

Politics of Translation

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“Education is a liberating force, and in our age it is also a democratizing force, cutting across the barriers of caste and class, smoothing out inequalities imposed by birth and other circumstances.”

- **Indira Gandhi**



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		Editorial Assistance Dr. Harish Kumar Sethi

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Course Introduction

Politics of Translation is a course of **M.A. (Translation Studies) Programme**.

It is said that - Man is a social animal as well as a political animal; His every action is political. This also applies to translation. Translation is often associated with literary translation and its problems, methods, and issues such as whether translation is an art or a science. But the reality is that translation activity does not take place in 'value free' or politics free area. Before translating, many questions arise in front of the translator, which he has to answer, like what is to be translated? Why should it be done? When and where and for whom should it be done? Should it be done for any organization? And which publisher will print it? These questions may seem simple on the surface, but translators have to grapple with them in every age. Politics starts as soon as we think about the answer to such questions, because wherever there is a situation of personal interest or election, whether it is a matter of voting or choosing an item for consumption, the discussion of power starts here. And its politics is also like this with translation. Along with these questions, the question of the economics of translation also arises. The history of translation is the witness that under this politics, the questions of harassment, death penalty, protection and publication etc. of translators have been raised. Under this T.S. Eliot's writings reached India earlier through translation and his poetry-master Ezra Pound's works reached much later. It is only because of the translation Shakespeare is known as world poet.

It is clear that translation has played its part in different eras. In the context of India, translation has played a special role in Bhakti period, colonial and post-colonial period, freedom struggle, literary-cultural and linguistic movements etc. In this course various issues will be discussed which are related to these aspects of translation and its politics.

Block 1
Translation as Appropriation

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Unit 1 Translation as Appropriation with reference to Bhakti Literature

Unit 2 Modernism, World Literature and Translation

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Unit 4 Translation and the role of Christian missionaries

Unit 5 Indian Interpreters and making of the British Empire



Block 1 Translation as Appropriation

This block consists of five units as under:

Unit 1 Translation as Appropriation with reference to Bhakti Literature is the first unit of one in the context of devotional literature. First of all, the meaning of appropriation has been discussed. The unit then discusses the origin, development and appropriation of the Bhakti movement in India and through the translation of Indian Literature translated by Indologists and Christian missionaries.

Unit 2 Modernism, World Literature and Translation : This unit deals with ideology, modernism and concept of world literature. This also focuses on how translation played a role in the formation and development of these concepts.

Unit 3 Indology and Translation : After going through this unit you will be able to understand the development of Indology as a discipline of studies. Indology is actually a scholarly discussion about India. Debate on the theme was translated a lot by Indo-Western scholars during the colonial period. Indian scholars also contributed to this and translated from Indian languages especially Sanskrit to English and from Western languages to Indian languages. All this process also had its own politics, in which selection of works to be translated and method of translation was determined. An attempt has been made to explain these contexts, their causes and effects in this unit.

Unit 4 Translation and the role of Christian missionaries : After going through this unit one can understand the role of religious sects, especially Christian missionaries, in translation activities during the colonial period in India. The Bible was translated into Indian languages for propagation among Christian missionaries, in which only this land remained. Carey, along with his colleagues, translated the Bible into more than 30 Indian languages. This gave a new direction to translation.

Unit 5 Indian Interpreters and making of the British Empire : This unit focuses on the role of bilinguals i.e. those who know two languages, in the British Empire from its inception to its operation and promotion.

Unit 1 Translation as Appropriation with reference to Bhakti Literature

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Meaning and nature of Appropriation
- 1.3 Nature of Bhakti Movement and its development
- 1.4 Reflections on the emergence of devotional literature (Bhakti Literature) through translation and appropriation
- 1.5 Appropriation of Bhakti Literature by Christian Missionaries and Indologists
- 1.6 Nationalist Appropriation of Bhakti Literature
- 1.7 Appropriation of Bhakti literature in the light of modern values
- 1.8 Marxist Appropriation of Bhakti literature
- 1.9 Identities-Discursive Appropriation of Bhakti Literature
- 1.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.11 Exercise
- 1.12 Key Words
- 1.13 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives

After reading this unit, you should be able to know about the following points:

- Socio-Cultural Context of Translation and Appropriation
- Development and nature of Bhakti movement: Emergence of Bhakti literature through translation and Appropriation;
- Appropriation by Christian missionaries and Indians
- Nationalist Appropriation of Bhakti Literature
- Pan-Indianness contained in Bhakti literature and appropriation of Bhakti literature in the light of modern values
- Marxist Appropriation of Bhakti literature and
- Identity discourse and Appropriation of Bhakti Literature.

1.1 Introduction

All translations are interpretations and thus they are means of cultural exchange. But the nature of cultural exchange and interpretation and cultural destiny are closely related to power and identity discussions. Through such translations, the past and present, center and periphery of a country are associated.

Appropriation becomes a part of social and cultural identification, alienation and internalization. The manner in which a text from the 'past' is translated is an essential part of the acceptability of that text. This translation reflects the beliefs and commitments of the translator. The socio-cultural conditioning of the translator also plays an important role in this perspective. Then accordingly a text from the past is translated and presented for appropriation among the target population. Time and society decide the outcome of this translated work. Sometimes the translated texts of the past become factors of spiritual regeneration and reinvention of a society. This process can be best understood in the context of the way the stories of the Sanskrit epics and Puranas were appropriated in Bhakti literature in the medieval period.

The society adapts a work or a creator according to itself. There are many subjective lessons in society, which are relevant in the context of the same. The pace of changing society can be reflected in this process of appropriation. A society, passing through a period of transition sets priorities in accordance with its political and cultural expectations, creates a new ideological context and reinterprets the past in the light of this. It is a cultural process and translation is part of this cultural process which has played a role in the modern sense of the pages of the past.

Anyway, the field of language and literature has been very crucial and important. Also, the context of culture and power is integral to it. Tradition, identity, nationality, progress and traditional power discourses of different social groups are associated with great depth and complexity in this. This process can be reflected with great clarity in the context of Bhakti literature in India. Though situated in the medieval period, the past parts are solutions to today's questions and continue to influence our life values and thinking. That's why Bhakti literature and its translation have special importance in modern India. In the light of these aspects, translation in the form of appropriation is being considered in the present unit with special reference to Bhakti literature. Let us first consider the meaning and nature of appropriation.

1.2 Meaning and nature of Appropriation

Appropriation, in common sense, is known as the process of owning or possessing a property or a fund.

In the idiom, appropriation is also considered as 'adopting or usurping or acquisition (confiscation)'. In fact, the term 'appropriation' came into use in the West for paintings. Under this process, the painter used to give a new look to the artwork of a great painter by making some changes. For example, in a well-known work of art, someone changed the background, the colors, or some of the scenes to create something new. This process is called appropriation. Later, this word started being used in literature and literary translations as well. The term grew in popularity after translation as a discipline became part of the linguistic cultural discourse. It was also taken to mean the use of imported materials in the creation of a new work.

Appropriation took on new meaning in the context of literary texts outside the world of artworks when appropriation is understood in the context of socio-cultural power-critique. For literary texts, appropriation means 're-coding' or shift in meaning.

In the process of appropriation, a new text is created on the basis of elements taken from the original text. This new text resurfaces with a new relevance in the context of the translator's environment. This is also called 'Parakaya Pravesha' or 'Paryoni Janma' (transformation of soul in other's body) and appropriation does the same thing. It gives new relevance to a text by detaching it from its old meanings and contexts. In this process of recontextualization, the appropriation creates a new translated text. In this process, the original connotations or resonances of the target language are acquired.

In the context of Bhakti literature translated has been utilized has appropriation.

Apart from doing it, new meaning has to be achieved in the new environment. For this purpose, the translation imports the meaning which was not there in the fixed text. This

process is accomplished through intended citations and reimaginings. For this reason, in appropriation, often other than the original meaning is acquired.

Every translator often creates his own new text by adapting the original text in one way or another. But when a translator goes to the text of the source language with the aim of appropriation, his aim is no longer 'proximity' to the original text. The optimizer wants the text to be embodied with new meaning in the addition of facts. The work that came into existence for the purpose of appropriation is actually a combination of the original text and the translator's own meanings. In this process footprint of the translator, whether right or wrong, is definitely visible. Thus appropriation has its own identity. The following points should be noted in this context:

1. The process of appropriation is linked to the concept that through it social critical functions are accomplished.

2. Appropriation expresses no commitment to the original texts, that is, such translators are not under pressure to adhere closely to mortality. Appropriation of a creator's work through translation means that this work is being done in Japan according to a new socio-cultural power equation. In this process the meaning of the original is transformed. This makes the appropriated text 'stranger' from the original context. The point to be made is that appropriation is a cultural process as it is linked to social criticism.

1.3 Nature of Bhakti Movement and its development

At the ideological level, the Bhakti movement was related to the ancient philosophy and traditions of India. Bhakta poets have given their own interpretation of Indian philosophy

Their basic concepts were used in their compositions/poems.

Bhakti, the absence of intermediaries (i.e. priests etc.) between God and the worshipper, is a revolutionary idea. This is such a rebellion of love and faith in which rituals, knowledge and yoga are prohibited. The description of the glory of devotion is found in *Shrimad Bhagwat Gita* and *Bhagwat Purana*. It is spread in South India through *Alvar* and *Nayanar* saints. Bhakti flourished here in the eighth century. It spread to Karnataka in the 10th century, Maharashtra in the 13th century and then through Gujarat to the whole of India. In a verse of *Padma Purana*, while depicting Bhakti, it is mentioned about the spread of Bhakti (*Padma Purana*, Uttarakand 50.31)

It is also a popular opinion that in Gujarat the old Bhakti goes to Vraj and attains youth again. By the way, the rise of the Bhakti movement in the south is also confirmed by these lines that

Bhakti Dravide Upaji, Laye Ramanand.

It may be noted that all-India spread is not the specialty of Bhakti literature. Its remarkable feature is that wherever it spread, the society there got energized. Especially the underprivileged section of the society got benefited more from it. In Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, the Hindi region of North India, Assam, etc., the form of public awakening of Bhakti can be seen. Eknath, Nanak, Kabir, Dadu, Raidas etc. poets are not found here only on spiritual vision, but the literatures of these poets have become the cause of deep and true socio-cultural change of their society. The first Alvars and Nayanars in Tamil Nadu flowed the ritual-free devotional stream. Subsequently, the movement of Lingayats or

Veerashaivas in Karnataka established the lower castes in the religious sphere. Bhakti poets like Basavanna and Allama Prabhu were rebuttalists. They attacked religious conventions. This tradition develops in the form of Varkari sect in Maharashtra. Humanist poets like Narsi Mehta emerged in Gujarat and devotee poets like Nanak, Kabir, Ravidas, Meera, Dadu reinforce the liberation movement in North India. In Bengal, Chandidas appeared with the concept of 'Shawari Upare Manushshato' (Man is Truth), Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in Orissa supplied this stream with passionate devotion, on the other hand, in Assam, Sankardeva introduced a new socio-cultural consciousness.

What is particularly noteworthy is that Bhakti literature is not a monolithic structure. The reason is that from the beginning, the various forms of meaning, questions and curiosities, are available there. That's why this discussion is not scriptural and stable and interpretable, but is unstable, free and open to different types of verses. So every new translation is an appropriation from one angle or the other.

1.4 Reflections on the emergence of devotional literature (Bhakti Literature) through translation and appropriation

Discussing the emergence of Bhakti literature through translation and appropriation, Ganesh Devy underlined that the entire Bhakti literature of India came into being with the aspiration of translating the 'language of spirituality' into the Sanskrit vernacular. Explaining its philosophical basis, he means 'translation', clarified that India as a culture considers transformation as the basic principle of existence. Here conversion is not exile. Its opposite translation in the West is banishment or expulsion. This fear is not there in India. Here, just as the soul keeps on changing from one form to another, in the same way, the text also keeps on changing here. Indian consciousness is the ever-translating consciousness. This translated consciousness makes the old consciousness new in the medieval period. For example, Valmiki's Ramayana, Tulsidas's 'Ramcharitmanas' and Kamba Ramayana, etc. appear with strength in many languages. Sudipto Kaviraj has outlined the gradual development of vernacular literature from the Sanskrit tradition. According to him, Bhakti literature in vernacular languages and its poetic tradition begins as an undeclared revolution. It was only in the form of continuity of literary traditions in vernacular language tradition, narrative forms and texts. Kaviraj's emphasis is on the fact that these translations of Bhakti literature, despite being in continuity with the classical tradition, cannot be called passive creations.

This is because, despite reproducing the same narratives with minor changes, these translations created another tradition of literature for another world view. The tone of these translations was also different. This tradition of Bhakti Dhara is called by critics like Namvar Singh as 'second tradition'.

Ayyappa Panikkar characterizes these vernacular translators from the Sanskrit tradition by saying that they "had no fear of the originality of the text and its original spirit". The stories of the epics and the Puranas were appropriated, retold, translated, many times the original text was modified, but in the whole process there was no concern to make it close or accurate to the original text. The Bhakta poet did not have it. It was also seen that the texts were manipulated according to their respective sects. This deviation of translation or appropriation is seen a lot in Jain poets, Sahajayanis and Krishna Bhakta poets.

In the context of these 'translations' of Bhakti literature in the medieval period, Ayyappa Panikkar believes that due to the lack of understanding of the translation with modern verses, it is traditionally prevalent in India or that creative deviation is inevitable in the recreating

and ‘ appropriation’ of a text. Due to this, the prestige of the source language neither haunts nor mourns the reader. This thing cannot be proved or said in the context of translation of any religious sculpture which have fixed meanings. An example of this is the ‘translation of the Bible’ from Shrirampur Press. Christian missionaries were always concerned about the closeness and conformity of the original text. He was well acquainted with the Indian method of internalizing the original text and was therefore careful while translating.

‘Ramayana’ in Sanskrit and ‘Ramcharitmanas’ in Hindi, Saket, ‘Ram’s Shakti Puja’, ‘Sanshay Ka Ek Raat’ are examples of translated re-creation and re-creation of the Indian Ramakatha tradition.

Accepting Bhakti literature as a translation-borne appropriation of the classical tradition of Sanskrit literature only strengthens the concept of tradition and new development from it. At this point, the logic of devotional literature versus Vedic and Sanskrit literature’s devotional, rebellious and dualistic concepts seems to be weakening. It is clearly visible to us that here the tradition is changing its form and re-creating itself in a new form (metamorphosis).

1.5 Appropriation of Bhakti Literature by Christian Missionaries and Indologists

Christian missionaries and Indologists are among those who translated the literature of Bhakti period for the purpose of appropriation in the beginning. It is believed that for the purpose of spreading Christianity in India, Christian missionaries had to be familiar with the spiritual phrases of India, so they needed to complete this work through some translations. The whole focus of the missionaries was to translate the ‘Bible’ into the vernaculars so that the Indian people could know about the religion of their official opinion. The basic reason for the attraction of Christian missionaries towards Bhakti poetry is its monotheistic philosophy. The romantic mysticism of Bhakti literature also seemed to him in line with the concept of love in Christian tradition.

David N. Largen believes that Christian missionaries in India translated selected passages of Kabir. Christian missionaries saw the Bhakti movement of India as the European Reformation. As a result of this thinking, Kabir appeared to them as ‘Indian Luther’. However, this view on the Bhakti movement and Kabir is Euro-centric. Indian thinkers located and appropriated Kabir in their own tradition. The second point is that Christianity was the religion of the colonial rulers, so they had complete freedom of protection and promotion and also received government patronage. Therefore, there was no better and less controversial medium than translation to propagate their religion along with establishing the superiority of the parameters of Christian religion and beliefs.

According to Moya Berger, the similarity of Bhakt Poets with the Christian tradition led to less attention of Indologists towards medieval Bhakti literature and to the rich Vedic past. In fact, Indologists and orientalist were surprised to know how the civilization and culture of the India with such a rich heritage had become so impoverished. Indologists from countries like Germany turned to Vedic literature to find Aryan roots. In this way, the Indologists of that time do not show the same interest for medieval Bhakti literature.

It can be said that the western understanding of Indian literature and culture is the knowledge tradition of Sanskrit literature translated and appropriated in their own idioms. They could not go out of it for a long time. In fact, the knowledge of India by European Indologists has also been in line with European history, intellectual desires, curiosities and demands. It was an attempt to enter new sphere of a European society.

1.6 Nationalist Appropriation of Bhakti Literature

The important context of appropriation of Bhakti literature through translation is related to colonialism and nationalism. The structures of knowledge that colonialism brought with it, were European and available in English language. English educated middle class adopted it in the name of modernity and modern values. But in the course of time, this concern has also emerged in this class that – what actually they were, what they have become, and what will be now? Elucidating this concern of the Indian intellectual, Ramesh Chandra Shah writes that despite India being present in the broad life stream of a completely different life-philosophy and religious culture, as a result of being cut off from it at the level of education and initiation, the Indian intellectuals has come to such a situation. It was due to historical breakdown and self-forgetfulness that they were neither able to establish a creative identity with their surroundings, nor could they become a part of their inner life even after receiving intellectual inspiration from those new ideas. Many litterateurs who wrote in English were troubled by this self-divided nature, while litterateurs uprooted or less connected to their roots were willing to accept the input of culture and language.

In this period self-realization blossomed in the Indian minds and writers and intellectuals who had a sense of pride in their national culture rejected the cultural superiority of the colonial rulers. The result of this rejection was that literature containing nationalist sentiments was translated. The early translations were from Sanskrit literature, but the later translators made Bhakti literature the basis of their translations. Thus the awakening interest in translation in India emerged as a national cultural movement. The basic goal of this campaign was how to free oneself from the colonial context and its effects. It was a process of de-colonization.

As a part of this process of de-colonization, a large section of Indians since the time of the independence movement have been persevering with the view that India, being a victim of colonial subjugation, has lost its interest in Western languages, their paradigms, their critical phraseologies, their historical and political contexts that was getting assimilated. It was like an unprecedented crisis before the Indian identity. This was a typical attempt to colonize Indian thought and vision. So its resistance was natural. Shri Aurobindo and P. Lal are prominent among its initial opponents through translation. P. Lal translated from Sanskrit into English. Later Dilip Chitre, A.K. Ramanujan, R. Bilingual poets like Parthasarathy and Arun Kolatkar undertook this campaign of translation. The focus of these translators was on Bhakti literature. By the way, before these translators of Bhakti literature, Sri Aurobindo translated Vidyapati and Rabindranath Thakur translated Kabir. Rabindranath Tagore translated Kabir's poems under title One Hundred Songs of Kabir, compiled by Kshitimohan Sen.

This translation had historical significance. With this translation, the modern consciousness was identified by Indian Minds with the social thoughts of Kabir. This was the beginning of appropriation of Kabir through translation. It was also the beginning of Kabir's rise to a central position in Indian Bhakti literary discourse. Bilingual poet translators like Ramanujan and R Parthasarathy made translation a device by which they could free their souls from colonial chains. Along with this, they also felt that the values of western modernity are also present in Bhakti literature. That is also true because the liberation movement was a public awakening. In this movement there were elements of renewal of tradition, prestige of folk tradition, equality, freedom, fraternity of all living beings and innovation. These bilingual poet-translators considered Bhakti literature to be the cultural soul of India and, while delving into it, they saw themselves as followers of their tradition. Poet and translator P. Lal, stating the reasons for his translation, has accepted that "I soon began to feel that due to the mixing

of the English environment and tradition, I am moving away from the values of my tradition. I have got this tradition because I am an Indian. That is why I have chosen popular Hindu religious texts for translation. I hope that the sense of identity generated by this translation will increase my understanding of Indian myths better and I will be able to know that How did these myths energize Indian literature. At the same time, in spite of writing poetry in a foreign language like English, I, being an Indian, can choose useful passages from it.

The confession of Dilip Chitre can be read in the light of self-enlightenment of P. Lal, in which he says. Being a bilingual poet (Marathi and English), I had no choice but to translate a Bhakta poet like Tukaram. Because of this internal division, when translating Tukaram, I always felt or as if I was working in a workshop in which the spirits of the 'Other', quite unfamiliar to our forefathers, are shaking me. While translating, I was compelled to make myself a bridge between India and Europe or allow myself to remain a fragmented individual.

Thus anti-colonial nationalist translators were adapting Bhakti literature to modern contexts through translation. Apart from this, he was also explaining Indianness and Indian identity. Translation was a medium for him to come face to face with his tradition. A.K. Ramanujan believes that translation is reclamation of his tradition. He says one's tradition is not a birthright, but a tradition has to be earned. If one translates a page from one's past, one dedicates that portion to oneself, and perhaps to others." presents it to the fore."

Thus Ramanujan believes that his translation of Veera Shesha Bhakti literature (Speaking Shiva, 1973) and Sangam literature from Kannada is a ploy to dedicate him to the tradition. St. Pierre also considers this tactic as a tactic to bind with Indian culture. By this the translator de-colonises himself and the mind and literary taste of his target audience.

At this point the translation of Bhakti literature is appropriated as an indispensable and creative affirmation of one's emotional identification with the national identity. This is seen by Tejaswini Niranjana as a way to curb colonial influences. It is true that the nationalist poet-translators, who wanted freedom from colonialism, were handing over their cultural wealth or heritage to themselves by translating devotional literature.

An important reference to India's national unity is also associated with Bhakti literature. Ramdhari Singh Dinkar in his book titled *Sanskriti ke Char Adhyay* described the Bhakti movement as a strong proof of North-South unity. Both Dinkar and A.K. Ramanujan underline the fact that Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Raidas's Bhakti was established by the Alvares and Nayanars of the south before 1500 AD. Ramanujacharya was moved from the fixed spheres after reading the mandhit vivat padas of animals and he formulated the philosophy of Bhakti. After this, the Bhakti movement spread in North India. To say the implication is that the pan-Indian intertextuality inherent in Bhakti literature also inspires national appropriation through its translation. This not only strengthens national unity, but the internal consistency among pan-Indian literatures can be properly identified. In this way, Bhakti literature has a major role in the recognition of the real nature of the Indian nation and in the reconstruction of its history. Due to this role, it is also relevant.

Translations of Bhakti literature seek common threads of Indianness. In the whole country, this knowledge of modern vernacular languages stood up parallel to the tradition of Sanskrit along with Sanskrit knowledge system. While preserving and adapting the classical tradition of Sanskrit, the native language tradition of Bhakti literature reinforces itself according to the

aspirations of the people. This trend was present at all India level. It also has special importance due to the coordination of Buddhist, Jain and Bhagwat tradition.

1.7 Appropriation of Bhakti Literature in the light of Modern Values

Walter Benjamin considers translation necessary for the after-life of any work. According to him, without translation and interpretation, the original text would be dead. This is also true about Bhakti literature. Fortunately, in the context of Bhakti literature, both translation and interpretation were done. With this work, the verses of Bhakti literature were translated according to modern values. Due to this, there was a continuous development and expansion of the lessons.

With the arrival of the western literature in India, debates started on the paradigms of modernity like equality, liberty, fraternity and democracy. Modernity depends on rational explanation of religion, society, culture, institutions and phenomena. Incidentally, these values are also found in Bhakti literature. For this reason, with the advent of modernity, interpretation, identification and translation of Bhakti literature in accordance with the modern significance of Bhakti Literature was done away.

Translators with modern values tried to adapt the literature according to their ideological structures. Due to its public awareness, anti-feudal, anti-Veda, anti-Brahmin, pro-deprived class values were underlined in it. But there is a limit to the modern worldview. Its limitation is that it recognizes only selected things. For example, after the transplantation of colonial approach in India, things became known and familiar like this here too. According to this approach, things are identified in opposite categories (eg, conservative-progressive, secular-religious, modern-classical, feudal-democratic, relevant-irrelevant, etc.).

1.8 Marxist Appropriation of Bhakti literature

The Bhakti movement contained enough facts that could be appropriated to Marxism. For this purpose, the critics and translators with Marxist tendencies chose the texts where the method of dialectics could be applied. It is to be noted that Marxism recognizes things in subjective form. To meet this target, there were streams of Nirguna and Saguna bhakti in Bhakti literature. Poets like Kabir, Narsi Mehta, Dadu, Raidas, Rajjav and Pipa Sen belonged to the peasant and artisan class. On the other hand, Marxist theory of criticism can interpret and adapt the literature of Sagun Bhakta poets like Tulsi, Meera and Sur in its favor. The reason is that Nirguna Bhakti Dhara was anti-tradition, anti-sastra, anti-vasyadambar. This Saguna tradition is in accordance with Nanapuran Nigamagam that is in accordance with shashtras.

The conflicting voices of Nirgun-Sagun under ideology

An attempt was made to identify and explain it.

Many scholars have underlined the social ideologies against Sagun-Nirgun form tradition. According to David Laranjan, despite some subtle elements, it is socially representative of the discourse institutions of domination and resistance 'dominion' (Gemini) and "resistance" (Resistance). Muktibodh also recognizes nirguna and saguna bhakti as such. Applying Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci's idea of cultural supremacy to Bhakti literature, he has pointed out that Saguna Bhakti is elitist, supremacist and Brahminical, whereas Nirguna Bhakti is rational, evasive, struggling and associated with the discourse of marginalized lower castes.

1.9 Identities-Discursive Appropriation of Bhakti Literature

One aspect of the translation-borne Appropriation of Bhakti literature is that of identity-discourse. Dalit and women-identities chose Bhakti literature to prepare a cultural ground of discussion for their interests. Due to the multiplicity of its method-words and the meaning of the text, these views also got the opportunity to flourish. In fact, the identity discourse is involved in the preconception of 'otherness'. In this, there is an attempt to be self-assertive in front of others. The search for one's historical and cultural identity is part of the discussion of this pride. Along with improving its status and condition, it also wants its reinterpretation.

The Dalits, who suffered from socio-political boycott for centuries, awakened their identity. They kept expanding after the struggle on the socio-political front. Dalit consciousness worries that the cultural front is difficult. Meanwhile translation through Marathi, Hindi, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu etc. also used for their view point.

Considering the Bhakti period from a sociological point of view, Ejaz Ahmed said that the Bhakti movement in totality reflects the democratization of literary language. But at the same time it also gives rise to a cultural pattern that stands in favor of artisans and farmers in terms of caste. Its form was anti-Brahmanism.

Dalit literature chooses the chemistry of Bhakti literature to confirm its identity and adapt accordingly. It naturally connects with Kabir, Dadu, Raidas etc., but due to this literary vision, Tulsi, Sur, Jayasi etc. are neglected. In this way, the Dalit text of Bhakti literature and its appropriation paves the way for a modern political text other than the spiritual sense of Bhakti. The biggest reason for Bhakti literature's association with Dalits is that for the first time in Indian history, the Brahminical socio-cultural hegemony was challenged by the lower caste Bhakti poets on such a large scale.

Appropriation of Bhakti literature in the light of feminist identity is translated into action. The irony is that Bhakti literature which gave centrality to marginalized groups did not give such centrality to women. Yes, but it was necessary that now 'woman' had become a 'problematic' and restless concept, it was embedded in the philosophy of Bhakti literature itself or that now they have to be given equality in the field of spirituality. The reason is that Bhakti literature had established that all are equal in the eyes of God. The religious space for women was limited in the traditional medieval society, but Bhakti provided them an opportunity. The ideology of the Bhakti movement gave voice to women's truth. Through this voice, Mirabai, Nattu Yad, Akka Mahadevi, etc. many poetesses could review the society, politics, family and religion. The experience of being a female devotee while living in a male dominated society, it is important for feminist thinkers to note this fact. It is meant to say that Bhakti literature is a subjective text, it needs to be interpreted, translated and appropriated by giving proper context.

1.10 Let Us Sum Up

After going through this unit, we find that Bhakti literature has undergone multi-faceted appropriation through translation. The role of Christian missionaries, indologists, modernists, Marxists and various identity theorists can be seen in the appropriation of its translated literature. All of them look at the images of ideological truths in their respective context by the process of appropriation of the available texts of Bhakti literature and replace them in it. The melting and unstable text of Bhakti literature itself keeps scope for its appropriation. But

more importantly, India's pluralistic democratic society exacerbates this process. Our social structure is such that there is always the possibility of various appropriations through interpretation and translation. We have been adapting the old to the new and the new to the old issues, values and contexts of our time.

1.11 Exercise

1. What is Appropriation? Throw light on its usefulness in the context of translation.
 2. Illuminate on the socio-cultural aspects of translation for the process of appropriation.
 3. Bhakti literature itself is an appropriation accomplished by the process of translation. Critically examine
 4. Explain the limitations of Appropriation of Bhakti literature by Christian missionaries and Indologists.
 5. Why was there a need for a nationalist Appropriation of Bhakti literature? Discuss appropriation in favor of nationalism through translation.
 6. Discuss the Marxist appropriation of Bhakti literature.
 7. Throw light on the reasons for the Dalit and feminist identity-discourses with reference to Bhakti literature.
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1.12 Key Words

Appropriation : It means to grab something according to one's need and desire. 'Appropriation' is used as a separate synonym in education, culture, art, and economics. In order to serve its politico-cultural purpose in translation, it is known as 'eclipse' or 'meaning determination'.

Indologist : 'Indologist' is used here in the sense of a scholar of Indian knowledge, literature, culture, history and philosophy. Under the colonial rule, it was also interpreted as "Orientalist".

Vernacular: It was used as native language during colonial period. The use of vernacular was treated in a sense of languages spoken by native people with negative intension. Now this is treated politically in appropriate.

Discourse of Identity: Ignored and marginalized communities are asserting themselves for their identities. The debate on this issue is known as Discourse of Identity.

After life : It has been used by Walter Benjamin with reference to new shape of translation in his seminal essay *The Task of Translator* published in 1923.

1.13 Suggested Readings

- Berger, Moya and Poza Nicola (eds.), 2010, *India in Translation through Hindi Literature*.
- Buchloh, Benjamin, 2000, *Parody and Appropriation in Francis Pakadia*, Boston.
- Awadhesh Kumar Singh (Ed.), 1996, *Translation its Theory and Practices*, New Delhi Creative Books
- Panikker Ayama *The Age of Adventitious Reflection of Literary Translation*.
- Devy, G. N. 2000, *In Another Tongue*, Macmillan.
- Basnett, Susan and Trivedi, Harish (eds.), 1999, *Post-colonial Translation Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge.

Unit 2 Modernism, World Literature and Translation

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Modernism, Appropriation and World Literature
 - 2.2.1 Ezra Pound and Translation of Asian Literature
 - 2.2.2 W.B. Yeats, Translation and Irish Nationalism
- 2.3 Modernist translation and world literature
- 2.4 Later Developments in Modernist Translation
- 2.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.6 Exercises
- 2.7 Key Words
- 2.8 Suggested Readings

2.0 Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to know that:

- What are the main characteristics of nationalism, ideology, modernism and literature?
- How to interpret the relationship between literary Appropriation and literary sources, How to view translation as a process of appropriation, and
- What is the role of Ezra Pound and W.B. Yeats in the development of translation as a literary form?

2.1 Introduction

In the previous unit, the concept of nationalism and its related discourses were discussed. In the process we have seen how nationalism and cultural construction go hand in hand. You have also learned how the translation of Sanskrit texts into Indian languages was linked to works of national thought. In this unit we will mainly focus on modernism in the European context. We will also learn how appropriation takes place and how translation alone can be seen as an act of cultural appropriation. We will also learn what the concept of world literature is and how translation as a discipline emerged as a mutual exchange in world literature. We will also discuss the approaches adopted by the translators keeping in mind the translation theory and considering the target audience and contemporary trends in the translation of a text.

2.2 Modernism, Appropriation and World Literature

The first question is what modernism is. Modernism is a cultural movement that began in the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The movement rejected traditional structures of society and argued for the incorporation of new ideas. Even in the field of art, writers like Ezra Pound presented an idea that make it new or do something new. Yet modernism was not a complete replacement of the old. It was a paradoxical situation where the fear of the new coexisted with the joy of the death of the old ideas in the society. It can be said that individualistic literature is a trend of modernism's literary field. Modernist literature addressed the same aesthetic problems that non-literary forms of contemporary modern art (such as painting) assessed. Stein's abstract writings have been compared to modern painter Pablo Picasso.

Appropriation of culture mainly refers to that stage of society in which a society takes cultural elements from other societies and changes them accordingly. It is important to note that change takes place either because of one human force or because of the influence of the historical conditions of the adopted society. In the act of translation, the description of characters or local seeds also has to be changed. Epics like the *Ramayana* kept in the Indian culture were appropriated according to the needs or specialties of the local or saintly society. That process is called cultural appropriation. We can call the translation of the socio-cultural context the process of Appropriation.

World literature mainly includes the literature of the entire whole world, such as the literature available in the languages of Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia, New American continents, etc. German thinker and writer Goethe used the term world literature for the first time in 1827 in German Language. The term was used with reference to the available texts of the countries, especially the Sanskrit texts of India. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 called it the worldwide peak of medieval literary publication. David Damrosch underlined the contemporary objectives and approaches to world literature in his work *what is world literature?* (2003) The author saw the text as a form of change and trend in an international context different from its national narrative. He also highlights the role of translation as availability in diverse languages and cultures.

2.2.1 Ezra Pound and Translation of Asian Literature

In this section of the unit we will discuss the famous poet Ezra Pound and his contribution to the field of translation. We will also discuss how Ezra Pound appropriated Chinese poetry through translation to spread the 'Imagism' of English poetry.

Ezra Pound, born in the year 1885, is known for his contribution in the field of modern socialist poetry writing. In addition, he is credited for introducing the works of WB Yeats, Robert Frost, Williams, Merion, Moore, Ernest Hemingway, and especially T.S. Eliot to the American readers through translation.

His contribution in the field of poetry can be seen mainly in the establishment of a literary movement called 'imagism'.

Eliot took the imagery of poetry writing from Chinese and Japanese poetry.

Imagism focuses on clarity, precisin, linguistic authenticity and it also stresses the abandonment of traditional rhymes and meters.

Ezra Pound published his collection of Chinese poems titled *Cathe* in 1915. He was the first person to use mainly rich Chinese idiom and poetry to introduce American modernism. Due to his writing Chinese poetry has become a new paradigm of cultural tradition, but it may be important to foreign readers from China. T.S. Eliot underlines the contribution of Ezra Pound in this worlds, *Ezra Pound has been investigor of Chinese Poetry in out time*.

A collection of Ezra Pound's poems was received by his widow Mary in late 1913 as manuscript and she began working on them a year later. His notebook contains 150 poems which were translated by Phailalasa with the help of Japanese Translators. Of those 150 poems, 48 were translated by Lee Bai. She translated Chinese poems. He had no knowledge of his own language. It is also worth mentioning here that this round of translation has achieved both the results of cultural impact without knowledge of endangered language.

Pound's translation paved the way for subsequent modern imitations. Nevertheless, critics have established more flaws while evaluating the pound's work.

Pound's later translations were also influenced by many other arrangements in which Pound observed grammatical accuracy and ease in his translations. On his other contemporary medium, Yeats saw translation as an important skill and a useful tool for efforts specific to his time (such as the creation of an Irish national culture). Feminists characterized Pound as an anti-feminist writer as according to them, Pound was propagating malevolent ideas through American Modernism Literary Works.

In his early translation works, Pound translated only from those languages with that he had formal knowledge. Pound clearly expresses his interest in the Chinese language by referring Rihaku and Earnest Phalonosa. Pound's earlier work outlines the construction of a collective text by knowing the translation of the poem. That text has its own new way but not the final chain of action. The translation of poem is a common practice in modern times that starts with one or two people. According to this arrangement, where one has working knowledge of both the languages, the other has good literary skills. Pound's translation work was engaged in such a manner where the translators were very knowledgeable in promoting Chinese poetry.

2.2.2 W.B. Yeats, Translation and Irish Nationalism

W. B. Yeats, a great English poet, translator and Irish nationalist, was born in 1865 in Dublin, Ireland. He was the son of a famous painter, and belonged to the landed Irish aristocracy. From his youth he became involved in the Celtic revival movement. It was a movement that was against the cultural influence of English rule in Ireland. His writings drew mostly from Irish myth and ballads. Yeats was deeply involved in Irish politics. Following Ireland's independence from England, Yeats's writings reflected pessimism that was there in Ireland. After 1910, his writing was greatly influenced by Ezra Pound. He was more modern in his consciousness and expression that reflected in the images of his poetry. But he never gave up his attachment to the traditional verse forms, and it is also noteworthy that he was interested in taste and also in the mystery of life.

Yeats contributed to make the modern period of English literature the 'period of translation'. He translated Sophocles' play '*King Oedipus*' in 1928 and '*Oedipus at Colonus*' in 1934. By the time *King Oedipus* was published, Yeats had established himself as a poet. These were put into practice in the format of translation of poetry collection. His earlier published collections include *The Tower* and *The Wedding Stairs and Other Poems*. He saw translation not only as a literary practice but also as an intense activity of socio-cultural influence.

Yeats's interest and involvement in Irish politics fueled much of the debate about him. Some saw him as the leading Irish nationalist, others as a liberal humanist and individualist. A few also marked him as an Anglo-Saxon reactionary. Author of '*Orientalism*' Edward Said called Yeats as a poet of decolonization, while some saw his nationalism as a threat. Yeats saw translation as an effective means of building a healthy Irish national culture.

Before becoming a translator, Yeats discussed the importance of translation in the establishment of Irish identity. In this connection we may take the exalted praise he used for lady August. It was about Lady Gregory's adaptation of Irish folk tales into English. Regarding the narrative, it is said that Lady Gregory took the plot as a means of imagining the world and placed it in context. Yeats praises Gregory for her literary translation. He

seems to disagree with lady Gregory's earlier translation, concluding that her translation is not a true reproduction of the original, but is important in terms of narrative and has precise selection of detail and appropriateness of cadence. These refer to translation as a literary exaggeration, which is essentially comparable to a collection of poems.

W.B. Yeats, who dealt with the conflict between the Gaelic and the English in modern Ireland, regarded translation as a practice. About Lady Gregory he says that she invented such a beautiful language as the poet Morris. In this way, the challenge of presenting imported subjects in that language has been overcome by colonial dominance and local cultural displacement. According to Yeats, the translation does not dramatize the episode or the text; it gives the correct form to the text in a contemporary perspective. He also recognized the problem of translation from Gallic. It was a highly sensitive political matter. In a speech in New York in 1903 Yeats recalled the influence of the Gaelic movement on himself as a writer. He pointed out that the English language was thought-provoking and others like him were of no importance in Ireland. A year earlier, he had founded Gaelic League with his colleague to emphasize his translation more than military work, rather than trying to revive the cultural separatists. Citing the example of King James in England, Yeats emphasizes the connection between translation and the establishment of a national literature. He said that the Irish people should produce good literature on the basis of the language being used. In English this can be seen in the style of poets such as William Black and Byron. Translation, in his view, creates distinct literatures in modern Irish and relatively traditional literature. In his view, Ireland would remain connected to its origins and remain innovative. Yeats had a second agenda in mind while translating Indian plays, his cultural identity, reducing Anglo-Saxon influence by means of important works to native traditions through translation. For Yeats, translation was not only a literary but also a highly political act; made available to an Irish audience, which would make the people of Ireland proud of their generosity through this effort.

Let us now see how Yeats made translation a means or a process of appropriation. The answer depends on the purpose of translation. Yeats aim for the translation was to create and vote for an Irish national culture in opposition to and collaboration with the English. Their effort was to integrate folk or ancient culture with Irish national culture through translation, and in the process create a modern culture. In other words, Yeats translation work was politically motivated.

2.3 Modernist translation and world literature

Before Ezra Pound, Asian literature, especially Chinese and Sanskrit literature of ancient times, was discussed with reference to world literature. This was reflected by the writings of the German writer Goethe. Yet, with the translation of Chinese poems written by W.B. Yeats, two points were noted in terms of the appearance and nature of Asian literature. First, Pound's translation method (with reference to the narrative) started a new field of poetry in English language. This style had a lot of influence in that period. In other words, not only the West, but also the East, at the beginning of a new literary movement like the Controversy, cannot be imagined without the dialogue between the East and the West. Moot-point of both was not just a translation; it was a method of translation. The second controversy also had its effect in the whole world, for example, the style of imagism in the beginning of the 20th century in Hindi poetry was influenced by the controversies. Hindi poetry movement *Chayawad* was influenced by this narrative and it is still discussed whether it was a modern literary experiment or rather a stylistic interference with it. The reference to that style was also present in some form or the other in the historical condition of the continent. So we see

that the way in which the development of a new style in the West is done through translation was appropriated in Asian poetry by the poets then brought the debate as a genre in Hindi poetry and contributed significantly to the formation of national literature in India. The politics of both were originally different, but connected to each other through translation.

2.4 Later Developments in Modernist Translation

We have seen that in the first half of the 20th century, writers in the Western American English and Commonwealth nations used foreign literature and culture as a model and source of inspiration to innovate their literature through translation. For example, James Joyce staged Irish drama in collaboration with the German writer Jette Hopmann, and WB Yeats used Greek drama as a model. American writer Hilda Durrant translated a few poems and plays. Marjorie Moore translated the ethical fictions authored by Jean De La Fontaine. T.S. Eliot translated the French essays. Virginia Woolf translated Dostoevsky writing. Williams Carlos Williams translated many French poets.

Spanish and Latin American authors such as Octavio Paz Pablo Neruda also translated Ezra Pound and his Chinese and Japanese translations, which we have already discussed in detail. In fact, Pound, in his effort, determined translation as an essential tool and activity for influencing new authors.

As a result, many modern authors began to write in more than one language, so that they could navigate the two cultures. Many writers, who believe this, have traveled from one culture to another and from one country to another in many cases. However, they have also changed their language and their concept of identity. Eliot was constantly variable in terms of language and place in his poem *Wasteland*. Many modern writers, like Eliot, were hybrids and gave expression to their feelings in many cultures in their writings. New Zealand-born Katherine Mansfield and Dominica-born Joan Rice translated their own post-colonial struggle. Diaspora literature poses problems with the identity of its main female characters as they navigate their way into a foreign culture. It would be necessary to mention here the fact that modernism is different in the case of women writers because it is more normative for male writers than women writers. According to feminist critics, this is because women have historically lived outside or within the institutions and beliefs that make history. Modernism's 'insistence for the new' is nothing but a rebellion against male dominated structures. Therefore, many modern women writers believe that not only should literature be new, but they should also invent a new language together. The seventies and eighties of the 20th century witnessed not only a new development in Gender Studies, but also a parallel development in translation studies.

In the Reformation era, women were entrusted with the responsibility of translating religious books. Aphra Behn and a few other female translators combined their literary interests with other political projects (such as the anti-slavery movement) during the 18th century to initiate the first phase of feminism. She was also doing her independent writing. Mary Wollstonecraft was also translating in the last decade of the 18th century and was also writing a book like *Avindication of writes of Women with strictures on political and moral subjects*.

Sherry Simon in her book '*Gender in Translation Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*' takes up issues of gender in translation. She takes translation studies into the wider field of cultural studies. She argues how feminism as a political and literary movement has also influenced translation studies. Simon's view is that gender identity not only affects the perspective of translation, but also the specific projects (that a translator encourages) in

the process of translation. She also discusses the notions of control of translation in translating French feminist theorists such as Irigari, Julia Kristeva, and Helen Cixous into English. She also discusses contemporary feminist translations of the Bible and calls for the historicity of feminist translations of the Bible. Sherry Simon also discusses how elements of identity and experience are shaped by the under social consciousness, drawing on contemporary positivist theories. For example, the work of Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak revolves around postcolonial theory and consciousness.

The issue of gender has been an important topic in translation studies. Linguists and translators have always debated various perspectives relating to it which include its different meanings across cultures. In some cultures the specific gender is very clear and in others it is not. Languages that do not have specific genders are very difficult to translate when gender is specified in the target language.

Similarly Nissen believes that the function of gender can change over the period of time within the same culture. Nissen has given the example of the word 'secretary'. He says that in the 19th century Secretary were mainly men, while today their place has also taken by women, in the same way, the word 'Typist' was used for the word 'Lady Typist', but today the number of men as typists is also not less. Thus it can be said translating gender is a sensitive issue.

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

In this unit you learned about world literature along with the literary discourse of modernism. Also you read about poets, writers and translators Ezra Pound and WB Yeats and their contribution to the field of translation. We have also learned how Pound's translation of Chinese poetry opened the door to Asian literature in Europe and America, and how Yeats Irish literature was part of the poet's national project. You also learned that translation is a political work and must be seen in the context of the historical period in which it was undertaken. Through the study of this unit we also came to know that the works of modernist writers reflect cross cultural translation as many of them deal with different languages and cultures in their daily struggle. Also, at the end of the unit, we have also explained how the issue of gender in translation work affects the translation process and its perspective.

2.6 Exercise

1. What are the main features of world literature? Give an example of a literary appropriation undertaken in a translated text.
2. Give an account of Ezra Pound's views on translation.
3. Discuss W.B. Yeats works on translation with reference to political translation.
4. How modernist writers have failed to express different cultural associations in their writings? Explain.

2.7 Key Words

Bourgeoisie : This is a French word which means persons belonging to upper middle class who own the production of good and lands most of the richest in the country. This is used by Marxist thinkers.

Appropriation : The word is used to make one's own interpretation by translating the knowledge or book of another language. One of its meanings is

‘adoption’ or ‘acceptance’, ‘anglicisation’, ‘to make one’s own’. During the colonial period, the process of appropriation was used by translating the knowledge texts and literature of the colonized society.

2.8 Suggested Readings

Demarosh, David, 2003, *What is World Literature* Princeton University Press.

France, Peter, 2000, *Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* Oxford University Press.

Yao, Steven G, 2002, *Translation and the Language of Modernism: Gender, Politics, Language* Pathoy Macmillan



Unit 3 Indology and Translation

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Beginning of Modern Indology
- 3.3 Phases of Modern Indology
 - 3.3.1 Translation Project and the Glory of the past
 - 3.3.2 Early phase of Indology and its evolution: An analysis
- 3.4 Impact of Indology on India and translation: A critical Inquiry
- 3.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.6 Exercise
- 3.7 Key Words
- 3.8 Suggested Readings

3.0 Objectives

After reading this unit you will be able to know that

- What are the main features of the Indology as a discipline and the various issues in cultural politics of translation?
- How has the politics of translation of ancient Indian literature shaped and shaped historiography?
- What are the characteristics of the source materials of Indology and the nature of their translation?
- What is the structure of Indology in ethnography and archeology?

3.1 Introduction

Indology is the study of ancient languages and literatures. It is a historical investigation of ancient textual sources. India is a subset of Asian studies, also known as 'Indic studies' or Indian Studies. For the last few decades, the departments of Indology in America and Europe are also known as 'South Asian Studies'. Therefore, Indology is the ion of ancient Indian literature. But in the context of India, it is taken to have a special meaning and it is believed that it is basically Sanskrit literature and the study of Hinduism along with some other languages like Jain and Buddhist some Prakrit and Pali language and literature. These areas of study have also evolved and changed over a period of time. Arabic and Persian languages played an important role in making the connection between Sanskrit and English.

The process of development and change in the context of collection of ancient Indian manuscripts existed even before it was collected in its final form. In other words, something that exists today and the form it is in today. It can be used as a source of historical information to understand the period in which it was being written. However, if it continues over a period of time, it becomes necessary to identify its various appropriations and interpolation associations over time. Most of the ancient texts we know today were not written by just one author but by many authors. Many of these writers have been anonymous, identifying their backgrounds and the attitudes (such as class, religion, and gender) that reflect the biases.

Some other important questions are also related to this. Like, where were these texts composed and in which geographical areas were they first approved? This may put a question

in your mind that who propagated it with protection and how they went on using it. Another important question can also be asked that what the method of teaching or determining these texts was. Ultimately, what role do all these play in the cultural structure, political power and social existence?

3.2 Beginning of Modern Indology

We have learned about ‘What has India given?’. Now we will focus on its development. In the pre-modern or pre-colonial era, many foreigners thought of Indian languages for the study of Indian society, history and culture. Albiruni is a scholar who can be an example in this regard. With the establishment of the British Rule after the eighteenth century, due to various reasons, systematic knowledge of Indian society began to increase very rapidly. Administrative reasons are that they felt that the structure of Indian society Systematic information may prove helpful. Some British officials also learned the ancient languages of India. Missionary activities also contributed to the development of the discipline of Indology. Keeping the knowledge of Indian society and religion in their languages was also a reason for that. Therefore from the point of view of Indian society and tradition, by the end of the nineteenth century, the following were trends:

- (a) Orientalist
- (b) Administrative
- (c) Christian Missionary

These three aspects were there which had edge regarding Indian society, culture and religion. These perceptions were almost certain regarding their opinion and their role and vision in / about India. Needless to say that in any of the above mentioned forms; the beliefs were not completely different from each other.

3.3 Phases of Modern Indology

The last three decades of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by close contact between the indigenous intellectual class and the scholars of Indology. The East India Company was well aware of the fact that they would have to depend on the native intellectuals for knowledge of the laws, customs and languages of the people of India. Apart from this, there were many western scholars who were aware of the wealth of ancient culture and knowledge accumulated in the classical languages of the Indian team. However, this was not the case for long as the dwindling number of such western scholars changed this view.

After the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the colonial state (and the west with a few exceptions) began to distance itself from the attraction of India. Overall, the hedonistic attitudes of the ancient Indian classical traditions changed in the form of cultural and political pride in Indian antiquity and people. At the same time, we should not assume that the entire body of Indology at a particular time during colonial rule was influenced by ‘Indomania (love for India) or Indophobia (fear of India). In fact there is little historical development in this regard. It was something else. The earliest phase of Indology, for example, can be called the Romantic era. But it continued until the second decade of the same century. This was the time when colonial power in India was at its height. By that period the fascination for Indian antiquity and people had turned into cultural and political pride. The question then arises as who made possible the romanticized phases of Indic Studies. The colonial project of Indic studies began within the East India Company. But it was closely associated with the German

Enlightenment or the Romantic phase of India in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, which is often referred to as the 'Romantic Phase of the Orientum'.

3.3.1 Translation Project and the Glory of the past

So far, we have tried to find out the general meaning of Indic Studies and know it in chronological order. We will now focus on the role that translation played in the development of this branch of knowledge.

In the year 1783, the British Parliament made a Regulation. Warren Hastings was made the Governor General and a council was formed to assist him. Hastings wanted to explore the possibilities of Indian culture as the basis of a strong administrative system in India. It was set out to work within the existing vernacular institutions, and to this end, began to create elites proficient in Indian languages in accordance with Indian traditions. Therefore, Hastings began to promote the Company's career officers in Asian literature and translation work. For example, Naithniyal, one of Hastings' brilliant young men, published a grammar of the Bengali language. During the time of Hastings, and shortly afterwards, both (a) professional development in the proficiency of Indian languages, and (b) the literary mastery of oriental civilization opened the way for Charles Wilkins, one of the charter members of the Royal Asiatic Society, to conduct the first Opened government printing press. Wilkins translated the Bhagavad Gita in 1785. He laid the foundation for the reconstruction of the history of Plassey in Bengal through the study of inscriptions. The company also established several centers for higher education and study of Eastern languages and cultures. They established institutions such as Calcutta Madrasa was established in 1781, Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 AD, Sanskrit College was established in 1792 and Fort William College, Kolkata in 1800 and Hindu College in Pune and Kolkata in 1820.

In addition to that, chairs were also established in many western universities, especially in England, France and Germany, for the study of the languages and literatures received.

The colonial rule needed rules and regulations to run the government in India. Here the question arises that what was the basis of these legal rules. During this period, the legal rules were compiled in accordance with the ancient Indian classical texts. This necessitated the translation and transliteration of classical texts. Political ideas were so dominant during the last two and a half decades of the eighteenth century and the first two and a half decades of the nineteenth century that there was no need for the Company to promote Western knowledge to the Indian people.

However, some historians have argued that even groups that showed interest in classical or Indological knowledge had no respect for contemporary Indian religions and cultures. In other words, they accepted that the Indian people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had deviated from the path of their religious texts in their social life. They were trying to show their roots to the Indians through in their personal talks. At the same time, they also wanted to establish how Indians had deviated from the path laid down in their texts. They wanted to overthrow the Hindus' faith in their religion by showing that they had deviated from the ancient religions, which according to them was the first step towards complete religious conversion.

Similarly, there are some historians who argued that the objective of religious conversion was often at the center of Indology studies. Through a comparison of ancient European languages (such as Greek) with Sanskrit vocabulary, William Jones argued that the languages of the

Indo-Europeans had their origins in Sanskrit. It was another matter that the concept of Indo-European was first named in 1813 AD by Thomas Young. William Jones was the first person to put forward the idea of the unity of the Indo-European languages or what is known today as the 'Indo-European language family'. Jones also emphasized the unity of cultures and pointed to the comparative works of Vedic literature and philosophies of the ancient world. On the basis of these discoveries, he said that the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, Indians and Egyptians were basically one, which divided into many parts and settled in their respective areas or regions or moved further. In this development, religion and civilization from India spread towards the east.

Though, Tomas R. Douthett, and Michael Hasen point out that the concept of the megalomaniac measured family proposed by William Jones was based on Childe's description of the descent of Noah and his three sons. Jones believed that the origin and development of Indian civilization took place immediately after the flood of Noah which took place in 4004 BC. Thus, we find in the concept proposed by Jones the three main elements that became the central tenets of Indology and the historicization of India: silent ethnography, abbreviated vice chronology and ancient knowledge.

Thus, we find two things during the early colonial period in India. (1) It was a common belief that ancient Indian texts or Arabic-Persian texts for the medieval period were a compendium of knowledge on India. Therefore, if the colonial government has to successfully rule over the people, then necessary information has to be obtained for that. Hence there is a need to translate these ancient texts. This original intention was reflected in the translations made for the development of colonial legal and administrative regulations. (2) We also see that the reliance on ancient Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian texts as repositories of Indian knowledge was based on concepts and understandings. Western or Indian in origin played an important role in these translation works, but the concepts and initial objectives behind the translation projects were bound by the limits of their agency, i.e. colonial power relations.

3.3.2 Early phase of Indology and its evolution: An analysis

The early decades of the nineteenth century were witness to a change in the western understanding and attitude towards India. Indology developed during this period was also criticized a lot. The fascination of ancient Indian civilization gave way to condemnation of Indian culture and religion. This was the result of a number of developments. For example, the influence of utilitarian thought and outlook was increasing during this period. The writings of Charles Ghat, Grant Duff and James Mills played an important role in enhancing these ideologies on the colonial policies in India. Apart from the cultural pride of the ruling class, there were many other 'developments' in knowledge and politics that contributed to this tradition. We will try to deal with the main reasons in this part of that unit.

I. Missionaries

With the arrival of Europeans, missionaries also came to India and they did many new things for their religious propaganda. For example, the missionaries established the first printing press in India and started printing books in Indian languages. They took a keen interest in the preparation of grammars and dictionaries of several indigenous Indian languages and took a leading role in the translation of religious texts from various Indian languages as well as the translation of the Christian scripture Bible into the vernacular languages.

Apart from the preparation of grammars of Indian Languages and translation of Indian texts, the missionaries also took keen interest in reading the translations of ancient Indian classical

texts authored by ancient Indian-philosophers. Although there were significant differences between the different paths of missionaries in their strategies and objectives, overall the study of classical language and literature by the missionaries was based on their main objective of reading the ancient texts of Hinduism and their ideas was to criticize them Indian texts and knowledge system. They thought that the real solution to Indian problems would be the conversion of the Indian people to Christianity and the spread of modern European knowledge among them.

Against Indian scholars known as Orientalists, missionaries such as Charles Grant argued that Indians differed from the Britishers in every way. When they entered the mission, the missionaries had a whole world of imagination in their mind, based on prior beliefs, a new form of presentation and depiction of Hinduism. In addition, their writings on Indian religion were sent to Britain. These ideas and concepts were reinforced and popularized by the literature of the Missionary Societies. In most cases, these were edited and repackaged for the British readership. As a result of this development, the missionary approach was softened a bit, but Indian religion and the orthodoxy of the Hindus had been ingrained in the minds of the British from the beginning.

II. Utilitarian Thinkers

There were many foreign scholars who had neither visited India nor knew any Indian language, yet they expressed their authoritative views on India. In these, missionaries utilitarians like Charles Grant and James Mill can be mentioned. The material composed by the Orientalists relied on the knowledge based on the translations of Indian texts translated by western scholars from a normative point of view. In other words, they used the materials of the Indologists to some extent, but their evaluations differed. James Mill did not even discuss the similarity among Sanskrit, Greek and languages. The ideas of his book '*Scales of Civilization*' made a clear theoretical basis for the review of Hindu and Muslim civilizations. Mill's policy of triangular classification of Indian history as "Hindu period", "Muslim period" and "British period" was supported by missionaries and friends utilitarians like Macaulay. Following the path shown by the thinkers, later Macaulay also condemned the classical languages and literature of the East.

Thus, we see that the project of translation of Indian texts, their prestige and role changed drastically after the arrival of ancient English Indologists until the arrival of missionaries and utilitarians, which was negative for the development of Indology. This was the reason that in course of time, the importance of Indology decreased.

III. Other circumstances

It is generally accepted that the principles of Indology helped in building and strengthening the image of India. These images are still visible today. However, with the development in the field of knowledge (especially in the fields of linguistics, archeology and ethnology, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) these perceptions were challenged by Indian thinkers. For example, William Jones's idea of linguistic unity was taken in a new direction. For example, Colebrooke argued in 1801 that all the modern languages of India were derived from Sanskrit. In this way he presented the principle of linguistic unity in India. In the following decades, however, the ethnographic and linguistic field studies of India were carried forward by scholarly administrators and missionaries in line with Colebrooke's writings. He talks about a three-language family theory beyond the theory of 'unity of origin'. We can see these features in the following steps.

- a. By 1816, Ellis showed that the Dravidian family of languages did not come from Sanskrit. It was to reject the logic of the unity of languages and to maintain the existence of a separate language family.
- b. Stevenson and Hodgson proposed the idea, in 1840, that before the arrival of Sanskrit in India, tribal language and people were there including Dravidian and Munda languages.
- c. Robert Caldwell, in his book 'Comparative Grammar' (1956), clearly established that the Mundas have their own distinct ethnolinguistic entity, distinct from the Aryans and the Dravidians.

This means that not only one or two people in India three families of ethno-linguistics were there i.e. Arya, Munda or Adivasi and Dravidian. Even then scholars believed that language and physiognomy tell the same story. Stephenson believed that Aryan languages were spoken by white people and tribal languages were spoken by colored (black) people. Jalan often added physical descriptions of the speakers of the language to whatever he reported. These scholars never realized that the details of the use of linguistic and physiological tools could be so different from each other that it is very difficult to understand them together.

We discussed above the change in approach to understand and interpret India. Based on the above discussion, the texts which were translated by the Britishers to know about India changed the outlook of the British.

IV. Genealogy, Archeology and India

There were other significant factors in the change of attitude towards India because of Indic Studies. At the end of the nineteenth century, the depiction of the Indo-European peoples of the Vedic age was initially painted by William Jones and Colebrooke, and later reached its final form by Friedrich Maxmüller (1823–1900), a German scholar. In this reconstruction, we find a close relationship between language and ancestry. The speakers of Indo-European languages were Aryans, who had certain physical characteristics like strong build, fair face, long nose and good height. Maxmüller, through his writings and translations, presented the qualities of the Aryans of North India in Romantic way with a lot of appreciation.

Rather than being introspective and other-worldly, Aryans were considered non-mystic. They were presented as non-vegetarian, physically strong and members of a socially egalitarian society. In response to this, the 'Other' was composed as an image of the defeated Anaryas, who lived in northern India during the time of the Aryans. However, in later writings, Maxmüller clarified that there was no race or caste, a belief that had become prevalent by that time.

Even after Maxmüller's explanation, there seems to be a tension between the classification of languages and the classification of races.

The beginning had already been made. In one of his articles in 1861 AD, Coffard outlined the errors of 'Aryan or Indo Theory' prepared, which by that time had become the central pillar of India's Indology knowledge. Coffard argued that the theory was flawed in that the concept of language and nationality without physical appearance or intellectual capacity was based on imagination. On the contrary, he argued, physical appearance and intellectual capacity contradict the evidence of language. Some important developments during the 1850s made the theory complete, including the role of archaeological discoveries such as Darwinism in the close proximity of human remains to long-extinct animals both these developments

formed the basis of the biblical phylum of Christianity, about six thousand years old in human history.

It was now clear that the introduction of races and colors in humans had occurred over a long period of time, at least millions of years. Compared to that period, many more Indo-European languages distinguished themselves from the prevalent ancient languages. It was also clear that the Indo-European languages were not formed from the beginnings of human life, but were discovered by the standards of ancient China and were a recent event compared to the history of human evolution.

The sudden expansion of the human time frame led to the separation of species studies from language studies, in biological terms. It became increasingly clear that the rate of species formation was much slower than that of language families. Not only this, the discovery of prehistoric archeology broke down substantial evidence of long human occupation of Europe and made it clear that people of European ancestry were already present in many of the places where they are still found.

By 1920, the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization made it clear that the roots of civilization in India were much older than the beliefs of Indologists. In fact, the relationship between the original authors and the destroyers of the Indus Valley Civilization has led to a new controversy, often related to ideologies, whether the Aryans came from outside or were the original inhabitants, whether they were the writers of the Indus Valley Civilization Aryans or natives. What were the reasons for the destruction of Indus Valley civilization? Historians are giving answers to these questions in their own way, but the definite and unanimously accepted conclusions have not emerged.

3.4 Impact of Indology on India and translation: A critical Inquiry

Socio-religious reformers of the nineteenth century and nationalist historians of the twentieth century have generally recognized the golden age of the Vedic period on the basis of the beliefs of *Bharat Vidyashastra (Indic Studies)*. Such presentation of Vedic society during the colonial rule can be seen as a response to the humiliation and oppression of the colonized society. Its original intention was to show that in ancient times the Indian people were in a better condition than the western people. However, in recent years, for a number of ideologically historical reasons, historians across the ideological spectrum have taken a more critical approach to the legacy of Indology.

It has become necessary for some historians to criticize those theories of India which are not being properly established in the framework of cultural nationalism. There are also some historians who give more importance to the archeological sources in the ancient Indian writings than to the materials of Indology. Other historians want a more logical analysis before forming an opinion about this discourse because there are some metrical problems with the contents of Indology. But there are historians who argue that there is not enough ground to abandon the use of Indology in historiography, and instead we should focus on a careful and historically sensitive handling of textual sources.

For most of the first group of historians, a central problem with the writings of the Indologists was their belief in the superiority of Christianity and their aim to present it as the true religion on the soil of India. It is clear from the writings of such Indologists that this group included Christian missionaries, English thinkers, writers (such as James Mill) and administrators

(such as Macaulay). This is also true of those Indologists who regarded as admirers of the ancient religions of the East, these historians wanted to show the depth of the foundation of the errors of the indigenous people, admirers of the ancient civilization of India, how old the roots of their superstition are.

For these historians, the second problem is that the Indologists did not give much prominence to the ancient civilizations of the East, the Vedas and the Sanskrit language due to Christian orthodoxy. That is why they were not inclined to place the Vedas and the Aryan civilization before the second millennium BC. Apart from this, Indologists also believed in the theory of Aryan invasion. They believed that they had come from outside. Western Indologists argued that there was no native civilization prior to the invasion of the Aryans. Later, when the Harappan and Indus Valley Civilizations were discovered, they began to argue that the original civilizations had declined because of invasions from outside. Some Indologists began to believe that the Aryan invasion was a myth. All these were some of the reasons why historians became critical of Indology.

It has been shown by modern historians that the Vedic evidence was repeatedly re-read and re-combined to suit the interpretation or interpretation and that the image of the “dark-skinned savage” was projected onto the Vedic evidence with a large-scale distortion of the text. This portrayal was forced upon with substantial and ‘adjective’ changes. It has also been shown that the concept of Aryans was socio-linguistic, not an indicator of race. Nevertheless, from William Jones to Colebrooke and Max Müller’s Indological knowledge resulted in the formation of Aryan’s racial approach and from this point of view the entire history of the Indian subcontinent was explained.

Apart from the above arguments, historians have also drawn attention to other problems. For example, working on texts with the help of pundits, scholars of modern Indology have expressed a concern towards all Hindus developed pastoralist approach. Second, the Indologists had almost agreed that all the texts were the real guides to the culture and society of the Hindus. The approach that Indian society adopted after studying the texts with the help of pundits and (scholars of Hindu scriptures) shastras, had many consequences. They created a standard view according to which the Brahmin was the dominant group of the society. The acceptance of the view based on the texts written on the society by the Indology scholars presented the picture of the Indian society as static, holistic and selfless. There was no regional variation in this outlook of the Indian society. Indian society was seen as a set of rules that every Hindu followed. In this image, the Asian people went a long way in the field of imagination. But the supremacy of the European mind and thought over the scientific method of cause and effect or the *Vidyashastras* propagated the myth of the ancient golden age of India and the idea of the Indo-European language family. They also believed that the ancient Indians lacked a sense of history or earlier we had raised the question whether the role of translation had any effect in the process of production of knowledge related to India in the second phase of ancient Indology. In relation to this question, it is important to know that the role that translation played in the development of Indology is of two types.

First, it made available those texts relating to *Bharat Vidyashastra* (like ancient Sanskrit texts) on which Indology was based or secondly, Indology became a comprehensive. *Bharat Vidyashastra* was perspective, as was evident from the policies of Warren Hastings. The knowledge made available through translation contributed to the development of the colonial structure and as a means of governing on the basis of the same. True in any form, but the role of translation as a producer of knowledge or as a means of knowledge was dominant. Yet,

with the continuous development of historical knowledge, we find that the role of translation also changes. Firstly, developments in ethnography and archeology posed serious challenges to the interpretation of these texts as sources and methods of interpretation of ancient Indian history. Once the centrality of the text was challenged, it was natural that the role of translation in the production of knowledge was also challenged. In other words, its role remained mostly as a means of production of knowledge. Also, we find that there have been changes in the purpose of translation of ancient Indian texts between ancient Indologists and later missionaries and utilitarians. While ancient Indologists followed the search for Indo-European philological principles, the purpose of translation of missionaries was enriched by the guidance of evangelism and the utilitarians by being helpful in their vision of British rule in India. Thus there were fundamental changes in the objectives of translation beyond Indology between the two periods.

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

In this unit we have discussed two important issues: (a) what is Indology? and (b) how is Indology related to translation? We find that Indology as a branch of knowledge has developed in several stages. In the course of its development, its influence also changed from one period to another. Thus, the role and influence of Indology between the end of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th century was quite different from the later decades of the 19th century. We have also come to know that new discoveries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries challenged the arguments given by the scholars of Indology particularly western scholars, to explain India. Not only was the centrality of Sanskrit texts challenged as sources to interpret India, but their legal and administrative use also changed. During this period, changes in Ethnography such as “caste” and “tribe” came to the fore in colonial discourse, closely related to the question of translation. As a result of these changes, the role of translation manifested itself in two major ways. First, the purpose behind translation work changed between the early and later periods of Indology. Translations were linked to the nature of interpretation of India. When the purpose behind interpretation changed, the politics of interpretation also changed. This kind of translation work with political motives led to the formation of perception about India. Second, we have also seen that in the case of translation, whether it is in the context of etymology or in the making of colonial laws, in the interpretation of India, Sanskrit (or the centrality of Arabic-Persian texts) was essential.

Once the centrality of texts was challenged by new discoveries in the fields of genealogy, language families and antiquity, it also challenged the relevance of translation in the making of colonial laws. When the basis of colonial law was viewed from the perspective of ethnography, which was largely based on the work done by British officials and researchers from different dimensions, rather than texts, the role and relevance of translation can be said to be complex in the interpretation of India.

3.6 Exercises

1. What is Indology and what has been the contribution of translation in its making?
2. ‘Translation of Sanskrit texts during the colonial period was related to the making of rules of law’. - Explain.
3. Critically examine the significance of translation in the perspectives of Ancient India Scholars, Missionaries and Utilitarian thinkers with reference to India during colonial period.

4. Discuss the critique of Indology.

3.7 Key Words

Indology: The term Indology is commonly used for understanding academic study of India, Ancient Literature and Cultures and Philosophy. This term was used for understanding indic studies during colonial period in particular perspective.

Indophobia: A tendency to react negatively towards people of Indian extraction, against aspects of India Culture and normatic habits.

Indomania: It refers to the special interest that India, Indians and their culture and traditions have generated across the world.

Orientalist: Western scholars of India who focused their studies pertaining to India with their own perspectives during the colonial rule in India.

3.8 Suggested Readings

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Unit 4 Translation and the role of Christian missionaries

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Colonialism and Christian Missionaries
 - 4.2.1 Christian Missionary and Modern Indian
 - 4.2.2 Christian Missionaries: Languages and Translation
 - 4.2.3 Christian Missionaries and Modern Education in India
- 4.3 Role of Christian Missionaries in Community Building
- 4.4 Let us Sum Up
- 4.5 Exercise
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4.0 Objectives

After reading this unit you will be able to know that:

- Why and how did Christian missionaries come to India and what was the impact of their activities on colonialism Modernism in India?
- What was the contribution of Christian missionaries in the development of education?
- How did the activities of Christian missionaries lead to social change in India?
- What has been the contribution of Christian missionaries in the development and translation of modern Indian language?

4.1 Introduction

In the previous unit you learned about the history, culture and languages of the Indian subcontinent and how translation developed as a discipline and what role did translation play in India's development. In this unit we shall study the nature and role of translation in relation to the projects, programs and activities of Christian missionaries. We will discuss how Christian missionaries carried out their activities in India. We will also learn how the British East India Company contributed to the activities of Christian missionaries. In this unit, we will also consider the aspect of how education system developed in India under the patronage of Christian missionaries and how it brought about social change. After this, the establishment of the printing press by the missionaries and the impact of the publication of books in Indian languages will also be studied. Christian missionaries and their translation related activities can be easily understood under the above references. Translation of the Christian scripture Cycle into Indian languages, establishment of schools and colleges and programs related to community building are part of such activities.

4.2 Colonialism and Christian Missionaries

Let us first know how the Christian missionaries came to India and how the work started here.

Christian missionaries came to India along with European traders. Roman Catholic missionaries worked to spread Christianity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Protestant missionaries from Denmark and Germany began working in South India from the beginning of the 18th century. In the year 1800 the Baptist missionaries started their work from Shrirampur headquarter. William Carey, Marsh Man and Ward were early First Baptist

Christian missionaries. In the year 1890, Alexander Duff, a member of the Presbyterian Missionary of Scotland, started his conversion activities in Bengal.

In the beginning, the activities of the Christian missionaries were limited to South India only. The East India Company officials in North India and Bengal did not recognize the activities of the missionaries. It was the policy of the Britishers at that time not to interfere in the socio-religious affairs of the local residents. They believed that such interference could adversely affect the commercial objectives of the company. The proselytizing activities of the missionaries threatened the financial objectives of the Company. As a result, the missionaries had to set up their headquarters in Danish controlled Srirampur. However, this kind of mindset of the company changed at the beginning of 19 century. Now the company showed interest in making Indians 'civilized' through various policy initiatives. This resulted in the lifting of restrictions on the activities of missionaries by the Charter Act, 1813. This is confirmed in the year 1851 by a special communication sent by Sir Charles Wood, who came to be known as 'Dispatch'. Through this special notice, the missionaries were allowed to receive grants from the government for their schools and colleges.

The East India Company was initially a commercial undertaking and was not much concerned with the social welfare of the people. But as early as 1614, missionaries were appointed at the company's expense to tell people about Christianity. In the year 1659 the 'Court of Directors' clearly stated that it was their heartfelt desire to propagate Christianity among the Indian people and allowed Christian missionaries to work in this direction. When the Charter of the Company was amended in 1898, Parliament added the famous Missionary Clause, through which the Company was directed to appoint a Minister of Religious Affairs for all its factories in India weighing 500 tons or more, appoint a captain on each ship. The charter also directed the company to open schools where necessary.

However, as per the Charter Act, 1698, the grounds were laid down for education for the children of the Company's employees and not for the people of India. Under this act, priests were appointed in all the three Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The priest took it upon himself as his religious responsibility to provide education to the Christian European children and the Wajlodian children born to Company soldiers and their Indian wives. Charity schools were opened for the education of Anglo-Indian children. These schools were mostly named after Christian saints and through these schools, an attempt was made to indicate that these schools were primarily for poor or orphan children.

Denmark missionaries first started working under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. The originators of these missionaries were Jeejenvallg and Plashau, who started their activities from Tranquebar in the year 1706. Drakinar was a Danish cantonment in the south. However, before the year 1813, there was very little development of missionary work. The first and most important reason for this was the hostile attitude of the East India Company towards them. The curia was generally favorable towards the missionaries before 1765. But as the Company aspired to political power in India, the Company rigorously tried to maintain religious neutrality.

By the year 1800, the Company became staunchly hostile to activities such as proselytism and tried to keep missionaries out of its jurisdiction.

4.2.1 Christian Missionaries and Modern Indian Languages

Let us now focus on the land and contribution of Christian missionaries towards Indian languages. Translation from Indian languages to English began in the year 1985 and all initial translations were done from Sanskrit. This attracted more attention and made it one of the most interesting cultural discoveries Europe uncovered. Philosophical linguistic study began in the year 1800 with the discovery by Sir William Jones of the amazing structure of Sanskrit, better than Greek, more widespread than Latin and more widespread than any other language, which led to the development of the concept of the Indo-European family. By this time the company was settling in India and it was no longer a trading company. It had to expand its rule. The company was also paying well for the translation of the statutory copies and the official translation of the grammar of the Indian language and the compilation of the dictionary. The Fort William College was established in Calcutta in the year 1800 to train British employees of the Company in Indian languages. From the tenure of Warren Hastings who was the Governor of India till 1785 in the year 1922, it was marked as a policy to better understand the people of India in order to serve them better.

Christian missionaries used the local language to propagate their religious beliefs. They started printing press and started publication of weekly magazines. In their schools, they started teaching Dakosh, grammar and well-edited excellent literature. In this context reference may be made to the Kanh-English dictionary prepared in the year 1891 by Kittel. In their newspapers and weekly magazines, the missionaries started using simple. He also started the project of translating. For example, the translation of Chati into Kannada came as early as the year 18250. Beet and Bhogalinga translated Banyan's work Tistiprati into Kannada language. This translation was published in the year 1817. William Carey and Marsh Man translated the Ramayana. Translators began to translate the Sanskrit text in a simple way. How William was a man of extraordinary linguistic ability, he had well adequate knowledge about six Indian languages before coming to India, and after coming he learnt other languages too, he played a major role in the translation of the Bible into Indian languages.

Christian missionaries started talking about poets of modern Indian languages with British officials. The first book in Malayalam based on the 'Kappadium Doctrine Kishchiana' written by Father Clement "Synopsis Bedar" was printed in Rome in the year 1772. By the 18th century only the priest Roborto The Novili learned in Tamil by coming to the city of Madurai in Tamil Nadu. Dhani Joseph Besvi wrote a grammar of Tamil colloquialism, a dictionary, a satirical prose based on the life of Peeshu, the responsibilities of Christian preachers and the life of a guru.

In Yangana too, Menujat Asampação of Portugal and Dom Antonio, a native Christian, wrote Christian doctrines in the year 1745. Vysit's 'The New Testament' was translated into Telugu by Vyazmain in the middle of the 18th century. The establishment of the Srirampur Mission in the year 1800, the Varcha Mission Society in Kerala in the year 1854, and the Basel Mission in Karnataka, saw an increase in the work related to the translation of the Bible, other books related to Christianity, dictionaries and grammars. When the missionaries opened schools in different areas, they provided education to the children.

He also started preparing the study material himself. Missionaries made the most significant contribution to the development of educational materials, dictionaries and grammars, most of which went to local grammars and dictionaries. But the writings by the missionaries were not mere copies. Most of the translations of the Bible (which were translated from the original Hindi, and Greek texts) did not take into account the standards of the target language.

Because of its unusualness and uniqueness, the missionary prose style has often been interpreted oddly as Pastoral Malayalam Pastoralism or Biblical Telugu. However, it has to be admitted that this was the first serious experiment in coherent and descriptive writing.

The efforts of the missionaries and officials of the East India Company were combined in the College of Fort William. They worked together in Shrirampur mission. The College of Fort William started publishing books about India for the officers of the East India Company. These books were prepared by local scholars in view of British scholars. Some of these translations were from Sanskrit and some from Persian. Scholars at Fort William College experimented with different modes and styles of Gayas, different authors wrote books in different genres and styles, and a single author wrote books in different genres and styles. Writings by missionaries and Company officials alerted Indians to the possibilities of expressing their thoughts through prose.

4.2.2 Christian Missionary Language and Translation

We have read about the programs, activities and role and contribution of Christian missionaries towards Indian languages and society. We also briefly understood the role of translation in this context. Let us now consider more broadly the question of translation in the above context.

Missionaries mainly engaged in the propagation of Christianity by the preaching of the Bible and the spread of Western education, these missionaries also played an important role in the development of modern Indian society. Missionaries contributed significantly to the development of Indian literature and language by translating the Bible and other Western texts into Indian languages. For example, American Baptist missionaries played an important role in the Assamese language in the middle of the 19th century and thereafter. Some of the missionaries had great scholars in Indian languages. For example, Roberto de Nobiti living in Madurai was a great scholar of Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil languages. He wrote books in Telugu and Tamil languages. The Danish priest Jeegenvala translated the Bible into Tamil and wrote a grammar in the same language. Schulze translated the Bible into Telugu. James Stephens, an English Catholic priest who worked in Goa from the late 16th to the early 17th century, wrote the 'Christian Purana' in Konkani, which tells the story of Christ from his birth to his resurrection. Baptist missionaries set up a printing press at Shrirampur and published translations of the Bible in about 40 Indian languages. In Bengal, he also brought out three magazines, Friends of India in English and Digdarshan and Samachar Darpan in Bengali.

Missionary schools used Indian languages as the medium of instruction for the children. But he also taught the English language to these children. The company also gave financial aid and patronage to these schools. However, the missionaries in Calcutta had to work in a hostile environment and depend on the Dutch places at Srirampur. As already discussed, after William Carey, the representative of the Baptist Missionary Society, Kiernander was the leading missionary in Bengal in the year 1799. He worked in Calcutta for some time and then moved to the Malda region of Bengal. There he operated an indigo factory and used his spare time to translate the "New Testament" of the Bible into Vagla, to conduct daily religious services for government employees in the princely states, to give religious education to neighboring villages, and to establish schools by himself. In the year 1999 two other missionaries named Ward and Marshman also visited Calcutta.

4.2.3 Christian Missionaries and Modern Education in India

The study of the nature and role of missionaries in Indian languages and translation cannot be separated from their overall activities. Now we will focus on their educational program and the relevance of translation in this regard. We may begin with the question why the context of education is important for understanding the politics of translation? Here we will try to understand what kind of translation became important for missionaries in India in the context of education and why?

In the years following 1698, the Company opened schools in Portuguese territory, as instructed by the Company's warders. But this experiment was not successful and the English were adopted as the medium. The first charity school named St. Mary's Charity was opened on this model. This school was established in Madras in 1715 by Rev. Illu Stephenson. In the year 1719, another charity school was established in Chembai by Rev. Richard Coe. Pastor Benami of Calcutta established such a charity school during the year 1720 to 1731. A women's orphanage was opened in Madras in the year 1787, named after Lady Campen, wife of the Governor, who took a leading role in collecting grants for various institutions. Dr. Andrew Yate opened a men's shelter. Here the question arises that why did the missionaries establish schools and why did other educational institutions come under their control? Its purpose was to spread-propaganda of Christianity and to convert people's religion. Conversion was more favorable to the Company and the colonizers, or because by doing so they could easily exercise control over the local people. There was a time in the early history of the missionaries when the home affairs authority of the missions refused to support their educational activities because they believed that the missionaries had nothing to do with the establishment of schools. However, some missionaries believed that it was important to educate the people, only then they would be able to understand the scriptures properly. Additionally, most conversions came from the lowest strata of society. It became necessary to educate them because only by being educated would they be able to read the Bible, which is essential for salvation. For this reason, he also established the printing press and translated and printed the Bible in Indian languages. Professional schools were also opened by them, so that the converted ones could get jobs and lead a better life.

In the year 177 English schools for European boys were opened at Neethi and at Langar in Mysore to teach English to Indian children, with the help of Sanjir resident John Sukhipan, he lost three schools in Tanjir, Christianity was not taught openly in the schools.

The Court of Rectors was pleased with the harmless efforts of the missionaries, such as education. As a result, the Grant of 250 pagodas (gold coins) was sanctioned.

But as the Company became a political power in India, it tried to maintain religious neutrality, doing its work without hurting the religious sentiments of the local people. The missionaries did not like these changes and started criticizing these policies of the Company. When the Company's Part was amended in 1790, Chawh proposed that it was the responsibility of the British legislature to take steps for the religious and moral betterment of the Qatari people under its rule. But the Court of Erectors opposed this and the proposal was rejected. On this he encouraged the missionaries. After this the missionaries started criticizing not only the policies of the company but also their personal conduct. After 1705, relations between the missionaries and the Company became strained. Between 1793 and 1915 the Company did not allow any missionary workers to work in its territory and expelled many who tried to convert people. No grant was given to Miri schools during this period. The missionaries had no power in India any more but their friends in England and they started their protest against the Company's notes. Vaghane, called the father of modern education in

India, “Olarations on the States of Society among the title Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals; and the Means of improving it.” Commentaries on the State of Society of Asian Peoples in Britain published in 1997. The first thing he put through this was that the British citizens understood the immoral and unfortunate condition of the Indian society. However, the portrayal of Indian society that he portrayed was exaggerated. According to him, neglect and lack of a proper religion is the main reason for the state of degeneration of the Indian society and this condition can be improved through proper education and conversion to Christianity. He also advised to provide English language, western forest and knowledge to the Indian people. Grant’s book paved the way for several academic clauses to be added to the Charter Act of 1913 following its publication.

Missionaries in England were protesting for change in the company’s educational policies, while in India also the officials of the company were protesting for eastern education. He felt that Calcutta Madrasa and Banaras Sanskrit Cities were not enough for this. According to him, traditional Hindu and Muslim education was on the decline and more funds and translations were needed to restore their old glory. At such a time, in the year 1811, Lord Minto said that Eastern literature would also be useful for Western nations. He believed that the British should pay attention to the development of these literatures. After this a sharp dispute arose between the missionaries and the supporters of Eastern learning or the officials of the Company.

In such a situation, an amendment was made in the Charter Act in the year 1815. In this the missionaries and their friends clearly won. According to this act, missionaries were allowed to come and stay in India. They were given the freedom to give religious sermons, to establish the year and to perform missionary responsibilities. The Charter Act of the year 1815 proved to be a revolutionary step in the field of Indian education.

The protest by supporters of Vidya, vernacular languages and the knowledge contained therein, led by Butt and Force for the last nearly 20 years, was successfully ended. As per this new development the company also decided to spend a fixed amount annually on educational activities. After this, a large number of missionaries started coming to India.

The question is how is the above reference relevant to the politics of translation? We have already talked about the kind of translations that were taking place at the initiative of Christian missionaries. We have also mentioned that what is the relation of these steps with the development of modern language and literature during the colonial period? The question of education helps us to explain the nature and scope of the translation that the missionaries referred to in the Indian context.

4.3 Role of Christian Missionaries in Community Building

Let us now discuss the relationship between missionary activities, translation and social change in colonial India. In the discussion till now, we have come to know about the role of missionaries in different languages and religions of British India. In this section, we will study the important role of missionaries in social change and community building in the form of a ‘case study’. In this sequence, we will try to outline his programs and activities in Assam.

When the American Baptist missionaries reached Assam and started their work, the British government opened talks in that area.

This was a major obstacle for the missionaries because Bengali was the local language.

However, the success of the activities of the missionaries required the local language. 19th century

By the middle of the 19th century, Baptist missionaries played an important role in getting Assamese the status of an official language in that province.

He not only wrote little booklets for this, but also a journal (Arunudoï) in favor of his argument.

Books on dictionary and grammar were also brought out.

In the second half of the 19th century, voices against the change of official language in the province to Assamese arose from many quarters. These voices were related to the emergence of language as the executor of political identity in South Asia during that period. Especially in Assam, such voices grew over the work of Christian missionaries on the Assamese language. Additionally, the last years of that century were when efforts were being made for linguistic modernization and classification for Assamese. Codification of the modern Assamese language came into existence between the years 1840 and 1900s. Codification in the pre-colonial period had two main features (h) it was based on grammar; and (b) the language spoken in the Sivasagar region (Eastern Assam region) was taken as the linguistic standard for the entire region. The missionary imprint is evident in both cases. Missionaries argued during the decades 1840s to 1860s that what distinguishes Assamese from Bengali is not just word structure, but also phonetics. Thus, more important than the origin of the words is how the language is spoken. Why or how the language spoken in Sivasagar became the standard of measurement, then the fact behind it is that along with the economic and cultural prosperity of that area, the missionaries present here also played an important role in it. In addition, the fact that Assamese was used in printing in Sivasagar also played an important role, which was introduced by the missionaries and continued successfully. However, the fact cannot be denied that many of the missionary's publications were also inconsistent.

As stated earlier, the missionaries printed translations of the Bible, books of moral instruction on life based on Christian principles, children's literature and educational and scientific manuals, most of which were translated from English. The missionaries used new technology like the printing press for their activities.

But printing press technologies also required education or literacy in the local language, so that religious education and propagation of religion and life based on its principles could reach a wider scale. Thus, we find that content translation, language standardization and academic form were inextricably linked. This process influenced community formation and social change in the area. Let us discuss in detail in this regard.

When we consider the relationship between translation, community formation and social change in the areas surrounding the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, we find that this process is complex and long. For example, Baptist missionaries played an important role in this regard in the neighboring Naga Hills. The result of his programs and activities was that not only did most of the Nagas adopt Christianity as their religion by the middle of the 20th century, but they also changed their customs to a great extent according to Christianity. However, when the missionaries started working in the Naga Hills, most of the Naga people were not

educated. Therefore, the missionaries did not have any effective written medium to convey their message to them or the promotion of Vivit and the establishment of schools and colleges and the establishment of modern educational institutions took place simultaneously in the Naga Hills. Missionaries were instrumental in getting English accepted as the official language in Nagaland. At that time the missionaries used translation for their mission work and communication in the Brahmaputra valley. They did it for their mission work. In addition, Christianity played an important role in community building in the Naga Hills. Christianity was one of the factors that played a significant role in the formation of the 'Naga' identity of the Naga community in the 20th century. In the name of one religion and modernization it has been possible to prevent conflict between different Naga communities. Thus we find that the role of translation is different in the valley and the neighboring hill region. It is also noteworthy that the missionaries were more successful in their mission in the hill region than in the valley. Yet there is a commonality that translation played an important role in community building, directly or indirectly.

4.4. Let Us Sum UP

In this unit we have read about how different missionary groups came to India. We also learned that what and how were the relations between the activities of the missionaries and the colonial policies of the East India Company. It is also known that how the East India Company had turned against the missionaries at one time.

We also read about the various Indian languages in which it contributed by allowing missionaries to speak and by publishing other booklets. We also read about the early schools set up by missionaries in different parts of India and how the spread of Christianity changed Indian society. Also, it was possible to understand the role of translation in oral and written communication and exchange of ideas.

4.5 Exercise

1. Throw light on the activities of the Christian missionaries in India during the early period.
2. Discuss the contribution of Christian missionaries with reference to Indian languages.
3. How did the activities of missionaries affect community building in colonial India? Find its diameter.
4. Explain the role of translation in the activities of Christian missionaries.

4.6 Suggested Readings

- Fagarg, Robert and So, Insane. 2003, Christian Missionaries in India Kanyarat Communication fee 1500, this Special Reference Caste Version and Colonial B.M.B.M. Ltd. Co.
- Naik, J.P. and Nurullah Spade, 1964. Students Hindi of Education in India (1800-1965), New Delhi Macmillan & Company.

Unit 5 Indian Interpreters and the Building of the British Empire

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 British Imperialism and Indian Interpreters
 - 5.2.1 Indian interpreters and Compilation of Colonial Documents
- 5.3 Indian interpreters and the making of colonial law
- 5.4 On Indian interpreters and Folk Literature
- 5.5 Let Us Sum UP
- 5.6 Exercise
- 5.7 Suggested Readings

5.0 Objectives

After reading this unit you will:

- Explain the role of Indian interpreters in the establishment of the British Empire.
- Understand the process of empire building in India which has always been a shared experience.
- Understand how colonial knowledge accumulation was inspired by indigenous knowledge systems and the protection of the core and interests of governance over submissive peoples.
- Know that how Muslim and Hindu law were mixed in the process of law making during the colonial period.
- Understand that how the local elites shared the knowledge of Indian folk literature as native informers.

5.1 Introduction

It was necessary for the English colonial rulers to know the language of the local people to rule India. In case of not knowing the language, the translation was the other remedy. Another way was that interpreters who knew the languages of local and foreign rulers could be helpful in this process. In this process a new class of interpreters emerged in India. As the bearers and confidants of indigenous knowledge, Indian companions translated and interpreted Indian knowledge for the colonial rulers. For this purpose, those indigenous assistants should be taught the fundamental secrets of India who were interpreting the texts, the past and the culture for the British. But it was difficult for them to deny it. According to CA Bayly, the British also misinterpreted the information made available in this way.

In this unit the role of various Indian interpreters in the formation of the British Empire is being highlighted. It is also being told that those interpreters not only proved to be helpful in collecting such information which helped in strengthening the empire, but also proved to be helpful in the formulation of colonial laws and policies. They were working as translator and interpreter for dialogue between local people and colonial rulers. Let us discuss in the context of British imperialism and Indian interpreters.

5.2 British Imperialism and Indian Interpreters

Indian interpreters played different roles in different phases of colonial rule. Yet colonial reliance on indigenous information is visible from the earliest stages of political contact. As empires consolidated their rule, they needed new ways of obtaining information to better pacify the natives. . During the period of the East India Company, many people were

involved in the process of interpreting Indians for the British. The need for interpretation at this stage was basically to serve the purpose of communication between British and indigenous rulers as well as officials involved in the process of trade exchanges. With the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, the terms of appropriation also changed. Although the need to understand the natives was always inherent in the Company rule as well, this need became more systematic and expanded with the coming under the direct rule of the Empire. As we will see in the next unit, the post-colonial record tried to reduce the usefulness of the contribution of the local interpreter in its own way. In this way, the colonial rulers tried to erase the original history and establish themselves as writers of history. In the context of these changes, in this unit we will consider on the basis of research examined by Nicholas B. early for colonial historiography. This is to say that although colonial historiography was heavily dependent on regional informers in the early period of colonial knowledge production. Yet colonial history was sustained by the political successes that made colonization possible in the form of an illusion of “righteousness”. We must note here that even though the dependence on indigenous interpreters was curbed, colonial knowledge continued to depend on indigenous assistants.

The 17th and 16th century records of the Company, which had experienced a great need for Indian interpreters since the time of the East India Company, not only detail trade and political information, but also contain the names of field officers appointed by the Company for various purposes. The regional officers were registered with various names like Baniye, Dattal, Dugapie, Gumashta, Padal, Saraf and Vakil. All of them had special knowledge. Some had detailed knowledge of regional trade, such as the types of products to be found in which places and the means by which goods could be bought and distributed. Others were aware of the methods and rules of the native state. British officials found it necessary to behave according to those rules, as they depended on the local rulers for protection.

All these officials were “multilingual” and emerged as a convenient medium of communication between Europeans and Indians. The literal meaning of interpreter is “one who knows and speaks two languages” Dumapie served as a translator on the Koromandal coast. For example, the tasks they performed included commissioning, writing and translating Persian texts. It was also known as ‘Muhammadan School Teacher’. He was the chief of the Company’s means of maintaining diplomatic and political relations with the Mughals. He knew not only Persian but also the formalities of the court and the personality of the rulers.

They acted as legal advisors to the British, who were constantly required to enter into agreements with the Mughals (at, 2007, 16-18).

Yet Indian interpreters did not act as mere literal translators of documents, contracts or rules and regulations. There was a vast cultural difference between the Indian and the Britishers, which left much room for misinterpretation. In such a scenario, the Indian authorities had to undertake the task of cultural translation. As Barnard Kona has noted, the British approach in the seventeenth century was highly exaggerated according to their mercantile interests, so they set everything according to its ‘worth’. Thephon also underlines that, in the seventeenth century, Europeans ‘, whereas for Indians objects had material value. For example, the British saw gifts or presents as a means of cementing their ties. For them clothes were a ‘utilitarian commodity’, whereas for Indians the dress, ornaments, customs etc. were of greater importance in the socio-cultural order and thus were elemental. That is to say, they were involved in the active construction of identity, custom and tradition. Who gives an example of how the act of issuing Farman of a Mughal ruler is indicative of the British being

a participant in the power of that time. Then Farman was not just an order, but also expressed some relation of authority.

When Colin Mackenzie started the Mysore Survey in the 18th century, he was heavily dependent on field assistants and informers. These regional assistants and informers were mostly Brahmins. In his role as surveyor in various fields, McKenzie always opposed direct and invasive entry into the lives of indigenous peoples. For example, the census work they suggest to be carried out 'according to Hinduism', so as not to arouse prejudice among the indigenous people, required a deep knowledge of local culture and tradition, which could only be practiced by the indigenous people, could be made available. He was able to complete his survey successfully by following friendly norms and employing highly intelligent indigenous people. Facilitators were used to persuade local people to undertake survey work so that the people could provide the diverse forms of knowledge embedded in their culture and history.

In 1772 AD, during the time of Warren Hasting, the plan to form a better government in Bengal was started. For this knowledge of ancient Indian laws was necessary. Although appropriations and translations of canonical texts were already available, it was only in Hasting's time that a systematic effort was made. This will be discussed in detail in the next section of this unit.

Reliance on indigenous officials for translation and interpretation was seen as a major flaw from the time of the Company. In fact, the study of Indian languages was seen as the mainstay of overcoming this dependence. If Persian was the language of politics used in the court, ancient Indian rules and texts were in Sanskrit. The establishment of Hindustani as the 'language of government' by Gilchrist was primarily aimed at maintaining the hierarchy of the local population. Knowledge of Indian languages, traditions and institutions was mastered by the British with the establishment of the Fort William College. The purpose of this college was not only to educate and train British officers in the rules and regulations of the Company, but also to rule over the 'foreign race' it was necessary to educate them in history, language and literature. This training was imparted by various Indian teachers. Konn has proved cautious that educational institutions were established to preserve the British Indian past. It was from this point of view that the Calcutta, Madrasa and the Sanskrit College (which specialized in imparting Indian knowledge) were established.

5.2.1 Indian Interpreters and Colonial Information Collection

The colonial state power had to rely heavily on military and political information gathering for its rule and conquest. For effective governance, it was necessary to have adequate knowledge of the political, social and economic activities of the colonial slaves. Konn focused on the surveillance and social communication systems of the colonial state that emerged during the colonial period. Wavely's book 'Empire and Information' is one of the most important works. Drawing on the ideas of Manujan Kastel who regards the new information technology as a form of social construction, Beyly argues that 'knowledge itself is a social construction'. By this he meant that particular sections of the society had access to specific types of knowledge and these in their repositories. Thus, ancient Indian texts of political theory refer to two systems of political information on which the king relied. While the pramana collected and preserved the more sophisticated knowledge, the king also relied on 'informal information' from people such as 'dhavaks', 'banpals' and 'khojis' who had deep knowledge of the terrain of the kingdom.

Beyly argues that knowledge in the colonial state built on pre-colonial practices and thus colonial knowledge gathering and indigenous knowledge practices were mutually explanatory, especially in work prior to 1830. This was the case. The increasing emphasis on statistical and empirical information after 1830, and the fear of unreliable indigenous peoples, also led the British to specialize in the local vernacular itself and thus try to minimize local mediation as far as possible. . However, even in the early days of heavy reliance on regional informers, the colonial state could not believe the 'hereditary' and 'mystical' information reported by Yevati. This was because ancestral knowledge is related to the knowledge of the elite and influential people of a particular region, while affective knowledge is knowledge acquired and produced in participation in the beliefs and practices of moral and religious communities. The thing to see in this context is that when the British colonial state had an encounter with the society, then how was the system of information system between the two? They had to depend on the regional Buriyas to obtain indigenous knowledge of the region in order to protect the occupied territory of the colonial empire. To build an intelligence system, it was required to penetrate and manipulate the secret of indigenous knowledge. To be done thus the role of linguists and translators was very special and crucial during the early period of British rule.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that when regional informers were collecting news for their colonial masters, were then getting all and every kind of information from them. This weakness of the colonial empire came to the fore when the Revolt of 1857 happened. The indigenous reporting system that underpinned the rebellion caught the colonial administration by surprise as British officials failed to weed out information provided by elites and other hereditary servants and informers at the village level.

The system of pre-colonial Indian states was based on a deeply entrenched tradition of social integration, which monitored the political behavior of the kin and controlled the abuse of power by the powerful class. Since British India was a vast territory, information always traveled from one place to another through mobile soldiers, priests, pilgrims, marriage processions and elites. For example, a company historian named John Kay in his work 'History of Sepoy Mutiny' throws light on the speed of Indian communication system. Although the caste-based political economy dignified and greatly stratified the society, the practice of arranged marriages only among the upper castes preserved and reflected their acquired knowledge to their next generation. In addition, the Indian ruler had to rely on insightful information from local people and traders to maintain a strong hold on property and the political allegiance of the *praja* (people) to the king (ruler).

After 1200 AD the Mughals had introduced a more systematic system of delivery and established regular post-stations in India. During the reign of Akbar, each copy had its own record of events which was known as Niga or Navi. Praman news writing was to oversee the reports of provincial governors and official news writers appointed as spies as well as regional news. Rulers used to patronize priests and healers for the knowledge they purportedly produced.

After the British took over the management of Bengal in 1765, they had greater access to Indian methods of revenue management and the intricacies of diplomacy. The Indians, who had previously been employed at the Mughal court served as informers and as messengers, news writers, and politicians, were used during British period in the same manner.

It is believed that once the information was gathered from the from various sources, it was done by the Indians in the same way as the British later did. Which was letter institutionalized, embodied and augmented.

5.3 Indian interpreters and the making of colonial law

After the Battle of Plassi in 1757, the East India Company needed a set of constitutional and statutory levies to rule its growing kingdom and settle with it. In his book on this, Konn explains that the Indian situation presented a difficulty to the British. But further colonial rule in Wales and Scotland required limited changes. Apart from these, the colonies of North America and the Caribbean did not have the same political and legal institutions as in British India. With this, the Company gradually started functioning like a state.

The 1766 Grant of Wani Rights authorized the Zamidars to receive grants and revenue from Indian rulers in return for responsible government. But the authority to act as ‘Vasulkarta and Swami’ (Collector and Ruler) was regarded by the Board of Directors of the East India Company as a mistake. He believed that this kind of close approach would make English rulers ‘vulnerable to the actions of the former indigenous people, who would try to give those dice and avoid payment. Instead, the Board suggested that British officials supervise the process of revenue collection. From here we also start to see that the British used to face them when it came to successfully ruling India, that is why they did not care about Indians, but without them, they also needed such Indians, who could determine the revenue.

To establish governance in an unknown country, the organs needed knowledge of the indigenous language for administrative work. In 17th and 18th centuries Sanskrit was considered as a secret language, only the *Brahmans* knew it. The Europeans made many efforts to learn Sanskrit, but their efforts were not very successful. Their translation of Sanskrit texts laid the foundation for the classification of After spending twenty years in India, John Howel translated ‘Ghantushastra’ in Persian, Bangla and Hindustani in 1756 AD during the reign of Siraj-ud-Daulah, which was later published in 1767 AD, but unfortunately the manuscript as well as its Indian appropriation was also lost. Getting lost does not end here. He continued to criticize his predecessors for having a centrist view of Hindus. Its predecessors used to cast Hindus as idiots and or idolaters, further argued that it was a conspiracy perpetrated by Catholic missionaries or because they wanted to convert Hindus.

In 1272 AD, under the plan of Warren Hasting, emphasis was laid on learning more languages of India. Hasting’s main idea of governance was that the indigenous Indians should be governed by their own principles in matters of law. As a result, qazis, muftis and modis were appointed as chief interpreters of law in criminal jurisprudence, and the Quran Sharif for Muslims in civil courts dealing primarily with marriage, caste issues, succession and religious matters. References were taken from the Shastras for the laws of Hindus. Hasting’s step laid the foundation for the creation of a modern judicial system in India.

But in the evolution of colonial law in ancient India, the perspective and interpretation of Pieter van der Peer is a big shock. They argue that projecting India as the land of Sanatana Dharma and Britain as the land of modern secularism leaves India out of history and the British become agents of history. Simply put, he meant that this historical ‘union’ and ‘encounter’ together produced a shared colonial experience. Both India and Britain developed their national culture from this mutual influence. But at the same time it is a two-way process. Thus the colonial law was drawn from the ancient Indian Literature and the Quran among other religious texts. But the shared connection between the colonial desire to enforce the rule

of law and the availability of ancient scriptures governing various areas of the lives of Indian people is not without the role of pundits and maulavis.

The idea of governing Hindus and Muslims by their respective religious laws was largely rooted in Warren Hesting's plan. He called many *sanyasi Brahmins* in Bengal and entrusted them with the task of collecting important parts of classical literature and translate them into English under the supervision of NV Holland. The manner in which the texts were translated is a subject of intense study today. Since they had limited knowledge of Sanskrit, they had to depend on pundits to tell or discuss in Hindustani. Bengali and Hindustani were the commonly used languages for conversation among the masses. Thereafter, a Bengali scribe translated them into Persian and eventually translated that Persian translation into English in Haad. It was published in 1776 AD under the name Code of Ghantu or Ordinance of Pandits. The original collected text in Sanskrit was known as 'Vivadarnayatetu'. This book was also in vogue in Persian and Sanskrit. But it continued to be used in the courts of the East India Company from the English Appropriation until the early part of the 19th century.

Another important name in this context is William Johnes (1746-1749). He studied Persian and Arabic at Oxford University and was appointed as a judge in India in 1785. He translated Arabic-Persian texts into English. Later he got attracted towards learning Sanskrit. After learning Sanskrit, he found the Persian legal text translated into English to be flawed. Since the judicature judges were entirely dependent on the interpretation of pundits and humanists, they felt that Indian grammarians were monopolizing the textual knowledge of ancient scripts. Although Johnes considered the English legal system superior to the ancient Hindu law, he was also of the opinion that those laws should not be applied to the ruled.

The only way to avoid this was to make English judges capable of close observation of the interpretation of Indian interpreters. After the death of Johnes, Colebrook continued the work of Johnes and he completed that English translation

Thus 'The Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession' was published from Calcutta in 1798. Colbrook's interest in learning the ancient arithmetic of the Hindus led him to study the Sanskrit language. But later his interest shifted from ancient mathematics to the study of Hindu thought, culture and law. Ultimately, Colbrook introduced the European idea of interpreting Hindu law. This greatly influenced Indo-British and British thought in their administration of justice. Colbrook thus succeeded in establishing the entire field of ancient Hindu knowledge.

5.4 Indian Interpreters and follow Literature

Apart from law, revenue and ancient texts, the British also paid special attention to the study of native folk literature. As discussed earlier, the British perceived the Revolt of 1857 as a failure of colonial information gathering. They believed that the rebels supported by the peasants communicated in secret messages and jaggery signals. This was often done through verbal and sign communication. That is, for the organization of the rebellion, 'stories' were propagated in the vernacular languages among the rebels. To that extent or otherwise the meaning of the stories remained incomprehensible to the British officials. This established and furthered the notion that to know the people of India, knowledge of folk literature is needed, because Indians, unlike the British, are 'bound by ancient and traditional customs'." Many other British officials of the time Similar to RC Temple, it was pointed out that knowledge of local folklore would support inculcating local "sympathy" which would help in furthering the governance of the country. Thus, after 1857 the common people, they could

understand the beliefs and local customs. This was a major shift from Orientalist thought prior to the translation of scriptures.

In this regard, Gloria Goodwin Raheja observes that indigenous proverbs were often interpreted without specific socio-cultural context, so their meanings were determined in colonial administrative reports. In a process of textualization, these proverbs were then displayed to reflect consensus on the caste system and British colonial rule. One aspect of Raheja's argument was that indigenous interpreters, mainly belonging to the upper classes, were instrumental in such creation. For example, in Risley's 'The People of India' he quotes Pali proverbs to underline the persistent nature of caste and the consent of the people to it. Raheja suggests that such a scenario reinforces the position of the upper class informers. In other words, the proverbs collected by Risley were provided by local elites who wanted to fulfill vested interests in order to create a hierarchical society where they had their proper place. In addition, Raheja mentions some examples where the colonial authorities found proverbs and folklore challenging the recognition of the caste system. It was argued that the only way for the colonial authorities to explain this inconsistency was to treat it as an 'afterlife' before caste became practiced. Therefore, Pt. Ramgarib Choubey, who worked as a translator and assistant with William Crook, was familiar with a song being sung by Dusadh to a Brahmin. Then they resort to the same hypothesis encompassing difference, and thus 'deny the possibility of studying it as a specifically established and deliberately constructed critical interpretation of the present social form'. (Raheja, p.499)

Sapna Nathiana, in her book *In Quest of Indian Folktales* Pandit Ramgariyo and William Crook (2000), reiterates Rahaga's work on Dhiche, argues that Raza Kayam is based on Crooks ethnographic narrative. It is not enough to express Pandit Choubey's unique contribution. Sadhna Naithani refers to the collection and translation of Folklores, collected and translated by Pt. Choubey, regarding the issues related to the lower class, women and the oppression meted out to them. She argues that Piye, despite being a representative of a high forest chief, should be understood in the context of the reformation of the nineteenth century in which issues related to caste and women took central place. Despite these conflicting points of view, it is important for us to note here that how and to what extent the expression and arguments presented by the colonial authorities distorted and influenced the position of indigenous news.

After the freedom struggle of 1857, some castes were considered Satan in the rebellion and "tended" for it. Later, on this basis, he was considered as 'upadhi' and 'criminal' or 'bastard'. It is important to note that by 1871 the Indian Criminal Times Act had also been established, which classified certain tribes as 'criminals'. Raza shows how William Fuchs, E.A. Selected and replicated by authorities such as WO and Denjit Eventson.

After the expansion of the land revenue system in the 19th century, the Khabris (informers) were mostly selected from the affluent class. The information thus aggregated also represents the priority of the news to maintain a high position. Rahega even suggests the possibility that this type of proverb was chosen by local chieftains as a means of avoiding responsibility for robbery, in which they themselves forced some members to do this work in order to provide protection and support. (Raheja, 502) Thus, Raheja informs us of a situation in which some languages and oral traditions were appropriated and some forms of knowledge (provided by local elites) were considered representations of indigenous customs. taken.

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

After going through this unit, we learned that the establishment of colonial power would not have been possible without various indigenous parivars and assistants working with and under various British officials. These were the indigenous people who introduced the British to an unknown world through interpretation. The Agas needed indigenous people in various fields ranging from revenue collection to codification of law and recording of folk literature. The native interpreters employed by the British often belonged to the elite class. This process of interpretation and translation led to the perception of a special approach, which benefited the elite informers. Yet the fragmented information obtained from the process of such interpretation was cleverly presented and reproduced to create a particular kind of portrayal of Indians that served colonial interest.

5.6 Exercises

1. Explain the relationship between Indian interpreters and colonialism.
2. Describe the relationship between native informers and colonial information gathering.
3. Explain the role of Indian interpreters in the making of colonial law.
4. Why and how was the collection and interpretation of folk literature central to the colonial project? Explain.

5.8 Suggested Readings

- Beyly CA, 1906 *Empire and Information Intelligence and Social Communication in India* 1280-1170 Cambridge University Press.
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- France Peter, 2001, *Oxford Dictionary to Translation Studies*, New Delhi Oxford University Press
- Naviana, Sadhna, 2009, *In Quest of Indian Folktales Pandit Ram Garib Choubey and William Crook*, Hyderabad, Orient Black Swan.
- Ja Gloria Goodwin, 1996, *Caste, Colonialism and the Speech of the Colonized: in Taxtualization and Disciplinary Control in India*, *American Ethnologist*, Vol.23, No.3 (August). p. 491-313, 1