu before the spread of English education.

What emerges from the foregoing overview of the history of the Telugu language is the fact that what is regarded today

as canonical Telugu—the modern, standard Telugu—had its beginnings in the *desi*, spoken dialect, and the language was formed and progressively enriched through its continuous transactions on the one hand with other languages of its family—tribal languages such as Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, and Manda⁵—and on the other with languages which, for political and historical reasons, were the dominant languages—Sanskrit, Prakrit, Urdu, and English. No wonder that many Telugu words are ‘synthetic’—formed through a combination of units from different languages (Dravidian words with non-Dravidian prefixes and suffixes, for example). Telugu vocabulary is therefore classified by linguists into four groups: *tatsamamulu* (Sanskrit equivalents), *tadbhavamulu* (Sanskrit derivatives), *desiyamulu* (indigenous words), and *anyamulu* (others or foreign words).

The composite nature of Telugu has led some critics to conclude that, perhaps, the language lacks an independent identity: “Telugu contains very few original words of its own” (Chenchiah & Bhujanga, 16). Others, however, are not surprised that a large number of words from Prakrit and Sanskrit, and to a lesser extent from Urdu and English, should find their way into the colloquial and literary forms of Telugu. They point out that Telugu has had centuries-long relationships with Prakrit and Sanskrit in the ancient past, while Urdu and English were the languages of the rulers in more recent times. Yet, they argue, “borrowing words from another language and making them our own does not make ours the daughter of that language. ... Therefore, we can proudly claim that Telugu too is an independent language” (Arudra, 13-14). Nearly two centuries ago, A. D. Campbell (1798-1857), whom C. P. Brown recognized as the “first [who] rendered Telugu literature accessible to the English reader” (dedication page), had expressed a similar view. In his introduction to *Grammar of the Teloogoo Language* (1816), Campbell contended that extensive borrowing from Sanskrit and writing Telugu grammars following Sanskrit tradition “can not be used in proof of any radical connexion between Teloogoo and Sanskrit” (xvi). On the contrary, Campbell held that the very classification of the words in Telugu as *tatsamamulu* (Sanskrit equivalents), *tadbhavamulu* (Sanskrit

derivatives), and *desiyamulu* (indigenous words) by native grammarians clearly indicates that the language of the land had a source different from Sanskrit.

Just as borrowing did not mean the lack of independence in Telugu language, translation, as we shall see below, did not signal the death of original writing in Telugu literature. Translation, in fact, inaugurated an era of creativity in Telugu literature. It is pertinent to remember here that the dichotomy between translation and original writing is, in any case, alien to Indian literary ethos, and as Sujit Mukherjee says, “Until the advent of western culture in India, we had always regarded translation as new writing” (77).

Telugu literature

Telugu literature is generally divided into five periods:

1. Early Beginnings: the pre-Nannaya period (up to 1020 C.E.)
2. the Age of the Puranas or the Age of Translation (1020–1509)
3. the Age of the Prabandhas⁶ (1509–1618)
4. the Period of Stagnation (1630–1850), and
5. the Modern Period (after 1850).

Telugu language has been in existence at least from the time of the Satavahana rule (230 B.C.E-207/210 C.E.), and in the early stages songs and folk ballads were composed in Telugu using indigenous metre. These songs have remained unrecorded, however, and the first instance of written Telugu is to be found in an inscription dating from 575 C.E. Since this inscription was written in verse form using *desi* metre, it can be surmised that by the sixth century Telugu had reached a stage of development at which it could evolve its own metrical forms. Significantly, the first treatise on poetics in Telugu, *Kavi Janasrayam*, was written around 940 C. E. by Malliya Rechana—a non-brahmin poet and patron, and a staunch follower of Jainism. It is not unreasonable to assume that a theoretical text on prosody such as that by Rechana would not have been possible without a substantial body

of literature in verse already in circulation. Besides, recent research into Telugu literature of the pre-Nannaya period indicates the existence of a Jain text in Telugu, *Adi Purana*, attributed to a tenth-century poet Ponnamayya (also known as Sarva Deva) (see Arudra, 112–118).

However, since no literary texts in Telugu pre-dating 1020 C.E. have so far actually been discovered, the existence of any pre-Nannaya literature remains a matter of speculation and debate. In the absence of more concrete and complete evidence, Nannaya's *Mahabharatam* continues to be the '*adi kavyam*' or the first literary text of Telugu literature, even if Nannaya himself may or may not be recognised as the '*adi kavi*' or the first poet. What can, therefore, be safely said about the literature of the pre-Nannaya period is that there was originally a *desi* (of the *desa* or province/country/ nation) literature, indigenous and with closer affinity with Dravidian rather than Aryan literature, authored mostly by Buddhist and Jain writers who perhaps used Prakrit, one form of which is considered to be the immediate literary ancestor of Telugu. This literature was either completely destroyed during the Hindu religious revivalism of the succeeding period, or it was found inadequate, and too *desi*, for the requirements of the revivalist movement of the eleventh century.

Nannaya was one of the earliest representatives, if not the founder, of *margi* (of the *marga* or mainstream) Telugu-Sanskrit literature, which dates from the eleventh century. His translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharatam* into Telugu in 1020 C.E. is the first piece of Telugu literature as yet discovered. This initial stage in the development of Telugu literature—a period covering five centuries—was marked by the introduction and extension of Sanskrit culture, mainly through translations. The impulse for translation had its origins in the revival of Brahminism and the zeal to spread Vedic culture contained in the Sanskrit texts. This religious revivalist movement, known as the Vaidiki movement, was a Brahminical reaction to Jainism, and its first effort was to guard against the possibility of future internecine quarrels between the followers of Siva and Vishnu by creating a composite deity, Hariharanatha.

The other feature of the Vaidiki movement was its flooding of the country with Aryan culture, and it was in pursuance of this object that extensive translations from Sanskrit into Telugu were undertaken. C. R. Reddy argues that “the real motive underlying the translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Telugu, with all its pro-Brahminical interpolations, was propaganda through the vernaculars, as a counterblast to the Buddhist and Jain propaganda, which all through was carried through Māgadhi and other vernaculars of India” (6).

The reforms of the ninth-century monk Sankara dealt a fatal blow to the power of Jainism, and by the time of Raja Raja Narendra (1019–1061), the patron of Nannaya, the long-drawn battle between Jainism and Hinduism had ended in the decisive victory of Hinduism. This victory had to be consolidated and the hearts of the people rendered immune to a possible renewal of assaults by the vanquished faiths. The opening of the flood-gates of Sanskrit culture was the final act of insurance against a relapse in the future. This explains why in Telugu literature translations mark the initial, and not as in other Dravidian languages, the later, stages. The opening verses of the *Mahabharatam*, for instance, reveal an aggressive Hinduism in the act of consolidating its victories and taking precautions against possible attacks by enemies in the future.

The Hindu religion in its popular and non-philosophical form is embodied in the three classics: the *Mahabharata* (known as the ‘fifth Veda’); the *Ramayana*, the story of Rama; and the *Bhagavata Purana*, the story of Krishna. The significant achievement of the second period of Telugu literature was the translation of all these epics into Telugu.

The colossal undertaking of translating the *Mahabharata* into Telugu was begun by Nannaya in the eleventh century, continued by Tikkana in the thirteenth, and completed by Errapragada (Errana, 1280-1350) in the fourteenth century. Nannaya composed the *Adi* and the *Sabha parvas* (cantos) and a part of the *Aranya parva*. Tikkana (1220-1300) did not begin from where Nannaya had left off; instead, he began with the *Virata parva* and finished the remaining fifteen *parvas*. It

was the third poet of the *Kavitraya* (poet-trio), Errana, who completed the Aranya *parva* nearly two and a half centuries after Nannaya had left it unfinished.

In the prologue to his *Mahabharata*, Nannaya relates how he began the translation at the request of his royal patron, who desired to perpetuate in the language of his own kingdom this epic that celebrates the heroism of the Pandavas, of whom the king claimed to be a descendant. Nannaya's translation, however, served two other unstated purposes: by making Vedic culture accessible to common people it served a religious purpose, and as the translation of a canonical text into Telugu, it served a linguistic purpose. In other words, as a Hindu text in Telugu, it challenged the Jain-Prakrit and Buddhist-Magadhi texts.

Although Nannaya followed the basic story of Vyasa's Sanskrit *Mahabharata*, he drew liberally on the retellings of the original available to him in Tamil and Kannada and in the adaptations in Sanskrit drama. He freely altered the original according to his own criteria of *auchitya* (propriety) and his imagined readers. He left out parts he thought were inappropriate, enlarged sections that appealed to him, contemporized the text by introducing customs and cultural habits of his own time, and included adulatory passages on the supremacy of the Brahmin in line with the efforts of the time to secure the hegemony of the Brahmin within the caste system. The result of all this is that Nannaya created a text that is hardly a translation: "the Telugu *Bharata* is really an independent work of art, superior to the original in many respects" (Chenchiah & Bhujanga Rao, 43). This is not, however, surprising because neither the king nor the poet ever visualized the task as carrying a text from one language into another. Raja Raja Narendra requested Nannaya to "[re-] create in Telugu" with "greater skill" the "essential meaning" of Vyasa's *Mahabharata*. The poet responded by saying that he would "create/write" to the best of his ability. Note that both use the word 'create/write' (*rachana*) and not 'translation' (*anuvadamu*, but perhaps the word did not even exist then!) and the aim was not to merely follow or approximate the original, but to better it.

The Telugu *Mahabharatam* had to wait for nearly two centuries before it was resumed by Tikkana. Besides opposition from a section of obscurantists who regarded the translation of the 'fifth Veda' as sinful, as well as the superstition⁷ surrounding the Aranya *parva*, it was the difficulty of finding a worthy successor to Nannaya that delayed the translation. There is an interesting, though historically and chronologically untenable, story about how Tikkana came to be chosen. With a view to discovering a poet to match Nannaya's eminence, Raja Raja Narendra circulated a stanza, considered to be Nannaya's best, throughout his realm, inviting other poets to compose a similar stanza embodying the same idea. After many attempts were rejected as unworthy, the council of pundits received a submission from a poet who simply copied the original stanza and coloured it red. The council interpreted this act as an announcement by the poet that he could not only compose like Nannaya, but even excel him by adding lustre to his composition. That self-confident poet was Tikkana.

Tikkana showed marked originality not only in his prologue—in which he condemned his incompetent contemporaries who sought recognition without paying attention to technique and composition—but also in his method of translation. It is said that he undertook to dictate his verses in open court, without referring to the Sanskrit original, and that he made a vow that if ever he hesitated for a word he would cut off his tongue. Tikkana composed so quickly that pundits found it difficult to take down what he delivered, till at last they found, at the poet's own suggestion, an amanuensis who could match Tikkana's speed.

Fifty years after Tikkana, Errana relates how Tikkana appeared to him in a dream and encouraged him to finish the *Mahabharatam*. He completed the portion of Aranya *parva* left unfinished by Nannaya, but so potent was the belief that the poet who attempted the *parva* would come to grief that Errana made it appear that it was Nannaya who completed it, by dedicating it to Raja Raja Narendra, the royal patron of Nannaya. Errana's skill as a poet is manifest in the fact that he begins his translation in the style of Nannaya and,

imperceptibly, passes into that of Tikkana. He was able to simulate them so well that the reader does not, till s/he is told, realize that between Nannaya and Tikkana a third poet had intervened.

The second major text of Vedic religion translated into Telugu during the Age of Translation was Valmiki's *Ramayana*. Although Tikkana continued the translation of the *Mahabharata* in the thirteenth century, this period was predominantly a century of *Ramayana* translators. In its popular and literary appeal the story of Rama seems to far excel the other epic, the *Mahabharata*. This is evident from the fact that while there is only one translation in Telugu literature of the *Mahabharata* and it took three centuries to complete, there is a surfeit of renderings of the *Ramayana*. From the time of Nannaya to the twentieth century, there was hardly a century that did not witness several attempts at translation of this epic. Although Valmiki's Sanskrit classic, embodying the values of Aryan culture, is considered to be the basis of these translations, the translations themselves did not always abide by the original. On the contrary, they sometimes diverged so much from the original that they were in fact independent texts in the vernacular language or were "symbolic translations"⁸ of the Sanskrit pre-text. For instance, Gona Buddha Reddi, who wrote perhaps the earliest *Ramayana* in Telugu,⁹ was "able to Dravidianise the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself" by "deftly and with ... consummate art" incorporating "South Indian legends into that Aryan poem" (Reddy, 7). Translations of the *Ramayana* have been attempted in various verse forms, in literal prose, by a woman in all-Telugu,¹⁰ in stage version, and set to music. No epic has been so frequently or so variously translated as the *Ramayana*, and though Valmiki's account is usually regarded as the earliest and the most authentic, it is but one of the 'many *Ramayan*s' that are in circulation (see Richman).

The poet who occupies a position equal to that of the *Kavitraya* is Srinatha (1365-1440), who is regarded by many critics as the supreme poet of Telugu literature. He introduced several new forms into Telugu literature and initiated the evolution of the 'Prabandha' form that was to dominate Telugu literary writing for the next five centuries. Srinatha's translation into

Telugu of Sriharsha's *Naishada Vidvat Aushada*, considered to be one of the most difficult *kavyas*¹¹ in Sanskrit (it was called 'the medicine for the pundit' on account of its difficult style), marks the next phase of translations. Srinatha's primary objective was to tell a gripping tale (this later became the major criterion of the Prabandha form), and he freely moved between translation and transliteration to achieve this objective. In the 'Preface' he described his translation thus: "observing the nuances of the sound patterns of the original, securing the views expressed in the source text, reproducing the connotations of the original meaning, recreating the *rasa* (or emotion) of the original, retaining the figures of speech, preserving the *auchitya* [propriety], shedding the *anauchitya* [impropriety], this Telugu *Naishadam* is attempted in accordance with the original". As is apparent, Srinatha kept close to the original and took care not to lose any idea, emotion, or cadence of the original.

The closing century of the Age of Translation (i.e., the fifteenth century) saw the rendering of the Puranas into Telugu, with the most important being the *Srimad Bhagavatam*. The *Bhagavatam* is considered to be the main sacred text of the Bhakti school of Vaishnavism, and its translation can be seen as the first literary manifestation of the growing influence of the Bhakti cult and Vaishnavism in the second stage of development of Telugu literature in the reign of Sri Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1530). The *Bhagavatam* was translated into Telugu by Srinatha's brother-in-law, Bammara Potana (1400-1475), the outstanding poet of the fifteenth century and a staunch follower of Saivism. Potana's life was devoted to the translation of the *Bhagavatam*, which he dedicated to Sri Rama in spite of being persecuted by the chieftain of the Dominion. Unlike the Telugu *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatam*, the Telugu *Bhagavatam* is much bigger than the original; and again unlike them, parts of it (such as 'Gajendra Moksham' and 'Rukmini Kalyanam') are very popular even among the unlettered.

Telugu literature up to 1500 may be characterized as belonging to the Age of Translation, during which the poet borrowed his theme both in substance and detail from the Sanskrit original,

but the reign of Krishnadeva Raya marked the beginning of a new era of independent writing. Paradoxically, however, the Age of Translation in Telugu literature was really an age of freedom, and the so-called age of freedom (the *kavya yuga*) ushered in a period of bondage. When the poet borrowed the substance from Sanskrit, he retained freedom of art and expression, but when he borrowed the art from Sanskrit, he lost freedom of thought.

Contact with the West through Translations

A similar paradox between bondage and freedom, originality and imitation, marks Telugu literature of the modern period (1850 onwards). A craving for translation is a congenital impulse in Telugu literature, whose history was inaugurated by an era of translations, and there is active re-emergence of the phenomenon in the nineteenth century under the influence of contact with the West. Though in both eras translations gave rise to new ways of thinking and new forms of writing, the modern era, unlike the earlier period, is witness to both endotropic and exotropic translation practices.

The earliest contact between Telugu and the West can be traced to the times of the Vijayanagara Empire and the Portuguese settlements in the sixteenth century. The first literary sign of contact with the West was the translation or adaptation of the Bible. The earliest publication in Telugu of any part of the Bible was in 1812, but long before that the Scriptures had been translated, but perhaps never published, and *kavyas* were written on Christian themes, sometimes by poets who were not “formal members of the Christian Church but were followers of Christ from within the Hindu community” (Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao 105). Pingali Ellanaryudu was the author of *Tobhya Charitra* (1602), otherwise known as *Sarvesvara Mahatya*, which was based on an account of the life of Saint Thomas. In 1750 Mangalagiri Anandakavi wrote *Vedanta Rasayanam* (‘Essence of Scriptures’) which gives a clear and succinct account of the life of Christ, and the author shows intimate acquaintance with the scriptures and the rites of the Christian Church. Interestingly, in both the texts the Bible material is domesticated and is relocated within the

structures of Telugu culture, language and thought.

Telugu culture came into closer contact with Western thought, language and literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. As the British consolidated their power, translations became the site for the mutual interpretation of cultures. While other European missionaries, merchants, and civil servants such as William Carey, William Brown and A. D. Campbell compiled grammar books, dictionaries and glossaries, the legendary Indologist C. P. Brown (1798-1884) set up in his own home and at his own expense what came to be known as “Brown’s college”. During his nearly 40-year career in India (1817-1855), Brown produced not only a Telugu grammar (1840; 2nd edn. 1857), a Telugu-English dictionary (1852), and an English-Telugu dictionary (1852), but also critical editions of most of the canonical works of Telugu literature. Brown’s contributions to Telugu language and literature are far too numerous to be listed here. Suffice it to say that be it language or literature, popular or classical, sacred or secular, there is hardly anything of importance in Telugu that he did not compile, codify, comment on, edit, translate, or print.¹²

Just as multi-faceted as Brown was Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919), the cultural and literary icon of Telugus in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Often hailed as the creator of modern Andhra, Kandukuri exemplifies the ambivalences, tensions and, above all, the two contradictory impulses for change and conservation that characterised the era of transition. He translated simultaneously from both Sanskrit and English with a view to enriching Telugu and empowering it to face the challenges of a transitional society. Kandukuri championed the movement to modernise and de-Sanskritize, and he used translations from English to revive Telugu literature by introducing new forms of expression.

Kandukuri’s translation of William Cowper’s comic poem *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* (1782) was the first English verse text to be translated into Telugu. In 1800, after a five-year struggle with dramatic form, Kandukuri

also successfully brought out two plays: a translation from Sanskrit of Sri Harsha's *Ratnavali*, and a translation from English of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* (this became the first Shakespeare play to be staged in Andhra). With both texts Kandukuri employed what became a model for later translators: 'Telugizing' the original, which meant recreating its spirit in an idiom accessible to Telugu readers and recontextualizing the original in the ethos of the target culture. In his autobiography, *Sweeya Chartira*, Kandukuri explained his translation method thus: "While translating plays, I substitute the original names with our regional names, change places into Indian locations, alter those parts of the story which are contrary to our customs and conventions to make them more acceptable to our people" (140-141).

Kandukuri's translations of English short stories and particularly of Aesop's fables mark an important moment in the pre-history of the Telugu short story, the first of which appeared in 1910 (Gurajada Appa Rao's "Diddubatu"). Kandukuri translated as many as 150 fables and published them with illustrations in two volumes. With the fables, he did not try to appropriate the originals; instead he made a special effort to retain the cultural differences—the illustrations show men and women dressed in Western costumes. At the end of each story, however, Kandukuri added an explicit four-line statement in verse, with the first three lines summing up the story and the last line highlighting the moral. In making this structural change, Kandukuri was obviously drawing on the fabular tradition of the Sanskrit classic, the *Panchatantra* (c. 200 B.C.E.) and implying that the morals and values contained in the stories are universal.

Kandukuri's *Rajasekhara Charitra* (1878) is generally regarded as the first modern novel in Telugu, though there are at least two other earlier works which could lay claim to that distinction: *Mahasweta* (1867) by Kokkonda Venkata Ratnam, and *Sonabai Parinayam* or *Rangaraja Charitra* (1872) by Narahari Gopala Krishnamma Shetty. Kandukuri acknowledges that his inspiration was Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766); in fact, he began to translate the novel in order to familiarise himself with the new genre, but

abandoned the project after translating three chapters, as he felt a dissonance between this alien tale and the local culture. Although *Rajasekhara Charitra* does retain some parallels with Goldsmith's novel, it is more or less an independent and original work that advocates social reform of a kind familiar in colonial discourse, but often cites Hindu scriptures in support of such a program. Barely nine years after its publication, this Goldsmith-inspired novel was translated back into English by an American missionary, Rev. J. Robert Hutchinson, under the title *Fortune's Wheel: A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life* (1887). The trajectory and reception of this novel through its translation tells an interesting story about the appropriation, re-appropriation and expropriation of discourses as part of a larger power struggle between cultures, races and nations. Kandukuri's work in general, and his novel in particular, thus becomes an extremely interesting example of not only the endotropic and exotropic translations that marked the beginnings of the modern period in Telugu literature, but also of the asymmetry that characterises the two practices now.

Translation in Telugu has always involved negotiating not only the authority of the original text, but also the asymmetrical power marking the relationship between the source and the target languages. Be it Sanskrit in the past, or English and Bangla during the colonial and the nationalist periods, mainstream Telugu literature has had to contend with a 'superior' literary culture. Yet, Telugu survived, indeed flourished, by domesticating the dominant other and making the other a part of itself. "[The Telugu writers] are excellent moulders. The moulds and the materials are borrowed; but the art of melting and the cunning of casting is all their own.... [They] have grafted the wild Sanskrit onto the crude Dravidian Telugu stock, and have evolved a luscious literary Telugu, which, like the mango, is unmatched for taste and colour" (Chenchiah & Bhujanga, 121).

Asymmetry between borrowing and lending is thus characteristic of Telugu literature. As a translator and critic says, "translation is not alien to Telugu, though it is *into* Telugu rather than *from* Telugu that translations were done" (Kesava Rao, 57). Such an inheritance notwithstanding, it is

only in the more recent past that “translations into Telugu came to be looked upon with aversion” and the “process of translation came to be regarded with distaste” (Kesava Rao, 57). Translations are now seen as being antithetical to and stifling the growth of original writing in Telugu. The reason for such a drastic change in attitude is that while in the past translation was a creative engagement and gave rise to new modes of writing and new forms of expression, in the contemporary period translation became borrowing, slavish imitation and a substitute for independent work. Explaining “why there are not many translations from Telugu”, Kesava Rao says, “some of the works which are considered great in Telugu are themselves translations” (57).

The consolidation of the status of English both locally and globally as the language of power has further accentuated the asymmetry between source and target languages and between endotropic and exotropic translations. There are today more translations into Telugu of a wide variety of texts, but most of them are from one single language, English. Arguably, translation in Telugu has ceased to be a process of negotiation and has become merely a product of total surrender.

NOTES

1. Telugu, Tenugu and Andhra are used synonymously to refer to this language. Of the three, Telugu is the earliest and the most widely used, according to the writer, critic, and literary historian Arudra (1-3, 74). Ethnologue.com lists the other names of the language: Telegu, Gentoo, Tailangi, Telangire, Telgi, Tengu, Terangi, and Tolangan.
2. See Arudra (20-22) and Sastry (10-17).
3. For a useful outline of the early history of European study of Telugu, see Vol. IV of George Grierson’s 11-volume work *Linguistic Survey of India* (1906).
4. Ketana (thirteenth century C.E.), a disciple of Tikkana (who had taken over from Nannaya in translating the *Mahabharata* into Telugu), expressly prohibited the use of spoken words in poetic works.

5. Since these languages do not have a tradition of written literature, Telugu's transactions with them have been non-textual and through the rich archive of their oral literatures.
6. A literary genre of Telugu literature characterized by elaborate descriptions and ornamental reworking of a narrative contained in *itihasa* (ancient story, legend) or *purana* (Hindu sacred text). See Narayana Rao (137).
7. Various stories were in circulation to account for Nannaya's non-completion of the *parva*. One of them was that Nannaya had destroyed a rival poet's translation of the *Bharata*, for which act of jealousy he was cursed and became mad. Nannaya's alleged madness gave rise to the belief that a similar fate would befall anyone who tried to complete the *parva* and thereby sought to equal the perfection of the divine text.
8. A K Ramanujan defines symbolic translation thus: "Now and then ... Text 2 uses the plot and characters and names of Text 1 minimally and uses them to say entirely new things, often in an effort to subvert the predecessor by producing a countertext. We may call such a translation *symbolic*" (45).
9. It is, however, attributed to a mythical poet, Ranganatha, and is generally known as the *Ranganatha Ramayana* (1230–40).
10. Atkuri Molla (1440?–1530?), born to a potter couple who were great devotees of god Siva, wrote what is known as *Molla Ramayanam* in clear, simple and colloquial Telugu without using Sanskrit words. She refused to dedicate it to the emperor Krishnadeva Raya (reign 1509–1530), himself a well-known poet, saying that it did not belong to her but to Sri Rama.
11. C. P. Brown's *Dictionary Telugu-English* (1903) defines *Kāvya(m)* as "Poetry; a piece of composition, whether in verse or ornamental prose".

12. For an extensive list of Brown's publications—critical writings, edited volumes, translations from and into Telugu—and an excellent estimate of his contribution to the formation of modern Telugu cultural identity, see Schmitthenner.

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History of Odia Translations (1803-1936): A Bottom-Up Approach

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“Indeed, one might even assert that, without translation, there is no history of the world. Consider the rise of certain civilizations: the Roman world, the Italian, French, English, German, and Russian, and contemplate the role of translation in the development of those cultures” (Ouyang, 1993, 27).

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to theorize the colonial Odia translation history in a descriptive manner. The Odia translation history associated with the socio-religious, political, educational, linguistic, and economic issues of colonial Odisha and these aspects are discussed in this paper. The colonial power, British language policy, educational facilities for natives, and missionary activities were implemented in Odisha division ensuring the position of Odia as an independent language. Odia translations through history are taken as an experimental ground for studying the macro translation strategies and their functions in socio-linguistic issue such as language standardization, economic interest in preparation of textbooks through translations, and nationalist agenda for linguistic awareness of the native speakers and their literary participations in the state formation are focused and discussed. The multidimensional perspective of translation and in conceptualizing the importance of translation and translation history in the development of Odia language, literature,

and culture in the various points of views are justified in this paper.

Introduction

Translation and translation history are clearly distinct in the sense that translation is a process and a product of rendering textual materials of one language in another whereas translation history refers to the phenomenology of translation process and product studied from the historical point of view. Translation history provides the ideas about the role of translation and translators' motivations from the historical perspectives. In other words, translation history is a multidisciplinary subject that helps to study the translation theories from the historical points of view and also provides ideas about the growth of vernacular languages, literatures, and socio-political issues related to the development of linguistic identity of a speech community. Linguistic and cultural interpretations of human behaviours in translated literature are given equal importance in translation history. That is why, translation history is one of the unique resources of the literary renaissance signifying the linguistic authenticity and social identity of native speakers. Development and standardization of mother-tongues are considered tangible aspects of translation which can be studied through translation history. Translation strategies, development of script, and writing system (grammar and punctuation), literary vision, values and styles, sociology of language, and culture are the most significant activities of translation that can be understood through translation history. Another important goal of translation history is to discover the biography of language and its historical development through the ages. Language competence, culture competence, and subject competence of the translators can be evaluated through the methodological equipment of translation history. From translation history, one can evaluate the linguistic interpretations of translated texts which contain linguistic and socio-semiotic perspectives of the embedded texts. The activity of translation through history is a record of the politics of translation and its involvement in the process of literary textualization. These might be the reasons for a

movement against the gobbledegook of dominant languages. So translation and translation history both are important aspects of Translation Studies that need to be discussed and explored in every language with reference to their linguistic and literary culture. It is worth mentioning here that the development of the vernacular languages and the politics of literary canonization can be determined through translation history.

Translation through history refers to not only the historical importance of translation but also the role of translation and its interface. According to Long (2007, 63), “Ideally it combines the history of translation theory with the study of literary and social trends in which translation has played a direct or catalytic part” in the development of national literature. Through translation history, one can equate the relationship of the past, the present, and the future of the nation in studying the linguistic resources and the literary traditions wherein translation played a significant role. The linguistic responsibility of the people and their emotional attachment to their language identity and loyalty are the visible aspects of the language rights to be stressed in the frame of translation history. Language as a social phenomenon manifests the human expressions first, and then recognizes a plural identity by a linguistic community. It is also considered as an intangible form of cultural practices which reflect the versatile ideology of human culture through linguistic interpretations. So it has been considered as one of the most “distinctive features of a culture, which may be described in a simplistic manner as the totality of the beliefs and practices of a society” (Nida 2005,13). Translation is one of the scientific activities that try to bridge the gaps between two texts, two languages, and two cultures. It is not only a method of rendering the textual materials from one language into another language, but also “meant expropriating ideas and insights from another culture to enrich one’s own language” (Schulte & Biguenet, 1992, 2). In this context, Lambert’s statement is very appropriate who said “historians of translation are needed more than ever before” (Lambert, 1993, 22) and “the history of translation helps translators, those discreet travelers, to emerge from the shadows and helps

us to better appreciate their contribution to intellectual life. The pages that follow are teeming with the figures that have left their mark on the profession in various ways. In investing alphabets, enriching languages, encouraging the emergence of national literatures, disseminating technical and scientific knowledge, propagating religions, writing dictionaries- their contribution has been prodigious. Translation cannot be dissociated from the notion of progress: some even maintain that a society can be measured by the translations it accepts” (quoted in Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995, xx). The main purpose of translation history is to determine the translators’ motivations towards language, literature and culture, finally nation and nationalism. Their ideological consciousness and practical experiences will provide the theories or models adopted in translating various texts.

Translation history explains the reasons behind translating certain specified texts in retrospect and their social-educational contexts. It is a chronicle of translators’ thoughts. Translations and “translators’ strategies through the ages have varied enormously, depending on the demands of commissioners, publishers, readers as well as their own personal preferences and their studies which undertake detailed analyses of individual translations in their social and historical context have an important role to play in filling in the gaps in translation history” (Williams & Chesterman 2002, 17). Translation history is the resource of a nation. As Long (2007, 66) states: “negotiating translation history is rather like navigating with various specialist maps. Individually they give up different features of the cultural, linguistic, political, historical, religious, technological, literary landscape, but there is too much information to make a single map of them. Consequently, it is necessary to separate out some relevant aspects of each in order to draw a specialist translation history map”. Therefore, translation history maps the unique resources of the linguistic community needed to be studied from an interdisciplinary perspective. The main aim of the paper is to study the history of translation of Odia language which is an under-discovered area. Translation history “helps define and account for the policies employed by past

translators and so gives at least a point of departure for developing strategies” (Ibid. 64).

This paper discusses the history of Odia translation and the various socio-political reasons associated with these translation activities during the colonial period. The socio-religious, political, educational, linguistic, and economic issues were interrelated with the translation activities in Odisha which were equally important to be studied from the Translation Studies of perspectives. At the same time the colonial power, British language policy, educational facilities, and missionary activities were implemented in Odisha division ensuring the position of Odia as an independent language. Odia translations through history were taken as an experimental ground for studying translation strategies and their functions in social issues like language standardization, economic interest, and nationalist agenda like linguistic awareness of the native speakers and their literary participations in the state formation. The important issue which needs to be explored through translation history is that Odia translation history provides a multidimensional perspective of translation which is necessary to be discussed in conceptualizing the importance of translation and translation history in the development of Odia language, literature, and culture.

Odia: through Translation History

Odia, a scheduled language of the Indian Constitution, occupies the official language status in Odisha. During the period of 1803 to 1936, Odia was neglected because it was always a part of other provinces. By that time most of the Indian territories were ruled by the British government. Odisha was divided spatially into the three main presidencies at that time: the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces. The people of Odisha did not allow the British government to capture the region easily. It took around sixty years for them to fully occupy Odisha and bring it under the British East India Company. Finally, the Company annexed Odisha at least in three different phases, Coastal or North Odisha in 1803, Western Hilly Tracts, i.e. Sambalpur in 1849 and Southern Odisha in 1868. Then

Odisha was divided into three divisions: the Coastal division, i.e. administrative division and part of the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, which consisted of three districts, Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri and the areas nearby these. The other two major parts of Odisha: Ganjam and Sambalpur were controlled by the presidencies of Madras and the Central Provinces respectively. Though Odisha and Bihar were a part of the Bengal Presidency, they were separated from Bengal in 1912 and later Odisha was separated from Bihar on 1st April, 1936. As a result, Odisha was declared as an independent province of India. It is, of course, the first linguistic state in this country. The language of people caused to be announced a rebellion during the British rule in Odisha.

Foundation of British Rule in Odisha and Linguistic Minority

In Odisha division, “from the beginning of the Company’s rule, the officers and servants of the Company adopted an unsystematic attitude towards the people of Orissa” (Samal, 1977, 112). They all were excluded from every job such as the Police, Revenue, and Salt departments (Ibid. 114). Walter Ewer (quoted in Mukherjee, 1964, 137) rightly observed that “the exclusion of the genuine Hindu inhabitants of Orissa from every situation tended to check the diffusion of the knowledge of the British system of administration”. It has been observed that the linguistic incapability of the Odias was the main cause of exclusion from the administrative services. At that time the court language of Orissa was Persian. A very few Odia *Amalas* spoke the Persian language perfectly and fluently. Before the British, “the key posts were held by outsiders who had knowledge of Persian” (Ibid. 13). The Odia *Amalas* did not have proficiency either in Persian or Bengali or English which were the languages of British administration. That’s why the Odias were not given an opportunity in British administration; instead the Muslims and Bengalis were preferred to obtain the jobs. Meanwhile “the British Government and various missionaries operated in Orissa attempted, albeit in a limited way, to establish printing presses and educational institutions chiefly to introduce English education into this tract. This in its own

way prepared the ground for growth of nationalistic feelings in later years” (Mohanty, 2005, 13-14). There are ample examples which show that the colonial empowerment virtually brought about customary effects over the vernaculars in Odisha. The question of vernacular and the act of national identity were articulated simultaneously by production of various types of literatures. The Odia translators and writers struggled to create a new milieu in 19th century Odisha. Positioning the vernacular in administrative and educational levels was a very sensitive issue at that time. On the one hand, linguistic domination of the Bengalis, and on the other hand, the British language policy for lower provinces made resilience of the new literary genres. And many new literary genres were created out of the colonial thoughts implanted through the translation activities.

There were several socio-political reasons which encouraged the translation activities in Odisha. The linguistic emancipation from the Bengalis was one of the main causes. The Odia nationalism was formed on the basis of the language right, agitation, and literary imagination in which the role of translation occupied an important position. At the same time, the British language policy, proselytizing activities of missionaries, and national enthusiasm of colonized intellectuals helped the Odias to get the linguistic emancipation and a free linguistic environment for literary creativities.

The role of translation in the Odia language movement was significant in establishing the linguistic authenticity of Odia in 19th century. Though the historians, scholars of literature, and linguists of Odisha have studied the same field, this area needs further investigation. It is one of the main objectives of this study to uncover the neglected aspects of the Odia language movement. The translation activities of the native and non-native Odia translators were to resolve the important issues like religious conversion, textbook preparation, preparing dictionaries and grammars, language agitation, language standardization, literary cannon formation, script evolution which were often related to the national interests. The socio-cultural background of the translation needs in

the particular period and its relevance are necessary to be discussed in situating the views of translation history.

Historical development of Odia translation and its socio-political and cultural background are equally essential to be discussed and to find out the themes and perspectives of Odia translations. The historical events of Orissa show why and how the Odia language movement took place against the linguistic domination of the Bengalis. Though the British language policy was introduced purposefully for the growth of the vernaculars in all the Indian provinces, it was delayed in Odisha by the Odia speaking people, mainly due to the Paik Rebellion (1817), the Odia Language Movement (1868), and the Movement for Separate Province during 1931-1936, etc. These were the symbols of patriotism and nationalism and the act of translation occupied a centre stage in these movements. These movements and their extraordinary contribution in establishing the Odia identity are obviously important and they can be understood through the translation activities. The Paik Rebellion was one of the foremost examples of linguistic deprivation that laid the foundation of the Odia language movement in which the politics of translation was one of the significant causes. Let us discuss the link among the Paik rebellion, translation and the Odia language movement.

The Paik Rebellion, Translation and the Odia Language Movement

There were several problems in educating the Odia people properly in the three different provinces of the British administration. By that time they could not resolve the three basic issues of education: “the content, the spread, and the medium” (quoted in Khubchandani, 1997,180). The vernacular language medium of Odisha was extremely poor and the people did not have the multilingual skill in order to work under the British government. Not a single Odia person was found in British government in 1803. One of the colonial officers (Toynbee, 2005, 94) rightly mentions this: “When we (Company) first acquired (Orissa) in 1803 there was hardly a single native of Orissa in Government employ. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian, and it was

not until 1805 that the Commissioners directed that in all written communications with the natives of the province, the subject should be written in Oriya as well as Persian". The order of the Commissioner could not show any result instantly because the Odia *Mohurirs* (record writers) were less capable in comparison to the Bengali clerks. Again, Toynbee states "when this order necessitated the employment of Oriya *Mohurirs*, who, though skillful enough with their iron pen and bundle of palm leaves, were almost helpless when, required writing on paper with an ordinary pen. They are said to have been slow in acquiring any facility in (to them new method of writing, ignorant of business in general, and especially of the English system of revenue accounts (as indeed they well might be). All the best ministerial appointments were consequently in the hands of Bengali *Amalas* (bureaucrats), who attracted by the high pay that had to be offered to procure the requisite standard of efficiency, left their homes in Bengal, and bringing their families with them, settled in the provinces and became naturalized Odias; their descendants hold at the present day the chief officers in the various courts of revenue, criminal, and civil law" (Ibid. 95). The regular domination of Bengalis made them resort to "bribery, corruption, peculation, and forgery" (Ibid.) in Odishan administration. Banerjee admits that "in fact Bengalis of low type ruled Orissa for nearly half-a-century after the conquest. Having control of judicial and executive work, the Bengali found Orissa an easy means to get rich quick.....Hundreds of old Oriya noblemen were ruined and their ancient heritage passed into the hands of Bengali *Zamidars*" (landlords) (quoted in Mansinha, 1962, 166-167). The process of Bengalization in Odisha had paralyzed the Odias and activities of the contempt by the Bengalis caused immense inconvenience for them in getting the job opportunities under the British administration. The main cause was the monolingualism of the Odias as opposed to the multilingualism of Bengalis. Multilingual proficiency of the Bengalis helped them to monopolize the administrative jobs in Odisha. Afterwards, it became a sign of serious threat to the Odias.

In order to protest against the Bengali domination and irresponsibility of the British administration, a passive

movement was started by the Odia Paiks for their linguistic identity after 14 years of the British rule. During these fourteen years, the people of Odisha experienced exploitation by the British administration as well as the Bengali officials. As a result, there was a massive resistance by the Odias, notably the Paik Rebellion in 1817. It was the first linguistic protest against the British rule and the Bengalis. The Odia scholars, e.g. Natabara Samantaray, Gaganendra Nath Dash, and Bibudhendra Narayan Patnaik, and the historians, e.g. Prabhat Mukherjee, Kishori Mohan Patra, Jayakrushna Samal, and Kailash Chandra Dash did not discuss the Paik Rebellion from a linguistic perspective. Though they have traced the route of Odia language movement which took place between 1868 and 1872 through the Paik Rebellion, they have not pointed out the role of translation and linguistic domination of Bengalis which worked as a key instrument in it.

The language policy of the British administration created an enormous difficulty for understanding the rules and regulations meant for the natives in order to pay their land revenues and other domestic taxes. There is a noticeable example which shows how linguistic domination and linguistic misappropriation led to a social revolution against the British East India Company in Odisha, i.e. the Paik Rebellion. The military chief of Khurda, Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara Mahapatra, who was victimized by the British administration and brutality of the Bengali officer Krishnachandra Singh, who was a polyglot having proficiency of Arabic, Bengali, Odia, and Persian and worked as a *Dewan* under G. Groeme, the Collector of Cuttack. His intimate friend Chandraprasad Singh was a *Sheristadar* under the Tahasildar of Puri who assisted to divest *Rahanga* estate from Jagabandhu's possession in using the expression '*Rahang Ogyreh*' (Samantaray, 1983, 11; Mukherjee, 1964, 126). *Rahanga* was one of the farming estates of Jagabandhu which was later purchased by Krishnachandra Singh vide the notification of government in 1807. There was no mention of the *Rorung* estates specifically in that notification of the government for selling out the estates whereas the *Rorung* was included under *Ogyreh Killah Rorung* (Mukherjee, 1964, 122 quoted in

Ewer's Report, Para-18: 1818). Using the word *Ogyreh* that means "etc" or "including some of other things belonging to the same" helped tactically taking away the estate *Rorung* from Jagabandhu's possession. The problem was created due to the vagueness in the word *Ogyreh* in Modern Standard Odia, an artful linguistic interpretation by Krishnachandra Singh and his intimate friend Chandraprasad Singh. Later, "it was understood by Jagabandhu and he found out that *Rorung* had been sold away along with *Rahanga* and thus he had been betrayed" (Mukherjee, 1964, 123) Linguistic command of both the Bengali officials Krishnachandra and Chandraprasad made a political and judicial issue for Jagabandhu which insulted him and ultimately that situation became one of the serious causes for the Paik Rebellion. Along with the linguistic discrimination by the Bengalis the faulty system of administration of the country by the English was mainly responsible for the whole trouble. The linguistic misappropriation of the Bengalis and the faulty British administration policy caused the Paik Rebellion. An indigenous militia group of Odisha started the revolution against the monopoly of the British administration as well as the linguistic domination of the Bengalis. The people's agitation for vernacular language and translation of the rules and regulations of British government into the vernacular language, Odia, were the serious factors for the Paik Rebellion.

A serious scholar of Odia language movement, Natabara Samantaray states that the "Paika Rebellion is nothing other than a protest against a destitute administration of the foreigner" (Samantaray, 1983, 11 our translation). There was another related cause advocated by Gaganendra Nath Dash, i.e. "dishonesty of some of Bengali clerks and negligence of British administration" (Dash, 1993, 47). These views of G. N. Dash are based on Samantaray's and Mukherjee's interpretations. Though he cited Walter Ewer's commission report, he has not made it clear how linguistic domination of the Bengalis led to the Paik Rebellion. His statement of exclusion of Odia clerks from the administration was pointed out earlier by Walter Ewer (1818), Prabhat Mukherjee (1964), Samantaray (1964). His views are not really appropriate in the context of linguistic domination of the Bengalis. In this

context, the historical linkage discussed by Panchanan Mohanty is clear and convincing, i.e. “resistance against British rule, notably Paik Rebellion in 1817, a protest in the way the British government had treated Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara Mahapatra who was the Bhramarabara Ray (military commander) for the King of Khurda” (Mohanty, 2002, 53-54/2008, 102). The missionaries, colonial officers, and colonized intellectuals all took part in this movement. His hypothesis clearly indicates how Jagabandhu was humiliated and discriminated by the British administration. Simultaneously, the Bengalis’ multilingual skill helped them to get jobs under the British administration and that is how they monopolized the whole system of British administration in Odisha.

The Paik Rebellion stemmed not only from the economical deprivations, salt monopoly, humiliation of the Raja (king), miserable condition of peasants, rapacity, exaction and torture by the *Amalas*, but also due to failure of the rules and regulations of the Company. Historical evidence for it was given by Walter Ewer, an acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack. His brief report on the same was submitted to the government on May 13, 1818 that shows all the roots of the Paik Rebellion and role of British administration in it. Ewer’s thorough discussion of the Paik Rebellion states some of the genuine factors related to translation and its importance. He claimed that “they (the natives of Orissa) seem unconscious of any particular benefits which have resulted to them from the operations of British laws and regulations, whilst it is very apparent that they have increased the assessment, required payment of revenues in silver instead of cowries, augmented the price of salt to six times its former rate, and dispossessed upwards of two-thirds of the original native proprietors from their estates. The people of the interior seemed also to have thought all applicants to the court vain and fruitless of late years, unless besides the legal, authorized overwhelming expense of stamp paper, fees, etc., they could further produce a considerable sum to purchase the favour or at least the forbearance of the *sudder amlah* [...]. Translations of the regulations exist only in the Persian and the Bengali languages. Not a single regulation has ever been translated into great

vernacular language of the Province” (quoted in Separate Province for Utkal, 1928, 406-407). Ewer has further stated: “the question of the failure of the British laws and regulations which were introduced in Orissa was a matter of grave concern that not a single regulation had been translated into Oriya, the language of the people in Orissa” (quoted in Patra, 1971, 32). The target languages of translation were Persian and Bengali which were actually difficult to understand by the common people of Odisha. “To add this inconvenience the government had followed a policy of systematic exclusion of the natives of Orissa from all officers in their administrative machinery” (Ibid.). Not only that they had been subjected to exploitation by the Bengali *Amalas*, who monopolized all subordinate officer jobs of the administration at that time, but also exclusion of the Odias from “all officers of trust and responsibility” had tended to check and confine the diffusion of knowledge of the British system to a great extent” (Ibid.). In such a situation, the people of Odisha were not aware of the British rules and regulations, even the tax folios were not written in Odia. The people of Odisha were mostly monolinguals. The failure of translating rules and regulations of the British administration to Odia and exclusion of Odia *Amalas* from the Company service were also important causes of the Paik Rebellion. The impact of this Rebellion uncovered the faults of the British administration and brutality of the Bengalis. After that the British government tried to reform the administration policies in favour of the Odias.

After fifty years of Paik Rebellion, there was another nationalistic movement in Odisha called the “Odia Language Movement” in 1868. The role of translation and inclusion of native officials was proposed under the British administration for the reformative purposes. Along with it, colonial officers, missionaries, and colonized intellectuals came forward to participate in the same for establishing their own view points. Participation of native and non-native translators helped to further the linguistic movement and nationalistic ideologies through their translations involving their survival interest during this period.

Odia Cultural History after the Paik Rebellion

The Paik Rebellion of 1817 shook the British administration and subsequently, they tried to resolve the socio-cultural and economic issues that had damaged the social life of the common people in Odisha. The British administration and philanthropic activities of the missionaries introduced several developmental schemes for the growth of education that enhanced the value of the vernacular language. They first tried to implement the use of the vernacular in the religious activities and then for the pedagogical purposes. On the one hand, colonial power and interest of colonial officials attempted to resolve the linguistic conflict between the Odias and Bengalis, and on the other hand, missionary activities wanted to reform the Odia language, literature, cultural history, theology, science and technology. At a later stage, they inspired the newly educated native people for giving more attention to their livelihood. The History of Modern Odia Translation (HMOT) was started by some philanthropic missionaries and it needs to be discussed elaborately, because it will help us to understand the perspective of translation history and its participation in creating literary genres, language standardization, cultural historiography, etc. It has been noticed that after the end of the Paik Rebellion, drastic changes were observed in British administration. They ruled Odisha dividing it into separate districts. A new language policy was implemented by the British government in which they favoured the use of the Odia language in the administration as a substitute for Persian and Bengali. For educating the native people of Orissa, some educational institutions were established and the Oriya people got job opportunities in the British administration. Later on, this process was followed and meanwhile the missionaries and colonized literates joined them to serve the British administration.

Colonial Odisha and its Official Language

After the Charter Act of 1813, a decisive shift took place in the British language policy in India. The court language of Odisha was Persian. There were very few Odias *Amalas* who had good competence in this language. After the Paik Rebellion, the

Government realized the importance of vernacular language education which was emphasized in Ewer's report. He pointed out the issues as means of "exactions and injustice of the Bengali *Amalas*" in the British administration creating problems for the Odias. Commissioner Gouldsbury attributed the insurrection 'in some measure', to the "machinations of the Bengali *Amalas* in oppressing and plundering the people and fraudulently dispossessing the Oriya landlords of their estates" (Ibid. 139). Under these circumstances, the Government took serious actions against "many of the principal officers and they were sent to jail or were suspended on charges of corruption. At the same time, "an attempt was made to give employment to local people, as recommended by the Court of Circuit, Calcutta" (Mukherjee, 1964, 138). In 1824, C.J. Middleton, Magistrate of Cuttack, received a despatch from the Court of Directors in which it was mentioned "to encourage respectable natives of Cuttack to qualify them for employment" (Ibid. 167). "In 1828 October 23rd an important administrative change took place in Orissa, it divided Orissa into Northern, Central, and Southern divisions. Before, Orissa division was administrated under a collector. After partition of Orissa, it became easier to rule Orissa. The Government appointed Henry Rickets, W. Wilkinson, and R. Hunter as the Magistrates and Collectors of these divisions. Thenceforth each of the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri had its own official decorum; official records of land and revenue, British rules and regulations were maintained" (Ibid.167). The ideological and political changes in the British administration towards Orissa show the impact of the Paik Rebellion. Simultaneously, the linguistic domination of Bengalis was also observed by the Government, as a result Odia was introduced in the official level after twenty years of the Paik Rebellion.

The Government realized the linguistic problems of Indian provinces and there was an order to replace Persian from the court in all the provinces. By that order, Persian was abolished by 1832 in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and by 1837 in the Bengal Presidency. A letter from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Judicial Department in 1835 argued for abandoning Persian. In this respect, there was a

despatch by the Court of Directors which stated its view on the replacement of Persian from the official status. “In the event of appearing to you that any advantage would result from discounting the use of the Persian as the language of Courts, you will state what language you would propose to substitute in its places, as well as whether the change would be attained with any and what reduction of expense” (Samantaray, 1970, 4-5). In the minutes of 1836, Governor General Auckland noted the same reaction about Persian that it was not a colloquial language in any part of Company territory; to retain it as the language of the courts, therefore, was to keep the bulk of the people in ignorance of the judicial proceedings to which they may be parties. Auckland observed that this left the company with no means to check those proceedings or appreciate the court’s impartiality. The obvious remedy was to abolish Persian in the Bengal presidency, where it was still the official language of the courts and revenue proceedings. But what language should or could replace it? The Company sought the opinions of Districts Commissioners and Judges subordinate to them. The resolution was passed in November as Act No. 29 (1837), and “Persian was officially replaced from the Bengal Presidency. Act 29 itself directly affected only the Bengal Presidency. Then the Bengali, Oriya, and Urdu (or Hindustani in Indo-Persian script) languages were designated as official languages of the courts and revenue proceedings in those areas where they predominated. However, Act 29 was significant far beyond Bengal because it was an all-India Act, and as such set a precedent for future language policy throughout India. It ensured that from 1837 on, vernacular languages would be the medium of colonial governance at all but the highest levels” (Mir, 2006, 403-404). Finally, Persian was removed as the official language of Indian provinces and vernacular languages were introduced in its place. Especially in the Odisha division, Odia was introduced and also promoted by many of the British officials.

Andrew Moffat Mills, who was for several years the Collector of Cuttack promoted vernacular education in Odisha. Due to his efforts, vernacular schools were established at Balasore, Remuna, Bhadrak, Hariharpore and at Mahanga in 1844 and 1845 (Mukherjee, 1964, 173). The Odia language, education,

and literature were promoted by the British officers William Wilkinson, Gouldsbury, G.F. Cockburn, R.N. Shore, John Beames, T.E. Ravenshaw, R.L. Matrin, and G.S. Wilkins. Missionaries and colonial Odia officers, teachers, landlords, and official staff became patrons of the language and literary discourses. In fact, “the motivations of these foreign agencies were totally utilitarian: the Christian missionary interest was spread of the Word doctrines of Christian; the interest of the East India Company was to assure administrative” (Das, 1991, 70). They moved towards establishing the Odia language and its literature in order to make it independent from the Bengali domination. They had popularized the act of translation not only in the literary spheres but also in the fields of textbook preparation and districts Gazette writings. The Odia translation committee was formed for these purposes especially for writing of the Gazetteer in 1840 by the British government.

Translation Committee in Odisha

The question of vernacular language and its position were sorted out by the district commissioners of Odisha and they introduced translation policy for improving the Odia language. On the account of development of vernacular languages in 1839 the Governor General Auckland proposed in his minute that the English texts should be translated into Indian languages for various reasons. He tried to reintroduce the vernacular teaching, which was banned by T.B. Macaulay. For this purpose, he extended financial support for establishing and running vernacular schools in the lower provinces. To promote the Odia language, the Government decided to translate the gazetteers. For this purpose the Government constituted a selection board for appointing translators in order to prepare the Gazetteer in 1840 on July 18. This was initiated by a committee comprising the then commissioner of Odisha, the Civil and Session Judge H.V. Hothorn, District Magistrate of Puri, Collector J.K. Yart, Deputy Collector Brajasundar Ray and Munsif Abdul Dian. They decided to appoint Amos Sutton for his command over three languages, English, Bengali and Odia. As a result, the translation committee selected Amos Sutton to be a translator of the

Government on a scale of three hundred rupees per month. The committee expressed the views on the translation policy that it was the right way to solve the language discrimination and they declared, “the work (Oriya translation) is greatly wanted. It would be productive of incalculable good in improving the language which is not what it should be, and that the committee has little doubt that would greatly facilitate the medium of communication between the Governor and the Governed” (quoted in Samantaray, 1979, 80). That is why the Government agreed to publish the Gazette, the rules and regulations in Odia. Amos Sutton was the first editor of the Odia Gazette. In 1842, Government asked Rev. Amos Sutton to translate the Acts of the Government very quickly. The Sudder Board of Revenue also approved a proposal in 1844 to translate certain books in Bengali to Odia. “Siva Prasad Singh, Munsiff, proposed to publish Odia translation of Police regulation XX of 1817, provided that Government would buy 200 copies @ Rupees 2 each. The Government of Bengal agreed to buy one hundred copies as recommended by Gouldsbury, Commissioner (undersecretary to government to Gouldsbury, dated 18th October 1848, No.1219)” (Mukherjee, 1964, 433). After Sutton’s retirement, the Government appointed Charles Lacey and after his departure his son William Carey Lacey took over the charge of the editorship and responsibility of the translator profession up to 1870 (reported in Utkala Dipika 5.12.1870, Vol-5, and No-6, quoted in Pattanaik, 1972,124). Throughout the 19th century with the help of the missionaries, the Government edited and published the Oriya Gazette (Swaro, 1990, 202) and translation activities were supported by the Court of Directors in 1841. In the same year 1841, Commissioner A.J Mills wrote on 3rd February: “The Judge Mr. H. V. Hothorn’s modification of the plan of translating Govt. Regulations from beginning to the end suggests head of Judicial authority be authorized to select for translation into Oriya such of the Regulations and Acts of Govt. appertaining to this province as would add to this suggestion that forth-coming regulations and Govt. Gazette be also published in Oriya. If the expense of this work be considered too great, I would recommend that an Oriya translation of the Govt. Gazette be alone published”

(quoted in Samantaray, 1979, 80). The British language and education policy also supported the use of the vernaculars in the administration as well as education in Indian provinces. The Government approved Auckland's proposal and gave permission to implement the translation policy in the Indian provinces. Further, translation and its implementation in the educational level were highlighted by the Principal of the Company Control Board Charles Wood. He had submitted a brief education despatch to the Governor General Lord Dalhousie on July 19, 1854 wherein he mentioned that "the English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches, and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country" (Pennycook, 1998, 70). Wood's Despatch suggested the use of vernacular medium "to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with English" (Richey, 1922; Naik, 1963; Khubchandani, 1997, 180) and also stated to "promote the European knowledge, the English texts are essential to be translated into Indian vernaculars" (Mahapatra, 1986, 28). When the translation activities flourished in the Odisha division, a few educated Odias like Gaurisankar Ray, Chatrubhuja Pattanaik, and Bichhanda Charana Pattanaik were appointed as Government translators and worked for several years with a good salary under the British government.

Translation History and its Multidimensional Perspectives

Translation helps in the growth of a language, literature and its cultural history in various ways. In the initial years of the British administration, the translators were appointed by the Government. In 1840, the translation commission was constituted in Odisha which gives the historical evidence of the translation activities and its multidimensional role in the development of the society. There were several factors which helped to neutralize the social tensions through translation, viz:

1. Religious Evangelization
2. To Introduce Modern Literary Genres, i.e. autobiography, biography, novel, short story, travelogue, and different forms

- of poetry such as ballad, lyric, and sonnet, etc.
3. Writing Textbooks in various areas of knowledge
 4. Preparation of Grammar and Dictionary
 5. Language Learning
 6. Employment and Economic Interest
 7. Language Conservation and Preservation

The above-mentioned issues are significant in locating the function of Odia translation in various contexts.

Missionaries and their Contributions to Odishan Literary Scene

The Paik Rebellion of Odisha ended in 1818. In 1821, Lord Hastings, the Governor General of British Government, permitted the missionaries to start their activities in Odisha (Patra, 2004, 12; Swain, 1991, 68). The philanthropic nature of the missionaries pushed Odisha towards various denominations of the missionary groups. They were the General Baptists of England, the General Baptists, the American Freewill Baptists, the Evangelical Missionary Society and Roman Catholics. They opened their philanthropic stations all over Odisha for their evangelical work. Thus Swaro (1990, 1-2) has rightly remarked: “the province of Orissa is a portion of field of missionary labour, which has all along been occupied by one denomination only at a time. First, the Serampore missionaries sent preaches of the Gospel thither but on the arrival of the first missionaries from the General Baptist denominations they cheerfully relinquished the district in favour of the new labourers. Since that time Orissa proper, has, a mission field, been occupied exclusively by evangelists belonging either to the English General Baptists”. Among these Missionary groups, the General Baptists Missionary Messrs. Bampton and Peggs preceded from Calcutta in the later part of January, 1822 and they landed about fifty miles from Cuttack, on February 11th, 1822 for the purpose of evangelization (Sutton, 1854, 19). Soon after them, Charles Lacey came to Cuttack with his wife in 1823 and Amos Sutton followed them with his wife and they reached Cuttack, in 1825 (Sutton, 1835, 61; Samantaray,

1979, 45). Unfortunately, due to the death of Sutton's wife, he returned to England in 1825. In September 1836, Sutton visited the United States and again returned to Cuttack with Eli Noyes and Mrs. Noyes, and J. Phillips and Mrs. Phillips, the missionaries of the American Free-Will Baptist Society. They committed to their activities in Odisha division in 1838, though they had come two years earlier to Sambalpur. The Evangelical Missionary Society started its work in 1896 due to the inspiration of Miss Gilbert, who visited Mayurbhanj in course of her missionary tour in Bengal. Her inspiration led Kate Robert Allanby to come to Mayurbhanj from Brisbane for evangelical work (Swaro, 1988, 80). Right from the beginning, the missionaries were characterized by a drive to translate the Bible as a means of providing a basis for the preservation of orthodoxy and an accurate recounting of the life and teaching of Jesus. And also "translations of the works were produced mainly to meet the demands of pedagogy" (Das, 1991, 75). They provided vernacular grammars, dictionaries; textbooks, philological writings, and religious and non-religious texts into Indian languages for the purpose of education and administration. The missionaries had considered it a legitimate duty to educate the natives. James Peggs, the first Baptist missionary of Orissa wrote "we hope to promote education as preparatory to the reception of the gospel" (Dhall, 1997, 151). Sutton another missionary since 1824, wrote: "the promotion of education among the people is another legitimate branch of missionary benevolence and they promoted both vernacular and English education. Around 1823, they established 15 elementary schools" (Ibid.). The missionaries started to promote vernacular literature in all aspects. Though Carey, Ward, and Marshman of Serampore had prepared the Odia Bible and Odia religious tracts through translation, later on the process of translation continued by Reverend Amos Sutton, Charles Lacey and his son William Charles Lacey, Eli Noyes, J. Phillips, E.B.C. Hallam, J. Stubbins, J. Buckley, J.G. Pike, and their wives and converted Odias. Then, vernacular education, English education, special education for women were introduced and promoted by them. They established the first printing press at Cuttack in 1838. Their main objective was to convert the natives into Christianity. Through the

process of conversion, they understood “if preaching of the gospel was necessary it was necessary to spread education so that the Bible could be read and understood. Its translation and publication into Indian languages were also essential. As a result, the missionaries turned out not only to be preachers and translators, but also publishers and educators” (Dhall, 1997, 142). Distributing Bibles and religious tracts among the native converts made them translate the religious stories to the native vernaculars.

Various activities of the missionaries were explored by Amos Sutton. His book on *Orissa and its Evangelization* (1850) clearly demonstrates their interest in learning the Odia language and thinking about its progress. Sutton (1850, 318) categorically said that the missionaries of Odisha should furnish every school with books in the Odia language. To promote conversion, “they established the first English School, which as the report for 1842 says, in now merged in the Government School. Thus, after running its useful course for seventeen years, distributing the stream of knowledge through many parts of this desert province, the stream has swollen to a river, whose waters, if less limpid, will yet form a vaster body, swelling on we trust with increasing power, and bearing on their bosom the ark of knowledge through the length and the breadth of the land”. He recorded an important role of translation in order to serve the Government and educate the natives through their vernacular medium. He said that “one of the brethren has felt called upon to devote a portion of his time to the translating of various documents and legal enactments for Government, not as a mother of choice but duty, under the circumstances of the care, and may, yet continue to do so. Thus did Dr. Carey, the leader of missionary group in India” (Ibid.). Again, “the preparation of grammars and dictionaries, the translation of the Word of God, the preparation and printing of religious tracts, are all so many departments of labour developing on the missionary” (ibid.). For the purpose of printing and publishing their religious texts they established a printing press at Cuttack in 1838 (Sutton, 1850, 319; Patra, 1988, 129) which was named as Odisha Mission Press, Cuttack. On this subject, there was a report prepared that mentioned

the main objective of the mission as “closely connected with the translating in printing department, our mission this year presents the new and interesting features in establishment of a printing office in connection with our mission, and in the centre of Orissa” (Sutton, 1850, 319). The missionary activities were vividly reported in the newspaper named as *Friend of India* which was edited and published by Carey and his friends Marshman and Ward. Sutton wrote in his same book how the missionary activities were positioned in Odisha through the sympathy of missionaries:

“Orissa – we have received a copy of a tract missionaries have this year established at that station. It is printed in the Oriya character and for neatness of execution is not exceeded, doing any similar brochure which has issued from the Metropolitan Press in Calcutta. It does no little credit to those to whose feelings of public spirit and Christian benevolence the district is now indebted for an efficient press. The establishment of a press in any province is an important era in its history. It is delightful therefore to contemplate the rapid increase of the means of intellectual and religious improvement through means of this mighty engine in the various and even remote provinces of this empire. We know witness the establishment of process at the opposite extremities of the Bengal presidency through the spirited exertions of missionaries, but for whose labour those provinces might long have remained destitute of them. Looking down to the southern most of the provinces, we find a press setup in country of Orissa. “We rejoice that a press has been established in that country capable of executing any works in the Oriya language and character. The extent to which the language is used has only been discovered of late. We find that it is spoken and written through and extent country three hundred miles in breadth from the sea to one hundred miles in breadth from the sea, to one hundred miles in length west Sambalpore, and more than two hundred miles in breadth from Midnapore, where it melts into Bengalee (Bengali), to Ganjam, where it meets the Teloogoo (Telugu). It was indispensable therefore to the competences of missionary operation to that kingdom that means should be provided on the spot for multiplying books in a language so extensively used. But why should the benefits of this local

press be confined to missionary operation? “Why should not Government avail itself or the means of communication with the people which have thus been provided, by publishing its own acts and notifications through the same channel? We know that a strong disposition exists in the highest quarter to provincialize the public service in Orissa. It is the wish of Government that those who are appointed to this province should apply themselves earnestly to the acquisition of the vernacular tongue, and should more in a circle of promotion within the province itself. In this arrangement there is much wisdom. But to render it efficient, it is necessary to follow it up by the translation of all orders, which the people are required to understand and act on, into their own language, and by a liberal use of the press which has now been established in the province..... Two presses have even since been kept in operation, and a large number of useful works published, under the management of Mr W.Brooks, (Sutton, 1850. 319-320).“The Orissa missionaries have ever been characterized by their devotion to this department of missionary labour. Messrs, Lacroix and Mullins, in their lecture on the Orissa mission, remark — “The preaching of the gospel in the vernacular language, has been the great means employed by the missionaries in Orissa. They have not neglected the preparation of a Christian literature, the translation of the bible, the printing of tracts, or the education of youth; but public preaching in all parts of the country has always been considered by them a first and chief duty.” After other remarks, laudatory of our missionaries in applying the native language and mythology to the purpose of the evangelization of the people, they add—” The Orissa mission may justly claim the title of the great preaching mission of Bengal. “We mention these things, not to unduly praise the instruments of God’s mercy to a heathen land, but to show how successfully the native language, native illustrations and modes of thought, and a knowledge of the native system, may be acquired by English missionaries who take up this matter as their one great subject of study, and the one great vehicle of preaching the gospel to Hindoos (Hindus).” We cannot but be obliged to our brethren of another denomination for this generous testimony. The writer hopes, however, it is not so exclusively

due to the Orissa missionaries. There are some in Bengal and other parts of India, he knows, who are like-minded, while several of his brethren of the American Baptist mission on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal have equaled, if not exceeded us, in this mode of evangelical labor” (Sutton, 1850, 328-329).

This description of Sutton states the pioneering efforts of missionaries in setting up a printing press, translating sacred texts and government treaties, school books, vernacularization of texts encouraged and promoted by the missionaries. Newspapers, journals, and periodicals in Odia were published by them. They wrote “textbooks for use in the schools and translated Holy Bible and compiled dictionary in Odia” (Mohanty, 1988, 88). They introduced new literary genres: prose, fiction, translation, travelogue, grammar, and dictionary in vernacular languages. Their main goal was to spread Christianity in Odisha by establishing the printing press, running literary periodicals and journals which supported them in preaching Christianity on the soil of Odisha. Their mission of proselytizing not only flourished but also helped in canonization of the Odia literature. They contributed a large number of translated texts in Odia which were used by the Vernacular School Book Society (VSBS) as the textbooks for pedagogical purposes. The grammar, dictionary, journals and periodicals were introduced during the same period for evangelical and pedagogical purposes.

The modern era of Odia translation which was introduced by the missionaries sped up with their religious evangelic activities and tried to spread the western knowledge and reality of human life through the Christian literatures. The literary contributions of the missionaries represent the variety of literary compositions in Odia which were written, transcreated, and translated by them. The religious texts like the Bible, religious tracts, and religious pamphlets were translated by the missionaries and the converted Odias. The examples of Odia Bible translations and religious tracts shed light on the translation history of Odia and its important aspects.

Odia Translation of the Biblical Literature

Translating the Bible and other religious tracts was the primary aim of the missionaries. The first Odia translation of the New Testament was published in 1807 (Cox, 1842, 170). It was translated from the Greek sources with the help of William Carey and his translation team of Serampore. The same version of the Bible was revised and improved by Sutton in 1840-1844 and was published from Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack. There were several versions of the Bible translation in Odia. A missionary and an activist from Odisha, Rev. Prafulla Kumar Patra says that a New Testament of Oriya was published in 1808 (Patra, 2004, 173). Another report of Fort William College, 1804, September mentions that first New Testament of Oriya was published in 1809 (Samantaray, 1983, 97). George Smith, a biographer of William Carey, mentioned that the Odia translation of New Testament was printed in 1811 and Old Testament in 1819 (quoted in Arangaden, 1992, 06). There were several versions of the Odia Bible translation and they were revised by several translators from time to time. The translators were mostly foreign missionaries and converted Odia missionaries. For example, the Odia translation of the New Testament was again done by Isaac Stubbins in 1858. He tried to make all possible corrections and John Buckley completed it in 1862 (Dhall, 1997, 199). This version received an excellent acceptance among the native converters of Odisha (Patra, 1942, 173). In the year 1872, Buckley with the help of a certain native preacher, Jagu Raul published the revised version of the Old Testament. Further, the New Testament was translated in 1893 by J. G. Pike. After many years i.e. in 1924, Rev. H. W. Pike began the translation of New Testament in his own style. It was known as the "Pike Edition" (now a copy of the same version is preserved in the Bible Society, Bangalore). He was assisted by Rev. Benjamin Pradhan. In the year 1938, the translation of the Bible work resumed under the joint responsibility of the Orissa Christian Society, British and foreign Bible Society and different missionary societies operating in Odisha. Rev. Benjamin Pradhan, Rev. F. Fellows, and Rev. Gangadhar Rath (of the American Mission) began with the revision of New Testament. Rev. A. Anderson of Danish Lutheran Mission working in South Odisha joined

in this effort, and Rev. B. Pradhan was chief member of the revision committee (Patra, 2004, 173; Dhall, 1997, 199). It was expected that this revised version of the Bible would be more readable for the native preachers. There were many religious and moral tracts translated by the missionaries that are claimed as their significant contributions which inspired the Odias to improve their literary genres.

Odia Translation of Tracts and Religious Literature

Translation of religious tracts into Odia was another contribution of the missionaries. The Bible Translation Society and Tract Society of America provided funds for printing the religious gospels and tracts in native languages. The first religious tract in Odia was written by Rev. William Bampton and Rev. J. Peggs. While coming to Odisha in 1822, they received 1000 religious books and 500 religious tracts from Serampore Mission Press, Calcutta for spreading Christianity among the natives. In 1835, 28000 tracts were distributed by the missionaries to the native people of Odisha (Samantaray, 1983, 98). It was one of the primary duties of the missionary groups to translate and prepare the religious tracts in Odia. The first tract to be printed by the Orissa Mission Press was “*Jagannath Tirtha Mahatmya*” (Greatness of the Pilgrimage to Jagannath). Most of the tracts published in Odia were translations (Dhall, 1997, 195). Amos Sutton also composed thirty tracts; several of them in poetry to meet the requirements of the people. A list of Odia tracts are extracted from Mohapatra (1988, 132) which are given below:

English	Odia Translation	No of Copies Printed
Catechism (Vol-1)	Sesa bāNi	5000
Old Story	Purātana kāhāNi	1000
Current Sayings	KareNT Seings	100
Ten Commandments	Dasa āgyāṇ	5000
True Refuge	Asala saraNārthi	5000
Negro Servant	Nigro bhurtya	5000

Ripe Mango (in verse)	Pacilāāmba	5000
The Redeemer	Mukti pāithibā loka	5000
Child's Instructor	Pilānka sikhyaka	3000
Sweet Story of Old	Madhura kāhāNi	2000
Line upon Line	Lāine app lāine	1000

In the process of evangelization, the missionaries translated and distributed a large number of tracts in Odisha. In the year 1835, about 28,000 copies of tracts were distributed amongst the native preachers of Odisha. For the purpose of translating and publishing tracts, the American Tract society had financed 500 dollars to Odisha missionaries. In 1837, the missionaries of Odisha received ninety reams of paper and one thousand dollars for printing of tracts in Odia. The Annual Report of the Committee of Baptist Missionary Society in 1897 gives a list of the following tracts that were published by that time in Odia:

SL. No	Name of the Tract	No. of Copies Published
1.	MāLati o bhāgyabati	2,000
2.	Jewell Mine o Salvation	10,000
3.	Sermon of the Mount	5,000
4.	Miracle of the Christ	5,000
5.	Muktira mārga	10,000
6.	Jamidāra o rayata	1,000
7.	Srustira kathā	6,000
8.	Pilānka dharma geeta	500
9.	Baibelara sisu	1,500
10.	Selection of the Tract	2,000
11.	Jagannath Tested	10,000
12.	Christian Jeevani	10,000
13.	True Christian	3,000
14.	Line upon Line sheshajai	1,000

All these Odia tracts were translated from English by the missionary translators. The publication of copies confirms the popularity of the tracts and various important social and religious themes were narrated in those tracts. A few tracts were discovered by Mukherjee (quoted in Dhall, 1997) which are listed below:

SL.No	English	Odia Translation
1.	Abridgement of Baxter's Call to the Uninvited	Pāpimānanka prati nivedan
2.	True Refuge	Satya āshraya
3.	Three Words of Instructions	Upadesara tinoTi kathā
4.	Memoirs of Laxi Bai and Duibee, Two Christian Women	Laxmibāi puNi duibeenkara carita
5.	Death's Judgment of Futurity	Mrityu bichāradina o paraloka bisaya

There were several tracts translated by W.Brooks and were listed by Mishra, (1995, 48).

SL No	English	Odia Translation
1.	Christ's Invention	Christian āmantraNa
2.	Open Door	Unmukta dwāra
3.	Jewel Mine of Salvation	Muktira maNimaya kāhāNi
4.	Answer Relating Religious Questions	DharamasambaMdhiyaJigyansarauttara

There are a few tracts catalogued by J.F. Blumhardt's (1894) *Catalogue of Assamese and Oriya Books* (1-34) in the Library of the British Museum, London. Those are not referred to by

the Odia missionary researchers of same period. These tracts are crucial for studying the development of styles of modern Odia prose and poetry.

SL. No	Publication Year	Name of the Press	Name of the Tracts
1	1836	Serampore Mission Press	Iswarankara datta sastraki (The Divine Original of the Bible)
2	1837		Dubanara niyama (Baptismal Covenant)
3	1837		sadsat jagannath brutānta , Jagannath, a Form of the God Vishnu: an Account of the True and False
4	1839	Mission Press Cuttuck	Pāpimānankara prati nivedana (An Abridgement of Baxtor's call to the Unconverted)
5	1839		Mahāvicāra dina (The Day of Judgment)
6	1839		Mrutyu, vicāra dina, paralokara bisaya (Death, Judgment, and Futurity)
7	1839		Dibya varnamāLa (The divine alphabet)
8	1840/1848		TraNacaritrodaya (The Life of Christ)
9	1841		Satya dharma prakāsa (An Epitome of the True Religion)
10	1841		Ghata chhar helā (The Gate Thrown Open)
11	1841		Dharma-pustakara sāra (The Essence of the Bible)

12	1841		Jisu khrishTaranimantraNa (Christian Invitation)
13	1841		KhrisTara āscharya kriyā (Miracles of Christ)
14	1841		KsrisTar drisTanta kāthā(The Parables of our Lord Jesus Christ)
15	1841		Joshepharacaritra (The History of Joseph, extracted from Bible)
16	1842		Dharma vyavasthā (Divine Law)

All these tracts were based on the stories of the Christian religion, moral lessons of Christianity and pilgrimage anecdotes of Hinduism. By distributing these tracts, the missionaries tried to do away with the Hindu religious orthodoxy and superstitions of the common Odia people. Apart from these tracts, missionaries also translated a few literary religious texts of modern English to Odia for the purpose of pedagogy.

Translation and Writing School Books in Odia

The textbook or school book preparation was one of the greatest contributions of the missionaries. Before 1822, there were no modern schools in Odisha and also before 1852 “there were then no printed books in Odia except the Bible and no printing press in Odisha except the Cuttack Mission Press. The missionaries ran a school in Balasore. Only the Bible was taught there. No Hindu children would attend for fear of losing caste by reading their book” (Senapati, 2006, 64; Boulton, 1985, 12). In the year 1823 the English Charity School was established by the missionaries in Cuttack (Sahu, 2001, 1134). For the educational purposes, they translated a few English and Bengali books into Odia. The textbook writing initiated by the colonial officers with the help of the missionaries like Rev. Amos Sutton, Rev. J. Phillips, W.C. Lacey who had written grammar, dictionary, history, geography,

parables and fables, mathematics and general science were “the first crops of writings meeting the indigenous pedagogic requirement” (Pati, 1994, 3). For writing textbooks in Odia, the missionaries adopted translation as a method to prepare the school books in a short duration. The British Government also encouraged and patronized the missionaries and their textbook writing activities were appreciated. Keeping this in mind the then Commissioner “Mr. Pakenhome had requested Rev. Amos Sutton to compile an Odia grammar book. In 1831, Rev. Sutton’s Book *An Introductory Grammar of Oriya Language* was printed at Serampore. Again Mr. Pakenhome’s request, Rev. Sutton translated this book into Odia with the title *Oriya Byakaranara Upakramanika* (An Introduction to Odia Grammar) and the Company purchased for 100 copies, at five rupees each” (quoted in Samantaray, 1979, 15; Mahapatra, 1988, 187; Dhall, 1997, 200). On this occasion, Sutton wrote: “I have endeavored to simplify the language as much as possible. That no improvement can be made I do not support, however, I did the best circumstances would allow” (quoted in Samantaray, 1979, 15). He further remarks: “I hoped the Government subscription would about clear the expense and that the Mission and the cause of humanity would receive sufficient benefit to justify the labour employed on the publication” (quoted in Dhall, 1997, 200). In the process of translation the General Baptist Missionaries of Odisha tried to fulfill the want of School books in Odia. They printed and distributed a few primary school books among the Odia Schools. Of the early missionaries of Odisha, William Charles Lacey, Amos Sutton, and J.S Phillips the textbook writers and their books got selected by the School Book Society and Vernacular School Book Society in Odisha. *The Annual Report of Council of Education for the Year 1842-43*: (pp.32-33) contains a section (from no. 55 to no.67) on the instructions of writing Vernacular Class Book in Odia in which the textbook writing guidelines were discussed. The parameters were:

On the 10th of September, 1842 the Local Committee of Cuttack requested that with reference to the circular letter of the 20th June, 1842 above recorded, and in compliance with the directions therein contained, they had selected,

subject to the approval of the Govt. Rev. A. Sutton, whose proficiency in Oriya literature is well-known and Bissumbhur Bideabhusana, the Head Pundit of the Govt. School, as the fittest persons for preparing the required books in the vernacular language.

The Local Committee proposed that the first book should be made out of 3 little works already in use in the Govt. schools: first, a small primer; second, a *Nitikatha* or Moral stories; third, an elementary geography with small alternations, and the addition of a fourth part of Oriya spelling.

With reference to the grammar, the Local Committee stated that Mr. Sutton had two works in hand, but that with neither did he feel satisfied, any they proposed to adopt one then in course of preparation by the School Pundit, subject to such alternations as Mr. Sutton might think fit to make, while it was passing through the Press.

The vocabulary Mr. Sutton was willing to prepare and sent to the Local Committee a specimen which they were of opinion would answer the desired purpose.

It was mentioned that there was a Local Committee at present in use in the School; but the Local Committee and Mr. Sutton concurred in opinion that a copy of the one used in Bengal (*Ganitanka*) should be obtained and the necessary alternations made to adopt it in Orissa.

The Local Committee wished to introduce in the school a work in English and Ooriah (Oriya) entitled Elements of Natural Philosophy in a series of familiars dialogues on Geography, Astronomy, etc. with a few brief historical notices, chiefly compiled from works approved by the Committee and published by the School Book Society. Mr. Sutton suggested that it might possibly be enlarged and improved by any compendium by Dr. Yates, or otherwise.

Mr. Sutton also had commented upon Vol.2 of this work, relating to the animal, Vegetable and Mineral kingdoms, it was stated to be a verbatim translation of the later part of Dr. Yates' books and the Local Committee recommendation

that Mr. Sutton should be solicited to complete it for the Govt. institution in the province.

In the History of Orissa, Mr. Sutton had no objection to undertake the preparation of it would be an abridgement of Sterling's, with such alternations and corrections as might be procured from the writings of Messer's. Chamberland and Minto, the Civil surgeons of Pooree (Puri) and Cuttack, who are compiling statistical reports of their respective districts; the only work at present printed, being a small volume of Ooriah (Oriya) History of about 90 pages chiefly compiled from the *Dig Dursun*.

There was another book which Mr. Sutton suggested as suitable for the school where English and Ooriah (Oriya) are taught, and which the Local Committee thought well calculated to teach a proper method of translation viz, the *Bakya Bolee* or Idiomatic Expressions by the late Dr. Pearson and Dr. Sutton, it was mentioned, would engaged to supply this Volume in Ooriah (Oriya) within a year. The Section (Section of the Council of Education for Vernacular Class Book) were of opinion that: (1) Improved Grammar, with a small spelling treatise prefixed, (2) A Vocabulary, (3) Local Arithmetic (both with official Revenue and Judicial, and Salt, and terms explained), (4) A work adopted from those noted in the margin (Marginal Note: Chamber's Geographical Primer, Ditto, Introduction to the Sciences. Ditto, Mechanics) into Ooriah (Oriya), i.e. a Reader on these subjects, and (5) a History of the Province in Ooriah (Oriya), adopted from Sterlings's *Orissa*, Dr. Chamberland's *Pooree*, Mr.Minto's *Central Cuttack*, and Dr. Dicken's *Balasore*, and Mr.Sutton's own local knowledge and great experience of the Province, should be sanctioned (quoted in Samantaray 1979, 53-56).

After this resolution, radical changes were seen in Odia textbook writing. Maximum Odia textbooks were prepared by Amos Sutton. His *Introduction Grammar of the Oriya Language* published in 1831 from Calcutta. It is claimed to be first printed grammar of Oriya language (Samantaray, 1979, 15; Mahapatra, 1993, 22; Mahapatra, 1999, 3). There were several textbooks which were translated and written by

Amos Sutton. A list of these is given below: (1) *Introductory Lessons in Oorya (Oriya) Language* (1843) translated from Grierson's "Idiomatic Expression" or "*bākyabolī*" (1820), (2) *A Vocabulary of the Current Sanskrit Terms* (1844), (3) *The First Lessons in Ooryah-Ooryah and English* (1844), (4) *Vernacular Class Book Reader* or *sārasangraha* (1846) (it was translated from Yates's *Vernacular Class Book Reader for College and School* (1844)), (5) *Ooryah (Oriya) Instructor* (1846), (6) *History of Orissa* (1846), (7) *Ooryah Primer* (fourth edition: 1850), (8) *padārthavidyāsāra* or *Elements of Natural Philosophy* (1830, 1832, 1845), (9) *The Moral Class Book in Ooryah* (1852) were translated and written by Amos Sutton. Besides these, the books like *gita govinda* (1840), *nitikathā* (1840) *amarakosa* (1845), *batrishā sinhāsana* (1850), and *oDiya gaNita* (1856) were selected for the pedagogical purpose.

The tradition of textbook writing was followed by many missionaries of Odisha. Phillips wrote *Geography of Orissa* (1845) and a dictionary in Santali. William Charles Lacey wrote Odia Grammar (1855) and edited *nitikathā* (1855) and *hitopodesa* (1855), and J.S. Phillips wrote *Geography in Odia* in 1845 (quoted in Swaro, 1990, 201-202). *phulamaNi o karuNāra bibaraNa* (The History of Phulamani and Karuna of Mrs. Mullens, a book for native Christian women) was translated into Odia from Bengali by Rev. Stubbins and published in 1871 by Cuttack Mission Press (Blumhardt, 1905, 332). There were also several Bengali books prescribed in Odia medium schools during the same period. Mr. Rose, the first inspector of Odisha, after making a survey of the educational system had spoken in favour of improving the standard of textbooks in Odia. He had acknowledged Odia as a separate language and not a subsidiary of Bengali. Therefore, he had expressed his gratitude to Rev. Sutton and Rev W.C. Lacey for their contribution towards the preparation and publication of textbooks for students (quoted in Dhall, 1997, 205).

In the context of textbook preparation, translation was adopted by the textbooks writers for supplying the school books in Odia and also the same had been followed by the Odia textbook writers. The missionaries translated a few

Bengali and English books to Odia which were selected as the textbooks. These are: *swargiya jātrira bruttānta* (1838) by Amos Sutton from J. Bunyan's "The Pilgrim's Progress" and *dharma juddharabrutānta* by W.C. Lacey from the same author's "The Holy War" in 1880 (Blumhardt, 1894, 15). The later was revised by W.Brooks published under the title *dharma juddhara bruttānta* (1880) by Cuttack Mission Press. A religious text *dharma pustakara sahakāri* (Companion to the Bible) as revised by J. Buckley originally translated by Amos Sutton, published in 1880 by Cuttack Mission Press. Philip Doddridge's *the Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (Part-1)* translated into Odia as *manushyara manare dharmarautpatti* (1840), W.C Lacey translated Rajkrishna Vandyopadhyaya's Bengali *nitibodha* (1864) and Tarinicharana Chattapadhyaya's *bhugoLa bibaraNa* (1859) into Odia. William Miller translated J. Vaughan's *Missionary* into Odia as *saphaLa bhabishyavāNi* (1878) (Blumhardt, 1894, 1-34). The command over the languages helped the missionaries for preparing the textbooks, grammars and dictionaries in the vernacular languages. The government also patronized them for writing the same. On the one hand, the religious evangelization and on the other hand, their survival interests were instrumental for cooperation with the government in acting in the favour of native education and running the government without any disturbance. The grammar and dictionary writing in vernacular languages was another significant contribution of the missionaries. Amos Sutton wrote an Odia grammar in 1831 on receiving an instruction from the British Government.

Journalism and Odia Prose

The sincere efforts of the missionaries were helpful to publish and edit several magazines, journals, newspapers and periodicals in Odia. The first Odia printed monthly magazine *gyānāruNa* (1849), published under the editorship of Charles Lacey. Then *prabodha candrikā* (1856), *aruNodaya* (1861), *agyani* (1872), *tāraka* (1883), and *prabhāti tārā* (1896) were published under the patronage of the missionaries and the British government. Among them *prabodha candrikā* was the most popular.

Pati (1994) has discussed the significance of *prabodha candrikā* and its contribution to the growth of Odia language, literature, and cultivation of the native minds. He states, “it was both a literary and news magazine which was edited by William Lacey, and brought out under the hearty support of Christian Mission, the paper was distinguished for its liberal outlook, and commitments to local culture and interests. William Lacey deserves the highest compliments for his sagacious editorship of the paper. Under his supervision it popularized a number of edifying stories from ancient Indian literature, conveyed brief but balanced and representative accounts of the local, state level, national and international scenario, incorporated a number of informative articles on a wide verity of geography, culture (including tribal life), scientific, historical, and religious subjects and also carried a monthly calendar, result of unknowing native language and translation of fables. Most important of all, it prepared the ground for healthy indigenous organs to develop by transmitting an awareness of the vital significance of such attempts, and by demonstrating the flexibility and precision of a nascent modern Odia prose in tackling a wide variety of themes. In the first editorial note, Lacey wrote the paper was a memorable document.

He reminds the Odias of ancient glories of their land and “its vast spread, goes on to emphasize that even in its present state it is a considerable territory with a large population, draws their attention to the neighbouring state of Bengal where modern newspapers and books in the native language had proliferated in a short time through the efforts of intellectuals who had sharpened and polished their prose into an effective medium of modern communication, and with the support of new educational institutions had stimulated and economic and cultural regeneration in the state, and ruefully points out how the Odias have languished, cherished small acquisitions and neglecting that knowledge with the aid of which far greater prosperity could be attended. The editorials then outlines a broad profile of the paper and concludes by saying it is not intended to further the interests of any particular religion and no one should apprehended a danger to his faith in subscribing to the paper” (Pati, 1994, 31-32).

In addition to the above views, there was an epilogue titled *pāThakamānanka prati prathama patra*. “First letter for the readers” written by the editor of the *prabodha candrikā* (in 1856, January) in its first issue in which he declared: “the gist of the paper will be based on the translation of the English and Bengali newspapers publishing in Calcutta” (quoted in Mohanty, 1984, 3, my translation). This newspaper not only contained the translation of fables, but it was also a complete byproduct of translation. The role of translation in the development of journalism was one piece of evidence for positioning the vernaculars from other linguistic sources.

All these activities of the missionaries and their contributions towards the development of the Odia language, literature, culture, education, and print media were seen by the people in the light of religious conversion. The subject of religious conversion could not be accepted by the natives since they had their own religious tradition. Due to their religious orthodoxy, the Odias never preferred to access the missionary education for their children. “Since Oriya had avoided schooling out of concern for religious conversion, there were few with education, and so Bengalis were appointed as teachers not just in the high schools of major towns like Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore, but even in more remote places like Charchika, Angul, Bhadrakh, and Jajpur” (Mohanty, 2002, 64). As a result, the Bengalis dominated the British administrative services in Orissa division. Their multilingual skill subjugated the Odia people and education in Odisha was totally monopolized by them. Implementation of Odia as the language of the court as well as the medium of education in Odisha was delayed for various reasons. Needless to say that “first, the top government posts in Orissa were held by British officers and the other senior posts by Bengalis and other “foreigners.” Neither British nor Bengalis knew the Oriya language. Second, there was a shortage of educated literate Oriyas to do this work” (Ibid. 58). Due to these reasons, Bengalis not only joined under the government of British but also tried to replace Odia by Bengali in Odisha. At the same time “Oriya too was suddenly threatened by Bengali around 1841 on the plea that it was a dialect of Bengali” (Das, 1991, 128).

The Odia Language Movement and Translation

One of the important views on Odia translation is that it was meant to meet the pedagogical as well as administrative demands. Translation was considered a tool for writing of textbook during the Odia language movement. It was not only an important aspect of translation activity but also helped in the progress of Odia language and literature. In this context, these historical factors are worth discussing for finding out the themes and perspectives of Odia translations and its socio-political consequences.

Though the British government emphasized the translation activities for the demand and development of native education and vernacular language in Odisha, this issue has not been systematically studied. During the colonial period, translation played a significant role for creating literary and linguistic awareness among the Odia speakers. Another important feature of modern Odia literature is that the new literary genres evolved from the tradition of translation practices. Linguistic controversy between these two linguistic groups Odia and Bengali was resolved to a large extent through translation. Second language or foreign language learning was initiated and practised through the Grammar-Translation (GT) method and also translation of various types of books encouraged the sociolinguistic debates in Odia which can be considered as an important contribution to translation. A sociolinguistic study of any language dealing with language standardization, question of dialect versus language, a dichotomy between native and non-native linguistic expressions were made possible because of translation through the production of various literary and non-literary texts from other languages. The above criteria of Odia translations show the visible aspects of translation and its interventions in the growth of modern Odia literature.

Most languages have their own systems that develop through the processes of evolution and influences. Similar strategies are found in Odia which was privileged to come out through the practice and production of translation. Our aim is to focus on the essence of translation which was

proposed for the pedagogical demands and, as a result, it brought out the linguistic and literary genres in Odia. There were several continuous efforts from the British officials for the development of the vernacular language, literature, and education in Odisha. At the same time the cultural and linguistic contact between Odia and Bengali institutionalized the politics of translation and its multidimensional activities very significantly.

The socio-political and cultural contact between Bengali and Odia was formed through the policy of religious preaching, trading, war, and official services. As a result all these sociological and historical events benefited them for their service and survival. In this context, Pyarimohan Acharya states that the Bengalis started settling down in Odisha beginning from the time of the Ganga Dynasty. According to him “the number of Bengali settlers in Orissa at the present day (1879) is by no means small, for it almost exceeds one lakh. They began coming to Orissa in the time of the Ganga Dynasty. The last independent king of Bengal himself fled to Orissa in 1203. And afterwards Caitanya came to Orissa in the 16th Century, together with many Bengali Vaisnavas. Puri Jagannath temple also tempted many Bengalis to come to Orissa. Many of them settled down here, influencing considerably Oriya society and customs, and being them strongly influenced in their social practices by close contact with Oriyas” (quoted in Boulton, 1993, 64-65). So it is a fact that the same emigrational attitude of the Bengalis was found during the period of Mughal, Maratha, and then British in Odisha. The regular cultural and political encounter between Odia and other immigrants benefited in the form of linguistic conversancy and they settled down in Odisha for their livelihood and survival interests. By showing their linguistic qualification, they were appointed in various official positions under the British Government. Significantly in 19th century, most of the higher posts in Odisha were held by Bengalis and they were very dominant because of their European knowledge and multilingual skills. Almost half a century from the Paik Rebellion (1817) to another historical catastrophe, *Na Anka* famine (1866) is described as follows: “this disaster could only open the eyes of the rulers and the administration

had a direct impact on the subsequent developments in the state. The ruling class then tried to be careful about the Oriya's improvement. Communication system was improved, postal facilities were made available, railway lines were laid and thus gradually Orissa was connected to outside world" (Das, 1998, 3). All kinds of social situations gave a chance to the Bengalis for enjoying their living in Odisha under the support of British government. A similar view about Bengalis' migration to Odisha has been observed by Boulton, who points out: "by the 1860s the major part of Odisha had been reduced to virtually a 'suburb' of Bengali. The administration, education, and commerce of Orissa were all subservient to Calcutta. Orissa's coming under British rule after Bengal had set in motion a vicious circle of events which threatened to annihilate Orissa. Because of the administration set up, the non-European Inspectors of Schools in Orissa were recruited from Bengali because of the shortage of textbooks in Oriya, textbooks were imported from Bengal, because of the Bengali textbooks, the medium of instruction, and most teachers in Government schools were Bengalis. It was a "self-perpetuating chain of events, whose ultimate effect was to stunt the Oriya language and whose ultimate effect would have been to stunt the Oriya nation" (Boulton, 1993, 66-67). In the 19th century, Odisha was occupied by the immigrants from states and "the Oriya felt invaded and superseded by foreigners. Phakir Mohan Senapati, the master craftsman of the realistic tradition in Indian fiction, wrote in his *Atmajibanacarita* (Autobiography) that not a single Odia was allowed to join the Public Works and Postal Departments. He has also vividly described the situation in *Utkala Bhramanam* (Travel in Utkal) (1892) as follows:

"The Kammas (Telugus) have occupied the south; the north has become the home for the Bengalis; the west has gone into the Marathas' hands. . . . The Marwaris, the Kapodias, the Bhojpuris, and the Modis have taken over the trade and commerce. The Oriyas till the land and cut the paddy plants, but the Gujaratis enjoy the harvest. The judges, the pleaders, all are foreigners. Even the clerk in the post office is not a native. As a result, there were not enough literate, native Oriyas to carry out the job of maintaining records in their

mother tongue” (quoted in Mohanty, 2002, 58-59). Since there was no single native Odia with the required education, the Bengali and other immigrants occupied most of the teaching and administrative posts in Odisha. Their linguistic hesitation often raised the question of language replacement by using their own mother tongues. Bengalis wanted to use their mother tongue Bengali as the medium of education in Odisha. These issues became very serious among these linguistic groups. As a result, Odia language movement started in 1868. For resolving the linguistic tension between two linguistic groups, British officials and native intelligentsia from both the sides debated and discussed seriously and regularly for their linguistic specificity. The issues like shortage of textbooks, literary texts, and linguistic independence were hotly debated by them. These issues created the linguistic consciousness among the native and non-native intellectuals and they tried to resolve this linguistic tension between the Odias and the Bengalis. Similarly, Sambalpur and Ganjam both regions were also threatened by Hindi and Telugu speakers respectively at the same time. In 1871 and 1896 these two languages were replaced from both the regions and Odia was introduced as the language of the province.

In this social context, translation brought out the literary and linguistic renaissance in Odisha. While on the one hand, translation renders one linguistic expression into another linguistic expression, on other hand, it encompasses the textual vitality with its origin and development. The Odia language movement is a historical incident which originated and developed from a historical linguistic debate among the Odia intelligentsia, British officials, and Bengali intelligentsia. During this period of Odia language movement, translation was made possible to bring out literary canonization and sociolinguistic discussions among the people.

If we consider the pedagogical scenario of Odisha before the language movement it will not be wrong to state in this regard that there were merely a few textbooks, grammars, dictionaries which were prepared by the missionaries and Bengalis. Since there was no Odia intelligentsia who could write or translate textbooks in Odia and also educate the

pupils using their mother tongue, the entire education system was captured and dominated by the Bengali immigrants. There are several causes which triggered serious debates and nationalistic sensibilities after the great famine of Odisha in 1866. The social factors triggered a massive movement against the antagonistic views exaggerated and spread by the Bengali intelligentsia on the Odia literature, language, education, and linguistics studies. Though several scholarly writings have been published on Odia language movement in the recent years, they have not emphasized the role of translation in it. In the context of Odia and its restoration movement, the historical and political views have been explored and discussed by the scholars of Odia literature, linguistics, and history, but no remarkable steps have been taken to position the role of translation in Odia language movement which played a significant role for Odia language restoration. The following aspects of Odia language and literature, such as linguistic authenticity, literary identity, and literary canonization evolved through the translation activities are quite silent in their discussions. So this argument tries to give a clear picture on the Odia language movement and the appearance of translation for creating an Odia identity. At the same time Odia intellectuals were involved in various literary activities including establishment of printing presses and literary societies, writing of textbooks, editing of manuscripts, publishing of journals and periodicals, newspapers, and compiling of dictionaries and grammar for creating new literary genres in Odia.

For establishing the role of translation in the Odia language movement, it is essential to discuss the historical outlines of the movement and its various aspects which have already been discussed by various scholars. Let us first discuss the causes of the Odia language movement and its relationship with translation briefly.

There are plenty of archival materials about the Odia language movement documented by the colonial officials, but a systematic study of the movement started in 1960s first by scholars of Odia literature and then by historians. Linguists have shown their interest in it recently.

Samantaray first attempted to explore the various growing perspectives of modern Odia literature. The fifth chapter of his book titled *Odia Bhasa Bilopa Andolana* (Odia Language Abolition Movement) comprehensively discusses the roots of Odia language movement and its final result. A regular conflict between the two linguistic groups (Odia and Bengali) continued with the support of strong archival records and historical evidence. The role of Odia and Bengali intelligentsia and British language policy has also been discussed in the same chapter. In order to establish the politics of colonial Odia language, he cites a lot of sources in viewing language consciousness beginning from the day of Paik Rebellion through the famine of 1866. Finally, it reaches the stage of Odia language movement (1868-1872) and ends with the visible growth of modern Odia literature. In connection with the modern Odia literature and language movement, his later writings are devoted to the forgotten chapters of language movement which have been explored with some of the additional and authentic views of previous writings; his concentration on the role of translation in Odia language movement is sidelined. In this connection, he tries to present ample data on the growth of modern Odia literature through the process of westernization wherein the role of translation can be viewed and established. There is no doubt about his contributions which have given a lot of information about the importance of translation in the British administration. According to him, “the committee expressed that the Odia language can grow and make close relationship between the ruler and the ruled through translation” (Samantaray, 1983, 214, Our translation). His outline obviously views the information about translation, but he never expressed in detail why and how translation created literary motivation and linguistic consciousness among the Odias.

While exploring the colonial history of Odisha, Prabhat Mukherjee has tried to provide a few historical documents in the book *History of Orissa-Vol.VI* published in 1964. His discussion on the Odia language movement is not systematic. His main point on Odia language does not have the strength to connect and establish the social chemistry between translation and British language policy. Mukherjee finds the

colonial impact over Odia literature less important whereas Samantaray's discussions clearly justify the growth of Odia literature under the era of colonization.

The linguistic tension between the Odias and the Bengalis has created a lot of interest among the historians. In his doctoral thesis titled *Orissa under the British Crown 1858-1905*, Jayakrushna Samal (1977) presents some of the new historical sources about Odia language policy and vernacular education proposed by the British government. He has discussed the education policy of British government very clearly and systematically from the historical point of view, but his observations are restricted to the policy makers and their interests toward language planning for education as well as administration. He is silent about the role of translation either in the education system or in the growth of language and literary compositions.

Gaganendra Nath Dash has discussed in detail the Odia language movement in the 1980s. He has two books to his credit namely *Odia Bhasa Carcha Parampara* (The Tradition of Odia Language Analysis published in 1983), and *Odia Bhasa Surakhya Andolan* (Odia Language Restoration Movement published in 1993) and a few papers on the same topic. Basically, Dash's language discussions are more or less based on Samantaray's works and arguments. Though his discussion contains some new pieces of historical evidence left out by Samantaray, a clear road map of the Odia language and modern the Odia literature filtered through the process of translation is absent in his writings. He has failed to establish the role of translation either in Odia linguistic discussion or in Odia language movement. His paper "Decolonization and the Search of Linguistic Authenticity" (2006) also does not present any idea about translation or filtration of Odia prose during the era of Phakir Mohan Senapati which can be established through an intervention of translation. In order to establish the views of Odia language movement and role of Odia linguistic discussion, a paper titled "Oriya language movement and Oriya Linguists" was published by B.N. Patnaik in 2002 in which he tried to discuss "the linguistic and pedagogical issues that were raised and debated

during the period of Oriya language movement” (Patnaik, 2002, 17). Though Patnaik has mentioned that “the origin of Oriya linguistics is to be traced in this debate” (Ibid.), he has ignored to provide the sociolinguistic directions of the Odia language which evolved during the period of language movement or before when the Missionary education and the British language policy were simultaneously introduced for the Odisha division. At the same time, Odia grammars, dictionaries, and language readers, teaching materials have been written and published in the favour of colonial administration and vernacular education. In fact, language teaching and learning materials had been prepared through the Grammar-Translation method, and also translation helped to prepare many bilingual dictionaries and grammar books in Odia.

In order to connect the historical debates between Orientalism and Anglicism during the period of colonial rule, especially at the time of Odia language movement, Panchanan Mohanty in his paper “British language Policy in 19th Century India and Oriya Language Movement” (2002) provides a close affinity between British language policy and Odia language and the role of the intelligentsia from various perspectives. He tries to view the role of translation in relation to Odia language and literary growth during the period of language movement. In this context, he cites the following points: “to correct the shortage of suitable textbooks, the Secretary of the Central Education Council sent a circular on June 20, 1842 to the Secretaries of various local education committees, directing them to recommended names of people who could write manuscripts of the province in the local language. The Education Council was ready to pay remuneration to the writers and publish the books. Four months later, the Council decided to select a series of textbooks written in English and send them to the Vernacular Class Book Department which would be responsible to translate them into local languages making appropriate changes to suit the local conditions. This was the beginning of centralized education planning in India” (Mohanty, 2002, 109). However, it makes sure that the role of translation and its participation during the period of Odia language movement was strong and effective.

During the period of Odia language movement the essence of translation was facilitated and established by the British officials. But the question is who proposed various translation activities in the progress of the Odia language, education, and literature?

British Language Policy and Translation

There were several issues which caused to raise a linguistic movement during the colonial role in Odisha; but the two significant ones are: “as a result the shortage of textbook for Oriya Schools, the teaching was assigned in the Bengali language” and “the higher officers in education department were Bengalis and they used to write the annual report to Government saying that “till today Odia does not have properly written textbooks and it is not very difficult to learn the Bengali language for the Odias” (Rath, 1971, 364, Our translation) were dominant views and inspired to raise the voice for protection of the Odia language. In addition, the following statements must not be forgotten in this context, i.e. “Oriya is not an independent language”, it is “a patois of Bengali” declared the Bengalis. These statements sensitized the British officials and colonized Odia intellectuals to raise their voice against the Bengalis. During this crisis period of Odia, the British language policy and education policy were implemented for rescuing Odia from the attack of the Bengalis. In this context, translation played a key role in development of the Odia language, education, textbook writing, literary composition, and finally all of them came together for restoration of Odia. In this adventure, the British language policy and colonized Odia intellectuals participated for establishing the Odia language identity through translation. Evidence can be given from Odia colonial history wherein Government resolutions passed for textbook writing through translation during the period of Oriya language movement.

There is ample evidence for mapping the translation activity as a key event during the period of Odia language movement. When the question of Odia textbooks arose, Bengalis claimed that the Odias did not have sufficient textbooks for pedagogical purposes. But the then Commissioner of Cuttack, T.E.

Ravenshaw, tried to resolve this textbook tension through the process of translation from other languages. His letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No.369, dated 12th September 1865, mentioned the necessity of translation for the development of Odia. He said “I would lastly call attention of the Education Department to almost entire neglect of the Oriya language in the more advanced classes. This may have originated in the want of proper Oriya textbooks, but many have since been printed; there is already a press attached to the Cuttack Mission capable of turning out excellent vernacular works, and were there a demand for Oriya translations of all the best textbooks, I have no doubt the supply would be forth coming” (Ravenshaw, 1865, 10; Samantaray, 1992, 24-25). Ravenshaw clearly indicates the essence of translation and its significant role for writing Odia textbooks. His intention was to show the similar textbooks as well as linguistic status of Odia which the Bengalis already gained through translation. He was convinced that “the Oriya language possesses the same capacity as Bengali, being derived from the same sources, but is a distinct dialect, and spoken over a tract of country extending from Midnapore to Ganjam and from Bay of Bengal to the confines of Sambalpur, within which limits it is exclusively spoken by the people. To this neglect of Oriya vernacular I attribute the small success attained by native Oriya. Moreover, were the Oriya exclusively had in Orissa schools education would have found more favour with the people than at present, the present proportion of Oriya to Bengali boys in all the schools I have visited is almost one to five, and so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, Oriya lads are by means inferior in intelligence to Bengalis. The subject is one deserving consideration, and measure should be taken for introducing, wherever possible, Oriya books to the entire exclusion of the Bengali. Many of the masters are already well acquainted with Oriya, and were the High school or Collegiate class established; there would soon be a supply of properly educated Oriya lads competent to become teachers” (Ravenshaw 1865, quoted in Ramachandra Nayak’s personal collections and Samantaray, 1993, 24-25). Ravenshaw attempted to introduce Odia as the medium of education by showing its linguistic autonomy, but it was delayed for a few

years due to the conspiracy of the Bengali intelligentsia. The textbook crisis could not be solved within two years. Again the same paucity of Odia textbooks was repeated in a letter submitted to the Government of Bengal, the Director of Public Instruction, No-3686- dated 8th November, 1869 based on the views communicated to Government letter No-3691, dated 26th August, 1867 by Mr. Martin, the Inspector of schools of the South-West Division. In his first letter Mr. Martin “expressed that the study of Bengalis should be made compulsory in all the middle and high class schools’ and that ‘not much was to be gained carrying further the study of a tongue which was almost without a literature” (quoted in Samantaray 1993:02). Such a statement of Mr. Martin perhaps inspired the Bengali intellectuals to emphasize their linguistic hegemony and leading to their economic interests by replacing the Odia language from the educational as well as administrative levels. After a few months, Mr. Martin understood the real educational situation of Odisha and Odia textbook crisis, soon after his thorough investigation of the schools. He wrote another letter dated 30th March 1868 to the Government of Bengal about the school book crisis and its urgent remedy through translation. He pointed out that “in the first instance, school books suited to the students of all capacities must be immediately prepared in history, geography, and arithmetic; there are some books in these subjects, which will be of use; there are also easy Uriya (Oriya) readers and in course of time many more difficult literary books will be translated into the language; meanwhile for boys for whom the present books in literature are not sufficient advanced the study of the Bengali language must still continue, but I would substitute Uriya (Oriya) literature for Bengali as soon as the former language becomes rich enough and undoubtedly in time, though it may be a work of years, it will as a language be quite equal to the Bengali” (quoted in Samantaray, 1993, 14-15). Mr. Martin’s opinions on the crisis of Odia textbooks and how they should grow through translation were explained. He suggested that if Odia textbooks are prepared through translation then Odia would obtain equal status which Bengalis had already gained through the same process. After translation of the texts, Odia would be able to replace Bengali, but Bengali intellectuals

aimed to defend the circulars of government by showing a close affinity again between Bengali and Odia. Another letter of R.L. Martin dated 1st August 1869 suggested “the Oriya language was very much akin to the Bengali in as much as they both were derived from the original Sanskrit. But in all the particles and inflections of the nouns and verbs they varied. Each was as a consequence an entirely separate from the other” (Martin, 1869, quoted in Samal, 1977, 300). Nevertheless, Mr. Martin’s observations and suggestions and the translation resolutions proposed by the higher authorities were in favour of Odia. But their implementation was delayed due to lack of translators and printing entrepreneurship in Odisha. Bengali domination over the Odia School service was one of the predominant causes for delaying it. As a result, the Odia intelligentsia brought out a squirt motivation on the Odia textbook crisis that was fulfilled through the translation activities. At the same time a few printing presses were established and some literary magazines were released in Odisha.

Though, a few years before the first indigenous printing press of Odisha, Cuttack Printing Company (July 1865) was set up due to special interest taken by Bichitrananda Das, Jagmohan Ray, and Gaurisankar Ray; it was one of the joint ventures, and “the major share of the credit for establishing the press would have to go to Bichitrananda Das who was instrumental in persuading a number of Kings, Zamindars (landlords), and businessmen to extend financial support for the venture”(Pati, 1994, 33). The shareholders of Cuttack Printing Company Biharilal Pandit, Banamali Singh, Madhusudan Das, and Commissioner of Cuttack, T.E. Ravenshaw, made sincere efforts for the improvement of the Oriya language through such public patronization. On behalf of the Cuttack Printing Company, a newspaper named *Utkala Dipika* (Light of Utkal) was brought under the editorship of Gaurisankar Ray and its first issue was published in the month of August, 1865. The next year, Gaurisankar Ray drew the attention of the School Inspectors to the shortage of Odia textbooks and to the critical condition of the Odia language. He stated that “the deputy inspectors of Orissa are not interested in improving the Oriya language. Instead of this, they want to introduce

Bengali replacing Oriya from village schools” (reported in *Utkala Dipika* 1866, my translation). Gaurisankar’s opinion on the work of School Inspectors and Bengali teachers got very enthusiastic responses from the Odia native speakers, and this created a language consciousness among the native intellectuals.

At the same time, the printing technology was also initiated to publicise the Odia language crisis and spread a social consciousness among the native speakers by publishing textbooks, periodicals and literary journals. The primary issue of education, textbooks, dictionaries, and language primers was encouraged to be written and published with the help of local printing presses. For the preparation and publications of the textbooks, the *Cuttack School Book Company* was established by a Bengali, Kalipada Bandopadhyaya, following the model of Calcutta School Book Society as it was mentioned in *Utkala Dipika* of January 26, 1867 (quoted in Pattanaik, 1972, 498-499). During the Odia language movement, the Western literary genres influenced Odia literature (including textbook, translation, short story, fiction, poetry, essay, travelogue, and autobiography). At the same time the second indigenous printing press was set up at Balasore by Pkagir Mohan Senapati named as *P.M. Senapati & Co (Balasore Utkal Press)* in January 1868.

Gradually, the printing technology grew in Odisha. The common people of Odisha shared their views through different publications and the linguistic issues of Odias were raised. Translation of government documents, fables and parables, news items, advertisements, and different genres of literature came into existence with the new themes and forms in Odia.

The linguistic dispute between Odias and Bengalis was discussed serially in a reputed Odia periodical i.e. *Utkala Dipika*. Its editor, Gaurisankar Ray regularly wrote the rejoinders emphasizing the damaging views held by Bengalis. The colonized Odia intelligentsia reacted to the Bengalis’ antagonistic attitude towards Odia. A Bengali indologist and scholar Dr. Rajendralal Mitra was appointed to prepare a book on the antiquity of Odisha. During his stay at Cuttack, he was

asked to deliver a lecture by *Cuttack Debating Club* (1869), a cultural society founded by Bengalis. In his speech, Mitra said: “the first thing anyone would do who really desired to promote the wellbeing of Orissa would be to abolish the Oriya language and introduce Bengali; for, as long as Oriya remains, it will be impossible for Orissa to progress” (quoted in Boulton, 1993, 71). The hegemonic views of Mitra on Odia were criticized vehemently by the editor of *Utkala Dipika*, Gaurisankar, who wrote: “we thought that by coming to Orissa Rajendra Babu had learnt much, and we are, therefore, surprised to hear him asking that above remarks. In actual fact it is difficult to determine, whether he was expressing his own convictions, or whether it was out of excessive loyalty to Bengal that he tried to vindicate this view with misleading argument. Did he not know, when quoting the population figures for Orissa that they applied only to the Mogala Bandi that the northern limit of the Oriya-speaking tracts is Medinipur and the southern Ganjam: and that they extend from the Bay of Bengal in the East to Sambalpur in the West? If he did not know this, then he has needlessly caused great harm by imparting his ignorance to his audience...The fact of the matter is that the Oriya speaking tracts are as extensive as the Bengali. Consequently, there is every likelihood of Oriya progressing. His remarks on publishing are equally misleading. Orissa is lagging behind, because, as we have said a thousand and one times already, the Government has not been favourably disposed towards Orissa for as long as it has towards Bengal. Had the Government paid equal heed to both countries, Rajendra Babu’s arguments would have applied, but how can one expect the same results, regardless of circumstances? Orissa is evidently progressing now that since the famine the Government has been paying heed to her. Had these projects been instituted ten years ago, then Rajendra Mitra would have been hard put to it to find an argument in support of his opinions.... Is there then no impediment to the progress of the Oriya language? Our belief is that like the cucumber bed of the three disputants, Orissa is being harmed needlessly. Its guardians are three Governments, and since one part is under the Government of Madras, and another under the Central provinces, it is not being developed equally and uniformly.

Different principles are being followed and different textbooks introduced in each of three areas ...so, as the guest of two houses, the Oriya language goes to bed hungry, fed by neither These conditions are deplorable and ... ought to be swiftly remedied ...in line with the decision to have only one medium of instruction for the whole areas, there ought to be only one official to administer it” (reported in the *Utkala Dipika* 1869, quoted in Pattanaik, 1972, Boulton’s translation 1993, 72-73). Mitra was also vehemently criticized by many other Odia intellectuals. His proposal for removing Odia and introducing Bengali was regularly reported in *Utkala Dipika*. The main intentions of Mitra about the Odia language and textbooks were expressed in his rejoinder to John Beames. It was discussed in the context of Babu Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a Pundit in the Government School at Balasore, who wrote an atrocious booklet, *Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nahe* (Odia is not an independent language) published in 1870.

“As note-worthy instance, I may mention that a few years ago I prepared a map of India in Bengali, and it brought me a profit within one year of over six thousand rupees. The same map was subsequently translated in to Uriya, but even the School Book Society could not venture to undertake it on their own account and the Government at last had to advance, I think, some two or three thousand rupees to help the publication. The map, however, fell still-born from the press, and almost the whole edition is, I believe, now rotting in the godown of its publisher. Let but the Government introduce the Bengali language in the Schools of Orissa, and the Oriyas, instead of seeking grant-in-aid from Government and private individuals for occasionally bringing out solitary new books, will have the whole of our Bengali publications at their disposal without any cost, and would be united with a race of thirty millions without which they have so many things in common”(Mohanty, 2002).

“Nor is the fusion of their language into ours at all impracticable. The experiment has already been tried and found to be completely successful. Some twenty years ago when the district of Midnapur was transferred from the Commissionership of Cuttack to that of Burdwan, the

language of the courts there and of the people was Uriya. The Commissioner, for the sake of uniformity in all his districts or some other cause, suppressed Uriya, and introduced the Bengali language, and nearly the whole of Midnapur has now become a Bengali speaking district, and men there often felt offended if they are called Uriyas. That similar measures in Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri would effect a similar change; I have no reason to doubt” (Beames, 1870 quoted in Dash, 1993:45/2006:4802; Mohanty, 2002, 70, Pattanaik, 2004, 261). From the above arguments Mitra’s views clearly imply economic interests rather than anything else.

Mitra was criticized by the British civilian and philologist Mr. John Beames for supporting the pamphlet which was written by Babu Kantichandra Bhattacharya in 1870 claiming that “Oriya is not an independent language” (Beames, 1870, 192, Senapati 1917/2006, 104) but “a patois of Bengali, and he found support from a group of Bengalis, including the distinguished Indologist Rajendralal Mitra. Although criticized by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, the well-known Bengali writer of that time, and strongly repudiated by John Beames, as ‘profoundly destitute of philological arguments’; this book created a stir among the Oriya intellectuals who were up in arms to protect the honour of their language” (Das, 1991, 128). The voice of Bengali intellectuals was strongly protested by “a small group of Oriya intellectuals (native and non-native) a campaign to develop textbooks written in Oriya so as to establish the language as medium of instruction in the school of Orissa. For two years, there was a heated debate between supporters of Oriya and supporters of Bengali, culminating in a victory for Oriya and laying a foundation for its establishment as the identifying official language of a unified state”(Mohanty, 2002, 54, 2008, 102). By encountering the damaging voice of Kantichandra Bhattacharya, John Beames published his essay *On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages* (published in the proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870:192-201) and then his book *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* (in three volumes, 1872-1879) was released. Beames attempted to demonstrate a clear linguistic difference between Odia and Bengali. Finally, he concluded that Odia was not a corrupt

variety of Bengali; rather it was an independent language of the Odias. During the Odia language movement and soon after, several translations, grammars, language teaching and learning literatures, and dictionaries were published. At the same time, many journals and periodicals appeared and printing presses, professional bodies, and academic institutions were established for the progress of the Odia language and national identity. After the success of the Odia language movement, the non-native and native intelligentsia were interested to compose grammars, bilingual dictionaries, textbooks, translate the government rules and regulations, religious texts, moral stories, biographies, essays, poems, epics, novels, travelogues and short stories and language teaching materials to Odia. A colonial history of Odia translation flourished under the patronization of the British government.

Odia Translations in Retrospect

Before we discuss the history of modern Odia translations, a brief discussion on the directions of Odia translations in this period is necessary. The history of modern Odia translation can be divided into two categories such as literary translation and non-literary translation. Here literary translation refers to the texts based on the literary flavour and imagination. The religious texts, moral stories, and anecdotes have to be put in this category whereas non-literary translation refers to a set of texts which were primarily composed to meet the demands of pedagogy. Various pedagogical themes are included under translation like astronomy, biology, geography, history, mathematics, science, and technology. In this category, textbooks, government documents and glossary were also included. From both the points of view, Odia translation history shows a rich tradition which facilitated the growth of Odia literary tradition, linguistic discussion, and cultural filtration. Ample examples can be cited for this purpose. Let us have at the Odia translations from other languages including Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian, and English.

Apart from the translation of religious, pedagogical, and administrative documents, the translation of literary texts

were produced to meet the requirements of the Odia identity. After the Odia language movement was over, the themes and perspectives of Odia translation changed. Most of the translators engaged themselves in translating foreign literary genres to Odia. A group of Odia intelligentsia wrote and translated textbooks. They were “late Bichhanda Pattanaik, late Bicitranand Das, late Jaganmohan Lal, late Phakir Mohan Senapati, late Prabhakar Bidyaratna, late Govinda Chandra Patanaik, late Gaurisankar Ray, late Dwarikanath Chakravarti and late Kapileswara Bidyabhusan” (Rath, 1973, 366). Among them Bichhanda Pattanaik, Jaganmohan Lal and Phakir Mohan Senapati were notable translators. They deserve special recognition for their translations of textbooks as well as literary creations. Bichhanda Patanaik translated several textbooks including history, geography, and literature. Most of these texts like: Gopalachandra Basu’s *bhugola sutra* (1867), Chandrakanta Tarkabhusana’s *raghubamsa* (1868), Akshya Kumar Dutta’s *carupāTha* (Vol-1, Vol-2, and Vol-3 between 1868-69), Tarasankara Tarkaratna’s *kādambari* (1868), Iswarchandra Vidyasagar’s *siṭā banabāsa* (1869) and *bodhadaya* (1869), Nilamani Basaka’s *bhārat barsaraitihāsa* (Vol-1, Vol-2, & Vol-3 between 1869-1871) were translated from Bengali.

A few popular texts like: Chandranatha Ray’s *ākhyānamanjari* (1872) originally written by Iswarachandra Vidyasagar and Govindachandra Pattanaik’s *dhatubibeka* (1872), *upakramaNikā* (1868) originally written by Ramakamal Vidyalkankara and Iswarachandra Vidyasagar were translated from Bengali. William Charles Lacey’s *nitibodha* (1877) of Rajakrishan Vandyopadhyaya and Kapileswara Bidyabhusan’s *nitipāThaka* (1871) were also translated from Bengali. Govardhana Ghosal’s *prakritipāTha* (1876) was an Odia rendering of the Bengali writer Rajakrishan Raya Chaudhuri. These translations were mainly done for the demands of pedagogy.

Some Persian texts, such as *gulistān* and *karimā* of Sadi were translated by Abd-al-Majid Khan and Radhashyama Kar respectively as *prabodhabākya* (1869) and *nyāyaratnākara* (1877).

We must not forget the following Odia translators who have translated from Sanskrit to Odia e.g. Radhanatha Ray's *meghaduta* (1873) of Kalidas, Madhusudan Rao's *uttara rāmacaritam* (1885) of Bhavabhuti, Mrutyunjaya Rath's *kumārsambhaba*, *bikramorbasi*, and *mudrārākhyasa*, and Phakir Mohan Senapati's *rāmāyaNa* (1870-1885), *mahābhārata* (1886-1905), *bhagabad gītā* (1886), *khiLaharibamsa* (1902), and *upanisada sangraha* (1905).

Several English literary works were translated into Odia in the same period. Among them Jaganmohan Lal's *sbhramabhanjana* (1868) is regarded as the first Odia literary translation from the English text "The Hermit" of Thomas Parnell (1722), and then *oDisā bijaya* (1876) translated from *A Sketch of the History of Orissa (1803-1828)* of G. Toynbee which was printed by the Cuttack Printing Company in 1873. Madhusudan Rao's *nirbāsitarā biLāpa* (1873) was translated from the English poem "Alexander Selkirk" of William Cowper. Further, *nadiprati* (The Brook) by Lord Tennyson, *ātmāsamarpaNa* (Submission) by William Cowper and *nababasanta bhābanā* (Youth and Age) by Coleridge were also translated to Odia by him. Apart from these, Rao contributed a few Odia prose translations: "*rāNidurgābatī*" from Eliot's *History of India Vol. VI*, *buddhadeba* (1873) from *The Chips from a German Workshop* by F. Max Muller, *Sir Isaac Newton* from the Chamber's Biography, "*ulkāpiNDa*" from Lardner's *Museum of Science*, *bāyurāsi* from British Quarterly Review, *surya* from Hershel's *Popular Lecture's on Science*, *Chandra o Tara* from M. Culloch's *Course of Reading*, and *Napoleon* from *Napoleon Dynast*" (Pradhan, 1994, 159). During the same period, the Fables of Aesop were translated by Chandramohan Maharana, T. J. Maltby, and Madhusudan Rao. Chandramohan Maharana's *kathābaLi* (1917) and T. J. Maltby's *nitikathā*, a section of the book *A Practical Handbook of the Uriya or Odiya Language* was written in 1873 and published in 1874. Madhusudan Rao's *bāLabodha* (1917) can be claimed as the translation of the Aesop's Fables.

Another interesting feature of the Oriya translation activities in this period is the translation of foreign fictions into Oriya. Jagananath Ballabha Ghosa's *pitrubhakti* (1908) and

bhrantibiLāsa (1909) were translated from Charles Lamb's "Stories from Shakespeare". Similarly, Tolstoy has occupied a popular place among the Odia translators. His stories have been rendered in Odia by a famous woman Odia translator, Narmada Kar. Her translations were published between 1916 and 1919 in a literary journal *Utkala Sahitya* which was edited by Biswanath Kar. These are: *sākhyaatkāra* (Where Love God is), *tinoTi prasna* (Three Questions), *parajāya* (Evil Allures, but Good Endures), *rahasya* (What Men Live by), *sekāLa ekāLa* (A Grain as Big as a Hen's Egg), *kuhuka* (How the Little Devil Attended for the Crust of Bread), *trusna* (How Much Land Does a Man Need), *daNDabidhāna* (Too Dear), *drusTi lābha* (Esarhaddon, King of Assyria), *pariNāma* (Work, Death & Sickness), *bandi* (A Prisoner in the Caucasus), *bibadābhanjana* (Little Girls wiser than Man), *bhrānti* (Crasus and Solon), *sānti* (A Spark Neglected Burns the House), *dhupadāni* (The Candle: or, How the Good Peasant Overcame the Cruel Overseer) and *dharmaputra* (The God-Son).

Gradually, the demand for vernacularization and thoughts of national integration emerged and the native intellectuals got associated with "the cultural and national resurgence, and eventually with the growth of democracy promoting quality of opportunity through education" (quoted in Khubchandani, 1997, 180-181). Especially in Odisha, though the followers of Phakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanatha Ray, and Madhusudan Rao continued writing down to the first part of the 20th century, the forms and contents of the Odia literature ceased to be "a literary force by its first decade. A new group had come into the field which was somewhat critical of the contributions of Radhanath and Madhusudan. This was the *Satyabadi* School founded by Pandit Gopabandhu Das of hallowed memory." (Mansinha, 1964, 235). The English educated scholars, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Godabarisha Misra, Acharay Harihar Das, Krupasindhu Misra, Lingaraja Misra, and the followers of Gopabandhu Das and Nilakantha Das assembled under the grove of intellectualism and nationalism of the *Satyabadi* School. The members of the School expressed their thoughts through their creative writings and portrayed their ideologies through the translations from English. The translations of Pandita Nilakantha Das' *praNayini* from *The Princess* and

dāsa nāek from *Enoch Arden* by Lord Tennyson, and some of the poems *badhu o bāsanti* (Edwin and Angelina by Oliver Gold Smith), *barara sesa golāpa* (The Lost Rose of Summer by Thomas Moore), *kabi o kitāba* (Poets and Critics by Lord Tennyson), *cāsāpua prati* (Song of the Men of England by P.B.Shelly). Nilakantha Das was a successful translator besides being regarded as a front ranking thinker and critic on Odia. Mayadhar Mansinha, (1964, 239) has written about him: “in those days he produced excellent translations, rather adaptations, of Tennyson’s *Enoch Arden*, and *The Princess* which read almost like original works and are most enjoyable for their style. In *dāsa nāek* (*Enoch Arden*) it is colloquial and in *praNayini* (*The Princess*) loftily grand” (Mansinha, 1964, 239). Mansinha’s views about Nilakantha’s translation represent the general strategy of translation and the literary fidelity of a translator.

The Odia prose translations of this period, which undoubtedly demand special attention, include those by Godabarisha Misra and Godabarisha Mohapatra. Godabarisha Misra’s *paTāntara* and *aTharasa satara* were translated from R.L. Stevenson’s *Dr. Jackle and Mr. Hyde* and Charles Dicken’s *A Tale of Two Cities*. Godabarisha Mahapatra’s novel *raktapāta* (1930) was translated from the *Vendetta* of Mary Karlite. During the period 1868 and 1936, Odia grammars, bilingual dictionaries, language teaching books, and linguistic studies were published for the development of pedagogical and nationalistic interests. Newspapers, periodicals, literary magazines, and journals in Odia appeared between 1865 and 1936 for the progress of Odia literature and national identity. Among them *Utkala Subhakari Patrika* (1869), *Balasore Sambada Bahika* (1872), *Utkala Hitaisini* (1869), *Utkala Darpana* (1873), *Utkala Putra* (1873), *Bhakati Paradayani* (1873), *Bidesi* (1873), *Sikhyaka o Dharmabodhini* (1873), *Purusotama Candrika* (1874), *Swadesi* (1876), *Bartalahari* (1877), *Utkala Madhupa* (1878), *Odiya Gazette* (1879), *Mayurabhanja* (1879), *Purusotama Dipika* (1880), *Kohinur* (1880), *Purusotama Patrika* (1882), *Prajabandhu* (1882), *Sebaka* (1883), *Sanskaraka* (1883), *Taraka* (1885), *Dhumaketu* (1883), *Sikhya Bandhu* (1885), *Nabasambada* (1887), *Odisha Students* (1886), *Samyabadi* (1888), *Odia Patriot* (1888), *Asha* (1888), *Dipaka*

(1889), *Sambalpur Hitaisini* (1889), *Utkala Prabha* (1891), *Indradhanu* (1893), *Bijuli* (1893), *Prabhati Tara* (1896), *Utkala Sahitya* (1896), *Alocana* (1900), *Mukura* (1906), *Utkal Sebaka* (1913), *Satyabadi* (1915), *Samaja* (1919), *Sahakar* (1919), *Seba* (1921), *Nabajuga* (1928), *Nabina* (1930), *Prachi* (1933), and *Nababharata* (1934) were recognized as the popular newspapers, literary journals and magazines. Publication of newspapers and literary magazines was made possible through numerous printing presses, which were established during the period of Odia language movement and soon after the movement. Apart from the two indigenous printing presses, viz. Cuttack Printing company and P.M. Senapati & Co (or Balasore Utkal Press), a few other local printing presses were established in different parts of Orissa. They were *Balasore De Press* (1873), *Utkala Hitaisini Press or Osissa Patriot* at Cuttack (1873), *Puri Bhaktidayini Press* (1874), *Ganjam Press* (1875), *Mayurbhanja Press* (1879), *Orissa Printing Corporation* (1885), *Bamanda Press or Sudhala Press* (1885), *Victoria Press* (1885), *Puri Printing Corporation Press* (1890), *Arunodaya Press* (1893), *Ray Press Cuttack* (1894), *Darpanaraja Press* (1899), *Balasore Vinod Press* (1899), *Utkal Sahitya Press* (1898), *Satyabadi Press* (1919), and *Nababharat Press* (1933) (Samantaray, 1981, 174-75; Kuanr, 2000, 44; Das, 2003, 127; Mohanty, 2005, 56-57). Newspapers, literary magazines, journals, and associated printing presses stimulated the literary and nationalistic awareness among the common people and drew attention to various issues of language, culture, education, politics, and society for the national interest. In addition, the question of linguistic-based state formation arose and the native intellectuals sacrificed their lives for the demand of separate state formation. Finally, Odisha became a separate linguistic state on 1st April of 1936 along with the Sindh province which is now in Pakistan and these are the first linguistic states formed in colonial India.

Concluding Remarks

This paper is a descriptive study of the history of Odia translations in its various aspects and the main points highlighted in it are as follows: (i) Linguistic identity of the Odias was established through the translation activities. (ii)

Translation played an important role in the Paik Rebellion as well as in the Odia Language Movement. (iii) The history of Odia translations is a trajectory that gives us information about (a) the cultural history of Odisha after the Paik Rebellion, (b) colonial Odisha and its official language, (c) role of the translation committee, (d) different missionaries and their contribution to the Odia literary scenario, (e) writing of school textbooks in Odia, and the British language policy for this country.

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Translation in/and Hindi Literature

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Abstract

The paper is an attempt to study translational practices in different periods in Hindi literature in the following broad areas: (1) Indian linguistic realities and translation in the early period (from early period to 1100) (2) Translation in the Bhakti (1100-1700) and Riti (1700-1800) periods (3) Translation in the Navajagaran Period (1800-1920) (4) Translation in the Swachchandataavad period (1920-1950) (5) Translation in the Adhunik Period (1950-1980) and (6) Translation in the Adhunikottar Period (1980 onwards). The paper focuses on translations into Hindi. It is argued that there are some identifiable trends in each of these periods which help us understand how Hindi internalized alien traditions and defined its mainstream literary culture.

Introduction

Translation in Hindi is *bhashantar* ('linguistic transference'), *parakayapravesh* ('transference of spirit from one body to the next, or transmigration'), *sweekaran* ('making the other as one's own, appropriation'), and even *paltukaran* ('domestication of the source text in the target linguistic system and culture'). The term is translated as *anuvad* in Hindi, as in so many other Indian languages. Literally and etymologically, *anuvad* stands for the 'subsequent' or 'following' discourse (*anu*=following, *vad*=discourse). I prefer the term *anuvad* to all others, as it means 'subsequent discourse' (target text) based on a *vad* (discourse, i.e. source text). It presupposes an existing discourse, i.e. *vad* or source text. The *vad* and *anuvad* lead to

the third stage, which we can term as *samvad* (dialogue) with one's own self and other(s) within and without¹. This dialogue or *samvad* impacts the self and the other in more ways than one in different historical periods. Attendant political, ideological and economic considerations notwithstanding, *samvad* becomes an instrument for transformation of the self and the other, as can be discerned in the development of Hindi literature.

The present paper endeavors to study translational practices in different periods in Hindi literature, in the following broad areas: (1) Indian linguistic realities and translation in the early period, (from early period to 1100) (2) translation in the Bhakti (1100-1700) and Riti (1700-1800) periods, (3) translation in the Navjagaran period (4) translation in the Swachhandatavad period (1920-1950), (5) translation in the Aadhunik period (1950-1980), and (6) translation in the Adhunikottar period (1980 onwards). I have limited myself to discussing translation into Hindi and will not discuss translation from Hindi into other languages (something that I propose to explore later). Though true *adan-pradan* (the process of give and take from one language to another) through translation can be understood only after studying both aspects, the present study, however inadequate it might be, will help reveal the endeavors made in Hindi to equip itself with its own and alien literary traditions in order to transform itself, and in the process, transform other(s) as well.

Translation in the Pre-colonial Period

Albeit somewhat simplistically, translation in India can be periodized as follows: (1) the pre-colonial, (2) the colonial, and (3) the post-colonial.

The first period can be sub-divided into two: (1) from the beginning (which may be difficult to specify) to 1100 and (2) from 1100 to 1757. To understand the translational practices in the period it is necessary to remember that India has always been multilingual, with Prakrit and Apabhraṃś as the languages of social transaction and Sanskrit as the language of learned discourse. It was attended by co-existence of diverse

styles or *riti* e.g. *Panchali*, *Avanti*, *Vidarbhi*, *Daskshinatya* and *Gaudi* named after various regions. The description of the *Kavyapurush*² and *chakravarti kshetra*³ in the late tenth century Sanskrit poetician Rajashekara's *Kavyamimamsa* bears witness to this. As late as the twelfth century Hemchandra (1089-1173), a Jain monk and a precursor of Gujarati, wrote a grammar of Prakrit but composed his critical treatises, e.g. *Kavyanushasana*, in Sanskrit. The present Indian multilingualism is a direct descendant of the linguistic pluralism of antiquity. Since Indians have been living with this pluralism for long, they are natural un/conscious translators, who translated without caring for a methodology or theory of translation. Indians with multiple languages simultaneously could shift from one linguistic system to another with ease. In India the sister languages cohabiting their own or collective space were not adversaries. As late as the second quarter of the 19th century, multilingualism flourished in India. For instance, Dayaram in Gujarat wrote in Gujarati and Hindi. Bhartendu Harishchandra (1850-1885) in Hindi called himself in his "Evidence" before the Education Commission a poet of Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu and composed even in Gujarati. In this sense, Indian consciousness was/is essentially translational, though not in the Western sense. The traditions of *bhashya* (commentary on Hindu sacred texts), *tika* (sub-commentaries) and *anvaya* (determination or explaining meaning by establishing connections or relationships), though written in the same language, were manifestations of this consciousness.

Though *anuvad* is not an unknown term in Indian tradition, the fact is that there was almost no tradition of translation in ancient India in the modern sense of the term except for *bhashya*, *tika*, and *vartik* (commentary on abstruse sense of text in the tradition of hagiography), which can be considered as translation only in a very loose sense. The first two, however, were practised in the same language.

The poets of the Bhakti period (1100-1700) were translators in a different and loose sense, as they strove to translate ancient Indian knowledge and wisdom manifested in different treatises through Sanskrit by appropriating it in various

bhashas (native languages). The period from 1100 to 1700 was marked by the *lokabhashikaran*⁴ of knowledge in Sanskrit. The Bhakti poets namely Nanak, Kabir, Sur, Tulsi, Narsinh, Mira, Gyaneshvar democratized the knowledge in Sanskrit, by transferring it into dialects and *lokbhashas* (languages of ordinary people). Translation from non-Indian languages into Indian languages and vice versa was less than desired. The translation of the Upanishads into Persian in the seventeenth century by Prince Dara Shikoh and the rendition of the works of Sanskrit poetics into bhashas were notable activities in the period.

The post-Bhakti Riti poets from middle of the seventeenth to the hind quarter of the eighteenth century, operated in more than one language. This period witnessed a continuation of the traditions of *tika* (commentary), *tippani* (explanation of difficult words or phrases), *bhavanuvad* (sense for sense translation) and *vartik*, the last being marked by translation with explanation. In fact, it is possible to use the term *vykhyanuvad* (translation with explanation) for it. Along with literary and religious texts, texts belonging to the Vedanta (literally 'end of the Vedas'; it is used for the Upanishads), Vaidyak (medicine) and Jyotish (astrology) schools of thought and narratives from Prakrit and Persian were also translated in this period. Sabal Singh Chauhan (1661-1724), king of Sabalgarh (near Etawah district in Uttar Pradesh), translated the *Mahabharata* in the Doha and Chaupai metres in such simple language that it verges on the unpoetic. By comparison, Gokulnath Gopinath's translation of the *Mahabharata* is more poetic and literary.

The seventeenth century witnessed translations of Sanskrit works e.g. plays, puranas and narratives into Hindi. Damodardas belonging to Dadu panth (Dadu sect) translated the *Markandeya Purana* in 1648, and Meghraj Pradhan translated *Adhyatma Ramayan*. In 1767 Ramahari translated Roopgoswami's Sanskrit plays as *Vidagdha Madhava Natak*. Other religious and ethical texts translated in this period included Devichand's *Hitopadesh Granth Mahaprabodhini* and Banshidhar's *Mitra Manohar* (1717), both are translations of the old Sanskrit verse narrative *Hitopadesh*. The *Nachiketpuran*

(the well-known story of Nachiketas in the *Kathopanishad*) was frequently translated – as *Nachiketopakhyān* in 1707 and then in 1831 as *Nachiketapurān*. Translated as it abundantly was between 1754 and 1769 the *Garud Purān* (Book of the Dead) was also a favorite among translators. Nazir Anandram's translation of a part of the *Padmapurān* (Rama's life story) is also worth mentioning here. Surati Mishra translated *Vaitalpanchvinshaitika* as *Vaital Pachchisi*, which can be put in the category of *chhayānuvad* (literally 'shadow translation').

Translation in the colonial period

The real impetus to translation activities came during the foreign rule from 1757 to 1857 under the East India Company and from 1857 to 1947 under the direct colonial rule, though most of these activities were not free from colonial / political considerations⁵. Thus the next phase of translation in India was a consequence of its colonization in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the first phase the most significant event was the establishment of the Asiatic Society. Among many activities that it supported was also translation of Indian texts into English such as *Abhigyanashakuntalam*, the *Gita*, *Manusmṛiti* and so on. For the first time translation was pursued in an unprecedented manner in order to (re) discover, know and (re)fashion native knowledge systems which would help to appropriate and control India. Knowing is controlling, and more often than not, translation in the colonial period was the means of achieving both goals. It became a means of cultural transformation or conversion of the other that needed to be intellectually domesticated after being politically vanquished.

Excepting the translation of some ancient Indian classics and treatises into Western languages, most of the translations were into Indian languages, and those selected for translation from Western languages (e.g English) to Indian languages were such works as would serve the colonizer's purposes. While English translations of Khayyam's *Rubbayat* and some of the Indian literary classics were attempted to eroticize the Orient to the West, the translations by William Carey and company of the Bible into 16 Indian language in the 1880s

were motivated more by religious expansionist intentions than by the ‘catholicity’ of Christianity. Translations from English to Indian languages in subsequent years crushed the Indian creative sensibility, though there is no denying the fact that these translations helped in introducing some new literary trends and movements into Indian literature.

The Asiatic Society was an Orientalist Institute, but not in the Saidean sense, for it did not always act as the handmaid of colonization. The Orientalists, or Indologists to be precise, of the early period from 1757 to 1825, and their translational operations (associated with the Society at least by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century) were inspired by admiration for the Indian’s cultural heritage. The translation of the Vedas, Upanishads, Ramayana, *Mahabharata*, *Gita*, *Manusmruti* and *Abhigyanashakuntalam* among other translations by scholars associated with the Society and others – introduced Indian knowledge systems to Europe. This process of translation from Indian languages to European languages enriched Europe’s knowledge about India as a new land with knowledge systems different from its own. The establishment of Chairs of Sanskrit in major universities of Europe, by the first quarter of the 19th century was not a mere coincidence but a result of the orientation of Europe towards India through Orientalism.

The nineteenth century witnessed a strengthening of translation activities into Hindi, the Brijbhasha language, to be precise. Lalloolal translated *Hitopadesh* as *Rajneeti* in 1802, and the dialogue between the sage Shukdev and King Parikshit as *Kalyavankatha* and *Kimiya-e Shaadat* (1817 edn.). Translation of the *Bhagavat* by Sevaram Mishra and of the *Siddhasiddhanta* was also attempted in the first half of the 19th century, which was marked by the growth of prose in Brij. Quite a few non-literary texts on religion, poetics, medicine, rituals, astronomy, geography and mathematics were translated into prose mixed with verse. This influenced the language of translation, as may be discerned in Lallolal’s translation of *Hitopadesh*. The *vartik* and *tika* traditions continued, and these could be considered as additions to the categories of translation in the loose sense of the term. Also

worth noting are the translations of Ved Vyas's *Mahabharata* and Kalidas's *Rutusamhar* by Sabal Singh Chauhan (1661-1724) and the *tika* of the *Gitabhashamrata* of Ramanuji Bhagvandas (1698), *Gita Prashna* by Swami Navrang in the eighteenth century, Nazar Anandram's *Parmanand -Pravodh Tika* (1704), Krishna Chakravarty's *Bhagavad-Gita Bhashya*, and Hari Vallabh Das's *Gitabhashya Tika* in verse and prose. Tulsidas's *Ramacharitmanas*, Bihari's *Satsai* and Keshav's *Rasikpriya*, *Ramchandrika*, *Kavipriya* and *Vairagyashatak* also earned the attention of tikakars or commentators. Though *tika* is not translation in the strict sense of the term, it is translation with latitude - usually in the same linguistic group. These commentaries can be put in the following categories as translation from Sanskrit to the Brij dialect -i.e, commentaries from one dialect to another in the same language group (e.g. from Avadhi to Brij).

Tikanuvad (= translation with commentaries) of different texts in the Riti period were also attempted, for example *Bhashaupanishad*, *Bhashapadmapurana*, *Bhashayogavashishtha*, *Mallinathcharitavachanika*, *Sudrashti Tarangini Vachanika*, and *Hitopadeshvachanika*. *Bhashaupanishad* is a Persian translation of 22 Upanishads, including *Taiteriopanishad*. The manuscript of this 1719 translation is preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The translation of Daulatram Jain's *Ramakatha* as *Bhashapadmapurana* or *Padmapuran Vachanika* from Prakrit to Khariboli, profusely mixed with Rajasthani and Brijbhasha, is worth noting. The interaction between Khariboli and Persian continued in this period, i.e. in the first quarter of the 18th century, as can be seen in *Paras Bhag*, a translation of *Keemia Shaadat* by Sevapanthi Addanshah and Kriparam from Persian to Khariboli. Some of the translations from Sanskrit include *Gitanuvad*, of doubtful authorship but generally ascribed to Birbal (1723, Edn.) and *Suryasidhanta*, a translation of the Sanskrit text of astrology of the same title by Pandit Kamodananda Mishra from Sanskrit in 1782. In general, texts from medicine, astrology, religious and spiritual scriptures, geography, history, philosophy and narratives from Sanskrit and Persian were more commentaries than true translation.

Pandit Yogadhyan Mishra translated *Hatimtaee*, a famous Kissa which is a narrative dealing with the world of magic and fantasy in 1838; Tarinicharan Mitra translated *Purush-Parikshasangraha* dealing with human attributes in 1813; and Dayashankar, the younger brother of Laloolal, translated *Daybhag*, a text dealing with inheritance of property in 1832. Quite a few Sufi and Islamic religious texts were translated into Dakhini Hindi, which is dominated by Urdu and is closer to Khariboli in word-form and sentence construction. Significant contributions include a translation of Miran Yakoobi's *Shamaylul Atakia* and *Dalaylul Atakia*, Mohammad – Valiullah Kadari's translation of *Mariftussuluk* and also of translation of Saiyad Shah Mohammad Kadiri's *Risala-e- Vajoodiya*, Shahmir's *Asararuttauhid* and Abdul Hamid's *Risala Tasavvuf*. Quite a few texts by anonymous authors that were translated in this period are narratives – e.g., *Tutinama*, *Anware Suheli*, and *Kissa-e-Gulo Hurmuz*. *Sittae Samasiya* and *Risala Zarre Saken* are medical texts translated into Dakhini Hindi. Some of the translations were attempted in consonance with an attitude towards Hindi that was, to a large extent, shaped by the language policy of the rulers. Sadal Mishra's translations of *Nachiketopakhyana* and *Adhyatma Ramayana* are its examples. At Sir John Gilchrist instance, Mishra translated the latter work as *Ramcharitra* in about 320 pages. He wrote:

“The most kind reservoir of all human attributes Mr. Gilchrist Sir resolved to render Sanskrit texts into Bhasha. One day he asked me to render the *Adhyatma Ramayana* in a language that would have Persian and Arabic words in it. So I started using Khariboli for my purpose” (cited in Ganapatichandra Gupta Vol. II. 737).

Along with original compositions, the Bharatendu period(1850-1885) in the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by sustained translation from Sanskrit and English, the latter activity an offshoot of colonization. Raja Laxman Sigh (1826-96) translated Kalidas's *Raghuwansh* and his epic poem *Meghdoot* in simple yet poetic Brijbhasha in Savaiya metre. Bharatendu himself translated a *Narad Bhakti Sutra* and Shandilya's *Bhaktisutra* as *Tadeeya Sarvaswa*

in 1874 with greater focus on sense than on linguistic considerations. Babu Totaram (1848-1902) translated Valmiki's *Ramayana* as *Ram Ramayana* from Sanskrit to Hindi. In this period, works by the fifth-century poet and dramatist Kalidasa were translated repeatedly from Sanskrit. Thakur Jag Mohan Singh's translations of Kalidasa's *Ritusamharam* (1876) and *Meghdoot* (1883) deserve our attention, for he consciously prioritized preservation of sense over literal translation and indirectly tried to adopt translation strategies such as deletion and addition in terms of sense. Lala Sitaram 'Bhoop' (1858-1937) translated *Meghdoot* (1833), the play *Kumarasambhavam* (1884), the play *Raghuvamsham* (1885-92) and *Ritusamharam* (1893) without achieving the effect of Jag Mohan Singh. The major difference between the translations of the two was that the former used tatsama (Sanskrit) phraseology and Kavitta and Savaiya metres, whereas the latter used Doha, Chaupai and Ghanakshari metres. Apart from these, 'Bhoop' translated verses nos. 73 to 85 from the "Adisarga" of Ved Vyas's the *Mahabharata* as *Devyani* and also Kapil Muni's *Sankhyasutra* from Sanskrit to Hindi, although he did not publish it. He also translated Byron's *The Prisoner of Shilon* as *Shilon Ka Bandi*. Among English works, Oliver Goldsmith's *Hamlet* and the poem *Deserted Village* were translated as *Ekantvasi Yogi* (1886) and *Oojad Gram* (1889) by Shridhar Pathak into Brijbhasha-mixed Khariboli. Pathak also translated Goldsmith's poem *The Traveller* as *Shranta Pathika*. The credit for initiating the process of translating English works into Hindi thus goes to the Bharatendu period.

In 1863 Raja Laxman Singh translated Kalidas's *Abhigyan shakuntalam* which became popular for two reasons – the subconscious engagement during the age with Shankuntala's exotic and Dhushyanta's amnesiac story, and the advocacy of purity of language to which Laxman Singh subscribed and practised as well. In this period, apart from Kalidasa, the poet Bhavabhuti was another favourite with the translators of Sanskrit literature. Their works were translated again in this period, showing dissatisfaction with earlier versions. After Raja Laxman Singh's translation of *Abhigyan shakuntalam*

attention was drawn to other works as well. Nandalal Viswanath Dubey also tried to translate the play in 1888, and Lala Sitaram translated Klidasa's play *Malvikagnimitra* in 1898. Devdutta Tiwari, Nandalal Vishwanath Dubey and Lala Sitaram translated Bhavabhooti's *Uttar Ramcharita* in 1871, 1886 and 1897 respectively. Sitaram translated Bhavabhooti's play *Malatimadhava* and *Mahavircharita* in 1898 and 1897. Lala Shaligram also rendered *Maltimadhava* in 1881. Shitalaprasad and Ayodhyaprasad Chaudhari translated Krishnamitra's *Prabandhachandrodaya* in 1879 and 1885 respectively, while Gadadhar Bhatta translated King Shudraka's play *Mrchhakatikam* in 1880. Important Sanskrit plays translated in this period included Harsha's *Ratnavali* (translated by Devadutta in 1872 and by Balmukunda Singh in 1898) and Bhattnarayana's *Venisanhara* (translated by Jawalaprasad Singh in 1897). The period, i.e. the second half of the 19th century, is marked by a few tendencies. Most of the translators were creative writers who wanted to enrich their languages with translations. The texts chosen for translations included Sanskrit texts, particularly epics and plays along with English works and even from Bhasha literatures like Bengali and Marathi. Among other plays, Bharatendu translated the Sanskrit play *Chaurpanchashika* into Hindi from its Bangla translation in 1868, *Ratnavali* from Sanskrit in 1868, *Pakhanda Vikhandan* (a translation of the Act III of Krishna Mishra's *Pravandhchandrodaya*) in 1872, *Dhanjayavyaya* (a translation of Act III of the Sanskrit play of the same title by *Kanchankavi*) in 1873, *Karpoora Manjari* (a translation of Vishakhadutta's play) in 1878. Bharatendu also translated Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* as *Durlabh Bandhu* in 1880. The Parsi drama companies staged Shakespeare's plays, and this gave impetus to translation. Arya translated *Merchant of Venice* as *Venice ka Vyapari* in 1888, Munshi Imdad Ali rendered *Comedy of Errors* as *Bhramjalak* in 1885, while Lala Sitaram rendered it as *Bhoolbhulaiya* in 1885. Other translations of Shakespeare's plays were *As you Like It* as *Manbhavan* by Purohit Gopinath in 1896, *Romeo and Juliet* as *Premilila* by Purohit Gopinath in 1877, and *Macbeth* as *Sahsendra Sahas* by Mathuraprasad Upadhyaya in 1893. Babu Totram translated Joseph Addison's tragedy *Cato* as

Kratanta in 1879. This trend of translating English plays signalled the importance of English through colonial encounter, and it gave a new direction to Hindi drama, which had availed itself primarily of Sanskrit and folk dramatic traditions. From Bangla, Michael Madhusudan Dutt's plays -- e.g. *Padmavati* (translated in 1878 by Balkrishna Bhatt), *Sharmishtha* (in 1880 by Ramcharan Shukla) and *Krishnamurari* (in 1899 by Ramkrishna Verma) -- were translated along with Manmohan Bahu's *Sati* (in 1880 by Uditnarayan Lal), Rajakishore Dev's *Padmavati* (Ramkrishna Verma, 1889) and Dwarakanath Ganguli's *Veer Nari* in 1899 by Ramkrishna.

Apart from Bangla plays, novels in Bangla by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1833–94), Rameshchandra Dutta (1848-1909) and Tarkanath Ganguli (1845-1907) were also translated. Notable translations include Gadadhar Singh's translation of Rameshchandra Dutt's *Bangavijeta* (1886) and Bankim's *Durgesh nandini* (1882), Pratap Narayan Mishra's translation of Bankim Chandra's *Raj Singh*, *Indira*, *Radharani*, and *Yugalanguriya*, Radhacharan Goswami's translation of Damodar Mukherjee's *Mranmayee* and Munshi Haritnarayanlal's translation of Swarnkumar's *Deep Nirvan*. Apart from these, Ramkrishna Verma's translation of *Chittorchatki* in 1895, Kartikprasad Khatri's *Ila* (1896), and *Jaya Madhumalti* and Gopal Das Gahamari's *Chaturchanchala* (1893), *Bhanumati* (1894) and *Naye Babu* (1895) deserve to be noted here, for these translators did not mention the names of the source authors. Gopal Das Gahamari's translations in particular and others in general can be put in the category of translation-cum-adaptation.

Translations from Marathi and Urdu novels included Bharatendu's *Poornaprakash Chandraprabha* from Marathi and Ramkrishna Verma's *Sansardarpan* (1885), *Amala Vratantamala* (1884), *Thag Vratantamala* (1889) and *Police Vratantamata* (1890) from Urdu. Some of these translations were discussed and commented upon, with Badrinarayan Chaudhri's 'Premaghan' criticizing Gadadhar Singh's translation of *Bangvijeta* in detail in *Anandakadambini* and Balmukund Gupta critiquing the translation of Goldsmith's *Hermit* as *Ekantayoga*. Apart from writing about fifty original

works, Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1864-1938), after whom the period is named the “Dwivedi Yug [era]” (1893-1918), translated thirty texts.⁶ Rai Devi Prasad ‘Poorna’ (1868-1915) translated Kalidasa’s *Meghdoot* as *Dharadhar-dhawan* in 1902.

In the Dwivedi era, Sanskrit, English and Bangla dramatic texts translated were Savananda Avasthi’s translation *Naginenda* (1956), *Mrichohhakatika* by Lala Sitaram in 1913, and *Uttararamacharita* by Kaviratna Satyanarayana. Also, the plays of French dramatist Moliere were translated from their English versions by Lalluprasad Pandey and Gangaprasad Pandey.

Gopaldas Gahamari had introduced detective themes through his detective novels, and he strengthened this with his translation of Arthur Conan Doyle’s *A Study in Scarlet* as *Govindram* in 1905. The fascination with detective themes and novels continued in the twentieth century. G.W.M. Reynolds’ novel, *Mysteries of the Court of London* was translated as *London Rahasya* and his *Loves of the Hair* as *Rangmahal* by Gangaprasad Gupta in 1904. The fascination with detective stories and the supernatural and miraculous disallowed the use of translation as a mode of introducing new and rich models of novel from non-English traditions such as Russian, French, German, and Spanish, among others. That is how colonization impacts and limits the choices of the subject. However, there were some exceptions as well. For instance, fictional works of literary merit like Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (under the same title by Janardhan Prasad Jha “Dwij”), and Sir Walter Scott’s *The Abbott* (as *Rani Mary* in 1916 by Lala Chandralal). Also, there were some non-English novels like Victor Hugo’s *Les Miserables* (by Durga Prasad Khatri as *Abhage Ka Bhagya* in 1914-15), and Harriet Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (as *Tom Kaka Ki Kutiya* in 1916 by Mahavir Prasad Poddar). From Bangla, the novels of established novelists like Damodar Mukhopadhyaya, Bankimchandra, Panchakauri De, Rabindranath Tagore and Rameshchandra Dutt were translated respectively by Ishwari Prasad Sharma, Kishorilal Goswami, Gopalram Gahamari and Jonardhan Jha ‘Dwij’. All these source texts barring a few exceptions dealt

with miracle, mystery or detective incidents in their thematic concerns. The absence of translations of serious socially oriented novels speaks of the taste of the then readership in Hindi.

Translation played a role in developing and establishing a critical sense in Hindi. In the Bharatendu period Jagannath Ratnedar had attempted a verse translation of Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism* as *Samalochandarsha* in 1897. Later Acharya Ram Chandra Shukla translated Joseph Addison's "Essay on Imagination" as *Kalpna ke Ananda*, and he also translated Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* as *Buddha Charita* in 1922. Interestingly, this is not in Khari boli Hindi but in Brijbhasha, and Shukla did not take recourse to literal translation. Rather he added to the translation at will. He had previously translated Megasthenese's *India* as *Megasthenesekalina Bharata* in 1897, John Henry Newman's *Literature* as *Sahitya* in 1904, and Sir T. Madhava Rao's *Minor Hints* as *Rajprabandha Siksha* in 1913. Others, such as Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, made profuse use of English critics without translating or at times even acknowledging them.

Munshi Premchand was a unique case. He used to write his novels in Urdu and then translate them into Hindi – e.g., wrote *Bazare Hunsa*, *Gosh-e-Afimat* and *Gogane Havi* and then translated them as *Sevasadan*, *Premashram* and *Rangbhoomi*. In fact the task was easier, for linguistic code switching between Urdu and Hindi was not difficult for Premchand like northern Indians who operate between the common vocabulary of Hindi and Urdu and their common *Gangajamuni* culture. Ironically, they were first published in Hindi. In between he translated two of his existing Urdu novels – *Jalva-e-Isar* as *Vardan* in 1921, and *Hamkhurma va Hamsawab* as *Prem Arthat Do Sakhiyon Ka Vivah*. He rewrote the Hindi variance of *Prema* in Hindi and published it as *Pratigya* in 1929. He was not happy with the state of the pre-Premchand Hindi novel in comparison with the Urdu and Bengali novel. He saw translation as a means of enriching Hindi literature, but not simply through translation. He was highly critical of the indiscriminate translations from Bengali, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and

the early part of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Premchand wanted the treasure of Hindi to be enriched by its own jewels, as well as by the best from other world literatures such as Russian and French. So in his essay “Upanyasa” (Premchand, 1962, 33-38) he called upon young people to learn these languages and then translate their good literary works into Hindi.

Acharya Vishweshar translated Abhinavgupta’s *Abhinav Bharati*, Kuntaka’s *Vakrotijivit*, Anandavardhana’s *Dhwanyaloka*, Ramchandra Gunachandra’s *Natyadarpan* and Mammata’s *Kavyaprakasha*. Under the editorship of Dr. Nagendra, Aristotle’s *Poetics*, Longinus’s *The Sublime* and Horaces’ *Arts Poetica* were translated as *Arastu Ka Kavyashastra*, *Kavya Mein Udatta Tattva* and *Kavyakala* respectively.

Quite a few travelogues from Gujarati, Marathi and Bangla by Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi, Kaka Kalelker and Shanker were translated respectively as *Badrinath Ki Yatra* (1959) *Sooryodaya Ka Desh* (195), *Himalaya Ki yatra* (1948) and *A Par Bangla O Par Bangla* (1982). Other notable translations in the middle decades of the twentieth century include the translation of important short stories of the world as *Sansar Ki Sarwashreshtha Kahaniya* in 1940 and a translation by Shamsheer Bahadur Singh, the Marxist poet, of Aijaz Ahmed’s history of Urdu literature as *Urdu Sahitya ka Itihasa* in 1956.

Memoirs were translated from different languages in the post-Independence period. Ilachandra Joshi was one of the pioneers with his translation of Gorky’s *Memoirs* as *Gorky Ke Sansmaran* in 1942. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi translated Rabindranath Tagore’s memoirs as *Mera Bachpan* from Bangla. Manuben Gandhi’s memoirs were translated by Kurangiben Desai as *Ba Meri Man* and by Ram Narayan Chaudhary as *Ba Aur Babu Ki Sheetal Chhaya Main* in 1954. From Panjabi, Amrita Pritam’s memoirs were translated as *Atit Ki Parchaiyan* in 1962. Upendra Nath ‘Ashq’ edited and translated Urdu memoir as *Urduke Bhatareen Sansmaran* in Hindi in 1962. Mukundilal Shrivastava brought out Nayan Tara Sahgal’s *Prison and Chocolate* from English to Hindi as *Mera Bachpan*.

The Indian mind's fascination with Shakespeare that had begun in the nineteenth century as a by-product of the colonial literary enterprise continued in the twentieth century. If in the first half of the century Harivanshrai Bachchan translated Shakespeare as part of his academic, creative and personal pursuits, Rangeya Raghav, one of the most prolific translators of Shakespeare, did so more out of his love for Hindi than for Shakespeare. "A language which does not possess translations of Shakespeare, cannot be counted among the more developed languages" (cited in Trivedi, 1993, 33). Further, retranslation of Shakespeare's plays speaks of his dissatisfaction with the preceding translations of Shakespeare, for Shakespeare was already there in Hindi but not in the kind of translations that Rangeya Raghava wanted.

Another notable feature of translation into Hindi in the second half of the twentieth century was the participation in the translational enterprise of noted creative and critical writers, both established and emerging, against the backdrop of a realization of the significance of translation as the means of enriching their literature and their own creativity. Vishnu Khare's translation of *The Wasteland* and Mohan Rakesh's translation of *The Portrait of a Lady* speak of their choice of Anglo-American-centric texts more out of their fascination for them and less out of their canonical status in the Hindi academic world. Incidentally, both of these translators were not directly concerned with the academic world. Others moved away from the Anglo-American space to a large extent, such as the translation of Albert Camus' *The Stranger* by Rajendra Yadav and Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* by Kamleshwar. Kedarnath Singh translated Paul Eluard's poems and discovered his own poetic talent in the process, and became one of the significant Hindi poets of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In the 1960s and 1970s, translation into Hindi moved further away from England and America to central and eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and Russia. Through the choice of source texts this constituted indirect resistance to American hegemony. The case of Nirmal Verma stands out.

The translations of Czech creative literature (particularly of Milan Kundera) by this eminent Hindi novelist and essayist introduced Czech creativity to the Hindi readership even before it reached English, and Verma made use of Czech locales in his maiden novel. Raghuvir Sahay, a distinguished poet, translated Hungarian poets, the Polish novelist Jerzy Andrezejewski, and the Yugoslavic/Bosnian poet Ivo Andric. Sahay's translation of Andric's epic novel *Na Drini Chupriya* as *Drina Nadi Ka Pul* (1986) is significant because of his choice of the text for translation. He selected it after becoming fascinated with Andric's delineation of characters and their conduct, the struggle for oppositional values within European history, and also in an attempt to make the sympathetic Indian reader conscious of the present state of India and its future. Commenting on Andric's appeal to him, he said,

"In his work, while people accept the new, they do not barter away the old for it. This is the true meaning of knowing one's tradition; and this is also the Indian philosophy of history."

In Sahay, translation thus becomes an instrument of knowing and reinstating one's own cultural and philosophical traditions through similar literary works and traditions from hitherto unknown lands. Writings from Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean came to be translated into Hindi. Virendra Kumar Barnwal translated Wole Soyinka's poems as *Wole Soyankaki Kavitayen* in 1991 out of his love or affinity for the poet and his work, not out of any translational ideals. The shift of the centre of fictional creativity to the non-American and non-European world such as South America, Africa and Asia, discernible as it is, in awards like the Nobel Prize and the Commonwealth and Booker Prizes to non-European and non-American writers introduced the works of these writers to Hindi literature through translation. In addition to *Teen Saal* (Chekhov) *Agneya Versha* (Constantine Faydin), *Surkh aur Syah* (Stendhal), *Dheere Bahe Don* (Mikhail Sholokhov), *Pahala Adami*, *Azanabi*, *Plague*, *Patan*, *Sukhi Mratyu* (all by Albert Camus), *Kisan* (Balzac), Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as *Ekant Ke Sau Varsha* were translated. Indian English writing such as Vikran Seth's *A*

Suitable Boy and *An Equal Music* were translated as *Ek Achchha sa Ladka* and *Ek sa Sangeet* respectively, Salman Rushdie's *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* as *Haroon aur Kahaniyon ka Samunder*, Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* as *Pakistan Mail*, and Shobha De's *Starry Nights* as *Sitaron ki Raten*.

This period was remarkable for another translational tendency viz. of translating Urdu poetry into Hindi, though it meant mere transcription of Urdu poets like Ghalib in Devanagari script with meanings of difficult words given in Hindi.

In the post-colonial period various literary and cultural institutions (Central and State Sahitya Akademis) and publication houses such as Katha, Macmillan and the National Book Trust encouraged translation to facilitate interaction among various linguistic identities. The main tendencies included a critique of colonial translations and their motivations and ideologies, translations of works from post-colonial societies into Indian languages and also from Eurasian countries, a shift from the word/sentence/paragraph or vision to culture as the unit of translation, and the use of English as an intermediary language. Towards its close the twentieth century witnessed 'horizontal' translations (*Adan Pradan*) among Indian languages more than ever.

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed a new upsurge in translation that was unbridled by colonial complexes and calculations but not always politically innocent. The translation scenario in Hindi might not compare favourably with English, but it is quite healthy because of the large Hindi readership and greater acceptance of Hindi among other sister languages. Among several reasons that may be adduced for this phenomenon are the emergence of a new crop of good writers in Indian languages who want to have an access to Hindi readership through translations. Some concerted efforts by the Sahitya Akademi (the National Academy of Letters) were made in collaboration with other agencies in this direction. The entry of some new publishing houses such as Bharatiya Gyanpith and Sahitya Akademi along with Hindi Akademis in many states have given a new impetus to translation in Hindi by getting most of the

award winning works translated into Hindi. Academic Hindi publishers like Vani, Rajkamal, Radhakrishna, showed greater inclination for publishing important works from non-Indian languages like English, French, German, Russian, and also Latin American and African languages. Another notable feature was the emergence of dalit and feminist discourse. So, literary works dealing with them were translated. Since the dalit discourse flourished more in Marathi than in any other language, the works of Daya Pawar and Sharan Kumar Limbale were translated and published in Hindi by Vani, Rajkamal and Radhakrishna in particular.

I will conclude with the remark that translational practices prevalent at that time in India, especially in Hindi, have to take note of the linguistic clusters in the country, as there used to be five Prakrit or natural languages of the people viz. Panchali, Avanti, Vaidarbhi, Gaudi, and Dakshinatyā. In ancient India there were eight linguistic clusters:

1. TMKT: Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu
2. MKKT: Marathi, Konkani, Kannada, Telugu
3. HGM: Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi
4. HPGMBO: Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarat, Marathi, Magadhi, Oriya, Bengali
5. ABO: Assamese, Bengali, Oriya
6. AGK & NE: Assamese & North-eastern dialects/ languages
7. PDHT: Panjabi, Dogri, Hindi, Tibetan/Ladakhi
8. HOTM: Hindi, Oriya, Telugu, Marathi

They exist on the geographical map of India. The need is of greater translational interactions among them. The interaction among Indian languages would lend impetus to translation in Hindi because Hindi touches major linguistic clusters barring the southern linguistic cluster. This is what I would term as 'Home and Abroad' approach to translational activities followed by 'Home and Abroad' phenomenon which has plagued translational pursuits in India. First there should be translation amongst sister languages of India and

then between Indian and non-Indian languages. Hindi, by virtue of its leadership and demographic space covering more than forty crores of people within India, would be the greatest beneficiary of this 'Home & Home' and then 'abroad' proposal of translational practice.⁷

NOTES

1. The terms *vad*, *anuvad* and *samvad* are a variation of the title of the book *Vad, Vivad aur Samvad* by the noted Hindi critic, Namvar Singh. The title of the book is a creative translation of Hegelian dialectical terms: thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. In both the cases the beginning and the end are the same though, in the second and central stage anti-thesis and translation or subsequent discourse occupy the central place in their respective paradigm. I consider *samvad* and synthesis to be reciprocal processes because synthesis is a consequence of dialogue.
2. *Kavyapurush* (=verbal/literary discourse incarnate) is a mythical account of the origin of literature and its forms given in Chapter III of *Kavyamimamsa*. Goddess Saraswati, mother of Kavyapurush, appreciates him, as he is the first creator of verse:

“Words and meaning form your body, Sanskrit your mouth, Prakrit dialects your arms, Apabhramsha your legs, Pisachi your feet and Mishra languages your bosom. You are complete, happy, sweet and largehearted. Your speech is elevated. Rasa is the soul.”
3. In Chapter III of *Kavyamimamsa*, *Chakravarti kshetra* is described to be from the Southern Sea to the Himalayas covering an area of one thousand *yojanas* (about four thousand miles). The poets of the country can describe the apparel, manners, customs and speech of these geographical areas.
4. I prefer this term to 'vernacularisation' because it has a politically dismissive connotation in it.

Lokbhashaikaaran includes in it democratization of knowledge, first composed in Sanskrit through the process of its transference into *lokabhashas* ('native' languages is politically incorrect). For an elaborate note on this, see AK Singh (my article) "Neither Amnesia nor Aphasia: Knowledge, Continuity and Change in Indian Poetical traditions" in *Indian Knowledge Systems*, Vol. 2, 372-3.

5. For an elaborate discussion, see (my article) "Renaissance Self- (Re) Fashioning" in *South Asian Review*, Pennsylvania University.
6. Panditraj Jagannath's *Bhavini Vilasa* from Sanskrit in 1891 and *Yamunastotra* as *Amrutalahiri* in 1896, Bacon's famous essays as *Bacon Vichar* in 1901, Herbert Spenser's essay "Education" as "Shiksha" in 1906, John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* as *Swadheenata* 1907, the *Mahabharata* as *Hindi Mahabharata* in 1908, Kalidas's *Raghuvansha*, Kumar Sambhava and *Meghdoot* in 1912, 1915 and 1917 respectively, Bhattnarayana's *Venisnghara* 1913, Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniyam* in 1917, and *Akhyayika Saptaka*, the translation of seven selected narratives, in 1927.
7. For an elaborate discussion of this point, see (my articles) "Decolonising English Studies in India" in *Decolonisation: A Search for Alternatives* eds. Adesh Pal et al. New Delhi: Creative books, 2001, and "A Case for Comparative Literary Studies" in *English Studies: Indian Perspective*. eds. Makarand Paranjape et al. New Delhi: Mantra Books, 2005.

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History of Translation: A Case Study of Translations in Maithili

SUSHANT KUMAR MISHRA

Abstract

Understanding translation and its impact is an important academic activity in the contemporary globalised world. Each community has its own contribution in this process of globalisation and the translation activities in a particular language community helps us understand the perspectives of that community along with its contributions in the knowledge retention, transmission and innovation processes. Maithili is an important literary language of India and has its own history of exchange and evolution of ideas reflected in its history of translation. This article attempts to trace this history of translation which reflects the evolution and literary creations available in this language. The article traces this history on the basis of available records and books and briefly presents the history of texts translated from this language or into this language. The translations available in written as well as in oral forms have been included and the attempt is to be as inclusive as possible. The article is just introductory to the subject. It presents and refers to many texts and works for the authenticity of information – still a lot more referencing and research is required for a better and more comprehensive understanding of history of translation in Maithili so as to understand the evolution of ideas in Maithili along with the evolution of the language itself.

Introduction

Translation as an act is part of the flow and growth of any language in the world. Almost every language has undergone this process of translation – as part of reception from other language and also being received by other languages in the vicinity of far away. Maithili as a language has started taking shape around 7th century A.D. – *Charyapad* is claimed to have structural linguistic patterns representing Maithili of today. It should be noted here that *Charyapad* is a Buddhist text which represents almost all the languages included in the Eastern group of language in India, more prominently Maithili, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and the minor languages found in that area. The formation of this text may itself be part of the ever evolving translation practices in India – *Charyapad* verses are also received in various forms of *doha* in Maithili (*Encyclopaedia of India Literature*, Sahitya Akademi). Thus the ideas of Buddhists as percolated down to the generations are first ‘translated’ into a contemporary language and then further handed down to generations in various forms and as per the evolved usage in language. So, one may see that Maithili as a language (like almost all the languages of the world) have shaped and evolved by the acts of translation.

One of the first poet and writer in Maithili is Jyotirishwar Thakur (approximately early fourteenth century). His works provide a glimpse of medieval Eastern India using simultaneously the Sanskrit, the Prakrit and the Maithili languages. In his theatrical works, we find songs written in Maithili while the dialogues are either in Sanskrit or in Maithili according to the contemporary established practices of Sanskrit being used by the characters who speak more formal language and Prakrit being used by the characters who speak more informal variety of language. His text *Varnaratnakar* is completely written in Maithili prose and discusses various aspects and issues related to social aspects of life in its time. This attempt itself presents the traces of translation as the author attempts to present the facts in Maithili what were hitherto written in Sanskrit or Prakrit. Jyotirishwar Thakur has also written a text in Sanskrit

entitled *Panchashayak* which may be broadly considered as a 'translation' of *Kamasutra* – however this work is written in Sanskrit and any further discussion on this may be irrelevant here.

According to some sources, *The Bible* was also translated into Maithili in 18th century by Father Antonio. This information is provided by George Grierson in part II of Volume – V of *Linguistic Survey of India*. However, there is no concrete reference found for this and all search on the various sites related to translation of the Bible into Indian languages inform that the Bible is not yet translated into Maithili. Grierson mentions in Vol – V, part-II of *Linguistic Survey of India* that he could not find the text of Father Antonio's Maithili translation of *The Bible*. There are some audio sites in Maithili and some pages of the Bible in Maithili available - but these are of a much later date, almost towards the second half of the 20th century or first half of the 21st century. Further research may be required to authenticate this information on the translation of the Bible in Maithili in 18th century by Father Antonio. Apparently the Serampur missionaries published some translations of Biblical writings also. One of such writings, 'the Parable of the Prodigal Son' has been used by Grierson for analyzing the Maithili language for his purpose in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol – V, Part – II (page 96). The text is written in two scripts in Maithili and then transcribed and translated so as to provide the linguistic data on Maithili. Further research into archives is required to find out about the Maithili publications by Serampur missionaries.

There were some attempts of translation from Maithili to English under the patronage of George A. Grierson. He has created not only a fully fledged grammar of Maithili in the modern sense of the term but also is attributed to have translated some texts of Maithili into English for linguistic and literary purposes. It is a common knowledge that George Grierson worked a lot in the present Madhubani district of Mithila region where there is a market supposedly named after him, now known as 'Gilesan bazaar'. He is supposed to have translated himself some Maithili texts in English which are

likely to be available with Asiatic Society Library in Kolkata.

Towards the end of 19th century, a text entitled *Songs of Mithila*, was also brought out later as *Songs of Vidyapati* by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry (Puducherry) was published which contained translations of several (approximately 41) songs of Vidyapati in English. As Aurobindo was a poetic genius in English language, his translations of Vidyapati's songs are supposed to be very beautiful.

Almost in the same time, attempts were being made to translate the Sanskrit texts of Vidyapati into contemporary Maithili. Chanda Jha translated Vidyapati's *Purushapariksha*, into contemporary Maithili which was originally written into Sanskrit. Later the same text was translated by Ramanath Jha and also by Surendra Jha Suman. It may be noted here that the translation of Chanda Jha is an example of word-to-word translation tradition in India – which may be traced to translations of various Sanskrit/Prakrit texts into Tibetan or other languages spoken in the countries east to India. Perhaps this word to word translation was not considered palatable or suitable for the contemporary Maithili scholars and audience and hence the texts were later on taken up for translation with modern sensibilities of paraphrased translations by the two scholars mentioned above. This text of Vidyapati was also adapted into a play by 2010 by Yoganand Sudheer.

Along with such attempts to translate texts of the scholars who wrote both in Maithili and Sanskrit, there were some attempts to translate the well known Sanskrit texts into Maithili. This was perhaps part of the general tendency across India in the 19th and early 20th century so as to legitimize and standardize the contemporary diction and structural forms of modern Indian languages. We find that a lot of modern Indian languages started focusing on the translation of established Sanskrit texts in order to initially create their own literary corpora. Maithili also witnessed this phase – however, it may be heart-rending to note here that the translation as an activity in Maithili was first established by translations of texts written in the land of Mithila by writers who were attributed to have established the initial and the vast literature

of Maithili. In this sense, the sensibility of these translators of Mithila was original. They tried mainly to bring the texts known to the texts created by Mithila's well known writers to people by their translations. Such a project is significantly different than the kinds of translation we find from Sanskrit to contemporary Indian languages in the 19th century. However, this trend of presenting the well known Sanskrit texts is also witnessed in Maithili towards the beginning of 20th century. Mahamahopadhyaya Muralidhar Jha translated the Mitralabh section of *Hitopadesh* into Maithili. And the same scholar also translated the Anushasan Parva of the *Mahabharata* into Maithili. Thus we can also witness that the importance given by translators to the texts containing 'religious/cultural sensibilities' (like the *Mahabharata*) and to the texts containing 'secular sensibilities' (secular in the sense of mundane, the worldly) are at par. This represents the general traditional attitude to literature and knowledge which considered all knowledge as a valued contribution to humanity. Creation of knowledge in the 'vernacular' itself appeared to be goal – and there could perhaps be no better aim for the translator who did not perhaps even see himself as a translator, but only as someone who is writing these stories containing knowledge traditions, in the contemporary language, even though the translator's sensibility was sufficiently modernized in the sense of translation as an act of transcreating while valorizing the text in original.

The tendency to create a Maithili literature which represented the traditional 'knowledge texts' of India continued further and towards the second decade of the twentieth century (perhaps 1912), the translation of *Rgvedasamhita* into Maithili, by Gananath Jha, was published. During this decade, further attempts to translate each Parva of the *Mahabharata* were being planned in a meeting held in Betiya. This project received some local royal support also, mainly perhaps by Kumar Kalikanand Singh who was one of the offshoots of the royalty established in the area for centuries. This effort to translate each Parva of the *Mahabharata* was further consolidated by a meeting under the chairmanship of Mahamahopadhyaya, Ganganath Jha. Though these attempts, as documented in various books on history of Maithili language and literature,

are worth lauding, it is not clear if the translations were actually published. Perhaps the scholars translated the texts – but in the times of turmoil of the First World War or subsequent times of freedom movement, the texts could not be published. This remains a topic of research in archival records if such translations were actually done and published or remained only the wish list.

Some other texts, often studied in the contemporary curriculum of traditional literature and also known in folk in various forms, were taken up for translation and published. For example, the translation of *Shakuntala* of Kalidasa by Babu Kshemadhari Singh; *Nalopakhyana* and *Yaksh-Pandava Samvad* by Umesh Mishra. The translations by Umesh Mishra clearly exhibit the effort to authentically produce the parts of Sanskrit literature which were otherwise often narrated in the folk. In the same decade, we find mention of translation of *Adiparva* by Gananath Jha; translation of *Meghdootam* by Buvaneshwar Singh 'Bhuvan'; translation of *Valmiki Ramayana* by Jagdish Mishra; translation of Banabhatta's *Kadambari* by Chhedi Jha. We can again see here the same trend that the texts of 'religious' and 'secular' sensibilities are taken up for translation in the 2nd decade of 20th century by various scholars. This trend continues in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. Several plays like *Mrichhakatikam*, *Mudrarakshasa*, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Svapnavasavadutta* and many such well known Sanskrit texts were translated. Even after independence (post 1947), the translation of texts of Vidyapati was undertaken by various scholars – for example *Kirtipataka* (originally written in Sanskrit by Vidyapati) was translated into Maithili by Mahamahopadhyaya Umesh Mishra in 1960, by Ramanath Jha again in 1970 and by Govind Jha again in early 1990s. The trend of translating and re-translating the text written by the classical Maithil poet, very popular in the folk traditions, clearly distinguish the translation traditions of Maithili. There appears to be an urgent desire by the literary minds of Mithila since the beginning of the twentieth century to understand again and again and re-visit the texts produced in its own traditions of literature.

Towards the end of sixth decade of the twentieth century, Shreeramlochanasharan translated the *Ramacharitmanas* of Tulsidas which was a popular text for almost daily rituals and also for many important religious functions. According to the information provided by the publishers of Shreeramlochanasharana's translation of *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas, the same translator has perhaps translated in Maithili some other texts of Tulsidas also. The publisher claims that *Vinay Patrika* and *Dohavali* are also available for sale and purchase as translated by Shreeramlochanasharana. However, perhaps more archival material needs to be explored to find a copy of these translations. The text of *Ramcharitmanas* was in its Awadhi form perfectly understandable to the people and they recited it for folk wisdom also – a trend that has now greatly diminished. Even though the text was understandable, the scholars felt a need to translate the text into Maithili and that too in a land where Ramayana story was never narrated till 19th century in spite of a rich literary tradition. This was part of the culture of Mithila not to narrate the story of Ramayana as Sita happened to be the daughter of Mithila and she had mostly suffered in the story of Rama. This cultural ethos was not properly understood by the British when they had asked the Darbhanga Maharaja to order his court poet to write the story of Rama in Maithili. The court poet had obeyed the order – albeit with a bit of resistance and making sufficient changes often to suit the cultural sensibilities of Mithila region. However this kind of change was always sanctioned in the Indian tradition and hence it cannot be seen as an exception in the tradition of presentation of the story of Rama. Such a 'translation' of Ramayana in Maithili by Kavishwar Chanda Jha towards the end of 19th century can also be seen as an act of translation in the history of Maithili language. It may be mentioned here again that Chanda Jha had also translated *Purushapariksha*, the text originally written by Vidyapati in both prose and verse. It may not be out of place to mention here that *Alha-Udal* was also recited and sung in various parts of Mithila but that text was never taken up for translation into Maithili. *Alha-Udal* and *Ramacharitamans* are two texts which were part of various social functions – of course; *Alha-Udal* was not part of any religious function

but was certainly a part of many get-togethers. But the scholars were more attracted to select *Ramacharitamanas* for translation and as such *Alha-Udal* was left out – this was so perhaps because the text of *Ramacharitamanas* was more established and standardized with scholarly interpretations. *Alha-Udal* was more amalgamated to the folk traditions and already sufficient linguistic changes were made. Also, as a text, it was more for entertainment and less for scholarly pursuits. Hence, the need to translate this text was never felt. Similarly Kabir's texts were also already adapted in the language and hence there was never a need to translate the texts keeping a standard text of Kabir in mind. Kabir's texts and his followers are found across Mithila – thus making a presence of his writing in the folk traditions which can also be seen as an act of translation in the larger context of literary adaptations.

In the entire twentieth century we find various attempts to translate the religious (in the sense of 'knowledge text of Indian culture like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* etc.), secular and important literary texts of Sanskrit in Maithili. Along with this, we find that there was an effort to translate from European literature also via English. The texts of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, an eighteenth century English novel by Oliver Goldsmith and *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, an eighteenth century English novella by Samuel Johnson were translated into Maithili by Dinanath Jha and published in the second half of 1930s. Since then we find several texts from English being translated into Maithili – for example, *Ghost* by the Norwegian playwright Henrik Johan Ibsen; some plays of Shakespeare and many such other texts by eminent writers like Oscar Wilde and others. Ramdayal Saxena translated some Japanese stories also into Maithili. Such sporadic efforts of translation of stories into Maithili continued along with the publications of various magazines and journals in Maithili across India. Such efforts were being made by Maithili speakers across India – mainly from Kolkata and Delhi. For example, many translations from world literature can be found in literary magazines like *Antika* and many others, which continue such efforts even today. In fact, scholars have also shown how the presence of English and the efforts of

translations have contributed to the lexicological evolution in Maithili language. Wide variety of journalistic publications in Maithili in the twentieth century has contributed a lot in this regard.

Another aspect of translation consciousness in Maithili is the attempt to translate texts from other Indian languages. Even though Sanskrit was taken up as the fountain head of dominant Indian cultural traditions by most of the languages in order to gain literary and constitutional legitimacy, one may find it a bit unique in Maithili that the attempts to translate from other Indian literatures started in the pre-Independence era. The prominence of Bengali literature had perhaps created in Maithili translators and writers an urge to translate many eminent texts of Bangla into Maithili. For example, *Kapalakundala* or *Mrinmayi* of Sharatchandra was translated into Maithili by Shivnandan Chaudhary and perhaps again by the padmashree awardee Adya Jha. Michael Madhusudan Dutt's texts entitled *Meghnad Badh Kavya* (1861), *Brajagana Kavya* (1861) were translated by Buvaneshwar Singh 'Bhuvan' and published in 1940s (pre-Independence). Various translations of Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali* and his other texts were also published in Maithili. Similarly, several literary texts of Bengali writers like Tarashankar Bandyopadhyaya, Samaresh Majumdar and many others were translated into Maithili. In this regard, Sahitya Akademi has also made significant contributions by getting many texts from Indian language and from other languages of the world translated into Maithili. Since Maithili was always acknowledged as an important literary language by Sahitya Akademi, numerous projects for translations were given by Sahitya Akademi for translation into Maithili and from Maithili into other languages. Sahitya Akademi records provide valuable information in this regard and also show how the Maithili language was enriched by translations and how the literary creations in Maithili enriched the Indian literature and the literature of various other Indian languages also. In contemporary times, the translations from Maithili and into Maithili are a vibrant literary activity and numerous texts are published by eminent private and government publication houses. After the inclusion of Maithili into the

eighth schedule of the Constitution of India, there is an impetus and government support to non-literary translations also in Maithili. Even otherwise, the tradition of translations of literary works has been so extant in Maithili that it may not be possible to just enumerate the numbers of texts translated into Maithili in the twentieth century. This trend continues in the twenty first century also. In this article, attempts have been made to give a general glimpse of the kind of linguistic fervor Maithili scholars and translators have shown all along centuries so as to understand the general choices of texts and translation in Maithili.

In the history of translation in Maithili language, one may notice that though there was an urge to earn a social status for the language almost by the same processes as witnessed various other languages like Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam etc, there was always an attempt to represent its own traditions into the contemporary language form of Maithili. The emphasis on translations of Jyotirishwar Thakur and Vidyapati may be considered a unique feature in the history of translation of Maithili. And all this happened in a scenario where there was almost negligible government support for such projects. Though the Maithili Akademi also contributed a lot in this direction, Maithili was always struggling to establish itself as an important minority language of India with high literary creations both in written and oral forms. It is much late that the folk forms of *Deenabhadri* were recognized as valid literary forms – even though both *Deenabhadri* and *Salhes* were collected by Grierson as valid literary forms. Perhaps this lack of study and translation of these folk forms show the overall shift from oral to written forms of literature – a consciousness that was not originally an Indian consciousness. In India, all oral forms were considered valid forms of literature. So, this new dichotomy, reflecting the European consciousness, dividing the oral and written literary forms created some shifts in understanding, commenting and studying literary works. One may notice, in this context, that there are hardly any translations of Vidyapati's songs done by Maithili scholars. For them these songs were mostly part of the oral literature and with the new dichotomy, they did not take up for translations and documentation, these are orally received

texts through generations. There are many other such forms still to be recognized and brought forth. The rich literary consciousness and high intellectual traditions of Mithila perhaps contributed to the translations and transcreations in Maithili language at a time when the contemporary struggle of eminence of vernaculars had started in the modern India. There may be more such efforts of translations with a 'nationalistic' perspective or with intellectual pursuits which need to be documented and studied.

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History of Translation Culture in Nineteenth Century Maharashtra: An Exercise in Colonial Cultural Politics

MAYA PANDIT

Abstract

The nineteenth century in Maharashtra is often described as a golden period of translations. This was also a period in which written Marathi was standardized and translators played a great role in this. Yet they were required to be the faithful shadow of the original writers rather than masters of the act of translation. A detailed look at this period reveals that translations were not undertaken merely as an individual activity but as an institutional act and that is why one witnesses changing patterns of decision making with respect to various agencies in charge, texts selection, domains privileged, methods adopted, financial support provided and finally the publication and circulation of translated texts. The paper identifies three major stages of development in the translation culture and argues that they represent a systematic and progressive engagement with educational, academic and literary texts respectively. The discussion takes place in the context of the changing cultural -political strategies operative in the colonial discourse in the then contemporary Maharashtra. The paper goes on to demonstrate how translation culture which was initially at the centre of the emerging literary polysystem of Marathi and how it was pushed to a peripheral position later on.

Introduction

The history of translation in Maharashtra goes back to the 13th century with Santa Dyaneshwar's *Bhavartha Deepika*, a rendering of the *Bhagwad Geeta*. Marathi had a very symbiotic tradition of translations in which many translated works in the form of summaries, commentaries, interpretations and explanations of Puranic tales and epics like the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, in diverse forms had been in circulation in later centuries. There were several poets from Mukteshwar to Moropant who had contributed to this rich tradition. However, it was during the colonial period that translation culture in modern Maharashtra emerged as a literary polysystem modeled on the British literary system. The socio-cultural ethos in the then contemporary Maharashtra represented a renaissance of ideas caused by the colonial contact and confrontation which led to the emergence of a translation and literary culture which was completely different from the past. When the old Brahmanical socio-political order in Maharashtra in the form of the Peshwai rule materially crumbled in 1818, a new system under the colonial rule emerged which signified an epistemic break in the native culture. Several new paths for a specific kind of development of the society and its culture were charted out by the colonial encounter, which were modeled more or less on the dominant British model. The development of a translation culture, which was absolutely unlike the previous symbiotic tradition of translation in Marathi, is a case in point. The colonial encounter impacted, defined and shaped translation culture in many significant ways during this period. A study of the emergence of translation culture during the nineteenth century reveals several contradictions in the development of translation culture which initially came to be placed centre stage of the literary system but which later on got pushed to the periphery of that system. It evidences how translation functioned as the conduit of the transfer of values of the dominant culture, and how it developed the linguistic and literary subsystems and how shaped the literary taste of the Maharashtrians. This history also reveals the changing roles and functions of the translator who became both the central

agency of the textual contact between the rulers and the natives and also a subservient actor in the cultural politics, where the 'norms' set up for translation by the colonial authority had to be followed. Translators were the major agency of the change envisaged by the British rulers; they were also the new chroniclers, the new craftspeople and the new litterateurs, though trained to be the faithful shadows of the original writers. It was the translators who opened up for the Maharashtrians new knowledge fields, imaginative and literary forms and expressions and possibilities of cultural and ideological transformations. They also crafted and standardized the form of written Marathi which was modeled on English to such an extent that a great Marathi scholar like Mahamahopadhyaya Datto Waman Potdar had described the new written Marathi prose as a reincarnation of English (Potdar, 1957). The colonial contact and the resultant discourse symbolized, as Said argues, a power relationship of domination, a complex hegemony that sought to transfer certain intellectual and aesthetic values from the European to the Indian soil (Said, 1979). Since translation became the conduit, the medium of this transfer, this history has to be thus understood in terms of the strategic location and formation of translation culture, the energies that went into the development of translation activity. It would be very difficult to draw a map of all the aspects of the then contemporary translation culture in the brief structure of a paper, so my attempt will be to delineate the major developments in this period and the cultural, historical and political factors that influenced translation culture.

One may detect three rather broad phases of development in the Marathi translation culture during the nineteenth century: from 1825 to 1850, 1850 to 1875 and 1875 to 1900. These are, of course, general temporal boundaries, and not water tight compartments, that mark major changes in the formation of translation culture, useful as locutionary frames that necessitated the 'transfer' of knowledge, values and ideologies from the British rulers to the native subjects. The first phase is characterized with mainly the educational and moral concerns in translation activity; the second phase with

the establishment of government sponsored literary traditions and the third is by the abundance of literary translations as well as growth of independent writing. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, translation culture seems to have been pushed to the periphery of the literary polysystem in Maharashtra.

Let us look at the initial first phase to see what kind of energies went into shaping translation culture during this phase. This period may be described as the ‘age of unqualified assimilation’ of the British ideas and knowledge fields, as Frantz Fanon has observed (Fanon, 1963, 178-79), and one may look at the comparisons and parallels that emerge out of similar strategies which seem to have been adopted in Africa as well.

The first phase: 1825 to 1850

The rule of the British imperialism represented the desire to rule over all the world, to bring all the conquered countries under the British Parliament. When the British vanquished the Brahmanical Peshwa Raj in 1818, the medieval, feudal, agrarian and stagnant socio-political culture of Maharashtra came in contact with an alien culture that was imperial, materialist, industrial and ‘modern’. The task before the British was to evolve strategies to contain the elite native resistance and to win over their support both on material and ideological grounds. To use the words of Edward Said, their intention was “(to) create a systematic discipline by which to manage and even produce the orient politically, militarily, sociologically, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively” (Said, 1979, 3). To establish the foundations of a political and civil society in India meant creation of a coercive uniform state power with justice dispensing institutions and a huge bureaucratic administrative system, which represented a strategy of coercion and on the other, formulation of a strategy to obtain the consent of the Indian subjects to the British political and cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). The rulers called the people of Hindustan, ‘a race of men lamentably degenerate and base’ as Sir Charles Grant, had argued, and insisted that the Indians had to be taught useful learning,

through the introduction of Protestant Christianity and arts and science of Europe. That was the white man's burden! The British Parliament in 1813 granted one lakh rupees a year for the revival of literature, encouragement of learned natives in India and promotion of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories. (Selections from Educational Records Vol. I, p 22). This signified a reciprocal process in which the natives had to learn the language of the rulers and the rulers had to learn the languages of the natives. The establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta on 4 May, 1800, was a major general step in this direction where translation was first used as a strategy of putting this plan into operation through courses in native languages and training of bilingual translators in writing grammars and dictionaries of native languages.

In Maharashtra Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, provided the benign, liberal and humanitarian face of the Janus-like British empire that had brought about an epistemic break in India by demolishing the existing culture. Elphinstone's liberal and humanitarian policy was to educate the natives in the arts and sciences of Europe and for this purpose, he wanted to develop the native languages-Marathi, Farsi (the previous court language) and Hindi and Gujarati used in the Mumbai Province for the purpose of grafting the European knowledge. His vision and education policies gave a significant impetus to the development of translation culture. He viewed education of the native populace as a political necessity. His policy defined all castes and classes as recipients of the new education in a caste ridden social system which had given no opportunity to the lower caste and the marginalized to access education. This was a huge endeavour as only a choice few among the upper classes had access to education and it required the construction of a huge administrative mechanism which required schools to be opened, teachers to be trained and most importantly textbooks to be prepared. He categorically stated:

"The object of education may be most usually effected by the encouragement of village schools, by printing books for these schools and books of entertainment and instruction for the lower classes of people; by the foundation of colleges

for higher branches of knowledge and by the publication of books in those departments of instruction” (Vakil et al, 1948, 62-63). He established The Bombay Native Education Society in 1822 with the following objectives: “1. To improve existing schools and establish more schools for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the people, primarily in the languages of the country, and 2. To provide suitable books for use in schools and ... to assist in the preparation, publication and cheap and gratuitous supply of other works.”

The impetus for translation of books with educational import and moral values had clearly come from the statement of the Society that “....among the very serious obstacles ... is the deficiency of plain and useful tracts in the languages of the country”. It was held that “in imparting to the natives useful knowledge with the hope of any good or permanent effect, it is evident that the languages of the country must be chief and proper vehicles” (Vakil et al, 1948, 60-61). Elphinstone gave a veiled promise to the native Brahman intellectuals that those who could contribute to this endeavour would get a government job; which was also a strategy of pacifying the class displaced from power, and of harnessing their abilities in the educational project for good governance. “English works abound in ideas which the natives are totally unacquainted with” he said, and appealed to the intellectuals by saying “It is to be hoped that by translations and other works they would greatly contribute to the progress of their countrymen” (Vakil et al, 1948, 70).

Elphinstone appointed a committee for selecting and translating English textbooks in Marathi with George Gervis as its secretary and some native scholars as its members. He also established the Hindu College at Pune, known as Pune Pathshala, which became a centre for training translators in Marathi, English and Sanskrit as well as teaching the traditional subjects such as Jyotish, Nyaya, Mathematics popular with Brahman elite. It is interesting to note that among the books recommended for translation were English textbooks and Sanskrit plays so that the transfer of new knowledge and preservation of indigenous literary / aesthetic traditions (mainly Sanskrit, the language of knowledge for the

Brahmans) would be preserved.

The majority of translations produced during this period testify to the transfer they sought to do of European knowledge into school textbooks. As Ranade has shown, (Ranade, 1915, 11), only 3 English textbooks on Mathematics were published during the period between 1818 and 1827, but from 1827 this number rose to 11 which contained, interestingly, textbooks on medicine (by McLennon), geometry and geography (by Balshastri Jambhekar), on grammar (Dadoba Pandurang), natural sciences (by HariKeshvji), two reading books by Major Candy and two dictionaries by Molesworth and Jagannath Shastri. From 1837 to 1947, moral education occupied the attention of the policy makers, though the books published with a view to strengthening the moral values of Indians, were also used as educational textbooks in school. In all, 30 books were published, including translations of moral tales such as *Aesop's Fables*, and *Children's Friend* by Berquin as *Balmitra* (SadashivKashinath Chhatre) and *Pilgrim's Progress* (Hari Keshavji), which were very popular among the schools and general reading public. Ranade argues that most of these translations reflected the different channels in which the growth of Marathi literature was to be effected (Pinge, 1954).

The task of translating English educational textbooks and moral tales in this phase of translation culture contributed greatly to the development of a standardized written Marathi prose. The written prose tradition in Marathi was illustrated by forms like the 'bakhar' and religious texts; but there was no continuous traditions of writing prose. It always had been sporadic and discontinuous unlike the poetic tradition, which was kept alive through a constant flow of compositions by the Saint poets. But the poetic compositions, with their more spiritualistic concerns, did not have, as Nemade claims (Nemade, 1981), a tradition of holding intellectual and rational discourse: "Dominance of oral culture favoured lyrical rather than rational aesthetic systems. ...the rational basis which is required for prose was completely missing." Besides even orthography was a problem as both Modi and Devanagari scripts were used for writing Marathi. Punctuation consisted

of only single and double bars. All types of variants of lexical items were used, depending upon the location and dialect of the authors. 'Intellectualism' and 'flexible stability' are appropriate criteria for codification of a language in written form (Garvin, 1964, 521). These were missing in the then contemporary written Marathi prose.

In such a situation it was left to the translators, the only people required to write Marathi prose through their translated textbooks, to create new linguistic modes of encoding the new written language. Right from extending existing semantic domains of words and sentence structures, to creating new subject specific vocabulary, new syntactic structures and diverse styles, translators undertook a huge responsibility on their shoulders of crafting a new written Marathi. They borrowed and coined many lexical terms from Sanskrit and English and adapted them to Marathi usage, and borrowed several syntactic structures as well as stylistic conventions from English and integrated them in the Marathi syntax. Long sentences with passive structures, subordinate, relative and noun clauses, adverbials, compound - complex sentences began to be extensively used and they were obviously modeled on the English structures. The original sentence structure of Marathi with SOV pattern had several problems integrating syntactic structures with the SVO pattern in English, as well as its right and left branching constructions, but translators valiantly pushed forward and managed to create new structures which integrated with Marathi through a long laborious process. Similarly, the styles of different types of texts were borrowed from English and grafted on Marathi to create parallel as well as new styles in Marathi. Different discourse fields were introduced in Marathi with the rise of the Marathi journalism. *Darpan* the first Marathi newspaper was inaugurated in 1832 by Balshastri Jambhekar and for a long time, English news items and articles would be printed along with their Marathi translations or summaries. The introduction of the printing press exacerbated this process further. Thus translation was the major strategy of codifying written Marathi through graphic, syntactic, lexical-semantic, stylistic and textual organization of the diverse forms. A new form of written Marathi was born.

This was also a period of institutionalization of translation as a government enterprise. It was the Bombay School Book and School Society that issued a circular for the general public in 1825 prescribing a list of books and textbooks to be translated for educational requirements of the natives (Narkar, 1990). George Jervis who was the secretary of this institution issued a list of 'instructional norms' for translation which had to be strictly followed while translating:

"In translating English works, it is necessary to point out that in almost all the cases they must undergo partial alterations to adapt them to the habits and manners of the natives... commonly accepted vernaculars, dialects must be used to their fullest extent, to the exclusion of any unnecessary display of any learned tongue. Where, however, these dialects are deficient in the means of expression, words must be supplied from their cognate language. The adoption of words from English must be admitted in cases where neither the current nor cognate language furnish them directly or by composition" (Jervis, 1825, 4).

Obviously it was a strategy of domestication, rather than foreignization, that was advocated here and yet one sees in the way translation needs were defined, some foreignization strategies also were bound to take place as the educational works were being modeled on the English models. Several concepts and technical terms were being introduced in Marathi for the first time for the objective of achieving 'manifest utility'. This illustrated a target language orientation in many translated books, though adaptation as a technique of translation was also prescribed which emphasized the process of domestication in favour of the Source Language. Yet the dominant feature of this phase is the high moral tone, transfer for educational content and moral values and almost a total disregard for the native people's traditions. The specification of norms also illustrated that translation was looked upon as a moral duty of the translator to the contemporary reader. He was the conduit of the transfer of knowledge.

Second phase: 1850 to 1875

The second phase in the development of translation culture presents a shift in the emphasis on the functions; the translations were to play in the native culture. The preoccupation with the educational, proselytizing and instructional materials in the first phase gave way to providing materials for general entertainment and enrichment of average readers. The first phase did not support any claim to building up a literary aesthetic tradition in Marathi. But if one looks at the number of books translated, from 1847 to 1874, more than 2000 works seem to have been produced which included of course both translations, adaptations and other independent works which seemed to be foundational to the emergence of a new literary tradition. On an average 60 books were being produced per year. Most of them were geared to cater to the literate middle class that was fast emerging in the social sphere because of the newly started Bombay University. A significant number of translations came from Sanskrit into Marathi as well. But translations from Persian into Urdu or other languages were absent. (A book like *The Arabian Nights* was translated from English into Marathi.) A general look at the types of texts translated and the institutionalized energies that went into producing them may reveal the dominant trends in the development of translation culture at this time.

One of the most significant individuals who had a lot of 'institutionalized authority' in the development of translation culture during this phase was Mr. Thomas Candy. He worked in the Department of Public Instruction and was responsible for the establishment of an institutionalized structure for translation activity in the form of one Duxina Prize Committee and the Poona Sanskrit College which trained translators in Sanskrit, English and Marathi through various courses (Pandit, 1990). The Duxina Prize Committee was established at the behest of educated natives like Gopal Hari Deshmukh 'Lokahitawadi' who requested the government to stop the senseless tradition of distributing lakhs of rupees among the Brahmans as 'Duxina' and to disseminate that money as awards for translations and independent writers in Marathi instead. The Committee was called 'Duxina' prize committee

and Major Candy along with his disciple Krishnashaastri Chiplunkar, along with some more native intellectuals strengthened translation activity in a major way.

In 1850, Major Candy published a list of *Hints for the Guidance of Translators* (DPI, BoE, Poona Sanskrit College, 1850, 140-50), which emphasized that the translations had to give a faithful, idiomatical and faithful rendering of the original. "The first point is gained when all the meaning of the original has been transferred to the new version and the second and third points are gained when the translation is agreeable to the rules of the correct composition and to the customary phraseology of the second language. ... There should be nothing uncouth and barbarous in the phraseology... (The translator) should avoid a11 unnecessary departure from the original." Major Candy or his deputy Krishnashaastri Chiplunkar would keenly go through the translations giving their remarks for correction and they were assiduously followed by the writers/translators if they wanted to publish their translation. The awards made it quite a lucrative exercise!

Translations of all non-literary and educational books-in Geography, History, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology-were specifically mentioned in these "Hints" which were now supposed to be done with very clear instructions for use of standardized orthographic forms. "Bad spelling", it was declared, "is universally considered a mark of defective education". Literally, hundreds of educational textbooks and treatises, popular science and other related subjects were translated with the financial assistance of the Duzina Prize committee. A look at some translations will be very interesting to reveal the range of translations in the non-literary category: Govindaji Narayan's *Srushtitil Chamatkar* was an interesting piece from the collection of articles on many interesting natural phenomena such as the Northern Lights observed in Norway, Igloos, and similar interesting geographical phenomena in the world. Krishnashaastri Bhatwadekar's translation "*Lokhandi Rastyanche Sanskhipta Varnan*", of Dionysius Lardner's *Railway Economy*, V N Mandalik's translation of Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of India* as *Hindustanscha Itihas* are some of the examples of some informative and popular works

that threw light on the advances of the British civilization as well as understanding of the native people's history (Narkar, 1990). Sometimes two or more translations of the same works, such as Elphinstone's *History of India*, were sent to the Duxina Prize Committee and then the better one would be selected for the award of grant. Along with Mandalik, even Ganeshshastri Lele had attempted a translation of the same book *The History of India* by Elphinstone but it was rejected in favour of Mandalik's work. These translations were quite popular among the newly literate readers. Most of these books served as textbooks or reference books in high school or Mumbai University.

The other interesting branch of translations in this phase was in the form of literary works translated both from Sanskrit and English during this phase. Krishnashastri Chiplunkar, a disciple of Candy and one of the renowned translators, argued that the aim of the Duxina Prize Committee was the creation of literary taste in the people. Reading, he argued, "must be a source of amusement and of pleasure, a passion if possible to the people, and in order to effect this result, there must be works which will excite interest and please the people" (DPI, Duxina Fund, Vol. XXII, 1861-1862, 281). He warned translators against mis-rendering, grammatical errors, and Anglicisms and encouraged them to be 'idiomatic, simple and elegant.' Stylistic concerns seemed to be gaining ground with Chiplunkar's insistence on the appropriateness of style.

Though translators were encouraged to translate works from both English and Sanskrit, the norms for translating literary works from Sanskrit were different from those for translating from English. This was a new development. In the earlier phase Sanskrit works were not at all encouraged. But clearly, after the first war of 1857, the relationship between the British and the upper caste Indians had turned political in the true sense of the term. The Brahmans, who were custodians of the high culture and the Sanskrit literary tradition, had to be pacified and controlled in such a way that they would not be alienated from the rulers. The task before the British was to conciliate them to the British rule. One way of achieving their aim was to give them jobs in the administrative offices

of the Government and another was to show respect for their literature and legitimize it as a high prestige domain from where books could be chosen for translating them into Marathi. (This was also a result of the influence of the discipline of Oriental Studies. German and other European scholars of Sanskrit literary works were creating a new discipline with their translations of Sanskrit poetry and plays apart from other Asian texts.) The establishment of the Poona Sanskrit College in Pune in 1851 and the training it provided in Sanskrit also aided this process further. They were given substantial scholarships and stipends as well for studying. They were paid handsomely for their work with 'translation awards' (Narkar, 1990).

Even the "Hints" contained differential "Norms for translation" for Sanskrit and English books. With respect to the translations from Sanskrit to English, Candy said: "... if a Marathi translation of any Sanskrit work were presented to the Committee, exactness in the rendering would be a prime requisite. It will be better that they be free and flowing but ...(in case of) translations from English into Marathi, adaptations are far more desirable than mere translations." "Translations from English into Marathi, if literal, are certain to be rejected" (DPI Duxina Fund, Vol. XV, 1862-63, iii).

Several plays from Sanskrit and English began to be translated in this phase and a new tradition of theatre translations came into existence. Apart from native translators, British translators like H L Wilson, translated Sanskrit plays into Marathi. Kalidas, Bhavabhuti and Bhasa were some of the popular playwrights from Sanskrit whereas Shakespeare's *Romeo Juliet* (as *Roamketu Vijaya*), *Othello* (by *Mahavedshastr* Kolhatkar), *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline* and several other plays came to be translated into Marathi. The establishment of Parsi theatre in Mumbai in the sixties had already popularized strange tales and stories from diverse cultures. Shakespeare was made quite popular by the Parsi theatre.

Along with English plays, some English novels also were translated. Krishnashastr Chiplunkar's translation of Dr. Johnson's philosophical moral novel *Rasselas*, was a major

work that won critical accolades in Marathi and opened up the way for translating similar works, of 'moral and philosophical concerns' from English. One may note that most of the tales and novels translated still have a very strong 'moral' bias along with 'entertainment' as the motive behind their translation. Numerous short tales and novellas like *The Seamstress*, *Arabian Nights*, also were very popular. The newly begun Marathi periodicals and journals also required a constant supply of translations of stories and novellas from English into Marathi.

Along with literary pieces, books on philosophy, political economy and history continued to be translated. But they were heavily edited in favour of the Marathi readers and thus adaptation gained ground as a strategy of translation. Krishnashastri Chiplunkar, in the critical preface to his own translation of Mill's *Political Economy* admitted that he had omitted such passages as he thought were of European interests as they would be difficult for the readers to understand. He also added some new matter of his own to the translation in several places (Narkar, 1990, 27).

Most of the translation discourse during these formative years was controlled by the Duxina Prize committee which offered Rs. 1200 to 1000 for either a good translation or an independently written book. Though it encouraged literary translations, it explicitly left writing of dictionaries and books of history out of its purview. Such works cannot be seen being produced after 1860s. Also books that were critical of the established social order (Like mahatma Phule's play *Truyiya Ratna* were not considered for the award of grant.) The Duxina Prize Committee brought the translation activity out of the domain of school textbooks and gave it a specific direction of popular literature. However, though it encouraged translations of Sanskrit plays and English fictional narratives, its insistence on popular taste as the criterion of selecting works for translation did not really contribute to the development of engaged translations. Translators' role underwent change; they began to function as entertainers rather than educators.

But equally importantly, translators also became the medium

through which canon of popular literary taste were entrenched in the native soil. The works specifically recommended for translation were “Persian Tales of Arabian Nights, that is, romances and striking narratives of every kind rather than works of pure science or stately history” (DPI, Vol. XV, 1862-63, 111). It was specifically argued that the native readers were at that stage of their intellectual development where they needed fanciful romances and tales of adventure. The insistence on such works kept both the middle classes as well as feudal elements in the readership quite happy. Chiplunkar rejected the native literary tradition in Marathi, especially of the Saint Poetry as spiritualistic, and argued that it had little use for laying the foundation of a strong literary tradition.

The Third Phase: 1875 – 1900

This later phase of translation culture witnessed the accentuation of tensions between serious writing and popular literature. The phase also witnessed great debates between faithful translations as against uncontrolled adaptations and questions were raised about the worth of government-sponsored translations. There were quite a few scholars who questioned the role of the government agencies in the field of translation and serious scholars began to look at translation as an engaged activity.

During this phase, that is from 1875 onwards, there was an explosion of translation activity, but by the end of this [phase, translation was pushed to the periphery of the literary polysystem. The demand for popular fictional narratives like historical novels, romances and adventure stories and court intrigues, by writers like Reynolds and Marie Corelli along with the others increased. Similarly demand for English theatre texts also increased where adaptation was favoured as the strategy. Though the exact number of translations during this period is unknown, Ranade notes that out of the total 8497 works published from 1865 to 1997, more than 700 were translations (Ranade, 1915). Though the proportion of independently written works were far greater in number than translated texts, translations came from diverse fields. The most significant was the field of independent literary fictional

narratives. Many of these 'independent' works, however, would usually be based on some English novel or the other. The inspiration came from some English novel, play short story or biography or even history. These preconceived structures were then transformed through an exercise of the creative faculties of the writer. Adaptations therefore gained ground as a common strategy. By this time, the percentage of literate people had increased steadily and the constant pressure of popular demand for amusing reading materials was probably responsible for the increasing trend of adaptations. Faithful translations were comparatively less in number and most were done with their pedagogic relevance in the mind as many of the novels or plays in English were prescribed for the Bombay University's examinations. And these 'translations' were used by students a lot.

Since most of the translators came from the Brahman community, the canon of literary taste, readership and translation culture was shaped by their interests. Translations were done from both Sanskrit and English though translations of Sanskrit works were far more in number than the translations of English books. Kalidas's *Shakuntal*, *Meghaduta*, Jagannath Pandit's *Bhaminivilas* were some popular Sanskrit texts that were translated. S M Bhide's translation of *Hariivilas*, G Tipnis's translation of *Ritusamhar* and G Ranade's translation of *Kiratarjuna*, Krishnashaastri Chiplunkar's translation of the *Meghaduta*, are some representative examples (Phatak et al, 1987).

There were translations of poetry as well. Bajaba Ramchandra Pradhan's translated poems like *The Lady of the Lake*, *The Princess* as *Daivaseni* and *Indira*. V. M. Mahajani, Eknath Ganesh Bhandare, V G Nene also translated many English lyrics out of which Mahajani's translation of 'The Solitary Reaper' by Wordsworth as *Bhillakanya* or may be quoted as an exercise in developing the new poetic idiom in Marathi.

Goldsmith's *She stoops to Conquer*, *The Good Natured Man*, Shakespeare's plays including many of his comedies, tragedies like *King Lear* and *Hamlet*, were some popular choices as they were also staged by the newly emergent

theatre companies that went from place to place staging these plays. Most of the classic Sanskrit plays seem to have been translated again and again. In the case of novels, romantic love and adventure, historical novels, tales of intrigue and wonder were far more popular choices of translators during this phase. Romances and fanciful tales of court intrigues proved to be far more interesting than serious works of history and philosophy. Thus novels by Sir Walter Scott, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Marie Corelli, Reynolds (whose novels were called the 'Penny Periodicals' catering to popular taste in England), Dr. Johnson, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift and other writers were freely translated and adapted to suit the taste of the reading public. (Raojishastri Godbole's translation of *Robinson Crusoe* titled as *Robin Crusoe Hyanche Charitra* in 1871 deserves a special mention). But instead of breaking new ground, many of these translators chose to follow the same norms prescribed by the Duxina Prize Committee and the traditional literary taste and conventions popularized by the translations of Sanskrit plays. There were some good translations found of course. Rajadhyaksha's *Sushil Gruhastha* (the translation of Goldsmith's *Good Natured Man* or Govind Shankar Bapat's *Elizabeth Athawa Saiberia Deshatil Haddapar Zalele Kutumba* (translation of *Exiles of Siberia*) may be seen as examples of such 'good' translations.

This is not to say that works in the fields of history, geography, biographies of great leaders and Greek and Roman heroes were not translated. But the demand for these was far outnumbered by the demand for entertainment and pleasure. Yet it must be noted that Histories of Rome, Greece, Persia, Turkey, Russia, Ceylon, Egypt, and Carthage written by English scholars were translated. In philosophy, books by Max Muller, Mill, Bentham, Maine, Thomas Paine, were the popular choices. The entire generation of popular leaders and intellectuals such as Justice Ranade, Mahatma Jotirao Phule, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Lokamanya Tilak was nourished by the works of these writers and naturally several writers attempted to bring them into Marathi. Newspapers such as Agarkar's *Sudharak*, Tilak's *Maratha* and *Kesari*, also contributed to the discussion of these philosophers and their

works, and their ideas influenced the intellectual climate of the age. Some popular translations in Marathi from these various genres were: J. D. Kolatkar's *Bhavi Srushti*, translation of Lord Lytton's *The Coming Race*, S Wagle's translations of several essays by Sir Francis Bacon such as 'On Marriage and Single Life', Narayan Laxman Phade's *Swatantrya* as translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, V. K. Rajwade's translations of Plato's *Dialogues* and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *Roman Padashahicha Rhas*, among others.

Drama was one of the most popular domains of translations as noted above. Many plays of Shakespeare were translated among which Gopal Ganesh Agakar's *Vikar Vilasit* (translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*) had a place of pride though V.C. Wagle criticized it in a scathing manner. However, theatre groups and companies had begun to emerge in Maharashtra and their constant demand for theatre led to a mushrooming of plays adapted from various English and other European playwrights. Marathi did have an indigenous folk form called Tamasha; also there were some other folk theatre forms like Lalit, Kirtan, Aakhyan, Dashavatara etc; but these forms, especially the Tamasha, were derided as vulgar form of entertainment for their use of coarse humour and erotic lavani songs and dances, and rejected by the middle class steeped in the Victorian moral values through their education and social discourse dominated by the British. But the concepts of tragedy or comedy, or a well-knit structure of five acts were totally new concepts on the Marathi stage. These translated plays can be seen to be using many diverse dialects and the previous insistence on 'pure' that is Brahmanical, language began to be much diluted. Playwrights, that is, the new translators who adapted plays for their companies or performing groups, began to cater to the tastes of the reading public as well as spectators and a whole new culture of adaptations came into existence.

The instructional norms for this translation culture unlike the first two phases came from the native intellectuals, writers and translators. This was evidenced by the government's withdrawal from its active support for translation culture.

The University education system rejected the mother tongue as medium of instruction on the one hand, and the Government did not see much need to award translators and writers. Consequently, funds for developing translation culture were greatly reduced, and translators found themselves without the support of the government agency in both the choice of books to be translated and the norms to be followed for translation. The new graduates that came out of the University were out of contact with their native traditions and hungry for popular literature, preferably in English. Ranade remarks about this class of readers who exerted such force through demand for popular books:

“The boys cease to study vernaculars as they enter English schools. They practically lose touch with their own people, and by the time they obtain their degree, too many among them find that they are unable to talk or to write or read their vernacular language. This want of familiarity breeds contempt for their mother tongue and people find it difficult to sympathize with a system which produced the unnatural results of so-called educated man being unable to speak or write about their own mother tongue fluently and correctly” (Ranade, 1915, 52).

The ordinary literate students who did not study at the university but were acquainted with reading and writing, were exposed to the cheap and entertaining books or to the second rate novelists in the absence of the formal and studied acquaintance with the serious literary tradition of English. As a result, the books chosen for translation for this class of readers were rarely the best in the English tradition. Romances, court intrigues, adventure stories were the popular choice.

In the absence of the financial support of any government agency, it fell to the individual translators, as well as to the editors of several journals, to come up with choices of books to be translated and norms to be set for translation. In fact the new journals and periodicals and weeklies like *NatyaKatharnav*, *Kadambari*, *Karamanuk*, *Kadambari*, *Nibandha Mala*, which were very popular at

that time took up this task easily. Translation began to develop as an independent discipline as well and one major indicator of this was the area of translation criticism which began to develop in a vigorous way as a branch of translation studies in its own right. Translations of essays, stories, novels, such as Tikekar's translation of the *Vikar of Wakefield* as *Waikar Bhatji* and especially theatre texts like *Vikara Vilasit* (Translation of *Hamlet* by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar) and also by Govindavasudev Kanitkar as *Vichitrapuricha Rajaputra*, or *Tara* (Mahajani's translation of *Cymbeline*). V K Rajwade, started a journal in 1892 named *Bhashantar* in order to provide space for good translations. He translated many important works such as Plato's *Dialogues* and Aristotle's essays. He wrote scathingly about the translations of the previous years that had been undertaken under government patronage arguing that they were trash and worthless. His critique was inspired by a new cultural nationalism which he linked directly to the needs for translation, choice of texts and technique of translation. According to him, the function of translation was to create an intervention in the existing conditions of a country. Translators had to therefore choose books which could inspire people to reform their country. He emphasized the need to bring excellent works from the literary and non-literary writing of European (not just British) writers into Marathi; that was the 'beholden duty of the translator to his nation', he said and argued that "Only then could we see a change in our pathetic circumstances" (Rajwade, 1985, 278).

A new debate was thus initiated with respect to whether it was faithful translation or adaptation that was a better translation strategy. Critical opinion was equally divided on the issue. Rajwade (1985), Ranade (1915), Marathe (1962) were some of the major critics to develop this debate in favour of a faithful translation strategy. The strategy of adaptation represented a conscious cultural filter. Changing names and Indianizing them, deleting major parts from the original text, changing the endings, twisting and turning the content to suit the literary taste of the public – these became standard practice. Vishnupant Pagnis who adapted *The Adventures of Gil Blas* announced that he had deliberately not aimed at faithful translation because his readers did not need them,

and Dhundiraj Joshi who adapted Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1891) explicitly stated, "I had to give up the dialogues in scene II of the second act, and in many places I had to change many dialogues by adding some stuff familiar to our own readers to suit their taste, ... I have increased the fifth act quite extensively, yet I have not deviated much from the original structure" (Narkar, 1990). Critics like Rajwade were very conscious of these practices which represented for him the duplicity of the translators who wrote really long introductions to their translations to justify these changes. According to him, such translations /adaptations of penny periodicals, novels and plays were nothing but a sign that translation had become a derivative discourse.

Many writers were translating works prescribed for the graduate courses of the Bombay University for the benefit of the students. But their quality was quite ordinary as they were merely adaptations for the benefit of students to understand the basic ideas in the text. This pedagogic motivation took the edge out of their translations.

At the same time, independent writers in Marathi were writing novels. From Baba Padmanji's *Yamuna Paryatan* (1857) to Haribhau Apte's social novels like *Pan Lakshat Kon Ghetto*, one finds a range of writers who were producing excellent fictional narratives and such 'adaptations' paled into comparison before them. As a result the entire culture of translation seems to have been pushed to the periphery of the literary polysystem. As Itamar Even Johar argues, translation culture acquires a central position in the literary polysystem when the literature is young, in the process of being established; but when it is modeled according to norms conventionally established, when it is a major force of conservation, it is pushed to the peripheral position. It then adheres to the norms which have been rejected by the newly established literature (Zohar, 1987). This is what seems to have happened in Marathi.

Thus the study of translation culture in the nineteenth century Maharashtra reveals a marked development in the translation culture. Choice of books for translation, strategies

adopted for translation, actual functions of translations in the literary polysystem underwent a lot of changes because they were defined by the colonial discourse. The field of translations underwent several changes which were a result of the changing nature of the relationship between the natives and the colonial rulers. Yet it cannot be denied that translations played a major part in shaping modern Marathi prose. They were in a sense the new architects of educational discourses and it was because of their untiring efforts that Marathi language developed in myriad ways. They also crafted literary sensibility of their age and were major instruments of creating literary traditions because it was through their translations that various models for literary compositions were made available to the indigenous writers. The most important development can be seen in the translations of fictional narratives and theatre texts. Yet the translations of works on political economy by writers such as Thomas Paine, Bentham, John Mill among many others, provided the intellectuals of the nineteenth century with the much sustenance. The entire movement of Indian / Maharashtrian renaissance witnessed in leaders like Mahatma Phule, Agarkar, Tilak and many other leading intellectuals and thinkers of the age, would not have been possible without the translators introducing these ideas to the general public. In this sense the translators were also the architects of the Maharashtrian renaissance of ideas.

On the whole one may say that translation which in pre-colonial India was a natural process of organic growth, augmentation, reaching out and renewal, a symbiotic intermingling of 'original' with 'translation' and which was viewed as a significant and creative task, underwent a complete change in its form and content (Bassnet et al. 1999). With the ideology and practices of colonialism, translation came to be viewed as a secondary, subservient act because the 'original' text in English became a sacrosanct entity, and translation in the native language its pale imitation. The idea of the original probably represented the empire whereas translations the exotic colonies to be modelled on the original. Translation as was shown above was used also for the linguistic and aesthetic reorganization of the native languages, and made to lay the foundation of a

new literary tradition in Marathi. Translation was also recast into patriarchal moulds on the Western models suggested by scholars like Sherry Simon (1996) and came to be feminized. It had to remain 'faithful' to the original. The translator and the translated text had to obey norms set by the 'authority' of the original text, like native subjects to their colonial rulers. But these are issues for the cultural critic to take up.

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The Making of Modern Malayalam Prose and Fiction: Translations from European languages into Malayalam in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

K. M. SHERRIF

Abstract

Translations from European languages have played a crucial role in the evolution of Malayalam prose and fiction in the first half of the Twentieth Century. Many of them are directly linked to the socio-political movements in Kerala which have been collectively designated 'Kerala's Renaissance.' The nature of the translated texts reveal the operation of ideological and aesthetic filters in the interface between literatures, while the overwhelming presence of secondary translations indicate the hegemonic status of English as a receptor language. The translations never occupied a central position in the Malayalam literature and served mostly as mere literary and political stimulants.

Introduction

The role of translation in the development of languages and literatures has been extensively discussed by translation scholars in the West during the last quarter of a century. The proliferation of diachronic translation studies that accompanied the revolutionary breakthroughs in translation theory in the mid-Eighties of the twentieth century resulted in the extensive mapping of the intervention of translation in the development of discourses and shifts of ideological paradigms in cultures, in the development of genres and the construction and disruption of the canon in literatures and in

altering the idiomatic and structural paradigms of languages.

One of the most detailed studies in the area was made by Andre Lefevere (1988, 75-114). Lefevere showed with convincing examples from a number of literary systems how translation makes decisive interventions in literary systems and the role played by translated literature in literary polysystems. A large number of translations are made by authors who are eager to introduce a particular genre or mode (in which they have already made, or wish to make, experiments on their own) into a literary system. They would, naturally, like to invoke the masters in that particular genre or mode in the source literary system. Translation acquires a more social motive when enterprising translators who inhabit relatively young languages/literary systems import texts from more established languages/literary systems for the enrichment of various discourses in their system. Such well-intentioned attempts can go to extremes, as when Czech literature (like other discourses in the Czech language) at the end of the nineteenth century virtually became a clone of contemporary German literature (Macura, 1990). In this case literary translation occupied only a small percentage of the total volume of translation. Even today knowledge texts in translation outnumber their literary counterparts many times over (Venuti, 67).

But translation is often called upon to perform political roles too, the earliest examples in history for which are Bible translations in various languages of the world. A large part of the American translation scholar Eugene A. Nida's work on translation deals with the strategies of Bible translation and their implications in the target culture. A more recent example is the *Communist Manifesto*. Apart from such 'core texts' like the *Bible* or the *Communist Manifesto*, there are a large number of less known translated texts which are made to serve the interests of dynamic socio-political movements in cultures. Nationalist and Communist movements in various cultures have extensively used translated texts for their immediate or long-term objectives. Revivalist movements have also used translated texts for similar objectives, although to a lesser extent.

Translation can also seriously disrupt or dislocate the structural patterns of the target language or the aesthetic paradigms of the target literary system. The classical instance pointed out by Lefevere is the translation from Arabic to Turkish. In many cases 'progressive' elements often view these effects as beneficial to the culture, while they are vehemently decried by more conservative elements including cultural purists. The current tendency is to regard such disruptions and dislocations as natural phenomena. No academy can today dictate language use or literary practice.

Although the history of European colonialism begins in many regions of what is today the state of Kerala as early as the late eighteenth century, translation from English on a considerable scale took off only as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. The reasons are obvious. The rump of the Malayalam literary elite continued to operate in a largely pre-colonial literary atmosphere, while the new English-reading elite had little interest in using translations to make interventions in Malayalam literature. Writers like O Chandu Menon short-circuited the process by directly imitating English novels rather than by translating any into Malayalam.

The proliferation of translations into Malayalam from the beginning of the twentieth century can be directly related to the socio-political movements in Kerala during the period which have been collectively designated as 'Kerala's Renaissance.' The reformist movements among the various religious communities of the Malayalam speaking-territories, the anti-caste movements, the emerging Malayali nationalism and the politicization of workers and peasants which culminated in the formation of the Kerala unit of the Communist Party of India in 1939 are the chief ingredients of the Kerala Renaissance. The exhaustive catalogue of translations into Malayalam compiled by K M Govi and published by the Kerala Sahitya Akademi in 1995 helps in discerning some of the major trends in translation into Malayalam in the twentieth century. It will be useful to take 1960 as a cut-off year as it marks the subsiding of the first wave of Leftist politics in Kerala and the beginning of modernism in Malayalam literature.

One of the most interesting facts that emerge from an examination of these translations is that although English is the predominant source language, Russian and French have been widely represented. As can be expected, fiction dominates the list. More than a dozen works each of Balzac, Maupassant, Zola, Tolstoy and Gorky were translated into Malayalam during this period. Other major authors include Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Gogol, Chekhov, Sholokhov and Poliyev in Russian and Voltaire, Hugo, Dumas, Jules Verne and Anatole France in French. All of Ibsen's plays also came into Malayalam during this period. It is easy to relate these translations to the rise of social realism in Malayalam fiction in the Thirties on the one hand and the political and cultural assertion of the Communist Party on the other. The translations of the works of American fictionists Howard Fast, Upton Sinclair and John Steinbeck and the Chinese fictionist Lu Xun also comes into this frame. Among the translations during this period figure a smattering of what Left-leaning intellectuals during those times branded 'anti-communist literature.' Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Narakov's *Chain of Terror* and Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* may be considered representative.

An aesthetic filter (the kind described by Lefevere as decisive in translation) appears to have prevented the translation of what are distinctly modernist texts from European languages into Malayalam during this period. The only possible exception is a novel of Pirandello translated by A Balakrishna Pillai. The title of the translation is given as *Omanakal* (The Beloved) in the catalogue, while the original title is not mentioned. The filter was faithfully guarding the frontiers of Malayalam literature, in which Modernist experiments in both poetry and fiction emerged only in the mid-Sixties, and those in drama only in the early Seventies. Pulimana Parameswaran Pillai's *Samatvavadi* (The Socialist, 1940) and C J Thomas's *Aayirathi Orunootti Irupathezhil Crime Irupathettu* (Crime No. Twenty Eight of Eleven Hundred and Twenty Seven, 1951), although they are still among the most symptomatic expressionist plays in the language, can only be considered flashes in the pan.

Another interesting feature of translations during this period is that the overwhelming majority of the translations have come through English, with the exception of a few from Russian. As a result, the translations were putting tremendous pressure on Malayalam grammar, usage and lexis, as Kuttikrishna Marar, the Malayalam critic regretfully notes in *Malayalashaili* (Malayalam Usage, 1942), his monumental work on Malayalam usage. Early changes were visible in journalism, but soon the literary language too came under assault from English. Most of the ‘new fangled’ expressions borrowed from English that Marar denounced in his book are today part of accepted Malayalam usage.

Perhaps the most influential single work that influenced Malayalam usage is Nalappattu Narayana Menon’s translation of Victor Hugo’s magnum opus *Les Miserables* as *Paavmgal*. Like the French texts that entered the Malayalam literary system a little later in the mid-thirties of the century, *Paavangal* was also an indirect translation, Isabel F Hapgood’s English translation being the source text. Kuttippuzha Krishnappillai’s study of *Paavangal* (1958) is the first symptomatic translation study in Malayalam. Like the modernist experiments in drama in Malayalam, Kuttippuzha’s essay was much ahead of its times. Nearly a quarter of a century before Translation Studies in the West seriously started discussing the interventions made by translation in the development of languages and literatures, Kuttippuzha showed with telling examples how translations from English could give Malayalam prose and fiction a new strength and vitality.

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Translation Practices in Pre-colonial India: Interrogating Stereotypes

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Abstract

This present paper examines two assumptions that prevail in the current understanding of pre-colonial¹ language/translation situation in India. Firstly, translations of this period are seen primarily as empowering the vernaculars to become literary languages. It is also claimed that the vernacular languages were able to successfully negotiate the hegemony of Sanskrit through translations. Secondly, the scholars of 'Bhakti' movement hold that the "high texts" which were available only in Sanskrit were made available in vernaculars, and this move enabled certain sections of society (women and others) who were hitherto kept away from these texts to get direct access to divine teachings in their own languages. Thus, it is held that these "Bhakti" period translations democratized religion during that period. In this paper these two commonly held opinions would be examined in the context of pre-colonial translation practices in Kannada.

Introduction

Translation practices of pre-colonial India are studied in four basic ways:

1. Looking at what the old grammarians have to say on the nature of language and drawing possible inferences from it for a theory of translation (See for example Gopinathan 2000- where he discusses implications of Bhartrhari's concept of *spṛṣṭa* ['bursting forth'] for a theory of translation).

2. Looking at the question of identity-formation of a language and its relation to translation (See for example Kaviraj, 1992; Pattanaik, 2000; Dash & Pattanaik, 2002).
3. Analyzing the actual translations of the period, both textual analysis as well as placing them in a context (See for example Gopinathan 2000; Pattanaik, 2000 etc.), linking it to the questions of state, standardization of language, emergence of literature etc. (See for example Nagaraju, 1995 & Pollock, 1998 etc.).
4. Looking at the metaphors/phrases used by the authors while describing their indebtedness to earlier text(s)/author(s) and theorizing it (See Devy, 2000 & Mukherjee, 1981 etc.).

It is not that these methods are mutually exclusive. The second and the third overlap considerably. And often in an article we might find these methods being juxtaposed in various combinations. I will look at only the second and third kind of work to point out how the existing literature on pre-colonial translation practices does not apply to translations from and into Kannada and/or writing practices in what we call Karnataka (Kannada-speaking regions). Discussing the relationship between identity formation of a language and religion, Sudipta Kaviraj remarks that during the Bhakti period the vernacular languages saw a gradual development and produced literature by slowly separating from the allegedly 'high' Sanskrit tradition. This development was very gradual and subtle. Kaviraj has characterized this development thus:

[V]ernacular literatures (Bhakthi literature) and poetic traditions began an undeclared revolution.² Within the formal terms of continuity with classical traditions in terms of narratives, forms and texts, these 'translations' (the new literatures that were emerging in vernacular languages were based on certain well-known Sanskrit texts) in vernaculars were hardly passive cultural creations; and they gradually produced an alternative literature which told the same stories

with subtle alternative emphases to alternative audience (Words in parenthesis are mine, Kaviraj, 1989: 35).

In a similar manner while surveying the translations into Oriya, Pattanaik says:

What is so significant about endotropic translation into Oriya is that it has always aligned itself with the attempt to formulate a distinct identity of the Oriya-speaking people. Endotropic translation has also acted as an instrument of democratization, consistently subverting the power bases of the elite religion and political groups (Pattanaik, 2000, 72-73).

Discussing translations from Sanskrit into Oriya as social praxis in medieval Orissa, in another context, Dash and Pattanaik say:

The attempts at translations of deba bhasha (Sanskrit) texts in medieval India countered this divine origin theory of texthood by placing texts in a more public domain and by problematising the notion of authorship. Mediation between languages ultimately meant a shifting in social power-equations, because such transfers dealt a deathblow to the linkage of language with knowledge.... non-Brahmins revolted against Brahmin hegemony by subverting texts written in Sanskrit. Translation activity was an expression of the desire on the part of the hitherto excluded social groups to appropriate a cultural space which had been denied them (sic) (Dash & Pattanaik, 2002, 76).

But at a later stage they also add that the vernacular begins to emulate the hegemonic structure/language.

From the above quoted passages it is clear that two themes are identified in the context of translations in medieval India³. One is that translations which were hitherto not permitted in the direction of Sanskrit into Indian vernaculars did take place. And the other is that this challenged the hegemonic order/language, and was a democratic move.

A look at the translation practices in Kannada literature

around 10th century onwards will warrant a reformulation of these two arguments. There are certain assumptions that work behind these arguments, and the aim of this article is to critically examine these assumptions and articulate doubts before laying out some future lines for research. To begin with, the emergence of Bhakti literature and the emergence of Indian language literatures don't coalesce in the context of the emergence of Kannada and Tamil literatures.⁴

Scholars such as S. Nagaraju and Sheldon Pollock, who have worked on the socio-political context of the emergence of Telugu and Kannada literature, point out that a certain kind of agrarian economy led to the formation of states, and emergence of chieftains. These developments in turn enabled vernacular languages, making them capable of expressing complex issues. It also gave rise to literary production. Pollock characterizes the emergence of the language of Kannada literature in such a context as giving rise to a cosmopolitanism in the vernacular because these languages emulated the cosmopolitan vernacular (Nagaraju, 1995; Pollock, 1998). These scholars have laid emphasis on state and class formations. I argue here that the role of religion cannot be undermined in the emergence of literature in Kannada and both state-formation and religion have to be taken into consideration.

Another problem that is haunting us, Translation Studies scholars, is that of the language-culture overlap or equating class, caste and language. This is also due to the fact that we generally look at literary histories chronologically and not at their spatial spread (topos) and we take a single language/literature as a unit of construction of its history. We only grudgingly acknowledge its link with other languages or literatures. If those who are looking at translation practices firmly base their analysis on empirical data, this problem could be overcome. But for such an analysis, Translation Studies has to, as a precondition, look at the spatial spread of literature that maps literature not only chronologically but also spatially. If we don't do it, then we would apply certain theories which would tell us that translations from Sanskrit was from an alien land/culture; which was high culture and

it was imposed on us; and through our subversive practices (i.e. mainly through translation) we negotiated the hegemony of Sanskrit and developed the vernacular literatures and democratized certain non-available religious texts into them.

Let me explain this with translation practices in pre-colonial Karnataka. Let me begin the story from second or third century B.C. According to the well-known traditions, Jainism entered South India in a major way in 300 B.C. When there was a twelve-year famine, a large group of Jains headed by Srutakevali Bhadrabahu, accompanied by King Chandragupta, left Madhyadesha and came to Kalbappu (Shravanabelagola). Another small group moved towards Tamil country. But there is evidence of the existence of Jainism in Sri Lanka and in the Tamil region from around 6th century B.C. That is a different issue altogether. It is enough to understand that there were two streams of Jainism that came to South India at different points of time. In Tamil also we find that many of the early texts are Jaina texts. Authorship and its relation to religion are contentious issues. Still I would like to quote some of the texts claimed by Jaina scholars as Jaina texts: For example, *Tolkaappiyam* (450 A.D.), *Tirukkural* (600 A.D.) *Silappadikaaram* (800 A.D.)⁵, *Jivaka Chintamani* (1000 A.D.) etc. (Khadabadi, 1997, 208-209, and for more details on Jaina literature in Tamil, See Chakravarti, 1974).

The impact of Jainism on Malayalam literature or Jainism in Malayalam is not much discussed. It might be due to the fact that by the time, Malayalam emerged, the hold of Jainism in South India was on the decline. But still there are “points of contact” between Prakrit and Malayalam languages (Nair, 1995).

We focus here on the aftermath of the entry of later stream of Jainas and their settling down in Shravanabelagola, which is in Hassan district of present-day Karnataka.

The Jaina group that came and settled down in Shravanabelagola had brought along with them the oral knowledge of Jainism. The knowledge was passed on orally from generation to generation. The teachings of Mahavira,

which were in the Ardhamagadhi language and were in circulation in oral form, were put into script form around 5th century A.D., following Shwetambara and Digambara traditions. Most of it, except certain portions of the 12th and fifth agama, is lost; but whatever remained was put into the script by Pushpadanta and Bhutabali in Jaina Sauraseni Prakrit around 1st and 2nd century A.D. Even other canonical literature of Digambara Jains was composed in Jaina Sauraseni. The translation of these canonical literatures appears not in the form of independent texts but in the form of commentaries of varied types written mainly in Maharastri Prakrit, Sauraseni Prakrit and also in Sanskrit. Only after these commentaries do we see original works in Sanskrit by Jaina teachers and scholars, along with works in Prakrit. The reasons for this could be two-fold:

1. As scholars like Khadabadi say, it was “to convince and propagate their religious tenets in Sanskrit-knowing circles and also to expand their influence over rival groups and others” (Khadabadi, 1997, 207).
2. As scholars like Pollock have argued, Sanskrit was gaining currency during this period, the middle centuries of the first millennium, because of a certain kind of state structure obtaining across South Asia and its dependence on Sanskrit as a language. I too argue that it might have become inevitable for Jains to translate as commentaries their canonical texts as well as compose secular texts in Sanskrit that might have been of use to the state.

There was also a moment when Sanskrit was preferred to Prakrit by Jainas. “The revolt in favour of using Sanskrit” says K.M.Munshi, “as against Prakrit, headed by Siddhasena Divakara (c.533 A.D.) was an attempt to raise the literature and the thought of the Jainas to the high intellectual level attained by those of the Brahmins. This revolt naturally met with considerable opposition from the orthodox Sadhus” (quoted in Khadabadi, 1997, 207).

The commentaries are a form of translations of this period and an important one. These have not been looked at by Translation Studies scholars. Commentaries are basically explications, interpretations in the same language or in a different language. How the meaning/interpretation of a text differs from time to time; whether the presence of different sects/sub-groups in a cult/religion can explain the differences or whether the differences in various commentaries constitute the different sects; whether the need for commentaries in the language of the original, is due to the language of the original composition being no more current in the language today - these are some of the questions that Translation Studies as a discipline has to address. Neglecting such an important area of investigation could be due to our leaning towards a certain notion of literature that excludes what is generally called Shastra literature, which is also closely associated with religion.

Jaina tradition has four different kinds of commentaries - Choornis, Niryuktis, Bhashyas and Tikas. A study of these would in itself form another interesting research project. Niryukti is a genre peculiar to Jaina literature. Niryukti explains the meanings of the words in the original text and also gives details about references to other sects/religions, ethics, logic, arts, science etc. They contain stories that explicate a particular philosophical proposition. In order to explain the words that come in Niryukti and the detailed descriptions of the stories that are mentioned, Bhashyas came into existence. It is difficult to find out the difference between Bhashya and Niryukti as both are written in Prakrit in *Gaaha* prosody. Niryuktis contain references to the story and Bhashyas narrate them. Relatively speaking, Bhashyas are simpler to understand than Niryuktis. Similarly, Choornis are simpler than both Bhashyas and Niryuktis. Choornis are basically bilingual texts written both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Choornis review each and every word that occurs in Bhashyas and Niryuktis. Tikas are basically written either in Sanskrit or in languages such as Kannada, Tikas contain the original text in Prakrit as well as their explication in Kannada or Sanskrit (See Sannayya, 1976, 100-101 for more discussion).

A cursory look at the catalogues of manuscripts found in the Jaina math at Shravanabelagola, now kept in the National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research, would reveal the extent of practice of tika tradition in Shravanabelagola. Volume two of the catalogue, which describes the details of Prakrit manuscripts, contains 146 entries. Volume one has 455 entries and lays out details of Kannada manuscripts. This volume includes details of original Kannada texts as well as Kannada tikas on Prakrit and Sanskrit texts. These tikas contain the original texts as well. There are 146 Prakrit language manuscripts that are found in Kannada scripts. Volume five contains Sanskrit texts, some of which also have Kannada tikas, volume three and four are updates to volume one giving details of Kannada manuscripts (Sannayya and Seshagiri, 1997, 1998, 2003 and 2004). Even when we look at the ten volumes of catalogues published by Karnatak University, Dharwad, giving details of the manuscripts preserved in the Institute of Kannada Studies there, we find that more than 25% of the entries are either tikas or satiku (commentary with the original text (Kalburgi, 1992).

Kapil Kapoor talks about different ways of the renewal of texts that existed such as 1. Commentary (tika) 2. Recension (a creative revision) 3. Redaction (a re-arrangement) 4. Adaptation 5. Translation 6. Popular Exposition ('katha pravachana parampara') and 7. Re-creation (Kapoor, 2006, 3).

Today many texts, which are not available but are mentioned in earlier texts, are recovered through their commentaries. One such text is the sacred Jaina text *Shatkandagama* (twelve Agamas), the commentaries of which are called *Dhavala*, *Jaya Dhavala* and *Maha Dhavala*. These commentaries were not known to the world till the end of the 19th century. The copies of these commentaries were in the Kannada script but the language was Prakrit. It took another 60-70 years to copy them to Devanagari script and translate it into Hindi before publishing in book form in 39 volumes.⁶ The Hindi translation was edited by Hiralal Jain, a Jaina scholar. Thus the foremost scripture of Jaina religion was preserved through a commentary in Prakrit but was in the Kannada

script. Now it is available in Hindi translation, and a mega-project of translating it into Kannada has been on since 1998.

Such stories are not a rare phenomenon. When texts were preserved through palm-leaf manuscripts and the later generations did not know how to read them, they just worshipped them. In such cases, commentaries have kept them alive and what Walter Benjamin calls the afterlife of a translated text is true both metaphorically and literally.

Coming back to the story of textual production in Karnataka, the centers of textual production in that period were mainly two: 1. Jaina mutts (mainly in Shravanabelagola) and 2. The royal courts. These centers didn't merely patronize textual production in Kannada but they produced texts in multiple languages.

In Shravanabelagola, we find mainly puranic and shastra texts being produced in Prakrit, Kannada, Sanskrit, Apabhrahmsa languages. Though none of the Apabhrahmsa writers was born in Karnataka, they composed their texts in Karnataka. The two important writers of Apabhrahmsa were Svayambhu and Pushpadanta and they got their patronage in Karnataka. Svayambhu, in the words of Prem Suman Jain, was the first "known writer of eminence who selected Ram and Krishna for composing the Prabhandha-Kavya in Apabhrahmsa literature" (Jain, 1977,155). His main works are *Paumachariu* and *Ritthanemichariu*. His influence on subsequent writers in Apabhrahmsa and the Hindi language is well-noted by scholars. Svayambhu's *Paumachariu* is dated by scholars as belonging to the middle of 8th century A. D. (See introduction to Vimalasuri's *Paumachariu* by Kulkarni).⁷ Then Pushpadanta is seen as a genius of Apabhrahmsa literature. His patron was Bharatha and his son Nanna who were in the court of Krishna III of 10th century A. D. (for details on this issue, see introduction to *Mahapurana Vol.1*, Pushpadanta, 1979). Three works are credited to him: 1. *Mahapurana*, 2. *Nayakumarachariu* and 3. *Jasaharachariu*. It is said that he exerted great influence on later writers of Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi etc.

In a similar manner most of what became canonical literatures of Jainas later, such as the works of Acharya Kundakunda, Vattakera (both 1st century A.D.), Sivarya (2nd century A.D.), Yativrsabha (6th century A.D.), Acharya Nemichandra (10th century A.D.), Maghanandi (13th century A.D.) have composed texts in Karnataka in Jaina Sauraseni Prakrit (Khadabadi, 1997b).

Similarly many Sanskrit texts have been written in Karnataka. *Mahapurana* is an important puranic text in Sanskrit. It served as a source text for various epics in Kannada, Sanskrit, Apabhrahmsa, Prakrit etc. *Mahapurana* is a text jointly composed by Bhagavajjinasenacharya and Bhavadgunabhadracharya (if you leave the honoric prefix Bhagavad and the suffix acharya, the names would be Jinasena and Gunabhadra). It is said that Jinasena could not complete the entire Purana on his own, by the time he came to the 4th poem of the 42nd chapter of the first volume, i.e. *Poorvapurana*, he died. Then his disciple Gunabhadra completed the *Poorvapurana*, i.e. the remaining poems of the 42nd chapter and five more chapters (*Poorvapurna* contains 47 chapters). Gunabhadra also wrote *Uttarapurana*. Thus this text is referred to not only as *Mahapurana* but also as *Poorvapurana* and *Uttarapurana*. Jinasena was a guru of Amoghavarsha, the Rashtrakoota king. Historians have fixed the date of Amoghavarsha's rule from 815 A.D. to 877 A.D. So, Jinasena must have been around that time, i.e. between 8th and 9th century. *Harivamshapurana* by Jinasena (a different Jinasena acharya) refers to Jinasena of *Mahapurana* and his guru Veerasena and the date of that text is fixed as 783 A.D. Jinasena of *Poorvapurana* must have written his other two works *Jinaguna Stotra* and *Vardhamanapurana*, which figure in *Harivamshapurana*. (See introductions written by Shantiraja Shastri in Jinasena and Gunabhadra 1992).

As no earlier puranic texts are available in the Jaina tradition, some of the scholars have said that *Mahapurana* of Jinasena and Gunabhadra is the first Jaina puranic text. But internal evidence in this text refers to a text by Kavi Parameshti as a source text. Even though some of the Kannada epics also refer to Kavi Parameshti, whether they do so because Jinasena's

text claims so or these later poets had seen Kavi Parameshti's text is not known. It is the usual tradition that while writing the epics these poets employ a technique of saying that though there is an individual talent in their composition, the original story had a divine origin, and is retold by several revered Acharyas to claim a certain kind of sanctity for what they are composing. It is through this ploy/technique that they would combine both individual talent and collective or shared tradition.

The canonical classical Kannada literature is full of epics composed based on *Mahapurana*; it has triggered the imagination of several later poets/scholars.⁸ *Mahapurana* narrates the purana related to 24 Thirthankaras, 12 Chakravartis, 9 Balabhadras, 9 Narayanas and 9 Pratinarayanas. Later epics have expanded a particular story of a Thirthankara or summarized the *Mahapurana* entirely, but focussed on one or two Thirthankaras/Chakravartis or others. Each later epic not only consults *Mahapurana*, if we go by the claims of the poet in the opening stanzas of the epic, but also other epics that have come in Kannada, Prakrit and Sanskrit. Only a thorough textual analysis would reveal whether they simply named the earlier texts/poets or they have taken them as source texts.

For example, the story of Yashodhara is retold by many. According to A.N Upadhye, who has written an introduction to Vadiraja's *Yashodharacharitra* (a Sanskrit epic of early 11th century) with a Sanskrit commentary by Lakshmana, and edited with an English translation in prose by K. Krishnamoorthy. There are important epics on the same theme before the *Yashodharacharitra* of Vadiraja. They are Prabhanjana's work (which is not available and hence the title is unknown), Somadeva's *Yasastilaka* (959 A.D.) and Pushpadanta's *Jasaharachariu* (around 965 A.D.), the latter two being the most significant. (See Vadiraja, 1963). Kannada *Yashodhara Charitre* by Janna was composed in 1209 A.D.⁹ Except Prabhanjana, about whom I don't know much, all other writers lived in Karnataka. Pushpadanta, who I have discussed earlier, lived in Karnataka although he was an Apabhrahmsa writer.. Similarly Vadiraja's activities were

patronized by Chalukya kings and he lived both in what are today called Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Janna was a Kannada poet. Only a comparative study of these various texts would help us to know which the original source is. And whatever be the original source, all the texts were composed here, in this land, so it was not an alien land or culture that poets like Janna were translating.

Most of the poets of that period were well-versed in many languages. They could compose poetry in a language learnt later in their lives.¹⁰ For example Chavundaraya, a tenth century writer, has written both in Kannada and Sanskrit. His *Trishashti Lakshna Mahapurana* is also known as *Chavundarayapurana*, it is an abridged prose version of *Mahapurana* mentioned earlier. Chavundaraya has also written another Sanskrit text called *Chaaritrasara*,¹¹ which is basically a conduct book for Jaina saints, based on the earlier shastra literature found in both Prakrit and Sanskrit. He was the one who built the Gommateshwara statue in Shravanabelagola, and was a minister in Ganga dynasty (for details about Chavundaraya, see introduction to Kamala Hampana and KR Sheshagiri (eds) 1983). Chavundaraya's Kannada text has been helpful in fixing the dates, and the authorship of many Sanskrit texts (See Shastri, 1977, 39-41).

Chavundaraya's case is not an isolated instance. There were many who have written in more than one language during those days. Many of the poets of this medieval period have claimed that they were *ubhaya bhasha kavis* ('bilingual poets') or others have called them so.

A further point about Sanskrit textual production in Karnataka is that, many of the Tikas or Vyakhyanas available today on Jaina canonical literature in Sanskrit were composed during this period in Karnataka or, to be precise, in what historians call 'Deccan'.

Even a cursory look at the patronage given to literature by various dynasties that ruled Karnataka or Deccan would tell us that they provided patronage to writers of all languages, though there might have been differences in proportions

either due to their own religious/language inclination or due to larger general factors which might have been beyond their control. Kadambas were the first ones to patronise Jainas. Gangas, who ruled from Talakadu, were the first to openly encourage Jaina literature (middle of the first millennium). Many of the kings during this period were also writers. Durvinita, who gets mentioned in Srivijaya's *Kavi Raja Maarga* might be the Ganga king Durvinita who ruled around 500 A.D. Another king of this dynasty Shivakumara (780-814) has written *Gajastaka*. Ereyappa (886-913) of this dynasty had patronised Gunavarma, who has written *Shudraka* and *Harivamsha*. Chavundaraya, who has already been broached earlier, was a minister with Rachamalla, the Ganga king. It is said that this dynasty was established with the help of a Jaina guru (Nagarajaiah, 1999).

Similarly, Rashtrakutas extended patronage to literatures in all languages. Writing about the condition of education and literature during the Rashtrakutas whose kingdom included even Gujarat, Altekar says that during this period Canarese literature (=Kannada literature) had begun to flourish in Karnataka (Altekar, 1967, 406). He also says that it was during this period that *kavya* or classical style of writing established its grip in the Deccan. *Kavi Raja Maarga* composed by the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, is the first work of poetics in Kannada and is also the first available text in Kannada, although it is an adaptation of Dandi's *Kaavyadarsha*. During the reign of Krishna II many Sanskrit texts were composed. Altekar says that although "Hindu Sanskrit writers, having any composition of permanent value to their credit, are indeed few" in this period, the contribution of Jainism to Sanskrit literature is considerable (Altekar, 1967, 408-409).

Rastrakutas who ruled from Malkhed extended their patronage to Sanskrit literature, Kannada literature and Prakrit literature. According to Nagarajaiah who has looked at this issue, "the literature of this age, in whichever language it may be, not only mirrors the religious liberalism, but also reflects the military strength, immense wealth, religious catholicity, cultural opulence, literary affluence, and love of art and architecture" (Nagarajaiah, 2000, 61). Ravikirthi

(early 7th century), Kaviparamesthi (750 A.D.), Jinasena I and Jinasena II, Gunabhadra (already mentioned); Srinidhi (the author of *Mahapurana*), supposed to be the preceptor of Ugraditya (770-840 A.D.) who has written a treatise on the science of medicine called *Kalyanakaraka*; Kuchibhattaraka - all of these people contributed to writing *Mahapurana*. Bhatta-Kalankadeva (720-80 A.D.) is seen as someone who defeated Buddhists in the discussion on logic at the court of Pallava king Himasitala and drove them to Ceylon. He was a dialectician of unequalled eminence. He has authored basic texts on varied subjects including Jaina epistemology, logic and metaphysics like *Tattvartha-Rajavarthika*, *Astasati*, *Siddhiviniscaya Pramana-samgraha*; Swami Virasena has authored three important works on Jaina philosophy touching upon the science of computation, cosmography and ksetra ganita; Dhananjaya (late 8th century) is known for his lexicon and an epic *Dvisandhana Mahakavya*; Vadiraja (already mentioned); Vidyanda (900-950 A.D.) composer of *Tattvartha-sloka-varttika*, *Astrasahasri*, *Yuktyanusasanalankara* etc.; Palyakriti Sakatayana (840 A.D.), a court poet of Amoghavarsha composed the grammar *Sabdanusasana*, he also wrote a commentary for his own work; Mahaviracharya (850 A.D.) was a protégé of Amoghavarsha-I and composed *Ganitasara-samgraha* (a mathematical book); Indranandi (930 A.D.), author of *Samayabhusana*, *Srutavatara*, *Nitisara*, *Srutapanchami* and *Jvalamalini-kalpa* was a resident of Manyakheta. He seems to have written an auto-commentary for his *Jvalamalini-kalpa* in Kannada. Somadevasuri is known for his *Yasastilaka*, a work commissioned by Baddega II (955-965 A.D.), a subsidiary of Rashtrakutas. Somadeva also flourished as a court poet of Chalukyas of Vemulavada.

During the Chalukya period also we find many Sanskrit writers, Prakrit writers and Kannada writers. Chalukyas supported Vaidic literature, that too Shastra literature of a secular nature. On various subjects we find Shastra literature such as Jataka Tilaka, Grammar, Lexicons, Govaidya (Veterinary science), and Mathematics. As we have just seen, even the Rashtrakutas promoted shastra literature. The Chalukyas were ruling from Kalyana and they were known as Kalyana Chalukyas. Someshwara III (1127-1139) has

authored *Manasollasa*. This text is seen as an encyclopedic work, a guide book to ruling, and the knowledge contained in it is a must for a king.¹² Even during the Keladi dynasty period as late as 1709 A.D., Basavaraja, the king composed an encyclopedic work, which is also one of the rare texts that gives a lot of historical facts (though not coherently narrated, but scattered), called *Sivatattvaratnakara*. The history of the dynasty is interwoven with different branches of knowledge (Chitnis, 1974, 5-6 & 213-221).

Another important text that was composed during the Kalyana Chalukya period in Sanskrit is *Mitakshara* of Vijnanesvara, which deals with the constitution of court of justice, the grades of courts, the branch of judicial procedure, the origin of ownership, the transfer of ownership, the topic of possession as the basis of the title, the subject of partition and inheritance etc. This text has several commentaries: Apararka, a Silahara king ruling in the 12th century, has written a commentary *ekyadharmasastranibandha*. After Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas, Seunas of Devagiri (also known as Yadavas) ruled the Deccan and South India. They also supported all languages and literatures. I will not elaborate on it. Hoysalas supported Jainism. Later on with the conversion of Bittideva into Vaishnavism, they also supported it. At the time of Seunas of Devagiri, Veerashaivism had made its presence in this region, so they also generously supported this new religion/sect.¹³ Prakrit literature continued even during the time of Hoysalas - commentaries both on earlier canonical Jaina literature and puranic epics. Textual production in Sanskrit continues to dominate Prakrit hereafter, though the production of Jaina literature didn't stop in Kannada and Sanskrit.

The intent of this long story of textual production in Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Kannada in this period is to show that Prakrit and Sanskrit were not translated from a distant culture to Kannada. Texts were produced simultaneously in all the languages. Translations into Kannada and Sanskrit from Prakrit Jaina literature begin almost simultaneously. The foundation for Apabhrahmsa (Hindi), Marathi Prakrit (Marathi) and other north western languages might have been laid during the Rashtrakuta empire which extended from the

south to Gujarat. Even the production of Jaina literature might have taken place in Shravanabelagola. Acharyas like Kundakunda, who wrote in Prakrit, were in charge of Jaina religion in the Tamil country. So it was a multilingual metropolis (both religious as well as political city-towns) that we are talking about. If a Jaina writes a text in Sanskrit and also writes a commentary for it in Kannada, I don't think it can be seen as negotiating the hegemony of Sanskrit.

Translations and textual production gradually shifting from Prakrit to Sanskrit and other Indian languages is one way of coming to terms with the ascendancy of Sanskrit in secular matters pertaining to state.

As far as the question of translations making a 'god-spoken' tongue accessible to the vast majority of the populace is concerned, the Jainas targeted only the first three varnas. They certainly didn't touch the Sudras and those who were outside the varna fold.

We now move to textual practices and translations during the Veerashaiva period and Dasa literature (Vaishnava) period. What is called 'Bhakti movement' is an amalgamation of different movements/ formations and expansions of sects/ religions/cross-religious churnings that happened in various places across India and also across a time span ranging from the 9th century to the 18th century. In the Kannada context, the emergence of Veerashaiva sect/religion is seen as part of the Bhakti movement, and literature (both oral and written) associated with it is also named by some as Bhakti literature. When Jainas were engaged in textual production/translations in Kannada they were targeting (if at all that was the motive) only the first three varnas of the varna hierarchy. It was the Veerashaiva movement that tried to embrace as many people as possible across caste/varna/occupations. During this period, a certain kind of decentralization of worship of a particular god, Shiva, happens. It is during this period that in the form of vachanas¹⁴, a literature that was not directly linked with an institutionalized sponsorship either of a monastery or of a royal court began emerging. But that was only in the 12th century for a brief period. Later on this cult

got institutionalized and produced puranic texts of the cult as well as Shastra literature, although in some of the vachanas there are anti-Sanskrit statements.

But again if we look at the cases of “Bhakti literature”, unlike in other cases, there were no translations linked with the Veerashaiva movement in the initial stages though some of the early Vachanakaras like Allamaprabhu and others were well-versed in Sanskrit and were aware of the major debates in philosophy.¹⁵ After a century of the beginning of the movement in the 12th century in Kalyana, institutionalization of this religion/sect begins. Harihara writes a new form in Kannada called *ragale*¹⁶ in which he writes the history of Old Shaiva devotees. The source of this composition is recognized as the 11th century-end or early 12th century text *Periyapurana* of Shekkilar. This is the only recognizable translation. That too happens in the 13th century after a gap of nearly 50-100 years of what is called ‘Vachana movement’. Later Veerashaiva poets also produce epics on the heroes of the 12th century such as *Basavapurana* of Bhima kavi written in Telugu, later translated into Kannada and also Sanskrit; Padmananka on Kereya Padmarasa, Chamarasa on Prabhudeva (Allama Prabhu), Virakta Tontadarya on Tontada Siddalinga and Palkurike Somanatha; Chennabasavanka on Akka Mahadevi; Bommarasa on Revanasiddha; Virupaksha Pandita on Chennabasavanna; Adrishha Kavi on Prauda Devaraya; Parvatesha on Revanasiddha, Marulasiddha, Ekorama etc. Epics get created not only in Kannada but also in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi; and most of these were translations from one to another. Epics were not created in Sanskrit, but only translated into Sanskrit from Telugu and Kannada.

Later the vachanas were put into textual form, and they were arranged according to Shatsthalas, and a lot of Shastra literature was constructed around it. Some of it was in Sanskrit. *Siddantha Shikamani* is an important text that was composed in Sanskrit by Shivayogi. Sripati Pandita writes *Srikara Bhasya*, Svaprabhananda writes *Shivadvaita manjari*, Mayideva writes *Anubhava Sutra*, Palkurike Somantha translates *Basavapurana* as *Basavarajiya* etc.

Later on commentaries get produced on these shastra texts as well as vachanas in Sanskrit and Kannada. Some of them get translated into Telugu, Tamil and Marathi languages much later on.

So what scholars identify as 'Bhakti movement' in Kannada didn't come up as a result of translations but gave rise to translations from Kannada and Telugu into Sanskrit. Many of these writers were also bilingual writers. With the ascendancy of the Marathi language in Northern Deccan, some of these texts get translated into Marathi or the copies of the Kannada texts are available in Marathi script. When we come to Dasa Sahitya which was a product of Vaishnava philosophy, we find translation of Sanskrit texts into Kannada as well as Dasa literature into Kannada. Dasa padas were also in oral form and they were also later on found in Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu. Only this could match to some extent the characteristics of translations during Bhakti literature that other scholars whom I have quoted earlier discuss.

Thus the translations and textual practices of the first millennium and early part of the second millennium of Christian era need further empirical work and this article is just a pointer towards it. The existing theoretical understanding does not seem to hold in the case of translation practices in Kannada or Deccan region (or what we today call as Karnataka) or even South India in general. Pan-Indian theoretical models derived from a faulty notion of 'Bhakti movement', which puts several movements under a single rubric may not take us far.

NOTES

1. A note on the term 'pre-colonial': I am using the term 'precolonial' as a time marker to periodize translation practices in India. Certain objections could be raised against such a periodization as it would privilege the moment of colonial intervention on our translation practices and also look at our past from that coloured angle. The term 'pre-modern' can also be used, as the dawn of modernity coincides with colonialism in India. It would undoubtedly be better to periodize Indian

translation practices based on the characteristics that can be discerned during a particular period than to put them together as 'pre-colonial period'. But in the absence of studies that characterize the translation practices, I am using the term just as a period marker without implying any ideological stance. The term was used by other scholars who have worked on the notions of translation during pre-colonial days and I have argued elsewhere that employing such binaries would not take us too far (Tharakeshwar, 2005).

2. Kaviraj seems to be using emerging vernacular literatures of the medieval period and Bhakthi literature interchangeably here.
3. 'Medieval' is the term used in the discipline of history. Indian history is divided into three phases, 1. Ancient period 2. Medieval period and 3. Modern period. In my analysis I have not used the word 'medieval'. Instead I have put both ancient as well as medieval together and called it 'pre-colonial' emphasizing the colonial intervention, as stated earlier. Although I am looking at the period from 10th century onwards, which is designated as the medieval period in historical studies, I would be keeping in the background the kind of textual production that happened in what we today call Karnataka since around the beginning of the Christian era, which falls in the ancient period.
4. This point I have made elsewhere in a more detailed manner (See Tharakeshwar, 2003).
5. The English translation of this text named *The Cilappatikaram: A Tale of an Anklet* based on the Tamil scholar's opinion mentions the date as 5th century A.D. (See Atikal, 2004).
6. The story of copying the manuscript from Moodabidri Jaina matha itself is a fabulous story filled with several years of labour of many scholars, opposition to take it out from the mutt, stealthily preparing copies, etc. and would be worth looking at from the point of view of Translation

Studies, especially that of translating religious scriptures and the taboo associated with it, as well as History of Religions.

7. This text by Svayambhudeva is edited and published (See Svayambhudeva, 1977). For more details on Svayambhu, See Jain, 2004, 262-265.
8. I have a list of more than 150 such published epics with me. Around 50 texts are going to be reprinted by Kannada University, Hampi in 25 volumes in the coming year. The list, if it includes Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhrahmsa etc., would be even greater than this and might even outnumber the epics in Indian languages composed keeping the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharatha* as source texts.
9. A major part of this text in Kannada has been published (See Janna, 1994).
10. In that sense many of the poets of the Sanskrit texts of this period have written in a newly learnt language (assuming that by this time Sanskrit was not a spoken language at home).
11. This Sanskrit text, edited by Hiralal Jain, is published in Mumbai's Jaina Grantha Mala Series-9 in 1917. In this introduction Jain also mentions another work by Chavundaraya but it is not available. Based on this text (i.e. *Veeramattandi*, which is not available today) Todarmal has written a text called *Samya Jnana Chandrika* in Hindi according to Hiralal Jain.
12. I have looked at the Kannada translation of this Sanskrit text (Someshwara, 1998).
13. For details of patronage of literature by Seunas, See the section on Education and Literature in Ritti, 1973.
14. Vachanas literally mean 'sayings' with no metrical restriction of any sort or any prescription. They were composed and sung mainly in oral form. Only after a gap of 2-3 centuries textualization of vachanas happens in

the form of edited anthologies, where the vachanas are arranged and linked with the comments by the editor into a coherent narrative.

15. Some scholars have tried to argue that vachanas are translations from the Upanishads, retold in simple folk-friendly manner.
16. A kind of blank verse form.

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Processes and Models of Translation: Cases from Medieval Kannada Literature

T. S. SATYANATH

Abstract

Contrary to the iconicity associated between the original and its translations as conceived in the West, medieval Indian literature provides examples of multiple tellings and renderings (Ramanujan, 1992) of texts that are radically different from their so called 'originals', implying an altogether different type of interrelationship among texts. It has been further observed that medieval Indian translations are actually tellings, renderings and cultural transactions. In order to understand these phenomena in medieval India, we need to interrogate the nature of texts, the types of intertextual spaces, the way communities defined the role of such texts based on linguistic, religious, professional (caste) and other criteria, the construction of texts as databases of the community's knowledge and information systems and lastly, the processes of mutually sharing such knowledge and information systems. Taking instances from medieval Kannada literature, the paper interrogates different modes of tellings, renderings and cultural transactions to map out different models of translation strategies used by communities, in order to translate and culturally transact knowledge and information. A vrat-katha model of cultural transaction has been proposed as one of the models on which medieval Indian texts are rendered from one language to another. It

has been suggested that categories such as gender, caste, religion, sect and language not only interconnect each other but at the same time, insulate and protect the communities' rights over their knowledge and information systems and make telling and rendering activities, an exclusively in-group activity meant for the consumption of the rightful owners of knowledge and information systems. Thus despite the fact that different groups share a pluralistic epistemology which enables them to mutually understand each other's knowledge systems, their group-specific right over knowledge and information remains protected through multiple tellings, renderings and transactions on which they could retain their monopolistic control.

1. Introduction

1.1 The issue of what translation meant to traditional civilizations such as India has become the subject matter of two international conferences held recently. If translation is a concept that represents an activity of the age of mechanical reproduction of texts, then how traditional cultures of Asia dealt with transfer of knowledge and information from one language to another in their long literary tradition is not only a matter of curiosity but also a matter of significance for understanding traditional modes of cultural transaction. The present paper is an attempt to continue the current debate about the dynamics of what is called 'cultural' translation and the diverse translation discourses in Asia.

1.2 To start with, within the modernistic framework, literature and translation are directly connected with literacy, writing systems, creativity, intellectuality, and are individualistic in nature. But literature is radically different if one looks at medieval literatures of India. Literature was typically oral, despite being in a scripto-centric format, and often existed only in performance. In this sense, it was not just a mere text; it also bore medieval knowledge and information systems. In

the majority of the cases, literary texts also become a part of ritualistic worship. Thus by being sectarian and ritualistic in nature, different tellings and renderings provided access not only to the legitimate users of such knowledge-base but also prevented them from being accessed freely by others.

1.3 In a recent study taking the specific episode of Kirata Siva and Arjuna from the *Mahabharata*, from scripto-centric (writing/manuscript tradition), phono-centric (oral tradition) and body-centric (ritual performing tradition) renderings of the episode from medieval Karnataka, it has been pointed out that categories such as gender, caste, religion, sects and language not only interconnect each other but at the same time, protect their exclusive rights over their knowledge and information systems. This makes telling and rendering activities, be they scriptocentric, phono-centric or body-centric, an exclusively in-group activity meant only for the consumption of the rightful owners of knowledge and information systems. Thus despite different groups sharing a pluralistic epistemology, which enabled them to understand each other, their group-specific right over knowledge and information remained protected through multiple telling and rendering systems over which they retained a monopolistic control. In this paper, a further attempt has been made to understand the processes of such cultural transactions and to identify the models through which such tellings and renderings operate in a community.

2. Ritualistic Context of Tellings and Renderings

2.1 One of the issues that concern us with regard to medieval tellings and renderings in Karnataka is the religious and ritualistic context in which a majority of the Kannada texts have been set. A survey of Kannada literature during the period from the ninth to nineteenth century C.E. and its links with other Indian literatures clearly suggests that Kannada might have interacted with several literatures, not only with Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit but also with Tamil, Telugu and Marathi. As many medieval Kannada poets have claimed to be poets with bilingual proficiency (*'ubhaya-kavis'*), the movements of texts, of cultural transactions rather, are of bidirectional

nature. It is also interesting to know that these possibilities of translation were made possible because of the multilingual populations that Brahminical Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Bhakti religions had encountered among their followers in medieval Karnataka. The multidimensionality of interaction of Kannada with different sectarian and linguistic communities can be schematically conceptualized as shown in Figure 1. Such a complex scheme of cultural transaction is crucial for understanding the processes of telling and rendering in medieval Karnataka.

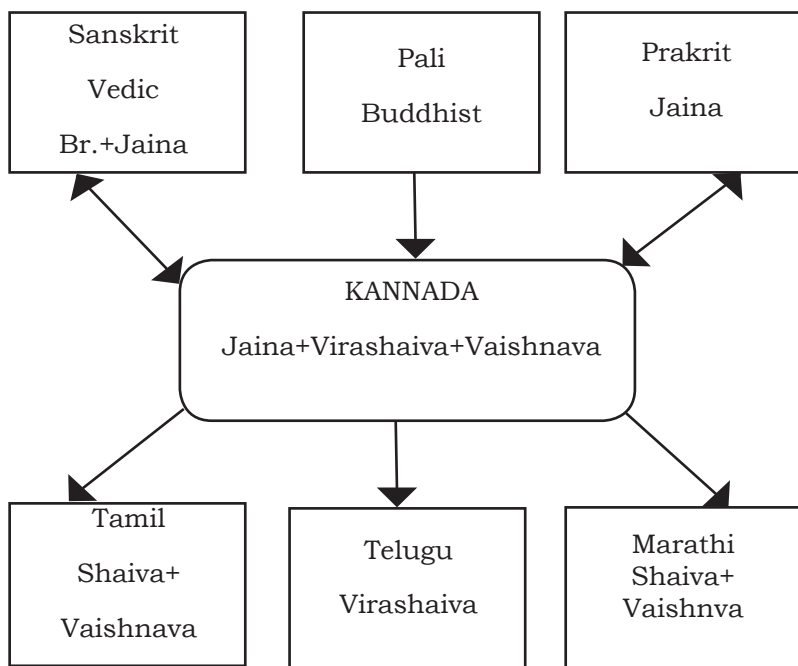


Figure 1: Schematic Diagram Showing Various Possibilities of Translation among Different Sectarian and Linguistic Communities.

2.2 In order to understand the processes and models that operated behind different sectarian tellings and renderings, we have to look into Jaina, Virasaiva, Vaisnava traditions, the commentary (*tika*) tradition and the folk tradition of tellings

and renderings. In a recent paper, Tarakeshwar (2005) has attempted to understand certain issues of translation processes that were prevalent during the ninth-tenth century C.E. in Kannada. This has been further explored here, taking a closer look at the processes and models operating behind the religious and ritualistic aspects of tellings and renderings.

To start with let us consider the text *Vaddaradhane* ('The Worship of Elders', *vadda* < *vrddha* Skt.), a text that has been claimed to have been written by Sivakotyacharya during the early part of the tenth century (c. 920 C.E.). Kannada scholars have pointed out that this is an anthology consisting of nineteen lifestories of legendary Jaina holy men. The text also has an alternative title *Upasarga-kevaligala-kathe* ('The Story of Holy Men Who Overcame Obstacles'). It has also been noted that the stories in this text are common to the Prakrit *Bhagavati-aradhana* by Bhrajsnu and the Sanskrit *Brhatkatha-kosa* of Harisena. Considering the formulaic *gahes* (< *gatha*) that appear before the beginning of each story, it has been suggested by scholars that *Vaddaradhane* might have been based either on a Prakrit commentary (*vyakhyana*) of *Bhagavatiaradhana*, or on *Bhagavati-aradhana*, also a Prakrit text.¹

It is important to note that the manuscripts of the stories in *Vaddaradhane* end with the colophon *vaddaradhaneya-kavachavumangalam* ('the sacred shield of *Vaddaradhane*, blessings to everyone'), suggesting that the text needs to be considered as a ritualistic shield. Similarly, the beginning of some of the manuscripts starts with the statement *kavacharohayahi* ('the beginning (hoisting) of the shield'), suggesting the Prakrit formulaic *gahe*, its commentary in Sanskrit/Prakrit and the subsequent expansion of the formulaic *gahe* into a life-story, was probably meant as a story to be recited for the benefit of the Kannada knowing Jaina laymen as a part of the performance of the ritual. Moreover, the term *aradhane* 'worship' which is part of the title of the text and the tradition of the existence of such texts in the Jaina literary tradition further suggests that the reading or recitation of the text might have been intended as the concluding part of a ritual worship similar to the story recitation of a *vrata-katha*

among the sectarian communities of medieval Hinduism. Structurally, the stories in *Vaddaradhane* start with a Prakrit *gahe* that tells the story line in a synoptic manner. In certain stories, *gahes* could also be found in the middle of the story and occasionally towards the end. In some stories, along with the *gahes*, Sanskrit *slokas* and Kannada verses could also be found in the narrative part of the story. It has been estimated by scholars that about 142 verses have been thus incorporated into *Vaddaradhane*. Ignoring the repetition of certain verses, there are in all 62 Prakrit *gahes*, 57 Sanskrit *slokas* and 10 Kannada verses in the text.

The stories in *Vaddaradhane* describe the details of the ritual deaths, viz. *samadhi-marana* and *sallekhana* that the followers of Jaina holymen observe. This is made clear at the beginning of the text after the implicatory verses:

Having done namaskara to sri viravardhamanabhatarakar (Mahavira), I narrate the stories of great people who achieved salvation and went to sarvarthasiddhi, after having won the four upasargas (the agency that causes the obstacles for penance), namely, god (deva), human (manusya), animal (tirik, tiryaka), nonliving (acetana), having tolerated the trouble from the twenty-two body-linked requirements (parisahas), having won over the five senses (indriyas), having discarded the external temptations, having excelled in twelve types of meditations (tapa), having done the sanyasana (leaving the mortal body) by prayopagamana, and having destroyed all the encrusted karma.

The recitation and listening of the stories not only constitute a sacred ritualistic narration but also act as a *kavacha*, a (sacred) shield that protects the listeners against all types of evil and sin that attempt to threaten the maintenance of the Jaina path. The multilingual nature of the text and the renderings that take place from one language to another within the text itself provides the model of translation and cultural transaction. I have called the model *vrata-katha* or *nompikatha* model, as not only *Vaddaradhane* and several Jaina texts use such a model but also its variants could be found

in many Indian languages, both at popular and folk levels. Thus *mantra*, ritual and narration of the ritualistic story in the language become the characteristic structure of such cultural transactions. The interconnections among different linguistic codes and their functions can be diagrammatically visualized as shown in Figure 2.

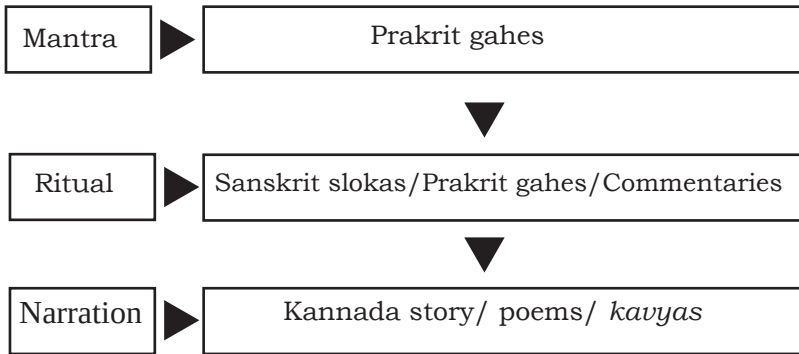


Figure 2: Schematic model of the translation process for the life-stories in Vratha-Katha or nomp-katha.

2.3 Mention has already been made of the ritualistic aspect of the life-stories of *Vaddaradhane* and the recitation of the Kannada part of the story as the story narrated during a *vrata-katha*. Incidentally, Jains have several *vratas* of this sort. They have been called *nompis* ‘vow’.² In the body of the text of *Vaddaradhane* itself there are several references both to *vratas* and *nompis*. The two terms appear to complement each other and overlap in their meaning, although their exact meanings are not clearly evident. The names of the vows are given below and the page numbers refer to Narasimhachar’s (1971) edition.

pancha-maha-vrata (p.6)

anu-vrata (p.13), (*pancanu-vrata*) having vowed the eighth-day (p.33), (*astamiyam nontu*); refers to *jivadayaastami nompis*.

Used here as a verb, ‘vowing’.

astahnika-mahime (p.33): a festival vow observed for eight days starting from the eighth day to the full moon day of the full moon cycle in the *asadha*, *karika*, and *phalgun_a* months.

phalguna-nandisvara (p.106): a festival vow observed for eight days from the eighth day to the full moon day of the full moon cycle in the *phalguna* month.

acamla-varadhanamemba-nompi (p.66): (a vow performed for the well-being of the body.)

purusa-vrata (p.112): (celibacy, abstinence from sex, could be observed by both men and women.)

brahmacharya-vrata (p.116): (refers to *purusavrata*.)

guna-vrata (p.127): (daily restrictions that the Jaina monks impose on themselves, *dig* (direction), *desa* (region) and *dandavirati* are the three types of vows.)

siksa-vrata (p.127: (*simhaniskridita-nompi* (p.172) an 80-day fasting vow in which the follower keeps fast for 60 days and eats interspersingly for 20 days.)

2.4 It is important to note that the observation of a vow is more like a ritual performance and ends with the recitation of the relevant story associated with the ritualistic vow. One of them, *jivadayastami-nompi* ‘the vow of showing kindness (compassion) to animal life’ is accompanied by the recitation of the story of *Yasodharacarite* (Raghavachar, 1941). One of the renderings of the texts has been called *jivadayastami-nompiya-kathe* (‘The Story of the Vow of Kindness to Animal Life’) (16th century C.E.). It starts with formulaic poems and the story of *Yasodhara*. It is worth noting that medieval Karnataka used to treat multiple renderings of a text, whether it was in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Kannada, as texts or *krtis* of equal significance. One of the introductory verses of *Yasodharacarite* (1.2) elucidates this as follows.

In this world, this *kṛti* has been rendered into Kannada based on the earlier *kr_tis* in Sanskrit and Prakrit, rendered by earlier poets. Let their wisdom provide support to me in the art of poetry.

Table 1 provides details about the popularity of *jivadayastam-nompi* as well as the story that used to be recited at the end of the ritual. All these suggest that the Jaina tellings and renderings of Prakrit stories were ritualistic texts usually narrated in regional languages like Kannada, Tamil, Gujarati and Hindi as part of ritualistic worship. There are at least eighteen tellings of the text available, out of which five renderings are in Kannada, four each in Sanskrit and Gujarati, two in Apabhrahmsa and one each in Prakrit, Tamil and Hindi. The details of these texts are given in Table 1. This suggests the high popularity of the vow, its ritual enactment and narration, and the model of translation suggested earlier. The vow of *jivadayastami*, its ritual and narration of the story in Kannada together constitute the entire ritual of the vow. *Yasodhara-carite* (1.3) makes this point clear.

During the fasting of the followers (*śrāvaka-jana*) in the vow of *jivadayastami*, this story (*vastu-kathana*) is feast to the ears; having thought like this, *kavibhala-locana* ('Janna') composed this text.

Text	Author	Language	Period
<i>Samaraiccha-kaha</i>	Haribhadra	Prakrit	8 th C
<i>Trisastilaksana mahapurana</i>	Jinasena	Sanskrit	9 th C
<i>Tisaththi-mahapurisa-gunalankara</i>	Pushpadanta	Apabhrahmsa	10 th C
<i>Jasahara cariu</i>	Pushpadanta	Apabhrahmsa	10 th C
<i>Yasastilaka campu</i>	Somadeva	Sanskrit	10 th C

<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	Vadiraja	Sanskrit	11 th C
<i>Yasodara kappiyam</i>	?	Tamil	11 th C
<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	Janna	Kannada	12 th C
<i>Yyasodhara carite</i>	Padumanabha	Kannada	15 th C
<i>Yasodhar carite</i>	Chandravarni	Kannada	15 th C
<i>Jivadayaastami nompi</i>	?	Kannada	16 th C
<i>Yasodhar carite</i>	Jinachandra Suri	Gujarati	16 th C
<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	Devendra	Gujarati	16 th C
<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	Lavanyaratna	Gujarati	16 th C
<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	?	Kannada	16 th C
<i>Yasodharacarite</i>	Manohara Dasa	Gujarati	17 th C
<i>Yasodhara carite</i>	Lakshmi Dasa	Hindi	18 th C

Table1: Table showing the details of multilingual renderings of *Yasodhara-carite* in Indian languages.

2.5 In order to demonstrate that the *vrata-katha* or *nompikatha* model of ritualistic tellings and renderings was not confined to Jainism but was a wide spread practice among other sectarian groups as well, we can look at Virasaivism. If we consider the cases of the Nayanars of Tamil Nadu and the Virasaiva Saranas of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, the hagiographies depicting the life-stories of these saints were as sacred as, if not more than, the Puranas depicting the

sixty-four *lilas* of Siva. In Tamil, Kannada and Telugu, the hagiographies of these saints were written not only before the compilation of the *Siva-purana* but also have remained as popular as, if not more popular than, the Puranas. Let us look at the case of Ciruttondar, a Nayanar among the sixty-three saints from Tamil Saivism whose story has been retold several times in Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit and in literary, popular and folk versions.

Ciruttondar 'little servant' who is called Siriyala in Kannada and Telugu, Siral Seth in Marathi and Seth Sagun Shah in Gujarati, was historically known as Paranjyoti. He was the Commander-in-Chief for the Pallava king Narasimha Varma. He is said to have been responsible for the fall of Vatapi, the capital of the Chalukya king Pulikeshi II in 642 C.E. Though rudimentary versions of his life are revealed in verses composed by Sundarar (c 850 C.E.) and Nambiyandar Nambi (c 10th cent. C.E.), it was Sekkilar (1064 C.E.) who wrote the first detailed hagiography of Ciruttondar. Nearly twenty retellings of his story could be seen in Kannada and Telugu. At least one text in Marathi and an oral version in Gujarati have been reported. In addition, in Karnataka there is a vow (*vrata*) known as *siriyala-settiya-vrata*. There are also folk versions of the ritual in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The tellings and renderings of the story of Ciruttondar in Tamil come to an end with Sekkilar. However, the Kannada and Telugu hagiographers provide multiple renderings of the story during the subsequent period. As Virasaivism gradually spread over Maharashtra, the Marathi renderings of the episode came into existence. In addition, the folk versions of the renderings could be found in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (*Palnati-viruni-katha*), the popular renderings could be seen in *Siriyala-setti-vrata- katha*.³

The story of Ciruttondar had become a ritual enactment by 10th century C.E. By the time the Tamil hagiography got composed, the story of the sacrifice of the only son by Ciruttondar and his wife had become worthy of worship resulting in a folk temple cult as pointed out by Dahejia (1988).

Independent shrines to the saint and his blessed son Sirala were constructed in the 10th century as we know from an inscription recording gifts for lighting of lamps in the shrines. In the year A.D. 998 three small copper images of the Siruttondar family was dedicated to the Tanjavur temple...Siruttondar festivals were celebrated yearly and an inscription in the year A.D. 1003 tells us of the image of Sirala being carried in procession from the Sirala shrine to the Siruttondar temple. Later records detail the laying out of a special route for his procession, and inscriptions also speak of festival to mark the occasion when Siva gave salvation to Siruttondar.

Existence of similar cultic rituals in other parts of South India has been observed by Palkurki Somanatha in his *Basavapurana*, a Telugu hagiographic work belonging to 1220 C. E. Somanatha notes that the stories of the saints of the Virasaiva cult had become popular among the devotees and used to be enacted and narrated in the homes of the devotees and that he has put together those stories to compose *Basava-purana*. The meter and style of the text suits singing and narration of the text to the gathering of devotees and the actual recitation of the text is said to be still continuing to this day. We can notice here the Virasaiva hagiographic tradition itself has been based on a *vrata-katha* or *nompi-katha* model discussed earlier. The dynamics of the complex interactions between linguistic and social categories that was discussed for the episode of Cirutton_d_ar is diagrammatically represented in Figure 3.

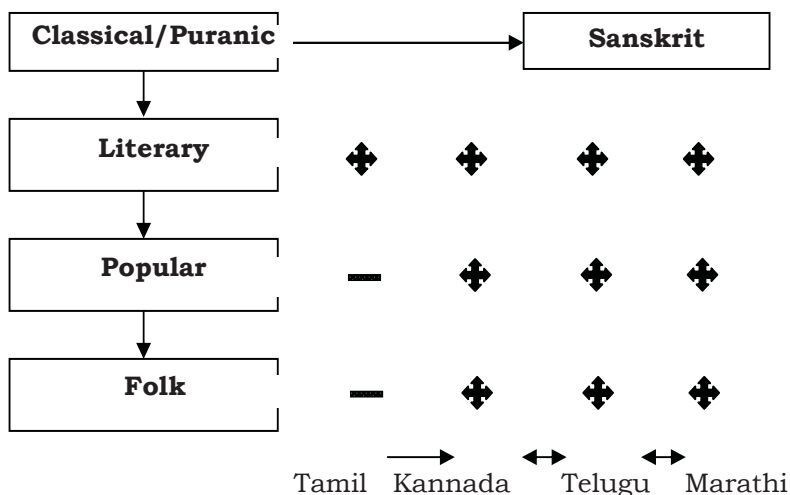


Figure 3. Diagrammatic representation of the complex interactions between linguistic and social categories in the *vrata-katha* model.

2.6 We also have to understand and problematize the nature of the written text, the oral recitation of the text as a ritualistic part of the vow, and the performative dimensions of the texts during the period of medieval Kannada literature. The written versions of the Jaina texts, the Virasaiva hagiographies, or *Kumaravyasa-bharata* (16th century C.E.) and *Torave-ramayana* (17th century C.E.), the most popular religious texts of Brahminical Hinduism in Kannada, were all available in plenty on palm leaf manuscripts but the texts were in use more through oral recitation performances called *gamaka-vachana*. A text's sectarian ritual connotation as a vow, its musical recitation done orally without using a written text and sometimes accompanied by an oral interpretation (*vyakhya*na, *tika* 'commentary') in a dramatic dialogic format constitutes a typical traditional ritual vow performance. Although palm-leaf manuscripts of the two above-mentioned Brahminical texts are available in plenty, their oral transmission has continued even to this day through *gamaka-vachanas* and folk plays.

The lack of a distinction between scripto-centric and phonocentric texts on the one hand and the crucial role of body-centric performative traditions in shaping and determining the nature of performing texts on the other has played an important role, both at the conceptual and performative levels. This eventually shaped the construction, composition, sustenance and transmission of textual, oral and performing traditions of Karnataka. Above all, their ritualistic nature in the form of vows, as *vratas* and *nompis*, is very crucial to the existence, continuation and transmission of texts as tellings, renderings, and more generally, as cultural transactions. These salient features of medieval Kannada literature appear to have continued in the folk plays and performances till the nineteenth and twentieth century, when the print media and its mode of mechanical reproduction changed the paradigm of knowledge, its documentation, construction and retrieval among the educated population of the country. The complex interaction of different forms of texts that we noticed in medieval Karnataka not only contests the neatly generalized definitions of scripto-centric, phonocentric dichotomies proposed for documentation of knowledge on the one hand and the concept of translation on the other but also demonstrates the need for understanding and reconstructing the processes and models of cultural transactions such as tellings and renderings.

2.7 The *vrata-katha* or *nompi-katha* model that has been proposed for capturing the processes involved in medieval telling and renderings has significant implications for similar cultural transactions in other Indian literary traditions. Although a systematic study has not been attempted, a cursory look at the Puranic and ritualistic aspects of the medieval Bengali ritual cult, *dharma-puja*, prompts us to extend the proposed model for other linguistic, regional and sectarian traditions as well. Though Ferrari (2003) refers to ‘the uselessness of translation in the Bengali Dharmapuja’, it is important to note here that the utilitarian aspects are of no significance in ritualistic traditions such as *Dharma-puja*.⁴

As a matter of fact all of the mantras uttered on occasion of rituals *have* to be inaccessible to

devotees, yet at the same time – given the low origin of the *pandits* – they have lost significance for the performers themselves (ibid. 2003).

It is important to note that the meaning or utterance of the *mantras* have a ritual significance like the Prakrit *gahes* that we noticed in the case of *Vaddaradhane* and are an integral part of the *vrata-katha* or *nompi-katha* model of tellings and renderings. Ferrari appears to be perplexed by questions like why neither priests nor devotees care about knowing their meaning, why it is felt that translation is not necessary and what represents ‘the word’ in Dharma ritualism’. The answer to such questions lies in the fact that the *mantras* are like the seeds and constitute an integral part of the rituals on the one hand and tellings and renderings in regional languages on the other. What is more significant for our purposes is that these lines which suggest how multilingual texts are sustained in the *vrata-katha* or *nompi-katha* model even in the absence of the comprehension of multilingual codes, thereby making cultural transactions such as telling and rendering activities a process of translation.

NOTES

1. The summary of opinions given here is based on Nagarajaiah (1999), Narasimhachar (1971), Shivarudrappa (1975) and Upadhye (1943).
2. The occurrence and meaning of *nompi* well attested in all the south Dravidian languages: *nonpu* (Tamil), *nompi* (Kannada), *nompu* (Malayalam and Tulu), *nomu* (Telugu) have meanings such as ‘ceremonial fasting, abstinence, penance’ etc. (DED,3147).
3. For details see Satyanath (1999).
4. Ferrari’s position quoted here is based on an abstract available on the website.

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A Brief Survey of Translation in Nepali

GOVINDA RAJ BHATTARAI

Abstract

This is an attempt to present a glimpse of translational activities in Nepal. It covers a period of about 200 years ending in 1996. It is based on my research work titled In Other Words: Sense versus Word as Unit of Literary Translation (with special reference to Nepali English poetic texts).

Background to the Translational Activities in Nepal

The discussion in this section is two-fold to recount the translation activities which record the history of writing that flowed firstly, from different languages into Nepali and secondly, from Nepali, almost exclusively, into English. Firstly it discusses literary translation in general and secondly it concentrates mainly on the translation history. Therefore, all the discussions in the second of the section are confined to the period (iii) alone. While giving reference, Kathmandu and Darjeeling are referred to again and again because the study covers distinctly traceable writings and translations in these centers, although a great portion of it lies scattered and buried among various historic centers that have contributed to the evolution of the Nepali language and literature. The present topic forms a background for and establishes a link to the present study that is the practice and process of translating contemporary Nepali poetry into English.

Savory's observation that "translation is almost as old as original authorship and has a history as honorable and as complex as that of any other branch of literature" (1957, 37) applies in case of Nepali too. Here original writing and translation have evolved simultaneously in such a way that the history of one cannot be separated from the other. When analyzed from the angle of translation tradition, Nepali writing

can be distinguished into the following three periods, each differs from other in terms of certain features. The rough time division is:

- i. The beginning (1250 to 1866)
- ii. The formative period (1867 to 1950)
- iii. The present (1951 to the present)

This division is suggested on the fact that certain general tendencies and turning points are the characteristic of a particular period. However, sometimes these features overlap and render this less objective.

Translating into Nepali

(i) Almost five hundred years of the old Nepali writing (1250-1866) that can be labeled as 'the beginning' looks very meagre when evaluated from Literary point of view – all it amounts to some royal inscriptions, eulogies, description of battle fields, moral stories, records of donations and deeds and adaptations, mainly of religious works and classics from Sanskrit into the vernacular. In comparison, what is called the Dark Age is considered of great importance. This age culminates in Bhanubhakta Acharya (1814-1868) who is often called the Chaucer of the Nepali language. He is honoured as the first, national poet (adi kavi) by all the Nepali speakers wherever they are. He transcreated the *Ramayana* in Nepali and adorned it with beautiful vernacular expressions, although to recast the speech of God into the tongue of the mortals was considered a disrespectful task in his days. The colloquial touch in his language, the selection of spoken diction and the free rendering of the *slokas* (metrical stanzaic forms) into arrestingly rhythmic bhasa (Nepali) made him an unsurpassed poet whose lines are sung at every door until today. Every household keeps a copy of Bhanubhakta's *Ramayana* with deep respect and love which he won with the help of excellent translation. Many of his predecessors too tried their feat in translation. However, they cannot be compared with him in terms of the total effect of their translation upon the people. Translation in this age remained confined mainly to the Sanskrit-Nepali pair. It was a mono directional, voluntary

activity and the labour of love. A few works on popular folk literature were also translated from Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Urdu, etc., the vernacular literatures of North India (See Hutt, 1988,14; Pokharel, 1993,107; Pradhan, 1984, 220-23).

(ii) The second, that is the formative period (1867 to 1950), covers almost a whole century, starting roughly from the age of Moti Ram Bhatta (1866-1896) and culminates in the revolution and the political change of 1951. During this period many historic events coincided in such a way that they widened translation horizontally and established this activity as the prime motive of the literary world. The rise of Junga Bahadur Rana (1812-32) who happened to be the founder of a new dynasty of autocratic rulers who suppressed freedom for more than a century, and the first Nepali Prime Minister to visit Great Britain. The versatility of the young, visionary poet Moti Ram Bhatta, his exposure to the Perso-Arabic as well as western writing in India, Raja Jaya Prithvi Bahadur Singh's (1878-1940) universalistic vision, and the Nepalese Youth's inclusion in the British/Indian armies after the treaty of Sugauli were some of the important factors that helped exposing the Nepales people to the outer world.

Now the coterie of the Nepalese elites realized that the great mass needed to be educated through the vernacular-like in other parts of the British India which consisted of an insignificant treasure of writing and required to be enriched by fastest means of writing and translating before any educational institutes could be opened. So, translation activity did not take place with great intensity. This, of course, is the common feature shared by all developing languages and literatures across the world (cf 2.3, 2.4)

This spirit is reflected in the foundation of Gorkha Bhasa Prakasini Samiti (Gorkha Language, Publication Committee) in 1913, a landmark in the history of Nepali literature (it changed into Nepali Bhasa Prakasini Samiti in 1930). The objective of the Committee was to write, prepare and publish (text) books so as to develop the kingdom rapidly through education. An important resolution the Committee passed in 1934 in this connection reads as follows: "To meet the

paucity of books other than texts, various books will be prepared and censored so as to ensure that they are geared up to the interest of the people” (Dikshit, 1938, Foreword). This resolution, though apparently aimed at promoting Nepali literature, also indicated the fact of the Committee’s dual role of censoring it at the same time (See Hutt, 1988, 44).

Critics have described this step as an opening up of a new era in Nepali literature (See Regmi, 1992, 120). According to the spirit of the Committee, many books were then authored that are valued as Nepali classics today. The Committee tried to expose the Nepalese readers to the world literature gradually. Narendra Mani Acharya Dikshit’s *Yuropiya Sahityako Namuna* in 1938 (Sample of European Literature) is the first effort made in this direction that reflects the objective of the Committee, that is to introduce the samples of European literature in translation to the Nepalese readership. The book contains extracts of epic and lyric poetry, drama and prose (satire, humour, criticism, etc.) selected from the classical Greek, Shakespeare, the Romantics, and the Victorians, and are translated with naturalness and ease, and with the conviction that there is no thought which remains untranslatable, and no theme so difficult as to be left as untranslatable (preface).

During this period the literature widened further, more translation were produced, first from the neighbouring literature and from Sanskrit as well as Perso-Arabic classics and then from English. Through English many other literatures also started entering. In this fertile period, translation was accelerated with the sheer motive of producing sufficient materials in the vernacular so that a university could establish. This period saw the greatest literary artists acquainted with western civilization, and so their zeal for standardizing the young Nepali speech through creation and translation was very great. Translation activity was more purposefully enlarged for transporting new ideas and noble thoughts from richer literary heritage.

In 1934, a sub-committee came into existence under the Nepali Bhasa Prakasini Samiti so as to materialize the historic resolution. The sub-committee drafted a “24 books project”

with a vision of deemed university in mind, with immense world literature behind. A list of 24 best books was prepared by the deserving authors/translator members and each member was assigned the duty of authoring/translating one. The committee consisted of eminent scholars, poets, writers like Chakrapani Chalise, Soma Nath Sigdya, Partha Mani Acharya Dikshit, Khadga Man Malla, Puskar Sasmsar, Bala Krishna Samsar, Mahakabi Laxmi Prasad Devkota etc. which formed the brightest galaxy of Nepali literature. The “24 Books Project” had originally proposed ten English, six Sanskrit, one Bengali works for translation and remaining original writings. Shaw’s Pygmalion and Bengali Kathasangraha never came out which were enlisted in the Project. However, the Royal Nepal Academy published Russell’s On Education as late as in 1973. With some change, only 18 books came within a period of some 15 years (see Regmi, 1992, 121).

In 1937 another institution called Nepali Bhasa Anuvad Parisad (Nepali Language Translation Committee) was established as complementary to the 24 year old Gorkha/ Nepali Bhasa Prakasini Samiti. This set a milestone in the history of translation as it was solely devoted to translation - now no longer from Sanskrit alone but from “the literature of the world”. Although the Parisad could not achieve much, it is through the window of translation that the Nepali elites of the dark age could peep into the broad, ever expanding literary and political world outside. This led them to revolt against dictatorship, sacrificed lives for the cause of freedom and this culminated in the establishment of democracy in 1950.

After the political change of 1951, the nation felt suddenly thrown into a new world, a new era emerged, multipronged plans and projects were drafted and the zeal in translation slackened off. Gradually both the committee (Nepali Bhasa Prakasini Samiti and Nepali Bhasa Anuvad Parisad) became defunct and merged into the Sajha Prakasan (co-operative publication) in 1964 which is a great, government publishing body functions actively till today. The Prakasan has occasionally published a few translations in a period of more than three decades into Nepali. Apart from this, there are some old publishers like Ratna Pustak Bhandar, and

many still smaller, short-lived and defunct ones that have published translations. The record of all these publications is not presented here. Besides, many translators must have published their work on their own. This is an area open to query-a void that demands to be filled by an arduous researches.

After 1951 translation survived in no man's land for about a decade until the Royal Nepal Academy came into existence in 1957. One of its objectives, apart from those of promoting Nepali art, literature and culture was to translate great works of world literature into Nepali. Accordingly, it set a five year plan in 1969 aiming at translating (i) epics (ii) world classics (iii) biographies of great authors (iv) I.A. Richard's Literary Criticism, and (v) preparing an outline of world literature in Nepali (Regmi, 1997, 26). The Academy's Catalogue (1959-1996) shows that out of total 467 titles published so far (about 12 books per year) only 67 books, that is 15 per cent, are translations (into Nepali). The last two in the list appeared in 1987 that is Sharma (1987).

Two Himalayan towns, that is the valley of Kathmandu and the hill of Darjeeling remained great centres of Nepali literature. Though divided politically, both were motivated primarily by a singularity of purpose in the past of promoting Nepali language and literature, the inseparable identity of the race. But dissimilar social and political forces shaped their literatures independently. Translation began mostly with Sanskrit classics in Nepali but the Biblical literature dominated it in India.

The foundation of Nepali Sahitya Sammelan Darjeeling in 1924 (35 years before the Royal Nepal Academy came into existence in Nepal) marks the beginning of new era in the Eastern hills, however, translation from the Biblical literature had been started there focusing on Darjeeling and its periphery more than a century ago. The Christian Missionaries that had entered into the whole India could not enter the impenetrable fort (that is Nepal, where they were strictly banned until the beginning of the present decade). It was, therefore, natural that they would make Darjeeling the

focus of their activity so as to penetrate Nepal via language. Under William Carey (1761-1834) the first Nepali Bible (The New Testament) came in 1821 (Arangaden et al., 1992, 6). Another version was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society of India, Calcutta in 1902. After that some Nepalese scholars were converted and trained in translating the Bible. Ganga Prasad Pradhan, a great forerunner of them devoted his life in translating the Biblical literature into Nepali. Then followed a series by the help of the dozens of scholars who have maintained this legacy in Darjeeling until the present. Apart from the translations of the Biblical literature, other religious works of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism abound in Darjeeling. Paras Main Pradhan alone was an institution in Kalimpong. He laid the foundation of modern Nepali and promoted it mainly by writing, translating and publishing reading materials for students and the ordinary mass. He had also accomplished some noble works in Nepali through his encyclopedic ability. Other prolific translators of Darjeeling are Okiyama Gwyann, Bhaichand Pradhan, Gokul Sinha, etc. Among the 1766 translators recorded in the Sahitya Akademi's National Register of Translators (1994), twenty three belong to Nepali (See Lama, 1995, 56).

A bibliometric analysis of the publications of Royal Nepal Academy and those of Darjeeling (combined) shows that the translation of fiction (novels, short stories) ranks first. Because of Darjeeling's contribution, Biblical and other missionary works occupy the second position. This contribution of the Darjeeling group (second) can be compared with that of the mainland Nepal in rendering Sanskrit works into Nepali (fourth) similarly, children's literature and miscellanies, Sanskrit, etc. Biographies/autobiographies, drama, and poetry occur in decreasing order, criticism being the last. However, this study is based mainly on two small samples and is far from being complete. The samples constitute a catalogue published by the Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu (1996) and an unpublished research bibliography (of translation of creative literature, 1994) carried out by the Sahitya Akademi Award winner R. P. lama of Darjeeling. (His study incorporates almost all the publications of Darjeeling and other parts of

India).

The catalogues, however, have no information about the source text, its version, edition, publication, etc. For example, Dibhain Kamedi might have been translated from Italian, English or any other language but the readers are not informed anything about such translation. Such questions are dismissed as secondary and even the translator himself is unjustly shadowed there. It is difficult to go beyond these 'samples' mentioned above because not a single work addressing to translation activities in Nepali is available. One has to start from the scratch - like the present work.

Today Nepal's diplomatic relations with friendly nations have broadened. Many Kathmandu-based diplomatic offices, bilateral friendly associations and cultural societies have sponsored large number of works from various languages (or countries) into Nepali. For example, Nepal Bharat Maitri Sangh, Indian Embassy, French Cultural centre, Himalayan Library, Tokyo Japanese literature Translation Committee and Toyota Foundation, Nepali UNESCO Cultural programme, Russian Language and Literature Relation Association etc. have all promoted this activity. Today a large amount of Japanese literature is translated into Nepali by the inspiration of some famous translators like Professor Abhi Subedi, Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, and specially, Ksetra Pratap Adhikari etc. many miscellaneous works are scattered either of the translators or of occasional publishers. Sahitya Akademi, Delhi has also sponsored the publication of a large number of translations into Nepali. Among 1059 Nepali writers introduced in Bhattarai (1994), 62 have contributed to more than 100 titles of translation, mostly from Sanskrit followed by other languages. The list of the translators may go upto 400 if all corners of literary history are explored. During the last ten years, the Royal Nepal Academy also launched a programme of publishing translations of poems and short stories from various languages of Nepal such as Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rai, Limbu etc. into Nepali on the one hand and from the literatures of the world on the other. Even the researcher had an opportunity to publish a score of short stories and about a dozen poems representing various

European and Asian languages translated from English source (Samakalin Sahitya No. 8-17, Kabita No.150-160). Rastriya Bhasaka Kabitaharu 1993 (Poems from National language) is the first valuable contribution of Academy which had published two Nepali translations of Newari earlier.

For more than a century different literary journals and periodicals from India and Nepal were publishing translations from various sources. During the past three decades, their number and quality has increased considerably but due to the lack of any systematic study in this field nothing can be stated with authenticity. Therefore any attempt to highlight the activity of translation (from the angle of history, method, technique, politics and the interaction of other forces) is an arduous task. It is purely a virgin territory open to exploration and interpretation. The information noted here will be able to attract many promising researchers in near future.

Translating Nepali poetry into English

The third phase (1951 onwards) marks the beginning of a new era in Nepali literature. By now it has a rich store of authored and translated works. Nepali poetry has by now shown clear departures from the tradition in content, theme and style. Gopal Prasad Rimal, Mahakavi Laxmi Prasad Devkota, Bal Krishna Sama, Siddhicharan Shrestha, Vijaya Malls, Kedar Man Vyathit, Mohan Koirala etc. had explored new directions. Further, current international trends and events began to find their expression in the new 'experimental' Nepali poetry-written mostly in free verse.

Two landmarks of the 50s are the foundation of the Royal Nepal Academy in 1957 and of Tribhuvan University two years later. One of the objectives of the Academy, among others, was to initiate the translations of "the best books" from other languages. Within the first decade nearly twenty translations appeared that gave the readers some glimpse of the world literature and the Sanskrit classics. Similarly, the first University in the Kingdom enabled the readers to make a direct contact with a broader literary world accessible through English. Now Nepali writers could experience a

different world-scene pacing tremendously fast obliterating all the traces of yesterday. This certainly influenced their vision and composition.

Gradually Nepali poetry began to look for a newer arena, a wider audience for its fuller expression. The Royal Nepal Academy, after a decade of its foundation published the English translation of two Nepali 'classics' in 1970, two more during the mid-seventies with the realization that "the best literary works should be made available to the non-Nepali speaking readers and no more since then. These efforts justify one thing-now time has come to change the direction. The long tradition of one-way translation traffic ended, the direction is now two-way trafficking of literary exchange. But unfortunately this spirit never revisited the Academy since then.

In the Academy's active life of four decades about 470 books and many issues of journals (Kabita, Pragya, Samakalin Sahitya) have been published, out of which only four books (English translations) came from Nepali hardly one work a decade in average less than 0.9 of the total publication.

Similarly, although the 32 years old Sajha Prakasan, the heir of Nepali Bhasa Prakasini Samiti, produced some 600 books, including nine translations into Nepali, its Catalogue (1997) shows that only a single work has been translated into English from Nepali so far (now 87 years since its inception and 22 years after the NBPS was restyled as Sajha Prakasan). This poor picture proves one thing-the lack of institutional effort in introducing Nepali poetry outside Nepal. Mutual exchange and globalization are thus totally ignored. In an age of "translate or die" the Academy seems to be a policy of "cultural isolation" from the world. Unless one expresses oneself in the tongue that others understand, who will bother to know its worth? The situation is thus quite depressing. And it is worsening if we notice the long void looming the intervening 23 years after the last publication of Diwas (1975). (It is worthwhile here to make a note of Academy's last attempt in this regard. In 1993 Dr. Padma Prasad Devkota of Tribhuvan University translated about 100 Nepali poems of 23 contemporary

poets into English. Dr. Devkota submitted the press-recopy accordingly. At the same time Academy got about 15 short stories translated by different scholars into English. Even he had an opportunity to translate Bala Krishna Sama's *Nauli* (The new girl) and the Anthology's Editorial (prepared by the then Academician/Member-secretary Krishna Chandra Singh Pradhan). But before these plans would be materialized the new body made its own plans and perhaps all the earlier plannings-though important, gradually evaporated.

After contacting Dr. Devkota, Devendra Bhattarai from Kathmandu wrote to the researcher in October 1997 that Dr. Devkota's translation of *Aswatthama* a lyrical play (of 42 songs) originally composed by Madhav Prasad Ghimire, is shortly coming as Academy's latest English translation of Nepali poetry entitled *Aswatthama* including the original text was presented before the Nobel Committee, Sweden in the year 1996 and the translation will be coming soon.

Due to the lack of any institutional support, Nepali poetry, though rich in contemporary universal theme, content and style, remained suppressed due to the linguistic barrier and could not reach the wider audience. Laxmi Prasad Devkota (1909-1959) the greatest Nepali poet translated the first modern epic, *Shakuntala Mahakavya* and *Sulochana* before 1946. The English version of *Shakuntala* written by him was not known to the people till it was published posthumously in 1991. Nepali poetry could have earned greater reputation internationally if his masterpieces (his translations and original creations in English) had been published some half a century ago. His immortal, narrative poem *Muna Madan* (composed in folk-metre) is the first work that has been translated into English by six scholars in a span of 27 years.

Since last two decades some important contributions are being made to help Nepali poetry gain wider access through some non-Nepali medium in different ways. But unfortunately these efforts are made only by enthusiastic individuals, and not by governmental or institutional agencies. Both native and foreign scholars are instrumental in multiplying the readership of modern Nepali poetry. The first scholar to

initiate this is David Rubin whose work *Nepali Visions, Nepali Dreams: The Poetry of Laxmi Prasad Devkota* appeared from Columbia University Press in 1980. Two years later another ambitious plan materialized in the then Indian Ambassador-poet Narendra Jain's (1982) Hindi translation of more than fifty Nepali poems. One decade later a British scholar (Hutt, 1993) produced his English translation of some 81 contemporary Nepali poems. Similarly, Malla Prakashan's *My Wish and Other Poems* contains Tirth Raj Tuladhar's (1994) English translation of 55 Nepali poems originally composed in Nepali by Vijaya Malla, one of the forerunners of modern Nepali poetry and experimental drama. Another more promising youth instrumental in publicizing contemporary Nepali literature (mainly poetry) among English-speaking world is Yuytsu R. D. Sharma. Sharma is mainly a poet writing in English as well as a successful translator of Hindi and Nepali. The Nepal-based Indian poet has translated, edited and published in modern Nepali profusely. As a Manager of the Nirala Series (India), he has been introducing English translations and the writings of the contemporary Nepali authors one after another to the English speaking world for about a decade now. Besides, he also edits *Pratik*, the only magazine of contemporary writing (and translation) in English. By spring 1997, six issues of it have produced many English translations of Nepali/Indian poems, short stories, reviews, and criticisms, etc.

Another publication that has brought out many English translations of Nepali literature is *Nepal Letters*, a magazine of literature, culture and art edited and published by Mohammed Harun Ansari from Kathmandu. Ten issues have come by, 1996. Similarly, 39 issues (As of Feb 1997) of *Nawa Kavita* (a quarterly publication devoted to contemporary Nepali poetry) edited by Dr. Hari Sharmah have spared some portion of the magazine for the publication of translations as well as original creations in English.

The translations have been attempted by non-native scholars alone: Rubin (1980), Hutt (1993-1996), Hartsell (1984,1990) Pierce (1989) or together with a Nepali counterpart (Varya and Zeidenstein 1972) or by the Nepalese scholars alone such as Devkota (1970a; 1970b), Diwas (1975), Modern Nepali

Poems (1972), Rai (1986) Sakya (1991, 1993) Syangden (1994), Tuladhar (1994), Shrestha (1995) Sharma (1997) etc. Peter J Karthak has authored and translated both. It (1994a) is an anthology of 24 poems from Nepal and India and (1994 b) contains 11 poems by Nepali women and most of them are translated by the poet/editor himself. Another commendable work of late is Asian Poetry special issue of *Bagar*, a magazine of contemporary writing (vol.8, No. 24-25. Winter/spring, 1989-90 issue) which contains English translations of 100 contemporary Asian poems. In the same way, Indian Literature and *Anuvad* and Prachi of Sahitya Akademi have occasionally published Nepali poems, short stories and reviews of Darjeeling/Sikkim and Assam (see Lama, 1995). Under the *Makers of Indian Literature* series, Nepali translations of these works are sponsored by Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, *Bhairabi* (Tr. Ajit Basent) *Bhababhuti* (Tr. Naresh Chanddra) *Kharabi* Buddhadev Basu (Tr Jas Yonjan Pyasi), *Ghalib* (Tr. Gokul Sinha); *Hali* (Tr Ghanashyam Nepal) *Jaisankar Prasad* (Tr Jiwan Namdung), *Jayadev* (Tr. Jivan Namdung), *Jibananda Das* (Tr. T.B. Chhetri), *Kalhan* (Tr. Shanting Sharma), *Lakshminath Bezbaruoa* (Tr. Kamala Sankrityayan), *Premchand* (Tr. B.S. Rai), *Rahul Sankrityayan* (Tr. Kamalna Sankrityayan) and *Sarojini Naidu* (Tr. Buddha Kumar Moktan), Under the same series Gopal Singh Nepali, Haribhakta Katuwal, Rup Narayan Singh: Mitrasen. History of Nepali Literature has been prepared in Nepali and the it has been translated into other India languages too. Prahlad (1992) is the first publication of the English translation of Prahlad, dramatic poetry of Balakrishna Sama (cf. Sahitya Akademi books, sahitya Akademi publications, January, 1966, New Delhi).

Among others Tara Nath Sharma has translated Chadani Shahaka Giti Kabita as the Lyrical Poems of Chadani Shaha, His translation has retained the grace and lyrical beauty of the original poem. Yadu Nath Khanal (1990) has proved a great feat of learning by translating some English poems into Sanskrit which are collected in Suktisanchaya.

Some well-known translators of Nepali poetry other than the above are Padma Devkota, Dhruba Krishna Deep, Sridhar

Prasad Lohani, Mohammed Harun Ansari, D. R. Kafley, Hari Sharmah, Bamdeo Pahadi and Yogesh Upadhyaya. Some poets like Tulsi Diwas, Parijat and Manjul have translated their own poems into English.

Before concluding this sub-section it seems worthwhile to make a passing reference of prose translation, translation prize and make some general observations with regard to translation situation in Nepali.

The first Nepali novel to be translated into English is perhaps, Parijat's *Sirisko Phul* (The Siris Flower). Thanka Bilas Varya and Sondra Zeidenstein produced it as *Blue Mimosa* in 1972. Under the same title Tej Ratna translated another version of this into English (Sharma, 1993, 113). Larry Hartsell has translated three novels — Lil Bahadur Chhetri's *Basain* (The Lost Homestead), Shankar Koirala's *Khairini Ghat* and Tara Nath Sharma's *Ojhel Parda* (Blackout) into English (Sharma, 1993, 118). Nirala Serues has published *Balcokout* along with another English translation of Nepali novel *The Black Sun* of Bharat Jangam, a translation of *Kalo Surya* and Peter J. Karthak's *Pratyak, Thau Pratyek Manche* translated as *Every Place* and *Every Person* by the writer himself. Bharat Jangam's recent novel *Rato Surya* has been published simultaneously as *Lal Surya* (Hindi) and *Red Sun* (English) in 1994. Diamond Shumsher's *Seto Bagh* has appeared in Hindi too. Sharma (1997) is the first anthology of thirteen modern short stories. Similarly, *Journal of South Asian Literature* vol. 29, Winter-Spring 1994, shows a list of the English translation of 28 poems, 13 short stories and five critical writings under Modern Nepali Literature edited by Michael Hutt as a guest editor. *And Forbidden Fruit and Other Short Stories* (1994) is an anthology of nine short stories translated from the Newari into English by Keshar Lall and Tej Ratna Kansakar.

Michael Hutt's (1993) *Himalyayan Sama Voices* consists of 16 representative short stories (apart from 81 poems) translated by Hutt into English. The first English translation of a single author is perhaps Sita Pande's collection of short stories *Jwar* (Fever), a publication of Nirala Series. Similarly, Tara Nath Sharma has translated four short stories of late

Guru Prasad Mainali. Pratik has published about a dozen of Nepali short stories so far. The evaluation of criticism on translated literature we have now begun with Sharma (1990a, 62). However, volumes of books are yet to be written on this. Translated literature for children is still too scanty in Nepali. Some translators that have contributed to this include Biswambhar Chanchal (Tr. Tom Thumb as Tomko Bahaduri), Kshetra Pratap Adhikari (Tr.. Apurba Grahako Katha, translated from the legend of *Planet Surprise*, an English translation of Tajima Sinzi's stories), Chudamani Bandhu (Tr. *Alice in Wonderland* as *Anautho Deshma Elis*), Govinda Raj Bhattarai Byakul Pathak and Man Bahadur Nakarmi, Sharadaraman Nepal, Khagendra Prasad Bhattarai, Shantadas Manandhar, Surendra Nyaupane, Rajendra Nanandhar etc.

Most countries of the world provide different incentives in the form of fellowships, grants, prizes, and prestigious awards so as to encourage translating, for example, Narthe Fiumi-Leroux Translation Prize of France, Japan Translation Cultural Prize, UK Florio Translation Prize. USA Mildred L Batchelder Award Fit International Prize, PEN Translation Prize etc. (Congrat Butlar, 1979, 19ff), and also Sahitya Akademi's award for translator can be mentioned here. Unfortunately, by chance Komal Nath Adhikari was awarded with the prestigious Madan Puraskar (Madan prize is annually given to best literary/creative works) for his Nepali translation of Sri Harsa's Naisadhiya Charit in 1963. It was the first and last prize which a scholar within the kingdom has been honoured with. Since then Madan Purdskar (Madan Prize Guild) stopped accepting translation (and Manuscripts) for prize. This decision seems to have discouraged the translators and has consequently hampered the development of translation. This sounds a retrogressive step when compared with Sahitya Akademi's resolution of awarding translators of Indian languages since 1987. Karna Thami of Darjeeling is the first Nepali recipient of this (Sahitya Akademi's) Award is 1994 for the great contribution he made to the translation mainly of Bengali literature into Nepali. Among all the cognate languages the influence of Bengali upon Nepali is immense. The history of mutual exchange between contiguous language

like Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc. has begun since immemorial days. For example, five Nepali works have been translated into Maithili (cf Singh, 1991). It is difficult to estimate the whole situation unless extensive researches are carried out.

Another scholar to be honoured with a coveted prize awarded to the translators in Italy (Lectura Dantes) is Binod Prasad Dhital for his marvelous translation of Alighieri Dante's (1265- 1321) epic poem *Divine Comedy* (Dorothy Sayers Layer's English translation from Italian) into Nepali *Dibhain Kamedi* Published by the Royal Nepal Academy in 1983.

The current University syllabus has offered translation as an optional subject in Major Nepali both at Graduate and Master's level courses carrying 100 marks each. But due to the lack of sufficient materials and expertise, students generally do not opt for it. Translation will not develop as an independent discipline in Nepal unless some institutional support especially through the patronization of the Central Department of Linguistics is provided for the cause of it.

In a recent interview, Madan Mani Dikshit, the present vice-Chancellor of the Royal Nepal Academy, rightly remarked that the development of literature cannot be fostered now without founding an independent Anuvad Samiti that is a translation committee (Bhattarai, 1997). In the same way commenting on the translation activities in Nepal, academician Dhruba Chandra Gautam spoke, "Although translations have appeared frequently from the very beginning of Nepali literature, yet regretfully its study, evaluation and plans for expansion are still lacking". Never before had this situation presented itself so starkly before us.

The only solution to all problems mentioned here is to revive the defunct Nepali Bhasa Anuvad Parishad of Royal Nepal Academy once again, making it as an autonomous body, opening Department of Comparative Studies at the University or incorporating Translation Studies into the syllabus of the Central Department of Linguistics and producing materials on translation by the help of Language Arts Department. All

efforts so far made on translation are mostly crude or done by the dilettantes, this should be perfected and enhanced therefore, some institutions are required at present so as to enhance Translation Studies institutionally.

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Translations into Kannada in the 10th Century: Comments on Precolonial Translation

V. B. THARAKESHWAR

Abstract

Looking at early Kannada literary texts like Kaviraja Maarga and Vikramarjuna Vijaya (10th century), this paper tries to argue that employing binaries such as western/indian, colonial / indigenous, Kannada / Sanskrit would not do. Such early texts have to be placed in the context of the emerging writing culture (textual production) in the region, the uses to which it was put (economy, polity, religion), the question of patronage, the religious order of the day apart from subjecting it to a comparison with the source texts so as to figure out the function that they perform in the target culture. The paper identifies the existing pitfalls in theorizing pre-colonial translation practices and suggests that the complex matrix in which the practice is embedded has to be unearthed in further research in this area.

Introduction

It has been thought over the last two decades that in precolonial times, India had a different notion of “bringing” texts into Indian languages from “classical languages” such as Sanskrit, Prakrit etc., from the one that exists today. People who posit such an argument also inform us that it was a “dynamic notion of translation” compared to the one that is prevalent today, which is “western” and “colonial”. It has been pointed out by several critics/scholars that the writers, who “rewrote” Sanskrit texts in Kannada, have transformed the “original text” to “suit the politics of Kannada” which was trying to negotiate the “hegemony of Sanskrit”.¹

In this paper I argue that employing binaries such as Kannada/Sanskrit, orient/occident is not terribly useful in getting to know the interface between the phenomenon of translation and what drives it. We need instead to look at the social context in which these translations took place to unearth the complex processes that are set in motion when two “language-cultures”² meet on an uneven plane, and at an uneven place. Further, I look at some of the pre-colonial translations into Kannada, trying to place them in the “social space” of that period. I use the word “social space” to mean the socio political context of the period. What helps us to understand translations is not the metanarrative but something that drives the translation, something that creates the translation in the first place, and at the same time gets transformed by the “translation”. That is, not only are translations conditioned by socio-political spaces but translations themselves produce socio-political spaces or modify the existing ones. In the first section of the paper I look at a text that is the oldest available text in Kannada. It is called *Kaviraja Marga*. It is a text of poetics. The story of the *Mahabharatha* has been retold in Kannada by many a writer. The first available retelling of the epic in Kannada is *Pampa Bharatham or Vikramarjuna Vijayam* of the 10th century³. This text is analyzed in the second section. In the last section, I make some remarks that would facilitate further research in this area.

I

Many literary traditions have begun with translations.⁴ Translations mark the beginning of literature in Kannada language too. The first available written text in Kannada is *Kaviraja Marga* (The Way of the King of Poets, 814 -877 A.D., henceforth *KRM*). This is treated as a work of rhetoric/poetics in Kannada, and is heavily indebted to Dandi’s Sanskrit work *Kavyadarsha* (The Mirror of Literature). Some even call it a translation of *Kavyadarsha*. However it has been noted by scholars that this work differs from the Sanskrit one in many ways. This difference would account for the changes that a treatise on literature undergoes as it travels from one language to another and from one social space to another⁵.

The first poem in *KRM* is a salutation poem (Seetharamaiah, 1994, I:1, 73). In Dandi's *Kavyadarsha* the salutation to Saraswathi, the god of learning, comes in the beginning. In *KRM* this becomes the third poem. The first two poems of *KRM* indirectly praise King Nrupatunga by praising Lord Vishnu (Seetharamaiah, 1994, I:2 & 3, 73)⁶. Praising the king by equating him with a god or gods is something that we don't find in Sanskrit texts. This is one of the vital differences between Sanskrit texts and Kannada texts of this period. In Sanskrit, human beings, whether kings or ordinary beings, are not equated with God. But the Jaina poets of this period in Kannada make it a custom to equate the king with God, whom they salute at the beginning of the text. Commenting on this aspect, Kurtakoti, a Kannada critic, says that this is not surprising because Jains don't believe in God and they consider the king himself as a god (Kurtakoti, 1995, V)⁷. Kurtakoti's argument is hard to accept, as praising the king by equating him with God is not a simple issue of praising the king instead of God, but is more complex. Jainism is not an atheistic religion like Buddhism, so it is hard to accept that instead of God they praised the king. Interestingly, the texts that they are translating/rewriting belong to a "Vedic religion"⁸.

The pantheon of gods that we find in certain texts like the *Mahabharatha* and such other Puranic texts has inspired the texts which are supposed to be part of "Sanskrit Literature" in general⁹. God Vishnu with whom King Nrupatunga is equated is part of such a milieu. Nrupatunga was a Vaishnava, but Srivijaya the poet was supposed to be a Jaina.

The situatedness of a Vaishnava king and a Jaina poet on the same scene is a very curious one. Jaina poets were supposed to translate Vaishnava texts as commissioned by the king, or on their own took up that task to curry favors with the Vaishnava King. It is normally suggested that to obtain the king's favor or as expression of their regard to the kindness bestowed by the king, these writers praised the king by using such ambiguous words which equivocally denote both king and God. Elevating the king to the status of a god is not seen as dishonor to the god.

Similarly, Dandi's first poem, which becomes the third poem in *KRM*, the author translates in such a way that it is not against the tenets of Jaina belief; for example, deleting reference to Brahma in the poem. Invocation of goddess Saraswati at the beginning of the epic is not an old custom in Sanskrit literature. It doesn't happen in the *Mahabharatha* or in Kalidasa's plays. It must be a later development. While translating Dandi's poem into Kannada, the author of *KRM* adds a few adjectives to Goddess Saraswati: "madhura aaraavochite, chatura ruchira padarachane". Here we see a sense of tenderness associated with Saraswathi and Kaavya: in a sense, feminization of (epic) literature is happening here.

It has been remarked (Pollock, 1998, 21) that one could talk not just of the cosmopolis of languages like Sanskrit but even vernacularization took the form of a cosmopolis, and Pollock calls it 'making the global local' or calling the vernacular thus formed "the cosmopolitan vernacular". Here the imperial political space that Sanskrit had created for itself across South Asia was replicated at a different level of empire using the vernacular. Sanskrit was normally used before this period all over South Asia in Epigraphy to praise the king, while local languages were used, if at all, to document business transactions. This kind of division of linguistic labour that existed during this period is termed "hyperglossia" by Pollock (Pollock, 1998, 11)¹⁰. With the vernacularization process, vernacular languages also sought to become the language of literature and the language that could be used for praising the gods. So with this process they replicated the Sanskrit model in the vernacular. It is not that the hyperglossia or diglossia of Sanskrit and Kannada discontinued with the vernacularization process. It indeed continued. The literary composition in Kannada presupposed literacy in Sanskrit. It, in fact, followed Sanskrit texts, but adapted it to local needs. What these "local needs" were need to be pinpointed by analyzing the differences that we find in the Kannada texts to understand the socio-political space that existed and which itself was shaped by these translations.

Apart from the first two stanzas that praise the king, *KRM* is different from *Kavyadarsha* in three ways:

1. Though it is the first extant text in Kannada, it refers to earlier poets in Kannada such as Kavishwara, Chandra, and Lokapala, whose texts have not been found yet. It is natural that *KRM*, which is trying to make Kannada a literary language, mentions earlier poets in Kannada to claim a tradition for Kannada literature. It also envisaged a space that maps the use of Kannada, as the *Mahabharatha* does for Sanskrit¹¹. It thus talks about the geo-linguistic space of Kannada. Whether this space is real or far-fetched is not our concern, but the act of imagining a geo-linguistic space to elevate Kannada language is important for us here. It also talks of the people who use the Kannada language. It claims that they are well versed in spite of not reading anything (Seetharamaiah, 1994, I:36 & 38, 79). Kannada scholars feel that while saying this, the writer of *KRM* must be referring to folk literature that existed in Kannada. *KRM* also formulates certain rules and regulations to use Kannada.
2. *KRM* lists the “doshas”(= defects) in earlier Kannada poetry and suggests corrections (Seetharamaiah, 1994, I:41-50,) 80- 81). The main purpose behind suggesting rules of writing is how to use Sanskrit while writing in Kannada. How to mix the two languages, what the best method is to combine these two languages while writing in Kannada are the concerns that emerge from this text. This part can only be part of the Kannada version, not the Sanskrit version, as this is an added burden that the writer of *KRM* has taken upon himself. It accepts the inevitability of the use of Sanskrit in Kannada (Seetharamaiah, 1994, I:51-67, 81-84).
3. It also comments on Anandavardhana’s ‘dhwani theory’ and upholds ‘alankara theory’. This is also an added comment. Here the writer uses a poem by Anandhavardhana to oppose his argument that dhwani (‘suggestion’) is the mainstay of poetry (Seetharamaiah, 1994, III:208, 167). Though it is heavily indebted to *Kavyadarsha*, it is a meta-text on it, as any translation would be-a *vyakhyana* (commentary)/ *teeke* (interpretation) of the original, in a literal sense.

II

Now let us take up another text - the first available written epic of Kannada - to illuminate further the issues that this paper addresses. *Pampa Bharatham* or *Vikramarjuna Vijayam* (henceforth *VV*) is a text written by Pampa in 959 A.D.¹². According to the poems that come in the last chapter (the 14th) in *VV*, where the poet talks about the history of his ancestors, he was born in a family which was converted to Jainism in his father's generation (Venkatanaranappa, 1990: (14: 40-49) 401-403). Before that the family was a Brahmin family. Though he is an ardent follower of Jainism as expressed in his text *Adipuranam* (Venkatachala Shastri, 1995), (Hereinafter AP)¹³, he was proud of his Brahmin background. In fact, talking about the family's conversion to Jainism he claims that as it was a religion that was fit for the Brahmins, his father got converted to that religion.

What comes out in this statement is that the 'varna' system was also a part of Jainism as those who converted to Jainism did not shed their sense of superiority even in the new religion, although while sketching the issue of Karna's "low-caste" origin in *VV*, Pampa seems to have been aware of the brahmin-shudra hierarchical opposition and arguments that were for and against the varna system (Venkatachala Shastri, 1995, II, 80-85, 60-61). Even in *KRM* there are poems that clearly support the varna system¹⁴. In *VV*, there are many poems in which the characters glorify the old times as golden times, calling the present context as ruinous of the older one, with the rhetorical question that is usually asked - what will happen to the varna system with these changes? Preservation of the varna system thus seems to be the preoccupation of the period¹⁵. But it is also true that to some extent these conversions would have destabilized the system or rearranged the system in a slightly different way¹⁶. For example, Pampa, who was a Jaina Brahmin, was also a scholar, in the sense that he knew old texts and was conversant with the ways of training people for wars.

From the previous discussion, we can deduce that religion or the author's beliefs might have played a major role in shaping

the context of the texts. This would become clearer as we go on to explore some more examples of differences that we come across in the texts. In the first chapter of the epic, the poet himself says that *Vyasa Munindra Rudra Vachanaamruta Vaardhiyanisuvē Kavi* | *Vyasanenemba Garvamenagilla* (Venkatachala Shastri, 1995, 1:13, 3)¹⁷ meaning, “though I am trying to swim across the ocean of the speech - nectar of sage Vyasa, I don’t feel conceited about it”. Here it is clear that he is acknowledging the *Mahabharatha*, which is supposedly composed by sage Vyasa as the “original” text. But he seems to have taken a humble stand vis-à-vis the “original author”. How does he translate? He elucidates on why he translates mentions that in a poem:

*Kathe Piridaadodam Katheyameygalaliyade Mum
Samasta Bha | rathanamanapoorvamaage Sale Peldha
(Kavishwarari)/ (da Vastuviivude) Ila Varnakam
|| Katheyoladambadam Padeye Pelvode Pampane
Pelgumendu Pam | ditare Taguldu Bicchalise
Pelalodarchidenii Prabhandhamam ||* (Venkatachala
Shastri, 1995, 1:11, 0.2-3)

“As the story is vast, no poet-lord has been able to tell the complete story of Bharatha in an appealing manner. I started narrating this epic (prabhandam) by integrating the Varnaka style in the story to make the pandits proclaim that only Pampa could do it.”

The poet is aware of the fact that the story of the *Mahabharatha* is very vast. This is evident when he uses the metaphor of the ocean to refer to Vyasa’s *Mahabharatha* to which I have alluded earlier (Venkatachala Shastri, 1995, 1:13) but which appears after this poem in the text. According to the first version, he claims that no poet till now has been able to retell the complete Bharatha without affecting the framework of the story/theme. In the second version he seems to be claiming that till now nobody has been able to retell the complete tale of Bharatha in a “descriptive” way weaving that description with the story/theme¹⁸. He also claims that learned people say that only Pampa (that is, himself) can handle such a work.

What we see in the above analysis is that Pampa is aware of the Sanskrit *Mahabharatha* text and also knows that his audience

would be familiar with the “original text”. Being able to retell the “original” without affecting the body of the story/theme either fusing “Vastuka” and “Varnaka” in the story or telling the story by fusing both Vastuka and Varnaka into the story is the challenge that he has taken up in these translations. Pampa’s respect to both the “author” of the original and the story of the original is evident in these statements¹⁹. But this doesn’t mean that VV has no differences when compared with Vyasa’s *Mahabharatha*.

Many scholars have identified the differences between the Sanskrit *Mahabharatha* and Pampa’s VV. Among these I here refer to Bellave Venkatanaranayappa (Venkatanarayanappa, 1990), who has listed 27 such differences in the Introduction to his edition of VV, and Krishna Kumar (1999).

The first major difference that we come across in VV is that the hero of the epic is Arikesari II, the king in whose court the poet Pampa was. Arikesari II, as it comes out in the epic is equated with Arjuna, the hero of the epic. Some of the details regarding Arikesari II have been corroborated by other Kannada and Sanskrit texts, and also by epigraphs of the period. Arikesari was a Chalukya king and the Chalukyas and the Rastrakutas, the other and bigger kingdom of the period, had a love-hate relationship²⁰.

This act of equating king Arikesari II with Arjuna of the epic is the biggest challenge that Pampa has faced in VV. Venkatanaranayappa has felt that the changes that have been wrought because of this equation between Arikesari II and Arjuna seem to be “inappropriate” at certain places. The equation is achieved by equating the attributes that the king had with Arjuna in the beginning of each chapter. While describing the heroic qualities of Arjuna and his victories, he tries to equate victories with the wars that were waged by the king. Dharmaraja was worried that Arjuna would not be able to win against Karna. When Arjuna retorts to Dharmaraja, Arjuna speaks as if he is born to Arikesari’s actual parents. In the beginning of the epic Pampa praises the king using all his talents, and similarly at the end before embarking on a description of his own genealogy, he again praises the king.

The *Mahabharatha* (Hereinafter *MB*) in Sanskrit is a Vaidic text as it appears today, whatever may be its origins. By the time of Pampa also this seems to have been the case. The poet has left out a major chunk of *MB* that alludes to religious issues and the explication of it. This may have been done as he was trying to compress the “original without affecting the main body of the theme/story, which is very vast. But it may also be due to the religious orientation of the poet. However, he has not been able to completely divest it of its religious connotations in his Kannada version. This point might again suggest that though he might have left out a large chunk of *MB*, it was not his intention to entirely leave out its religious connotations. In his epic, he claims that, he has written a ‘loukika’ (secular) epic here and a “jinagamam” (Jaina Agama) over there²¹. The word ‘there’ refers to his other epic Adipurana, which is very much a Jaina Purana.

The sequence of situations in *MB* and *VV* are almost similar. He has not left out any parva of *MB*. Sometimes he has added new stories, stories that are not found in *MB*. While performing Rajasuya yaaga (sacrificial ritual) in *MB* the victories of each of the Pandavas have been described in great and rich detail. In *VV*, Pampa describes victories of all other Pandavas in just one line each and devotes the rest to praise Arjuna/Arikesari.

In Kirataarjuniya episode, Shiva defeats Arjuna in *MB*, but in *VV*, Arjuna defeats Shiva. Such is Pampa’s loyalty to his king. Similarly during the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana, it is Arjuna who signals to Bhima to have a go at Duryodhana’s thigh, but in *VV* it is Krishna who does the signalling. Hitting below the belt was against the rules of the fight. Violation of rules is something that a king should not be doing. Krishna thus performs that role in *VV*. The story of a Brahmin child dying because of a penance undertaken by Sudraka, a non-dwija (non-brahmin i.e., a non twice-born) is found in both Ramayana and *MB*. It is Rama who upholds the varna system by killing the Shudra who performs penance in *MB*, whereas in *VV* it is Arjuna. This also reinforces my earlier point about the varna system.

Many such differences can be pointed out. I will, however,

limit myself to the above examples. It is not that Pampa has taken only *MB* as his source for narration. He has also freely translated from other Sanskrit texts. He has taken poems from Kalidasa, Bhatta Narayana, and Bharavi and also from Bana's *Kadambari*. Pampa takes a poem out of its situation and uses it in other situations to suit his narration. For example, a poem describing Urvashi in Kalidasa's *Vikramorvashiya* is translated verbatim to describe Subhadre in *VV*. Similarly the description of the usefulness of hunting in *Abhijyana Shakuntala* is used in *VV*. While translating poems from Bhatta Narayana's *Veni Samhara* he adheres to a word-to-word translation. In other places while translating, he has modified them to suit his situations. Thus he engages in all kinds of translation - what we call today re-creation, adaptation, word-to-word translation etc.

Later writers have assiduously followed Pampa, the path bearer of Old Kannada literature. Ranna, another Jaina poet of the same century but who comes after Pampa, has written *Gadhayuddham*, focusing on the final fight between Duryodhana and Bheema. In fact he has taken the storyline from Pampa's *VV* and elaborated on it. While doing so he has borrowed freely from Pampa, and it hints at the kind of borrowing that existed then not only from other languages like Sanskrit but also from old Kannada texts. It is appropriate here to keep in mind another important concept of poetics called "Kavisamaya", a stereotypical description of certain characters, moods, situations that poets easily borrow from older poets for better communication, which indicates inter-textuality, and appeals to the readers' knowledge of those texts.

III

What appear as prominent markers that etch their stamp on the texts produced at the turn of the first millennium in the central Kannada-speaking part of today's South India are religion and polity. The analysis that has been carried out on texts such as *KRM* and *VV* of the 10th century Kannada literature indicates several important issues pertaining to the movement of texts from one language to another across time

and space. I would like to indicate those issues for further research here by no more than mentioning them.

Emergence of a literary tradition through textual production in a language other than Sanskrit and Prakrit is one of the main issues. Translation or inter-textuality did not appear as translation in the sense we know today - that of translation as “discovery” or translation as “opposition” to or an appropriation of a “dominant” tradition, but as that of a context of bilingualism that existed then. Then writers and the listeners/readers of that period knew both Sanskrit and Kannada. The writers of this period very well knew that the readers would know the source text, so it was not to introduce a new story to them, but a new theme to them in a different context/space²².

The issue of the king being the follower of a different faith than that of the poet is also an interesting issue that needs further research. Why the Jaina poets equated the king with the god of the Vaidic cult very easily is a question that needs to be probed further. Is it because they just wanted to praise the king and so equated him with god? Was it just the manifestation of their gratitude for the king in whose court they sought livelihood? Didn't they think that it was “wrong” to equate the king, a human being with god? Or as Pampa claims that his *VV* is not a religious text but a secular text. Did these poets not think of it as profane at all, as their faith was different? How did they manage to toe the line both of “religion” and “polity”? Is it that the polity itself was hospitable to “other” religions? Or does it mean that there was perfect harmony between different faiths/cults during this period and only from the following century onwards we frequently get texts that depict other faiths in antagonistic terms and the violence that accompanies forced conversion?

I would say that instead of resorting to easy theorizing of the pre-colonial notion of translation as different from today's notion of translation and looking at it as just Kannada v/s Sanskrit, we need to place those texts in the socio-political space that gave rise to such texts and also look at the space that these texts were carving out during that period in the

society. There is ample scope for research to be carried out in this field that would throw more light on issues such as language-community, language-culture, secular notion of running a polity, interaction between religious faith and polity etc.

NOTES

1. Such formulations can be found in Mukherjee (Mukherjee, 1981), Devy (Devy, 2001), Satchidanandan (Satchidanandan, 1998, 171-77) and also by many Kannada critics such as Narayana (Narayana, 1998), Nagabhushanaswamy (*Nagabhushanaswamy* 1998) and Kurtakoti (Kurtakoti, 1994). Elsewhere I have taken up these formulations for analyses to show the problems or holes in their arguments (Tharakeshwar, 2002).
2. Though I am using the word “language-cultures” to mean cultures defined on the basis of a language, I still have doubts whether the boundaries of a language and culture are coterminous. But as any notion of a culture is an abstraction based on certain identifiable traits, I use the word “language culture” in this paper with all its problematics.
3. There are other texts in Kannada, which are also derived from the *Mahabharatha* such as *Sahasa Bhima Vijayam* (Kulkarni, 1998), *Karnata Bharatha Kathamanjari* (Kuvempu & Iyengar, 1988) and Jaimini Bharatha (Sannaiah & Ramegowda, 1993).
4. Whether one should call these ‘translations’ or not is itself an issue in many writings as they “drastically” differ from the so called ‘originals’. For us any translation is a difference of the “original” text, and the “original” doesn’t carry much weight apart from serving us as a reference point for comparison so as to analyze the difference of the translation.
5. This text has been analyzed by Pollock as the one that marks the birth both of “cosmopolitan vernacular” not as opposed to, but on the model of “Sanskrit Cosmopolis” in

South Asia. (Pollock, 1998).

6. The authorship of *KRM* was a contentious issue for quite some time. Some claimed that the author was King Nrupatunga, who was a devotee of Lord Vishnu but later might have veered towards Jainism. Some others claimed that Srivijaya, a Jaina follower, who was in the court of King Nrupatunga, wrote it. People like Fleet have suspected that a poet by the name Kavishwara might have written it. It is now accepted that the author was Srivijaya. But the authorship issue doesn't concern us much, except for his leanings towards religion.
7. As my knowledge of the Sanskrit texts in question is not adequate, I have taken up only those differences that have been identified by scholars such as Kurtakoti or as noted in their preface by the editors of the concerned text in Kannada.
8. Vedic' is a terminology that is found in some of these Kannada texts composed by Jaina poets. What it means is, non-Jaina and Non-Buddhist sects. Terming these various sects, as Jaina Poets/writers as "Vedic" is problematic, but still at this stage I would like to persist with this category for purposes of expository clarity.
9. This is not to suggest that Jaina and Buddhist texts are not in Sanskrit. Though Buddhists preferred earlier Pali and Jains preferred Prakrit, they too, especially scholars of the Jaina religion, composed texts in other languages later on.
10. Hyperglossia refers to a situation of hierarchical bilingualism.
11. For the existence of this spatial imagination in the *Mahabharatha* see Pollock (Pollock, 1988, 15-16).
12. The editor of the revised version of this text (1931) Bellave Venkatanarayanappa says that the text was published in the year 863 of the Shalivahana calendar that corresponds to year 941 A.D. of the Christian era

(Venkatanarayanappa, 1990, xxii)

13. This is the first text composed by Pampa and is religious in nature.
14. In *KRM*, the order of the varnas is slightly different: first come the Vaishyas, then the Brahmins, followed by Kshatriyas and Shudras.
15. Here it is not inappropriate to recall another text of this period, which is supposed to be the first prose text in Kannada, *Vaddaradhane* (Narasimhachar, 1998) of the same century. This is a collection of short stories, which aims at converting people to Jainism. Interestingly, it targets only the first three varnas of the varna system viz. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.
16. The destabilization (re-organization?) of the varna system is more evident in the context of the Shaiva (Veerashaiva) and Vaishnava drive to recruit Shudras or those who are outside the varna system or who have not yet become part of the varna system (as these communities might have been in their formative stages due to emergence of new occupations) in the 12th and 15th centuries respectively, than in conversions to Jainism. But occupation shifts don't seem to have taken place in spite of conversion to a new sect or adapting to a new sect.
17. All references to page numbers, chapter and poem numbers are based on the text edited by Bellave Venkatanarayanappa (1990).
18. The words in parentheses are found in different manuscripts indicating two different versions of the text.
19. The words "Vastuka" and "Varnaka" are used as conceptual categories in Kannada literary tradition, but without exactly defining it. Various scholars have defined it in different ways, but Seetharamaiah argues that the concepts have changed their meaning over time (Seetharamaiah, 1974).
20. These kingdoms were situated in today's northern

Karnataka, which the historians of the medieval period normally identify as the Deccan plateau.

21. Agamas are sacred texts that lay out the tenets of the religion.
22. This situation is something similar to the one that is pointed out by Bassnett (Bassnett, 1991) with regard to Roman translations, in her classification of various stages of translation in Europe. There also, the translations were carried out for an audience who knew the source language well and would have read the translated text in original form. But there the Roman polity had taken firm root against that of the Greek polity. Here in South Asia we find no correspondence between language and polity. Even if there are correspondence between language and polity. Even if there are correspondences it is quite different from that of the European situation as sketched in the second part of this paper.

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Translation and the Indian Tradition: Some Illustrations, Some Insights

PRIYADARSHI PATNAIK

Abstract

In the context of the spotlight on translation in the post-colonial context, it is interesting to note that in the Indian tradition there are many instances of what can be termed 'translations' since very early times, yet there is hardly any theorizing in our tradition about them. The paper focusses on one instance of such an activity. Around 16th century AD poet Jagannatha Dasa of Orissa wrote an Oriya Bhagabat which has virtually the exact chapter and canto arrangement as that of the Sanskrit Bhagabat. Yet there are variations here and there which are insightful. Similar is the case with the verses and the narratives which follow the Sanskrit Bhagabat systematically at many places and deviate at others. A close look at and comparison of the two texts leads to interesting observations. The paper uses a short extract each from the two works (Sanskrit Bhagabat with English translation, Oriya Bhagabat with my translation into English) to draw comparisons and to analyse some finer points of Indian translation in the pre-colonial days.

Introduction

At first glance, Indian tradition has nothing to say about translation. For that matter, there is hardly any theorizing anywhere in the Sanskrit scholastic or literary tradition about the translation of texts. Was it because there was no translation of texts in this tradition?

Since very early times translation has been a very significant activity in India. The Chinese came to India, took Buddhist texts back and translated them. Many Pali and Prakrit texts of the Buddhists were translated into Sanskrit. In the medieval period a number of popular Sanskrit works, especially the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and many *Purāṇas* were translated into regional languages.

I subscribe to the view that translation has been an almost unconscious activity in the Indian tradition, something which has happened in this context effortlessly without fuss and hassles and, hence, has not received much critical attention. There are certain important components like the ‘original text’, ‘author’, ‘cultural transference’, etc., which were perhaps not problematized in the ancient Indian context, and hence, have drawn little critical attention. In the Western context as well, theorizing about translation is fairly recent, although the act of translation itself is at least as old as the Bible.

Today, a very important question comes to one’s mind, and that is: is there anything distinctive that we can say about translation in the Indian context? As I pointed out above, one has very little critical text to go by which directly deals with translation. However, one can learn from the examples, from oblique references to the problem and even the way that the different art forms in our culture have evolved. For instance, one can look at translations among the different Indian languages that had taken place prior to colonization. One can look at Mimāṃsa or the interpretative tradition for rules to be followed for interpretation; assuming that interpretation and translation have certain things in common. One can seek inspiration in the Jaina concept of *anekāntavāda* where reality can never be grasped in its totality (as any translation is always one of many possible translations of an ungraspable original). One can look at the way different art forms explored the same myths and legends – to what extent “translations” into different forms were parallel or used common principles. However, such an exploration would be a full length study in itself. What can be and are attempted here are some illustrations and pointers, with the hope that somebody would

find them worthwhile starting points for detailed exploration. I shall take up for close analysis a passage from *Srimad Bhagavata Mahapurana* and its translation into Oriya. I shall then attempt to show that Indian aesthetics does give certain insights into the process of translation.

Section I

Medieval India saw the “translation” of many popular Sanskrit works into the regional languages – especially religious and didactic works to which the masses, who did not know Sanskrit, sought access. In Orissa, *Bhagavata Mahapurana* was translated into Oriya sometime around the 15th-16th century A.D. by the eminent *Santha* poet Jagannatha Dasa. The translation is remarkably popular even today and in Orissa hardly anyone reads the Sanskrit text. Almost all public readings in villages are from the Oriya *Bhagavata*.

What I have attempted here is a comparison of a short passage from the 11th canto of both the texts. However, before that, I would like to point out that in terms of metre, the two texts are very different. The Oriya text used a metre with nine syllables known as *nabakshyari chhanda* which is very popular in the Orissan tradition and is eminently readable over long stretches. This is also a metre which is easy to remember. The poet, thus, has chosen a metre which is not necessarily close to the original metre (the Sanskrit text was written mostly in *anustup* metre), but one which, in its own cultural context, is the most appropriate. Since the *Bhagavata* is a long work and yet is supposed to be read in a matter of a few days, in Oriya, there is no other metre which is as lucid and easy to recite as the *nabakshyari*.

Culture provides certain insights into how a work is looked at. In the Oriya tradition, it is never felt that Jagannatha’s *Bhagavata* is a translation of Sanskrit *Bhagavata*. I believe this is common to the Indian context. We talk of Valmiki’s *Ramayana* and we also talk of Tulsi’s *Ramayana* or Kamban’s *Ramayana*. It is never felt that one is the original and the other is a copy. It is as if the story of Rama exists somewhere in the Indian tradition and each poet has made it his own.

Within the tradition, it is cultural property. Anybody can pick it and use it. Ownership of the story belongs to no individual but to a collective tradition. Often scholars use the expression “transcreation” to look at such works.

While Jagannatha’s *Bhagavata* fits this category, it is also remarkably close to the structure of the original. The numbers of cantos in both the texts are identical. The chapters are usually of the same number and each chapter deals with identical subject matter. Seen in this light, the Oriya text comes very close to what we call ‘translation’ today. This is one reason why it is a good example to take up here.

What I shall attempt now is a comparison of the two texts. For those who know both Sanskrit and Oriya, the original passages are available in the notes. However, for those who must read in English, given below are the translations. The translation from the Sanskrit is by C. L. Goswami (Goswami, 1995). The translation from Oriya is mine. In spite of the translations of translations, I hope that I will be able to make a few pertinent observations about the practice of translation in the Indian context. The passage that I take up here is from the section that deals with the lessons that the Abadhuta learns from his twenty-four gurus. Among his gurus are the sky, the earth, the sea, animals and insects. The Abadhuta also learns from the experiences of the fallen woman – here the prostitute Pingala who lived once in the town of Vedeha.

Srimad Bhagavata Mahapurana (Sanskrit)¹

Canto 11. Chapter 8. Verses 30-34

Alas! How senseless and of uncontrolled mind am I! Behold the extent of my foolishness; ignorant as I am I have expected the fulfillment of my desire from a trifling mean paramour! (30)

Forsaking the eternal and real lord who resides in my heart and gives joy and wealth forever, fondly have I sought a poor man who cannot satisfy my desires and who only gives grief, fear, worry, sorrow and infatuation. (31)

Lo! How uselessly have I afflicted my soul by leading the life of a courtesan and living by such a highly reproachable profession; I expected wealth and satisfaction from a lustful, greedy and lamentable person through the body sold to him. (32)

What female other than myself would have enjoyed a body, which is like a house of which the framework is bones, Covered with skin, hair and nails, which is full of urine and excreta and has nine doors through which constantly flows foul matter? (33)

Among the citizens of Mithila (Videha) I am the only foolish and wicked person...

Bhagavata Mahapurana (Oriya)

Canto 11. Chapter 8. Verses 30-342

Look at the net of my desire!
I lived my time in ignorance,
Ruined everything in my lust for wealth,
In my woman's ways, in my carnal drive
Among unholy men
I indulged my desire intoxicated.
Curse this life of mine!
Close to me is my Deliverer,
The giver of all wealth and happiness,
The Father of all orphans
The Lord of the path to liberation.
Distancing that pearl, that eternal Lord
From my cursed mind
I took to the company of wicked men.
Ignorant were my colourful ways.
They were very wicked and
Misfortune was the reason for my downfall.
For I lived among the debauch
As a result of the sins of my past life;
Was tormented in vein
With the ways of wicked womanhood.
Thirsting for money
I misused this body –

A cage made of bones
Covered with nail, skin and hair.
With chains and knots of veins
Smearing the skin with flesh.
In this house of body I stay.
Endlessly flow the nine openings.
Within which move urine and stool
Complete with phlegm, bile and...
Malodorous worms, saliva and veins;
Diseases grow here endlessly.
Such is the house where I reside.
This is what my Guru taught me.
Not paying heed to his words
In this house I am the –
In the whole city of Videha
There is no fool like me.
(Verses 30 -34)

While Jagannatha remains close to the spirit of the original, discusses the same themes, takes up the same issues, he also introduces variations of his own, extends certain metaphors, sometimes intensifies certain images and often elaborates and elucidates. In other words, there are places where the translation also extends into commentary.

To begin with, the content of the four verses of the Sanskrit text are covered in around 20 short verses in the Oriya *Bhagavata*. As indicated earlier, the metre is different, the approach elucidatory, giving rise to certain repetitions that one doesn't find in the Sanskrit text. This is an interesting point since by very nature, Oriya didactic poetry is repetitive. It is a part of this tradition. On the other hand Sanskrit verses are aphoristic more often and pithy, given as they are to condensation by the very compounding of words. Such attempt at pithiness hardly exists anywhere in the Oriya literary tradition and is in fact alien to it. While the Sanskrit *Bhagavata* is elucidatory in nature in the context of Sanskrit verse, compared to the Oriya text, it is very compressed.

The Oriya text, here, begins with a metaphor – one which is cultural and very powerful. He uses the metaphor of the net

or the web for the world. Entrapment in the world of desires is the theme of both the texts, but in the Oriya text, the metaphor of the net is new. *Maya Jala* or the “illusory web” of the world is a very common metaphor in Oriya religious poetry. The poet uses it here in the Oriya text to intensify the state of affairs with the fallen woman who feels entrapped.

Another interesting case is the use of extended metaphor and its elaboration. Both in the Sanskrit and the Oriya tradition, the body being seen as a ‘cage’ is a very powerful cultural metaphor. In the *Bhakti* poetry of the 16th – 17th century Orissa, it is very frequently used. In this context, the Oriya text extends this metaphor, elaborates on it and highlights the disgusting elements that constitute this body. The reference to “diseases” is also new, not directly referred to in the Sanskrit text.

Is it not possible to go through a text, internalize it, and then express it in your own cultural context as cogently as possible? Is it not possible to take a metaphor and then extend it in order to intensify it? Is it not possible to elaborate, give flesh to stories or outlines that stand bare in the “original?” Is it not possible to get out of the mindset that makes one the “original” and the other the “copy?” I believe all these things happen when we look at “translation” in the Indian context.

Both the Sanskrit and the Oriya works seek inspiration prior to the beginning the work. If we had a translation in the literal sense, as we understand it today, the Oriya text would have sought the blessings for the poet of the Sanskrit text. But that does not happen. The Oriya text seeks inspiration and blessings for itself – its travails and smooth journey.

In this tradition, not only does the author internalize the text, but the text also internalizes the author. For instance, at the end of almost each chapter, Jagannatha says something like this:

The tale of these twenty-four gurus Uddhaba tells, O Chakrapani.

That tale is one of great delight.

And this is the summary of the eleventh canto...

Jagannatha Dasa tells this

Setting his mind at the feet of Lord Krishna. (11th Canto, chapter 10)

The author of the Oriya *Bhagavata* has made the text his own and is himself embedded within the text. This is another common feature of much medieval poetry of India.

The notion of translation, as we understand it today, involves an 'original author' and an 'original text'. Faithfulness, devotion, textual integrity are highlighted; or else one rebels against them; they are never transcended. In the Indian tradition, internalization and transformation appropriate to the cultural context are indicated. Even as the author absorbs, the author is absorbed too.

However, a word of caution! Not all texts are or can be treated in this way, even in the Indian tradition. For instance, there was hardly any attempt to translate the *Vedas* into any other language prior to colonization. *Vedas* are *apaurusheya* (= not manmade), and are transmitted by *sruti* (= listening). They cannot be made one's own the way the *Puranas* can be. From the point of view of content, the meaning of the *Vedas* is embedded in the sound. Meaning proliferates at various levels – only one of them is literal. At another level meaning and sound are so closely linked that separating them divests them of all meaning. *Mantras* thus become untranslatable (Roy, 2004).

But the same is not the case with the *Bhagvad Gita*, which is considered anonymous in origin. In the Oriya language itself, there must be at least five *Gitas* between the 15th and 17th century A. D. The framework became so popular that almost any treatise on any religious subject started making use of it. In such a context, *Gita* referred to the format (Krishna and Arjuna) and not to the content. What was translated, if at all it can be called that, was the form (even proforma) and not the content.

In the context of philosophical works, there were not many translations, at least from Sanskrit to the regional languages. For instance, I know of no translations of

Sanskrit philosophical works into Oriya in the pre-colonial context. This could possibly be because those who indulged in philosophy were expected to know Sanskrit. It was the language of philosophy and there was no popular demand for philosophy as there was for *Puranas* or the epics.

An exploration of the translation of Pali canonical texts into Sanskrit would give us a lot of insight into the strategies followed in translating philosophical texts. However such an exploration would be outside the tether of this paper.

Let us now look at Indian aesthetics and Indian poetics seeking some light on the act(ivity) we call 'translation'.

Section II

The various art forms, in the Indian context, are closely interrelated. This is indicated in many ancient treatises on art as I have pointed out elsewhere (Patnaik, 2004). For instance, the *Visnudharmottara* (Part 3, cpt 2, Verse 1-9), in a passage emphasizing the knowledge required to understand image-making, says:

Lord of men, he who does not know properly the rules of *chitra* can, by no means, be able to discern the characteristics of image... Without any knowledge of the art of dancing, the rules of painting are very difficult to be understood... The practice of dancing is difficult to be understood by one who is not acquainted with music... without singing, music cannot be understood. (Kramrisch, 1928, 31-32). In the context of dance, *vachikabhinaya* (expression through words) can be easily translated into *angikabhinaya* (expression through gestures) since an elaborate and well developed language of gestures exists which is capable both of description and narration.

Concepts like *alamkara* (ornamentations), *dosas* (defects), *gunas* (qualities), *bhavas* (emotions expressed successfully through art) and *riti* (style) are common to music, painting, dance as well as literature. It is perhaps because of this interrelation that around the 16th century A.D., there evolved a form of painting known as *Ragmala*. This is the depiction of the *ragas* (musical forms) through a series of paintings. Such

a radical conceptualization – translating something that is temporal and transient into something spatial and static – would not have been possible without a set up in which the various art forms shared many values, strategies and ideals.

Hence, stories belonging to the corpus of our tradition could be enacted in plays, dance forms, indicated in murals or paintings or transmitted through songs. A great degree of translatability among modes existed in such a tradition. Notions of authorship did not interfere with such translations or, as I have tried to suggest, ‘transmutations’.

In the background of such inter-modal exchanges that Indian aesthetics permitted, it is not difficult to point to possible ways of translating between different languages and even cultures.

I shall begin with the observations that T.R.S. Sharma makes about Indian poetics and translation and then build on those ideas. In the context of *rasa*, he considered it the shaping principle, the inner rhetoricity working through the text and shaping it (Sharma, 2004, 148-49). *Rasa* can also be considered the aesthetic emotion that pervades the work that gives it its emotion-based orientation. Unless this is successfully transmitted to the audience, according to Indian poetics, the work fails. The same principle can apply to translation. Though it looks apparently innocent, this can be radical when applied to translation – the translation may, if necessary, have to use totally different words or figures or configurations in order to successfully evoke similar emotions (to the source text) in another language or another culture. Thus, *rasa*, as a guiding principle, allows for departure from textual, word-for-word translation. If we look at Jagannatha’s *Bhagavata*, the different verse form used can be justified in these terms – the cultural difference required a different verse form which was lucid and seemed effortless. But I do not of course wish to indicate that Jagannatha’s choice was necessarily based on *rasa* theory.

Riti refers to stylistics. Sharma differentiates it from rhetorics which also includes tropes or figures of thought (Sharma, 2004, 149). *Riti* indicates the choice of language, the tone,

the swiftness or slowness of pace, the static or the dynamic aspect of the language, the choice of verse. If *rasa* is the spirit that runs through the work, *riti* is the body, its fluidity or rigidity, its movements, its rhythms.

How does one emulate *riti* in a translation? Sharma gives the example of Hemingway. Since Hemingway uses a predominantly Anglo-Saxon diction and simple sentences, in an Indian translation, the use of colloquial rather than Sanskritised expressions could be indicated. *Riti* requires an acute ear, and the ability to choose an apt cultural 'transference'.

An elaboration of this point may be in order here. Often cultures cannot be translated. A different ethos has a different demand. A tone, a style, a narrative strategy may not exist in the translated language. Here one cannot translate; one must look for a cultural parallel. And in doing so, one goes not so much by *riti* as by *rasa*.

Alamkaras constitute figures of sound and thought. Metaphors, tropes, different kinds of figures come under it. While being considered as the supreme attributes of literature till the 10th century A.D., after Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, these came, often, to be considered as mere embellishments. *Alamkara* or jewelry is that which adorns the bare body and thus makes it beautiful.

In translation, one tries to translate figures of thought, but what about figures of sound? What about the vibrations. As with *mantras* which lose their meaning in translation (since the vibration of the original sounds are missing), with *śabda* (sound) *alamkara*, translation usually fails.

Sharma finally talks of *dhvani*, which is a force-field of meanings, often culture-specific (Sharma, 2004, t150). *Dhvani* was brought into the realm of poetics by Ānandavardhana and is generally translated as 'suggestion'. For instance, Ganga (which could be someone's name) brings in the association of the holy river, the myth of Ganga and Shiva, the image of sacrifices, the sacredness of the water. This may pose problems for translation. *Dhvani* is to a very great extent

culture-specific and poses the most difficulty to a translator. However, many texts rely on evocation and suggestion. Hence, *dhvani* is an important issue that translators must keep in mind. A strategy that some translators use is implicit commentary within the text in order to explain possible evocations. Others use notes and leave the rest to the reader's imagination. But there is no easy way to tackle the problem.

One other set of elements of Indian poetics that Sharma does not mention or consider important for translation is *dosas* (defects) and *gunas* (positive qualities) that one identifies in a text. Indian poetics lays down a series of defects (usually ten in number by each ancient critic) and good qualities of literary writing. While in the contemporary context we may no longer use the same guidelines, they are significant indicators of writing strategies.

For instance, here are a few *dosas* and *gunas* that Bharata lists. Among *gunas* he indicates *slesa* (apt use), *prasada* (clarity), *samata* (evenness), *madhurya* (sweetness) etc. Among *dosas* he lists *qudartha* (circumlocution or difficult words), *arthantara* (digression into irrelevance), *arthahina* (incoherence, multiple meanings), *ekartha* (tautology) etc.

Dosas and *gunas*, we must admit, are both context- and culture-dependent and hence relative. Say, 'sweetness' may not be apt in all writings. In some, it may even be considered a defect. Nor is it the translator's main job to identify 'defects' in the text and remedy them. But *dosas* and *gunas* are insightful indicators of the subtle nuances of the style of writing. They get linked to *riti* or stylistics. They can make the translator choose the right strategy for emulating the style (or collage of styles) to be found in the text to be translated, be they *dosas* or *gunas*.

Finally, it must be said that the five elements of Indian poetics indicated above do not necessarily work in unity when one comes to translation. There might be inherently contradictory demands that each makes on the translator. If one goes by later poetics in the Indian tradition, one would resolve the issue by focusing on *rasa*, the emotional

evocation of the translation and its approximation to the text that is translated. Other elements must work in accord, and where they do not, must be subordinated to or abandoned in favour of *rasa*.

I also subscribe to such a view. In spite of the various things that we have to say in literary theory about texts, a very significant component of any act of literature is the response of the reader/audience to it, and this can never be purely intellectual or cerebral. Aesthetic relish always brings in certain emotions or their evocations. All translations must finally be read/experienced, and they must evoke certain aesthetic emotions in the reader/audience. In that every literary work can be analyzed through *rasa* and it can be a guiding principle for any translation.

NOTES

1. *Srimad Bhagavata Mahapurana*, Gorakhpur Gita Press, Gorakhpur, (3rd Edition) 1995.

2. *aho me mohobitatim pasyatabijitatmanah | ya kantadastah*

kamam kamaye yena balisa (30)

santam samipe ramanamratipradam bittapradam nityamimam

bihaya | akamadam dukkhabhayadis okamohapradam tuch amahambhagegnya (31)

aho mayatma paritapito brutha sanketyabrutyati bigaryabartaya |

strairnanrad yarthatrsonosocyat kritena bittam ratimatmanechti |(32)

yadasthi vinirmita bamsbangsyasthunam tvaca romanakheha pinardum |

khyaranna badvara magarametad birnmutrapurnam madupetikanya | (33)

idehanam pure hyasminhamekeba mudhadihi

3. *dekha mohara mohazala | agyane bancili mu kala sarba nasili dhana lobhe | nari svabhabe kamabhabe*

asadhu purusanka mele | kantara bhabe kamabhole ramili dhane dei mana | dhika e moharajibana

nikate achi mora bharta | sarba sampada sukha-data

anatha natha janahita | mukati gatira bidhata
ze nitya purusa ratana | tahanka dure thoi mana
ramili kupuru sa sange | dhane surati sukha range
buddhi mohara dusta ati | bipaka phale hinagati
banchili tuchajana mele | purba pataka karmaphala
brutha tapita heli muhin | stiri lampate bhava muhin
artha trusnare hoi marta | e deha kali mu biartha
asthi panjara caripase | chau ni nakha roma kese
sira sikuli ganthi jokhe | carma rudhira mamsa lepe
e kaya ghare basa moro | nirate bahe nabadvara
eha madhyare malamutra | sampurna kapha bata pitta
durgandha krumi lala nadi | asesa roga chanti badhi
emanta ghare mote thoi | je guru gale sikhya dei
se guru bakya na pramani | a ghare muhi docaruni
bideha nagarare thai | mo pari mu dha kehi nahi

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Translation in Odia: A Historical Overview

ADITYA KUMAR PANDA

Abstract

History of translation in Odia could be studied either by surveying the major translated works in Odia chronologically or by reflecting on the development of Odia literature through translation socioculturally and politically, although both the approaches are not mutually exclusive. Translation is central to the development of Odia literature like that of any modern Indian literature. If one goes through the history of Odia literature, one can find that the quantum of Odia literature is more through translation. This essay deals with the historical account of the translation into Odia.

1. Introduction:

Every history has an oral tradition of which a complete record does not exist. Whatever is recorded becomes the part of a history. A history is never a perfect history. It is biologically impossible on the part of human beings to write a perfect history which should count for each minute of the past. Therefore, history of translation is possible, if there exists written records of translation work in a language. In this historical account, “translation proper (translation of a source language text to a target language with fidelity to source language form and meaning)” has not only been taken into account, but also broadly discusses interpretation, retelling, adaptation, and transcreation.

1.1. Periodization:

A history can be studied by dividing it according to time or place or the medium of writing. Chronologically, History of

Odia translation could be classified into 4 periods. They are:

- A. Pre-Sarala and Sarala Period (till 15th century)
- B. Panchasakhaa and Bhanja Period (from 16th to 18th century)
- C. The Colonial Period (19th to 20th century)
- D. Post-Independent Period (20th to 21st century)

But these four chronological periods could also be classified under two categories by considering the medium of writing:

1. Palm leaf tradition (from pre-Sarala to till the beginning of the Colonial period), 2. Print (technology) tradition (from the colonial period till date). Although there is a period before palm leaf tradition which can be called as period of literature in inscription language (from 300 BC to 1500 AD), but the recorded inscription reveals that those were not of translation. Another division can be made on the basis of types of translation in the history of Odia language. One will be counting the literary translation which includes mythological, religious translation and another could be non-literary translation which includes the texts related to the domain of Astrology, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Economics etc. Based on the collected 40,000 palm leaf manuscripts in the Odisha State Museum, it is found that there were writings on Veda, Tantra, Jyotisha, Dharmasastra, Ayurveda, Ganita, Silpasastra, Samgita, Abhidhana, Vyakarana, Sanskrit Purana, Sanskrit Kavya, Alamkara etc.

2. Pre-Sarala and Sarala Period (till 15th century)

History of translation in Odia before 18th century could be perceived through retelling, adaptation, transcreation more than that of translation proper. Translation was recognized as a writing. It is nowhere written in Sarala Mahabharata that Sarala translated the *Mahabharata* but it has been written that it is a writing done by Sarala Das (it is Shudramuni Sarala Dasnka Kruta Mahabharata in Odia). Translation as it is grounded in 19th and 20th century as a faithful rendering of a source text in a target language seems to be an approach imported to India. Before 19th and 20th century, translation was a writing in India (as it is evident from Sarala Das's

Mahabharata). There was no demarcation between the original text and the translated one. It was not classified as a separate domain as it is at present. As far as the earliest record goes, the History of Odia Translation dates back to 15th century when Sarala Das wrote *Odia Mahabharata*.

There was an oral tradition which contributed to the early development of Odia literature of which no written record exists. Sanskrit was the dominant language at that time. The earliest record of history of translation in Odia reveals that the available literature in Odisha was in Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature gave an impetus to the development of early Odia literature. The kings and the pundits were giving importance to Sanskrit literature and Odia was considered as the language of shudras (untouchables). The Brahmins had the access to Sanskrit literature. It was in this period, the First Poet (Aadikavi) Sarala Das was born and all his talents were for creating Odia literature and establishing Odia language through transcreation. At the time of reign of Kapilendra Dev, Sarala Das, a non-Brahmin, thought to recreate Mahabharata that would be meant for all. And he thought that the language of the pundits should not be the language of this Mahabharata. Therefore, he added many colloquial Odia words in his retelling of Mahabharata. Sarala Das's Mahabharata was to democratize the restricted domain of knowledge. He could have created a new writing instead of retelling the Sanskrit Mahabharata, but he took the available source text and created a parallel Odia text to bridge the gap between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. This *Mahabharata* cannot be considered as a translation proper, but it qualifies to be included as the earliest translation that established Odia literature. Why should it be considered under translation is that it has a Source Text, events and proper names are also from the Source, the main story and theme are also from a source. Theoretically one can also include it as a translation as Williams defines translation as every text that is based on a previous text is simply a translation. (Williams, 2013). While translating Mahabharata, he used the technique of additions and deletions and adaptation.

3. Panchasakhaa and Bhanja Period (from 16th to 18th century)

Next phase of translation could be seen in the literature of Panchasakhaa Yuga. Panchasakhaa Yuga includes the writings of five Odia poets during the late 15th and 16th centuries: Balaram Das, Atibadi Jagannath Das, Achyutananda Das, Ananta Das and Jasobanta Das. They are considered as the pioneers of Utkaliya Vaishnavism and they were also influenced by Jay Dev's Gita Govinda. Balaram Das did a free translation of Valmiki's Ramayana and entitled it as Jagamohan Ramayana. "In the Jagamohan Ramayana he creates a parallel ideological structure by alternating between breaking with the original text, closely following it and at other times inventing new narratives. This was the third phase of the translation process (St-Pierre & Kar, 2007)". The greatest contribution of Panchasakha Yuga to Odia literature through translation is Jagannatha Dasa's Srimad Bhagabata. It is one of the most popular and widely read texts in Odia. Like Sarala Dasa's Mahabharata in Oriya, Srimad Bhagavata of Sri Jagannatha Dasa is not a literal translation of the Sanskrit original. But all the same, the Oriya translation of the Srimad Bhagavata by Sri Jagannatha Dasa is a marvel of creation with its sparkling originality and scintillating clarity (Das & Sahoo, 2009). Achyutananda is famous as a saint poet of Odisha. Achyutananda Das's Lahari Harivamsa is also a transcreation from the Sanskrit original. According to Mayadhar Mansingh, the Lahari Harivamsa of Achyutananda is an original work retaining only the framework of the Sanskrit model.

Sarala's *Mahabharata* and Jagannath's *Srimad Bhagabata* were the literary pieces which were transcreated from the Sanskrit original to be read by the people who had no access to the same texts ritually owned by the Brahmins. These were the attempts to break the closed Sanskritic tradition prevailed at that time in Odisha. *Translations from Sarala Das to Jagannath Das were radical attempts at vernacularization and coincided with the founding of a powerful Oriya empire by Kapilendra Dev and its subsequent consolidation by his inheritors. The aesthetic evident in these works can be said*

to mirror the sociopolitical by subverting the dominant pan-Indian Sanskritic-Brahminical hegemony (The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, 2012).

Yashovant Das is popular all over Odisha for his memorable song, “bhajukinaarama”. It is a part of his writing *Govindachandra Teekaa*. He translated the Sanskrit “*Swarodayalesha*” into Odia and named it ‘*Shiva swarodaya*’. It is not a translation proper but an adaptation in Odia.

Sixteenth century poets also translated the *Gita Govinda* into musical Odia. Dharanidhar, Brindaban and Trilochan Das translated the *Gita Govinda* into Odia. Dharanidhar translated it in his navakiyaani form (9 syllables) and Brindaban translated it with Odia raga and raginis and Trilochan Das translated and named it as *Govindagitaa* (Encyclopedia of Indian Literature, Sahitya Akademi, 1988).

Translation activity also flourished in seventeenth-century Odisha: Mukul Das translated *Betala Panchavinsati*, and a portion of Rupa Goswami’s *Bidagdha Madhaba* was translated by the poet Gopalakrishna Patnaik. Other notable translations of that period include Krishna Singh’s *Mahabharata*, Haladhara Das’s *Adhyatma Bhagabata*, Balabhadra Mangaraj’s *Kshetra Mahatmya* and Balaram Das’s *Gita* (Pattanaik, 2002).

Among those who translated Sanskrit puranas in verse form during 17th and 18th centuries, the names of Krishnacharan Pattanaik who translated *Bhagabata*, *Vamana purana*, *Kalki purana*, *Ramayana*, Jayasingha who translated *Bhagavad Gita* and *Dronaparva* of the *Mahabharata*, Haladhar Pattanaik and Suryamani Chayu pattanaik, translators of *Adhyatma Ramayana* deserve special mention (Encyclopedia of Indian Literature, 1988).

All these translations from Sarala Das to 18th century aimed at freeing knowledge from the clutches of Brahmins. Many discrepancies which were created by Brahmins on the basis of caste, class, religion were overthrown. Knowledge of Vedas, puranas which was only accessible to elite class became available through translation in a language that common

people could comprehend.

4. The Colonial Period (19th to mid-20th century)

Till the advent of the printing press in Odisha, it was the palm leaf tradition which was dominant in writing literature. Printing press came to Odisha in early 19th century. Printing technology started replacing the palm leaf tradition. Missionaries established Odia Mission Press in Cuttack in 1837 to print Odia books. Before this establishment, books were printed in the Serampore Mission Press in Bengal. The Bible was translated into Odia in 1814. J.Carey translated Hebrew poems into Odia in 1814. *The Bible* was the first printed book and the first printed translation in Odia. The first printed Odia book brought out in 1809 was the New Testament (Srujanika, 2010). The primary aim of the Bible translation and publication was to preach and spread Christianity in Odisha. A. Sutton translated John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* into Odia. During this period, English was the dominant language and it was the language of the English authority. Printing press was another weapon of this authority to reach the masses through multiple copies of the Bible. Lacey and Sutton translated the Jewel Mine of Salvation into Odia in 1827. *The first Odia story book 'Phulamani O Karuna' was written by Rev. Stubbing in 1857. It was a translation of the Bengali book of that time* (Choudhury, Odisha Review, 2013).

In 1866, Cuttack Printing Press was established by the people of Odisha. Many books were published by Viswambar Vidyabhusana, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Bichhanda Patanaik and Govinda Chandra Pattanaik. Gouri Shankar Ray launched the first periodical, *Utkala Dipika* during this period. Subsequently, many printing presses were established in Cuttack, Bamanda, Ganjam, Puri, Baleswar.

Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan were the great Odia writers at this period whom a great deal of translated literature was attributed. Much of their writings appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century. This was the formative period of the statehood of Odisha. There

were attempts by the Bengali elite to suppress Odia as an independent language. But such attempt was discarded and Odia literature was strengthened through translation and original writing by the great Odia writers: Radhanath Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati and Madhusudan Rao.

Radhanath Ray had the talent of mixing the elements of Sanskrit classics and English classics. He was the one who introduced the blank verse in Odia poetry. This could well be justified in his *Meghanathbadha* and *Usha*. The story of *Meghanathbadha* is based on Vyasa's *Mahabharata* and presentation is like that of Homer's *Iliad* or Virgil's *Aeneid*. He took the elements of Ovid's stories, William Morris's *Atlanta's Race* and the mythological story of *Usha* and *Aniruddha*. Radhanath also followed Greek mythical stories completely in some of his writings. His *Chandrabhaga* and *Nandikeshwari* could be cited as the examples which would be thought up as the imitation of the love affair of Ovid's *Apollo and Daphne* and *The Seylla*. Radhanath's most popular literary piece on the line of adaptation/imitation of Greek and English play is *Parvati* which he wrote in 1890. The plot construction of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (imitation of Homer's *Iliad*) and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* could be found in *Parvati*. The character of *Parvati* (queen of *Utkala*) reminds us of Shakespeare's *Gertrude* (queen of *Denmark*) and Aeschylus's *Chlytemenestra* (queen of *Argos*). Likewise the character of *Gangeswar* (king of *Utkal*) could be compared to *Agamemnon* (king of *Argos*) and *Senior Hamlet* (king of *Denmark*). *Koushalya*, the princess of *Utkal* reminds us of *Ipheginia*, the daughter of *Agamemnon*. To quote a popular critic, *Ratnakar Chaini's* appreciation for Radhanath Ray: *The monument of poetry which Radhanath has erected, its foundation being Sanskrit literature, its bricks and stones are Greek and English literature, its cementing bonds are the history and legends of Orissa.* (Chaini, 1984). Radhanath's *Italiyajuba* and *Meghadoot* could be considered as translation proper. *Italiyajuba* is the Odia translation of an English translation of an Italian story. It is a prose piece. Radhanath is the first Odia translator of the Sanskrit classic *Meghadoot*. Translation of the *Meghadoot* is a popular work which also became a text book in a vernacular school in *Cuttack*. Another Odia writer, *Radhamohan Gadnaik*

appreciated his translation of Meghadoot and wrote that Radhanath has achieved no less success in the translation of *Meghadoot* as he has done in his own poetic creation (Makers of Modern Odisha, 1993). Radhanath wrote *Kedar Gouri* in 1886. It was an adaptation of Pyramus and Thisbe. In this adaptation, he added the episode of King's dream and building up of a temple.

Late 19th century was the period when the consciousness of Odisha as a nation which has its own language, culture and literature began to emerge. There were attempts to suppress Odia as a unique language. The colonial authority had already started English education. Text books were being written in English and Bangla. During this period, Radhanath Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Madhusudan Rao became influential and wrote translated published books in Odia. In 1866, Fakir Mohan Senapati translated a biography, entitled *Jibancharit* written by Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. It was a prescribed text book for scholarship examination. It was a text book which wrote about the scientists like Copernicus, Galileo, Newton and also like William Jones. Fakir Mohan Senapati translated the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, *Srimad Bhagabat Gita*, *History of India*, *Khila Haribamsa* into Odia. He was translating from Sanskrit classics as well as from Bangla like Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar's *Jivan Charita*. *Sita Banabasa*, another text by Vidyasagar was translated by Bichhanda Charan Patnaik.

Madhusudan Rao is another famous Odia writer who is a contemporary to Radhanath and Fakir Mohan. He is famous for his *Chhabila Madhu Barnabodha* (the A.B.C Primer in Odia). He translated *Sitabanabaas*, *Ramabanabaas*, *Baala Ramayana*, *Uttara Ramacharita* from Sanskrit to Odia. He transcreated William Cowper's *The Solitude of Alexander Selkirk* in Odia and named it as *Nirbaasitara Bilaapa*. *Nirbaasitara Bilaapa* reads like an original poem. There is no reference of Alexander Selkirk in the Odia poem *Nirbaasitara Bilaapa*. The translation from English to Odia in the late 19th century was initiating a process of cultural empowerment on the part of Odia language and literature in its colonial history (Mohapatra, RJLCS, 2011).

Another popular Odia writer of this period is Ramsankar Ray who wrote 14 plays in Odia and he also authored *Soudamini*, one of the early Odia novels. Out of his 14 plays, *Banabaalaa* is an adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. He wrote this play in 1882.

Jaganmohan Lala was a social reformer and another well-known dramatist. He translated Toynbee's *A Sketch of the History of Orissa* (1803-1828) into Odia and entitled it as *Odisha Vijaya* in 1876. He also translated Thomas Parnell's *The Hermit* into Odia as *Bhramabhanjana*.

Towards 1870s, many books of general interest were translated. Vidyasagar's *Jibancharit* which was a translation of Chamber's Biography could be cited as one. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar's *Jibanacharit* can be considered as a scientific text, not technically, as it deals with the biographies of many scientists. This is the first biography to be translated into Odia by Fakir Mohan Senapati. A.Sutton authored the first science writing, '*Padartha Bidyasara*' in Odia which was published in 1832. It was a text book on natural science. This book was not a translation but it could be seen as an initiative to promote science writing in Odia. In the mid-19th century, there came a number of Odia periodicals like *Prabodh Chandrika* where scientific topics in Odia were published. Viswanath Kar's *Utkal Sahitya*, a periodical, published many scientific articles regularly. There was a science magazine, named *Bigyan Darpan* from Kolkota, specially dedicated for science writing in Odia.

4.1. Satyabadi (20th century)

This period is known as Satyabadi yuga in the history of Odia literature as it refers to the establishment of Satyabadi Vanavidyalaya by Gopabandhu Das. Nationalism, social service and social reformation were the main skopos behind the translation of Satyabadi Yuga in Odisha. Along with Gopabandhu, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Godavarisha Mishra and Acharya Harihara were the chief exponents of the school. In the history of translation of this period, these names come as the translators to strengthen Odia literature, nationality

and bring empowerment for the women and downtrodden people of Odisha.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (1884-1967) translated Alfred Lord Tennyson's *The Princess* and *Enoch Arden* into Odia. As an important promoters of the Satyabadi Vanavidyalaya, he was to remove the social evils prevailed then in Odisha. Victorian period was a period of women empowerment. Nilakantha wanted to motivate women of Odisha and wanted to change the attitude towards Odishan women. This is why he translated *The Princess* into Odia as *Pranayeenee* and *Enoch Arden* as *Dasanayak*.

Godavarisha Mishra (1886-1956) adapted R.L. Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* as *Ghatantara* in Odia. He also translated Victor Hugo's *Les Miserable* as *Abhaaginee* and Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* as *Athara Sa Satara* in Odia. Both Nilakantha and Godavarisha's translations cannot be classified under translation proper but adaptations. Another translation *Daasatwara Mochana* from Washington's *Up from Slavery* by Godavarisha Mishra is a translation proper.

Acharya Harihar Das (1879-1972) was another influential members of the school, was famous as an English and Mathematics teacher. His *Child's Easy First Grammar* is famous for ever. His translation of the *Bhagabat Gita* is a remarkable translation work. Alexander Dumas's *Count of Monty Cristo* was adapted by Kanhu Charan Mohanty as *Baliraja* which was published in 1926.

4.1.1. Contemporary to the Satyabadi Translators or Other Early 20th Century Translation

The tradition of translation activities in early 20th century Odia was a continuing tradition of Odia translation from Sanskrit and English. Sanskrit classics and English classics became dominant on the translated literature. Many 20th century writers translated from Sanskrit and English. It was William Shakespeare from English and Kalidas from Sanskrit who became the source for many Odia translations. Balakrushna Kar (1887-1963) imitated Shakespeare's *King Lear* and wrote *Shivadasa*. Bharatchandra Nayak translated Kalidas's

Kumarasambhabam into Odia. Nayak also translated Hiuen Tsang's *Visits to India* in Odia.

As many of the translators of early 20th century were influenced by Victorian English poets and Scottish novelists, they translated Tennyson, Arnold and Stevenson, Walter Scott and many others. We have already discussed about Nilakantha and Godavarisha who translated Tennyson and Stevenson. Paramananda Acharya (1893-1971) translated Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum* into Odia as *Soraabarustam*. Radhamohan Gadnayak (1911-2000) also translated *Sohrab and Rustum* into Odia. Chandrasekhar Mishra (1900-1986) translated Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* into Odia as *Sarasundaree* and Ajaya Chandra Das translated Scott's *The Lady of the Last Minstrel*. Chandramani Das translated Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* and Govinda Tripathy translated Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.

Translation was not limited to Kalidas's writing; it was also happening with the Srimad Bhagabat Gita and many other Sanskrit mythologies. Baisnav Charan Das (1890-1961) translated *Lingapurana* and *Brahmapurana* into Odia. Chintamani Acharya (1891-1957) translated the Srimad Bhagabat Gita by following both the Sanskrit and Jagannath Das's *Srimad Bhagavata*. Translation of Sanskrit classics in various styles was going on. The translator was not always following the style of the source text. Gopinath Singdeo (1893-1956) did poetry translation of *Naisadha*, *Kumarasambhaba*, *Raghubamsa*, *Bhattikabya*, *Shishupala Badha*, *Keeraatarjuna* in Odia. Likewise, Harapriya Devi (1915-), famous as a renowned translator, translated the Srimad Bhagabat Gita poetically.

During this period, there emerged a group of women translators in Odisha. They were popular as creative writers and they have contributed much to the Odia literature through translation. Narmada Kar (1893-1963) and Prativa Kar (1898-1951) translated many stories from foreign languages to Odia, Sulochana Dei (1895-1947) imitated Kalidas's *Nalodaya* in her *Damayantee* in Odia and translated five Shakespearean plays into Odia (it was a sense to sense translation), Vanalata

Dei translated Kalidas's *Nalodaya* and named it *Nishidharaaja* in Odia.

4.2. Pragatibadi (1935-1947)

There were many sociopolitical events during this period which influenced Odia literature. It was the influential time of Marx, Gandhi and other revolutionary leaders. India was moving towards independence. There was the disastrous impact of the Second World War. Autocracy had already been discarded and democracy was being established. Middle class already became the dominant class. The aim of the writers of this period was to awaken the exploited and poor people. At this period, Bhagabaticharan Panigrahi formed the Utkala Communist Party and resigned from the Congress Socialist Party. Chintamani Mishra (1904-1980) translated *Mahatma Gandhi Jeebani*, *Hindu Dharmara Jaati O Taara Gati* and *Aama Durgatira Dina*.

During this period, translation was happening not only from English to Odia, but also from Odia to English. Ganesh Prasad Singhdeo translated Brajanath Badjena's *Samara Taranga* into English as *War Waves*. Harendranath Chottopadhyaya translated Sachi Routray's *Baajirout O Anyaanya Chaalishiti Kavita* into English as *The Boatman Boy* and *Forty Poems*. Kunjabihari Nayak(1918-) translated Radhanath's *Chilika* and Gopabandhu's *Bandeera Aatmakathaa* into English lyrical poetry.

One could get translation in early 20th century not only from English, Sanskrit and Bangla to Odia but also from Tamil to Odia. Nityananda Mohapatra translated *Kamba Ramayanam* into Odia. He also translated Ramana Maharshree, Swarajya Sanghitaa into Odia.

5. Post-Independent Period (20th to 21st Century)

Government initiatives for the promotion of translation activities started in mid-20th century. Various national institutions and state institutions were established to encourage and promote translation activities. Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology (CSTT), Sahitya Akademi,

National Book Trust (NBT) and many state organizations were established to work for translation. Odisha became a state in 1936. Odisha Sahitya Academy was established in 1957. It has been one of their mandates to encourage translation from different Indian languages and foreign languages to Odia and vice versa. Officially making translation as a mandate of an institution accelerated translation work into Odia. Sahitya Akademi instituted translation award in 1989. From 1989, it has been selecting the best translation in regional languages of India and conferring the award. Odisha State Bureau of Textbook Preparation and Production (OSTB) was established in 1970 by the government of Odisha to prepare and promote textbooks in Odia. It has been publishing Odia translations of many classics and fundamental books from many subjects. During this period, the Odia translation of books from other subjects which are non-literary in nature took place and OSTB played a key role here. It is not that non-literary translations were published by government organization only, there were private publishers like Cuttack Trading Co who were publishing science translation.

Mid-20th century and the last decade of 20th century witnessed a new trend of translation emerging in Odisha. Masterpieces of Odia literature started getting translated into English. Towards this enterprise, publisher like Four Corners, Grassroots, Oxford University Press started publication of English translation in 20th century. Kalindi Charan Panigrahi's *Matira Manisha* was translated by Lila Ray into English as *A House Undivided* that was published in 1973 by Four Corners. Grassroots has already published the Odia classics in English right from Fakir Mohan Senapati's works. Oxford University Press published Gopinath Mohanty's *Paraja* in English translated by B.K. Das. Chandrasekhar Rath's *Yantrarudha* was translated into English by Jatindra Kumar Nayak as *Astride the Wheel* which was published by OUP in 2003. University of California Press published *Six Acres and a Third* in 2005 which was an English translation of the Odia classic, Chhamaana Aathaguntha by Fakir Mohan Senapati. It was translated by Rabi Shankar Mishra, Satya P. Mohanty, Jatindra N. Nayak, Paul St.-Pierre. In 21st century, there came another publisher named Rupantara who also

started publishing English translation of the Odia classics. Rupantara's translations are of non-fiction genre.

Post-independent Odia literary translation is a period where T.S. Eliot's writings influenced many Odia writers to bring a new style and a new theme to Odia literature through translation. Guru Prasad Mohanty wrote *Kalapurussha* in Odia following T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland*. Bhanuji Rao was also influenced by T.S. Eliot's writings. Post-independent Odia writers started using free style. Most of their poetry is in free verse with myths and symbols. Some of these writers are Ramakanta Rath, Sitakant Mahapatra, Soubhagya Kumar Mishra, Rajendra kishore Panda, Prativa Satpathy, Mamata Dash, Haraprasad Das.

Ananta Charan Sukla, a renowned professor of English and Comparative Literature who did his research on the concept of imitation in Greek and Indian Aesthetics, translated four Greek dramas, namely *Prometheus Bound* (Aeschylus), *Oedipus the King* (Sophocles), *Medea* (Euripides) and *The Frogs* (Aristophanes). These Odia translations were staged in various colleges and universities of Odisha. His translation of Aristotle's Poetics into Odia as *Aristotlenka Kabya Tatwa* with commentary and notes which was published in 60s is an outstanding translation. Many of Tagore's lyrics have been translated into Odia by him which is available in CD form also (sung by Trupti Panda).

In 70s and 80s, there was a group of Odia writers who were writing Odia fiction where individual became the protagonist. Some of them are the famous established Odia authors. They are Gopinath Mohanty, Surendra Mohanty and Manoj Das. Gopinath Mohanty translated Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (Yudhya O Shanti) in three volumes (published in 90s) and Tagore's *Jogajog* (published in 70s) into Odia. Gopinath Mohanty's *Paraja*, *Danapani*, *Laya Bilaya* were translated into English by B.K Das. *Danapani* was translated as *The Survivor* in English by B.K Das, was published by Macmillan India Limited in 1995. Lark Books published the English translation of *Laya Bilaya* as *High Tide, Ebb Tide* by B.K Das. Sahitya Akademi published the English translation of *Dadi*

Budha as The Ancestor by Arun Kumar Mohanty.

Translation of science fiction emerged in mid-20th century. Godabarisha Mishra, a noted Odia writer, educationist wrote two science fiction around 1950. He wrote *Ghatantara* being inspired by R.L. Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* and also wrote *Nirbaasitaa*. Other popular science book like Stephen Hawking's *A Brief History of Time* has been translated in Odia by Sri Batsa Nanda in early 21st century.

Odisha State Bureau of Textbook Preparation and Production published translations of many fundamental subject specific books in 80s and 90s. Plato's *Republic* was translated into Odia by Ganeswar Mishra and published by OSTB in 1974. He also translated A.J. Ayer's *The Problem of Knowledge* into Odia which was published by OSTB in 1977. The classic book of P.H. Nowell Smith, entitled, *Ethics* was translated into Odia by N.Durzie and published in 1976 by OSTB. C.K.Ogden and I.A. Richard's *Meaning of Meaning* was translated by Nityananda Durzie and published by OSTB in 1980.

Knowledge Text Translation published by OSTB in 20th Century

Subject	Title	Translation
Physics	F.A. Jenkins and H.E. White's Fundamental of Optics	Moulika Aaloka Bingyaana by B.S. Mohanty
Physics	Fundamentals of Physics by Halliday and Resnick	Padaartha Bingyaana by H.Mishra
Physics	R.L. Weber, K.V. Manning, M.W. White's College Physics	Mahavidyalaya Padartha Bingyaana by H.K. Pattanaik
Education	Modern Philosophy of Education by J.S. Brubacher	Aadhunika Sikhya Darshana by S. Nath

Anthropology	Structure and Function in Primitive Society by A.R. Radcliff Brown	Aadima Samaajara Swarupa O Prakaarjya by M.M.Mohapatra
Economics	International Economics by C.P. Kindeberger, Foundations of Economics by Silverman, EA.G.Robinson's Monopoly has been translated by B.K. Bal as Ekaadhikaara in Odia,	
Mathematics	R.J.T. Bell's An Elementary Treatise on Coordinate Geometry of Three Dimensions	Trimaatrika Sthaananka Jyaamiti by N.Tripathy
Mathematics	E.Askwith's	Shankuchhedara Bislesanaatmaka Jyamiti by S.C Das
Botany	A.W. Glaston's Life Processes in Plants	Sabuja Paadapa Jibana by B.B.Padhi
Botany	Cari's The Cell	Kosha by B.Samantrai
Political Science	Ivor Jennings' The Queen's Government	Raaninka Shaasana by S. Dash
Political Science	Machiavelli's the Prince	Narapati by S.C. Das

Aesthetics	Edmund Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, a treatise on aesthetics	Mahaan O Sundara Dhaaranaara Mulautsa Eka Taatwika Jingyaasaa by S.N. Barik
Geology	L.G. Berry and Brian Mason's Mineralogy	Khanija Bingyaana Tattwa by M.N. Satapathy
Geology	F.H. Lahee's Field Geology	Khetra Bhubingyaana by B. Dash

Along with the Knowledge Text translation, OSTB has also published literary translation. A Berriedale Keith's *A History of Sanskrit Literature* has been translated by B.Kar into Odia as *Sanskruta Saahityara Itihaasa*. Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* was translated by Gadadhar Mishra as *Lohita Akhyara* which was published in 1989 by OSTB.

Shakespeare and Kalidas had been influencing throughout the 20th century. Mayadhar Mansingh (1905-1973), an outstanding Odia writer who did his Ph.D on a comparative study of William Shakespeare and Kalidas from Durham University. He is famous for his translation of Shakespearean plays into Odia. He translated *Macbeth* into Odia in 1960. Towards mid-20th century, Akshaya Kumar Chakravarti and Mayadhar Mansingh introduced the works of Shakespeare to Odia audiences; indeed, Chakravarti's *Hamlet* and Mansingh's *Othello* stand out as brilliant pieces of translation (Pattanaik, 2000). Basant Kumar Satpathy translated Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. Pranatha Mohanty (1907-1991) translated Kalidas's *Rutusanghaara*, *Meghadutam* and *Kumarasambhabam* into Odia.

The influence of Gandhi and Vinoba continued in this period. Their works were being translated into Odia. Annapurna Maharana translated Vinoba's *Geeta Pravachane*, Gandhi's *Buniyadee Sikhyaa*, Narahari Parikha's *Taruneeekanya Prati*

and *Stree Purusha Maryaadaa* into Odia.

Translating children literature emerged as a new genre in Odia. Udayanath Sarangi (1905-1999) is a popular writer for children literature in Odia. He translated the American author Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into Odia. He named it as *Tomkaakaanka Kuteera*. Ramkrushna Nanda translated Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury's *Tuntunir Boi* from Bangla to Odia. Raghunath Das (1914-1984) translated *Alice in Wonderland* as *Ajabadeshare Alice* into Odia.

Fitzgerald's *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* is a classic in the field of translated literature in English and it has been hugely translated into most of the world's languages. It was translated into Odia in 20th century. Ananta Prasad Panda translated selected poems of Omar Khayyam and named it *Omar Chayanika*. There was another famous translator named Gopalchandra Kanungo who also translated Edward Fitzgerald's *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* into Odia.

20th century Odia translation could also witness the voice of social reformation and revolution against the capitalist attitude. The October Revolution of Russia had a far reaching impact and Odia writers were influenced by the revolution. The Odia translation of Gorky's *The Mother* by Ananta Patnaik could justify the fact stated above. Ananta Patnaik (1912-1987), was a revolutionary Odia poet; he got Soviet and Nehru Award for his Odia translation of Maxim Gorky's *The Mother*. Apart from this translation, he also translated *Bhaagyara Kheea*, *Sikhyaanibaasa* and *Manishara Swapna Sata Helaa*.

Jnanendra Verma (1916-1990) translated Eliot, Ezra Pound and Walt Whitman's poetry into Odia; Emily Zola's *Nana* (1880) and Maurice Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird* (1908) into Odia as *Nana Metarlinka Neela Bihanga*, Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, Kalidas's *Meghadutam* into Odia. He got award for his translation of Ezra Pound's poetry into Odia.

Among the 20th century influential philosophers, Sri Aurobindo has a remarkable space and he has become an institution through his philosophy and works. 20th century Odia literature is greatly enriched by the translation of Aurobindo's works.

Chittaranjan Das, the great educationist, translated Sri Aurobindo's *The Human Cycles, Life Divine, Synthesis of Yoga* and *War and Self-Determination* into Odia and also Mother's collected works into Odia. He was associated with two NGOs, namely Sikhyasandhan and Agragaamee. He translated many important books on education into Odia such as Vasily Sukhomlynsky's *To Children I Give My Heart* translated into Odia as *Mo Hrudaya Pilanka Pai*, Leo Tolstoy's *Yasnaya Polyana* and *Letters to a Teacher* and A.S. Neil's *Hearts Not Heads in the School* translated into Odia as *Jane Sikhakanku Chithi* and *Bidyalayare Mastika Nuhe Hrudaya*. In the last two decades of his life he had contributed to the field of Odia literature and education much through translation. He is an outstanding translator who has strengthened Odia literature through translation in 90s and in the last decade of 20th century. He translated Etienne De La Boitie's *on The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* into Odia as *Agya Palanara Rajaniti* and Kakuzo Ozakura's *The Book of Tea* into Odia as *Chaahaara Kahani*. *Chaahaara Kahani* can be considered as a transcreation as he brings many comparisons between having tea in Japan and having tea in India. In Japan, having a cup of tea means one has to be alone and in India it means togetherness. Antoine de Saint-Exupery's *The Wisdom of Sands* translated into Odia as *Saudha Sandesha*, Barrows Dunham's *Man Against Myth* translated into Odia as *Mithya Birudhare Manisha* and Ananda K. Koomaraswamy's *Living Thoughts of Gotama The Buddha* translated into Odia as *Gautama Buddhanka Amara Bicharachaya*. He has also translated nobel prize winning novels into Odia; Karl Gjellerup's *Pilgrim Kamanita*, Wladyslaw Stanislaw Reymont's novel *The Peasants* as *Chashi*. Translated Ivan Turgenev's *Rudin* in Odia. He translated Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar and Tagore into Odia. Selected poems of R.N. Tagore have been translated by him as Rabindra Katipaya. Tagore's *Education: The Religion of Man* was translated by him as *Siksha: Manushyara Dharma* in Odia. Some of Tagore's novels are also enlisted in his huge work of translation. His other translation works in Odia include: Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, Francois Mauriac's *Galigai* as *Sammohini*, Antoine de Saint-Exupery's *Little Prince* as *Rajkumar*, Khalil Gibran's

Prophet as *Mahabanab*, Ashapura Devi's novel *Prathama Pratishuti* in Odia. He is the skilled translator without having any formal degree on translation who has translated works from many disciplines. Amit Bhaduri's *Development with Dignity* was translated by him as *Sammanara Saha Vikasha* and Harsh Mander's *Unheard Voices* as *Kehi Suni Nahanti* in Odia. From all his translations, one could state that he has contributed to the field of literary translation as much as to the field of Knowledge Text translation.

Sikhya Sandhan, a voluntary organization, has been publishing seminal educational books in Odia through translation. It has published Vasily Sukhomlynsky's *To Children I Give My Heart* translated into Odia as *Mo Hrudaya Pilanka Pai* by Chittaranjan Das, Tolstoy's *Letters to a Teacher* and A.S. Neil's *Hearts Not Heads* in the School translated into Oriya as *Jane Sikhakanku Chithi* and *Bidyalayare Mastika Nuhe Hrudaya* by Chittaranjan Das, Sikhya/ Manusyara Dharma Original by Rabindranath Tagore, Translated by Chittaranjan Das John Holt's *How do the children learn?* translated into Odia by Sumitra Chadhuri, Vasil Sukhamnilasky's *Educational Judgement* (Sikhya Bichara), translated by Anil Pradhan & Prafulla Behera, Vinoba Bhave's *Ahinsara anwesana* translated into Odia by Shanti Devi.

Grassroots, a publishing house, has a good deal of English translation of Odia classics. It includes: Fakir Mohan Senapati stories translated by Paul-St.Pierre, Leelavati Mohapatra and K.K Mohapatra, published in 2003. Sachidanand Raut Roy stories translated by Paul-St.Pierre, Leelavati Mohapatra and K.K Mohapatra, published in 2003. The same group of translators translated Santanu Kumar Acharya stories, Kishoricharan Das stories, Gopinath Mohanty stories, Chandrasekhar Rath stories into English. Embers and Ashes: Odia stories of matrimonial blues and bruises was an anthology of stories translated by Paul-St.Pierre, Leelavati Mohapatra and K.K Mohapatra and published by Grassroots in 2007. Laxmikanta Mohapatra's *Kanamamu* was translated into English as *Uncle One Eye* by the same group of translators, published by Grassroots in 2008.

Thomas Carlyle's *The Hero and Hero Worship* was translated into Odia by Amar Ballav Dey. Lala Nagendra Ray's translation of Melville's *Moby Dick*, Krushna Mohan Mohanty's translation of *The Prisoner of Zenda*, Subodh Chatterjee's translation of Richardson's *Pamela*, Panchanan Pati's Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Ghanashyam Samal, Bansidhar Das translated Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and some of Jule Verne's works, Pravash Satpathy translated *Crime and Punishment* in Odia. Shakuntala Baliarsingh translated Thomas Hardy's novels into Odia. Prativa Satapathy is a famous writer in 20th century Odia literature who has translated many world classics into Odia. Pratibha Satapathy got Sahitya Akademi Award in 2001. Under the translation scheme of Central Sahitya Academy, she translated *Kalhana Charita* and *Nagara Manthan*. Under the National Book Trust translation scheme, she translated Subramaniam Bharati. Other than her translation works under such government schemes, she translated Pearl S. Buck's *The Hidden Flower* into Odia as *Arana Swapnara Rati*, published by Prachi Sahitya Pratisthan in 2004. Isaac B. Singer's *The Slave* was translated by her as *Kritadas* in Odia. Chinghiz Aitmatov's *The Crane Fly Early* was rendered into Odia by Satapathy as *Sahasara Shikha* and Latvian poetry by Maris Caklais & Raison into Odia as *Bhinna Deshira Muhan*. Apart from Tagore's popular fiction and short stories, his *Gitanjali* had a huge readership in Odia. Tagore's *Gitanjali* was translated into Odia by the Sahitya Akademi Award winner, the famous Odia writer, Hara Prasad Das.

Holocaust literature has also influenced many Odia writers who brought the feel of holocaust to Odisha through translation. Holocaust refers to the mass genocide of the Jews from 1941 to 1945 by the Nazi regime. Elie Wisel's *Night*, Jona Oberski's *Childhood* and Graham Greene's *The Tenth Man* are the famous novels on holocaust experience. Jona Oberski, a Dutch writer, wrote about his holocaust experience in his famous Dutch writing, *Kinderjaren* in 1978. Ralph Manheim translated this into English in 1983. Mausumi Acharya, a professor in Psychology, translated the same English into Odia as *Pilaadina* which was published in 2000. Elie Wisel records his experience in the Nazi Germany concentration

camp in his writing, Night. Graham Greene's *The Tenth Man* is another famous writing on the same. Mausumi Acharya has translated all these three important novels into Odia on holocaust reality at the turn of the 20th century.

Sahitya Academi and National Book Trust have a long list of Odia translations that one can get from their catalogues. Private Publisher like New Age Publication (AK Mishra Publication), Friends Publisher, Vidyapuri, Orient Blackswan have been publishing Odia translation. National Translation Mission is another government of India scheme to make knowledge texts available in Odia through translation. It has already published Romila Thapar's *Early India : From the Origins to AD 1300* and Hiriyanna's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* in Odia.

6. Conclusion:

History of Odia translation is not a homogeneous entity. In early days, texts were translated or transcreated into Odia from Sanskrit. The skopos of early translation was to make knowledge accessible and available to the people. It was a strong weapon to fight against the Brahminical attitude. Medieval period was a continuation of the same tradition. Texts were of religious, mythological and astronomical nature. From 19th century onwards, English became the dominant language and translation was going on from English to Odia which is a tradition still continues. Translation was a tool to establish Odia as an independent language. In early 20th century, translation was to empower women which could be witnessed from the translators of Satyabadi period. Non-literary translation took place visibly from 60s and 70s onwards. Post-independent era witnessed the institutionalization of translation by various government institutions like OSTB (for non-literary translation), Sahitya Academi and National Book Trust. From 80s onwards, a new trend of translation from Odia to English took place. There were women translators who translated Shakespeare's plays and Kalidas's plays in to Odia. Odia translation of four major Greek plays was a huge success and these plays were staged in many colleges and universities in Odisha. Science fiction,

holocaust literature, popular science books, religious books from major religions were translated by both govt and non-govt organization. Recently, National Translation Mission started bringing out non-literary translation (Knowledge Text translation) in Odia.

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Translation in Assamese: A Brief Account

BISWADIP GOGOI

Abstract

A history of literature, in broad sense, also could reflect the transitions in thoughts, imaginations, ideologies and lifestyle of a specific linguistic community. The same could also be witnessed in the case of a history of translation as translation has been playing a vital role in the growth of different languages and literatures of the world. The history of translation in Assamese is as old as the written Assamese literature. Though the role played by translation in the growth and development of Assamese language is crucial, an extensive history of translation in this language has not been compiled so far. At this backdrop, this article attempts to document various translation or transcreation activities that took place in different periods or eras during the development of Assamese language and literature. While acknowledging the impossibility of documenting enormous amount of translations done over the years in such a small article, a sincere effort will be made to present an outline of translation literature in Assamese using the linear periodization as more often employed in Assamese literary historiography.

Introduction

Assamese or Axomiya, a language spoken by 1.32 crore people¹, is one among the 22 languages recognized under 'VIII Schedule' in the Constitution of India. It is also the

official language in the state of Assam and used as a lingua-franca by number of the tribes, communities in and around Assam. Assamese speakers, albeit in small numbers, can also be found in the neighboring countries of Bhutan and Bangladesh.

History of writing in Assamese language spreads over more than one thousand years, and translation has been playing a crucial role all along. The number of translations done into Assamese is enormous while a substantial number of translations are also done from Assamese into other. My discussion will however be restricted only to the former in this paper; despite the impossibility of even getting closer to the enormous amount of translations done over the years in such a small article.

For presenting the discussion more lucidly, an age-wise division of Assamese literary history in terms of linear period is necessary. While there are several divisions proposed by various scholars, the one identified by S N Sarma (2009) has been one of the most widely accepted. For the purpose of this paper I use Sarma's periodization, whereas at the same time being aware of the overlapping nature of such historical divisions. Sarma divides the entire Assamese literary history into three main ages:

1. Ancient Age (950 AD–1300 AD)
2. Medieval Age (1300 AD – 1826 AD)
3. Modern Age (1826 – Present)

1. Ancient Age (950 AD–1300 AD)

The first reference to the language of Assam is found in the account of famous Chinese monk-cum-traveler Xuanzang or Hsuan-tsang. He visited the Kamarupa Kingdom² during the reign of Kumar Bhaskar Varman³ of Varman Dynasty. While visiting Kamrupa in seventh century, Hsuan-tsang noted that the language of Kamrupa was slightly different from the language of Middle India (*Magadha*). Probably, the Indo Aryan language (*Magadhi Prakrit Apabhhrangsha*) was in use

in Kamrupa too, and Hsuan-tsang was able to identify the phonetic differences evident in Kamrupa (Neog: 2008).

Charyapadas are considered to be the first written source in Assamese language. The neighboring languages like Bengali, Odia, Maithili and Rajbangshi also claim *Charyapadas* as their earliest written source. *Charyapadas* are written to be sung and compiled in verse. The prominent themes of *Charyapadas* are based on the idea of *nirvana*⁴ in Vajrayana Buddhism⁵ and those are believed to be compiled between tenth and twelfth century AD.

2. Medieval Age (1300 AD – 1830 AD)

Medieval age can be split into three sub-periods:

2.1. Pre-Sankardev Era (1300 AD – 1490 AD)

2.2. Sankardev Era (1490 AD – 1700 AD)

2.3. Post-Sankardev Era (1700 AD – 1826 AD)

No definite written record in Assamese language can be found after *Charyapadas* till the fourteenth century. From fourteenth century onwards, several Assamese poets such as, Hema Saraswati, Rudra Kandali, Haribor Vipra, Kabiratna Swaraswati and Madhav Kandali emerged. The earliest known Assamese writer among them is Hema Saraswati. Hema Saraswati wrote *Prahlad Charita* and *Haragouri Sambad* probably under the patronage of Durlabh Narayan (reign: 1330–1350) of Khen dynasty, king of Kamata Kingdom⁶. The poet himself mentioned that the story of *Prahlad Charita* is taken from the 'Vamana Purana'⁷. The other book *Haragouri Sambad* includes the myth of Hara-Gouri marriage, Birth of Kartik etc. Influence of Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*, *Kalika Purana* is evident in this book (Sarma, 2009). Poet Rudra Kandali translated 'Drona Parva' of *Mahabharata* into Assamese. While in some places he abridged the descriptions of original *Mahabharata*, in some other places he followed the original completely. The poet also added local metaphor and similes in his creation which helped winning readers heart. Haribor Vipra is known for two books – *Babrubahanor Yuddha*

and *Laba-Kusha Yuddha*. Both the texts are based on the war between father and sons and the eventual defeat of father. Although both the stories found in *Jaiminiya Mahabharata* (*Asvamedhika Parva*) are connected to each other, the poet translated them as independent poetry. Kaviratna Saraswati wrote *Jayadratha Vadh* based on the story of killing of Jayadratha found in 'Drona Parva' of the *Mahabharata*.

Among the poets from Pre-Sankardev era, the most well-known, without any doubt, was Madhava Kandali. Under the patronage of Kachari king Mahamanikya of Jayantapura, Madhava Kandali rendered the *Ramayana* into Assamese in verse form. Though Madhava Kandali himself mentioned that he compiled the *Sapta Kanda Ramayana* in verse ('*Sapta Kanda Ramayana padabandhe nibondhilu*'), the *Adi* and *Uttara Kanda* of Madhava Kandali's *Ramayana* have never been found. Later, Madhavadev and Sankardev compiled *Adi kanda* and *Uttra kanda* respectively and added them to Madhava Kandali's *Ramayana*. It must be noted that among the languages of Northern and Eastern India, the *Ramayana* rendered by Madhava Kandali is the oldest. Only after 100-150 years of Madhava Kandali's rendition, *Ramayana* was adapted or translated into Hindi, Bengali and Odia.

Many scholars are of the view that Madhava Kandali's *Ramayana* is the first translation in Assamese. According to Nagen Saikia, the translation of the *Ramayana* by Madhava Kandali is not so called literal translation, despite being 'faithful' to the original. Probably that is why, even after his rendition is considered close to the original, his creation is treated as 'original' (Saikia, 2012). Discussing Madahva Kandali's *Ramayana*, Praphulladatta Goswami writes:

Madhava Kandali's *Ramayana* is thus not a faithful translation. In the matter of language too, he often employs images which have a local significance: Like, 'locusts advancing covering up the sky', 'the attention of the angling Ravana is only on the buoy', etc. He refers to the local caste and professions and even customs. On the other hand, the rendering has considerable poetic and rhythmic quality. He seems to have steeped himself

in the original and more or less re-created the entire epic in the local languages. (Goswami, 1970)

Though none of the texts written in Pre-Sankardev era other than Madhav Kandali's *Ramayana* is considered as translation, it would not be hyperbolic to say that the early literary history of Assamese chiefly consists of translations, in some or the other form, as all of them are based on existing Sanskrit texts, mainly the two epics—*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.

In Pre-Sankardev era, while most of the poets immensely contributed to the development of Assamese language and literature by rendering Sanskrit literary texts in their language, a renowned mathematician from Barpeta of Kamarup Kingdom, Bakul Kayastha (1400-1450) compiled *Kitabat Manjari* (1434)⁸. *Kitabat Manjari* includes translation of *Lilavati*⁹ by Bhaskara II from Sanskrit into Assamese. Therefore, *Kitabat Manjari* is, probably, the first non-literary translation in Assamese. *Kitabat Manjari* is a formal and systematic poetical writing on arithmetic, surveying and book-keeping; the book deals with accounts keeping under different heads, and classification of goods from the royal treasury and their entry in a stock book. In 1845, Nathan Brown divided *Kitabat Manjari* into two parts and printed as *Padaganit* and *Lilavati*.

2.2. Sankardev Era (1490 AD – 1700 AD)

Sankardeva era can be termed as the first golden age of Assamese literature. Born in Bordowa, Assam, Sankardev (1449-1668) propagated Neo-vaishnavism¹⁰ in Assam opposing idol-worship. With the advent of Vaishnavism¹¹, "... it was felt that the tenets of religion as also the sources, in which these were enshrined, required to be made available. Saints and scholars turned their attention to translating and adopting the *Bhagavata* and other *Puranas*" (Goswami, 1970).

Sankardev's contribution to Assamese literature is multi-dimensional and spread through different genres of literatures – poetry, plays, bhakti compilations, song, recitation etc. While the storyline of all his books were taken from some or

the other Sanskrit originals, a few of them could be called as translation. According to S N Sarma, his translations or translation-like compilations are–1) *Bhagavata* 1st, 2nd, 6th (Only the *Ajamil Upakhyana*), 8th (*Bali-salan, Amrit Manthan*), 10th, 11th and 12th *skandha*¹² and 2) *Uttarakanda Ramayana* (Sarma, 2009). Sankardev’s translation of 10th *skandha* of *Bhagavata* is called *Dasama*, and it covers first forty nine chapters of the total ninety chapters found in 10th *skandha* of the original *Bhagavata*. Sankardev’s translation of 11th and 12th *skandha* of *Bhagavata* concentrates mainly on bhakti and other philosophical ideas. Discussion on *Yoga, Dhyana, Sanyasa* etc., found in the Sanskrit original of 11th *skandha* of *Bhagavata* were not made part of the Assamese version. The author carefully chooses only those portions that are suitable for the Assamese reader and the Vaishnav community. Sankardev’s another translation or translation-like compilation *Uttarakanda Ramayana* is not an independent book. As mentioned above, when *Adikanda* and *Uttarakanda* could not be found in Madhava Kandali’s *Ramayana*, Sankardev took the responsibility of translating *Uttarakanda* from the original Valmiki *Ramayana* and added it to Kandali’s *Ramayana*. While translating from the Sanskrit original, the saint excluded several stories and emphasized mainly on those portions that rotated around Rama and Sita.

Sankardev’s disciple Madhavdev (1489-1596) also contributed to Assamese literature in a large scale. Along with translating the *Adikanda* for Madhava Kandali’s *Ramayana*, he compiled several texts in Assamese, covering almost all genres of literature. His translation of *Adikanda* of *Ramayana* can be called as ‘summarized’ translation of the Sanskrit original. Like Sankardev, Madhavdev too while translating the *Adikanda* of *Ramayana* left many stories and concentrated on the sections related to Rama. His famous work *Namghosa* was completed between 1590 and 1596. *Namghosa* contains one thousand ghosas¹³, and out of them about six hundred are translation of *bhakti slokas* of various *Puranas*, and the remaining four hundred were his own creation. While *Bhagavata-Purana* was the main source for *Namghosa*, Madhavdev also collected *slokas* from *Ramayana, Mahabharata* and several other *Puranas*. *Namghosa* also

contains *slokas* from Sridhara Swami's *Srimad Bhagavatam*. Further, he translated *Naammalika* by Purushottam Gajapati and *Bhakti Ratnavali* by Vishnu Puri Sanyashi.

After Sankardev and Madhavdev, several other writers emerged and contributed to the growth of Assamese literature. Some of the texts translated are: *Ramayana* by Ananta Kandali, texts based on *Ramayana* by Ram Saraswati, part of *Kirtana-Ghosh*a by Ratnakar Kandali, *Kaan-Khuwa*, *Ghunusa Kirtan*, *Ashwamedha Parva* and *Kanai Dhemeliya* by Sridhar Kandali, *Sribhagavat Katha*, *Ratnakar Katha*, *Prasangamala*, *Gita Katha*, *Srimadkibibek* etc by Bhattadev, 5th chapter of *Bhagavat* by Haridev, *Ghosh Ratna* by Gopaldev, compilation of *Kirtana Ghosh*a, *Bhaktiratna* etc by Ramcharan Thakur, *Krishna Gita* by Govinda Misra, *Nava Ghosh*a, *Santasaar*, *Burha-Bhashya* by Purushottam Thakur and so on.

All these writings, of course, cannot be called as translation 'proper' in modern terms, but almost all of them are based on Sanskrit texts and influenced by the neo-Vaishnavite ideology. This is probably because of the decreased patronage from Kings, and the increased influence of *Sattr*a¹⁴ culture and Vaishnavite community. Whereas in Pre-Sankardev era, and even during Sankardev and Madhavdev's time most of the texts were written or translated under the patronage of different Kings, for next hundred years after the death of Madhavdev, the locale of Assamese literature shifted from the court of kings to Vaishnav *Sattr*as and society. Discussing about how far the works of Sankardev, Madhavdev and others can be termed as translation, Goswami writes:

Truthfulness to the spirit of the original seems to have been the principle followed by Sankardev, Madhavdev and other giants of that age of considerable religious fermentation. Sankardev was the chief inspirer of the Neo-Vaisnavite movement in this part of India. He was primarily creative type, giving an individual expression to what he learnt from the Sanskrit classics in poems, plays, songs and epic pieces, but he as well as his chief disciple Madhavdev were not unconcerned with the meaning and significance of important texts like the *Bhagavata* or the *Gita* (Goswami, 1970).

During the end of Sankardev era, Kings of various provinces situated in modern day Assam and Kochbihar (now in West Bengal) encouraged scholars to write or translate books other than literary texts. As mentioned in the *Darrang Rajbongsawali* by Suryakhadi Divaigya, Koch king Nara Narayana (reign: 1540–1587) employed scholars from his court to write or translate books on practical knowledge and science. In 1695 AD, Kaviraj Chakravarti translated a Sanskrit text on astronomy by Ramnarayana into Assamese as *Bhaswati Sastrar Katha*.

2.3. Post-Sankardev Era (1700 AD – 1826 AD)

The nature of Assamese literature changed at the turn of eighteenth century with the transformation in socio-political scenario. Along with the expansion of power and border of Ahom¹⁵ kingdom, literatures other than vishnavite-centric started to gain momentum under the patronage of Ahom kings and royals. Ahom kings such as Jayadhwaj Singha or Sutamla (reign: 1648-1663), Rudra Singha or Sukhrungphaa (reign: 1696–1714), Siva Singha or Sutanphaa (reign: 1714–1744) themselves composed various poems. Nevertheless, the tradition of translating *Bhagawata*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Puranas*, *Upanishads* etc continued in the Vaisnava *Sattras* and society.

In terms of literatures based on *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, probably the name of Raghunath Mahanta is one of the most important. All three texts found till now to be written by him are based on the *Ramayana*. They are – *Katha-Ramayana*, *Adbhut Ramayana* and *Satrunjoy*. While Mahanta's *Katha Ramayana* only covers the first four *kandas* of *Ramayana*, the theme of *Satrunjoy* was derived from Valmiki *Ramayana*. Among other poets, Srikanta Surya Bipra's translation of Tulsidas *Ramayana* or *Ramcharit Manas*, Ram Misra's *Bhisma Parva* of *Mahabharat*, Lakhminath Dwija and Prithuram Dwija's translation of parts of *Mahabharata* are just to name a few.

Besides literatures based on the popular Indian epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, translations of

various *Puranic* literatures were also undertaken in this period. Kabiraj Chakravarti's translation of *Brahmavaiivarta Puran*, Kavichandra Dwija's *Dharma Purana*, Bishnu Dev Goswami's *Padma Purana*, Ruchinath Kandali's *Kalki Puran* are especially noteworthy. Interestingly, none of them have translated the entire *Purana*, but have only rendered either one chapter or a portion of it into Assamese. As an exception, four scholars, namely Ratikanta Dwija, Nandeswar Dwija, Narottam Dwija and Khargeswar Dwija under the patronage of King Hoynarayan translated the entire *Brahmavaiivarta Purana* into Assamese.

Other important translation works include Ram Misra's *Hitopadesh*, *Putala Charitra* (a translation of *Dwatringkhong Puttalika* by Borruchi), Ramchadra Borpatra's *Hoigrib-Madhva Kahini* from *Jogini Tantra*, Ananta Acharya Dwija's *Ananda-Lahari* (a translation of Sanskrit text *Soundariya-Lahari*), Ruchinath Kandali's translation of *Chandi Aakhyana*, Bidyachandra Kabinath Bhattacharya's translation of *Hari-vamsha* etc. During this era two titles *Mrigawati Charitra* by Dwija Ram and *Madhu Malati* by an unnamed poet based on Sufi texts have also been translated into Assamese.

Among translation of texts related to practical knowledge, a translation of *Srihasthamuktavali* on dance and mudra by Suchand Ojha, and translations of *Kaamretna-Tantra*, *Bhaswati* by Kaviraj Chakraborti are important. *Hashtividyanarva Sarasangraha*¹⁶ (1734), commissioned under the patronage of king Siva Singha and translated by Sukumar Barkath, deals with the management and care of elephants in royal stables is actually based on the Sanskrit text *Gajendra-Chintamani* by Sambhunath. Books like *Ghora Nidaan* (1740), *Aswanidaan* (1804) by Surjyakhari Daivajna were also compiled during this period. Both these texts are on symptoms, diagnosis and treatment of diseases in horses. It is not known if these titles are products of translation or independent writings.

3. Modern Age (1826 AD–Present)

The modern age of Assamese literature has started with the advent of British in Assam. The First Anglo-Burmese War¹⁷

was fought in 1826, and by winning in the war, the British forces gained control over this region. It is the Treaty of Yandabo signed in 1826 through which Ahom Kingdom was annexed into the British India.

Modern age can be split into four sub-periods:

- 3.1. Missionary Era (1826 AD-)
- 3.2. Hemchandra-Gunabhiram Era (1870 AD -1890 AD)
- 3.3. Romantic or Bezbaroa Era (1890 AD – 1940 AD)
- 3.4. Present Era (1940 AD-)

3.1. Missionary Era (1826 AD-)

American Baptist Missionaries first attempted to reach Sadiya, a place located in upper Assam, from Burma in 1835. In 1836, Nathan Brown and Oliver Cutter who were sent with printing press from Burma established a mission centre at Sadyia. A printing press was established in Sivasagar (then, Sibsagar) in 1840, and they started printing books related to Christianity in order to reach out to more and more people.

Much before establishing printing press in Assam, *The Bible* was first translated into Assamese by Atmaram Sharma and published from Srirampur Missionary Press of Bengal in 1813. In 1848, Assamese translation of the *New Testament* was published as *Amaar Traankorta Jisu Christor Natun Niyom*. In addition, in 1954, Brown also published *Christor Bibaran aru Xubhabatra* which was a compilation of the translations of four *Gospels*¹⁸ of *Bible*.

The first Assamese magazine *Orunodoi* or *Arunodoi* was printed by the Baptist Missionary Press in Sivasagar in January, 1846. *Orunodoi* gave a new dimension to Assamese literature by initiating translation activities from western literatures for the first time. Before *Orunodoi* started publishing *Jatrikar Jatra*, the Assamese translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1850-51, Sanskrit was the only language that acted as source for all translations or adaptations into Assamese. Though the translator's name

was not mentioned, Brown is commonly accepted to be the translator. Commenting on *Jatrikar Jatra*, Goswami writes:

This was translation of a conscientious type, though the language of that period seems to be a little archaic. The missionaries made an attempt to follow the spoken form of Assamese and did not like to turn to vocables of a Sanskritic type for new coinage, but they had as yet no control over the Assamese sentence form and this led to amusing constructions (Goswami, 1970).

Other notable translation works by the missionaries include - A K Garney's translation of *Old Testament* from Hebrew as *Puroni Niyam*, M E Leslie's *Elokeshi Beshyar Kahini* (1877) from Bengali and Mrs. Garney's translation of *Phulmoni & Karuna* (1877) by Katharine Mulen in Bengali. Non-Christian author Lambudor Bora translated Kalidasa's *Abhigyanam Sakuntalam* from Sanskrit into Assamese, which was published in *Orunodoi*.

Among the translations of practical knowledge or non-literary works, *Gananar Puthi* (1844), *Bhugul Shikshak* (1849) based on *Murray's Encyclopedia* by Eliza Brown and Nathan Brown; *Padartha Bidyasara* (1855), a translation of E W Clark's *Natural Science in Familiar Dialogue* by Nidhiram Keot are specifically important to note.

The missionary age played a very important role in the development of Assamese language and literature. S N Sarma writes that it would not be wrong to say that the missionaries have taken care of Assamese language and literature, and saved it from an imminent death. They helped to reinstate Assamese language in school and court by fighting with the British government. ...the writings of missionaries paved way for the western thought and philosophy to enter into Assamese (Sarma, 2009).

3.2. Hemchandra-Gunabhiram Era (1870 AD -1890 AD)

Continuing the tradition of *Orunodoi*, Assamese writers such as Hemchandra Barua (1836-1896) and Gunabhiram Barua (1837-1894) took charge and started writing and translating books from English into Assamese. Other prominent

writers from this era were – Ramakanta Choudhury (1846-1889), Bholanath Das (1858-1929), Lambudar Bora (1860-1892), Kamalakanta Bhattachariya (1854-1936), Ratneswar Mahanta (1864-1893) and Padmawati Devi Phukanani etc.

Hemchandra Barua started writing in *Orunodoi*. He is famously known for his monumental work *Hemkosh*, an Assamese-English dictionary. Besides several books related to grammar and for school-children, he translated a book named *Way to Health* into Assamese as *Swasthya Rakshya ba Ga Bhale Rakhibor Upai* (1886).

Like Hemchandra Barua, Gunabhiram Barua too started writing in *Orunodoi*. His first text *Ram-Nabami* (1857) was based on the story of a Bengali play *Bidhaba-bibah* (1856) by Umeshchandra Mitra. *Ram-Nabami* is considered as the first modern Assamese play.

Hemchandra-Gunabhiram era laid a platform for a new generation of writers to come out and contribute towards the development of Assamese language and literature. During this era, newspapers *Assam News* and *Assam Bondhu* were edited by Hemchandra Barua and Gunabhiram Barua respectively. Several writers who played a very crucial role in the romantic period were attracted to the world of writing by *Assam Bondhu*. Further, towards the end of this period, the Assamese youth studying in Kolkata (then, Calcutta) established *Oxomiya Bhaxa Unnati Xadhini Xobha* for further development of Assamese language and literature, and from the next year (1889) itself they started publishing *Jonaki*, an Assamese magazine. *Jonaki* also acted as the mouthpiece of *Oxomiya Bhaxa Unnati Xadhini Xobha*. Four students studying in Kolkata namely Ratneswar Barua, Romakanta Borkakoti, Gunjanan Barua and Ghanashaym Barua collaborated and translated *Comedy of Errors* by William Shakespeare as *Bhramaranga* and even staged it in Kolkata in 1888.

3.3. Romantic or Bezbarua Era (1890 AD – 1940 AD)

Within no time, *Jonaki* become the radiating centre of literary activities of the educated youth brigade. Pioneers of this group were – Lakshminath Bezbaroa (1864-1938), Chandra

Kumar Agarwala (1867–1938), Hemchandra Goswami (1872–1928), Padmanath Gohain Baruah (1871–1946), Satyanath Bora (1860–1925), Kanaklal Baruah (1872–1940) etc. *Jonaki* functioned as a connecting-bridge between the ideas of East and West. This group of young Assamese started penning Assamese literature following contents and forms of Europe, especially English literature (Sarma, 2009). Following the trend of *Jonaki*, several magazines like *Bijuli* (1890), *Baahi* (1910–29, 1934–36, 1938–40), *Usha* (1907–12) *Aalochani* (1910–17), *Abahan* (1929–62?) and so on also emerged in Assam.

Through *Jonaki*, the romantic content and form of English literature was introduced in Assamese literature. Several western classics, especially Shakespeare's plays were translated into Assamese. Lakshminath Bezbaroa started translating Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as *Hemchandra*, which however remained incomplete. Durgeswar Sharma (1882–1961) translated Shakespeare's *As You Like It* as *Chandrawali*. He also translated Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* as *Padmawati*. *Chandrawali* is an example of free translation. Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* was also translated into Assamese by Ambika Prasad Goswami as *Tara* in 1915. Padmadhar Chaliha (1895–1969), who himself was a top-class actor, translated Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* as *Amar-lila* in 1920. One of the most prominent writers from the Romantic era, Nabin Chandra Bordoloi (1875–1936) translated Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Troilus and Cressida* and *King Lear* as *Danduri Daman*, *Tarun-Kanchan* and *Bikhad Kahini* respectively. Among them *Tarun-Kanchan* was published in parts in *Abahan*. His other two creations were free translation of the original. Though *Bhim-darpa* (1940) by Debananda Bharali (1883–1972) is not recognized as a formal translation, the influence of Shakespeare's *Mecbeth* is quite prominent in that text. Similarly, Boudhnath Patangia translated Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as *Chandrabir* and Gunjanan Barua translated *Merchant of Venice*. Later, Jnanadabhiram Barua (1880–1955), son of the pioneer of modern Assamese play Gunabhiram Barua, translated several plays of Shakespeare—*Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, *As You Like It*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Comedy of Errors* into

Assamese. Another prominent author from this era, Hiteswar Borborua translated both *Othello* by Shakespeare and *Vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith. *Othello* was translated as *Desdimona Kavya* and *Vicar of Wakefield* as *Angila*. A shadow of Indian thinking is evident in *Desdimona Kavya* while describing the character of Desdemona and the poem consists of twenty two parts with each of them structured like a sonnet. Goldsmith's heroin Angelia and Adwin's love story is described in *Angila* in three parts. In both the above mentioned texts, the eco of original texts is prominent (Neog, 2008). Among the translation from Sanskrit original, Atul Chandra Hazarika (1903–1986) translated Kalidasa's *Abhigyanam Sakuntalam* as *Sakuntala* in 1940.

Jatindra Nath Duwara (1892-1964) is one the most popular among the poets created by *Baahi*. He translated the famous Persian poet Omar Khyyam's *Rubayat* into Assamese as *Omar Thirtha* (1926). His creation *Katha-kavita* (1933) is based on *Poems in Prose* by Ivan Turgenev. In the same year, another poet Ananda Chandra Barua (1906-1982) translated the poems of Persian poet Hafez under the title *Hafezor Sur* in 1933. Famous poems like Longfellow's *A Psalm of Life* by Sinhadutta Deva Goswami and Thomas Gray's *Hermit* by Ananda Chandra Agarwala (1874-1940) (as *Yogi*) were translated and published in magazines. Commenting on the translation of *A Psalm of Life*, P Goswami writes:

“In simplicity of diction and apposite phrasing the Assamese version of *A Psalm of Life* seems to be superior to its Bengali parallel. Sometimes, the translators substituted Assamese names or the figures found in the original...” (Goswami, 1970)

Several novels were also translated from English during this Romantic era. Lakhyeswar Sarma translated Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last days of Pompeii* as *Pompiyair Praloy-Kahini* and Grezia Dalever's *Mother* as *Matri*. Similarly, Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* and Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth* were translated by Santiram Das as *Sadmabexi* and *Milon-Mandir*. Rohinikanta Barua translated Norwegian writer Johan Bojer's *The Great Hunger* as *Param Xudha*. The magazines like *Abahan* also provided a platform

and encouraged writers to take up translation. Dayananda Barua and Nalinikanta Barua's translation of Maxim Gorky's *Mother*, Anatole France's *Thais* and Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quite in the Western Front* were published in different volumes of the *Abahan*.

During the romantic era, the Assamese magazines started a practice that came handy to the translators, especially to those translating from English into Assamese. In 1929, a glossary of Assamese terms was published serially in the *Abahan*. Towards the end of Romantic era, i.e., in 1936, Birinchi Kumar Barua (1908-1964), Sarat Chandra Goswami (1887-1944) came together and compiled a glossary of scientific terms as well.

3.4. Present Era (1940 AD-)

The Second World War, the independence and subsequent partition of India during the third and fourth decades of twentieth century exerted significant impact on literary activities in Assam. The romantic era of Assamese literature is considered to have ended in around 1940. Most of the magazines that brought romantic era to Assamese literature ceased to exist by this period. Among them only *Abahan* continued to be published till 1960s.

After independence, the amount of translations done into Assamese from different world languages is huge and covers almost all the genres of literatures. In case of play, while there is no dearth of translators to translate Shakespeare's classics, Assamese writers and translators expanded their literary focus by translating texts of other prominent authors of the world. Among the translations of Shakespearean plays, Atul Chandra Hazarika's translation of *Merchant of Venice* and *King Lear* as *Bonij Knower* and *Ashrutirtha* respectively in 1950, Dulal Chandra Borthakur's translation of Shakespeare's *Othello* in 1959, Satyaprasad Barua's (1919-2001) translation of Shakespeare's *Othello* in 1974 and *Macbeth* in 1980 are just to name a few. Kumud Borthakur also translated Shakespeare's *Othello* in around 1960.

The pioneer of Assamese cinema, Jyotiprasad Agarwala's (1903-1951) contribution to Assamese play is unquestionable. He authored various plays in Assamese, and among them *Rupalim* (1960)¹⁹ is one of the most popular. *Rupalim* is based on *Manna-Bhanna*, the Bengali translation of Moris Meterlink's play.

During the 1960s, Rajanikanta Devsarma translated ancient poet Vishakhadatta's historical play *Mudrarakshasa* into Assamese, which narrates the ascent of the king Chandragupta Maurya (reign: 324–297 BC) with the help of Chanakya. In 1963, poet Rajashekhara's *Karpuramanjari* was translated by Mukunda Madhava Sharma. Sharma also translated Bhasa's *Svapnavasavadattam* in 1974. Bhabendra Nath Saikia in 1967 translated Shudraka's *Mrichchhakatika* into Assamese. All these four plays were translated from Sanskrit and published by Asom Sahitya Sabha. The first play of Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen to be adapted into Assamese was *The Warriors at Helgoland* with Suresh Goswami adopting it into Assamese as *Runumi* (1946). Three more plays by Ibsen – *A Doll's House*, *The Wild Duck*, and *Ghost* were translated by Padma Borkotaki, Satya Prasad Barua and Mahendra Bora respectively as *Putalaghor* (1951), *Banahonkhi* (1961) and *Bhoot* (1967). Satya Prasad Barua also translated the famous Greek tragedy *Oedipus* as *Roja Idipus* (1964). Sophocles's *Antigone* was translated by Praphulladatta Goswami in 1967 and Navakanta Barua translated Euripides's *Alcestis*. Another play of Ibsen *An Enemy of the people* was translated by Amarendra Kalita in 1993. Rabindranath Tagore's historical play *Raktakorobi* was translated by Keshab Mahanta in 1960 under the same title. Ram Goswami's *Palasar Rang* and *Pinjara* are Assamese adaptations of Tennessee Williams' *The Glass Menagerie* and Agatha Christi's *Mouse Trap*. While Sailen Bharali translated the famous absurd play *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett as *Godor Apekshat*, Ajit Barua translated French play *Rhinoceros* by Eugene Ionesco as *Garh*. Kanak Mahanta translated Anton Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard* and Syed Abdul Malik translated the Chinese opera, *The White Haired Girl*. Jagadish Mathur's Hindi play *Pahle Raja* and Mohon Rakesh's *Adhure* have been translated by Phani Talukdar as *Pratham Roja* and *Asampurna* respectively.

Among all the genres of literature, the number of novels translated into Assamese is perhaps the largest in Assamese translation history. In 1950s, Dinanath Sharma wrote *Mati aru Manuh* based on *Growth of the Soil* by famous Norwegian writer and Nobel Prize winner of 1920, Knut Hamsun. George Orwell's novel *Animal Farm* was translated by Anu Barua in 1956. Abul Leise translated *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain as *Tom Sawyer* (1961). Pranita Devi's *Jibonor Lalaxha* (1960), Mohammad Piyar's *Hyphen* (1961), Biren Borkotoki's *Kumari Prithibi* (1958), Bireswar Baruah's *Anyapurba*, Rohini Kanta Baruah's *Pomilir Poriyal* are translated versions of various novels. Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* was translated by Jatindranath Goswami as *Burha aru Sagar*, while George Eliot's *Silas Marner* was translated into Assamese by Mukti Bordoloi. Tarun Kumar Bhaduri's popular novel *Abhishapta Chambal* in Bengali was translated by Khagendra Narayan Dutta Baruah as *Abhisapta Chambal* in 1961. Dutta Baruah later translated *Sandhya Bontir Sikha*, *Kagajor Naw*, *Akou Abhisapta Chambal* and *Komal Gandhar* by Tarun Kumar Bhaduri. In 1970, Raihan Shah translated the world famous adventure novel *The Lost World* by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle as *Bilupta Jagat*. Khagendra Narayan Dutta Baruah translated *Beyond Desire* by Pierre La Mure as *Basanar Atit* (1971) while Albert Camus's *The Outsider*²⁰ was translated by Nagen Choudhury as *Acinaki* in 1975. In 1982, Kripanath Baishya translated the French philosopher Voltaire's *Candide* as *Binanda Bilash*. *Candide* was also translated by Raihan Shah as *Kandeed* (1996, reprint). James Hilton's *Goodbye Mr. Chips* was translated by Baneswar Hazarika as *Chip Sirar Preyashi* (1987).

A famous Assamese poet and lyricist Navakanta Barua translated Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust Part I* and *Part II* in 1993 and 1998 respectively. It is important to note that Baruah's translation was not done from the German original; instead, he took the help of available English translations. Barua also translated *Inferno*, the first part of Dante's masterpiece *Divine Comedy* into Assamese in 2011. In 1994, Prafulla Kotaki translated the classic novel *Wuthering Heights* by English poet and novelist Emily Bronte. Swiss writer Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*²¹ was translated by

Dwijen Sarma in 1999. Franz Kafka's English translation of the original German novel *Der Prozess* was translated by Upendra Nath Sarma in 2011. Some other notable works of translation are—Catherine Wood's *The Little Prince*²² by Nirupama Borgohain as *Akanmani Konwar* (1975), Austrian writer Stefan Zweig's *Letter from an Unknown Woman* by Laksyahira Das as *Aparicitar Prem* (1979), John Henry Patterson's *The Man Eaters of Tsavo* by Jatindra Kumar Sarma as *Afrikar Manuh Khowa Bagh* (1990), John Ruskin's *Unto This Last* by Prabina Saikia as *Antu Die Last* (1990), Charles Dickens' *The Great Expectations* by Shakeel Zamal as *Abhitas* (1995), H G Wells's *The Invisible Man* by Syed Azizul Hussain as *Adrsya Manuhajan* (1995), Arthur C Clarke's *2001: A Space Odyssey* by Dinesh Chandra Goswami as *2001: Ekhan Mahakas Adici* (1996), Biswanarayan Shastri's *Avinashi* by Narendranath Sharma as *Abinashi* (1997), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* by Utpal Dutta as *Apahrita* (2001), Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* by Sourav Kumar Chaliha as *Ashi Dinata Prithivi Paribhraman* (2001), Sunil Gangopadhyay's *Aranyer Dinratri* by Namita Deka as *Aranyar Ahoratra* (2004).

During the late 90's, a publisher from Assam Saraighat Prakashan undertook the project of *Kalajoyi Sahitya Series* for translating classic works of famous writers into Assamese under the editorship of Dinesh Chandra Goswami. In 1999, translation of Robert Lewis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* by Saurav Kumar Chaliha was published. In the same year, Tarun Chandra Barua's translation of *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain was published as *Aghori Lora* (1999). Famous works such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes*, Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* were translated by Jogesh Das, Bondita Goswami and Mridusmita Phukan respectively under this series. Harendra Nath Kalita and Munin Sharma translated two more famous novels by Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* and *David Copperfield*. The editor of the series Dinesh Chandra Goswami himself translated *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* and *Journey to the Centre of the Earth* by famous French author Jules Verne as *Xagoror Toliyedi Kuri Hezar Leeg* and *Prithibir Kendraloi Abhijan*

(2000). H. G. Wells's *The Invisible Man* by Abhijit Sharma Baruah as *Adrishya Manuhajan* (2002), George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* by Rupshree Goswami as *Floss Noir Paror Mill*, Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* by Prafulla Rajguru, Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* by Birendranath Dutta, Alexandre Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo*²³ by Chandra Sekher Sharma also were translated as part of this series. Some other important translations under this series are – Sir Henry Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* by Anushree Sarma Barua as *Roja Solomonor Khoni*, Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* by Joykrishna Mahanta as *Tess* (2006), English author Charles Reade's historical novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth* by Santiram Das, Daniel Defoe's famous novel *Robinson Crusoe* by Chintaharan Patgiri, Henry Gilbert's *Robin Hood* by Mridusmita Phukan, Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper* by Abani Chandra Goswami as *Rajkumar aru Bhikohu* (2004), Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* by Samik Bharadwaj as *Aranyar Ahban* (2004) etc. Samik Bharadwaj also translated H. G. Well's *The time Machine* and Jack London's *White Fang* into Assamese.

Way back in 1950s, Chapala Book Stall, Shillong published the translation of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's famous Bengali novel *Anandamath* and Sharat Chandra Chattopadhyay's *Chandranath* by Atul Chandra Hazarika and Kailash Chandra Sharma respectively in 1952 and 1957. From then onwards, hundreds of novels from modern Indian languages have been translated into Assamese. Rabindranath Tagore's *Chokher Bali* as *Binodini* (1994) by Mohendra Bora, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's *Bipradas* by Girish Das, Amrita Pritam's *Na Radha Na Rukmini* by Arabinda Sharma, Surendra Mohanty's Odia novel *Nilasaila* by Abani Kumar Das as *Neel Saila*, Atin Bandyopadhyay's Bengali novel by Arun Sharma as *Nilakantha Paxhir Xandhanat*, Krishna Sobti's controversial Hindi novel *Mitro Marjani* by Jayantimala Borpujari, Shantinath Desai's Kannada novel *Mukti* by Nagen Saikia, U.R. Ananthamurthy's *Samskara* (Kannada) by Suren Talukdar in 2002, Hazariprasad Dwivedi's Hindi novel *Banabhatta ki Atmakatha* by Chakreshwar Bhattacharya as *Banabhattar Atmakatha* (1995, reprint) etc are just to name a few. In 2000, Prabhat Chandra Sarma translated *Kadambari*

by Banabhatta, a seventh century Sanskrit prose writer and poet in India. *Kadambari* is known to be one of the world's earliest novels. In the last three-four decades Sahitya Akademi and National Book Trust (NBT), especially under NBT's Adan-Pradan project, have published translation of hundreds of novels from other Indian languages into Assamese.

Since India's relation with Russia (then, Soviet Union) grew stronger after independence, translation of selected Russian books found a set of readers in Assam. The Soviet government's initiative to popularize valuable pieces of literature abroad paved the way for Russian literary works to be translated into Assamese. The Soviet publishing agencies like Progress Publishers and Raduga of Moscow published translations of the works of nineteenth century writers along with those of the Soviet socialist writers. The workers of the socialist movement were in the forefront in translating novel, stories into Assamese. Assamese version of fortnightly *Soviet Desh* was published from Kolkata which fetched news and other articles. Besides Progress Publishers and Raduga, many local publishers started publishing different classics translated from Russian into Assamese. Ivan Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* and Maxim Gorky's *Mother* were translated as *Kumari Prithibi* (1959) and *Ma* (1963) by Biren Borkotoky and Jadunath Saikia respectively. A socialist movement worker Jadunath Saikia also translated Leo Tolstoy's *Resurrection* as *Navajivan* (1972). Rajani Kanta Sarma translated Russian writer Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Fate of a Man* as *Bookur Umera* (1975). Some other Russian works that found translators are—Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* by Bimal Nath as *Pap aru Parachit* (1975), Nikolai Gogol's *Taras Bulba* by Kripanath Baishya as *Taras Bulba* (1976), Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* by Surendra Mohon Das as *Yudha aru Santi* (1978) and again by Bimal Nath as *Yudha aru Santi* (1990), Vanda Vasilevskaya's *Rainbow* by Kritinath Hazarika as *Ramdheni* (1979), Sergey Mikhalkov's *The Feast of Disobedience* by Ratneswar Medhi as *Dhurtali* (1980), Ivan Turgenev's *Father & Sons* by Nalinidhar Bhattacharya as *Dui Purush* (1981), Ivan Turgenev's *First Love* by Padma Barkatoky as *Pratham Prem* (1986), Alexandr Sergeyevich Pushkin's *The Queen of Spades* by Lakhikanta Mahanta as *Iskapanar*

Rani (1987), Ivan Turgenev's *Rudin* by Chakreswar Talukdar as *Rudin* (1992), Mikhail Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* by Nagen Thakur as *Don Dhire Boi Jai* (1992) and so on. Ratna Ojha also translated *And Quiet Flows the Don* as *Aru Boy Don* which is an extremely brief translation of the huge book of four volumes, and therefore suffers from several drawbacks. Raduga Publication brought out translations of Maxim Gorky's autobiographical novel (trilogy)–*My Childhood* (Part I), *In the World* (Part II), *My Universities* (Part III) as *Mur Lorakal*, *Janaxutor Bohol Bukut*, and *Mur Jibonor Porhaxhali*. Nikolai Nosov's story book *School Boys*, which was awarded with Stalin Prize - Soviet Literature for Young People in 1951 was translated into Assamese by Nishi Borkotoki as *Siskin Moi Aru Bohutu* and published by Asom Prakashan Parisad.

The number of translation of short-stories from various world languages into Assamese is not less. Tracking all of them would be practically impossible since majority of them are published in magazines and even newspapers. It was the *Abahan* that started the trend of publishing translation of short-stories into Assamese. At the same time, the number of short-stories published as collections are also not less in quantity. Sahitya Akademi and NBT have published several collection of short-stories translated from other Indian languages into Assamese. Some of them are–collection of Manipuri short stories of Laitonjam Premchand Singh as *Air Etukura Fanek* (2006) by Neena Devi, collection of 21 short stories of Rabindranath Tagore as *Ekuri Eta Chuti Galpa* (2009, reprint) by Birendra Kumar Bhattacharyya, collection of stories of Mahasweta Devi as *Mahasweta Devi-r Swanirbachita Golpa* (1995) by Tilak Hazarika, collection of 22 short stories of Premchand by Mamoni Roisom Goswami as *Premchandor Chutigolpa* etc.

European and American short-story writers such as Guy de Maupassant, O Henry have been very popular among the Assamese readers. In 1950s, Anupama Devi translated and published *Anuwa Jonali Nixha* (1955), a translated collection of short-stories by Maupassant. She translated and published another collection of Maupassant's stories *Pratyaborton* in 1991. Ajit Baruah also translated Maupassant's stories

from French originals and brought them out as a volume. Similarly, *Guy de Maupassant-or Srestha Golpa* (1976) and *Forasi Golpa* by Satyan Borkotoki were also translations from French short stories. Saurabh Kumar Chaliha translated ten short-stories by German, American, French, English writers, including Ernest Hemingway's famous play-story *Today is Friday* and brought out the collection as *Aaji Xukrobar* (1992). Translation of O Henry's stories by Amulya Hazarika was published as *O Henry-r Shrestha Golpa* (1988, reprint). Two more collections of short stories are–Rajen Barua's *Naari Tumi Aparupa* (1999) and *Ek Dozon Bidexhi Golpa*. The former is a collection of stories by women writers from across the countries, while the latter includes stories by Chekhov, Gorky, Maupassant, Hemingway, Mark Twain, O Henry etc. During the 1960s and 70s, quite a lot of Russian writings were translated into Assamese and collections of short-stories also found a place among them. Some of them are–*Hazi Murad & Queer People* of Leo Tolstoy & Ivan Turgenev as *Videshini* (1973) by Mustafizur Rahman, collected stories of Chekhov by Hem Sarmah as *Bacakbania Chuti Galpa* (1983), collected stories of Gorky by Ratneswar Medhi as *Maksim Garkir Srestha Galpa* (1980) and so on.

As discussed before, translations of the Indian epics – the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were the first mainstream literary activities in Assamese and translation of these two epics continues till today. Other epics from world literatures have also found their way into Assamese literary scene. One of Rome's greatest poets, Virgil's *Aenid* was translated by Amulya Kumar Chakrabarty as *Aenid*. Initially the translation was published as a series in a popular Assamese literary magazine *Prakash*, and later in 1986 it was published as a book by Assam Prakashan Parishad. Chakrabarty also translated the famous Greek twin-epic poems *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Both the translations were published by Assam Prakashan Parishad and have been popular among readers.

Translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* by Jagyeswar Sharma is a notable work. It was translated as *Aristotle-r Kavya-Gigyasha* and published by Asom Sahitya Sabha in 1979. Plato's classic *Republic* was translated by Ajit Kumar Sharma as

Ganarajya and published by Sahitya Akademi in 1982. Nilima Dutta's translation of Will Durant's *The Story of Philosophy* into Assamese was published in 1995. It deals with the philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Spinoza, Emanuel Kant, contemporary European and American philosophers on various fields.

Conclusion

It is perhaps obvious to say that translation is as old as language. Similarly, the contribution of translation in the development of Assamese language and literature is undeniable. In fact, without discussing the history of translation in Assamese language, the history of Assamese literature would be incomplete.

During the Pre-Sankardev era, several texts especially based on the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were compiled in Assamese. These were the first series of texts to be produced in Assamese apart from *Charyapadas* and a couple of other texts which were also claimed by Bengali, Odia and Maithili as the earliest written record in their languages. In all sense, the entry of translation initiatives was a revolutionary moment with regard to democratization of knowledge. Especially because, before compilation of these texts, Sanskrit was the only source of knowledge, and common people were discouraged from learning this *deva bhasha*. Only the royal and priestly class enjoyed access to knowledge available exclusively in Sanskrit. These transcreations not only initiated the glorious journey of a language; Assamese, but also helped in breaking the social hegemony to some extent by allowing non-royal and non-priestly class to access knowledge.

During Sankardev era, majority of the translations or transcreations revolved around Neo-Vaishnavite ideologies. Despite the un-friendly attitude of some Ahom kings towards the end of Ahom rule, Vaishnavite literature continued to throng in Assamese literary history till the beginning of Missionary era in Modern age. Along with printing press, the Missionaries also brought English education to Assam which eventually opened, for the English-educated Assamese youth, a door

to western literatures available chiefly in English. Through this newly English-educated class, Shakespeare, Ibsen and other famous western writers' creation entered Assam, which paved way for the beginning of a Romantic era in Assamese literature. Translation was the main force behind this Romantic era, and through translations, the styles and forms of western writing were also introduced in Assamese language. Gradually, Assamese writers started experimenting with these styles and forms in their original writings.

From the beginning of the Present era, while a huge number of original books have been produced in Assamese, even the number of translations is increasing in an equal pace. After Sahitya Akademi and NBT assumed their role as the flag-bearers of government initiatives in the field of translation for last four to five decades, the recently envisaged National Translation Mission (NTM)²⁴ has already started working towards its ambitious goal of establishing translation as an industry in the country. NTM is also trying to extend a helping hand to the students who are not proficient in English by bringing out translation of selected academic texts in all the 22 Indian languages listed in the VIII schedule of the Constitution of India, Assamese also being one of the recipients. With all these initiatives, public and private, the future of translation undoubtedly looks more promising. There is no love lost for translation among Assamese authors and readers. Translation has been thriving all along, and without any doubt, it will continue to flourish in the days to come.

NOTES

1. Census of India, 2001 www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement5.aspx, 21st Nov, 2016
2. Kamarupa, also called Kamrup or Kamata, ancient Indian state corresponding roughly to what is now the state of Assam, in northeastern India. This region had many rulers but, being protected by natural fortifications, maintained fairly consistent territorial boundaries. See, www.britannica.com/place/Kamarupa

3. Bhaskar Varman was the last king of Varman Dynesty. Varman Dynesty began in 350 AD and ended in 650 AD with the death of Bhaskar Varman, who remained bachelor for his life.
4. *Nirvana* is most commonly associated with Buddhism, in which it is the oldest and most common designation for the goal of the Buddhist path. It is used to refer to the extinction of desire, hatred, and ignorance and, ultimately, of suffering and rebirth. See, www.britannica.com/topic/nirvana-religion
5. Vajrayana is a form of Tantric Buddhism that developed in India and neighbouring countries, notably Tibet. Vajrayana, in the history of Buddhism, marks the transition from Mahayana speculative thought to the enactment of Buddhist ideas in individual life. See, www.britannica.com/topic/Vajrayana
6. The Kamata kingdom appeared in the western part of the older Kamarupa kingdom in the 11th century. The rise of the Kamata kingdom marked the end of the ancient period in the History of Assam and the beginning of the medieval period.
7. The present day *Vamana Purana* does not include details of Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu and Prahlad. Probably in 14th Century, this myth was part of the *Vamana Purana* (Sarma, 2009)
8. According to some sources, Bakul Kayastha translated *Lilavati* under the patronage of Koch king Nara Narayana (1540-1587). In such cases Bakul Kayastha was a scholar from 16th Century and *Lilavati* was translated between 1540 and 1587.
9. Written in 1150 AD, *Lilavati* is Indian mathematician Bhaskara II's treatise on mathematics. It is the first volume of his main work, *Siddhanta Shiromani*.
10. Officially known as *Ek-Sarana-Naam-Dharma*. Sankardev preached devotion to a single God, Lord Krishna or Vishnu, (*Ek Sarana*) who can be worshiped solely by uttering His various names (*Naam*).
11. Vaishnavism is the worship and acceptance of Vishnu or

- one of his various incarnations (avatars) as the supreme manifestation of the divine. See, www.britannica.com/topic/Hinduism/Vaishnavism-and-Shaivism
12. One part of a big book, a chapter etc.
 13. A song or verse (generally religious)
 14. Sattras are basically monasteries set up to propagate Vaishnavism. Vaishnava guru Sankaradev is said to have established his first Sattra at Bardowa, his birthplace, and then in different places of Assam.
 15. A tribe that ruled much of Assam from the 13th century until the establishment of British rule in 1838. Their power in Assam reached its peak during the reign of King Rudra Singha. They originated in the Chinese province of Yunnan and began migrating into Indo-china and northern Myanmar (Burma) in the first centuries AD. See, www.britannica.com/topic/Ahom
 16. *Hashtividyantarva Sarasangraha* by Sukumar Barkaith is one of the best known illustrated manuscripts of Assam.
 17. The neighbouring Burmese ruler invaded the Ahom Kingdom thrice between 1817 and 1826 during which the Ahom Kingdom briefly came under the control of Burmese rulers. In an attempt to reclaim his lost kingdom, the Ahom king sought help from the British who sent force to fight the Burmese Army. The First Anglo-Burmese War was fought between Burmese and British forces in 1826.
 18. Gospel, any of the four biblical narratives covering the life and death of Jesus Christ. Written, according to tradition, respectively by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (the four evangelists), they are placed at the beginning of the New Testament and make up about half the total text. See, www.britannica.com/topic/Gospel-New-Testament
 19. Agarwala wrote *Rupalim* in the fourth decade of twentieth century. But it was printed as a book only in 1960, after the death of Agarwala.
 20. The original title is *L'Étranger* (*The Stranger*) and it's often translated as *The Outsider*.
 21. The original book was written in German but was subsequently translated into English and other languages.

22. *Little Prince* is an English translation of the French title *Le Petit Prince*, first published in 1943. It is a novella, the most famous work of French aristocrat, writer, poet, and pioneering aviator Antoine de Saint-Exupery (1900–1944).
23. Original French title is *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, 1845–1846
24. For more details, see, www.ntm.org.in

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Translating Medieval Orissa¹

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Abstract

This article is predicated on the assumption that the cultural history of a society can be constructed by examining the translated texts of the culture in question. On the face of it, this seems to be assuming too much, but in the context of medieval Orissa, this is probably both necessary and possible. This is necessary because of the paucity, and sometimes, of the contradictory nature, of historical material available on the subject to provide any coherent vision of cultural/linguistic evolution in Orissa. Since there is a definite and identifiable trajectory of translational practice in medieval Orissa, a genealogy of that practice can serve as a supplement to the available cultural historiography. Moreover, this is possible because translational practice in medieval Orissa can be translated as the index of socio-political forces in operation in the society.

Introduction

While translating translational practice into indices of culture and political economy, we are aware of the very late emergence of what Daniel Simeoni (2002) calls the 'sociological eye' in Translation Studies, an epistemic displacement of attention that contextualizes translation activity rather than making a normative analysis of the same. We also hold with Simeoni that translations primarily are a fact of social praxis and a major component of social communication mirroring the ideological, argumentative or rhetorical principles with which

the translators function and the tradition of construction and understanding of their nations in which they are implicated. In at least two essays translation scene in Orissa (Pattanaik, 2000; Dash & Pattanaik, 2002), such ideological nature of the translation enterprise has been analyzed and the role of competing ideologies that are implicated in national/linguistic identity formation laid bare. The former presents a model of the ways in which translation had been used in Orissa as a tool of cultural affirmation in the past and articulates the apprehensions about surrendering those cultural gains by uncritical submission to the structures of colonial hegemony governing translational practices in the contemporary times. The second essay, which is more important in the context of the present essay, goes deeper into the analysis of the so-called cultural affirmation generated by the translational practice in medieval Orissa. It identifies four successive moments in the history of medieval Orissa: the denial of translation, subversion through translation, collusion through translation, and finally competition through translation. Various forms of hegemony trying to control the discursive site and the distribution of knowledge and power among caste and religious groups within the Orissan society were seen as the cause of those distinctive moments in the history of translational practice in medieval Orissa. The complexity of the translation scene, it was argued, was because of the complexity of the social matrix, which gave rise to those translations. The present essay seeks to test these insights by placing them against the texts actually translated (both manuscripts and published texts), and the various ideologies that were in operation in the society during that time.

If we agree with Dasgupta (Dasgupta, 2000) that cognitive accountability is a condition of modernity and that translation is a necessary means through which knowledge is tested, recontextualised and submitted to critical scrutiny, then the earliest modern moment in the written discourse involving Orissa could be Sarala Das's translation/appropriation of Sanskrit texts *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and *Chandi Purana* in the 15th century.

With these texts, Oriya emerged as one of the dominant

languages and it became a key constituent in the Oriya national identity formation. During the following fifty years, various literary genres including prose literature were articulated in this language. The major prose texts of the period were *Rudra Sudhanidhi* by Narayana Abadhuta Swami, *Brahma Gita*, *Ganesha Bibhuti* and *Gyana Chudamani* by Balaram Das and *Tula Bhina* by Jagannath Das. That prose texts with such sophisticated conceptual thinking could be articulated in the Oriya language of that time is proof of the democratization of the episteme. This kind of democratization of discourse was possible because of the pressures of the Muslim presence. In order to protect their spheres of influence the Hindu ruling elite consisting of the Kshyatriya and the Brahmin castes tried to democratize some religious tenets and accommodate the subalterns in their fold. This resulted in the Bhakti cult, which in turn generated some religious diffusion and the translational process.

The restrictions to the domain of knowledge and power (Dash & Pattanaik, 2002) were automatically diluted and people belonging to various castes and religions participated in the production, consumption, transmission and diffusion of knowledge. The sphere of influence, and the extent of acceptance of the Oriya language was such that, even when the political formation that enabled this kind of emergence of language-based national identity collapsed after about hundred years, the language continued to unite people culturally. The resilience and accommodative capacities of Oriya enabled it to become one of the ideological formations that controlled the apparatuses of the states where the language was used. Dash and Pattanaik (2002) discusses how the Oriya language had a rather dormant existence for around four hundred years after its emergence from Purva Magadhi. Though it was used widely in colloquial transactions and stray rock-edicts, there were not many written texts.

Only after Sarala Das's translations/transcriptions (the word 'translation' has been used herein its wider significance), voluminous written texts were produced in this language. We must remember here that Sarala's writings were in fact the cultural manifestation of a socio-political process, which

sought to undermine the Brahminical/Sanskrit stranglehold over power-knowledge. The discourse generated by such a process, in its turn, brought about a reversal of social hierarchies. The knowledge, and so the power accruing from it which was hitherto under the control of the elites and the elite language Sanskrit was now under the appropriating grasp of the emerging castes and social groups. Translational praxis played a pivotal role in the process of appropriation and mutilation of earlier hegemonies and leveling down of the social playing field. In this context, the study of translational praxis as the index of socio-cultural dynamics is relevant and rewarding.

Translated Texts

Although the first translations are credited to Sarala Das, those are not translations in the sense in which we understand 'translation' today. Those are more a mutilation and reworking of the original texts (the ideological implications of such an exercise will be dealt with later). Translation, as it is understood today, began in the early sixteenth century with Balaram Das. From that time until the colonial translations (those by European missionaries, the natives and the bureaucratic variety) around hundred translated texts have been identified, out of which most are in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts. (A detailed list of the translated texts published/discovered so far is given at the end of this paper). We must clarify here that the list given at the end is not exhaustive, since the search and discovery of fresh evidence of manuscripts is still in process. It has been prepared taking into account the evidence and information available so far in state museums and manuscript collections in university libraries.

Moreover, the dating of the manuscripts not accompanied by *puspika* (colophon) might not be accurate for several reasons. First, except for the writer-translators who were also kings, rulers, and some major writers like Balaram Das, Jagannath Das and Dhananjaya Bhanja, it has not been possible to trace the genealogy of most of the writers. Secondly, several writer-translators share the same names, which are often the

names of the major writers/translators, which adds to the confusion. However, it can be claimed with certainty that all the translated texts mentioned here belong to a period before European colonization and were produced within fifty years before or after the dates mentioned against them.

Development of Translational Practice from 16th to Early 19th Century

The long list of translated texts both in print and in manuscript form mentioned above proves that translational practice in medieval Orissa was an important cultural activity. Compared with the translations during this period, translational activity between 11th century (when written Oriya discourse consolidated itself) and early 15th century is almost negligible. That a literary tradition, which remained almost dormant during a four-hundred year time-span, should proliferate in such a manner during the next three hundred and fifty years indicates that a cultural upheaval of sorts had taken place in the interregnum. This cultural upheaval is related to the rise of a nascent language-based patriotism around Kapilendra Dev's consolidation of political power. While analyzing this cultural phenomenon K. C. Panigrahi (1986, 289) states:

A love for the Oriya language, literature and culture was therefore an inevitable consequence of the new ferment created by the strong and vigorous rule of Kapileshvara. Since the topmost of castes, particularly the Brahmins were still the devotees of Sanskrit literature and had perhaps an aversion to the spoken language and its literature, a man from the lower rung of the social ladder came forward to accept the challenge of the time. After Sarala Das all castes shook off their prejudice against Oriya Literature and conjointly contributed to its growth .

Language-based patriotism was not only consolidated by the direct intervention of a great literary genius like Sarala Das, but also by the indirect influence of the language policy adopted by the emperor Kapilendra Dev. The Ganga rulers of Orissa had so far adopted a mixed-language policy in their royal proclamations. However, Kapilendra issued proclamations

only in Oriya (Sahu, 1968, 7). Such championing of the language by the ruling power created a base for the subsequent growth of the Oriya language, literature and nationalism. Thus, it is clear that literary/translational discourse during the medieval times is grounded on an identifiable social and political context. What follows is an analysis of this context that gave rise to the variety and volume of translated texts in medieval Orissa. The social and political context of medieval Orissa was informed by a kind of religious eclecticism. This religious eclecticism was organized around the institution of Lord Jagannath² at Puri, who had almost assumed the status of the principal state deity. Various ruling dynasties irrespective of their original sectarian affinities were assimilated into the denominational polyphony represented by Lord Jagannath. For example, though the Somavanshis were Shaiva-Saktas, they tempered their sectarian edge to be accommodated into the cult of Jagannath who was principally a Vaishnav deity. Similarly, the Gangas, originally Shaiva by faith, consolidated the accommodative and tolerant practice of faith around Jagannath. By the time Kapilendra Dev came to the throne, this assimilative spirit had become so pronounced that he could²⁶ Translating Medieval Orissa proclaim himself as Shaiva, Shakta and Vaishnava at the same time while he worshipped Lord Jagannath.

This spirit of religious assimilation could have been the basis of the Gangas' hold over power for so long and the ability of Kapilendra to build an empire. It was evident that the Gangas used their religious tolerance and language policy of issuing proclamations in three languages viz. Telugu, Sanskrit and Oriya as a tactical ploy to appease their Oriya subjects, for, outside the Oriyaspeaking domains, they were neither devotees of Lord Jagannath nor staunch followers of Vaishnavism (Satyanarayana, 1982). Kapilendra Dev also buttressed his empire-building enterprise with religious eclecticism and language loyalty. However, this strong language loyalty, which was an asset for Kapilendra when he organized the Oriyas for empire building, ultimately became a liability once the empire became expansive. The non-Oriya speaking areas of the empire could not be welded together culturally with the center of power. Thus, the vast

empire had already been riven with internal contradictions during Kapilendra's lifetime. By the time Purushottama Dev ascended the throne, these contradictions had brought about a crisis for the state. This crisis was accentuated by a protracted economic mismanagement. Kapilendra spent the better part of his life raising an army and supporting it through the state revenue. During Purushottama's time, the state became unable to generate enough resources to maintain a huge army and administer the far-flung provinces of the empire. When Prataparudra ascended the throne, Orissa was a crumbling state. However, the central part of the empire was held together merely by religious, linguistic and cultural sentiments.

Thus, when Chaitanya came, Orissa was a failed state but a culturally vibrant linguistic unit. For the next three hundred years this phenomenon continued defying conventional logic that ascribes the cause of cultural vibrancy to the prosperity and growth of the state. The vibrancy of the culture during that time can be discerned from the proliferation of written discourse and translational activity. However, the distribution of translated texts and creative works among the various Oriya speaking regions was uneven. This unevenness can be explained by the socio-political context that followed the fall of Gajapati kings. Most of the historians of medieval Orissa like B. C. Ray (1989) and M.A. Haque (1980) have failed to develop a coherent narrative of the context because of their inability to understand the regional dynamics within the Oriya speaking people. The three main regions of Orissa had separate trajectories of socio-cultural growth because of the varying political- economic contexts.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the western region of Orissa was already under the control of Chauhan ruler. Their rule continued for more than four hundred years, unhindered even during the Muslim rule over the rest of Orissa. Only small parts of the region came under direct British administration after 1849. The socio-political character of western Orissa thus had a trajectory of growth different from that of the rest of Orissa. Of course the cultural affinities between the western and eastern segments established during the Somavanshi

kings in the 10th century continued in some form, but the effect of the cultural upheaval after Sarala Das was not felt in these areas.³ The difference between the spoken languages of these regions could be one of the reasons for the lack of growth of a uniform literary tradition across the various regions. The spoken language of western Orissa was derived from a different strain of Prakrit than the spoken language used in the eastern part.

Secondly, the Chauhan rulers claimed that they were of Rajput origin and had migrated from north India. They patronized Sanskrit and Hindi, which were popular in north India at the expense of Oriya. Therefore, before the 19th century we come across stray Translating Medieval Orissa texts like *Sashi Sena* by Pratap Ray, *Sudhasara Gita* by Chandramani Das, *Bharata Savitri* and *Kapata Pasa* by Bhima Dhibara and *Saraswata Gita* by Ratanakara Meher. *Adhyatma Ramayana* is the only translated text of the region during this precolonial era. Its translator Gopala Telenga was the court poet of Ajit Singh, the king of Samabalpur in the 18th century. That only one translated text was produced under the patronage of the court during all these years is proof of the apathy of the ruling establishments towards Oriya literature in general and translational practice in particular. So while discussing the development of translational activity in medieval Orissa, the western region can be conveniently put aside.

The importance of eastern/coastal Orissa in terms of the development of translation is not merely because of Sarala Das, but also because of the tradition of translation activity that followed him. The Pancha Sakhas belonged to this area and their sphere of operation was within the districts of Puri and Cuttack, which were close to the religious and administrative centers of power. Several translations of *Gitagobinda* were also undertaken in this region. With the possible exception of Jagannath Das's *Srimad Bhagabata* all these translation followed the model set up by Balaram Das with minor variations here and there. Translational activity was initiated by three texts of Balaram Das viz. *Jagamohan Ramayana*, *Bhagabad Gita*, and *Uddhab Gita*. *Bamana Purana*, another text ascribed to Balaram demonstrates

translational strategies and other internal evidence, which are more common to an 18th century text. For example, an identity centered on Lord Jagannath, which was common to Balaram's text, is absent here. Moreover, the vocabulary seems to be a part of the 17th century practice influenced by Arabic and Persian languages. Thus, we encounter two models of translation in the 16th century coastal Orissa with their variants, one set up by Balaram and the other by Jagannath Das. Towards the 17th century, after this area came under direct Mughal rule, translation activity seems to have dwindled. Mughal rulers' involvement with Orissa was confined to collecting revenue through their subedars. They neither participated in, nor contributed to, the cultural life of the people. Whatever translations we encounter in this region after the 17th century were therefore undertaken at the religious centres or the minor Gadajats or principalities under petty Oriya kings and zamindars.

The focus of translation shifted to the south after 17th century. The southern part of Orissa (from Chilika Lake onwards) had been occupied by Qutbsahi since the late 16th century. Two citations in Satyanarayana (1983) about the strategy behind the administration of Qutbsahi rulers in general and their greatest ruler Sultan Quli in particular, are worth quoting here:

(The Qutbsahi kings) believed that it was expedient to allow a large measure of freedom to the Hindus who formed the bulk of the people subject to their rule, so that they might establish their power on firm and lasting foundations. This fact perhaps explains why they condemned the acts of intolerance perpetuated occasionally by some of their overzealous subordinates.

Further,

Of all the Muslim dynasties that ruled India, the Qutbsahi of Golconda was the most enlightened. True, they plundered and destroyed Hindu Temples in the enemy's territory during the course of invasions, but within their own dominions the Hindus enjoyed a measure of religious freedom, not known in other Muslim kingdoms (516).

Because of the measure of freedom granted, and the influence of enlightenment, the chieftains of southern Orissa under Qutbsahi during 17th century, pursued a policy of patronizing the written discourse both in Sanskrit and in Oriya. This cultural practice continued in south Orissa even when it came under the Nizams of Hyderabad in the third decade of the 18th century and under the British colonial administration in the seventh decade of the same century. The cultural autonomy prevalent in this area was so resilient that it remained unaffected until the last decade of the 19th century despite various changes in the political domain and administrative set-up. This relative autonomy and a stable steady cultural atmosphere proved extremely fertile for translation activity. Translation of almost three-fourth of the texts mentioned earlier had been undertaken in this area during the three hundred years. In order to have an idea of the strategies and methods of translation obtaining in medieval times a detailed analysis of the major translated texts is called for.

Methods of Translation

Translational practice in Oriya did not have any authoritative methodological guidelines to fall back upon. The aestheticians of Sanskrit, the dominant language, were for the most part silent about the nature and mode of this genre. In an earlier essay (Dash & Pattanik, 2002), we have hinted how Anandabardhana came close to the concept of translation/influence as we understand it today, in his explication of the idea of “sambada” or dialogue. The idea of dialogue implies a democratic exchange, within a particular language or between two languages, in a spirit of epistemic cooperation. However, the earliest works of translation in Oriya done by Sarala Das were born out of a contest between two antagonistic social forces trying to control the epistemological field.

Translation in Sarala’s hands, therefore, was a tool of subversion not only of the text in question but also of the ideological structure represented by the texts and the social forces that were controlling them. Sarala ostensibly was not in favour of the Brahminic ideology that informed

texts like *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. A lot of violence and mutilation has therefore accompanied his rendering of these texts into Oriya. Translation is more of a reshaping and reworking within a broad narrative framework, which is also an uncanny reflection of the redistribution of power among various social groups in the society of those times. This dynamics of social processes and translational methodology seems to have continued in subsequent phases of translation giving rise to a methodological tradition, which is in essence an instinctive apprehension of the shifting social perspective. What follows is an analysis of that phenomenon by looking at a few representative translations across the ages. We must clarify here that the texts or passages from them have not been chosen at random because they also represent a pattern, a pattern of emergence from the various aesthetic practices in the dominant language Sanskrit and their assimilative appropriation into the practices of translation in the target language Oriya.

The Sanskrit aesthetic/scriptural practice of elucidation/interpretation had been dominated for a long time by the pronouncements of Jaimini, Kumarila, and Mallinath. According to Jaimini the three major axioms of interpretation are the autonomy of verbal meaning, its impersonality and the unity of meaning (Chari, 1993, 163). This formulation virtually closed the scope of translational practice, because any translation is bound to violate the autonomy and unity of a verbal structure. However, the scope of exegetical discussion was not fully closed down. Moreover, Mallinath claims explicitly at the outset of his commentaries on Translating Medieval Orissa Kalidasa's poetic works that "all this is being commented upon by me only by way of explicating the meaning of the text, I say nothing that is not in the text and not warranted by it" (trans. Chari, 1993, 193). He proceeds to find new significance in Kalidasa's text. This practice automatically opens up possibilities of reconstructing an alternative discourse and proliferation of exegeses. What happened on the Oriya translation scene is the exploitation of the scope of such exegetical proliferation albeit in a different language. Translators from Balaram onwards have internalized the traditional Sanskritic scriptural/philosophic

practice in order to turn them against their own grain and have violated the so-called verbal autonomy of the original texts in Sanskrit. The borderline between tika ('commentary') and bhasya ('interpretation' with renderings of fresh significance) were often blurred when these were amalgamated into translational practice.

There was another parallel practice in Sanskrit, viz. that of retelling the same narrative from the point of view of a specific cult, which might have been appropriated as a method of translation in Oriya. For example, the story of Rama has been reshaped repeatedly from the perspectives of Jaina theology and epistemology, the practices of Vaishnava and Shakta cults. Jaina *Ramayanas*, *Adhythma Ramayana* and *Adbhuta Ramayana* stand testimony to this practice. When Sarala, Balaram, Achyuta and others have translated the text of *Ramayana*, they have done it from the perspectives of their own cult affiliations and ideological beliefs. While dealing with the development of translational practice in Oriya, we have to negotiate with this complex cultural inheritance. The problematic nature of such complex inheritance can be discerned in Balaram Das's translation, *Jagamohan Ramayana*, the first text we have chosen for a detailed analysis. Balaram's cultaffinity is transparent from the very beginning of the text, whose first eighty couplets are eulogies not of Rama, the chief protagonist of Valmiki's epic, but of Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Orissan kingdom and the then Vaishnav cult. For him Rama is important because he is the seventh incarnation of Lord Jaganath. His proposal to write about Valmiki's Rama is a surrogate activity to the real act of paying obeisance to his original inspiration, Lord Jagannath. Translation here is a religious activity, which leads to salvation.

There are also other ideological reasons behind the drastic difference between the beginning in Valmiki's text and that of Balaram Das's text. Balaram has dropped the first four chapters of Valmiki's epic, because Rama, according to him, is not merely the 'ideal man' (Purushottama) as conceived by Valmiki, but is the very embodiment of the Divine on earth. Moreover, while the story of *Ramayana* is, for Valmiki, a lived

history, for Balaram, it is part of sacred mythology. However, after reformulating the symbolic significance of Rama, Balaram proceeds to follow Valmiki's narrative closely with minor variations in detail. Of the three readings available on the original text his reading of Valmiki is based on the 'northern Indian reading' (Sahoo, 2000, 93-94). Valmiki's story of Rama and his ancestors begins from the fifth canto of the first book *Adi Kanda* and Balaram starts the same story from couplet no. 190. Balaram thereafter describes Ayodhya with minor changes in Valmiki's depiction of the locale (for a detailed comparison between Valmiki's text and Jagamohan Ramayana (See Sahoo, 2000).

Overall, while retaining the main storyline, the broad division of books etc we see that Balaram has adopted various methods in his translation of *Ramayana* at different points including literal translation, the expansion of theme, excision of a few details, amalgamation of ideas and stories from other canonical texts like Translating Medieval Orissa *Gita Gobinda* and *Adhyatma Ramayana*. At least one difference between Valmiki's text and Balaram's which needs an elaborate analysis for purposes of this essay is the fact that Balaram's text is extremely indulgent while describing the sensuous details. For example in the tale of Rusyasringa, Balaram inserts eighty-five couplets to describe the history of his birth, which are not found in Valmiki. These eighty-five couplets are replete with erotic descriptions following the ornate Sanskrit poetry tradition. The echo of Sarala's grotesque imagination can also be heard when Rusyasringa is half-man and half-deer with horns on his head. Balaram's translation is ultimately a delicate balance between the erotic and the devotional, between the elite tradition of Sanskrit and subaltern Oriya ethos and between translation as subversion and translation as dissemination.

Srimad Bhagabad Gita, which belongs to the later phase of Balaram's literary career, is a continuation of that delicate balance and also an advance upon it. It is an advance in the sense that this is for the first time that a sacred philosophical text of very great importance incorporating the essence of Brahminic ideology is being rendered in the Oriya language.

Because of the philosophically intricate nature of its discourse, which is not easily accessible to non-Brahminic castes, Sarala had refrained from incorporating this text, although it is commonly perceived as a part of the “Bhisma Parva” of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*. For, Balaram too, the knowledge of *Gita* is “Brahma Gyana” meant exclusively for the Brahmins. However, with the advent of another order of knowledge dominated by Bhakti, or love in which the caste-hierarchies are leveled down by the extent of one’s devotion, the knowledge of *Gita* becomes accessible to the real devotees irrespective of their castes. This ideology of devotion is a justification for a Sudra like Balaram, not only to access this privileged knowledge, but to disseminate it among the devotees of Lord Jagannath, one of whose incarnations Krishna the original preacher of *Gita* was. In order to provide this justification of translation of the *Gita*, Balaram adds a postscript titled “*Gitabakasha*” to his translation of the original Sanskrit text.

In the postscript, he also claims, with the blessings of Lord Jagannath, the originator of all knowledge, to have surpassed the genius of Vyasa, the first codifier of the divine speech. Along with the postscript, he has also added an introductory portion in the first chapter before coming to the actual translation of the text. However, the translation can be said to be literal in nature. The key concepts have been simplified for the Oriya audience and ethical and moral inflection has been added here and there. Thus, one can discern a simplification and a moral and ethical dilution of the philosophical rigor of the text during the translation process. Moreover, the *sambada* (dialogue) form of the original Sanskrit has been changed into Bhakti ritual in which the devotee has invoked the godhead by his question (*pidhabandha*) and the answer of the divine teacher has been given in the *Gitabandha*. The rhyme of the original was uniform but in the translation, several rhyme schemes have been used for various chapters. Despite its limitations as a translated text, including its dilution of the philosophical rigor of the original, this is a radical step forward in introducing abstract thought to the Oriya language through translational practice. The articulation of abstract thought in the Oriya language was further tested in the

translation of *Srimad Bhagabata* (especially in the eleventh book), which is both a philosophical and a devotional text. Subsequently because of its wide acceptance among the Oriya people, the translation of *Bhagabata* succeeded in institutionalizing abstract thinking in the hitherto Prakrit-oriented Oriya language. The parallels and variations between the original and the translated version of *Srimad Bhagabata*, have been elaborately dealt with by a number of scholars like Gopinath Nada Sharma, Ketaki Nayak, Krushan Chandra Sahoo, Bansihar Mohanty and Bansidhar Sarangi as Oriya *Bhagabata* by Jagannath Das is a central text of the Oriya Translating Medieval Orissa literary and theological canon. These scholars, however, have not identified the translational strategies adopted by Jagannath Das, the first Brahmin among the early translators in the Oriya language. Probably because of his caste affiliation, Jagannath Das demonstrates fidelity to the essence of the original, hitherto not seen in the earlier translations. In a manner of speaking, he was trying to replicate the Brahminic ideology within the broader spectrum of the Bhakti cult, as is evident from his repeated assertion of Brahmin identity.

Moreover, the translation is directed by the commentary on *Bhagabata* by Sridhara Swami, a great Sanskrit scholar. The text of Jagannath has become at the same time, a translation, an explication and a commentary. While Balaram's translation tended to omit abstract philosophical concepts due to the unavailability of parallel terms in Oriya, Jagannath Das naturalized those Sanskrit terms in Oriya language. This translation transformed Oriya language into a meta-language parallel to Sanskrit, which was also a meta-language with a pan-Indian acceptance. Subsequently, the written literature in Oriya language tended to minimize the use of colloquial expressions resulting in a stagnation of the standard Oriya language and can be seen in the Oriya ornate poetry tradition. Another translational practice followed by Jagannath Das is the juxtaposition of the original Sanskrit verses with the Oriya rendering as has been done in the eleventh book of *Bhagabata*. It is well known that the eleventh book contains the most abstract philosophical ideas in the whole *Purana*. It seems as if Jagannath Das is apprehensive that the target

language is not competent enough to internalize those dense philosophical formulations. Therefore, Jagannath Das on the one hand accepts the superior status of Sanskrit and is apologetic about the people's language, and on the other uses the people's language as a parallel to and alternative to the original language Sanskrit. This complex practice became one of the norms for subsequent translations into Oriya.⁴

The extent of abstraction to which Jagannath Das had moulded the Oriya language can be gauged from a subsequent text titled *Siba Swarodaya* by Jasobanta Das, one among the so-called Panchasakhas.⁵ *Siba-swarodaya* is a translation of the Sanskrit text *Swarodaya Lesa*. The original text is divided into twenty-one small chapters. Jasobanta Das transformed the entire text into one single continuous discourse having four hundred and seventy three couplets. He justifies the undertaking of the task of retelling the text in Oriya on the ground that the wisdom codified in the text is actually meant for the people. Had it not been meant for the people, it would not have been articulated at all. Once it has been articulated, it should be transmitted into the language, which the common people can easily access. He does not therefore call it translation, but a manifestation, *Prakash*, coming out of some thing, which is latent. However, if the original Sanskrit text and the derivative Oriya text are compared, one can easily sense the closeness of the translated text to the original, a rendering of simple and lucid Sanskrit into standardised Oriya, which had started taking after Sanskrit, after Jagannath Das's *Bhagabata*. Jayadeva's *Gita Gobinda*, which has been translated more than twenty times during this period alone, is the central text for an analytical understanding of the evolution and standardization of translational practice in Orissa. The popularity of this text can be gauged from the number of imitations it had spawned in Sanskrit within Orissa's geographical space. The lilting rhythm, the erotic theme and the epic structure, all contributed to its enormous popularity among various sections of the audience ranging from the common people to the royal courts. After Chaitanya adopted and eulogized this, it became the canonical text of the Vaishnav sect, which followed Chaitanya's teachings. Translating Medieval Orissa Among the translations available,

Trilochan Das's *Gobindagita* is the earliest. By caste, Trilochan was a barber, a backward caste in the caste hierarchy, which normally had no access to the Sanskrit language. According to K.C. Sahoo, Trilochan was a translator belonging to the late 16th century (1981, 53), but there are a number of references in *Manibandha Gita* and *Kabikalpa Tika* by Achyutananda Das to this text and its author. Das's translational intervention was revolutionary in many ways. First, he conceives the text as being multi-layered in significance. For him, while the outer erotic surface is meant for the plebeian reader, the inner subtext of the core is metaphysical. Radha and Krishna, the amorous protagonists of the source text, become the 'Jiva' ('the essential created being') and 'Parama' ('the supreme absolute') in the translated one. Therefore, we see a simultaneous literal rendering along with a kind of inverted Bhasya, which instead of simplifying the complex, transforms the ordinary into an abstract metaphysical discourse. This construction of a metaphysical discourse around *Geeta Gobinda* through translational practice unalterably afforded a secular text a spiritual significance and set the trend for all subsequent translations of the text. Though many subsequent translations confined themselves to the rendering of only the erotic outer surface, in the popular perception, this continued to be a sacred text. Moreover, this is the earliest instance of an 'iconic' translation (as characterised by Ramanujan). Ironically the translational strategy adopted by Das saves it from degenerating into pornography, the inevitable risk a translation runs when such a text is mediated in a people's language.

The next important translation of *Geeta Govinda* is Brindabana Das's *Rasabaridhi*. The title he chooses for his text is drawn from the Vaishnav aesthetics where Krishna is the embodiment of all the aesthetic pleasures. Any aesthetic enterprise having Krishna at its center is therefore full of 'rasa', the essence of aesthetic enjoyment. He calls his translation 'Rasabaridhi', which literally means a 'sea of rasa' while the original title would mean 'a song for Krishna'. Here we see the predominance of Vaishnavite ideology in the Orissan society of the times. However, while Artaballav Mohanty (1973) claims that this is an early 15th century text, the later historians

place it in the mid-16th century (Sahoo, 1981; Mishra, 1976). Its importance lies in the fact that this is probably the first translated text in Oriya, which mutes the revelatory nature of all creative enterprise. Although they were conscious of the authors of the source texts, earlier translators claimed a divine inspiration, or a revelation as the main motivating factor behind their attempt at mediating knowledge/wisdom in a Prakrit language. Brindavan Das is however courageous enough to ascribe the text to its human author, Jayadeva, and not to any metaphysical source, which is the repository of all knowledge. He explicitly owns up the “iconic” nature of his translational practice, despite adopting the age-old practice of the reconstruction of the text according to his own ideological predilections. He has even changed the title of the text and reworked its introductory portion. Moreover, he has succeeded in fashioning the rather expansive Oriya language, into some sort of pithy brevity, which matches Jayadeva’s Sanskrit.

Jagannath Das’s linguistic model of a standard Oriya being populated heavily by Sanskrit diction seems to be followed by Brundavana Das with minor throwbacks to a few archaic native words and expressions. Jagannath Mishra’s *Geeta Govinda* is the first prose rendering in Oriya, in the form of ‘tika’ or commentary. Earlier most of the translations were only in verse form. Jagannath Mishra’s prose rendering not only flattens the lilting musical quality of the original text, but it also uncovers the veil of sacredness imposed on it by the Vaisnav cult. It is instructive to remember here that Jagannath was a Brahmin by caste and had profound command over Sanskrit as is evident from the Sanskrit slokas he has composed as Translating Medieval Orissa an introduction to his translation. In deference to the rituals of Smarta Brahmins, he pays his obeisance to five sacred deities before embarking upon translational activity and the slokas begin with a prayer not to Krishna, but to Ganesha the auspicious hurdleremoving deity invoked at the beginnings of events. Like Jagannath Das who used both Vyasa’s text and Sridhar Swami’s commentary in his translation of *Bhagabata*, Mishra writes his Sanskrit commentary to Jayadeva’s text and translates the text along with its commentary into Oriya.

It is simultaneously a critical elucidatory and translated text, demonstrating Jagannath Mishra's scholarship and ability to use the genre of Oriya prose at a time when it was in a nascent form. This was completed on 6 August 1598 but could be cited as a precursor to standard modern translational practice anywhere in the world.

It is obvious that Mishra's work was not meant for a common audience. However, Dharnidhara Das's translation, produced around the same time, became extremely popular because of its musical quality, and because of the absence of intellectual pretensions. That it was the earliest printed text in Oriya is a proof of its continuing popularity. Though it is a classic example of the iconic translation, the translator claims that it is actually a commentary upon the Sanskrit original. It is significant that this text exemplifies the stabilization of the process of commentary as translational practice in Oriya language. The traditional desire of an Oriya translator to elevate, excise or expand the text, however, can be discerned at places in Dharanidhara's attempt, despite the iconic nature of his translation. For example, the first canto has been divided into three, while the seventh and eleventh have been divided into two each. This has been done often to maintain continuity or to mark a thematic wholeness. After such texts like Dharanidhara's, it would be natural to expect that the entire translational practice in Orissa would settle down to iconic translational practice that evolved during such a long period or would try to bridge the gaps, wherever they are, in such a method. Nevertheless, in practice, translational activity in Oriya continues to be a heterogeneous practice even hundred years after Dharanidhara's *Geeta Govinda Tika*. Bajari Das's *Artha Govinda* is an example of such heterogeneity, in which the translator seems to revert to the methods of the earliest translations. *Artha Govinda* was completed on 28 February, in the year 1673. His avowed claim in the text is to locate the meaning of the original more than its structure or rhythm. Therefore, the twelve cantos of Jayadeva's *Geeta Govinda* have been expanded into twenty-seven chapters in Bajari's translation, which adopts a single meter throughout the text.

The secular and literary identity that this text had assumed in the hands of Jagannath Mishra and Daranidhara Das has been recast in a sacred mould, probably owing to Bajari's Vaishnav allegiance. Probably the religious and cult allegiance is more responsible for this translation than any other commitment. For, the translator reveals Bajari's inadequate command over the source language, which has resulted in misinterpretation in several places. Moreover, Bajari has taken recourse to archaic expression in Oriya while his previous translators had already put the language to sophisticated use. His translation is an example of how commitments other than literary can spawn translations, which misrepresent the intentions of the source text. *Haribansha* by Achyutananda is a composite translation of several source texts in Sanskrit woven around the life of Krishna. The original *Haribansha* consisting of three parvas viz. "Haribansha", "Bishnu", "Bhabisyata" is an appendix to Vyasa's Mahabharata and belongs to the genre of 'upapuranas' in Sanskrit. However, Achyutananda expands the text in a manner in which it assumes the shape of a Purana by amalgamating material culled from *Bhagabata*, Book X and Sarala's *Mahabharata* etc. Achyutananda's text is Translating Medieval Orissa divided into seven parts and is quite different from its Sanskrit original, even if we completely excise the Mahatmya portion.

According to Natabara Satapathy (1990), the Oriya work excels more in its aesthetic quality, psychological insight, and coherence of structure than in its religious significance. Although the subversive edge of Sarala Das's Mahabharata is missing, like Sarala Das's *Mahabharata*, it is a restructuring of the original, catering to contemporary literary tastes in the name of translation.

*Lanka Ramayana*⁶ by Siddheswar Das inaugurates another translational practice by choosing a part of the source text, *Adbhuta Ramayana*, which practice corresponds to his own belief system. Since the source text is a shakta one, it totally undermines the original *Ramayana* by Valmiki and valorizes the female protagonist Sita as the real slayer of the evil forces in the place of Rama. The novelty of such a formulation is quite attractive for the translator, which according to Grierson

(1904), “is a comparative modern work”, “distinctly Shakta in character”. But the subversive dimension is too combustible for the Oriya audience of those times. So Siddheswar begins the text from the seventeenth chapter of the source text and changes the ending in such a manner that it becomes a delicate balance between tradition and novelty, the Vaishnav and Shakta strains and the original *Ramayana* and *Adbhuta Ramayana*. The elements of other translational practices like excising, expansion are also present in this text. More than theological and literary intentions, the novelty of the story seems to be the main source of inspiration for this translation.

Ichhabati by Dhananjaya Bhanja is a purely imaginative literary text of the later part of the eleventh century, which incorporates the translation of two independent Sanskrit texts i.e. *Chaura Panchasika* by Bilhana and *Purva Panchasika* by an anonymous writer. Bhanja, a king of Ghumusara reworked the original literary creation of Banamali Das and then fused the iconic translation of the said text with a reworked *Chata Ichhabati* by Banamali Das while the sixth and seventh cantos are the translation of *Purva Panchasika*. The eighth, ninth and tenth cantos are the translations of Bilhana’s text. Minor adjustments have been made in the translation to adapt them to the original storyline. This is not only novel as a translational practice, but also attracts attention for being the first translation in Oriya of a purely secular text, unlike *Geeta Gobinda* which was more open to religious interpretation. Though Jagannath Das’s *Bhagabata* was extremely popular among the public and set the trend for future translations in Oriya, the scholarly segment of the society frowned upon some of its translational strategies. In the 18th century, he produced his own translation, generally referred to as *Khadanga Bhagabata*, which was more faithful to the Sanskrit original. In order to counter the enormous prestige of Das’s *Bhagabata*, and gain legitimacy for his own, he demonstrated his ability as a Sanskrit scholar early in his enterprise. In the subsequent chapters too, he incorporated Sanskrit epigrams summarizing the theme, which underlined his scholarship. Nevertheless, sometimes this scholarship became a hindrance to the easy flow and naturalness of expression despite his adoption of Das’s innovative metrical

form and the standardized Oriya language. His ideological compulsions and social location might have been responsible for such a scholarly attitude that came in the way of popular appeal. For example, he belonged to the Gaudia Vaishnav sect, which disapproved of Das's *Bhagabata*. Moreover, his status as a poet attached to the royal court made it contingent upon him to wear the scholarly garb. Valmiki's popular tale of Rama spawned various kinds of literary expressions in India, including translations into various regional languages, subversive texts in Sanskrit and their translations and so on. One major Oriya text on Rama in the ornate poetry tradition was *Baidehisha Bilasha* by Upendra Bhanja. In order to match the skills employed in the said text, Banamali Patnaik translated Bhaojaraja Suri and Laxmana Suri's text Translating Medieval Orissa *Ramayana Champu* that also belonged to the ornate Sanskrit poetic tradition. However, Patnaik's text *Suchitra Ramayana* written in 1754 abandons the style of the original, which combines both the prose and verse forms and the entire text, and is written in verse. He admits that though the theme he has undertaken is sacred, he is more attracted by the poetic skills employed in the original. In order to sharpen the poetic skill, that is part of the ornate tradition and to heighten the emotional content or *rasa*, he has deviated from the original at a few places. His text can be characterized as an iconic translation in which his faithfulness to the original sometimes causes artificiality of expression. The last text taken up for consideration is the *Gita* by Krishna Singh, the king of Dharakot belonging to the latter half of the 18th century and the translator of the more popular *Mahabharata* and *Haribandha*. Like Dinabandhu Mishra he has tried to follow the original faithfully. In the introductory verses, he establishes his identity as a devotee of Jagannath, as done in his other translations like *Mahabharata*. However, unlike in the *Mahabharata*, he has faltered at places while interpreting the subtle nuances of the abstract philosophical formulations of the original *Srimad Bhagabata Gita*. Krishna Singh's translations are an example of the limitations of iconic translations of philosophical texts into the Oriya language.

This brief analysis of some representative texts belonging to a period spanning three hundred years, from the early 16th

century to early 19th century, reveals a heterogeneous field in which various translational and interpretative practices coalesced. Barring a few texts towards the end of the period, most of the texts demonstrate the simultaneous presence of multiple strategies current at the time. However, most of the works do not designate themselves as ‘translations’ but as ‘revelations’. By expressing their obeisance to some super human creative agency, they not only legitimize their creation/translation but also problematize the whole question of the claims of authorship and ownership of texts. A deeper ideological analysis is called for to map the contours of the problematic field in question.

Section V: Texts and Ideologies

“The king of spirits said, ‘there have been as many Ramas as there are rings on this platter. When you return to earth, you will not find Rama. This incarnation of Rama is now over. Whenever an incarnation of Rama is about to be over, his ring falls down. I collect them and keep them. Now you can go.’ So Hanuman left.” This is how the story cited in Ramanujan’s essay “Three Hundred *Ramayanas*: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation” ends. The story narrates how one day Rama’s ring fell off, made a hole on the ground and vanished into the nether world. Asked to go in search of the ring, Hanuman arrived there and met the king of spirits. As the king of spirits was asking him to choose Rama’s ring from amongst a bunch of identical rings, the time of that particular *Ramayana* was over. Then the king explained to Hanuman that since that particular *Ramayana* was over, by the time he returned, Rama would be gone. In addition, there are numerous Ramas as there are several *Ramayanas*. This story signifies the existence of multiple discourses around a single theme in the Indian mythological and epistemological tradition. This multiplicity of discourses not only challenges the contemporary notions of authorship and ownership of texts but also counters the traditional perception of classical Indian episteme as being conservative, stifling any kind of growth. There are at least four distinct literary traditions around the myth of Rama. The central tradition around Valmiki’s text is apparently conservative

with liberal strains here and there. Rama the protagonist is represented in this tradition, not as the ultimate Godhead but as the best among humans. The example Translating Medieval Orissa of the Brahminical discourse around Rama can be gleaned from such texts as *Yogabasisitha Ramayana* or *Adhyathma Ramayana*. Rama is represented here either as “all knowledge” or as “divine incarnation” depending on the philosophical or spiritual thrust of the composition.

The subversive treatises like *Adbhuta Ramayana* and Bimal Suri’s *Pauma Chariya* belong to the third type of discourse. While the former represents sectarian or cult allegiance, the latter is heterodox in nature. In subversive texts, the character of Rama is subordinate to other higher forces like Shakti in the character of Sita or Ravana, the evil character in other traditional texts. Apart from these three, there are various kinds of recycling of the Ramayana tale in folk traditions. This multiplicity of representations performs several functions like spiritual and intellectual heightening, subversion or popularization of the ‘original’ text within a given episteme. Thus, it can be clearly seen that the domain of the original text was never authoritarian in the Indian translation tradition. This denial of the authority of the original or authorship is not only true of the Rama myth but of the entire tradition of Indian philosophy and its ideological underpinnings. Although narratives like those of Dr.S. Radhakrishnan have tried to create an impression that Indian philosophy is idealistic by concentrating on its orthodox traditions, later historians like S.N.Dasgupta and D.P.Chattopadhyaya give equal importance to all the four major philosophical strands i.e. the Vedas, post-Vedic systems, heterodox systems like Jainism and Buddhism and the Lokayata schools, including popular traditions. They counter the notion that the Vedic and post-Vedic knowledge under Brahmin hegemony constitute the only Indian method of philosophical discourse. The knowledge under the Brahmin hegemony is primarily metaphysical and exclusionary. It excludes the common people and their material location. They turn to the heterodox systems and popular experience across generations for a coherent worldview. Both the orthodox systems under Brahmin hegemony and the heterodox and Lokayata systems

of popular participation have together given rise to complex textual practices in ancient and medieval India. The 'grand' narratives were in perpetual tussle with the 'little' narratives.

The textual practices developed in India can be divided into three parts, i.e. the orthodox Brahminic (Sanskrit), the heterodox (subversive) and the folk (subaltern). The orthodox practice encouraged imitative and interpretative texts while the heterodox tradition gave rise to texts that subverted the hegemonic Sanskrit texts. It would be fruitful to invoke the Jaina Anekantabada in this context. According to Ramakrishna Rao: It (Jaina Anekantabada) is what might be called a view of reality as being pluralistic, many-sided or expressing itself in multiple forms. The result is that no absolute predication of reality is valid. Whatever we assert about reality must be probable or relative (Ramakrishna Rao, 1975, 94). This relativistic and pluralistic notion about reality gave rise to a tentative attitude to texts. The Brahminical concept of an absolute text was challenged by this notion and paved the way for subsequent subversion of textual practices. The folk discourse balanced the orthodox and heterodox elements in an unsystematic manner. All these textual categories were not very conducive for iconic translations. In other words the contemporary notion of translation was not prevalent in ancient or medieval India. (See also Dash & Pattanaik, 2002). Though translation qua translation was not available, there were many retellings of the puranas in ancient and medieval India. The writing of *puranas* and *upapuranas* and their many retellings were due to a complex intellectual inheritance of this genre. Though *puranas* were written in the Sanskrit language by the Brahmin class, a design to disseminate knowledge among the common people was implicated within it. Knowledge was orthodox Translating Medieval Orissa metaphysics, but folk and heterodox narrative elements were amalgamated into its structure. Though *Ramayana* was initially a *kavya* and Mahabharata was an *itihasa* (history) they came to the popular imagination in the form of *puranas*. This composite nature of *puranas* resulted in its many retellings. After the modern Indian languages evolved, these *puranas* came to be recreated in those languages, retaining their complex intellectual inheritance.

The complexity of the field deepened further when various Bhakti cults/sects proliferated in response to the teachings of Ramananda, Kabir, Alwars and others during medieval times. The earlier Shaiva/Shakti cults had substantially transformed the character of the dominant Vaishnav *puranas* according to their own ideologies. Now the theological formulations of the saints were also incorporated into the discourse. Thus towards the later part of medieval times Indian society and the cultural practices therein had become truly composite. In Orissa, however, the socio-cultural spectrum had been a composite phenomenon for a long time. Here the aboriginal and *lokayata* elements were in close proximity with the heterodox systems and had assumed a dominant position. The *lokayata* icons like the goddesses and Shaiva deities were worshipped along with Lord Jagannath the presiding deity, who was claimed by all the belief systems i.e. by the Sabara, Jaina, Buddhist and Vaishnav (=Brahmin) faiths. Brahminisation, which began towards the 10th century AD, continued till early 15th century during Somavanshi and Ganga dynasties. Brahmins captured the cultural-political space and assumed a hegemonic position during this period. The multi-cultural character of Lord Jagannath was repressed under Brahmin suzerainty. Lord Jagannath was reduced to a monocultural Vaishnav deity. Only in the 15th century, with the advent of Kapilendra Dev as the king of Orissa, the multi-cultural character of Lord Jagannath was restored. Hitherto marginalized forces and belief-systems again aspired for ascendancy during Kapilendra's rule and Kapilendra allowed equal space for all of them in the power-spectrum as is evident from the Srisailam record: Kapilendra, in his Srisailam record called himself Purana Vaishnav, Purana Maheswar and Durgaputra. Thus, he was a Vaishnavite, a Saivite and a Shaktaite at the same time (Satyanarayan, 1983).

Sarala's *Mahabharata* and other writings, which were produced during Kapilendra's rule, demonstrate the composite nature of the cultural and religious affiliation. Jaina and folk elements jostle to find expression within the predominantly Brahminical text, resulting ultimately in the subversion of Brahmin ideology. This cultural diversity had to face a challenge again from Islam during the 15th century. A major part of Orissa

came under direct Muslim control in the second half of the 16th century. However, indirect influences of Islamic culture had already been felt in the earlier centuries because several parts of India had come under Muslim administrative control before the end of the 14th century itself. Before the Muslims came on the Indian scene, the role of the Indian states in the cultural life of the people had been minimal. The royal administration confined itself to maintaining a standing army, and collecting revenue for the upkeep of the same. In matters of ethics and morality, adjudication of the rule of the law etc. people enjoyed a lot of autonomy. Only during transitional phases between the decline of one dynasty and the rise of another, there was disruption in this kind of autonomy. Since the rulers and the people belonged to contiguous faiths and religious practices under the broad rubric of Indian composite culture, there was a common ritualistic bond between the people and the state. This weakened with the establishment of Muslim domination. The hitherto dominant Brahminical ideology received a severe setback due to such a weakening. The subaltern heterodox voices, which were recessive during the Brahmin hegemony, became more audible. Translating Medieval Orissa The articulation of heterodox voices resulted in various new cultural phenomena. Several historians like Tara Chand (1976) and Satyaranarayan (1983) have analyzed the impact of Muslim presence in India and the resultant cultural practices. The Muslim presence according to Tara Chand had a bipolar character. As a religion and system of faith, Islam was monotheistic, and in its earlier phase it had a democratic organization not admitting any kind of hierarchy like caste, common to Brahminic practices. However, by the time it entered north India as the religion of the conquerors, its democratic character had been diluted and the fraternal impulse had given way to the logic of conquest. Thus, we witness two faces of Islam in India between 12th and 15th centuries – one preaching universal brotherhood and equality before religion and the other practicing the marauding rule of the sword and the silencing of dissent by extermination. That is precisely the reason why the character of Islam in the south where it was not primarily a religion of the conquistadors, is vastly different from that of the north. However, towards

the last part of the 15th century the character of Islam even in the north underwent a change. Political compulsions fragmented the bonding within Islam itself. Now various groups professing Islam were struggling for power in the north and to a lesser extent in the south. There were victors and victims within the people professing the same religion and trying to retain their hold over power and subjects too. A new cultural practice of religious tolerance emerged because of these political compromises. The hitherto antagonistic religions began to accommodate each other at the ideological level. While some people professing Islam participated in the Hindu rituals, there were attempts at modification of Hindu religious practices according to Islamic tenets. The Satyapira worship and the spread of the Bhakti cult are the results of such ideological accommodation. Because of its vantage geographical location, Orissa was privy to the accommodative ideological shifts taking place in both the north and the south. We have mentioned earlier that until the 15th century, the indirect influence of Islam was felt in Orissa because its political contact was mainly with the south, and it was more or less a benevolent kind of Islam, as practiced in the south. By the time Orissa came under the direct Muslim rule of the powers of the north, it was again the influence of tolerant Islam, which encouraged heterogeneity. Thus, throughout Orissan history, there was an ambience of peaceful existence between the two religions. Therefore, the incidence of forcible conversion, seen in northern India, was rare in Orissa. Concurrently Brahminical Hinduism, which was more orthodox elsewhere, resulting in mass conversion like in Bengal and parts of Kerala, was less so in Orissa, accommodating subaltern groups within the Hindu fold. This fertile field of religious tolerance and accommodation both by the Islamic groups and Brahminical orthodoxy could be one of the reasons of Chaitanya's phenomenal success in Orissa compared with his native Bengal. The other reason of Chaitanya's acceptance in Orissa was the political disempowerment of the Gajapati Kings after Purushottam Deb (Sahoo, 1968, 7).

Chaitanya's advent had a profound bearing on the ideology of translation in Orissa. However, the full significance of the

role played by Chaitanya on the translation scene cannot be realized without having a glance as well at the relationship between political power and the languages implicated in the translational practice. It is common knowledge that written languages are intimately connected with structures of political power and are important sites of ideological struggle. With the rise of Muslim rulers to seats of political power in India, it is natural to expect that Persian or Arabic would assume the hegemonic position replacing Sanskrit. Nevertheless, because of the peculiar power equation in operation during that time, Sanskrit did not face a direct confrontation with Arabic or Persian. First, the Kshyatriya chieftains, who opposed the Muslim rulers militarily, were merely patrons of Sanskrit. They didn't know or identify with the language. The Brahmins who Translating Medieval Orissa identified with or in a manner of speaking, 'possessed' the language were prepared to shift their allegiance to the new power establishments.

The Muslim rulers also reciprocated by avoiding confrontation with the Brahmin caste and patronizing Sanskrit language for their own legitimacy. Thus, a complex relationship between Sanskrit on the one hand and Persian and Arabic on the other grew during medieval times. Shervani characterizes this relationship as non-existence of confrontation, mutual admiration and as a process of assimilation (Shervani, 1968, 69-70). However, though there was no direct confrontation between Sanskrit and other languages imported by the Muslim invaders, we would like to argue that an indirect impact of Islam brought about a change in the status of Sanskrit as a language. Sanskrit literature, of course, had its usual growth in the changed scenario, but the Sanskrit language was no more the only language of theological and political eminence. This diminution of Sanskrit's privilege and aura as a language revealed by the gods, resulted in the quick consolidation of regional Prakrit languages as a vehicle of theological exchange. People's languages acquired the authority to confront textual wisdom directly. This phenomenon can be compared to preaching by various Bhakti cults during that time, which advocated the establishment of the individual's direct relationship with god without the mediation of the priestly class. In this linguistic context, the message of

Chaitanya's cult of bhakti converged with the translational enterprise of the Pancha Sakha and others in Orissa. For example, after Chaitanya proclaimed *Geeta Govinda* as his favorite text, several translations into Oriya ensued. Even the literary-erotic significance of the text was undermined in order to project it as a sacred devotional text of the Vaishnavas. Vaishnavism, preached by Chaitanya, was adopted by several Oriya dynasties, and then many Vaishnav texts were translated into Oriya. Texts like *Geet Govinda* and *Adhyatma Ramayana* were translated several times. Jagannath Das's translation of the *Bhagavata* was canonized as a major text after its adoption by the Vaishnavites as their sacred book. In a manner of speaking, it can be argued that the ideology of the Bhakti cult was a major facilitator of translational practice. Brahminical ideology ensured the dominance of the priestly class in theological matters by recognizing Sanskrit as the only language of the scriptures. When Bhakti cult sought to dispense with the role of rituals and priests in the individual's relationship with god, it was quite natural to make the scriptures available to the common people in their languages. It is worthwhile to remember here that saint-poets like Kabir had not only expressed their disapproval of the priestly cult but also castigated the Sanskrit language. Balaram Das, the Oriya saint-poet and a contemporary of Chaitanya also claimed that, not the mastery of a language, but the cultivation of bhakti within one's own self is the real prerequisite for approaching god/wisdom.

As has been discussed earlier, Chaitanya's advent in Orissa coincided with the weakening of the Gajapati kings. The hitherto powerful Kalinga Empire fragmented itself into three major Oriyaspeaking principalities. Once the central power lost political control, there was a social and economic chaos of sorts. The so-called centre was transformed into a mere ritual figurehead. The changed nature of relationship between the center and the margin can be perceived from the construction of Jagannath temples in smaller principalities. During the heydays of the Kalinga Empire, the construction of the Jagannath Temple was not allowed outside Puri and Cuttack.

The rulers of smaller principalities not only built Jagannath temples but also maintained their own court poets and scholars. All those court poets and scholars were not necessarily writing in Sanskrit alone. They were also using the Oriya language. Toward and after the later part of the 16th century therefore a multi-lingual aesthetic-religiopolitical transaction became the norm, making the field of translation more fertile. This political equation between the centre and the margin was replicated in the relationship between the dominant and the subaltern segments of the society too. The confrontational Translating Medieval Orissa relationship between various segments gave way to a collaborative one, within the framework of the courts of the small principalities.

This collaborative relationship was the springboard for many translations. However, the subaltern groups, which were outside the periphery of the court, continued their own translational enterprise. It is fruitful to remember here that these groups were instrumental in the subversive translational practices in Oriya in the initial phase. Thus there was in the changed political atmosphere a contest of sorts within the subaltern groups to establish their own hegemony over written discourse in Oriya. The proliferation of parallel translations of a single text was a manifestation of this assertion of identity by various subaltern groups both within and outside the court. This identity-assertion through the Oriya language is among the important factors driving the growth of Oriya nationalism. This languagebased Oriya identity was also a troubled one because after the 16th century the Oriya-speaking populace remained divided among three major political centers of power located outside Orissa. These three power-centers were either apathetic or indifferent to the growth of the Oriya language. The apathy of the centre of power for the Oriya language was very much pronounced in the eastern segment. Coupled with this apathy, there was rampant economic exploitation of the people as well. The local chieftains did not have any surplus wealth to patronize cultural activity. The literary discourse and translational practice thus survived precariously on the strength of nascent linguistic nationalism and Vaishnav religious impulse. Translation, mainly of the Vaishnav religious texts during this phase, is

an indication of such a phenomenon. After the shift of centre of power to Murshidabad in the last part of the 7th century, even this activity declined. Only *Mahatmyas*, which catered to the religious sentiments of rural womenfolk, continued to be translated from Sanskrit.

Similarly, the western part of Orissa had a dominant aboriginal population that was not conversant with organized economic activity. Due to lack of surplus wealth and support of the ruling dynasty, there was virtually no growth of Oriya literature. Only three to four translations into Oriya can be identified as having been produced in this area during a time span of almost hundred years (Sahoo, 1969). Consequently, the Oriya-speaking populace became merely the receivers of the texts produced in the eastern and southern segments in the wake of Bhakti movement, and not participants in a vibrant literary/translational culture. However, southern Orissa continued to be a site of literary and translational activity. The Qutbsahi rulers who occupied the south in 1574 were very liberal. They patronized the Telugu language and literature. The local Oriya chieftains also encouraged translation and literary activity in Oriya. The same state of affairs continued even after the Mughals occupied the region and it was ruled by the Nizam of Oudh. Therefore, whatever systematic development of Sanskrit and Oriya literature and translation activity we do come across can be located in the southern part of the province. Most of the palm-leaf manuscripts of translated texts discovered so far can be traced to this area.

The Bhakti movement and the political dependence of Oriya people on non-Oriya centers of power had a cumulative effect on literary and translational discourse. Earlier all the translational activity in Oriya was confined to the source language of Sanskrit. There were of course subversive translations of Sanskrit texts, but the dominant position of Sanskrit was implicit in that practice. The contact with contiguous languages like Telugu and Bengali had not been made popular. After the diminution of the status of Sanskrit and the loss of political independence of the Oriya-speaking people, translation activity from Bengali, Telugu and Hindi

gained momentum in the later part of the 18th century. For example, Sadanand Brahma, a noted Sanskrit scholar himself, translated a Translating Medieval Orissa Sanskrit text through the filter language of Bengali. In his *Brajalilamrita Samudra* he admitted that it was a translation of *Radhakrishna Lila Kadambe*, the Bengali rendering of the Sanskrit *Bidagdha Madhaba*. Dinabandhu, a poet of southern Orissa of late 18th century, translated the Telugu text *Dahramanga Purana* as *Patibhakta Purana*. Towards the early 19th century, Tulsi Das's *Ramayana* written in a Hindi dialect was translated several times into Oriya. Moreover, some major Oriya writers of the period like Brajanath Badajena also started writing in languages contiguous with Oriya. Oriya writers like Pindika Srichandana and Shymasundar Bhanja demonstrated their mastery over contiguous languages by translating some Sanskrit texts like *Gita Gobinda* into Bengali. In order to gain access to a wider discursive practice, some other writers translated their own Oriya texts into Sanskrit. It was believed that through a Sanskrit translation a text could have a wider reach and gain acceptability in an elite circle. All these traits of translation are a sign of identity crisis within a social space fractured by political instability discussed earlier. However, two trends in translation ran counter to this identity crisis. Firstly, the Oriya writers tested the strength and resilience of their language by translating a number of technical books like *Kama Sutra*, *Aswa Sashttra*, *Jyotisha Sashttra* etc. Moreover, for a long time they resisted the translation of the canonical literary and aesthetic texts in Sanskrit into Oriya, barring some exceptions like *Gita Gobinda*. On the one hand, through the translation of technical texts, they expected Oriya to graduate from a colloquial language into a more 'complete' language, and on the other by resisting translation of the literary texts; they expected Oriya literature to evolve such texts on its own. The appropriation of scientific information and technical knowledge from other languages and evolving indigenous literary forms and expressions went hand in hand till the British occupation of Orissa. The ideological structures and cultural practices under European colonization spawned various other translational practices in the Oriya language. Those cultural practices also resulted in new crises of identity

and new forms of consolidation. The Oriya language and literature along with the translational practices became a contested field in which those crises were articulated and fresh consolidations were imagined. The politics of language and of translation practices occupied a predominant position in the imagined Oriya community that ultimately combined the majority part of the Oriya-speaking population with all the segments mentioned above of modern day Orissa.

Conclusion

We have so far given a chronology of translation in late medieval Orissa i.e. from the first decade of the 16th century to the early decades of the 19th century. In a historical perspective, these years constitute a period of social turmoil and political fragmentation in Orissan history. However, the impact of this period on Orissan culture has not been properly dealt with except for some isolated instances like in *Odiya Kavya Kaushala* by Sudarshana Acharya. Most of the histories have imposed the northern model of communal history, which sees the Muslim invasion as a main destabilizing factor that undermined all the healthy cultural structures at that time. Nevertheless, as all cultural transactions demonstrate, a new challenge to the established and traditional cultural modes, is not necessarily negative in its impact. The Muslim challenge to the existing Oriya socio-cultural situation was rather too complex to admit the prevalent simplistic and reductionist historiography, which is not only deficient in its conceptualization of Orissa, but also rather unsystematic in apprehending the cumulative significance of a fragmentary political situation for cultural life. First, the available histories do not deal with all parts of Orissa, like western Orissa, for Translating Medieval Orissa example, which was never under Muslim rule, where the Oriya language was used. In this essay, we have tried to train our attention on all these fragments, as much can be gained from a look at the context that surrounds texts translated into the Oriya language. This is a rather humble attempt, in the sense that it employs a novel method of constructing history, but is constrained by a paucity of factual evidence because of the very nature of methodology and enquiry.

We have tried to limit our enquiry to the system of knowledge production and dissemination in medieval Orissa. This society was not very literate, if being literate meant having access to institutionalized knowledge, which was codified in Sanskrit. In such a society, translation has played a more important role than the so-called creative literature, catering solely to aesthetic enjoyment in mediating various types of knowledge and its dissemination within a very short span of time. Contrary to popular perception, we have demonstrated that much before Macaulay's time, a people's language was already privy to a vast body of knowledge that had been under the control of the elite only because of the intervention of translation as practice. Translation truly democratized the episteme. Since ideology plays a crucial role in the institutionalization of knowledge, we have tried to unearth the ideological basis of translational practices in the Orissan society of the period under study. It is apparent that translational practice in Orissa has not been artificial or bureaucratic in any sense--- there have not been many instances of translation undertaken by learned men in various royal courts. It is rather, in Vazquez's words, a "creative praxis", enriching the social self (for a distinction between bureaucratic praxis and creative praxis, (See Vazquez, 1966, 200-214) and catering to social needs.

While fulfilling its social self, translational praxis simultaneously institutionalized a generalized way of looking at translation as an act, a generalized approach to it although it has not been consciously theorized anywhere. Dash & Pattanaik (2002) hinted at the absence of such a theory even in Sanskrit aesthetics. When the process of translation began in Oriya, it started mainly as an institution of subversion of the hegemony of the Brahmin caste and the Sanskrit language. Towards the 16th century, other activities like annotation and explication were added while retaining the subversive dimension of translation in response to specific societal needs. The same societal needs also gave rise to actual literal translation in the 17th and 18th centuries. We have thus varieties of the translational process operating at the same time answering to specific needs of the society. Moreover, Sanskrit as the source text and the source language

gave way to other neighboring languages gaining political and religious importance at various points of time. We need at this point to remind ourselves that the variety of translational strategies employed in the praxis have consolidated the naturalness of the Oriya language for several reasons. First, translators, barring a couple of exceptions, belonged to the target language and were adept at using the language with some facility. Moreover, since the praxis was determined by the social need, there was an instinctive desire to reach out to the colloquial character of the Oriya language without doing much violence to its naturalness.

Translational praxis has rarely targeted the so-called creative writing perhaps due to an instinctive realization that translation should fill in the gap in the knowledge base, rather than be a competing discourse of creative writing. Various creative art forms in Oriya language thus proliferated during this time, along with the translated texts. Many major writers who were great Sanskrit scholars themselves never undertook to translate Sanskrit art forms, though they often incorporated stylistic features of those art forms.

NOTES

1. Following the Hegelian model, conventional historiography divides Indian history into three periods: ancient, medieval and modern. For their administrative convenience, imperial historians highlighted medieval Indian history as a chaotic period. Although we retain such a traditional division for narrative convenience, we do not attach the same negative connotation to the medieval period. Beginning from James Mill, most of the historians have classified Indian history into three periods basing their argument on scant historical material. It seems the models of European historiography were imposed on a colony to perpetuate colonial control by positing colonial rule as modern, progressive and beneficial compared with the unwieldy chaos of medieval times. Subsequent discoveries of historical material by nationalist and subaltern schools have rejected this model. Medieval period in the history of Orissa can be divided into two phases, viz. early and late

medieval. Like the other regions of India, state formation, development of architecture, literature etc. reached a state of maturity during this period in Orissa history. For a number of socio-political reasons Oriya emerged as a vehicle of literature and higher conceptual thought in the later phase of medieval Orissa. This might be considered a chaotic period from the point of view of political instability, but it did not hamper the growth of Oriya language or identity formation. The construction of the notion of Orissa proper or what was known as Cuttack was started only after the British occupation of the region in 1803. The various tracts of the Oriya-speaking people were under different administrations throughout Orissa's history. A separate Orissa province was carved, only in 1936, out of the southern, central and Bengal provinces under the British rule. It became the first Indian state to be constituted on a linguistic basis. The norm of linguistic province became more widespread subsequently.

2. Various scholars like Nilakantha Das, B.M.Padhi, S.N.Das and K. C. Mishra trace the origin of the Jagannath cult to aboriginal, Jaina and Buddhist sources. However, towards the 11th century Jagannath was worshipped as mainly a Vaishnav deity.
3. If the dates ascribed to Chaitanya Das by J.K. Sahu (1969:46) are to be believed, there were instances of literary activity in the Oriya language in this region during Sarala's time. Chaitanya Das, who flourished during Prataparudra Dev-I of Patnagarh, Bolangir between 1470 and 1490, was the author of two voluminous Oriya theological texts titled *Nirguna Mahatmya* and *Bishnugarbha Puran*. Like Sarala he had come from a backward caste and his works were neither translations nor adaptations. His concepts like "sunya", "nirguna" etc. were developed later by the writers of eastern and central Orissa, but there was no concurrent development in the western Orissa.
4. A number of palm-leaf manuscripts containing the text of *Mahabharata* are available in Orissa State Museum. These are ascribed to Jagannath Das. R.N. Ratha of the

Satyabadi Press, Cuttack, has also printed this set of Mahabharata between 1927 and 1928. Nevertheless, the most curious thing is that, historians of Oriya literature like Suryanarayana Das, Bansidhara Mohanty and Surendra Mohanty are silent about the existence of such a text. While editing the minor works of Jagannath Das, Bansidhara Sarangi and Kunjabihari Mohanty, have classified Jagannath das's writings into three categories viz. works that have been conclusively proved to be written by Jagannath, works that are probably by him and works that are definitely not by him. According to them, this *Mahabharata* belongs to the first Translating Medieval Orissa category. In *Jagannath Dasanka Rachanabali* (36) they opine that this *Mahabharata* belongs to one Jagannatha Das of Jaipur who is a 19th century poet. Moreover, as per a footnote in the text, information offered is contradictory and the source text that has been indicated does not yield any conclusive information whatsoever.

The language of *Bhagabata* and the mode of Bhanita (selfidentification of the poet) there, are exactly replicated in this text. One of the early commentators of Jagannath's writings, Chintamani Acharya has accepted this text as Jagannath's without, however, offering any critical justification for the same. We do not find any reason either to support or contradict Acharya's claim. The claim of Sarangi and Mohanty is therefore rejected summarily as it is unreliable. This *Mahabharata* is not a verbal translation of Vyasa's text. Though Das has divided Mahabharata into eighteen books on the lines of Vyasa, he has abridged the narrative part. He calls it a 'Sutropakhyana'- a brief story. In chapterisation and description, Das has taken much liberty. For example Vyasa's "Bana Parva", renamed as "Aranya Parva" by Jagannath, starts with the chapter relating to the exile of Pandavas into the forest and the treatise on "Golaka" or the abode of Vishnu, whereas in Vyasa's epic a long introduction has been given before the narration of the story of the exile.

5. Panchasakhas are five saint-poets of Orissa namely Achyutananda, Balaram, Jagannath, Jasobanta and Ananta. They lived between the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. Balaram was the eldest of the group and Ananta was the youngest. This history is based upon Achyuta's *Sunya Samhita*, Dibakara Das's *Jagannath Charitaamruta* and Ram Das's *Dardhyata Bhakti*. With the advent of modern historiography historians like Shyamsundar Rajguru, Mrutunjaya Ratha, Nilakantha Das and Artaballav Mohanty went along with this view. During the last fifty years Chittaranjan Das in his *Achutananda O' Phansakha Dharma*, *Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature of Orissa*, Santha Sahitya and Balaram Das reinforced the thesis that all the saint poets were contemporary and they consolidated the Oriya identity through their writings, bringing literature, society and religion on the same plane. However citing historical inaccuracies, contradictions Sachidananda Mishra provided an alternative viewpoint that the concept of the panchasakha is a myth, and does not stand the test of rigorous historical scrutiny. Later on Natabara Samantaray published two books titled *Sakhahina Panchasakha* and *Panchasakha Parikalpana* which tried to prove that those saint poets in question were not contemporaries and there could be a gap of two hundred years between Balaram and Jagannath on the one hand and the other three on the other. There has not been any further study refuting the theses put forward by M ishra and Samantaray. Another historian Krushna Charan Sahoo puts forward an argument that there were several poets bearing the same name across these times, so the texts ascribed to each one of them could be doubtful. However, basing an argument on those doubtful texts alone, the entire concept of Panchasakha should not be discredited. For the present discussions, we go along with the view put forward by the latest one by Sahoo (Sahoo 1999-2001).
6. Most of the scholars of Oriya literary history have ascribed this text to Sarala Das because *Bilanka Ramayana* is by Siddheswar Das, which happened to be the original

name of Sarala before he was blessed by the Goddess Sarala. In *Chandi Purana* Sarala declares that the *Ramayana* was his first work. Until the seventh decade of the 20th century, since no other version of *Ramayana* had been ascribed to Sarala, this text was commonly accepted as having been written by Sarala. In the seventies Satchidananda Mishra discovered a palm-leaf manuscript titled *Bichitra Ramayana* having the Bhanita of Siddheswar Das. Its archaic language, subversive tone, and ethnic representation were closer to Sarala's style. He then argued that *Bichitra Ramayana* and not *Bilanka Ramayana*, was the text produced by Sarala. K.C. Sahoo has also argued that *Bilanka Ramayana* could not have been by Sarala because its source text, *Adbhuta Ramayana* was written only between the last part of 14th and the first part of 15th century, which is close to Sarala's own time. His second argument is that *Bilanka Ramayana* was influenced by *Jagamohana Ramayana* in more than one way. The language, style and syntax of *Jagamohana Ramayana* are more archaic than those of *Bilanka Ramayana*. Therefore, he places the text at the last part of 16th and the early part of 17th century (Sahoo: 1995 pp. 62-64). Snehalata Patnaik, the editor of the authoritative text of *Bilanka Ramayana*, is also of the same view. Hence, the scholars now seem to have reached a consensus that *Bilanka Ramayana* was not authored by Sarala but by someone having a similar name.

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Appendix: Names of Translated Texts

Sl. No.	Title of the Translated Text	Name of the Translator	Period	Remarks
1	<i>Abhinaya Darpan</i>	Jadunath Singh	Late 18 th Cen.,	A work of dramaturgy
2	<i>Abhinava Chintamani</i>	Dinabandhu Harichandan	-do-	A work on Ayurveda
3	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan</i>	Damodar Das	Early 17 th Cen.	.....
4	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan</i>	Suryamani Chyau Pattanayak	1773-1838	.....
5	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan</i>	Gopal Telenga	18 th Cen.	He belongs to Western Orissa
6	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan</i>	Gopinath Das	18 th Cen	.....
7	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan Tika</i>	Haladhar Das	17 th Cen.	It is a translation with implication
8	<i>Adhyatma Ramayan Tika</i>	Narahari Kavichandra	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
9	<i>Amarusatak Srinibas Rajamani</i>	Early 19 th Cen.,	.....	
10	<i>Arsa Ramayan(Ayodhya Kanda)</i>	Krushanachan dra Rajendra	1765-1786	.....
11	<i>Arthagobinda</i>	Bajari Das	17 th Cen.	Translation of Gitagobinda

12	<i>Ashadha Mahatmya</i>	Mahadev Das Early 17 th Cen.,	.....	
13	<i>Baidya Jivan</i>	Dinabandhu Hrichandan	Early 18 th Cen.,	Books on Ayurved.
14	<i>Baidyasarasvat</i>	Dinabandha Hrichandan	Early 18 th Cen.,	-do-
15	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Rama Das	Early 18 th Cen.,	.....
16	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Jagannath Mardraj	18 th Cen.,	.....
17	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Madhusudan Harichandan	Jagdeb 18 th Cen.,	.....
18	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Bipra Madhu Das	17 th Cen.,	.....
19	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Mahadeb Das	Late 17 th Cen.,	.....
20	<i>Baisakha Mahatmya</i>	Haraprasad Das	Late 18 th Cen.,	.....
21	<i>Baishnav Aldhiri Tika</i>	Harisebak Samantray	18 th Cen.,	Prose translation of Gobindalila mruth by Krushnadas Kabiraj
22	<i>Balabodha Ratnakaumudi</i>	Trilochan Mohanty	Late 18 th Cen.	It is a book on Astrology.
23	<i>Balabodhini Tika</i>	Basudeb Rath	18 th Cen.	.....

24	<i>Baman Puran</i>	.....	Early 12 th Cen.	.....
25	<i>Baman Puran</i>	Balaram Das	18 th Cen.	.....
26	<i>Baman Puran</i>	Krushna Chandra Pattanayak	18 th Cen.	.....
27	<i>Batris Sinhasan Katha</i>	-----	From early 18 th Cen.	This book of Sibadey has been translated by different persons in different areas in Oriya Prose
28	<i>Bedanta Ratnavali</i>	Ramachndra Birabara Hrichandan	18 th Cen.	. ....
29	<i>Betala Panchavansati</i>	Mukunda Das	18 th Cen.	.....
30	<i>Bhagabat Gita</i>	Parameswara Das	Late 17 th Cen.	.....
31	<i>Bhagabat Lahiri Harivansa</i>	Bipra Achyutananda Das	18 th Cen.	.....
32	<i>Bhagavat (Balacharit)</i>	Gateswar	18 th Cen.	.....
33	<i>Bhagavat</i>	Srushnachara n Pattanayak	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
34	<i>Bhagavat</i>	Goura Chandra Gajapati	18 th Cen.	Only 10 th book is ornate poetry

35	<i>Bhakti Ratnavali</i>	Bhim Das	.....	A part of Parasar Samhita has been translated
36	<i>Bhakti Ratnavali</i>	Chandrasekhar Das	18th Cen.	.....
37	<i>Bharat Harivansa</i>	Sarala Chandidas	16th Cen.	A free translation/adaptation of Hrivansa
38	<i>Bhaswati</i>	Trilochan Mohanty	Late 18 th Cen.	A book on astronomy
39	<i>Bilanka Ramayan</i>	Siddheswar Das	Late 16 th Cen.	A part of 'Adbhuta Ramayana' has been translated.
40	<i>Bilanka Ramayan</i>	Baranidhi Das	17th Cen.	-do-
41	<i>Bishnu Dharmattar Puran</i>	Dwijja Gangapani Mohapatra	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
42	<i>Bishnukesari Puran</i>	Mahadev Das	Late 17 th Cen.	.....
43	<i>Bishnu Puran</i>	Padmanabh Das	17th Cen.	.....
44	<i>Bishnu Puran</i>	Prahlad Das	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
45	<i>Bishnu Puran</i>	Ballabh Narayan Behera Mohapatra	18th Cen.	.....
46	<i>Brahmasanhita</i>	Sridhar	18th Cen.	.....
47	<i>Brajatilamruta Samudra</i>	Sadananda Kavisurya Brahma	18th Cen.	The original text is 'Nidagdha Mahava' in

59	<i>Ganga Mahatmya</i>	Purushottam Das	17th Cen.	.....
60	<i>Garuda Pura</i>	n Dwija Gangapani Mohapatra	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
61	<i>Garuda Puran</i>	Ghnashyam Pattanayak	18th Cen.	.....
62	<i>Gitagovinda</i>	Uddhab Das	Early 16 th Cen.	.....
63	<i>Gitagovinda</i>	Jagannath Mishra	17th Cen.	.....
64	<i>Gitagovinda</i>	.....	Early 17 th Cen.	Known as keshb manuscript
65	<i>Gitagovinda/ Govindagit</i> <i>a</i>	Trilochan Das	Late 16 th Cen.	It is a metaphysical interpretation and translation
66	<i>Gitagovinda Tika</i>	Ananta Rath	Early 18 th Cen.	.....
67	<i>Gitagovinda Tika</i>	Dharanidhar Das	Late 16 th Cen.	.....
68	<i>Gitagobinda Tikasara</i>	.....	Early 18 th Cen.	.....
69	<i>Gitaparakasha</i>	Binayak Ray	Late 18 th & early 19 th Cen.	A book on music
70	<i>Gitarthasar Tika</i>	Bipra Janakiballabha	2nd half of	A translation of Srimad

		Kar	18th Cen.	Bhagavat Gita. The translation belongs to Medinapur
71	<i>Govinda Lilamruta</i>	Jadunandan Das	18th Cen.	.....
72	<i>Govinda Lilamruta</i>	Haribansa Ray	18th Cen.	.....
73	<i>Grahachakra</i>	Maguni Pathi	Early 19 th Cen.	A book on Astrology
74	<i>Harsaduta</i>	Hari Baisya	Late 17 th Cen.	.....
75	<i>Harsaduta</i>	Chintamani Mohanty	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
76	<i>Hanuman Natak</i>	Kishoricharan Das	18th Cen.	Translation of 'Mahanatak a' in verse
77	<i>Harsaduat</i>	Achyutananda Das	16th Cen.	More an adaptation than translation
78	<i>Harsaduta</i>	Krushna Singh	1739-1788	.....
79	<i>Harsaduta</i>	Bipra Nilambar Das	Late 17 th Cen.	.....
80	<i>Harsaduta</i> (I & II)	Bipra Narayan Das	18th Cen.	.....
81	<i>Harivansa</i> (Vol. III)	Balaram Das	18th Cen.	.....
82	<i>Harivansa</i> (Swayambar Khand)	Bipra Gopal	Late 18 th Cen.	.....
83	<i>Haribhakti Kalpalata</i>	-----	18th Cen.	Translated from Sanskrit and the title is unchanged

84	<i>Haribhakti Ratnamala</i>	Bipra Nilambar Das	Late 17 th Cen.	Kriyaogasar a 'a part of Padmapuran' is translated
85	<i>Hitopadesha</i>	Gatiswar Mishra	18th Cen.	A translation of Panchatantra in Oriya verse
86	<i>Itihas Puran</i>	Krushna Chandra Das	18th Cen.	.....
87	<i>Itihas Puran</i>	Kapileswar Narendra	18th Cen.	.....
88	<i>Jagamohan Ramayan</i>	Balaram Das	Early 16th Cen.	A free translation with additional new stories
89	<i>Jatakalankar</i>	Trilochan Mohanty	Late 18th Cen.	A book on Astrology
90	<i>Jyotishasarasangraha</i>	Trilochan Mohanty	-do-	-do-
91	<i>Kalagnyana</i>	Tripurari Das	18th Cen.	-do-
92	<i>Kalagnayana</i>	Hari Das	Early 19th Cen.	-do-
93	<i>Kalki Purana</i>	Pattanayak	18th Cen.	.....
94	<i>Kamashastra</i>	Narayan Mohanty	Early 19 th Cen.	.....

95	<i>Kapilasamhita</i>	NilakanthaDas	18th Cen.	.....
96	<i>Kartika Mahatmya</i>	Purushottam Das	18th Cen.	.....
97	<i>Kartika Mahatmya</i>	Dayalu Das	18th Cen.	.....
98	<i>Kartika Mahatmya</i>	Gobinda Das	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
99	<i>Kartika Purana</i>	Mahdeb Das	Early 17 th Cen.	A translation of 'Kartika Mahatmya
100	Katapaya Bhubaneswar	Kabichandra	Early 19 th Cen.	A book on Astrology
101	<i>Katapaya</i>	Tripurari Das	18th Cen.	-do-
102	<i>Keraladasa</i>	Tripurari Das	-do-	-do-
103	<i>Keraladasapurana</i>	Jadumani	Early 19 th Cen.	-do-
104	Keralasutra	Maguni Pathi	Late 19 th Cen.	-do-
105	<i>Krupasindhu</i>	Jnana Krushna Das	Late 18 th Cen.	Translated by the author from Oriya to Sanskrit
106	<i>Ksetra Mahatmya</i> Balabhadra	Mangaraj	18th Cen.	.....
107	<i>Kestra Mahatmya</i>	Maheswar	Early 18 th Cen.	.....

108	<i>Kestra Mahatmya</i>	Jayakeshari	17th Cen.	Debendra K. Dash 77 (Jaya Singh)
109	<i>Laghusiddhanta</i>	Chaitanya Mohanty	Early 19th Cen.	.....
110	<i>Lilavati</i>	Dhananjay Dwija	18th Cen.	.....
111	<i>Lilavati</i>	Damodar Mohanty	Early 19th Cen.	.....
112	<i>Lilavati Sutra</i>	Krushna Mangaraj	18th Cen.	.....
113	<i>Magha Mahatmya</i>	Krushna Singh	1739-1788	.....
114	<i>Magha Mahatmya</i>	Gopi Das	18th Cen.	.....
115	<i>Magha Mahatmya</i>	Mahadeb Das	17th Cen.	.....
116	<i>Mahabharata</i> (Drona Parva)	Jayakeshri (Jaya Singh)	17th Cen.	.....
117	<i>Mahabharat</i>	Jagannath Das	16th Cen.	Abridged
118	<i>Mahabharat</i>	Krushna Singh	1739-1788	.....

119	<i>Mahabharat</i>	Kapilesh Nanda	Early 19th Cen.	.....
120	<i>Mahanataka</i>	Purushottam Das	18th Cen.	.....
121	<i>Margasira Mahatmya</i>	Kripasindhu Das,	18th Cen.	.....
122	<i>Markandeya Puran</i>	Mahadeb Das	17th Cen.	.....
123	<i>Markandeya Puran</i>	Pitambar	Early 19th Cen.	.....
124	<i>Markandeya Puran,</i>	Narasingha Das	18th Cen.,	.....
125	<i>Mitaksara</i>	Srinibas Rajamani	Early 19th Cen.	.....
126	<i>Mukalatabali</i>	Srinibas Rajamani	-do-	A portion of Bhagabat has been translated
127	<i>Mukundamala</i>	.....	18th Cen.	Translation of Rajadhairaj Kulasekha written by the Anonymous translator
128	<i>Nabagraha Dasaphala</i>	Trilochan Mohanty	Late 18th Cen.	.....
129	<i>Natyamanorama</i>	Gadashar Das	18th Cen.	A book on dramaturgy, translated in Oriya prose
130	<i>Nrushingjacharita</i>	Yuga Das	Late 17th Cen.	.....
131	<i>Nrushingha Puran</i>	Pitambar Das	18th Cen.	.....
132	<i>Padma Puran</i>	Mahadeba Das	17th Cen.	.....

133	<i>Padma Puran</i>	Bipra Nilambar	17th Cen.	.....
134	<i>Panchasayak</i>	Kabisekhar Narayan Das	18th Cen.	A book on Erotics
135	<i>Patibhakta Puran</i>	Dinabandhu	Early 19 th Cen.	The title of the text in the source language Telugu is 'Dharmanga na Puran'
136	<i>Prachi Mahatmya</i>	Trilochan Das	Early 18 th Cen.	.....
137	<i>Pmab Byahruti Gita</i>	Bipra Jambeswar Das	17th Cen.	The writer himself is the translator Early specimen of Oriya Prose
138	<i>Premakalpalatika</i>	SadanadaKabisurya Brahma	18th Cen.	Translated from a Bengali text with the same title which in turn is a translation of Sanskrit text 'Gobindalila mruta'

139	<i>Purana Ramayanam</i>	Keshavm Early	19 th Cen.	.....
140	<i>Purushottamm Mahatmya</i>	Trilochann Early	18 th Cen.	.....
141	<i>Ramayana</i>	Krushna	Early 19 th Cen.	.....
142	<i>Rasabaridhi</i>	Brundaban Das	16 th Cen.	A translation of Gitagobinda
143	<i>Rasadipika</i>	Ramachandra	18 th Cen.	A translation of 'Gitagobinda a in prose'
144	<i>Rutusambhav</i>	Nidhi Rath	18 th Cen.	.....
145	<i>Sakuntala Chhanda</i>	Balaram Keshri /Ananta Rath	Late 18 th Cen	A translation of drama 'Abhijna Sakuntalam' in verse
146	<i>Salihotra</i>	Dhanjaya Bhanja	17 th Cen.	Translated from a Sanskrit book 'How to Maintain Horses'

147	<i>Salihotra Roganidan</i>	Dinabandhu Harichandan	17th Cen.	.....
148	<i>Sangitaramayan</i> Sadashib	18th Cen.	This book on music was written by an Oriya author	Gajapati Narayan
149	<i>Siba Puran</i>	Bipra Manobodha Das	18th Cen.	.....
150	<i>Siba Puran</i>	Bhagirathi Das	18th Cen.	.....
151	<i>Siba Puran</i>	Dwaraka Das	1656-1736	.....
152	<i>Siddharatna Brudusara</i>	Tripurari Das	18th Cen.,	A book on Astrology
153	<i>Siddhantasara</i>	Krushna Patra	Early 19th Cen.	-do-
154	<i>Sivaswarodaya</i>	Jasobanta Das	Early 16th Cen.	Translation of 'Svarodaya'
155	<i>Smarasastra</i> Kabisurya	Brahma Probably	early 19th Cen.	Translation of 'Kamasashtra'

156	<i>Srikrushnachaitanyach arit ramruta</i>	Sadananda Kabisurya Brahma	18th Cen.	Bengali transation of Chaitanya – chritamruta by Krushnadey Kabiray
157	<i>Srimad Bhagavat</i> (Eleven Books)	Jagannath Das	Early 16 th Cen.	.....
158	<i>Srimad Bhagavat</i> (Twelth Book)	Mahadeb Das	Late 16 th Cen.	Completed the work of Jagannath Das
159	<i>Srimad Bhagavatn</i>	Dinabandhu Khadanaga (Mishra)	18th Cen.	.....
160	<i>Srimad Bhagavat</i> (13 th Book)	Dwaraka Das	1656-1736	.....
161	<i>Srimad Bhagava</i>	Bipra Janaki Ballabha Kar	18th Cen.	.....
162	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Balaram Das	Early 16 th Cen.	.....
163	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Jaya Keshari (Jaya)	17th Cen.	.....

		Singh)			
164	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Krushna Singha	18th Cen.	.....	
165	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Trilochan Das	Early 18 th Cen.	.....	
166	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Sanyasi Madhusudan Puri	18th Cen.	.....	
167	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Sadhcharan Das	18th Cen.	.....	
168	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Gopinath Rajaguru	18th Cen.	.....	
169	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita</i>	Harisebak Das	18th Cen.	.....	
170	<i>Srimad Bhagavat Gita.</i>	Narayan Das	18th Cen	.....	
171	<i>Srinivas Dipika</i> Bhubaneswar	Kabichandra	Early 19 th Cen.	.....	
172	<i>Sripati Paddhati</i>	Nimbadeba	Early 17 th Cen.	.....	
173	<i>Sriradhakrushna Vilas</i>	Gouranga Das	18th Cen.	An Adaptation of	

				'Gobindalila nruta'
174	<i>Sriram Bhakti Ratnavali</i>	Balaka Ramadas/Sebadas	18th Cen.	The original text is written by his teacher Ramday
175	<i>Suchitra Ramayana</i>	Banamali Das	18th Cen.	Translated from original Sanskrit 'Ramayan Champu' by Bhoja and Lakshman Suri
176	<i>Suchitra Ramayana</i>	Hari Baisya	18th Cen.	The book of Kalidas Chayan of Orissa
177	<i>Suddhi Chandrika</i>	.....	Early 19 th Cen.	The source text is by an oriya author Srinivas
178	<i>Shuddhilipika</i>	.....	-do-	-do-
179	<i>Surya Puran</i>	Dina Narayan	18th Cen.	.....
180	<i>Suryasiddhanta</i>	Nimbadeb	Early 17 th Cen.	A prose translation

181	<i>Swarasarani</i>	Krushnasura Harichandan	18th Cen.	A book on Astrology
182	<i>Swarnadri Mahodaya</i>	.....	18th Cen.	.....
183	<i>Uddhava Gita</i>	Balaram Das	Early 16 th Cen.	A part of Bhagavat was translated
184	<i>Yogavasishtha Ramayan</i>	Lakshmana Rath	Late 18 th Cen.	The poet belongs to Sambalpur.

History of English Translations and its Influence on Nepali Literature

SUDESH MANGER

Abstract

Translation has been one of the instrumental factor in enriching the Nepali Polysystem from its inception. The translation of the Adhyatma Ramayana by Bhanu Bhakta Acharya helped to establish the literary culture in Nepali language. Since then Nepali literary culture has been borrowing various other genres, themes and aspects from English language. Regardless of these, translation has been looked down as a secondary process, hence the paper would explore the variegated translations from English into Nepali which have enriched the target culture. Therefore, the paper would provide the lists of translations which have been done in Nepali from English. The range of translation is limited to few genres: poetry, novels and short stories and drama.

Discussion:

The growing interest in documenting the history of translation shown by several scholars in the recent years motivated me to document the history of translation in Nepali literature. By documenting the history of translation, the ground is prepared for retrospective and reflective engagement with the development of discourses in Nepali translation. A vivid picture of the past can act as a foundation for the present; producing a sort of “touchstone method”¹ to analyze the translations of the present generation. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to reflect on the views and the achievements of the translators of the past and their influence on Nepali writers. The chapter contains my personal translation of two

Nepali texts *Anuvad Bimrsh* (2010) by Raj kumari Dhal and *Sahitya ko Itihas: Sidhanta ra Sandarva* (2002) by Dayaram Shrestha. The Nepali texts provide the entire list of English translations into Nepali as per decades, however, the present research has categorized the list as per genre to deal with the influences that English translation brought in a particular genre.

To consider the overall influence of the English translations on Nepali literature, different genres are discussed separately. The Nepali poetry being one of the earliest forms of literature has been influenced by various western poets or schools of poetry like Romanticism, Heroic poetry, Modernism etc. Consequently, Nepali poets embellished their writings better than earlier. The revolutionary ideas of Romanticism against the Industrialization were used to write against the ruling government of Nepal. Lekhnath Paudel's *Pinjara ko Suga* (*A Parrot in a Cage*, 1962) is notable among such attempts. Lakshmi Prasad Devkota (1909-59) and Lekhnath Paudel show the romantic elements in their poems. *Muna Madan* (1943) of Devkot depicts the hardship of life in the industrial world through Madan's struggle in Lassa (Tibet). Ishwar Balav's prose poem *Avaj Kaham Cha?* (*Where Is the Voice?* (1962), depicts the Hippocratic contemporary society similar to the modernists like T.S Elliot. Drama and play, the neglected genres in Nepali, also saw the pinnacle of success with the influence of Brecht, Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekov, William Shakespeare etc. Balkrishna Sama wrote several dramas based on the model of Shakespearean plays like *Muto Ko Byatha* (*Heart Ache*, 1965). Novels and short stories, the two genres which are adaptations from the western model of writing completely changed the face of Nepali literature and they started to occupy the central position in Nepali literature.

Apart from the adaptations, the borrowed themes like Existentialism, Modernism, Feminism, etc, also started to occupy the central position in Nepali literature. This is evident in the writings of famous Nepali novelists like Parijat (e.g., *Sirsha ko Phul* (*Blue Memosa*, 1965) and *Boni* (1991)) and Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala (e.g., *Sipahi*, (*A Soldier*, 1935).

Highlighting the influential aspect of translation Dayaram Shrestha in *Sahitya ko Itihas (History Of Nepali Literature)* says:

“Bivinna Bhasaharu bata Nepali ma Anuvad gareya ka kritiharule ekatira itahas nirman ma sayog purayo bhane arko tiro moulik lekhanka nimti pratibha harulai abhiprerit are..... yas ko sathye ti anuvadakhareule samaj ko sanskritik ra lokpriyata ko pani paripurit gareldiya. Yashari adhunikal purva ko nepali anuvadak sahitya sandesh mulak raheko paincha (Shrestha, 2008, 117).”

The translation from different languages helped to develop the national literature; at the same time it encouraged the writers with new ideas. To draw a conclusion about the translational activity till 1937, we can say that the scholars from both Nepal and India studied different languages and literatures, while reading whatever classics they found in other literature, they translated them into Nepali. By doing so they filled the literary vacuum of Nepali literature. The thought of bringing the classics from other literatures to enrich their own literature is one of the best aspects of translation in Nepali literature. (Translation mine)

The act of historicizing the translational project is not a new phenomenon, it has been done by several scholars in the world like. Paul Horguelin at the Universite de Montreal in the early 1970's, Jean Delisle and Louis Kelly have been teaching history since the mid-1970s at the University of Ottawa, School of Translators and Interpreters, Samuel Johnson's *The Idler* (1759) traces the history of translation from Ancient Greece to seventeenth-century England, to illustrate the triumph of non-literal translation. However, the role of translation in Nepali literature from English as per my investigation has not been fully explored. And most of the scholars who worked in this area have focused on either Nepali literature of Nepal or Nepali literature of India. The present chapter, therefore, will try to present conglomerate efforts of various scholars to develop the unified Nepali literature. The process of writing the history of translation has been appreciated by various

translation scholars, and Antonio Berman believes “the construction of a history of translation is the most pressing task of a truly modern theory of translation” (Berman, 1984, 12) and he states “It’s time to give the history of translation the place it deserves” (Berman, 1984, 12).

Berman talks about the attention that translation deserves which has not been given in most of the academia. He is aware of the undeniable contribution of translation as a building block of a literature in a given culture. It was one of the major sources used to enrich the literature during the formative period, as no culture or literature could be self-sufficient in itself; it had to rely on the material from the foreign sources. In terms of Nepali literature, the traces of translation in the ancient time are very few and can be found in Slokas, Tamrapatra, stones, and pillars engravings. During the early 19th century, scholars like Motiram Bhatta started to document the evidences found in written form. As such, the written evidences could be found mostly after the publication of an edited version of Bhanu Bhakta’s translation of *The Ramayana* from Sanskrit in 1816. This shows that the written form in Nepali literature is not a very old phenomenon; it was mostly dominated by the Dantya Khata or Oral literature.

The History of Translational Activity from English into Nepali

The influence of colonialism has changed the face of the earth not only geographically and economically but also socially, religiously, politically and linguistically. Though politically colonialism did not take place in Nepal, nevertheless it had a colonial influence on its language, literature and religion. The introduction of various English medium schools and colleges helped produce scholars who started to write in English. The emphasis in English education led to the proliferation of English speaking people among the Nepali community which helped embellish the Nepali language by borrowing from English.

While the language and literature brought a shift in academics, the religion changed the socio-cultural aspect of

Nepali community. Several Hindu communities proselytized themselves into Christianity and started spreading Christianity through the translation of the Bible into the regional language. Therefore, the influence of English language and education can be seen through the proliferation of translations from English into Nepali.

The advent of modern literature in Nepal began in the 1920s and 30s with the work of Balkrishna Sama, who wrote lyrical poetry, plays based on Sanskrit and English models, and also some short stories. Sama and his contemporary, the poet Lakshmiprasad Devkota, discarded the earlier Sanskrit-dominated literary tradition and adopted some literary forms of the West, notably prose poetry, tragic drama, and the short story. In their poetry, these writers dealt with such themes as love and patriotism as well as the problems of injustice, tyranny and poverty faced by Nepal in the 20th century. Modern Nepali drama, of which Sama was the chief practitioner, was influenced in its depiction of contemporary social problems by the Western playwrights, notably Henrik Ibsen. In the hands of such writers as Bisweswar Prasad Koirala and Bhavani Bhiksu, the Nepali short story also centered on social problems of modern-day Nepal and the need for reformation. The selected texts for case study are not dealt in detail here as the purpose is only to highlight their influence on the major writings in Nepali.

Translation of Poetry

Poetry is one of the oldest and important genres of Nepali literature from time immemorial; it is looked upon as a national treasure by most of the scholars. The focus on the influence of translations on Nepali poetry is not an attempt to undermine the potentialities of the Nepali poets, but to look at how they have incorporated the novel thoughts and ideas that they were introduced through translations in their regular pattern of writings. When someone is trying to deal with poetry, the influence of romanticism, Shakespearean sonnets, Modernist poets cannot be ignored; similarly these schools have also influenced the way of writing in Nepali poetry. The influence of Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali is apparent in the poets like

Bhanu Bhakta, Moti Ram Bhatta, Suvananda Das, Gumani Panta, Yadunath Pokhrel, Pahalmansingh Swanr, Sikharnath Subedi and Rajiblochan Joshi. These were the poets who were enmeshed in writing religious and war poetry. The trend of Bhakti Dhara and Veerdhara continued till the early 20th Century.

The herculean task of moving out of the clutches of the Bhakti and Veerdhara pattern was initiated by the poets like Lakshmi Prasad Devkota, Lekhnath Paudel, Bhim Nidhi Tiwari, Bairaqi Kainla, Balkrishna Sama, Ishwar Balav and Gopal Prasad Rimal. The effect of English Modernist writings, especially prose poems can be seen in Gopal Prasad Rimal's collection of poems called *Gumne Mechmathi Andho Manche (A Blind Man on a Revolving Chair, 1962)* which is one of the most important contributions in Nepali literature. Bairaqi Kaila and Ishwar Balav through Tesro Ayam or the third dimension movement wrote on a journey into their own psyches, about what they felt was lacking in the usage of the Nepali language. A third dimension is where one writes without inhibitions, spontaneously portraying one's innermost feelings through a psychological, cultural, and socio-archetypal process. This movement changed the conventional way in which Nepalese literature was seen and gave the readers new insights into the minds of the poets and writers. The poems of Bhim Nidhi Tiwari which deal with the social issues like smoking, drinking, and gambling were highlighted for the first time through his poems like *Dagbatti (Funeral Lamp, 1957)*.

Though most of the poets played a major role in shaping the Nepali literature, the focus of the present research is on the poetry of Bairaqi Kaila and the influence of Modernism and Emily Dickenson in his prose poems. Bairaqi Kaila is one of the most influential writers of the time and his poems read like the poetry of T.S Elliot's *The Waste Land (1922)* which is written in the form of prose poetry. Both the poets belong to the modernist group. Elliot deals with the aftermath of World War I and the catastrophe that ravaged the human lives. Kaila deals with the contemporary hopeless society. Like Eliot he feels that a drunken man is better than a sane man, at least he does not harm anyone other than himself.

Mateko Mancheko Bhashan: Madhyaratpachiko Sadaksita (A Drunk Man's Speech to the Street after Midnight, 1979) shows the hopelessness of the conscious people who act like deaf and dumb to the present deteriorating society which is in the hands of a few political leaders. The lines below show his frustration with the contemporary society which is similar to what Eliot expresses in his poems.

All my steps are earthquakes today,
volcanoes erupt in each sensation;
how have I lived to such an age
in these cramped and crumbling houses,
too small for a single stride?

I am saddened:

even now they sleep, self-defeated men,
tangled together like worms
in the pestilent houses of the earth,
and do they sleep so late? (Hutt, 1991: 104)

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,

You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water. (Eliot, 1934, 29)

The influence of Eliot is evident in the above lines; the theme and the style are quite similar. While dealing with the influence of Modernism on Nepali literature, one cannot ignore Emily Dickenson. The theme of death and immortality of Emily Dickinson is well incorporated by Baraqui Kailan in his poem, *Sapna ko Las (The Corpse of a Dream, 1965)* which reverberates the Poems of Dickenson. The lines below clearly show the similarity between the two poems:

My love,
a dream should last the whole night long.

My breast is where I sleep at nights,
covered by vest and blouse,
like an old man's cave inside a village
where only the jackal and the fox
call out their evil omens.

Ruthlessly it is beaten
by bundles of office files

which must be revealed to others,
by crises of convention,
the absence of choice. (Hutt, 1991, 102)

We slowly drove, he knew no haste,
And I had put away
My labour, and my leisure too,
For his civility. (Emily Dickenson, 2012)

The influence of Modernism in Nepali literature gave a new dimension to the poets of *Tesro Ayam* who experimented with various themes and styles. These changes and influences were not only revolutionary but also most contributive towards the development of Nepali literature. The socio-cultural, historical and political situations do have their own influence in bringing shifts in the trend of poetry writings, but the translation of English poetry which comply with their need also played a major role in shaping their writings. Therefore, to show the influence, a list of English poetry which have been translated into Nepali are given below. Though the number of poetry translated from English is small, their influence has been huge. The classical poetry of the world literature translated from English to Nepali also played a major role in shaping the Nepali poetry. The list of poems translated from English into Nepali is given in Table 1.

Though the number of poems translated from English is very few in number but the role these translations played are immense. *The Rubayat* of Omar Khayyam has been translated by five different translators at different time frame. The collected poems of Emily Dickenson is still considered as one of the best translations in Nepali literature, as a recognition, the University of Tribhuan (Katmandu) included it in their university curriculum. The purpose of translating classical texts like Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Homer's *Iliad* was to collect the canonical texts from the European literature.

Translation of Novels and Short Stories

Nepali literature was dominated by poetry and drama, until the advent of the two new genres, novel and short story, and these two have changed the literary scenario completely, as they started occupying the central position pushing the

poetry and drama to the periphery. Apart from the new genres, the writers also borrowed the themes like, Modernism, Existentialism, and Feminism. The modernist thought of inner consciousness influenced the writings of Indra Bhadur Rai who published a philosophical text, *Leela Lekhan*² which was considered to be one of the first philosophical texts in Nepali literature during *Tesro Ayam* movement in Darjeeling. Modernists' thought brought the philosophical writings into Nepali literature. Influence of translation can also be seen through the proliferation of feminist writers like Parijat, Bindya Subba, Manjushree Thapa and Dev Kumari Thapa.

The influence of Realism through translation of some of the Russian writers can be seen in the writings of Bishweswar Prasad Koirala. Several of his stories bear a striking resemblance to those of Chekhov, who draws attention to the very simple things of life and the joys and sorrows in the lives of common people. For instance, his *Doshi Chashma* (*Defective Glasses*, 1949), in some respects, is closer to the story line of Chekhov's *Death of a Clerk* (1883). Bishweswar Prasad was influenced by the realist Indian writers and also by Russian authors such as Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and French realists Maupassant and Anatole France. But the strongest influence on him was by twentieth-century psychologists, especially Freud. Bishweswar Prasad wrote psychological stories relating to the problems of women, sex and the sadness of life. This style of story writing was new in Nepali literature, and for this reason he became very popular. Psychological aspects related to social problems such as marriages between child-brides and middle-aged grooms, untouchability, caste and class conflicts, and exploitation of the poor and the have-nots by the feudal class are brilliantly depicted by Koirala, along with a touch of satire.

The literature which has been highly dominated by male writers saw the emergence of women writers who depicted the various aspects of their situation in Nepali society. Komara Thapa deals with the social injustice through children literature and her most influential book *Vara Parabata* (*Brave Mountain*: 1976) shows the harsh reality of Darjeeling. Manjushree, through her novels in English, caters to the larger audience

and gives the global exposure to Nepali literature. Parijat is one of the most influential women writers who changed the entire shape of Nepali writings by making women as her central character in her novels like *Sirsha ko Phul* (*Blue Memosa*) and *Boni*. The influence of the existentialist writers is very much evident in her novels.

Blue Memosa is based on the story of a young girl, Bari who is suffering from cancer but does not care much about death and continues smoking. The existentialist character of Parijat has been highly influenced by Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Franz Kafka. Free will and individual freedom are important to Bari which is evident in the lines below:

If a flower buds for itself and opens for itself and, as if accepting some complication, falls whether it fights the black bee or not, then why should it fall suffering the sting of the black bee? It falls only for itself. It falls by its own will (Parijat, 2010, 14).

In *Blue Mimosa*, Bari doesn't believe in such predetermined essence. She even challenges rationality that defines God, good or bad, and the condition of being. For her, religion and the idea of god are arbitrary. Regarding God's existence she says "Don't say 'god', say 'the idea of god'. It's only a concept" and "washing away one's sins before the idea of god is completely meaningless" (Parijat, 2010, 37). A central proposition of existentialism is that existence precedes essence, which means that the actual life of the individual is what constitutes what could be called his or her 'essence' instead of there being a predetermined essence that defines what it is to be a human. The new way of dealing with the characters has given a new dimension, which has been an influential factor for Bindya Subba who modeled her novel *Athah* (*Unfathomable*, 2010) with various characters engrossed in their own lives. So, the translated novels have been able to influence the contemporary writings of the novels. The list of novels and short stories translated from English is given in Table 2.

Most of the short story writers and novelists write in different languages like Russian, French, German, Bengali etc but the

source language for the Nepali translations was English. To look at the lists of English translations, we can clearly observe the Russian writers like Anton Chekov, Maxim Gorky, Leo Tolstoy etc are translated in maximum number. The reason for translating their novels and short stories was the various themes like, Realism, Modernism, and Existentialism which captivated the minds of Nepali translators. Apart from these Russian writers, most the novels of Taslima Nasrin are translated in Nepali to enrich the women writings in Nepali literature.

These writings would not have existed in Nepali without the help of the translators like Parasmani Pradhan, Krishna Prakash Shrestha, and Okima Gwyn etc. It was mainly their effort to introduce the best of the English writings to the Nepali readers and writers, as a result the Nepali literature experienced the new methods, genres, and themes. Among the translators, Okima Gwyn is the writer of Nepali novel *Sunakhari* (Orchid, 1980) which was awarded Sahitya Akadami Award in 1980.

Translation of Drama

The drama in Nepali has been one of the neglected genres, but with the emergence of the dramatists like Lakshmi Prasad Devkota, Gopal Prasad Rimal, Balkrishna Sama, Madhab Bhandari, Basu Shashi and Man Bahadur Mukhiya, Nepali drama saw the best of the drama and there were several tragedies, comedies and others related to the social issues. In terms of development, drama as a genre in Nepali literature owes a great deal to the translation which helped it to reach the pinnacle of success in the hands of the above dramatists. Most of these dramatists borrowed the methods from the translations of English drama of Ibsen, Beckett, Brecht, Homer, Shakespeare etc. The contribution of Gopal Prasad Rimal and Balkrishna Sama towards the development of drama by using the methods of Ibsen and Shakespeare is noteworthy. Balkrishna Sama, who wrote 17 plays in Shakespearean style, breathed life into Nepali drama. He lifted Nepali drama to new heights in terms of its social background, philosophical depth, logicity and poetic

dialogues. Let us now examine Balkrishna Sama's *Mutuko Vyatha*, one of the first tragedies of Nepali literature, which is based on Shakespearean tragedy. The language of the drama was based on a common speech; the audience was able to relate the play with their personal life. He has adopted Marlow's blank verse in his tragedies.

Mutuko Vyatha is a social tragedy which deals with the autocratic rule of the Ranas in Nepal³. This tragedy takes the theme of unrequited love between separated lovers and sets in a recognizably Nepali idiom. Apart from being a first tragedy, it is written in a language which can be easily understood by the common people and in fact this was one of the purposes of his writings. The influence of Shakespearean play *Macbeth* (1623) can be seen in the following lines:

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of recorded time;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
 And then is heard no more. It is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing. (Shakespeare, 2007, Act V, Scene 5)

Shakespeare uses blank verse in the above lines and the similar style is used by Sama in the following lines drawn from *Mutuko Vyatha* which is also written in the blank verse,

We rely upon tomorrow in this world, without realizing
 that we do so,
 We consign yesterday to oblivion, and without pause
 Today we say tomorrow: each and every tomorrow
 Passes into yesterday. (Sama, 1903, Act iii, Scene 3)

The above lines show the resemblance in terms of matter and meter of Shakespearean play and the entire drama is modeled on the lines of the English tragedy. The entire drama is divided into 5 acts and 13 scenes which is typical of Renaissance drama. The story of two lovers who suffer from

the separation is very much related to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. The influence and success of *Mutuko Vyatha* in Nepali theater led to the proliferation of tragedies in Nepali literature. The credit for this proliferation goes to the drama that have been translated from English into Nepali which is given in the following pages:

Shakespeare being the most influential dramatists, the present research has given a separate table for the translations of his plays alone. Apart from that, the tragedies of Shakespeare were adopted by Nepali dramatists like Balkrishna Sama and Lakshman Sirmal. In fact most of the drama of Sama were modeled in the Shakespearean tragedy. Lakshman Sirmal's tragedy *Cerfew* (2007) received Sahitya Akademi Award in 2007 and he is the only dramatist to win this prestigious award. *The Merchant of Venice* was translated four times by different translator, to introduce the new form of drama that is tragic comedy. Because of these reasons and considering Shakespeare as best dramatist of all the time, the present research has provided his dramas in a separate table.

However, the research does not deny the contribution of the other dramatists and their influence on Nepali literature. The table in the following page is the list of other English dramas which were translated from English into Nepali

Similar to the translations of English novels and short stories, the Russian dramas were translated the most in Nepali literature. The translation of Ibsen's *The Doll House* has been included in the curriculum of North Bengal University. The translation of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* is held as the best translation in Nepali literature for translating such a complex themes like 'Theatre of Absurd'.

The idea of charting various translated genres in Nepali literature is to highlight the influential aspect of translation in building a national literature which is in the emerging phase. The major influences in Nepali have been the tragedies and comedies of William Shakespeare, which can be seen in the writings of Balkrishna Sama's *Mutuko Byatha*. The influence of modernist writers in shaping or giving a new format of

writing prose poetry is another aspect which has enriched the entire school of Nepali poetry. The novel writing gave impetus to the writers to try with various western philosophical modes, especially Existentialism and Realism. Apart from philosophical aspect, the development of feministic writings is another major area of focus which is yet to be explored.

NOTES

1. Arnold's touchstone method is a comparative method of criticism. According to this method, in order to judge a poet's work properly, a critic should compare it to passages taken from works of great masters of poetry, and that these passages should be applied as touchstones to other poetry. Even a single line or selected quotation will serve the purpose. If the other work moves us in the same way as these lines and expressions do, then it is really a great work, otherwise not.
2. 'Leela lekhan', a phrase that stems from the Hindu understanding of leela as 'all of reality'. Leela Lekhan is based on the view that subjectivity dominates the human landscape from rationality to morality. While this can inevitably lead to a deceptive life, it does not negate the existence of an objective reality.
3. The period between 1846 to 1962, ruled by Ranas in Nepal who established a dictatorial rule. The worst phase in the history of Nepal.

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Table - 1

Translation of English poems					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
1	<i>Rubayat</i>	Omar Khayyam	Okina Gwyn	<i>Omar Khayyam</i>	1951
2	<i>Rubayat</i>	Omar Khayyam	Navinprashad Bantwa	<i>Omar Khayyam's Rubaya</i>	1958
3	<i>Rubayat</i>	Omar Khayyam	Kedar Ruchal	<i>Omar Khayyam ka Rubiya haru</i>	1975
4	<i>Rubayat</i>	Omar Khayyam	Buddha kOmar Moktan	<i>Omar Khayyam ka Rubiya haru</i>	1964
5	<i>Rubayat</i>	Omar Khayyam	Fanindra Prasad Acharya	<i>Omar Khayyam ka Rubiya haru</i>	1970
6	<i>Divine Comedy</i>	Dante	Binodprasad Dhital	<i>Divine Comedy</i>	1983
7	<i>Yesterday and today</i>	Gate	Abhi Subedhi	<i>Hijo ra Aja</i>	1983
8	<i>Collected Poems</i>	Tu Fu	Tirtharaj Panth	<i>Collected Poems</i>	1986
9	<i>Collected Poems</i>	Alexandra Pushkin	Tikaram Upadhyay	<i>Collected Poems</i>	1986
10	<i>Collected Poems</i>	Emily Dickenson	Narbhاده Gurung and S. Chilkota	<i>Collected Poems</i>	1987
11	<i>Iqbal's Shayeri</i>	Iqbal	Gokul Sinah	<i>Iqbal ko Shayeri</i>	1987
12	<i>Lyrical Ballads</i>	William Wordsworth	Bharat Raj Manthaliya	<i>Lyrical Ballads</i>	1986
13	<i>The Function of Criticism</i>	T. S Eliot	Lela Prasad Sharma	<i>The Function of Criticism</i>	1986
14	<i>Iliad</i>	Homer	Omcharan Amatya	<i>Iliad</i>	1998

Table -2

Translation of English Novels and Short Stories					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
1	<i>The Nightingale</i>	Agnes Sleight Turnbull	Ganga Prasad Pradhan	<i>The Nightingale</i>	1909
2	<i>Aesop's Fable</i>	Aesop	Ganga Prasad Pradhan	<i>Sadh Bhane Manche ko Raskmi Bunai ko Kanki Bisley Arthath Metho</i>	1909
3	<i>Aesop's Fable</i>	Aesop	Ganga Prasad Pradhan	<i>Geet Gaune Chara ko Bishley</i>	1912
4	<i>She</i>	Hiren Ryder Haggard	Pushkar Shamsher	<i>She</i>	1940
5	<i>Silly Hen</i>	-	Parasmani Pradhan	<i>Hansu Kukheri</i>	1942
6	<i>Greedy Fire</i>	-	Parasmani Pradhan	<i>Gachero Ago</i>	1942
7	<i>Ted dipole</i>	-	Parasmani Pradhan	<i>Chepegeda</i>	1942
8	<i>Collected Short Stories</i>	-	Lensingh Wangdel	<i>Bishuwa khata Sangra</i>	1945
9	<i>Collected Short Stories</i>	Leo Tolstoy	Indra Sundas	<i>Tolstoy ka Khata haru</i>	1948
10	<i>Collected Short Stories</i>	-	Karna Nidhi Pritam	<i>Sansar ka Sharvashresta Prem Khata haru</i>	1964
11	<i>War and Peace</i>	Leo Tolstoy	Hari Prasad Sharma	<i>Yudha ra Shanti</i>	1966
12	<i>Thaya</i>	Anthon Chekov's	Mukundnath Sharma	<i>Thaya</i>	1966
13	<i>Treasure Island</i>	R.L Stevenson	Prakash Kobid	<i>Gardhan ko Khogi</i>	1966

Translation of English Novels and Short Stories					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
14	<i>Gulliver's Travel</i>	Jonathan Swift	Prakash Kobid	<i>Gulliver ko Yatra</i>	1966
15	<i>Collected Short Stories</i>	-	Tek Bhadur Khatri	<i>Bishwa ka Utkisht khata haru</i>	1968
16	<i>The Wanderer</i>	Khalil Gibran	Lokesh Chandra Pradhan	<i>The Wanderer</i>	1966
17	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i>	Ernest Hemmingway	Okima Gwyn	<i>Budro ra Samudra</i>	1969
18	<i>The Secret at Pheasant Cottage</i>	Patricia Mary St. John	Kamal Thapa	<i>The Secret at Pheasant Cottage</i>	1971
19	<i>Chinese folk stories</i>	-	Purna Bhadur	<i>Chinya Lok Khata</i>	1971
20	<i>Ancient stories of China</i>	-	Chandra Sharma	<i>Chin ka Prachin khata haru</i>	1971
21	<i>Song of a Falcon</i>	Maxim Gorky	Nilambar Achary	<i>Baaz</i>	1972
22	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	Dayaram Sambhav	<i>Don Quixote</i>	1972
23	<i>Notre-Dame de Paris</i>	Victor Hugo	Hrishibhadur Malla	<i>Notre-Dame de Paris</i>	1972
24	<i>The Apple Tree</i>	John Galsworthy	Lainsingh Wangdel	<i>Shev ko Rukh.</i>	1972
25	<i>Gypsy</i>	Alexandra Pushkin	Krishna Prakash Shresta	<i>Gypsy</i>	1972

Translation of English Novels and Short Stories					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
26	<i>Kingdom of the Imagination</i>	Khalil Gibran	Khagendra Sangrella	<i>Ajambari Gaon</i>	1975
27	<i>Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau</i>	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Gopal Das Shresta	<i>Confessions of Jean-Jacques</i>	1976
28	<i>Émile</i>	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Gopal Das Shresta	<i>Émile</i>	1976
29	<i>Mother</i>	Maxim Gorky	Badrinarayan Pradhan	<i>Amma</i>	1976
30	<i>Foust</i>	Goethe	Damanraj Tuladhar	<i>Goethe's Foust</i>	1979
31	<i>My Country Mine</i>	Kahlil Gibran's	Okima Gwyn	<i>Mero Deshuwasi</i>	1982
32	<i>Collected Short Stories of Anton Chekov</i>	Anton Chekov	Rajendra Maske	<i>Chekov ko Khattha haru</i>	1986
33	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	John Ernst Steinbeck, Jr.	Tankabilas Barya	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	1986
34	<i>A Hero of Our Time</i>	Mikhail Lermontov	Krishna Prakash Shresta	<i>A Hero of Our Time</i>	1987
35	<i>Treasure Island</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson	Rajendra Babu Subedhi	<i>Treasure Island</i>	1989
36	<i>Japanese Folk Stories</i>	-	Mohan Himansu Thapa and Chatyna Krishna Upadhya	<i>Japani Lagu Khata Haru</i>	1989
37	<i>Taras Bulba</i>	Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol	Khagendra Sangerlla	<i>Taras Bulba</i>	1989

Translation of English Novels and Short Stories					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
38	<i>Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes</i>	Robert Luis Stevenson	Rajendra Babu Subedhi	<i>Gadha sita ko Safar</i>	1991
39	<i>Dubrovsky</i>	Alexander Pushkin	Krishna Prakash Shrestha	<i>Dubrovsky</i>	1991
40	<i>Siddhartha</i>	Herman Hesse	Kumud Devkota	<i>Siddhartha</i>	1991
41	<i>Good Earth</i>	Paul. S Buck	Tika Ram Sharma	<i>Asal Dharti</i>	1991
42	<i>Alice Adventures and the Wonderland</i>	Louise Carole	Churamani Bidhu	<i>Anoutho Desh ma Alice</i>	1992
43	<i>Alice Adventures</i>	Louise Carole	Bijay Chalise	<i>Anoutho Bhumi</i>	1993
44	<i>Alice Adventures and the Wonderland</i>	Louise Carole	P.B Sewal	<i>Bampuhette ko Desh</i>	1996
45	<i>My Universities</i>	Maxim Gorky	Sudarsan Devkot	<i>Balakal</i>	1993
46	<i>My Childhood</i>	Maxim Gorky	Sudarsan Devkot	<i>Mero Bishuavidhalaua</i>	1993
47	<i>The oral tradition of Greek and Rome</i>	-	Khandagaman Singh	<i>Grees the Rom ko Dantua Khata</i>	1995
48	<i>The Guide</i>	R.K Narayan	Dhurba and Khagendra Madhikarmi	<i>The Guide</i>	1996
49	<i>Jane Eyre</i>	Charlotte Bronte	Sairu Rai	<i>Jane Eyre</i>	1997

Translation of English Novels and Short Stories					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
50	<i>Lajja</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Hemraj Sharma	<i>Lajja</i>	1998
51	<i>Lajja</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Bishnu Sariaal and Anjana Sharma	<i>Lajja</i>	2005
52	<i>In favor of women</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Baburam Bhattachar	<i>Aymey ko Hakma</i>	1998
53	<i>Parikrama</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Navnidhi Panth	<i>Parikrama</i>	1999
54	<i>Return</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Bashant Komar Sharma	<i>Phera</i>	2000
55	<i>Martin Bikram Singe</i>	Taslima Nasrin	Bhuan Lal Pradhan	<i>Martin Bikram Singe</i>	2001
56	<i>The Sorrow of Young Werther</i>	Goethe	Nutan Singh	<i>The Sorrow of Young Werther</i>	2003
57	<i>The sea wolf</i>	Jack London	Ramesh Bikal	<i>Samudra Hudrar</i>	2006
58	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i>	Ernest Hemingway	Khagenrda Mani Pradhan	<i>Budho ra Samudra</i>	2010
59	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i>	Ernest Hemingway	Sanjiv Upadhay	<i>Budho ra Sagar</i>	2010
60	<i>My Autobiography</i>	Helen Keller	Geeta Sharma	<i>Mero Jiwani Khata</i>	2010
61	<i>The Count of Monte Cristo</i>	Alexandra Dumas	Sanjiv Upadhay	<i>Montecristo ko Adhapati</i>	2011

Translation of Shakespeare's dramas					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
1	<i>Othello</i>	William Shakespeare	Puskar Shamser	<i>Othello</i>	1961
2	<i>Julius Caesar</i>	William Shakespeare	Okima Gwyn	<i>Julius Caesar</i>	1974
3	<i>The Twelfth Night</i>	William Shakespeare	Uddipsingh Thapa	<i>Barawa Rath</i>	1970
4	<i>Macbeth</i>	William Shakespeare	Lakshmi Prasad Devkota	<i>Macbeth</i>	1979
5	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	William Shakespeare	Surya Prasad	<i>Venice ko Mahajan</i>	1956
6	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	William Shakespeare	Ram Chandra Giri	<i>Venice ko Mahajan</i>	1976
7	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	William Shakespeare	Pushpalal Shrivakoti	<i>Venice ko Byapari</i>	1965
8	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	William Shakespeare	Tankanath Uppadhya	<i>Venice ko Bayapari</i>	1992
9	<i>king Lear</i>	William Shakespeare	Upendra Singh Thapa	<i>Raja Lear</i>	1976

Translation of Other English dramas					
Sr #	Source Title	Original Author	Translator	Target Title	Year of Publication
1	<i>Antigone</i>	Sophocles	Devraj Arya	Sophocles	1960
2	<i>Oedipus</i>	Sophocles	Devraj Arya	<i>Oedipus</i>	1963
3	<i>Chuya</i>	Komo Joe	Okima Gwyn	<i>Chuya</i>	1961
4	<i>The Doll House</i>	Henrik Ibsen	Anand Dev Bhatta	<i>Katputli ko Ghar</i>	1963
5	<i>An Enemy of the People</i>	Henrik Ibsen	Anand Dev Bhatta	<i>Janta ko Satru</i>	1963
6	<i>Agnomen</i>	Achilles	Devraj Acharya	Achilles	1965
7	Red Lamp	Chinese Opera	Kamal Prasad Sharma	<i>Rato Latrine</i>	1969
8	<i>Waiting for Godot</i>	Samuel Beckett	Okima Gwyn	<i>Ishwar ko Apeksha</i>	1965
9	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Hiren Ryder Hedding	Gokul Singh Chettri	<i>Cleopatra</i>	1975
10	<i>The Good Person of Szechuan</i>	Bertolt Brecht	Kamal Chitrakar	<i>Szechuan ko Asal Manche</i>	1983
11	<i>The Doll House</i>	Henrik Ibsen	Nirmala Joshi	<i>Katputli ko Ghar</i>	1987
12	<i>Vassa Zheleznova and Enemies</i>	Maxim Gorky	Khagendra Sangrellia	<i>Vassa Zheleznova ra Satru haru</i>	1987
13	<i>All my Sons</i>	Arthur Miller	Basushashi	<i>Sara Mera Santan</i>	1989
14	<i>No Exit</i>	Jean Paul Sartre	Nirmala Joshi	<i>Bina Chyan ko Mrityu</i>	1991
15	<i>Yegor Bulychov and Others</i>	Maxim Gorky	Khagendra Sangrellia	<i>Yegor Bulychov and Others</i>	1991
16	<i>The Purple Cart</i>	George Bernard Shaw	Hrishikesh Upadhyay	<i>Prajatantra ko Khel</i>	1998

A 19th Century Bazar of Books: Translation, Publishing and Community

MRINMOY PRAMANICK

Abstract

Bottola is happened to be the first commercial space for books which was owned mostly by the 'native' businessmen. One side this space offered a commercialization of books and the other, it gradually appeared as an alternative space of emerging voices beside the nascent urban hegemony of culture and education. It is interesting to see how the, would be pioneers of renaissance and whole cultural attention of the urban modern bhadroloks' literary aesthetic has been shifted from Bottola to other places of colonial modernity. Bottola holds such significant history of culture and intelligentsia of 18th and 19th century. It is also significant that Bottola was cosmopolitan and secular space of publishing. It offers alternative voices of urban colonial Bhadrolok-culture and helped to emerge parallel trends in Bangla literature.

Introduction

Naval Kishore belonged to the North Indian Service gentry. He embodied the synthesis of Indo- Muslim and Hindu learned traditions in an exemplary fashion - most poignantly captured in Khvaja Abbas Ahmad's succinct characterization of him as a, 'Muslim Pandit and a Hindu Maulvi'. (Stark, 2)

Naval Kishore, mentioned in the above epigraph was a renowned publisher in the 19th century in publishing Hindi books from the region of Uttar Pradesh. Stark in the

introduction to his book titled *An Empire of Books*, mentions that Naval Kishore had a strong sense of ‘publisher’s cultural mission in society’ and that such kind of publishing enterprise was non-existent in the 19th century Bengal earlier to him. History of medieval Bengal showed that the difference among Hindu-Muslim-Buddhists gradually increased and separated their literature according to religious category. The debate on renaissance discussed above also marks the non-participation of Muslim community in the production of knowledge under the influence of renaissance. Perhaps, *Bottola* was the only publishing sector which published texts without any religious bias. But the imitated Victorian morality of the *Bhadrolok* under colonial influence made them move away from *Bottola* public sphere. So, gradually *Bottola* catered to lower class Hindus, the non-Bhadrolok Hindu and the Muslims¹. The British rule primarily promoted Hindu religious texts and Sanskrit literature and the translation of Sanskrit literature which made Muslims insignificant in this new culture. Muslim community also had to identify themselves with their religious identity and they also had to serve their own community with the knowledge. This project was started in the medieval period but the huge paradigm shift brought by the British rule happened when the Muslim rulers were replaced by the British. For the *Bhadrolok*, *Bottola* became associated with low quality publications later when other presses across the north Calcutta served with better technology. In my view, *Bottola* stands as symbol of religious harmony² in Bengal which made the religious differences apparent.

Stark explains that his book is not about the transformation of orality into the written or from manuscript to print. His book focuses on the paradigm shift that print culture brought which he calls ‘commercialization’ (3-4). He elaborates the term ‘commercialization’:

The term ‘commercialization’, as used here, refers to a number of parallel and interconnected processes that shaped the regional language book trade from around the 1840s: the introduction of new reproduction techniques and the ensuing shift to industrialised mass production; the decline in

production costs and the concomitant possibility of reduction in book prices; the transition from European to large-scale Indian ownership, agency, and investment in the book trade; the rise of the marketplace as a dominant force in literary culture; the emergence of commercial genres; and, finally, the creation of a new class of professional authors. In short, commercialization describes the transformation of the printed texts from artifact and cultural asset into a cheap and easily available consumer commodity. As such, it is intimately linked to wider economic, social, and cultural shifts induced by colonialism - notably, the dawning of the age of industrial capitalism, the spread of colonial literacy and formal education, and the rise and economic empowerment of an Indian educated middle class. (4)

Such observation is also true in the context of *Bottola* and the geographic shifting of the book market from *Bottola* locality to College Street which houses commercial book shops now. The *Bottola* market place itself is a symbol of alternative space as also an extension of the literary culture endorsed by the renascent intellectuals. Though the beginning of the history of *Bottola* was not so distinct than the culture endorsed by the Western institutions in case of publishing and translating. But gradually it developed when those newly established Western institutions found their place and began the process of cultural dictation. Though the *Bottola* had greater contact with the masses of Bengal and it was able to circulate books across the Bengal.

Location of Bottola: Then and Thereafter

Now in the location of the erstwhile *Bottola*³ is a police station of North Kolkata and an electoral constituency. According to Binay Ghosh, a scholar who researched the subject, there is no cartographic indication of *Bottola* anymore and therefore it is now an absence in history. History and geography of Kolkata have 'erased' *Bottola* which symbolised an important transition in Bangla literary culture. Binay Ghosh claims

that *Bottola* spread over North Kolkata areas like Chitpur, Ahiritola, Sovabazar, Darjipara, Jorasanko, Garanahata, Jorabagan, Chorbagan and Barabazar, and may have extended up to Sealdah, Mirzapur, Kalutola, Kosaitola, Bowbazar, Jaanbazar. It is interesting that printing presses such as *Sambad Timirnashak Press* of Mirzapur, *Munshi Hedatallar Press* and the *Siddhajantra* of Pitambar Sen of Sealdah also claim to be part of *Bottola* (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar).

The book market of *Bottola* began with the publication of religious texts and people were made conscious about the purity of the sacred texts. The ink of printing was mixed up with the water of the Ganges and the compositor was a Brahmin. These texts were actually the transformation of manuscript into printed books. Few school books were also allowed to be printed along with these religious books. Binay Ghosh divides *Bottola* as a geographical region and a literary region. According to him, entire Calcutta received the publications of *Bottola*. Sripantha, another researcher on *Bottola*, claims that the whole Bengal received the works published from *Bottola* (Rahman).

Categories of Publication

The published works from *Bottola* was divided in two categories mainly, one is *Musalmani Punthi* another is *Hindu Punthi*. *Musalmani Punthi* was known as *Kitab*, *Shayeri* and *Punthi* and *Hindu Punthi* was known as *Punthi*, *Potha* and later as *Grantha*, *Pustak* etc. *Bottola* market was gradually marginalised with the emergence of urban educated class and new technologies in printing. This affected the 'Musalmani Bengali literature' in a sense that such literary category and other so called low literature was such pillars based on what *Bottola* marginally existed in later period. The idea of good literature or high literature was actually associated with other presses and places of printing those were recognized by urban educated class. The downing graph of the *Bottola* economy made it to publish books in low quality page, printing and making. Later the marketplace was shifted to College Street⁴. This view is also reflected in Rahman's observation quoted below. He says that *Bottola* and College Street market are

related like cousins but College Street always mocked *Bottola* culture. In actuality, there's hardly any difference between College Street and *Bottola* culture and *Bottola* played a significant role in the development of Bengali literature and literary taste since the very beginning of 19th century. Not only had that it successfully made people of Bengal across the regions, literaryate⁵.

কলেজস্ট্রীট ও আজকের বটতলার মধ্যে আসলে ক্রস-কাজিনের সম্পর্ক থাকলেও তাদের মধ্যে মুখ দেখাদেখি নেই। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়শ্রিত কলেজস্ট্রীট অঞ্চলে কালচার অভিযান আজ সমুদ্রাতা তার কাছে বটতলা আজ অবজ্ঞাতা যেকোন কুৎসিত সাহিত্য ও কদর্য ছাপাগ্রন্থকে আজ কলেজস্ট্রীটের কালচারবাগীশরা 'বটতলারসাহিত্য' বলে বিদ্রপ করে থাকেন। কিন্তু কলেজস্কোয়ার অঞ্চলের হরেকরকমের যৌন-সাহিত্য ও পত্রিকাদির দিকে চেয়ে বটতলা শুধু মুচকি হাসে, বোবার মতন চুপ করে থাকে, কোন উত্তর দেয়না। কলেজস্ট্রীট থেকে বটতলা বেশী দূর নয়, কিন্তু মানসিক দূরত্বটা আজ অনেক বেশী। কলকাতার মধ্যবিত্ত কালচারের স্তরে স্তরে অনেক পলেন্সারা জমেছে, তারই তলার স্তরে বটতলা, উপরের স্তরে বর্তমান কলেজস্ট্রীট। কলেজস্ট্রীট যে বটতলারই বংশধর। আজও তার প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়। বটতলাতাই শুধু বিদ্রপের পাত্র নয়, তার একটা ইতিহাস আছে এবং একটা বিশেষ কালে সাহিত্যের ইতিহাসে তার একটা ভূমিকাও আছে। বিদ্রপ করবার আগে কলেজস্ট্রীটের 'কালচার'দের সেটা জানা উচিত নয়কি? (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar)

(Though there is a relationship like cousins between *Bottola* and today's College Street, they do not see each other's face. College Street, a place of educated people ignores the history of *Bottola*. All poorly print books and pornography are marked as *Bottola* books by the 'cultured' people. But *Bottola* only smiles and becomes silent seeing the pornography published from *College Square* (a place situated in College Street). *Bottola* is not far from College Street but the mental distance is too far. *Bottola* exists at the lowest level middle class taste whereas College Street occupies the highest. Actually, College Street is a successor of *Bottola* as evidence shows. *Bottola* is not a matter of joke or mockery, it has its own history and contributed to Bangla literature. Shouldn't the 'cultured' people of College Street know this before mocking?) (Translation is mine)

Binay Ghosh says that the first "democratic publishers"⁶ of Bengal were from *Bottola* and were the first to popularise Bangla literature among the readers of greater Bengal.

In his article, "*Bottola: Sekaler Boi Para*", Goutam Hazra comments that the golden age of *Bottola* extended from 1840 to 1865. During this time *Bottola* used to publish

translations of Persian literature, mainly Qissa (like *Chahar Darbesh*, *Hatemtai*, *Arabyarajani*, *Gulbagicha*, *Layla-Majnu* and so on), religious books as well as books on social life; and books carrying the label “for adults only”. *Bottola* printing presses also published popular manuscripts of medieval era like *Krittibasi Ramayana*, *Kahsidasi Mahabharata*, books on Chaitanyadev and the *Mangal Kabyas* (narrative poetry of medieval Bengali literature). These religious texts used to be distributed freely. *Bottola* is also credited for publication of Gangakishor Bhattacharya’s *Bengal Gazette* in 1816. According to Goutam Hazra publisher Biswanath Deb speeded up *Bottola* publication in 1820 (Hazra).

Jibananda Chattopadhyay writes in his *Bottolar Bhorbela* that often British administrators used to announce grant to encourage Bangla translation which created interest among translators, many of whose translations published from *Bottola*. In this context Chattopadhyay refers to *Puratana Prasanga* (1854) by Brahmanmohan Mallik which carries the news of education dispatch of this kind which created interest amongst translators when circulated in Calcutta.

Bottola published books at extremely low cost for readers from all classes (Rahman). These books include translations. *Ramayana* of Krittibas remained popular among Bengali perhaps because of the *Bottola* publishers. Binay Ghosh showed that Krittibas’s *Adiparba* was published by Ramchandra Malik in 1831 which cost 3 rupees and Sudhasindhu Press published the same in 1856 which cost only 2 anas⁷ Likewise, Kalidas Kabiraj’s translation of *Betal Panchabimshati* was published by Samachar Chandrika Press in 1831 which cost 2 rupees; Sudhasindhu Press published it only in 4 Anas. Sripantha, another scholar of 19th century also showed many similar kind of examples (Rahman).

বটলার সরস্বতীকে আহ্বান করে একটু বিদ্রূপ করার পর থেকে অনেক সাহিত্য ঘোড়ছওয়ার বটলার নামে নাক সিঁটকে থাকেন। বলি, ওঠাকুর! কোথায় থাকত তোমার বাঙ্গলাবিদ্যা, বাঙ্গলাসাহিত্য, ভাষা, বাঙ্গলা গদ্য-পদ্য যদি না চোদ্দ আনায় বিকৃত বটলার বাঙ্গলা মহাভারত, বাঙ্গলারামায়ণ? (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar)

(Many literary scholars mock *Bottola* literature and show their discomfort with it. But I would like to ask

where you could have found your Bangla studies, Bangla literature, language, Bangla prose and poetry, if *Bottola* had not sold *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in 14 *Anas*). (Translation is mine)

Islamic Literature and Translation

According to Rahman *Bottola* publication not only promoted Hindu texts but also non-Hindu texts like *Tajkeratul Auliya*, *Kachhachhol Ambiya*, *Dastane Ameer Hamja* and *Saha Namah* also were published. *Bottola*, to the Hindu scholars has been seen from the *Hindu* point of view (Rahman). But this observation is not adequate enough. This contribution of *Bottola* presses is discussed in detail by Sukumar Sen in his book *Islami Bangla Sahitya* (1921)⁸ (first published in 1951) and the 2011 issue of *Anustup* journal on *Bottola* also shows different picture.

Laila Majnu, one of the most popular narratives of the time was published from *Bottola*. According to Jibananda's idea, the translation of the story of *Laila Majnu* was started by Doulat Ujir Baharam of Chatigan, then Maheshchandra Mitra had translated it and it was published with the help of Dwarakanath Roy in the Bangla year of 1260. Mohammad Miran of Algich of Faridpur (now in Bangladesh) translated Persian *Enayetulla*, into Bangla, *Bahar Danesh*, it was published into 1260 Bangabda (Bangla year), the second edition of the book was published from Sealdah of Kolkata, in the house of Ketabuddin Sarkar and was distributed from Srimanta Mohammad Derastulla's house. After that, Safiuddin made Dwarakanath Roy to translate *Bahar Danesh* again to fulfill the wish of Gangadharchandra Roy of Dhaka (Bangladesh). Munshi Tajddin Muhammad Saheb made Munshi Ajimddin Saheb to translate *Futuhswas* from Urdu into Bangla.

The Islamic literature is categorised as *Dobhashi Sahitya* (bilingual literature) by Sumanta Bandopadhyay (115), this new subject area of literature was introduced by *Bottola*. Such body of literature comprises mainly translation of romantic stories from Persian and Arabic and life story of the prophet Muhammad. These translated texts are multilingual

in nature. Though translated into Bangla, there are words from Urdu, Arabic, Persian and those are interpolated into Bangla. Ulises Franco Arcia calls the multilingualism of a text as Code Switching (CS) and describes this kind of text as transcending the relationship of bilingualism as that happens for creole texts also (Arcia 65). Lawrence Venuti calls Blackburn's multiple lexicon in poetry as also multilingual (242). These multilingual texts increase the lexicon in target language one side and specifically these Bangla texts consolidate Islamic identity through this multilingualism. This trend of multiplicity of lexicon also is found in one of the most popular Bengali poets Nazrul Islam's (1899-1976) poems which transcend religious identity and received as Bangla text. Such practice of multilingualism in a single text did not happen all of a sudden in isolation. It was actually the result of socio-cultural practice of multilingualism in Bengali society since the introduction of Islamic rule in Bengal.

However, another scholar from Dhaka, Anisujjaman opposes terms like 'Dobhashi' or 'Islamic Sahitya' or 'Musalmāni Sahitya' and prefers to call this literature as *Mishra Bhasharitir Kabya* (poetry in multilingual style) (Sumanta Bandopadhyay, 117). Thereby he is trying to transcend the religious categorization of this literature and locate it in a larger body of literary studies. He does not want literature to have such religious brand with it. Switching from the term *Musalmani Sahitya* to *Mishra Bhashar Sahitya* is actually to make it appear as more secular literary identity. Sumanta Bandopadhyay understands this whole context with his observation that the changes brought in the style of writing under the influence of the Wahabi movement in 1930s (118), and says that many historians assumed the readers of such texts to be only Muslims⁹. He refers to Akshay kumar Sarkar's confirmation that these texts were equally popular among the Hindu readers. Sumanta Bandopadhyay gives the example of popularity of *Sonabhaner Punthi*, *Janganamah*, *Akher Jamana*, etc. and he mentions that such genre also is being published nowadays from the then *Bottola* area. A book which was very much popular among these books is *Asan Bibir Brata*.

Sumanta Bandopadhyay quoted a note from translator of the *Quran* that one of the greatest books of the world was not accessible to Bengali Muslims who did not have access to the Arabic. The translation of the book was essential to educate them and remove their distancing from the Holy Book. Translator wrote that “the greatest book” of the world *Quran* is far from the Bengali Muslim and most of the Muslims of Bengal do not know Arabic, so the translation is to educate them, to erase the distance between the *Quran* and the readers (135-136).

Bottola and Translation from Indian Languages

Anandaram Fukan, an Assamese student of Hindu College from the batch of 1841-1844, and later a government employee, struggled to introduce Assamese in schools in Assam. He associated himself with the *Bottola* market to publish texts of law, court verdicts etc. in several volumes. He was the first author of the book of law in Bangla which was published from New Press. He collected different verdicts of courts, translated and published them from New Press. He took this task seriously and he invited his friend Nabinchandra Ray around 1855 to be the editor and take care of those works.

In 1816, Gangakishore, who worked for few days as a compositor in Sreerampore Press, joined Karim and Company Press and published Bharatchandra's *Annanadamangal*, a pictorial book in Bangla. According to Jibananda Chattopadhyay the first *Haatua* (Businessman) of *Bottola Haat* (Bottola market) was Gangakishore who published *Betal Panchabimshati* and *Chanakya Sloka* along with the *Annandamangal*. Rammohan Roy also found Gangakishore a better option for the publication of his books. Likewise, Harachandra Ray, a member of Rammohan Roy's 'Atmiya Sabha', established Bengali Printing Press, at 45 Chorabagan Street, Kolkata, in collaboration with Gangakishore. Rammohan Roy's *Upanishad* and *Kathoponishad* were also published from this press. But all these are early story of Bottola. Ramakrishna Mallik published *Adiparba* of Krittibas's the *Ramayana* in 1831 and Kalidas Kabiraj's *Betal Panchabimsati* in 1856. Since there was competition

among different Presses Sudhasindhu press decreased the price of *Smacharchandrika* to compete with Ramakrishna Mallik's Press. Bhabanicharan, another famous publisher of Bottola, deliberately promoted religious sentiments to enhance business. He published *Srimad Bhagbat* in 1830 according to *Bishuddha Hindumat*. To ensure the sacredness of the process of printing, he used to mix printing ink into Ganga water and employ a Brahmin compositor. The price of purity and sacredness increased the price of the printed book from thirty to forty rupees. According to Sukumar Sen, Bhabanicharan was the first to publish the Sanskrit books in the format of *punthi*. This is how the Brahminical cultural hegemony and 19th century sense of Hindu puritanism affected the business of publishing also. Since the medieval era, the common people were warned not to read Sanskrit text in any language other than Sanskrit. Because the language of God in the culture of the common was assumed to be impure by the Brahmins or by the people who have access to the Sanskrit. The transition of literature from manuscript to the book through the printing press brought a wider democracy in publishing that a *mlechcha* (untouchable) machine which published the sacred texts are purified by the sacred water of the river Ganges.

Another popular publication of Bottola was *Biya Padya*, (poems of marriage). Traditional Hindu elite, rich people funded their money to publish the manuscripts treasured in the *Rajbatis*. But not only that, they circulated these books in free of cost. They followed the model of Christian missionaries who distributed religious texts free of cost. But the workers of the press went for more popular and to print more necessary things of daily life for better profit. And the printing of marriage letters, poems of marriage, advertisement of *Jatra*, rent bills of the houses etc. were published widely from Bottola. They had also printed marriage rituals and this was called as *Bibahamangal*. One of the author of such texts, *Bibahamangal* was Bidhusekhar Shastri of Bolpur Brahmacharyaashram. The book was published from Brahmabrata Bhattacharya's Indian Press of Allahabad in 1907. There was a seal of Bottola on the book. It is heard that Rabindranath Tagore advised them to circulate the books widely. Later, Nandalal Basu,

Asit Kumar Haldar, Ramendranath Chakroborty added their paintings and three songs on the theme of the married in this book. The *Bibahamangal* includes few translations of the *Rig Veda Samhita*, the *Vyas Samhita*, the *Atharva Samhita*, and the *Manu Samhita*. These were translated into simple Bangla language which was easily understood for the newly marriage women and it was for their wellbeing. But such translations of Sanskrit sacred mantras into Bangla is not widely accepted by the common Bengalis, perhaps translation was not received as sacred as the original Sanskrit mantras are. Therefore, Bengalis keep on practise the sacred Sanskrit mantras as the mantras of the marriage ceremony, though the songs of the marriage ceremony is quite popular till date in different regions of Bengal, mainly rural areas.

According to Sukumar Sen, the first businessman of Bottola was Gangakishore, the name is mentioned earlier, and the last artist was Kaliprasanna Sinha, who illustrated the *Mahabharata* that he translated himself. Jibananda Chattopadhyay claims that, it was Kaliprasanna Sinha who brought down prices of Bottola books. Initially the religious texts which were published from Bottola were mainly the Vaisnav texts. Jibananda writes that the real readers of Bangla literary publications were the Vaisnavites and their families. Women's education in Bengal started little earlier than it is generally thought. Vaisnav women were the teachers for the women of Bengali aristocrats and upper class elites. One can refer Soudamini Devi's *Pitri Smriti*. The women of the traditional Hindu families learned Bangla, Sanskrit, and were taught to read the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and few stories. They used dried banana leaf to write on. The Vaisnavs created the demand for religious texts in the inner courtyard of the Hindu household! Vaisnav women used to copy manuscripts of Sanskrit texts for the presses. Thus the freedom in gender and in education in Vaisnavite society brought a remarkable changes in women education and printing of Hindu religious texts and epics in urban Bengal.

Translation of Medical Books

Along with publishing different types of literary genres, Bottola

also published the medical books, both Indian and English. *Materia Medica* was most probably the first translated book of medicine which is popular till date. Besides this, The Practice of Medicine, Text Books of Anatomy were also translated and printed from Bottola (Guha). Gradually, newspaper comics or pictorial stories made readers uninterested towards Bottola books. Jibananda claims that people who used to read cheap detective books in the past when Bottola was still doing its business wouldn't leave those books even if they were given Sherlock Holmes or Agatha Christie! This is the way Jibananda emotionally expresses the popularity of detective books published by Bottola.

Bottola offered the books of language learning also. The languages like Urdu, Persian, English and Hindi were available there. But the noticeable point here is that all these were either court language or the official languages or the languages of communication. Whatever is the reason may be it is to be observed that, this is the way Bottola itself became a cosmopolitan place of publishing in the 19th century.

Translating Children Literature and Other Texts

Since its very first day of publishing, Bottola concentrated on translating children's literature and Gangakishore was pioneer of this. New reading culture in new colonial civilization of Kolkata was introduced. Children of Kolkata were reading the translations of *Betal Panchabimshati*, *Hitopadesh*, *Chanakyaasloka*, *Tutinama*, *Hatemtai* etc. Imported English books were sold from the port, and came directly to the Radha Bazar Mayor's Quarter and re-sold from there. Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay, probably the first Bengali businessman in this particular area, became the assistant editor of the Vernacular Literature Society located at 276/1 Garanhata, just opposite the Hindu College, and started to translate the English books into Bangla. Goutam Bhadra comments, "When I was looking for the shadowy world of the books of the time period between mid- 19th century to the first two decades of the 20th century, I have to stop by Bottola. In my thinking and discussion, Bottola has appeared sometimes for the cheap popular printings, sometimes for the pervasion of reading,

sometimes to get the old manuscripts in the printed form, sometimes for the daily regular common reading” (Bhadra, 2011). When the scholar of 19th century Bengali culture and history Goutam Bhadra comments like this, it is not difficult to imagine the range of publication and readership of Bottola market. There was both the culture of *Deshi* and *Margi*, publications for both the *Bhadrolok* and *Elebele* (common or mass), the latter word has been used by Goutam Bhadra, instead of the word *chotolok*, which is opposite the concept of *bhadralok* as he doesn’t accept this difference. Because of the popularity of the Bottola books, they were also pirated and it became difficult to know the difference with the original.

In the first chapter of his book, *Bangla Punthi Talika Nirman O Atmasattar Rajniti: Munshi Abdul Karim Sahityabisharad*, Goutam Bhadra gives some information about the books translated from Bottola. Munshi Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisharad, who actually entered Bottola primarily to prepare an authentic volume of Alaul’s Bangla translation of Malik Muhammad Jaisi’s *Padumabat*, *Padmabati*, prepared a list of Bangla manuscripts. In the chapter *Kendra theke Prantik* [Centre to periphery], Bhadra writes that the British government was interested to prepare a list of Sanskrit manuscripts and the government allocated some money to collect the manuscripts from all over India taking cognizance of the proposal made by Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore in 1854. But Manuscripts of Bangla or languages other than Sanskrit were ignored. The list was prepared following Albrecht Weber’s catalogue of Berlin manuscript library and the Theodor Aufrecht’s Bodlian library Sanskrit manuscript catalogue. Thus the history of other manuscripts was ignored. The translations from the medieval period were in manuscript form and recovery of those manuscripts and their cataloguing was very much required for proposing a historiography of translation. Abdul Karim actually engaged himself in this work. Many translations of medieval period that were in manuscript form could bring a culture of reading and grew an interest of the *Loka* towards the Bangla literature. In his memoir, Abdul Karim writes,

We used to organize *Majlis* of *Punthi* (manuscript) reading in my house or the neighbor's house. Though I could not understand much, I used to sit and listen to Alaul's *Punthi*. I cannot forget the feeling of my child mind after hearing the *Punthi*. Thus I became interested towards Bangla literature. Gradually it made me desirous to taste the *Rasa* of the old literature. (Cited in Bhadra 10) (Translation Mine)

This shows the popularity of Alaul's *Punthi of Padmabati*, and the culture of community-reading through which the written text got its afterlife and reached to the wider audience.

Sukumar Sen's research locates few Bottola presses as explained in his "Bottolar Chhapa O Chhobi", [Bottola print and pictures) like Anubad Jantra/Anubad Press (Balaram Dey Street, Jorashanko, established in 1853); another was Anubad Jantralaya owned by Baikunthanath Das. Anglo Indian Union Jantra (92, Panchu Dutter Gali, Garanhata Street, Kolkata, established in 1844), it had published *Chahar Darbesh* (1773 Shakabda) by Sri Harishchandra Nandi, translated from original Urdu, this book was edited (Sangshodhita) by Sri Anandachandra Bedantabagish. Anbar Shoheli also published from this press in 1855 and this was translated by Gopimohan Chattopadhyay.

Adrish Biswas, the guest editor of the Bottola issue of *Anustup*, comments in his introduction that *Bottola* was a space of plurality (*Bahuttwabadi Space*) where the common people, the marginalized people and the 'other' were significant (3). This was the grand success of book trade of the 'natives' what led them towards College Street. *Bottola* offered a space for *Deshi* and *Loka*, and for *Deshi*, reception of *Bottola* also offered unrestricted cultural space for all who liked to read. This perhaps was the beginning of the common Bengali's encounter with the literatures from different parts of the world. The publication and reception of translation from this place shows a resistance of the sort of culture endorsed and promoted by the *Bhadrolok* and the British rulers in the then Calcutta.

Conclusion

Bottola, as a publishing space, appeared as a counter to the colonial hegemony of knowledge-circulation. It successfully made the public life of books of knowledge, literature and moreover, it popularized the various translated texts. Bottola was not limited to the reach of the upper class or urban English educated Bengali Bhadroloks only but it had its own outreach to the greater society. Publishers published books and made those reach to the common people, common readers of entire Bangladesh (undivided). Common people (other than urban educated renascent upper and middle class), along with their monolithic heritage of oral texts and cultural texts, they also got printed works of different languages from different languages of India and the World. One side, the translation published from Bottola made people aware of greater literature of Indian and World languages along with religious texts and the other side Bottola, made a ground of knowledge among the people. The 19th century renaissance was limited to the class of people, if we understand renaissance in other terms, then we must acknowledge that Bottola brought people at the contact zone of cultures what resulted as wider social consciousness about the modern knowledge. Therefore, different marginal identities were opened with knowledge to reframe their claims. A counter cultural heritage was established with the publishing industry and translation was assumed as powerful tool in this cosmopolitan, secular project of mass communication, with which another social emergence happened.

NOTES

1. "The world of cheap printing has gone largely unappreciated in the writing of the social and cultural history of 19th century Bengal. Historians have tended to pick on refined literature of the educated middle classes for discussion and have ignored the cultural self-expression in print of lesser social groups. One idea in such historiography is that a refined, standardised modern Bengali print culture flourished and became the marker of a culturally chauvinistic *Bhadrolok* (literally gentlefolk)

middle class. But print did not mirror the aspirations of the dominant classes only” (Ghosh, 169).

2. Sumanta Bandopadhyay also comments that *Bottola* culture demonstrated the coexistence of differences. (139)
3. Bottola literally means a place under the banyan tree. Place under the banyan tree is very much a cultural space especially in Bengali folk culture. *Bottola* started selling books under a banyan tree and from there the market spread. The name itself carries the sense of modest indigeneity.
4. College Street is a place where the University of Calcutta, Presidency College, Sanskrit College, Hindu School, Hare School, and the Calcutta Medical College, the institutions of colonial modernity are located. This place also has significance in the emergence and promotion of *Bhadrolok* culture.
5. By this word literaryate, I mean, the process which makes people aware about literature and make them receptor of literature or different literary products such as celebrating books, authors, book fair etc.
6. Perhaps with this phrase “democratic publisher”, he wants to mean the type of publication which *Bottola* offered was for the readers across the class, caste and religion. Though there was religious sentiment behind publication of different publishing house but till *Bottola* was a place of beautiful coexistence of publishers across the religion and the books across the language, theme and religious identity.
7. 16 Annas is equal to 1 rupee.
8. He was sceptical to categorise this kind of books as ‘Islamic’. He pointed out in his introduction that this kind of books, once served a great number of reader’s community and nowadays this is a forgotten genre. He also pointed out the role of Muslim poets in the genre of romantic narrative poetry. According to Sen, once our

predecessors were amazed by *Pranay Gatha* and *Romantic Kahini* but now we have forgotten all these. (4)

9. Historian Sumit Sarkar emphasizes on the historical importance of commercial vernacular publications while discussing lower middle class group in the 19th century Bengal. (Ghosh, 190)

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Constructing Modern World Malayali: English to Malayalam Translations in Periodicals at the Beginning of the 20th Century

P. RANJIT

Abstract

It was by the end of 19th century, at the wake of the colonial culture, translation was chosen as the main medium for globalisation for the newly emerging intellectual class. Translated knowledge texts, particularly from English had a key role in constructing the consciousness of a global modernity among Malayalis. This study tries to follow the translations of the knowledge texts published in the early periodicals in Malayalam from 1890s up to 1930. Periodicals like Vidyavinodini, Sarada, Atmaposhini, Mitavaadi and Unninambudiri were selected for the study, because most translations of the knowledge texts appeared during this period. Economics, cosmology and the basic sciences were the main subjects concerned. Translations related to the disciplines of History, archaeology, anthropology and feminist studies also had appeared in these early periodicals. The translations generally tried to articulate the structural concordance of the outer world to prove that the world of the Malayalis was not different from it.

Introduction

It is often said that the translation work *Paavangal* by Nalapat Narayana Menon set the stage for the golden age

of translations into Malayalam. This may be true of literary translations, especially of European fiction. Yet translations of knowledge texts into Malayalam began as early as the 1890s. As early as that, knowledge texts in translation began reaching the Malayali readers through newly founded, progressive magazines that set to shape the new world of the literate Malayali. Even the earliest newspaper like *Rajyasamaacharam* included translated works. But it was when the number of readers with limited education, who refused to adopt English as their language of intellectual quest increased, that translated works became more influential.

The modern Malayali largely wrote in English at the outset. It may be noted that English periodicals began publications not only from the metropolitan centres like Madras, but also from places like Trivandrum and Calicut, such as, *West Coast Spectator*, *Malabar Review* etc. The new translated works appeared in magazines such as *Vidyavinodini* and *Vidyavilasini*, which were targeted at the progressive readers of limited linguistic reach beyond Malayalam.

Vidyavinodini

Vidyavinodini was established by C. P. Achuta Menon. The magazine paid greater attention to and showed special regard for knowledge writing. We can note that it preferred free renderings in Malayalam to word-for-word translations. One of the best and the earliest examples is the article *Panam* (Money). There is no way to ascertain whether it was a free translation or a literal rendering. In this exhaustive article, the description, related to the seven features of money, introduces Malayalam equivalents of some terms in economics. *Sahaja sarata*, *suvaahyata*, *anaswarata*, *samanajatheeyata*, *vibhajyata*, *sthiramoolyata*, and *sujneyata* are coinages that were not in currency in those days. They might have proved easy to understand, for the Malayalis then, as a working knowledge in Sanskrit was more of a norm then, among readers, than it is now. Finding derivatives from Tamil for European terms had been the practice earlier, as found in the Bible translations. The new tendency of deriving Malayalam equivalents; as above might have been a trend which had

been copied from the practice of Kerala Varma Valiya Koyi Thampuran, who had tried such an example in the school texts, he had devised.

Another article, titled *Dhanavinimayam*, while introducing this basic idea of economics, refers to 'socialism and 'Communism' (1065 Meenam). These alien terms were translated as *Samudaaya swatwa vadam* by the way of explanation. Here we find one of the first mentions about socialism and communism in Malayalam. "*Janangalellavarumm avaravarepole thanne mattellavareyum vicharikkunnathaya (ennuvachal orikkalum varumennu vicharippan paatillathathaya) kaalathile ithu sadyamaakayullu. Athukonta samudaya swatwa vadam phalikkunnathaayal naattile dhanam kshayikkunnathinna oru margamaanennu spashta manallo. Enkilum ellaa raajyangalilumatidhanikatwatheyumathinirdhanatwatheyum atuttatutta kanumpol samajivikalil snehamulla sajjanamgal samudaya swatwa vaadikalakunnathu kashtamalla*" (p.184). This was mentioned seven years after the demise of Karl Marx and five years before F. Engles died.

The article, *Vayu* (Air) published in 1891, introduces certain terms different from its present usage (1066, Thulam; 1066, Vrushchikam). In this scientific exposition, *jeevavayu* (oxygen), *yavakshara vayu* (nitrogen), *angarakamlam* (carbon dioxide) are introduced. The article deals mainly with the dangers of air pollution. Another article, the same year, discusses, the possible effects of trade union, translated as *Vyavasaayi Sangham*; stress is given to the differences between *muthalala sangham* and *vyavasayi sangham* and the advantages of the institution of *vyavasaayi sangham* (Thulam, 1066).

It is clear that the articles dealing with the *Bhakshanam* (food) - touching upon food, digestion, cooking, vessels and hygiene, and the following are atleast retold ideas if not word-for-word translations (Karkitakam, 1066). Others are on geographical and topographic studies (Thulam, 1067). So too, is the article discussing the shape of the Earth with illustrations.

Manushyante pracheena avasthayum naveena avasthayum (The Ancient and Modern Condition of the Human life),

which introduced archaeology in detail (Mithunam, 1067) and P.Narayana Menon's *Japan*, a long article dealing with Japan's history and social conditions (Meenam, 1074) are others of the same genre.

Anantakoti brahmaandam, (The Cosmos, 1074 Meenam and Medam), is noteworthy for the close analysis of the topic and its different method of exposition. This article was published in consecutive numbers of the magazine. The name of the translator is not given. In this context, it may be noted that C. P. Achuta Menon had left the editorship of *Vidyavinodini* and T. K. Krishna Menon had assumed charge. This article acquaints Malayalis with many basic ideas pertaining to cosmology, perhaps for the first time. *Soorya mandalam* (today, *sourayootham*, solar system) *nakshatra mandalam* (galaxy) *akaasaganga* (The Milky Way), speed of light and light-years are the terms explained, the size of the universe was presented along with comparisons and examples. A detailed discussion ensures for the readers in an easy-to-digest way.

In the annals of the translations of knowledge writing into Malayalam, *Vidyavinodini*, one of the earliest literary periodicals, holds a decisive place. It not only constructed popular examples of translations, but also introduced, new and essential branches of science like economics, hygiene and sanitation, topography and cosmology into Malayalam.

Sarada

Sarada was published from Thripunitura from November, 1904 (Vruchikam, 1080). The magazine was published by women and was targeted for women readers. The publishers were T. C. Kalyani Amma, T. Ammukutty Amma and B. Kalyani Amma. Contributors other than the publishers were K. Padmavati Amma, C. Rugmini Amma, I. Devaki Amma, V. Narayani Amma, P. Madhavi Amma, S. Chellamma, Chambathil Chinnammu Mannadiar and many more. When publications was shifted to Trivandrum three years later, K. Ramakrishna Pillai and B. Kalyani Amma assumed main role. With Ramakshrishna Pillai's banishment from the state of Travancore, in 1910, and with the seizure of the *Swadeshabhimani* press, *Sarada* ceased publishing.

Sarada's role in introducing fresh experiments in translation of knowledge writing from English has not been discussed at all. The most noteworthy contribution by *Sarada* has been a series titled *mahatikal*. It is a collection of the brief life stories of women who overcame their so called gender limitations and sufferings with a strong will and fortitude to work for the sake of social reform. Most of these appear to be abridged translations or free translations. Mentions are often found of the original works. Some sections have been translated directly. Most biographical sketches have been done either by B.Kalyani Amma or T. C. Kalyani Amma. We can assess the role played by these women in the histories of struggle and their resistance in shaping the lives of women like B. Kalyani Amma.

The initial story is that of Ananda Bai Joshi, a young, Brahmin woman of Pune, who went to the United States at the close of the 19th century, to study modern medicine. This story was published in two issues of *Sarada*, (Makaram, 1080 Kumbham, 1080). She returned as a qualified practitioner and succumbed to tuberculosis at the age of twenty two. Her emphasis on social service is well documented. Stories of Florence Nightingale and Elizabeth Frye are briefly told in the next issues of the magazine (*Metam*, 080; *Mithunam*, 1080 *Chingam*, 1081; *Kanni*, 1081). Florence Nightingale in nursing, especially on the war front and Elizabeth Frye in alleviating the poor lot of women prisoners have both been pioneers in their inestimable service to the society.

B.Kalyani Amma narrates the story of Lady Russell who was the spouse of Earl Russell who was beheaded in the 18th century on charges of treason. Lady Russell's firm will and ardent love have been well portrayed by the writer (Makaram, 1081).

Lady Jane Gray occupied the British throne reluctantly for ten days and was later accused of treason, falling a prey to the prevalent struggle between the British Catholics and Protestants. She was executed too. This woman's life is sketched touchingly by B.Kalyani Amma (*Mithunam*, 1081).

British prisons were hellish places even in the early 19th century. The stories of two women, Sara Martin and Dorothy Pattison, who tried to improve the minds of the prisoners by educating them and providing spiritual teaching are narrated in the series *Mahathikal* (Chingam, 1082; Thulam, 1082).

Indian women symbolising courage of excellence such as Chand Beebi were also given a place in the series (Kanni, 1082). She was born at Ahmed Nagar. She was the spouse of Adil Shah, sultan of Vijayapur. She waged battle after battle and enthroned herself as the sovereign of most parts of south India. Her kingdom was ruined by battles and internal strife. Her love, generosity and fortitude sustained the land from total ruin. Her end was caused by her own commander's deceit. She posthumously declared the heroine of her land.

Another appealing and engaging story is that of Lady Grizel Bailey who supported the leaders of Scottish popular resistance movement in the seventeenth century. This story (May, 1909) is one of woman's fortitude under duress: the Lady was born as the daughter of the Scottish leader Sir Patrick Hume. She became the spouse of another Scottish resistance leader, Robert Bailey. Lady Grizel took care of her father while he was in hiding and, also, when he was in flight to Holland. There was a change of reign in England and the families of Hume and Bailey were freed of charges. Consequently, she returned to Scotland, with all the due titles restored. Her worth was recognised and she was idolised only later, in early 18th century.

Apart from the series, *Mahathikal*, women got a mention in *Sarada*, through the studies of women belonging to various nationalities. S.Chellamma wrote about American women, P.Madhavi Amma's article is on Parsi women. They both are, a combination of translation and free rendering of ideas in Malayalam. The former piece introduces the subject in the form of certain comments by the gentleman posted in the U.S. capital as a representative of the Chinese emperor (1081 Vrishchika). The sense of freedom and self reliance of the American women are highlighted. Such an approach might have been adapted under the impression that it might

encourage the development of modern women in Kerala. Otherwise, one is at a loss to see the logic of presenting a Chinese gentleman's view which holds no relevance to the Indian context.

Another article contributed by C. Andi Pillai (May, 1909), is a lengthy study of the social conditions of Japanese women, as compared to those women of India, and also of Europe. The focus is on the rising social status of the Japanese women. There is an analysis of the prevalent conditions of the Japanese women of the past and of the modern days. There is ample evidence that the Indian women who were undergoing a lot of suffering and humiliation in contemporary society would learn from the models of the higher social involvement by the Japanese women.

Parsi women identify themselves with the western women in freedom of choices and their self assertiveness. It is this aspect which is focussed in the article on Parsi women. They are free to select their spouses. Yet, they give importance to family matters and show great modesty. These qualities are highly valued in the article.

The article *Streejanatthinte oupathika swabhaavam* (The Nature of Women, 1909 Jan.) makes a strong feminist reading of the human history. The article's argument is that women have contributed greatly to human society's cultural advancement and civilization which was later on distorted by the male hegemony.

Purushan ee ghattattilum poornamaya samudaya
avasthayil vannu ennu parayan pattilla. Avan
striyotum kuttikalotum anuyojichu varthichu. Ennal
avan asthiran aayirunnu. Avan vettayatakayum
yudhdam cheyyukayum cheytu. Ennal avan grihattil
sariyayi paartilla. Manushya samoohattinte kendram
streeyum kunhugalum ayirunnu. Purushan thante
alanju natappinnu sesham avitekku thirichu vannu
(p.13).

The translation resisted the malecentric views which were newly formed in Kerala, which had its roots in the western milieu. Here C.S.Potti, the writer transposes the ideas of

the original works in English, which is directed towards the European male centred social context of the 19th century. The language employed was strong, too.

There were many other works that needs mention as translations of science literature. C.Ramunni Menon's articles on health sciences finds Malayalam terminology for many scientific terms. Ingaalum (Carbon), bhaavaham (phosphorus), Ganthakam (sulphur), vindu (cell), Chuvanna naadi (artery), neela naadi (vein), raktasira (artriole), rasanaadi, jnaana vahini Vathanadi (nerves?), aamajalam (bile?) raktaasayam (heart), ingalamlam (carbon dioxide) Amlajanaka, (acidic ?) – are some such terms which are the author's own coinages. Many scientific terms are translated differently into today's Malayalam (1080, Makaram, 3-6).

The magazine itself gives comparisons of the original English terms and their equivalent Malayalam coinages. The magazine, *Sarada* had published Mrs. Isabel Brander's 'Talks on Health' as translated version obviously with her permission. It was titled *Arogya sastram* in Malayalam (March, 1908). Original English terms for all Malayalam coinages of scientific terms were given as below:

Original (English)	Malayalam equivalent
Ligaments	<i>granthikal</i>
Joints	<i>sandhikal</i>
Muscles	<i>snayukkal</i>
Sinews	<i>snasakal</i>
Skin	<i>twak</i>
Mucous membrane	<i>sleshmaavaranika</i>
Cartilage	<i>bandhini, asthigranthi</i>
Upper arm	<i>melkayyu, urdhwa bhujam</i>
Lower arm	<i>munkayyu, prakoshtam</i>

Elbow joint	<i>kaimuttu, kurppara sandhi</i>
Shoulder joint	<i>thol poott, amsasandhi</i>
Saliva	<i>uminir, lala</i>
Sweat	<i>viyarppu, swedam</i>
Skin oil	<i>twak tailam</i>

It may be noted that many terms were given Malayalam equivalents with Sanskrit derivations. A century ago, Malayalam clearly saw two clear possibilities for translation: local terms in Malayalam or equivalent Sanskrit terms with or without Malayalam suffixes. Today, Sanskrit coinages have gained greater preferred status.

This was at the level of words. A rare experiment adopted by Sarada is the practice of printing English originals along with their Malayalam translations, side by side, enabling comparison of structures of the sentences and larger discourses. The joint publishers were Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai and B.Kalyani Amma. Whether they introduced this to assist the evaluation of the translation process or to help the readers who were adept in English terminology, can not be determined at this time.

Thunnal pani (Needle work, 1908 Sept.), *Sadharana thaiyal* (Plain sewing, 1908 Sept.), two technical articles and a brief biographical sketch of Miss.S.B.Williams (March, 1909), are the bi-lingual works published. Miss Williams was an able educator who functioned as the principal of Maharaja's Girls School, Trivandrum, and later, Government Women's College, for fourteen years. *Thunnal Paniyute Arambham*, the Malayalam translation, along with its original in English:

"The art of the needle is one of the most ancient and the earliest developed. It has been constantly referred to through out historic ages and is believed to have existed far beyond them; and it is an art that has at all times been especially associated with woman." is translated as,

"Kalaavidyakalil ettavum puratanamayatil onnanu

thunnaalpani. Eevidyayaanumattukalaavidyakalekkaal
aadyamayai abhivrudhi ppedutha ppettittulathu.
Charithra kaalangalil ee kalayepatti palappozhum
parannjittundu. Ennal athinnu entrayo mumpu
thanne ee vidya natappil vannittullathayi janangal
viswasichu varunnathanu. Ee vela mukhyamaayi
streekale sambadhicha oru vidyayanu thanum” (1908
July, p.125).

The reader today can find that long English sentences with multiple clauses were divided into small sentences. So also, the necessary structural freedom was taken for granted in the above sample, for facilitating free translation.

Aatmaposhini

Aatmaposhini was published from Kunnamkulam, a town of trade in Central Kerala. It was noteworthy for its variety of topics. The Malayalam poet laureate, Vallathol was the editor of *Aatmaposhini* for quite a few years. This magazine, which started publication in 1910, gave pride of place to science writing, including translations.

The first and foremost in instructional writing that appeared in the periodical were the contributions by K.Ramakrishna Pillai. A detailed elucidation, titled *Socialism athava samashtivadham* was published serially in several issues (1088 *Etavam*, 1088 *Mithunam*). This adopts a fresh approach. *Mooladhanathinte udbhavam*, (The origin of Capital) *Paranthrees Raajya Parivartanam*, (French Revolution), *Samashti vaadodayam* (Origin of Socialism), are chapters that excel all thereto published works in explaining the topics they address. The first ever explanations of socialism and communism as we saw in C.P.Achuta Menon’s *Vidyavinodini* do not detail the topics with as much clarity or precision. Ambady Narayana Menon’s *Bandhanastha aayirunna Russia* (Imprisoned Russia), an article that appeared in *Mithunam* and *Karkitakam*, 1092 (July – Aug. 1917) examines the causes of the Soviet Revolution even when the historical events were unfolding. Events discussed are the happenings such as the abdication of the Russian emperor, the succession of the publicly elected representative parliament, the Duma. They span from March to July, 1917.

This work shows that decisive political changes reached the reading public of Kerala more or less concurrently, through the then Malayalam media.

Aatmaposhini gave equal importance to humanities such as history and social science as well as sciences such as natural history and physical science. Sheikh Ramzani's *Tripoli vazhakku* (Metam, 1087) discusses the history and contemporary political situations in Tripoli in a non-western view point. Another important translation is a letter from Napoleon translated by Attukaal A.S.Padmanabha Pillai. This is a letter from Napoleon in exile to his son analysing the French polity and politics. It was his last letter (Kanni-Thulam, 1088).

Aatmaposhini gave special importance to translations of science writing and biographical sketches of scientists. Some works of novelty in reading experience were *Praanibhukkukalaaya Chetikal* (Carnivores plants) by Edamarathu V. Sebastian (1087 Edavam), *Thel* (Scorpion) by C. Jacob Job (1088 Dhanu), Attukal A. S. Padmanabha Pillai's *Janthukkalute Saisavakaalam* (The Infancy of animals, 1088 Dhanu), *Vandukal* (Beetles) by N. Sankara Pillai (1088 Kumbham), all articles on Natural history, and V. Kunhikkannan's biography of the famous naturalist Sir Oliver Lodge (Dhanu, 1099).

They are not mentioned specifically as translations. Yet, the technical terms in Malayalam are followed by the original English terms, making the readers aware of the fact that they were the free renderings of English works in Malayalam, if not exact translations. Some examples are words and phrases like *vidhi* (Destiny), *manushyante bhaagadheyam* (Human destiny), *charvaakanmar* (Materialists), *goodangalaayi* (occult), *British science samajam* (British Science Association), *Ottakappullimaan* (Giraffe), *iyyal* (May flies), *pollal vandukal* (Blister beetles) etc. These articles on science, in general are comparable to similar articles today in the high quality maintained. Probably the subject matters were derived from some English source such as encyclopaedia or similar works.

There are other translated contributions such as *Chandra mandalathile Aagneya girikal* (Volcanos in the Moon) by M.Subramania Iyer (Meenam, 1094), a lengthy essay, and Putheshathu Rama Menon's *Jeevarakshakku Velichattinte Aavasyam* (The necessity of light for survival -Makaram, 1088).

Swadeshaabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, who was exiled from Travancore, had been given a medal (Travancore Patriot Medal) by the organisation of Malayalis in Malayasia in 1912. A report of the event appeared in Aatmaposhini (Kanni, Thulam, 1088). The report presents an interesting sample of translation of English into Malayalam and also the strong stand taken by Malayalis of Malayasia on political events in Travancore. The Diwan of Travancore had deported Ramakrishna Pillai on charges of treason. As a defence, from Malaysia, he was awarded *Thiruvithamkoor Swadeshaabhimani Biruda Mudra* by the Malayalis there. On their behalf, a barrister at the British Malaysia supreme court, P.K.Nambiar had put his signature on the award certificate.

Mitavaadi

Mitavaadi did not give any special importance to works of translation. Still there appeared two notable works of translation in the years 1915 and 1916. One was a translation of article by A.V.Sharma on white Jews of Kochi - *Kochiyile Vella Yoodar* (1916 Feb.). This sheds light on the not so well-known history of the white Jews of Kochi. Another one is *Jyothi Saastram* (1916 Jan.). This article describes the solar system and provides a comparison of the planets. There is a mention about a planet called Vulcan situated in between the sun and Venus. This work is not a piece of direct translation. It could be a free rendering in Malayalam.

Unninambudiri

We find the translation and free renderings in *Unninambudiri* to be a continuum of the tradition evolving from those found in *Vidyavinodini*, in the 1920s. The Initial articles were related to history and geography. Thereafter there appeared biographical sketches and articles pertaining to physical sciences and life

sciences. One such notable is *Misrah Raaajaakkan maarute Shavakkallara* (Metam, 1098). It deals with the funeral rites of one of the Egyptian dynasties. This article by M.R.K.C is interestingly written. “*Ithaanu Misrah desathu undaayirunna sooryavamsa raaajaakkanmaarute savasamskaara charithram. Ee vaka karmangalum naam anushticchu varunna karmangalum thammil thaaratham yappeduthi nokki lokathinte saamanya charithram vallathum grahippaan tharamaayaal valare nannaayi*” (p.400). Writers of the period believed that there was a common thread running through the entire human history. This idea is delineated well in the concluding line cited above.

Darwinum parinaama vaadavum, an article by way of direct translation from English, presents Darwin’s life and his thoughts in Malayalam (Chingam, 1101). This must be the only one of its kind in Malayalam. Evolutionary theory, for Darwin, was one of the physical world. This translation by G.Sridharan Potti carries touches of cultural hegemony, today known as Social Darwinism. As in: “*Parinaama vadam thanne punarjanmatthe atisthaanamaakki ullathaannallo. Innu manushyaraanennu karuthipporunna palarkkum vasthavatthil manushyayayi theerunnathilekku iniyum ethrayo parinaama vaadattinu atisthaanam aayulla punarjanmangal kazhiyendathayi irikkunnu*” (p.680).

Kampiyillaa kampi athava vydyuta telephony deals with the wireless broadcasts widely in use in the United States by then (1098 Vrishchika). *Vydyuti charithram* describes the potential of electricity (Dhanu, 1098). *Anjooru varsham kazhinjittu* covers the predictions by H.G.Wells on the distant future of the world and its occupants.

The most notable among direct translations from English is a life sketch titled *Meerabai*. Cherukkunnathu Narayanan Nambudiri translated this lengthy sketch (Vrichukam, 1102 Dhanu, 1102). A.V.Vasu Nambisan contributed in 1929, *Ente Kutta sammathangal*, (My confessions) an auto biographical sketch of Tolstoy which runs into three consecutive issues of the magazine.

Inferences

An overview of translations of knowledge literature that appeared in a representative selection of early Malayalam periodicals of the period from 1890 to 1930, a span of forty years, has been given here.

Some observations are recorded here for further research.

Today in Malayalam, many terms are taken directly from English as transliteration. But in these early works, the same terms were used as Malayalam translations. *Ingaalam*, *angaalam* (carbon), *bhavaha* (Phosphorus), *Ottakappulliman* (Giraffe), *nakshatra mandalam* (galaxy), *Jeeva vaayu* (oxygen), *Yavakshara vayu* (nitrogen), *angaarakamlam* (carbon dioxide), *samudaaya swatwa vaadam* (Socialism, 1890), *samashtivaadam* (Socialism, 1913) etc. are examples.

The translators are found to be following contemporary western theories in the branches of knowledge like economics and cosmology. They are also interested in history, archaeology, anthropology and the feminist studies.

Women readers must have been motivated highly by the sense of independence palpable in the western writing and the prevailing familial and social system there.

The philosophy behind the translations is that the world has a structural concordance and that the world of Malayalis is not disparate from that.

Translation was chosen as the main medium for globalisation for the newly emerging intellectual class, at the wake of the colonial third culture. Translated knowledge texts, particularly from English, had a key role in constructing the consciousness of a global modernity among Malayalis.

- translated by Meena J Panikker

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The Development of Indian Literature in Uzbekistan: Historiography of Translation

NILUFAR KHODJAEVA

Astract

This article is devoted to the historical evolution of translations from Indian literatures into the Uzbek language. Indian-Uzbek literary relations developed from old times, what is in a large measure assisted by literary translation. The present article examines early translations from Indian literature such as "Panchatantra", "Sindbad-name" "Tutiname" creations of Premchand, Yashpal, Krishan Chandar and others. A review of the major translations of Indian literature in Uzbek is also given and the translation of Hindi realia has been analyzed.

Introduction

The roots of translation go into antiquity. Many aspects of translation are studied by theorists of translation. There is insufficiency of knowledge about history of translation from Indian literature to Uzbek. This article provides brief historiography and an overview of translated works from Indian language to Uzbek from the early period to the present with special attention to the works translated from Hindi language.

According to the Uzbek Turkologist K. Sadikov (2015) spread of Buddhism in Central Asia in the I-II century AD, sprung translations of the Vedic literature and this brought new terms into Turkic language. Turkic language borrowed many terms related to Buddhism from Sanskrit and shaped methods of linguistic translation theory from ancient time onwards. Such as translation of terms with phonetic modifications, according to the phonetic rules of the Turkish language, for example

“dharm” in Sanskrit, “darm” in Turkic, sutra-sudur, shastra-sastar. And also through morphological modifications by translating words by joining the Turkic affixes. For example the Sanskrit word “acharya” is translated in to Turkic as “nomci acari” with affix “nomchi”. The meaning of word is “trainer, mentor, trainer of law”. The next method is calque or loan translation, as an example to this method the word “devati deva” - “tangri tangrisi” (the God of Gods, the supreme being) or “Surya” - “Kun tangri” (God of the Sun). Sodikov (2015) claims that most of the Sanskrit words are borrowed in to Turkic language with phonetic modification, for example “but”, “darm”, “sang”, “slok”, “padak”, “karant”, “sudur”, “sastar”, “kavi”, “purani”, “patar”, “nirvan”, “acari”, “caqsapat”, “karmapatha”, “paramit”, “sansar”, “simnu”, “raksas”, “magastv”, “bodisatv”.

In the twentieth century, the scientific articles published in newspapers and magazines deal with the Uzbek translations of Indian literature. Among them the most discussed is an article on “Tagore and Translations of His Works” published in the 23rd issue of a magazine called *Shuro* (1913). Another important article titled “From the History of Indian and Uzbek Literary Relations” is published in the newspaper *Toshkent haqiqati* (October 4, 1958) by G. Karimov. *Sharq Yulduzi* (The Star of Orient), the famous journal of Uzbekistan published two articles which gives useful information about the roots of Indo-Uzbek literary relations. The first one is “On the History of the Uzbek- Indian literary connections” (2nd issue 1960) by S. Mirvaliev and the second one is “Indian works in the Central Asia” (8th Issue 1968) by I. Nizomiddinov. The Indo-Uzbek literary relations was not only researched by scholars, but also took part in the fiction writings of the two countries. Uzbek writer Chulpan is one of those representatives, who without knowing the original language wrote and translated work of Tagore. His papers are titled “Great Indian” and “Tagore and study of Tagore’s heritage”. Zulfiya, a great poetess of Uzbek nation and winner of “International Jawaharlal Nehru award” (1968) and “Lotus Prize for Literature” (1971), translated works of Amrita Pritam in to Uzbek. Two Uzbek translations of Amrita Pritam by Zulfiya published in the collection “Diya jale sari rat”(2006). Writer G. Gulam was close to Premchand

in ideology. He wrote a paper regarding Premchand and Uzbek Literary relations titled “Famous Indian writer Premchand”. He included this article in the 8th volume of his anthology (1976).

Turning to the history of the Uzbek-Indian literary relations, it may be noted that the “Indian creations were translated into Turkic language mainly during the reign of Karakhanids (12th Century) and this tradition has been continued further. Translations of such works as “Kalilah and Dimnah” (13th C.), “Sindbad-name” (13th C.), “Tuti-Nama” (“The book of Parrots”) (19th C.), “Bahori Donish” (19th C.) were also referred in those works. It gives the information that translations from Indian literature has been leading in the Khorezm Scientific Community from that period.

There are a number of editions and translations of several works of “Kalila and Dimna” which is in original “Panchatantra”. The first translation is dated back to 13th century. It is in Chigatay old-Uzbek language and according to S.Ganieva (2010) only a copy of the translation manuscript is kept in the British library India Office.

J.Sharipov (1965) writes that, Iftihoriddin Muhammad Bakr implemented the first translation of the work into the Uzbek language in the 12th century. Later on several versions of Uzbek translation of “Kalila and Dimna” were produced. For example, in 1720 Muhammad Temur translated it from the Persian version. In 1838 Muhammad Niyoz bin Mulla Urganjiy and in 1891 Muhammad Khorazmiy translated it from the same source. Qori Fayzulloh Almayi translated the “Kalila and Dimna in 1890, which was republished three times in the period between 1898-1905.

The “Kalilah and Dimnah” was translated and republished several times in the 20th century. Scientific research in the field of translation and its scientific value, confirm that the Uzbek people were interested in the Indian literature and the formation and development of the historical, cultural and spiritual ties between Indian and Uzbek people existed from the past.

Translations of “Kalilah and Dimnah” in the modern Uzbek language were done by S. Dolimov, S. Ganieva and I. Gafurov. These translations were not done from the original. S.Ganieva translated it from the Persian language and the Azerbadzhanian versions. I.Gafurov translated it from the Russian version, which itself was translated from the Sanskrit language. Among these I. Gafurov’s translation is closer to the original text.

Beruni, who learned Sanskrit during his stay in India, wrote about translation of Ibn Mukaffa, “I had a strong desire to translate the “Panchatantra”, known here as “Kalilah and Dimnah”. The book is translated from Sanskrit to Farsi, and then from Farsi to Arabic by Abdullah Al Mukaffa. It is quite possible that the translation could have altered the original text. Ibn Mukaffa, in order to create a favorable environment for the spread of Manichaeism, among people whose faith was unstable, added to the translation part about Barzue, it was questionable and created distrust on its translation (J. Sharipov, 1965).

In Uzbekistan until the middle of 20th century, works of Indian literature were not directly translated from the original text, but mainly through the Russian language. In this series, Premchand’s novel *Nirmala* is translated by Sh. Tolipov; Krishan Chandar’s novels *A Girl and a Thousand lovers* (“Ek Ladki Hazar Deewane”) and *The Sky is Clear* (“Asman Roshan Hai”) are translated by K.Mirmuhammedov. Yashpal’s story *Memories of Mountain* (“Pahar ki Smriti”), translated by R. Djabbarov. Along with the translations of the prose, translations of the poetry too were carried out. Founder of the School of Uzbek Translation Studies, G.Salyamov, writes, “Translation of the famous and well- known to all the ancient Indian epic, *Ramayana*, was a joyous event for the Uzbek poetry”. This work was translated in 1978 by M. Akhmedov from the Russian version. Well-known representatives of Uzbek literature namely A.Chulpan, G.Gulyam, Furkat, A. Muhtor, Zulfiya, M.Shayhzoda, E. Vohidov were engaged in the translation of Indian poetry which shows the intimacy and harmony between the two cultures.

The translations which are carried out in the second half of the twentieth century are direct translations from the original text, mostly, from Hindi and Urdu. The earliest translations and publications of Indian writers' short stories collections were *Indian Stories* (1955), *Red Flower* (1956), *Stories of Indian writers* (1958), and collections under different names, published in 1962 1970, 1975, 1977, and 2006.

Since 1955 up to the present time in the journal *Sharq Yulduzi* ("Star of the East") and from 1997 onward in the journal *Jahon Adabiyoti* ("World Literature") the translations of novels, novellas, short stories and poetry of Indian writers such as Premchand, K.Chandar, Khoja Ahmad Abbas, Yashpal, Razia Sajjad Zahir, Bhisham Sahni, Dhum Kitty etc. were published in Uzbek language.

Translating Yashpal's works into Uzbek started from 1970, the story "Honest and Dishonest" in translation was published in the 10th issue of journal *Sharq Yulduzi*. In the same year it also published a story collection of Yashpal, which included nineteen short stories. These stories were translated into Uzbek by the famous Indologist Mr. Rehmanberdi Muhammadjanov² and his talented disciple A.Faizulla³. The novel *Divya* published in 1998 is a translation by H.Jabbarov.

Nowadays only the Indologist translator A. Fayzulla translates works of Indian writers from Hindi into Uzbek. So far, he translated Krishan Chandar's novel *A Girl and a Thousand Lovers* ("Ek Ladki Hazar Deewane"), (2011), Bhisham Sahni's novel *Basanti* (1997), the novel *Children from Dadar Bridge* ("Dadar Pul Ke Bachche" 1998), and Kartarsingh Duggal's novel *Full Moon Night of Autumn* ("Sarad Punam ki Rat") (2000).

Premchand is one of the widely read and acknowledged Indian writers in Uzbekistan. Uzbek readers recognize Indian culture and nation from his writings. The first occasion to initiate direct translation from Hindi and Urdu into Uzbek for wide circulation began in 1962 with translation of Premchand's "Godan". So far, there are seven novels of Premchand available in Uzbek. Among them are *Godan* as *Qismat* (1962) translated

by R. Muhammadjanov, and others *Gaban* as *Najot* (1976), *Karmabhumi* as “Jang Maydoni” (1985), *Sevasadan* as *Fidoyi* (2003), *Vardan* as *Sevgi inomi* (2009) and *Nirmala* (2016) which are translated by A. Faizulla.

Amir Faizulla, a well-known translator, has translated most of the short stories, novels and poems from Hindi to Uzbek. As an example, we choose the translation of the novel *Vardaan* and that can be considered as a brand new achievement. It is an exact replica of the national colour; words and expressions; religious concepts and terminology as well.

All these points might be treated as scholarly novelties. Moreover, it is natural to expect a growth of such works dedicated to the problems relating to crucial aspects of the translation from Indian languages at full length, opening a prospective way for compiling a fundamental research work.

In the translation, the Uzbek reader picks up information like Indian festivals, customs and rites, specific features depicted in charmingly attractive manner and simultaneously the translator skillfully exploits the rich resource of his own tongue, which decorates all traits of general fabula, enriching its aesthetic value. That’s why undoubtedly the novel should be qualified as a completely perfect translation of the original work. For example in the Uzbek translation of Premchand’s novel *Vardaan* translator replaces words phraseology. The words रूपमान and दिव्य means “handsome” in the context, they are contextual synonyms. Translator replaces the word रूपमान with “бир қўлтум сув билан югудек” and दिव्य with “юз андомидан ой балқиб турарди” in Uzbek translation, and tries to deliver the emotional impression of the text. The word for word translation of Uzbek phraseology “бир қўлтум сув билан югудек” is “to swallow with the drop of water”. The word for word translation of the phraseology “юз андомидан ой балқиб турарди” is “the moon shines from the face”. Both phrases mean “beautiful”, “handsome” in Uzbek.

Undertaking a comparative analysis, one witnesses the cases of masterly translation into Uzbek, a specific Indian realm by means of selection of equivalent expressions. At the same

time, one can state that many concepts of Indian origin have turned to be integral elements of the Uzbek mind too.

Several concepts were rendered into Uzbek with special comments in the text, for example laddoo - Indian sweets, Sindur - vermilion, while the others were written with footnotes and explanations like “Ji”- is gender-neutral and can be used as a term of respect for person or relationships. Term means ‘soul’ or ‘life’ (similar to the jān suffix). Nevertheless, in our minds, in very few cases such preferences proved to be either omitted or neglected, thus, preventing a reader’s understanding the meaning of that. In particular, it is tried to carry out an insight into professions, position titles, estates, modes of national dress, decorations, ritual and habit’s reflection as well as translation of measures and units in Uzbek version.

Thereby, we have perceived that except sole cases of matching and similarity between the two versions there are many different cases demonstrating some shortcomings and inaccuracies not reaching exactly the targets in this regard. In particular, these cases include original currency and length measures, domestic life and daily usage appliances, clothes and garments, eatables and drinks, etc. numerous nations, among which certain ones, delivered through transliteration enable a reader to imagine a true countenance and typical features of the Indian environment and surrounding atmosphere at full length, alike seeing these by own sight.

Concerning a case of resorting to transliteration of words, one may point out that this phenomenon is absolutely due to the absence of such words in Uzbek. However, a plenty of Indian realia⁴ in Uzbek version does enforce a national Indian colour of the narration in general.

Generally, by our unanimous opinion, Amir Faizulla, during the process of translation, has done his best in exploring such professional devices of translation art as transliteration as well as a direct and an explanatory or commentary mode. In the present paper, the aspects can be demonstrated through analyzing a following small passage from *Vardaan*:

मंडप के तले डोमनियाँ और गवनिहारिने सोहर और सोहाग अलाप रही थीं। गुलबिया नाइन और जमुना कहारिन दोनों चटकीली साड़ियाँ पहिने ,मोंग सिंदूर से भरवाये, गिलट के कड़े पहिने ,छम-छम करती फिरती थीं। [Premchand, p. 29]

This passage contains a wide range of typical Indian realia. It's the quality of translator too who has successfully managed to render them by means of detailed explanations. In particular, the form डोमनियाँ [*Domniyan*] is translated into Uzbek by such a combination of words, as literally "singing dancers and singers". Meanwhile, as we think, it should be also stated, that, according to the literal meaning of the word डोमनी [*Domni*], the translator in fact has preferred a sense of "a lady from Muslim caste of musicians and dancers". But after some consideration one can add here the following comment, referring to the *Little Pearl Hindi-English Dictionary* where the word डोम [*Dom*], from which derived a feminine form डोमनी [*Domni*], is given as "a sweeper (among Hindus)" [p. 329].

Meanwhile, in the Hindi-Russian Dictionary Beskrowny⁵ (ed.) the word डोम [*Dom*] is denoted by four different ways, as (1) Hindu - caste, engaged with burning dead bodies as well as with weaving baskets; (2) Hindu - a member of caste Dom; (3) Muslim - Dom (a caste of musicians and dancers); (4) Muslim- a member of caste Dom (see the First Volume,) [p. 673]. At last if one can apply to such indisputable Dictionary as [p. 248] and so, one will find. That the word is commented here as अत्यजों की एक जाति जो दौरी ,सूप आदि वैचती है। [*atyajon ki ek jati jo daori, sup adi baychti hai*] ढाढ़ी [*DhaRhi*]. It means "a caste of untouchables, which sells Dauri (small baskets of Bamboo) and baskets". DhaRhi (regarding this word actually it may be noted, that its meaning is "a caste of wandering musicians", [p. 677].

So thus, as one can conclude, perhaps the translator has obviously chosen his own respectively suitable way, resorting to the presumably very plain sort of adjustment to Uzbek social environment, which is mostly Muslim, indeed. Besides, he surely has taken into account a contextual side of the word, especially its combination with verbal form अलाप रही थीं [*alap rahi thin*] i.e. "singing in tune".

As another realia word to be analyzed, it is कहारिन [*kaharin*], which originally denotes “a lady from the caste of water carriers and palanquin porters”. In fact it was translated by Amir Faizulla as “an office-cleaner”. One can generalize here that the translator has ignored a difference between two concepts of “a profession” and “a caste”. As far as our view is concerned, one should distinguish them properly and our translators failed to reach to the complexities and histories attached to these castes. The word “caste” is used for *jaat*, deriving from Portuguese origin for “a profession”, and also “a descent, a lineage”, because in India as well as in some other states of East, the notion of “a caste” is to denote “a social class in India: as exclusive social class”[p. 163]. Meanwhile, the notion “a profession” can bear a meaning of “an employment not mechanical and requiring some degree of learning... the collective body of persons engaged in any profession in question” [p. 874] etc. This point is approved by Q. Musaev [p. 299], a well-known Uzbek expert in Translation Theory⁶ as quite appropriate, indeed.

In the same way, we have treated the modes of translation for the Hindi words सोहर [*sohar*], सोहाग [*sohag*], मेहंदी [*mehandi*], अबीर [*abir*], तिलक [*tilak*] which should have been translated more cautiously. For example, regarding the latter three words the translator in fact confused their meanings, presenting all of these as giving “a red color”, whereas, for example, the मेहंदी [*mehandi*] is rather more suitable to be rendered by word “henna” in Uzbek, than “giving a red color”. Besides, in general one can advise the translator to resort in such cases to footnotes, not inserting the explanations into the original text as usually done by Amir Faizulla.

There are many situations as linking points between Indian and Uzbek cultures. Especially one means the Uzbek way of life, Indian wedding ceremonies, rituals relating to birth of child, betrothal rites, dowry rites, and respect extended to bridegroom, responsibilities of brides, love for children, and reverence to parents etc. We do recognize these because of historical, religious and area of proximity between two nations.

As a firm testimony to that, there is great Babur's dynasty as well as sizable percentage of Muslim⁷ population equal to approximately 184 million to be like connecting bridge between the two civilizations of ours. As far as a real proximity is concerned, we believe that it was a great impetus, enhancing and strengthening the cultural and economic relations between two neighboring states of Asia.

Because of translation, Uzbek lexicology gains words related to culture of world nations. Translations of Indian literature can be served as a proof to this. Uzbek language adopting a lot of words through translations. In the literary translations of Hindi literature into Uzbek the borrowings can be classified into the following groups of words. The typical Indian place names *Banaras, Chandni chowk Juhu* or *mandir, gurudvara, dharamshala, mandap, thakurdvar*; men's *achkan, dhoti* and women's clothing *sari, lahanga*., accessories, jewelry *churi, payal* and words related to appearance *sindur, bindi, tilak*; appellations of food *chutniy, salan*; bread *chapati, puri, paratha* and sweets *laddo, rasgulla, jalebi*; specific words of Indian caste system *brahman, kshatriy, shudra*, position authority and status *raja, mahanraja, mahashya, panditji, thakurji babuji, lala, bheya, chhotu* and to women *rani, devi, bhabhi, didi*; indicating the names of the plants, herbs, spices, fruits, trees most of them coming through Russian languages and has phonetic changes; denominations of notes *rupee, anna, paisa*, dimensions *kos, ser, bhar, darjan, lakh, karor*; denotative words of holidays *Holi, Divali* , national games *kabadi*, rites *barat*, religious ritual, ceremonies *brahmabhoj* and religious books *Vedas, Upanishads, Geeta*; appellations of musical instruments *viyna, tabla, sarangiy*; names of the specific Indian months *Ashvin, Mogh, Pus, Phagun* and seasons of the year *barsat*. There are number of words adopted from Indian languages through literary translation, the mentioned words served as an examples for our argument.

Therefore, in conclusion one can summarize, that a translation of any solid book as a rule makes the translator responsible for its preciseness. One must render all issues peculiar to the foreign nation as well as its unknown life, religion, habits and traditions just like the original. Apart from that, he should

act with necessary skills beyond breaching linguistic norms of the recipient language. In this situation, the translator usually resembles a creator to be like a bird with broken wings not being able to add either his own thought or mode while transferring a readymade product into its own tongue. Meanwhile, there are also such masterpieces, which can astonish rather through good translation than in the original version.

Finally, it should be stressed that those books in Hindi, which had been so far translated into Uzbek from Hindi and Urdu, including Premchand's works are distinguished by clear and lucid style, by the themes treated in them, easily reaching the hearts of ordinary men as well. These translations also tried to provide certain inner customs, rights and original features, circulated inside Indian community. That's why the Uzbeks like reading these works and enjoying them to the fullest.

This paper paid attention to translation of prose, from Indian culture to Uzbek. In the review of the history of translation we mostly study direct translations of prose from Hindi into Uzbek. Indian literature includes literature in numerous Indian languages. There are hundreds of direct and indirect translations of prose and poetry into Uzbek from Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi fictions, which can be taken up as a topic of research.

In the formation, development and prosperity of Indo- Uzbek literary relations place of translation and translated works is incomparable. These translations introduce to the Uzbek readers culture, traditions and values of the Indian society. In addition, they serve as an important source for the researches on translation study.

NOTES

1. Sadykov. K. Илк ўрта асрларда туркий халқларда буддизм: адабий ва лингво-маданий жараёнлар.// Sharq Mash'ali, NO. 3-4. 2005. - Б. 3-11. (Buddhism in Turkic nations in the Middle Ages: literary and linguo-cultural processes.)

2. To our mind, Rehmanberdi Muhamadjanov is righteously deserving to be recognized as a founder of Uzbek national school of translation from Indian Languages, because apart from many Hindi and Urdu books, he has made a brilliant translation of Nanak Singh's famous novel *Golden bullet* from Punjabi too.
3. Amir Faizulla was honoured by the Government of India to be a participant of Seventh Vishva Hindi Sammelan, held in 2003 at Paramaribo (Surinam).
4. The word *realia* comes from medieval Latin, in which it originally meant "the real things", i.e. material things, as opposed to abstract ones. The Bulgarian translators Vlahov and Florin, who were the first to carry out an in-depth study of *realia*, coined the modern sense of the word. They indicate that since *realia* carry a very local overtone, they often pose a challenge for translation. *Realia* must not be confused with terminology: the latter is primarily used in the scientific literature to designate things that are pertaining to the scientific sphere, and only appears in other kinds of texts to serve a very specific stylistic purpose. *Realia*, on the other hand, are born in popular culture, and are increasingly found in very diverse kinds of texts. Fiction, in particular, is fond of *realia* for the exotic touch it brings.
5. It should be pointed out in particular, that among many academic merits of him V. M. Beskrowny is known as a teacher of a wide range of eminent Uzbek Indologists, including late Uyghun Aripov as well as Tashmirza Khalmirzaev, Khanzarifa Begizova and Azad Shamatov, too.
6. In particular, he states: "For the specificity of historical, ethnic, religious, cultural, political and aesthetic views some peoples do not have an adequate equivalents, matching certain foreign realities. That's why a material translation of these often does not bring in expected result".
7. <http://www.indiaonlinepages.com/population/muslim->

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Machine Translation in India

ANIL THAKUR

Abstract

Machine translation (MT), a language software tool, enables automatization of a complex human task: language translation. Historically, MT begins with the diversification of computer application in the mid of the last century and has its share of ups and downs with moderate success, particularly in domain-specific contexts. In the Indian context, MT with its most visible beginning with AnglaBharati and Anusaaraka technologies in the 1990s has established itself both as an important academic discipline and a viable direction of research and development in industrial and commercial sector. With different degree of successful application to a number of areas of domain-specific texts translation including translation of official documents, MT in India is now an important source of language technology support to achieve the objective of bridging the multilingual Indian society. This write-up familiarizes the readers with some of the basic concepts of machine translation in India by briefly outlining how it has progressed so far and what it promises.

Basic Concepts

Machine translation (MT) is a popular term used for application of computer software or program to get translation of human language. Presently, MT comprises systems and tools or devices that are either developed for general purpose all types

of texts translation or domain-specific texts translation or as support tools to ease human translators. In its first form as a fully automatic translation system, MT is still to gain end-users acclaim. In the latter forms as domain-specific and task-oriented systems-tools and translation support tools, generally known as CAT (computer assisted translation) or MAT (machine assisted translation), MT has made significant progress and has also made visible impact on translation industries across the world. In India as well as worldwide, MT research and developments have undergone ups and downs typical of an emerging academic discipline with significant social and commercial implications. The euphoria triggered by the promises and possibilities of technology in the initial stage got subdued when met with the challenges of the complexities of human language, a reflection of the human mind (and human life in general). This also, in a way, paved the way for the MT researchers to tread cautiously, do the groundwork on linguistic research and resources, and most importantly, set realistic short-term targets and long-term goals. These issues pertaining MT world over as well as in India make the basic components of a brief outline of its history. The history of MT is a history of these ups and downs in a short period of time in which MT has strived and struggled to stand on its own as an academic discipline as well as an industrial force. The status of MT in India shares certain global characteristics and also differs in certain locally conditioned respects. This write-up presents a brief sketch of how machine translation, as an academic discipline of research and education and also as a viable industrial-commercial force, has emerged and how it is still striving to be socially recognized.

The idea of machine translation is rooted in the perennial human strive to automatize human tasks. Therefore, in a sense, the beginning of machine translation is with the beginning of the concept of automatization. But this takes us too far back and away for the present purpose. We can take its beginning immediately after the beginning of computer itself in the 1940s, when MT became the first non-numerical and also the earliest and one of the most complex applications of computer technology. Interestingly, this happened during

the Second World War, when some cryptographers saw a possibility in computer to get a quick and workable translation of the war-time sensitive documents of the enemy camps (Kay, 2003). This also made English-Russian or Russian-English the earliest MT pair. A quick and reliable translation of a large amount of seized war-documents pertaining to the enemy camp could give crucial information that could potentially change the course of war, on which depended victory or defeat, life or death. This necessitated for the USA and the (then) USSR (now, Russia) to put a lot of investments, both funds and manpower, for developing machine translation tools. The early efforts and results promised the sky. But, the disappointment that immediately followed attracted a severe reproof as well, from the government appointed committee ALPAC (Automatic Language Processing Advisory Committee) in 1966. This severely affected the morale of the MT practitioners, researchers and prospective users. In particular, the users who were eagerly waiting for a robust MT tool ease their tedious translation task were greatly disappointed. The report criticized not only the outcomes of the MT systems being developed but also the methodology and the direction of MT research. However, in the later decades, because of the requirements of the multilingual issues in the western world coupled with expansion of political and commercial boundaries across languages focus on MT got reinforced from both the academic community and the political leadership. Research on MT got back on track that took into account an enlightened view of natural language. In consequence, a number of landmark developments in the linguistic theory and grammar formalism happened in this period in the form of generative grammar, GB framework, HPSG, LFG, TAG, etc. that provided a much needed tool to formalize human languages for their machine implementation. A number of different approaches and strategies were also experimented on part of the system design leading to the shifting of focus from the traditional translation engine (direct method) to the ones (indirect methods: transfer and Interlingua) that required richer linguistic input in the form of grammar analysis (Arnold, et al, 1994). These years also witnessed the experiments on all sort of rule-based MT (RBMT) and knowledge-based

MT (KBMT) systems. MT researchers and practitioners became aware of the unrealistic high expectation of the initial phase and limits of the efforts of mechanization of an inherently human act (translation). They saw the immediate goals of MT in the form of developing domain specific MT, especially for handling technical documents pertaining to administrative, economic, science and technology, and other such domains that posed less of a problem in sense of language complexity, creativity and ambiguity. At the same time, the MT developers, baffled by the complexity of human language and communication strategies, were ever looking for an alternative to the knowledge-based approach of designing an MT system. The technological advancements in information and computational sciences that increased the storage and computation capacity of the computer allowed the MT researchers and developers to explore alternatives to the purely grammar-based approaches. The corpus-based data-driven statistical methods emerged as an effective and viable alternative in the later developments occurred during the second-third generation of MT systems during 1970s. The possibility of combining different approaches (hybridization) also got attention as MT system design. This shift in MT approach has been the trigger force behind the development of enormous amount of linguistic resources in forms of corpus, wordnets, e-dictionaries, grammar tools, etc in many languages across the world. These technology-enabled linguistic resources, along with the diversification of their application across various natural language processing have become a measurement tool for empowering languages and their speakers across the world. In the short period of its existence, MT has become a technological force that cannot be ignored. Its visibility and viability has increased in the academic discipline as well as in the industrial sectors. At present, a large number of machine translation systems/tools for several languages of the world (including minor and lesser known languages). And, efforts on MT continue to realize the goal of developing a fully automated general-purpose machine translation system that can produce quality output.

In India, machine translation entered, as an issue of academic interest and attention, a bit late in late 1980s or early 1990s with a couple of teams of computer scientists who began to explore the possibility of using it as a tool to overcome or minimize language barriers that abound India, a complex multilingual nation. Their immediate targets were to help reduce the huge piled up translation works in the government offices, institutions and commercial sectors. In its much shorter period of existence in India, MT presents an interesting story of its birth-growth related efforts and strives to be academically viable, industrially profitable and socially useful. The next section outlines the major initial MT research and development efforts in India. It also briefly reports the subsequent MT related works in Indian languages.

MT in India

The beginning of machine translation in India is a bit shrouded with speculations and indeterminacy. But the most visible and well-reported initial MT research and development efforts in India began at IIT Kanpur in late 1980s and early 1990s in the form of AnglaBharati, AnuBharati and Anusaaraka MT systems. The AnglaBharati technology was initiated and developed by RMK Sinha who later also developed AnuBharati technology. The Anusaaraka technology was initiated and developed by Rajeev Sangal and team (AksharBharati) initially at IIT Kanpur and later shifted to IIIT Hyderabad. Presently, many governmental institutions and organizations, non government private institutions and industries (including MNCs) and individuals are involved in research and development of MT resources and systems for major and minor Indian languages. The central government (GOI) through its wing TDIL (technology development for Indian languages) has been actively involved in sponsoring and establishing technology and resources development initiatives and centers across the country for major Indian languages. MT is now seen as an enabling language technology tool for empowering Indian languages and through this to empower the speech communities, the people (TDIL vision document, Online).

The AnglaBharati MT System was developed to translate English texts into Indian languages. The system was designed in a way to be customized for individual Indian languages and hence AnglaHindi (English-to-Hindi), AnglaBangla (English-to-Bangla), AnglaMalyalam (English-to-Malayalam), AnglaUrdu (English-to-Urdu), AnglaPunjabi (English-to-Panjabi) were some of the systems that were developed or conceptualized to translate from English texts into various Indian languages. The technology was improved later on in the form of AnglaBarati-II version. The AnglaBharati technology is basically a rule-based system with varying degree and levels of integration of modules developed with example-based approach. Thus, the technology also reflected a concept of hybridization of different modules or components in the system to handle different linguistic analysis tasks. It uses resources in the form of translation memory, raw as well as generalized example-bases, interactive as well as automated pre-editing modules, and a set of heuristics to perform translation task (Sinha, 2004). Another important approach that the technology uses as part of architectural design is the concept of PLIL (Pseudo-Lingua for Indian Languages). This is designed to obtain shared structures for the Indian languages on the initial shallow analysis of the English input texts using a CFG (context free grammar) like pattern directed rule-base. The PLIL texts are then synthesized to the target language, using text synthesizer tool developed for individual target languages. This makes the system amenable to customization to suit individual Indian language contexts. With this concept of PLIL, the AnglaBharati technology is akin to be based on Interlingua strategy of architectural design of MT system. The system translates the input text sentence by sentence taking a number of steps in form of sentence-boundary identification, handling of unknown and special symbols in the text, etc. The input sentence is matched with stored raw example base to handle frozen phrases or structures such as proverbs and metaphoric expressions. At the next step, the input text is searched in generalized example base that stores examples in generalized form. The system also comprises a module for failure analysis to automatically alert the user as to why the system is not giving the desired output or performance. This

also provides certain possible feedback as to how the input text can be modified or corrected to optimize performance. A web-demo version of the AnglaBharati MT system for English-Hindi translation (AnglaHindi) was available for some time during 2000s which was later discontinued. C-DAC, Kolkata used the technology to develop AnglaBangla system whereas C-DAC, Triranthapuram developed AnglaMalayalam, among some other organizations who have developed systems for other Indian languages using AnglaBharati technology. The system achieved moderate success in domain-specific application such as translation of health and tourism related texts. Presently, the technology is part of TDIL repertoire and certain C-DACs and university departments are working to develop systems for some of the major Indian languages. The AnglaBharati MT system, besides being one of the pioneer technologies for MT development for Indian languages, has also motivated significant amount of linguistic research in Indian languages and has also been one of the experimental tools for teaching courses in machine translation at several academic institutions across India.

The AnuBharati MT system is developed to translate from Indian languages to English. A later version the AnuBharati-II was developed with enhanced features. The system is designed using EBMT (example based machine translation) paradigm. The technology was designed to be amenable to all Indian languages as input texts. However, Hindi has been the main language on which the system platform has been developed and experimented. As the system is based on example based approach, a large amount of parallel corpus is required for its effective application. In absence of requisite corpora, the system worked on abstracted example base which was augmented interactively during the developmental phase. This system, like AnglaBharati system, also got hybridized with certain rule-base modules. The research and development efforts in developing AnuBharati system have been instrumental in motivating a number of collaborations between linguistics research on Indian languages, particularly Hindi, and language technology research in India.

Both the AnglaBahrati and AnuBharati technologies have significant implications and consequences for technology development efforts for Indian languages. The technology knowhow as well as the associated resources can be further used and extended in diverse application areas including that for pedagogical purposes.

The Anusaaraka MT system initiated at IIT Kanpur by the AksharBharati team later moved to the University of Hyderabad and finally got grounded at IIIT Hyderabad where it has been instrumental in initiating research and development in the area of machine translation systems and related linguistic resources and technology development for Indian languages. The Anusaaraka system worked with a view to facilitate the users to access information in the source language text by providing analyzed source language texts including glosses and word meanings. The user worked on the analyzed texts to get interpretation. The system developed various language pairs including Telugu, Kannada, Bangla to Hindi and later also extended to English to Hindi pair. The Anusaaraka system was designed to be developed into fully automatic for general purpose texts, however it has not yet reached that stage of completion. Like, the AnglaBharati projects, the Anusaaraka MT project has acted and is still acting as pioneer and motivating force that has influenced and guided the directions of MT research and development in India. The system continues to be improved and augmented by improving on the rule-base for sense disambiguation, name identification and database creation, among other ways. The system was also available online in demo version for some time and improved versions have been demonstrated and tested at different forums. The MT research and development team at IIT Hyderabad also developed SHIVA and SHAKTI in collaboration with some other institutions, which is designed for English to Hindi and other language pairs. The systems were designed on example-based and statistical approach and gave some initial promising results.

SAMPARK is a MT system developed with initiatives of TDIL by a consortium of institutions in India that have been

associated with MT research and development. SAMPARK is developed as multipart machine translation system for Indian language to India language machine translation (ILMT). The technology is based on Paninian grammar formalism for analyzing Indian language. The system uses components derived from both traditional rules-based and dictionary-based algorithms as well as statistical machine learning techniques. A demo version of the system is available on TDIL website for multiple pairs of Indian languages and further works in resource development and for more language pairs are still on at IIT Hyderabad that leads the consortium.

Besides these well-known MT system development initiatives in the Indian context, a number of MT systems with varied degree of success and research consequences have been developed or have been attempted. Some of these have been quite successful in domain-specific application. These have also been reported in literature on survey of MT in India (Bandyopadhyay 2000, 2004, Naskar, et al, online). They can be briefly introduced here.

MaTra was developed at National Centre for Software Technology (NCST), now CDAC-Mumbai, designed to translate from English to Indian languages. It showed some success in its domain-specific application such as to translate simple sentences belonging to news and reporting domain.

MANTRA developed at CDAC-Pune, specially designed to translate documents pertaining to official letters, correspondences, formats from English to Hindi for the rajyabhasha sections of the central government. The system has been implemented in the sections of official language of the central government with good initial success.

An *UNL-based machine translation system* is developed at IIT Bombay to translate English to Hindi and Marathi. The system is designed on Universal Networking Language (UNL) under a project of United Nations University with an aim to facilitate an interlingua-based technology for cross language communication.

Tamil-Hindi / English-Tamil MT support tool is developed at KBC research center of Anna University by implementing the Anusaaraka technology.

Some other efforts that are scattered across different language pairs and are in form of experimental and academic research have been made by different individual researchers and teams at different government and private sector departments and organizations. These have also been reported in literature (Durgesh et al 2000; Antony, 2013; Naskar, et al online version). There are *English-Kannada* MT tools developed at University of Hyderabad based on UCSG formalism; *Anuvadak* (for English-Hindi) developed at Super Infosoft Pvt Ltd, Delhi; *English-Hindi* SMT developed by IBM India Research Lab; *English-Hindi* MAT, Anuvaad (news domain) and *Hybrid MT* for English-Bengali developed at Jadavpur University, Kolkata; *Punjabi to Hindi* MT tool developed at Punjabi University, Patiala; *Machine-aided translation tools for English-Hindi* at CDAC-Noida; *Hindi-Punjabi* machine translation tool at Punjabi University among some others.

Google translate by Google India is fast becoming popular among internet users and language researchers. The system is based on data-driven approach and machine learning techniques which require creation of a large amount of linguistically enriched example-base. The system is being expanded to cater major Indian languages.

Remarks

A brief sketch of the MT research and development efforts in India is clearly reflective of certain points: i. it made a slow beginning, ii. it has made some progress, iii. it has a long way to go, iv. it has immense possibilities, and v. it needs integration of multi disciplines (including language, linguistics, social sciences, computer and information sciences and technology among others). The beginning took time to be visible; user appreciation is still eluding it; public and academic urgency is not strong enough to act as driving force. This is not much different from the state of affairs that MT faced in these many decades of its beginning in the last

century. Interestingly, the factors responsible for this state of affairs also seem to be similar. In fact, machine translation in India is still in the process of taking shape, craving attention for serious research and public appreciation. However, the ever increasing realization of the demands of language tools including translation tools in multilingual Indian society is certain to take MT to the point it needs to reach. In recent times, translation has become an important means to achieve a number of diverse goals ranging from getting across speech communities for social understanding, knowledge creation and dissemination, commercial and governance purposes, handling globalization and localization issues, democratization of education, including facilitating social-political-religious harmony in multilingual and multicultural societies like ours. For effective use of information and knowledge products, for better and mass utilization of academic research and development, for human development and dynamicity, even for localization of better healthcare services and overall peace and prosperity of the people language technology tools such as MT tools are seen to be empowering technology that can be ignored only at one's own peril. *In India, where a large number of languages are used at different levels of interactions across different states and parts of states, has a unique need for translation that must be supplemented by machine translation on a large scale. Official correspondences across states, ministries and departments are carried out in more than one language, in some cases in several languages. In the parliament itself, several (both scheduled and non-scheduled) languages are used for debates, and proceedings, and their documentation. The task is huge and requires a large trained (and costly) manpower. Technical supports in the form of translation support tools, MT aids, etc can greatly ease the tedious tasks of translating volumes of technical texts. In different other sectors in predominantly multilingual societies like India such as healthcare, travel and tourisms, multinational organizations, etc. MT has a good prospect to enhance quality and speed of service. There is an increasing need to provide easy access to multilingual information systems to cater to the translation needs of the general public specially the internet-searchers who often end up needing translation for relevant*

web-pages and other online materials. Online search engines have already started catering to this need of their users by providing MT aids. If internet accessibility has to increase across nations and beyond the major European languages, then multilingual search engines, information extraction and retrieval systems are to be developed in all the languages of the world adding further emphasis on the usefulness of MT research across the Indian languages. To a great extent motivated by the forces of globalization and the localization industries, the free MT services on the Internet have become common to almost everyone and the emphasis has shifted to add more and more language pairs. Languages, for which no adequate tools for computer processing are being developed, are at risk and may lose their place in the global information society, or may even disappear leading to the loss of cultural diversity.

Machine translation facilitates, make easier the task of translating all the translatable texts. Some simple functions provided by MT have been available for some time – for instance, domain-specific (weather reporting, health, tourism, official correspondence, etc) in India. A good progress has been made and a growing number of more advanced systems are maturing every day, bringing benefits to all kinds of users, from the professional translators to the general citizens, and to the business people and the tourists and academicians. The users are even looking at the prospect that MT will develop to allow them cope with increasingly difficult task (literature, fictions, children's literature, etc). New generation systems with more advanced features and functionality are being developed worldwide motivating Indian researchers for not to be left behind. The evolution is towards more and more complex language processing systems including speech translation (interpreter system). For India, which basically prides in its oral tradition, a translation tool for speech translation has the potential to be the game changer. Challenges in developing linguistic resources for all the languages in the form of a very large corpus (of all types: written and speech, monolingual, multilingual, and parallel, general-purpose and domain-specific, tagged at different levels, etc.), computational

grammars, e-dictionaries, e-resources, etc. is a daunting task. Most of the NLP and MT research and development activities even for major Indian languages are facing acute shortage of machine implementable linguistic resources and hence resist all efforts at enhancing their output. However, with the formation of consortium it is hoped that the pace of progress of harnessing linguistic resources for MT will accelerate to the extent of expectation. The government departments, industry and academic organizations, including general public, are now much more aware of the potential of language technology tools such as machine translation as well as of the issues and challenges facing their development. A number of academic institutions are opening up courses in NLP, language technology, machine translation and related disciplines to fill the gaps in trained manpower to work in the area of research and development of machine translation in particular and natural language processing in general.

The pioneers of MT research and development in India have done their part. They have become source of inspiration and support. Consequently, a number of dedicated academicians, researchers and institutions got attracted towards research and development of machine translation tools and resources extending it to more pairs of Indian languages. Certain educational institutions (universities, IIITs and IITs) as well as research and development organizations (such as CDACs), primarily with TDIL supports, started either collaborating with the existing teams of Anusaaraka and AnglaBharati and took initiative to develop machine translation (support) tools. The MT efforts in the initial decades saw a lot of enthusiasm and expectations in researchers-developers, general academicians as well as in the intended users, the translators. But the unattractive and disappointing MT outputs led to their suspicions and even harsh criticism from hostile quarters. The pioneering MT practitioners in India were not unaware of the fate of machine translation elsewhere, but it seemed the ground was not yet ready in India for MT to happen, without its own share of birth pang. The fact that machine translation really cut across academic boundaries integrating inputs from diverse disciplines ranging from language and linguistics,

translation studies, philosophy, logic, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, computational linguistics to computer science and engineering, information science and technology, mathematics, statistics, cognitive sciences and many more, was quite clear. But how to bring so many and so much to work together and facilitate and harness the outcome of their fruitful interactions became (and remains) the biggest challenge. In India, this was hard to happen and that became one of the bottlenecks towards achieving the intended goal of the machine translation initiatives in India. However, a beginning was already made that motivated a number of academicians, entrepreneurs and researchers to take the challenge and continue the journey with deeper insights of the task that machine translation actually is. Since 1990s, we can see an increased interactions and dialogues across diverse disciplines. Linguists and Computer Scientists, in particular, started to understand each other's needs. Machine translation is now a familiar term in linguistics, an important issue of research and teaching. In the subsequent decades, the Anusaaraka and the AngalaBahrati technology have spread across various institutions where they expanded with different language pairs. Besides these two systems, some other systems have been experimented and implemented with different degree of academic enthusiasm at institutions for research and teaching. Research and development activities in machine translation are growing in India, expanding in academic, professional and also in industrial sectors. A number of notable efforts towards the development of machine translation system and support tools and resource creation have been made in recent years which are clearly an improvement over their predecessors. Also, in the recent years as an outcome of increased and more enlightened interactions among the different MT stake-holders have brought a deep realization among them of the complex nature of natural language processing (NLP) components in machine translation. Language is the key component and the success of MT is directly dependent on its successful processing in a machine environment. In India, too, the alternative ways in the form of statistical natural language processing has got priority attention. And, the indispensability of a large amount

of linguistic data and linguistically enriched resources has become clear and a top-priority task. The corpus-based approach as a method and a component has been explored and implemented in the development of machine translation tools in the Indian context. This become the guiding force for the constitution of linguistic data consortium for Indian languages (LDC-IL) located at CIIL Mysore to build necessary resources for developing machine translation system was a step towards realizing this goal. Another important development happened in the form of consortium of institution (IIIT Hyderabad, University of Hyderabad, CDAC-Noida, CDAC-Pune, Anna University KBC Chennai, IIT Kharagpur, IIT Bombay, IISc Bangalore, Tamil University, IIIT Allahabad, IIITM Kerala, MANUU Hyderabad, Jadavpur University) for machine translation in Indian languages, a step to consolidate scattered research activities and avoid repetitions in research and funding. As an outcome we have SAMPARK. We can hope that efforts to consolidate MT research in India will bear fruits and dedicated and hard work will multiply to realize MT dreams for the Indian languages and the people.

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