Translation and Imagination of Indian and World Literature: Towards a Historiography of Translation

A dissertation submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSPHY

in

Comparative Literature

by

MRINMOY PRAMANICK

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Centre for Comparative Literature,

School of Humanities

University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India – 500 046

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled *Translation and Imagination of Indian and World Literature: Towards a Historiography of Translation* submitted by Mrinmoy Pramanick bearing Reg. No 10HCPH05 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature is a bona-fide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

The Thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Signature of the supervisor/S   Signature of the Student

                                                 Name:

                                                 Regd. No: 10HCPH05

Head   Dean

Centre for Comparative Literature   School of Humanities

DECLARATION

I, Mrinmoy Pramanick, hereby declare that this thesis entitled *Translation and Imagination of Indian and World Literature: Towards a Historiography of Translation* submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Professors Tutun Mukherjee is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET.

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                                                  Signature of the Student:

                                                  Regd. No.

This Dissertation is Dedicated

To

My Brother

Animesh Pramanick (Chottu)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am not saying that I am only greatful to my supervisor, I carry touch of her intellectual cooperation in every single line of this dissertation. She has much contribution behind what I am today. I am not saying, I do not have any word to express my thankfulness, I am saying she corrected my draft even in the night before my submission. She taught me to read, write and teach. She makes me, Prof. Tutun Mukherjee. I am greatful to my Doctoral committee members, Prof. Panchanan Mohanty (who is Dean of Humanities also) for reading my whole draft, suggestions for better work and corrections and time to time advices. I am very much thankful to Prof. Shivaram Padikkal, another Doctoral committee member and my M.Phil supervisor, who always gives me suggestions for my work and I never can forget his classes during M.Phil what taught me many things about Translation. I am greatful to this committee of three intellectuals.

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there in the pages of my unwritten autobiography, in the pages of my private history. Thousands of names are there what I should mention, but scope is always limited, trajedy, they will be there in my heart, in my memory. Down the memory lane, they will appear always.

MRINMOY PRAMANICK

CONTENTS

E) CHAPTER V

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to trace the history of translation in Bangla literature. The attempt will be to periodize this history to understand the social and cultural shifts which have impacted the process of translation since last eight hundred years, almost. The effort is to make clear the understanding of the development of Bengali language/ Bhasha through time and how translation negotiates with this Bhasha. By tracing this history and this understanding, the dissertation traces the gradual construction of the nation and of Indian literature through pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times towards its relationship with world literature. I argue that with the development of Bengali Bhasha the processes of translation also change and adjust vis-à-vis social and cultural needs. It is noteworthy that the translators in their various prefaces and introductions have discussed the process of translation which, on examination, shows a very conscious attempt to develop theories of translation pertinent to the Indian context. I must point out that a study of this kind has not been attempted so far. And in this regard this dissertation hopes to make a significant contribution to the subject highlighting the relationship of the Bengali language, literature and translation.

Research Focus

The focus of this research it to find the relation between the translation and the rise of regional languages or bhasha, also referred to as modern Indian languages. Many scholars have researched and discussed the rise of Bangla as a modern Indian language, like Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sukumar Sen, Muhammad Shahidullah, Gopal Haldar and so on. In this work I consult their treatises and to explore the significant role translation may have played to build Bangla as a language with its distinct identity since the time of *Srikrishna Kirtan* in the later half of 14th century.

[Please note: throughout this dissertation I use 'Bengali' to refer to the people of the region Bengal and their culture; 'Bangla' to refer to their language]

I have found the growth and development of language to have an intrinsic relationship with translation. I draw upon Suniti Chatterjee's work as a frame to situate my argument. Since the focus of this dissertation is to trace the history of Bangla language in relation with translation, I argue that without translation, the growth and development of Bangla may not have been possible. In his work titled *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, Suniti Chatterjee writes:

Bengali as a New Indo-Aryan language (like others of the same family) came into being round about 1000 A.D., and almost from the time of its differentiation from the Apabhramsa or the Late Middle Indo-Aryan from Magadha or Bihar, which is the immediate source not only of Bengali but also of Assamese, Oriya, and the Bihari speeches (Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri), literature in the shape of songs began to be composed and recorded in it. The history of Bengali literature can conveniently be divided into a number of periods and su-periods, and these have been proposed: i) Old Bengali Literature: 950-1200 A.D;

ii) Middle Bengali: 1200-1800:

a) Transitional Middle Bengali :1200-1350; b) Early Middle Bengali: 1350-1600; c) Late Middle Bengali: 1600-1800

iii) New or Modern Bengali: after 1800. (156)

Chatterjee's foundational research prepares the ground for this dissertation. Chatterjee stated (157) that the local language or "old Bengali" was composed of different folk songs and stories. He maintains that traces of old Bengali can be found in different literary texts of that time like *Prakrita Paingal*, Buddhist and Brahminical texts and the texts of the Nath Panthis (158). Based on this history I would like to argue that the birth of Bangla language, and the growth and development of Bengali literature would not have been possible without translation work undertaken during the medieval period. I maintain that this intrinsic relation of translation and language, quickened the growth and development of Bengali language and literature.

This dissertation also focuses on the social and cultural history of Bengal during the colonial interregnum and the literary practice that began after the establishment of printing press in Bengal. In this context, I locate the role of translation in constructing disparate literary spaces as well as the separate identities of the communities in Bengal. The obvious point to begin with would be to ask how religious identity was being constructed in the literary spaces with the help of translation; what was the role of the Hindu Zamindars, Vaishnavites and Muslims towards creating the religious culture through literature and translation. Beside this, the dissertation also discusses the rise of genres and themes in Bangla literature as introduced through translation of other texts. The entire discourse would naturally move towards understanding the relationship between of Indian and World Literature and translation as an instrument of mediation. Necessarily various theories of translation would be discussed with special emphasis on the formulation of the translation practice in India.

Scope and Limitations

My thesis will prepare a historiography of translation with the reference to the translation of different literary texts from different languages into Bangla. I will show the translation tendency, number of translations, year of publication, source language etc. in different chapters. I believe this will be a documentary and archival work never attempted before, especially in case of Bangla. It will be the first fully concentrated work on translation of Bangla language. Though there are several works on Bangla translation in medieval time, the history and discussion about modern age Bangla translation are scattered in different books of history of literature and history of different genre and not well focused on the perspective of translation.

The area of the project is quite vast, so there were difficulties and hurdles. The translations are scattered in different journals, magazines and individual writer's works which had to sourced and collected. But the main problem is there is no particular source which can provide different issues on the subject or any particular journal series. The fieldwork was both difficult and expensive.

Review of Literature and Difficulties Faced

Though not much work has been done in this subject, history of Bangla literature is still helpful to understand the history of Bangla translation. Interestingly the history of Bangla literature also meant Bangla translation during medieval era as both Bangla literature and the history of its growth was also the history of translation. History of Bengali literature and culture by Dineshchandra Sen, Sukumar Sen, Asit Bandopadhyay, Gopal Haldar, Bhudeb Choudhury, Golam Murshid and especially Niharranjan Ray was consulted and referred here for understanding medieval translation and that of the colonial period. These works helped to understand different opinions and views on different historical subjects of the ancient and medieval times on the history of Bangla literature. This also helped to trace the growth and development of Bangla language and Bangla translation. The work of translation done after the colonial period, even in the latter half of the colonial period, did not get much attention for being historicized or analyzed. My primary sources had to be books of translation and their introductions or blurbs. I have faced difficulties as there exists no archive of translated texts and scholarly work on translation, there is no historical work on translation after the medieval period. Translation of the colonial period is discussed in different works but are also scattered. Translation work of even earlier 20th century is difficult to trace. Many works are out of print, many works are lost, and many publishing houses do not exist.

Research Questions

The questions that will be addressed through the thesis are as follows:

1. How the development of language is related the practice of translation   to   constitute the history of Bengali   literature.

2. What is the significance of patronage in translation and how this shows religious differences in literature and culture?

3. How does translation become one of the most powerful tools for colonial modernity?

4. How does translation change/modify our idea of World Literature?

5. What is the role of translation of Bhasha literature in nation building?

6. Is there any theory of translation as 'Indian'? If so, how does it relate with the historiography of translation?

Methodology

Historiography is most important methodology for this work. I understand historiography in two ways: one, as critiquing the history which does not provide adequate reading of culture of medieval Bengal and to find the ignorance of mainstream literary history towards the work of translation; two, I consider historiography as a method of writing history, which I humbly attempt in this dissertation, to make a frame for writing the history of Bengali translation. This is qualitative research and this based on the survey of samples of translation found in different decades. This work must necessarily be critical and analytic. As this work proposes a historiography, it takes different commentaries and notes provided by the translators in different translated books beside this, it takes Bengali mainstream literary history as a parallel view towards the notion of literary history, cultural history and the ideas of dominating forces. This method helps to understand the public sphere and people's demand of literature and political needs of translation. Though my work is a case study of one of the most primary modern Indian languages and literatures, it has its own national literary and politico-cultural significance as the modern Indian languages share almost similar kind of political and historical experiences.

Chapterisation

This dissertation focuses on the periodization of history of Bangla translation and conceives translation as a medium of another cultural history of Bengal. I have tried to offer a model of writing history of translation as a paradigm for most Indian languages. The Introduction discusses the different cultural, social, political and economic issues which become relevant for translation of any text and how they construct a public sphere for the discussion and debate of national and world literature.

History of literary translation is also the history of literary relations and the socio-cultural demands of particular literary system. My aim is to look for the reasons why the translation of particular text happened in particular era or time and the kind of influence it brings into the cultural life of the people. This study is not a study about chronological appearance of translated texts; it is about trends, after life and political and cultural aspects of literary. But there might be a possibility of lack of minute understanding even about the trend of translation as there is no coherent history of translation in any of the Indian languages, there is hardly any archive of literature where data about translation can be found historically. Many publishing houses are closed, many books are lost, and there is no trace of many other publications. Many translations are out of print, many are in worst condition to deal with. So, already a lost history of knowledge exists in the history.

The dissertation includes many non-literary issues that I feel are essential for writing a composite history literature, culture, politics and literary public sphere. I try to read the role of Indian academics (like department of Comparative Literature/ Comparative Indian Literature Modern Indian Literature) behind the work of translation. It reads the international relations of India with different countries and its role in translation and literature as also the way book fairs, theatre festivals, visits of literary figures of different countries, political movements and wars builds and changes our idea of literature, aesthetic and therefore changes, deletes, and adds new area of translation.

The second chapter titled, "Translation and the History of Bhasha: Age of Religious Conflicts and Identity Formation, Resistance and Patronage: 1300-1799" focuses on the history of the literary translation since its beginning in the 13th century and concentrates on the cross-cultural influences on translation. Different sections deal with the translation done since 13th century, discusses *internal and external resistance* when lower class/caste people resist Brahminism and the hierarchy of Sanskrit resulting in the processes of vernacularization and when translation is used to revive Hinduism against the onslaught of Islamic rule introduced in the 13th century. This chapter also focuses on the growth and development of Bhasha and the relation of Bhakti movement with Bhasha. This chapter covers translation activities from the 13th century to the last decade of the 18th century when Persian also became the language of power and the language of the elite class along with Sanskrit. So, the new class in Bengal emerged during this time.

The third chapter, "'Renaissance' in 19th Century Bengal: Printing Press, Colonial Modernity, Book Market and Translation" is also divided into several sections. The first section begins from the year 1800, the time of establishment of Fort William College and the Sreerampore Mission, when British education was introduced, and extends up to 1920s. The advent of the Printing Press in India and its impact, British education system, the colonial interference of French and British is are discussed to show how these forces appeared as distinctive power systems to motivate the work of publication and translation. My argument here is that the translation of this period was a work of imitation of the Empire, recreation and appreciation of the Empire. The literary figures and translators of 19th century followed the model of the British, the French and German writing. Translation that time was mostly from these three literatures. During this time of modernism and "renaissance", new genres of literature were introduced through translation and were quickly adapted into Bhadrolok literature. Bengali prose forms also developed through the translation of Bible and Sanskrit literature and other epistemologies. Another significant area of 19th century Bengal history is *Bottola* and it is more significant in the history

of Bangla translation. Chapter on *Bottola* discusses the publications of *Bottola*, which appeared as the outside space of Bengal renaissance. *Bottola* published old Bangla manuscripts and successfully created a readership of Bengali literature besides a space of for resistance against the European cultural hegemony and especially against the British dominance.

The fourth chapter, "Little Magazines, Literary Magazines and Journals: Furthering Translation Culture", focuses on the *Sabuj Patra*, and *Kallol-Kalikalam- Pragati* movement and *Kallol* era, where when the concept of World literature became more crystallised and penetrative extended. This was a time when world literature spread from the imperial centres to other parts of the world. One of the focuses is on the post-Tagorian era and young writers' resistance against Tagorian aesthetics, language, content and theme. The new language for the new era also was formed through the original and translated literature of this time. The time period of this chapter is from 1920s- 2015, and it is extended upto the digital era of Bangla publication.

The fifth chapter titled, "Indian Literatures and Translation: Discipline and Discourse : 1919-2015", follows the trend of translation which is actually disavowal of imperialism, strong nationalism and result of political ideology and mass movements. I discuss the initiatives of different persons who used the literature as the component of nationalism and tried to crystallize the concept of Indian literature and emphasized on it. Tagore, Ananda Coomarswami, Sri Arobindo, all these great personalities, who were the teachers of newly founded National Council of Education in 1907, demanded for teaching Indian Literature. The then vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta Asutosh Mukherjee also asked for studying Indian Literature and he introduced Modern Indian Languages and Literatures department in the university. So, this chapter again goes back to the history of 1907 and National Council of Education, here the chapterisation is mainly theme based not the time period based. The nationalist feature of translation and behind translation which is found before the independence also is discussed to draw the history. This nationalism has been flourished through

the establishment of National Book Agency and Sahitya Akademi and through this state power also entered into this subject of nationalism and translation. So, this dissertation visits the work of translation which is published till the date.

In the sixth chapter is on the translation of Marxist texts published from Raduga, Vostok, Progressive and other publication houses both of foreign and domestic in particular and World Literature in general. Through different sections, the chapter focuses on the translation published from Soviet Union and on the translation published from other publication houses. The communist movements of post-Independence Bengal and the role of translated literature within that context. The second section reads the cultural memory of those Russian texts and second phrase of translation of other Marxist and communist texts from different languages. The cultural memory which is structured with the translation of those texts is significant to read the contemporary cultural history also. In the later phase the translation published from West Bengal includes popular communist texts of World literature and special attention has been given to Latin America and Africa. Then it is a continuation of cultural memory of a certain generation. The languages of films, songs and literatures have been changed, political slogans also have been changed, so now the socio-politico-cultural sphere has been changed a lot. This chapter is actually an exploration of an archive of history and writing a narrative of cultural memory and different cultural expressions too. The time period of this chapter is 1919-2015 and the title of this chapter is, "Imagining World Literature: Translation as Political Act: People's Movements, History and Progressive Culture 1919-2015".

The seventh chapter titled "Theorizing Translation: Views of Writers and Translators" focuses on the thoughts on translation found in the introductory notes and other writings of the translators translating into Bangla to examine notion and reception of their translations theorize the process of translation.

Conclusion

This work has its own limitation in the very nature of the subject matter. There is limited data on the work done on the history of medieval Bengali translation and utter lack of cohesive research on this. The chosen time frame posed a problem since social, cultural, political and historical aspects are not addressed in earlier writings. In fact, the chapters could easily become subjects of full length studies. But these are not problems limited to the history of Bengali translation but is evident in the case of other Indian languages. Our research initiative was compelled by this existing need for an archive. This dissertation aims to propose a historiography of translation and write only an incomplete history because I believe history of translation can never be claimed to be complete. Translation is a powerful force that can shape a particular culture as well as an insightful and useful tool to read the culture, politics and cultural or literal history of particular society and social system. I have tried to address some of these issues.

CHAPTER I

Translation and the History of Bhasha:

Age of Religious Conflicts and Identity Formation, Resistance and Patronage: 1300-1799

This chapter or the period of translation begins with the time of writing *Srikrishnakirtana* (late 14th century) and ends before the establishment of Fort William College and Sreerampore Mission in 1800 and the Printing press in 1778. The advent of printing and publishing brought a revolution in the world of literature, very definitely in India then under colonial control. Beside this, the British intervention in colonial power (later imperial) and academic institutions or rather British sponsored academia brought changes in the literary understanding (colonial period), the circulation of texts and the role of the texts in the Bengal society. The thesis will discuss these issues in detail through the following chapters while examining the period. Details of periodization used to frame the arguments of the dissertation will be discussed below.

I believe that the time of writing *Srikrishnakirtana* (late 14th century) marsk the beginning of the literary translation in Bengali. The very first example of literary translation is found as incomplete pieces of translation of the Sanskrit text *Gitagovindam* (12th century) by Jayadeva in Baru Chandidas's *Srikrishnakirtana* in the 14th century. It is my contention that the history of early Bengali literature comprises the history of Bengali translation too. The non-controversial Bengali text *Srikrishnakirtana* of Baaru Chandidasa carries the imprint of direct word to word translation of Jayadeva's text. It must be pointed out that literary historians of the Bengali claim that the first text written in Bengali is the *Charyapada* written between 6th and 12th centuries AD. *Charyapada* is simultaneously claimed as the first literary text languages such as Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Hindi. Much has been written about and debated on this subject, there is no point in re-visiting these discussions. However, one may accept that the beginning of literary activities of the medieval era began with Baru Chandidasa's poetic text.

Although it is not the translation of the entire *Gitagovindam,* it shows extensive influence of the *Gitagovindam* in few stanzas translated from it. Hence, the beginning of Bengali literature also marks the beginning of the history of Bengali translation.

It is my view that the history of Bengali literature of the ancient[1] and the medieval era is extensively cross-cultural. This chapter tries to examine the issues of religious domination and the formation of Bengali communitarian identity as one of the most crucial points to understand the historical periodization, growth and development of Bengali translation that was like a traveling companion for Bengali literature; both grew together, drawing sustenance from and strengthening each other.

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[1]Historians of Bengali literature like Dineshchandra Sen, Sukumar Sen, Asitkumar Bandopadhyay have accepted *Charyapada* as the text of ancient Bengali literature and that the beginning of the medieval began with *Srikrishnakirtana.* I consider *Srikrishnakirtana* as the most significant literary text of ancient Bengali literature which led to the translation of *Ramayana, Mahabharata.* I emphasize that during this time poets consciously engaged themselves in the project of circulation of *Bhasha.* I consider this conscious effort to build *Bhasha* literature as the denominator of the growth of medieval Bengali literature.

1.1.   Language as Paradigm of History

Bengal means the region which had rather indistinct boundaries. Bengali refers to both the community/ties of this region and the literature.In this context, I would like to refer to Golam Murshid's popular and accepted history of Bengal. Golam Murshid argues that earlier to his writing, historians wrote about either Hindu Bengal or Muslim Bengal as disparate histories. He wants to be different so he does not write the history of Bengali community or literature, instead, he writes the history of the thousand-years-old Bengali culture. Murshid's volume renders the understanding of history as more complex. Earlier, historical understanding was complicated with the history of the community and its literature. Now another aspect is introduced as culture. But the question to raise here is why should the history of translation in Bengali complicated with the history of Bengali community and culture. The answer is equally obvious. The holistic study of translation must go hand-in-hand with the study of culture and society and the changes thereof[2]. It has been seen that the study the translation of foreign or far-from-home texts can yield even if incomplete a cultural history of a particular community or people. This thesis proposes that the history of the community and culture is reflected in the history of the translation and vice versa, meaning, the history of translation is also reflected in the history of the community and culture for complete understanding of the development of the Bangla literary and Bengali cultural communities.

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[2]Since 1980s a remarkable paradigm shift happened in the discipline of Translation Studies which is known as "Cultural Turn". Descriptive Translation Studies and the Skopos Theory in Translation Studies contribute a lot to understand this major paradigm shift as well as these theories explain the phrase. Peeter Torop explains, "Translating as an activity and translation as the result of this activity are inseparable from the concept of culture. The translational capacity of culture is an important criterion of culture's specificity. Culture operates largely through translational activity, since only by the inclusion of new texts into culture can the culture undergo innovation as well as perceive its specificity"(593-594). He further explains the importance of translation in the formation of identity in the receiving culture. According to Lawrence Venuti, "this ability of translations to participate, according to the necessity, both in ensuring culture's coherence or homogeneity as well as in activating cultural resistance or culture's innovation processes" (cited in Torop). This theory of translation influenced later theorization, is helpful to understand medieval translation through the ideas of the "cultural turn" of translation.

As mentioned above, Golam Murshid writes in the introduction to his book *Hajar Bachorer Bangalir Sanskriti,* that he found the existing books on the history of Bengalis incomplete as even the literary community is divided very clearly into two major religious groups, the Hindus and the Muslims and the history represent either the history of Hindu Bengalis or of Muslim Bengalis. He also states that people are so much rooted in their religious identities that it is very difficult to write unbiased history. He clarifies his position to claim his writing to be unbiased. He describes himself as an *Antorjatik Manush* (International Human being), instead of identifying himself with any religion, culture, caste, community or geographical identity. He tries to write a holistic history of Bengalis from this perspective, transcending petty differences of religion, caste or creed. He tries consciously to 'unify' various aspects to find a Bengali identity which is not divided or not dominated by the any of the major two religions or religious identities. Though this attempt is a mere imposition on historiography, without religious complexities, no history of a community can be written. Religious elements are deeply rooted into the process of building one's identity. But Murshid's intention behind this idea was to find out or to focus on the cultural similarities between Hindu-Muslim communities to write a unified history of Bengal. He may avoid the religious differences and other religious elements while writing history but it does not mean that religious elements are so negligible in the formation of even cultural identity of the Bengalis.

He divides his book into chapters on the evolution of culture in Indo-Muslim era, society and religion of Bengal, Western influence and Bengali culture, Bengali culture of 20th century; love, marriage and family, Bengali Women and Bengali culture, Bengali language and literature, history of Bengali music, theatre and cinema, sculpture, painting and fine arts, Bengali dresses, Bengali food, Bengali culture and Bengali characteristics. Murshid accepts, like other historians, that Bengali culture

is diverse and he subscribes Tagore's paradigm of language[3] (15), which is building of linguistic identity to identify 'Bengali' as a community. Hence he attempts a composite history of Bangla language and Bengali community, while admitting that the pre-Bengali culture of the particular geographical region is also an important influence on the shaping of Bengali culture. Tagore has also referred to this (15). Murshid mentions that the factors that distinguish Bengali community besides language are its literature, music, food style, dressing, architecture, physical appearance and attitude. But this idea of historiography belongs to the traditional style of writing history which believes only these things are major elements to write the identity history of a community. History keeps different paradigms in different ages to write the history of that particular time. Just as the history of ancient Bengal cannot be written without the sincere examination of Buddhists texts of the time, the history of medieval Bengal needs to trace the significance of Islamic texts in the social life, so modern Bengal needs to consider the peasant movements, parallel publication history and the reception of the 'Book. The 20th century needs to study people's participation in the political movements and the kind of ideology they share, and many more, along with the old monolithic structure of writing history.

As for the genesis of Bengali culture, Murshid does not think Bengali culture is more than thousand years old, whereas historian Niharranjan Roy traces the history of Bengali community to ancient times(Roy 25) Murshid argues(9) that even the time of the Pal dynasty (750-1120) and Sen Dynasty(1070-1206) cannot be taken to mark the beginning of the Bengali culture, though he admits that anthropological and cultural characteristics of the pre-Bengali era contribute to the formation of Bengali culture. But, according to him, these cultural and anthropological similarities cannot be claimed as the characteristics of the Bengalis. As Bengali as a language was not identified in that time. The geographical region now identified as Bengal actually comprised Goud, Barendri, Rarh, Samatat,

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[3] Murshid referred to in his introduction to *Hajar Bachhorer Bangalir Sanskriti*, that Tagore called the large geographical region of undivided Bengal as diverse but with a common identity which makes Bengali the language of all the people of this region.

Sumbha and Banga sector (see Figure 1). There was no unified entity as Bengal (see Figure 1). HistorianSukumar Sen traces Bengali to few centuries earlier than Murshid does to 9th century, beginning with the establishment of the Pal dynasty. Sen claims that during the Pal dynasty, Bengal acquired an almost distinctive local identity. On the other hand, Murshid argues deriving on the claims of Muhammad Shahidullah and Haraprasad Shashtri based on the language of *Charyapada*, that it is not written exactly in Bengali language and if *Charyapada* is written between 10th-12th century (according to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Sukumar Sen), the history of Bengali language is less than thousand years old, as the growth and development of Bengali language happened only after *Charyapada*. Golam Murshid argues that Bengali language and its script started being formulated as Bengali from the time of *Srikrishnakirtana* (late 14th century) though the language of *Srikrishnakirtan* was not known as Bengali. Sanskrit scholars and performers of *Srikrishnakirtan* used to call the language *Bhasha*. A *pada* of that time says,

> *Astadasha Puranani Ramasya Charitani Cha*
>
> *Bhashay Manaba Shrutwa Rourab Narakang Brajet*   (Naskar 225)
>
> Eighteen *Puranas*, Story of the Rama
>
> Listening in *Bhasha*, led towards *Rourab* (worst hell) (translation mine)

Given below is a map of the region of Bengal:
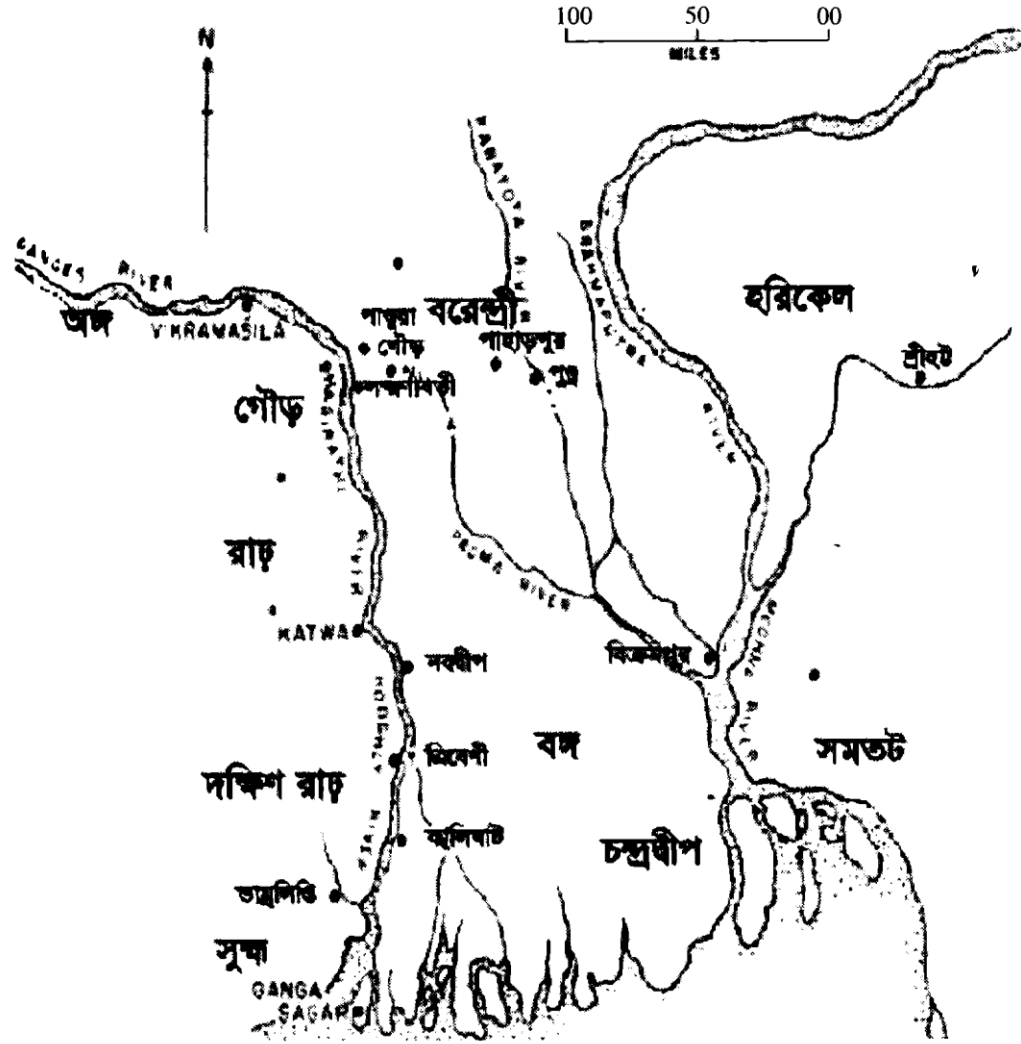
প্রাচীন বঙ্গের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চল বিভিন্ন নামে পরিচিত ছিলো

Figure 1: The Map of Ancient Bengal (Source: *Hajar Bachharer Bangalir Sanskriti*, Golam Murshid, and Page 19)

Jahar Sircar in his article in special issue on Bengalis, published by Anandabazar Patrika, on the first day of present millennium, firmly stated about the time of Bengalis and Bengali language without any taboo and racial sentiment. He stated,

> If our stress is on the Bengalis as a linguistic and cultural group, not just on
>
> the facts of geography or the needs of politics, then we have to exclude Sasanka

or the Pala-Sena rajas at least because they neither wrote in Bengali nor did they patronize or develop it. We do not know if they ever spoke in proto-Bengali. My submission is that the Bengali language, as we recognize it, developed from its infancy in the Pala-Sena period not because of the rulers but in spite of them. The common man, at least in the western rarh region, was perhaps conversing in a language that had a Bengali bias — as the Charyapads would reveal — but it was so full of other words that we cannot honestly call it Bengali. (2)

I also completely agree with Sircar's opinion. He further stated that the language which was spoken during the Pal and Sen kings it was *Loukik Abahatta* or the proto vernacular stage of *Apabhramsa*. As there are different opinions on the historical time of Bengali language, literature and above all community, it is very much important to locate the historical time of origin in very beginning. The point which is most important in Sircar's opinion in search of history is, he also has adapted language and culture as paradigm to find the root of the Bengali community, the point which is also emphasized by Golam Murshid.

1.2.   Political Power and Literary Culture

There were many evidences of words such as Bango and *Bangali* in different texts like *Charyapada* and in many other historical documents like Marco Polo's account, Shamsuddin Ilias Shah's account in 1352, after his victory of Gouda, Sumbha, Samatat, Sumbha, Bango etc. (Sen 18). Though Goud as a name was much more popular and meant more than the hegemonic geographical identity than Gouda. For example, Vidyapati, in praised Alauddin Hossain Shah who ruled the area in later 15th century or earlier first of 16th century(Murshid 11) Maladhar Basu, a poet of 15th century and the translator of *Bhagbat,*also praised Hossain Shah as the king of *Pancha Goud* (Murshid 11). Mukundaram Chakraborty, when he wrote his *Chandimangala* in the 16th century, mentions *Goud, Banga* and *Utkal* distinctively while talking about Man Sinha. Murshid assumes the word Bango used in these accounts to mean the southern part of unified Bengal. Officially the identity of Bengal as a separate region was established during in the Mughal era as Subeh Bangalah (Murshid 17) European travelers also mention this geographical location as Bengal. Hence it is safe to accept the idea of the identity of Bengal as popularly used since 18th century onwards (Murshid 13-23).

This historical information from Golam Murshid helps to clarify the literary and historical position of Bengali translation, and trace the progress of Bengali translation. In the above mentioned account, it is clear that the beginning of the history of Bengali literature also marks the beginning of translation as the most popular literary evidence of Bengali literature, so much so, that translation was accepted as the 'original text' throughout the medieval era which saw a large number oftexts being written in Bengali.

In his introduction to *Hajar Bachhorer Banglar Sanskriti*, Murshid focuses on Bengali linguistic identity. He traces the construction of Bengali identity through its linguistic history. Despite the above quoted warning not to read Sanskrit texts in *bhasha*, and if any one did so, the person would go to the worst kind of hell called *Rourab*. Yet many poets wrote or translated in *bhasha* but did not claim the

language to be Bengali but to be *Deshibhasha, Loukikbhasha,* (Naskar 225). This revolt against the warning favoring the hegemony of Sanskrit language over other languages was actually a revolt against caste hegemony over 'knowledge', and prepared the ground for the development of *Bhasha.* The growth and development translation in this era was first for *Desh* and then for *Loka* and knowledge written in *Devabhasha* [language of the gods] was translated and 'stolen' from heaven for *Desh* and *Loka.* The translation practice of this era leads to the localization of myth and the localization of knowledge which were confined within a particular class for the centuries Such translation was indeed meant for *Desh* and *Loka* by feeding into it the knowledge of *Devaloka, Devabhasha* and *Devasahitya.*

The history of the 13th century beginning with establishment of Muslim rule (1206) in Bengalfollowing the Sen Dynasty which patronized Kulin Brahmin system, makes evident the fear of the elite Hindus ofthe 'foreign ruler' or a ruler with a new religious affinity. This fear was not spread across all the classes of the society. The people of the land had experienced political insurgency earlier also. The social disturbances and political insurgency that followed the attack of Ikhtiyar Uddin Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, disturbed people's life for some time until the dynasty was properly established. This was a period of transition in social and political life of the people[4]. But the people were not anxious about their religious identity nor fearful about safe-guarding their religion. Perhaps the elites felt more tension as they were led by the ritualistic leadership of the Kulin Brahmin system. Kulin Brahmin system has been established to end quarrels between the shifting social hierarchy provided by first the Pal dynasty and then by the Sen Dynasty. Pal kings were the patrons of the Buddhism whereas Sen Kings patronized Brahminism. Khilji attacked many heritage places in Goud and other religious place in the region now known as Bengal. The capital of Sen Dynasty was Nabadwip, a nodal centre for Sanskrit studies and *Nyaya* philosophy. Teaching centres were attacked

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[4] Finbarr Barry Flood called it "medieval multiculturalism", and also pointed out that "the concept of multiculturalism fails to do justice to the complex and fluid notions of identity that characterize the highly mobile artisans, merchants and political elites..." (4)

and destroyed by Khilji. After the end of Sen Dynasty, Brahminical culture suffered a set-back and affected Hindu identity and culture. There emerged a sense of identity crisis of the upper caste Hindus (Naskar 224).

According to historians, like Sukumar Sen, Asit Bandopadhyay, the attack ruined Bengal's socio-cultural life and properties of the common people. More importantly, the Islamic onslaught affected life from within and without. The Turkic attack on Bengal shook the entire culture, of habit and existence of people as a sudden cyclone does. Religion and existing culture were under threat since religion and religious places were deliberately attacked, the people of Bengal, mainly the upper caste and the Brahmins felt to the urgent need to save the essence of their religious and cultural environment to protect their heritage and tradition (Naskar 225-226). Literature of this time also reflects the realities of social anxieties and psychology like, Brahmins started to warn people about the devastating character of Muslim ruler and called them untouchable (Mlechcha). Nityananda Acharya, a poet of that time, wrote:

বলকরিজাতিযদিলএতযবনে/ছযগ্রাসঅন্নযদিকরাযভক্ষনে/প্রাযশ্চিত্তকরিলেজাতিপাযসেইজনে

If the Muslim ruins our religion forcibly and bind us to six-time prayers

Perform certain cleansing rituals to get back your religion for sure. (Naskar 223)

However, this was not always the case, especially during later part of the rule since the Muslim rule lasted almost 800 years. There are different examples to illustrate the impact of religious and political insurgency affecting social and cultural life of the people but there are other examples also toshow that this may not have been the sole reason for the translations. The question whether translations helped to strengthen Hindu religion and religious identity must be studied in more detail.

Historian Dineshchandra Sen, took the religious conflicts of the age as serious factors and compared the hegemony of religions through different ages of ancient and medieval times of Bengali

society and literature (23). Later historians maintain that the Khilji was directed more at the Buddhists than the Hindus, as most of the Buddhist scholars used to stay in the *Matha*, many *Matha*s were demolished in this attack. Sen commented,

> The carnage of Odantpur, the capital city of Magadh, committed by Muslims, a catastrophe of the 12th century A.D., might be a factor contributing to the depletion of the Buddhists. Whatever facts and figures be colligated about it, the abrupt end of the halcyon days of Buddhism in Bengal remains to this day another imbroglio of a sort. But then the Tibetan scholar Buddhaguptanaath spoke of exiguous following of the Buddhist creed during the hey-day of Hinduism too. Social phenomena always tend to defy a unitary characterization. Exceptional instances made by Tibetan scholar bear out the truth of this non-uniform character of the culture-flux of Bengal of the time. A copy preserved in Cambridge of a 1440 version of the Buddhist creed in Bengali by a Bengali Kaayastha, detracts from the monolithic Hindu culture of the period considered. More such books composed between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries have been discovered to lend further support to our theory.   (24)

The *Charyapada* (8th to 12th century) shows the lower caste Hindus who were converted into Buddhism were marginalized in the Hindu society and were hated by the Brahmins. The freedom in social life, equality among the men and women, and alternative religious practices were denied to them in the Hindu dominated society hegemonized by Brahminism. This above quoted comment of historian Sen makes it very clear that there was a good number of Buddhists and they had their literature too written even in Bengali language since the 13thcentury but have not be taken into consideration by the literary historiography of Bengal. This may be the result of the politics of literary

history dictated by Hindu hegemony which describes the post-Khilji period as the Dark Age in history. According to popular history[5], this was an unproductive period when no such existence of literary texts were produced. This view of history shows a communal attitude and it led the history towards the Hindu history of Literature. If we consider this history as fact also, it is not beyond debate as Ayappa Panikkar comments about 'darkness' not only in Indian but European context also. So, if it actually happened in Bengal, it was not unique to the history of Bengal which led us towards finding different reasons for the 'darkness' in history. Panikkar says,

> The Middle Ages not only in India but even in Europe are conventionallydescribed as dark, mysterious, and dominated by ignorance and superstition, whereas the modern period is said to be marked by enlightenment and renaissance with a fresh effloresces of literature and of other arts. This reading of Medieval period is based on the assumption that the modern period which came in its wake was marked by intellectual awakening, spread of education, growth of science and rationalism, progress and development, in all areas of life. Perhaps a closer acquaintance with the writers and works of the so called Dark Ages will help to dispel this superstitious assumption about the medieval literature of India. (Sometimes this term *Dark Ages* of Age of Darkness reminds one of the oft-repeated reference to Kaliyuga in medieval poetry). Perhaps it only means that we are in the dark about the period or ignorant about it and not just that it was a time of ignorance. (xxiii)

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[5] A historian who subscribes to this idea is Asit Bandopadhyay. By 'popular history', I mean the subsequent writings that promote this idea. There are innumerous examples, as for example, Sanatkumar Naskar's "Madhyajuger Bangla Anubad Sahitya: Swarup, Patabhumi, Boichitra". (Naskar 225)

Hence, it is questionable to call 12th- 13th century as Dark Age concluding it as the result of Islamic invasion.

Dineshchandra Sen further commented in this context,

> Isolated instances of Buddhists influence were never extinct. Even the 'Raamaayan', by Krittibas is not entirely immune from the said influence. The 17thcentury author of the 'Raamaayana', the Bengalee poet Ramananda was in the habit of spoiling for recognition as an incarnate of Buddha. A person of gold merchant caste, a contemporary of Lord Chaitanya, went so far as to refuse to be a Vaisnab on the plea that 'to seek bliss when the whole populace is steeped in misery is meaningless.' But then, this doctrine of misery is native to Buddhism itself. (24)

Sen goes on to discuss the influence of Buddhism on the life of the lower caste Bengalis. He further traces the influence of Buddhism in different literary and religious traditions of Bengal, as in *Dharmapuja* and *Shunyapurana*, *Naath Gitika* etc.In his chapter titled, "The Hindu Age and the Buddhist Age", Senwrites: "Bengali writers were to grow to disparage Buddha about the same period" (23). Even the famous and popular poet of 12thcentury, Jaydeva wrote few slokas on Buddha which did not receive much appreciation from later scholars and poets hence, it may be concluded that Bengali literary historiography on the whole remained different towards Buddhist life, literature and culture.

Sukumar Sen, in his *Bangala Sahityer Itihas,* volume 1, comments that Bengali Hindus helped the situationas the Iliasshahi dyansty could be settled (91). There was a prominent Hindu domination against Buddhists of Bengal. Bangladeshi historian Mamtajur Rahman Tarafdar comments that the *Shunyapurana*proposes the Muslim attack was a result of the anger of 'Dharmathakur[6]'against the

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[6] The god of religion who saves people from religious attack and helps to follow one's own religion.

oppression of Brahmins and the Pir-Payagambars were the different incarnations of Hindu gods and goddesses (242).

The primary debate on the use of the descriptive term 'Dark Age' used in histories of Bengali literature must be questioned since many Buddhist texts in Bengali were in existence since 13th century I argue that the projection of 'Dark Age' in the history of Bengali literature ~~is to~~ ignores the existence of the Buddhists as a powerful minority who contributed a lot to the development of Bengali literature and culture. In other way this history kills two birds with the same stone, ignoring Buddhist contribution to Bengali literature and blaming Muslim rules (rather on Muslims), that after the Turkic attack, there was a dearth of literary production. It is true that the Turkic attack, like many other attacks, made huge losses in the cultural and social life of Bengal especially on the Buddhists. The Hindu kingdom was demolished but the Buddhist monks and scholars and their institutions of education, knowledge and literature were destroyed. After the Turki settled in Bengal, they became patrons of Hindu literature and philosophy (later part of this chapter focuses on this).There were cultural exchanges, receptions and appreciation between Hindus, newly converted Muslims and Muslim rulers (Murshid 29). For the purposes of this dissertation, the cross-cultural influences of the time become significant for the later development of literature and translation.

The argument for the 'Dark Age' is torn apart by Jahar Sircar, as he argued in his essay on Bengali culture that,

> But are not the first three centuries after Islam entered Bengal in 1202-04 the 'dark centuries' as scholars have repeatedly told us? While it is true that we have no clear picture of the social and economic history of these three centuries, but the political events are quite well documented — better than ever before in Bengal's history. Then why is this period termed 'dark'? Because

no literature is found; no royal patronage of cultural activities is evident; no temples were built; inscriptions and land grants are rare, and so on. In one sentence: because the Islamic Yavans coming from outside withdrew state patronage of Brahmanism — which was so profuse during the preceding Sena-yug . Just a moment: were the Senas themselves not from Karnataka? Did not the 'pure' Brahmans of Bengal take immense pride in their non- Bengali ancestry and speak and write in Sanskrit — with contempt for the language of the masses of Bengal, till the last century? Is it really sensible to expect the Turki-Pathans to patronize a religion they sincerely felt was 'heretical' and endow its elite with favors? What do the 'dark age' theorists have to say when the Sena 'outsiders' destroyed the local heritage, the prevailing Buddhist religion and the egalitarian culture of 350 years of Pala Bengal and imposed an up-country 'Sanskritism' over the people ? And what is more interesting is that the three centuries are actually two — at our present stage of knowledge. Even this period may be reduced further if more evidence can be gathered, painstakingly, on the culture of Bengal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (5)

Niharranjan Ray (4) and Mamtajur Rahman Tarafdar (237) also stress yet another shortcoming in the history of Bengali literature which does not take into account folk life and folk literature of the medieval era. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay once regretted that Bengalis do not have history but they need history to be civilized (quoted in Ray 4). Bankim wanted a people's history of Bengal (Ray 4). This urge for people's history is to find the greater history of Bengal and an inclusive history whereas the history of ancient or medieval Bengal focuses either on the Brahmins or the Buddhists, the two powerful competitors in Bengali social life. But there was a greater mass who were neither

Brahmins nor Buddhists but other castes of Hindus and Muslims. And about them the history is silent. Whatever be the kind of history of that has been written of Bengalit is actually a history of exclusion and dictated by the political hierarchy of the society.

Hindus have a long tradition of knowledge and history, so it was not difficult for them to rebuild their knowledge-culture and identity which once was hampered by the Turkic attack. Sen writes,

> All Puranas of fame were rendered into Bengali, which gave added stimulus to Hindu revivalism. The fact remains, however, that the national life was already dispirited by the Buddhist cult of passivity. The Muslim invaders made short work of such lackadaisical resistance as passive Hindus could marshal at all. (43)

But not just the Turkic attack, several other factors were responsible for crisis of the Buddhists when the Buddhist beliefs and practices suddenly vanished. Questions of power and hegemony naturally arise. In the region known as Bengal, the Pal dynasty rulers were Buddhists. When Pal dynasty ended, Buddhists were marginalized. The Chandra dynasty followed and lasted for 150 years and then the Sen Dynasty was established. The Sen Dynasty promoted Brahminism. So, there was long time between the Pal rulers and Lakshman Sen's rule during which time Buddhist culture diminished and was suppressed. Lower caste Hindus had been converted to Buddhism but Buddhist intellectuals were, geographically at least, distanced from the common people as they stayed in temples and 'Matha' and monasteries. Brahmins and other upper caste Hindus used to share the power of the monarchy for many reasons. It is all about Brahminical hegemony. The intellectual life of Hindus was constructed through the exercise of the *Veda, Purana* etc.The knowledge of such texts or other texts available in the Sanskrit was accessed only by the Brahmins. This is how the power was restricted and assured.

It is popularly said and claimed that the darkness in Bengali literature came because of the Turkic attack. This claim is nullified by the historians like Niharranjan Ray (6) and Golam Murshid who proved that the life in pre-British era was much more social-life centric, so the changes in dynastic power did not affect the social life much. People's life and culture were driven by social structure and norms. It is my view that the British style of writing history considers state and political power as powerful driving forces. Niharranjan Ray says only the life of the upper classes of the society changed during the changes of state power (6).So, the literary life of the upper class might have been hampered but not Oral or Scripted or Performative styles. Which means translation in performativity was continuing. If we study the social structure of different classes, only Buddhists monks stayed in monasteries, not ordinary people, for instance the lower class converts but upper caste Hindus were much freer. So, it is not acceptable that the disturbance in the social life or attacks on the Buddhist temples created a non-literary environment. This simple causation between the incidents in history tends to formulate historiographic approach of total history which always tries to relate that every single historical incident is related with each other. But this simplified historical coherence is countered by the incidents of history only, like the colonialism, a single incident which changes the history drastically.

When Ray writes about the literary culture during the Pal dynasty and the Chandra dynasty, he said that knowledge flourished with the contribution of *Mahayani- Bajrayani- Mantrayani- Sahajyani* sects of Buddhism not only by the Brahmins (586). But one hardly finds the texts they had produced, only the Tibetan translations of those books exist. Ray comments that these translations are the source of knowledge of Bengali history (586). These texts were written in Sanskrit, Apabhramsa and in old Bengali. This is how the Buddhists began the tradition of writing in Bangla. Point to note is that the *Charyapada* is also written by *Sahajiya* Buddhists. But later history of Bengali literature was dominated by the Hindu literary works and views. There might be two reasons for this: one, Brahminical

oppression of the Buddhists increased after the end of Pal dynasty; two, the Turkic attack which demolished many Buddhist centres.

Dineshchandra Sen wites, "The later Gour Kings were patrons of the Bengali language. This was the need of the hour too. For, Brahmins were antagonistic to any literary or linguistic works. They wanted Bengali to remain a vehicle of religious sermons" (49). Gour kings in the later period understood that they have a need to patronize Bangla language and literature to build the environment of high culture among the people. But it was a Brahmin dominated time when Bengali texts appeared mainly as the vehicle of the religious purpose. Sen writes,

> Gour kings of the pre-Muslim period had logicians, metaphysicians and religious stalwarts in their courts. Yet the representative of literature proper was denied such privilege. The Muslim kings of later Gour, by contrast, turned out to be genuine patrons of Bengali language. Irrespective of their place and province, they evinced the unitary of human interests. Their solidarity with the culture of Bengal, and in some cases, their merger therein, would not otherwise materialize. These Nawabs of pre-Chaitanya Bengal had the broad-mindedness to patronize works of Bengali writers even when they preached religious themes. (50).

The politics of patronizing Hindu cultural output helped Muslim Nawabs to keep peace among the *praja* and saved them from internal resistance or movement against them. They understood that if they appreciate the literature and culture of the majority Hindu masses, which also comprised the elite and intellectual class of the society, it will ensure their peaceful rule. And this system provided a perfect environment for cross cultural literary practices. Solomon, a powerful and influential Muslim, patronized the translation of Persian story books into Bengali. This period was a nice marriage of appreciating each other by the Muslim rulers and the Hindu intellectuals. This exchange and

appreciation gradually built the history of Bangla literature in the medieval era. The politics of friendship between Muslim rulers and the Hindu intellectuals initiated the process of vernacularization in Bengal (Sen 51).

1.3. History of Bangla Bhasha

Bangladeshi historian Mamtajur Rahman Tarafdar opines that Bangla literature and literary spaces of pre-Muslim period was very much dominated by the religion. But there were remarkable differences also. Humanism and Humanity appeared as crucial themes in literary creations. Tarafdar locates differences by comparing Kalidasa's *Meghadutam* and its generic translation into Bangla as *Dutakabya*. He argued that the theme of *Meghadutam* changed in the translation during Muslim era which shows the social reality changes and it affects translation. The human being started getting importance in the texts instead of gods and goddesses. Tarafdar cites Muslim poet Abdur Rahman'sgeneric translation of *Meghadutam* as *Sangnehay Rasay* which followed the tradition of *Dutakabyam* by Hindu poets. Tarafdar tries to analyze the cultural and political context of the time with the help of this translation(238-239). In another book titled *Hossainshahi Amole Bangla*, Tarafdar comments that *anukaran* (mimetic translation)of *Meghadutam* became a tradition in the medieval Bengal. Actually this style flourished since the time of Sen Dynasty.Poet Dhoyi of the SenRoyal court wrote his famous *kabya Pabandut* (late 12th century) (218). The theme of these *Dutakabyam* was Radha-Krishna love which was ever present in folk life. Mamtajur Rahman Tarafadar elaborates on the Hosenshahi period (1494-1538) in the history of Bengal as having an undercurrent of conflict between Brahminical ideas and the thoughts of the folk. Brahminical ideas here means the ideas and the philosophy subscribed from the scriptures. This ruler promoted *Bhasha* or *Deshi Bhasha*, as Sanskrit illiterate mass used to express them in this language.

In the Muslim rule only Bangla got a privileged position than the any other existing languages, like Sanskrit, Apabhramsa, or Persian (Tarafdar 198). Persian was mainly the court language in the time and used in the official works, it was again the language of elite. Hindustani also was one of the language which was practiced through the work of translation, like Alaul translated Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padumabat* into Bangla *Padmabati*. *But* the Bangla as *bhasha* had been flourishing as the language

of the people with the potential to express the thoughts of religion, philosophy and literature (Tarafdar 198). In the 14th and 15[th]century, poets like Chandidas, Krittibas, Maladhar Basu wrote in Bangla. Krittibas and Maladhar Basu translated the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagabat* in Bangla. Poet Yasharaj Khan, Kabindra Parameswar, Srikar Nandi and Sridhar were court poets and they were patronized[7].

Hosseishahi nawabs patronized writings in Bangla and thus contributed to build the culture of *bhasha*. As for the plausible reason for their concern about the development of *bhasha* culture, Tarafdar is of the view that repeated attacks on their dominion kept the nawabs busy in battles; it was important for them to have internal peace and one of the ways to keep peace was to celebrate the life and culture of the common people. Also, being far from their homeland and their own culture, they could not plant their own culture in Bengal. Merchants from their lands used to visit Bengal for business but never stayed for long. So, encouragement of local culture seemed an important aspect for peaceful ruling. Sukumar Sen comments in the first volume of his *Bangala Sahityer Itihas* (204) that only some and not all Goud Sultans were patrons of Bangla literature. Perhaps they were partial to music and promoted the *geya* [vocal] or the musical, but did not directly promote poets who wrote in *Deshi Bhasha*[8]. Hence, only those poets who wrote in musical literary forms, were patronised and they in turn acknowledged the Sultan in their creations (206). For instance,Paragal Khan (governor of Hossainshah) and his son Chhuti Khan patronized Kabindra Parameswar and Srikar Nandi and

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[7] By the word patronage, I mean royal order, instruction, and incentives for writing.

[8]"Johann Gotfried von Herder regarded oral literature as "the highest and truest expression of national culture and the appropriate foundation for national literature." (Bauman 1) The concept of nation and the national literature are borrowed from the colonizers into Indian languages. In Bengali, term for 'nation' is 'Jati', though 'Jati' is also used for sub-national identity also. Tagore adapted 'nation' into Bangla. In the practice of medieval translation we can find few words to indicate geo-cultural notion similar to the concept of nation. As Herder says, oral literature of the people is 'highest and truest expression' of nation and national literature, similar feeling was expressed in medieval Bengal when people were looking of *Desh* and *Loka* and began to write and translate into the languages of *Loka* or *Desh*, which were being imagined not through Sanskrit or Apabhramsa languages but with old Bangla language. The translation of Sanskrit texts of medieval Bengal also incorporated the vocabulary, images and the narratives of the life of the folk into their translation. Bangla of medieval literature became the language of reality that tried to realize *Desh*.

encouraged them to write the *Mahabharata* in Bengali. These translations influenced the life of Bengali Muslims also, though another *mahakabya* was written by Syed Sultan *Nabeebamsha* to move the Muslims away from the influence of the Bengali *Mahabharata* (Tarafdar203). But it is interesting to note the influence of so- called Hindu text in the Muslim community. Translation under the patronage of the Muslim Nawabs successfully synchronized the identity of the commonby promoting translation in *Bhasha* from Sanskrit, Persian and Hindustani. Historian Tarafdar claims that the Bangla language receivedstatus of an established language and social power as enjoyed by Sanskrit had during pre-Muslim era. *Bhasha* was the language of the people's power and more secular than any other languages and linguistic initiatives. For instance Hindu scriptures are written in Sanskrit and this language is identified with the upper caste Hindus, in other way Persian also has religious texts being an established language and mostly identified with the Muslims. But Bangla, a newly born language was language of destination to the greater people and different types of people started to develop it. As this newly emerged language Bangla was enriched by translation, I would like to call it as a language of destination in the medieval context. And here destination does not mean metaphorically, but literally.

Tarafdar refers to the Hindi romance *Pranay Akhyan*, Kutuban's *Mrigabat* was adapted into Bangla by the five poets between seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. There are similarities between Poet Sadhan's *Mayna Sat* and Mrigabat and Alaul's *Padmabati*. Alaul was the famous poet and translator of Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padumabat* into Bangla as *Padmabati*. Tarafdar opined (209). Alaul was the poet of seventeenth century in the royal court of Arakan king. *Bhasha* culture had been developing during the entire medieval period communicating with other newly developed languages of the East, like Hindi.

1.3.   Translation and the 'Being' of Bhasha

This section examines the translation of Sanskrit into Bangla and its historical and cultural aspects which would bring to the fore the issues of localization of myth. The questions to be addressed are: how the translations of Sanskrit classics came to life among the folk as performances. Through these translations, the idea of literary also was also formulated in the Bengali culture. Their History of medieval Bangla literature cites translations of four types of texts as follows:

1. The Ramayana Translation

2. The Mahabharata Translation

3. Translation of *Bhagabata*

4. Translation of *Puranas* and other Religious Texts

Sukumar Sen raises the debate regarding the use of *Mahabharata* in the 15[th]century. He refers to *Padachandrika* of 15[th]century that does not mention the *Bhagbata*. *Padachandrika* mentions many books except *Bhagabat* and *Purana*. From this it may be stated that Bhagabata nd the *Purana* were not known in Bengal then (93). Complication surfaces when Maladhar Basu is congratulated by the Sultan for translating *Bhagabat* into Bangla in 1473 (1480, according to Sukumar Sen 110) and the chief minister of Hossainshah, Sanatan of Ramkeli village of Goud, used to discuss *Bhagabat* at the end of 15[th]century. The celebrity status of Maladhar Basu and Sanatan status as discussants of the *Bhagabat* shows the public life of this text and its translation which was well-received by the people. This helped Bangla language to get its shape.

Sukumar Sen claims that *Srikrishnabijay* (15th century) by Gunaraj Khan is the first book of Bangla literature. Krishnada Kabiraj's *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and Jayananda's *Chaitanyamangal* also mention this book. According to Sen, *Chaitanya Charitamrita* had lots of influence in the society till the end of 18th century. Gunaraj Khan was the title given Maladhar Basu by the Sultan of Goud,

Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459-1474). This translation was musical and was for the purpose of singing.Maladhar Basu clarifies the reason why he translated the *Bhagabat* in Bangla. HIs note onthe reason of translating unfold a literary fact of the time. He writes:

ভাগবত অর্থ যত পয়ারে বান্ধিয়া লোক নিস্তারিতে যায় পাঁচালি রচিয়া

ভাগবত শুনিতে অনেক অর্থ চাহি তেকারণে ভাগবত গীত ছন্দে গাহি (Naskar 226)

Write the *Bhagabata Pnachali* in the *payar* rhyme to *Loknistarite*

it needs to be understood so I write in musical form. [Translation mine].

It seems from the above quotation from the *Srikrishnabijaya*that the *Bhagbata* was one of the most sacred texts of the time. Sanskrit education wasprevalent and was used and appreciated in the royal courts, but there is notmuch evidence that the common people were aware of the *Bhagabata.*Maladhar Basu said in above quoted poem that the text was translated to offer people religious weapons to defend their religion and to educate people. This text is written in musical form as it could be performed. This performativity of the literary text proves that performance ensured the public life of a text and therefore its afterlife also.

The word *loknistarite* is significant here. It might be mean 'for educating the people'/ 'to safeguard people'/ 'make people free from sin'. But 'safeguard' people, from what? From Islamization? But this text was already translated under the patronage of the sultan and Maladhar Basu definitely had no anger or hatred against the sultan. Then there are two possibilities: the aim was to free people from and/or to 'educate' them through performances of the text. The latter reason seems to have merit sinceHindu literary and religious texts were available only in Sanskrit, common people could not have access them. If translated into Bangla, it would be accessible by all literates. It can then be assumed that Maladhar Basu's aim was to attack the Brahminical hegemony and control of knowledge. It might be also interesting to consider the sultan's wishalso to dominate over the Brahminical hegemony by promoting the *bhasha* culture. When the Brahmins warned people saying, "*Astadash Puranani, Ramasya*

Charitani/ Manaba Bhashayang Shrutwa Rourab Narakang Brajet" (Naskar 225), meaning, if the eighteen *Puranas*and the story of Rama*a*re heard in*Manab Bhasha* (language of the people), one would go to the worst hell*Rourab*. Perhaps Maladhar Basu was the first one who resisted this hegemony by translating the *Bhagabata*. Probably this courage was provided by the patronage and shelter of the Muslim rulers.

Eminent scholar of medieval Bengali literature, Sanatkumar Naskar correlated Turkic attack with the translation of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagbata*and the birth of *Mangalakabya*s in medieval Bengal (225). He cites examples from different *kabya*s to connect Turkic attack and the birth of translation and the *Mangalkabya*s in Bengal as Hindu resistance against the Muslim onslaught. But these two incidents cannot be related in a simplistic mannerthis chapter has discussed different views regarding the Muslim attackon Bengal. Different protests against Islamic rule can be seen in the poems of medieval era. This protest mainly came from the Brahmin poets of different time. Perhaps it was general perception that the Muslim came into Bengal to convert the Hindus into Muslim only. So, it was the religious worry of the Brahmins, so they started resisting and making aware of the people against the purity of Hindu religion and they sent message of untouchability with the Muslim rulers in different era. I would like to call it rather cultural worry of Brahmins about Muslims. Though there was conversions from Hinduism to Islam was there.

Many Hindu texts were translated into Bangla under the patronage of the Sultan and so I argue the development and identity of Bangla language happened only during the Muslim rule in Bengal. If the medieval history of Bangla literature begins with the *Srikrishnakirtana* (late 14th century), it is only during the Islamic rule when Bangla literature grow up. Before the medieval period there was very less examples of literary texts. The whole growth of *bhasha* has been started during the Islamic rule and it began with *Srikrishnakirtana.* Most poets of Bangla language were Hindus. So, the narrative of resistance, reflected in different translations of medieval era, which is framed by Sanatkumar Naskar is partially true and not entirely related with the Turkic attack. According to Sukumar Sen, as stated

in "Pouranik Panchalir Prachinatara Kabi" [*Bangla Sahityer Itihas*, volume 1 15-22], old Bangla literature could be divided into three generic classes: *Giti-kabita*, *Pouranik Geya* or *Pathya Akhyayika* and the third one is *A-Pouranik Geya Kabita/Akhyayika*. Krittibas's translation of the *Ramayana* into Bangla (early 15th century) was in *Panchali* form, perhaps the first of this generic type. *Krittibasi Ramayana* gradually became a part and parcel of Bengali culture. There are instances of its huge reception across the time in Bengali culture. The text is not an instance of localization of the *Ramayana* story, it was transcreated more than translation. The poetic genius of Krittibas was deeply rooted in the performative traditions and culture of Bengal. Translations in *Panchali* etc. forms received great public response as these were also musical and could be adapted by the musical groups and performers, exemplifying successful. Text and its performance ensured the afterlife of these texts in the public life. Multiple rebirths in different mediums rooted these texts deeply into Bengali culture.

Sukumar Sen was skeptical about the time of Krittibas and questioned earlier conjectures. He proposed Madhab Kandali as the first translator of the *Ramayana* into Assamese and ~~he~~ situated him in the 15[th]century. Sen argues Krittibas's *Ramayana* is influenced by the *Bhakti* Rasa, which was enhanced by the powerful influence of Chaitanyadeb. Madhabkandali's *Bhaktirasa* was Vishnu *Bhaktirasa*. He finds remarkable difference between the translation of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* in Bangla. Sen holds that while *Ramayana* was translated in *Panchali* style meant mainly for singing, *Mahabharata*, although claimed as *Panchali*, was for reading. Since the *Ramayana* translation became part of Hindu ritual and performed in formal programs, it seems the translator of the *Ramayana* were the Brahmins and the translators of the *Mahabharata* were other upper castes, mainly *Kayastha* (208)

In the history of different dynasties and the manners of royal courts, there existed the tradition of reading *Mahabharata*. The first translation of the *Mahabharata* into Bangla is *Paragali Mahabharat* (*Pandav Bijay*) by Kabindra Parameswar(1515). Kabindra Parameswar wrote it on the order of Paragal Khan, a governor of the Sultan Hossain Shah. As this *Mahabharata* was translated by a Muslim

governor's order, there were few remarkable changes from the source text. There were manytranslations of the *Mahabharata* story into Bangla, like*Aswamedha Parba* (1552-53) by Ramachandra Khan, a *marmanubad*[9]of the *Jaimini Samhita*. Another *Aswamedha Parba* (1567) was translated by Dwija Raghunath.

The translation of *Purana* was supported and promoted by the king Biswa Singh (1522-1554) in the royal court of Kamta-Kamrup. This royal court promoted both Sanskrit literature and translation of *Purana* into Bangla. King Samar Singha, son of the King Biswa Singha, was the patron of poet Pitambar who translated *Markendeya Purana* (?) into Bangla by the order of Samar Singha. Pitambar also wrote *Usha- Aniruddher Kahini* (1533) based on the *Bhagabata,* besides*Vishnupurana* and *Nala- Damayanti* (1544) from *Mahabharata*. Sukumar Sen mentions that Pitambar was not Brahmin and since translating/re-creating *Purana* by a non-Brahmin ~~is~~was not within their right, so the poet calls himself a *shishu*or child-like, most probably to avoid the wrath of the Brahmins.Different chapters of the *Mahabharata* were translated at this royal court by different poets as *Dronaparba* by Gopinatha, *Birataparba* (1611) by Bisharad Chakraborty, *Banaparba* by Bisharad Chakraborty, *Kirataparba* (1632-1665) by Gobinda Kabishekhar, *Mahabharata*(1632-1635)in *Payar* meter by BrahmanSrinath.

In his discussion of the development of Bengali language and literature**,** Sukumar Sen includes the translations of *Mahabharata* in Assam and Kamrup, arguing that the language in the 16th century was not shaped ~~as~~ distinctly as Bangla or Assamese, so he these translation should be included while tracingthe history of Bangla literature. He mentions that the language of these translations was similar to the *Uttarpurbi* dialect of Bangla language (219). But here I leave discussion of those translations of the *Mahabharata* as the translators Madhab Kandali and Shankaradev are very prominent literary figures

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[9]*Marmanubad* is a process of translation which stands not for word to word translation but for the translation of the essence or flavor of the theme or translation of essence.

in the history of Assamese literature. Now Assamese is recognized as a different language, it is no longer a dialect of Bangla.

Asit Bandopadhyay in his *Bangla Sahityer Itibritta*says that in 17th century, except for Kashiram Das, other translators could not show as such poetic skill in their translations (426-427).Moreover in 17th century, two other traditions of literature had been introduced, one is the tradition of *Mangalkabya* and the other of Vaisnavite literature (426-427). Bandopadhyay showed concern about the quality of translation in comparison with other types of creative writing and their reception while accepting that the translations of *Purana, Bhagabat, Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*introduced a sense of literariness[10] in the public life as a significant role of translation in medieval Bengal.Krittibas was popular among the people and the poets alike. His *Ramayana* was copied and circulated widely but on examination many manipulations have been located in these manuscripts. Many poets translated their own texts in the name of Krittibas as for example, *Adbhut Ramayana*(428). This version called *Adbhut Ramayana* was popular in Rangpur district of Bengal, according to the accounts (1838) of British historian Francis Buchanan (431) and was said to have great influence in the regions of North Bengal, Dhaka, Maymansingha and Tripura (436) where it was read and sung. Bhattashali argued thatsthe conspiracy of the Sreerampore Mission to popularise Krittibasi Ramayana pushed *Adbhut Ramayana* to the margins (437). But Asit Bandopadhyay, contradicts this view so many other manuscripts of the *Ramayana* were in existence (437). Continuing reception Krittibas *Ramayana* endorses himto be the most popular translator of *Ramayana.*Therefore, according to Bandopadhyay, when Sreerampore Mission decided to print Bengali *Ramayana*, the obvious choice was *Krittibasi Ramayana* as the most popular and most circulated. *Adbhut Ramayana* was promoted by the king of Malda Rajanikanta Chakrborty and the zamindar of Dighapatiya. They printed and published this translation as the pride

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[10] Common people were introduced to literature through *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and their performances. So, initially the sense of literature is perceived through these texts.

of their region. (Bandopadhyay 437). This matter shows that the local culture of a particular linguistic area often determined reception of translation.Asit Bandopadhyay further showed that there is hardly any similarity between the Sanskrit *Adbhut Ramayana* and its translation by Adbhut Acharya. He adds that the manuscript of *Shataskandha Rabanbadh*[preserved in the manuscript archive of the Sahitya Parishad, Kolkata] showsmore similarities with the *Adbhut Ramayana*. The first Bengali translation popular as *Adbhut Ramayana* in different regions of Bengal can be assumed to be a compilationfrom different *Ramayana* stories, even the folk stories. Asit Bandopadhyay claims that the poet (Adbhut Acharya) himself called this translation a *bhabanubad*(440). The concept of *bhabanubad* indicates an easy reception of translations. Adbhut Acharya's translation did not follow the Sanskrit text of *Adbhut Ramayana*yetwas accepted as translation. In fact, the existence of different versions of *Ramayana* stories were easily accepted by the people.

Translation styles of medieval era introduced interesting variations and have been described with terms like *bhabanubad* by Asit Bandopadhyay and *marmanubad*by Sukumar Sen. This two terms suggest same meaning, that is, the translation of essence or the main flavor or theme of the source text is carried into the target text. John Dryden calls this style of translation as 'translation proper'. Asit Bandopadhyay says, Adbhut Acharya admitted that his translation is a*bhabanubad* of *Ramayana*, though he translate all the seven parts of the Sanskrit *Ramayana*. It means the translators of the medieval era appreciated the differences in the methods of translation, but perhaps it was not so explicitly expressed. And the critics also were not over-bothered about the faithfulness of translation. When the source and the target texts are found far from each other's narrative then the target text was called *anukaran* (imitation) of the source text. As mentioned about *Duta Kabyam* in Sanskrit created following the style of Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*, which I think is is best described as *anukaran*, a generic translation of *Meghadutam*. I believe it significant that later followers of Kalidasa and literary critics accepted the tradition of *Dutakabyam* as a sub-genre. But in Indian, translation practice, generic

translation is not acknowledged as translation. Only the word to word or the thematic/ narrative translations are acknowledged as translation. Another interesting regarding the translations of the *Puranas, Bhagbata, Ramayana, Mahabharata*is that most translations of these texts derive from multiple sources, or the translators include small pieces, narratives, stories, incidents from different texts into the translation. Whatever details are available to the translators, are incorporated in the translation and claimed as a version of *Ramayana.* This process of inclusive translation which was a popular practice among the translators of the medieval Bengal, perhaps helpedto reach the common people Probably, this method appeared to them as easiest and logical way to circulate knowledge of great ideas already found in Sanskrit interwoven with the desi.

Asit Bandopadhyay also uses the word *rupantar* while discussing Adbhut Acharya's changing of the poetic form from prose narrative to a metric narrative (441). *Rupantar*—literally, 'changing form', is another equivalent for the word translation though there is limited use of it.

In later 17th century, at least eight copies of both complete and incompleteBengali translations of the *Ramayana* were found The poets were Dwija Ganganarayana, Gunaraj Khan, Ghanashyam Das, Bhabani Das, Dwija Laxman, Ram Shankar, Kailash Basu and Chandrabati.Asit Bandopadhyay assumes that these poets knew it is very difficult to touch the excellence of Krittibas or Adbhut Acharya, so they did not try to translate Valmiki directly. Rather, they translated ~~the~~ *Ramakatha*from *Jaiminibharat* and *Baiyasiki*, and other such extant stories (444). These later translations derive from multiple sources and are direct translations of sections from *Ramayanikatha,* as. An example in case of Chandrabati's oral *Ramayana.* Kailashchandra Basu translated *Adbhut Ramayana* and perhaps this was the first literal Bangla translation of *Ramayana*directly from Sanskrit. It was translated either at the end of 16th century or in the beginning of the 17th century. Historian Asit Bandopadhyay speaks highly of Kailashchandra Basu's translation. He was impressed because Kailashchandra Basu's was the first literal translation of *Ramayana*done very skillfully despite obvious limitations of literal translation

(446).. Bandopadhyay adds that this kind of literal translation was impressive in 17th century as it was not an usual trend of the time. Bhabani Das's translation of Krittibas's *Ramayana's* 'Uttarkanda' is known as *Ramer Swargarohan Pala*, is assumed to be written in the first half of 17th century (1649). Ramshankar of Manikganj wrote almost an entire *Ramayana* comprising stories from both *AdhyatmaRamayana*,Valmiki*Ramayana*, Yogabashishta *Ramayana, Adbhut Ramayana*. Dwija Laxman also translated from the *Adhyatma and Adbhut Ramayana*. Dwija Ganganarayana's *Ramleela* and Ghanashyam Das's *Sitar Banabas* (1618) were translated for the~~palagan~~. *Palagana[11]*is a performative form enacting songs. Another poet called Gunadhar translated the *Ramayana* story from the 'Banaparba' of the *Mahabharata* and called his manuscript *Bharat Ramayana*.Asit Bandopadhyay focused attention on Chandrabati's *Ramayana*. Chandrabati is the first woman poet of Bengali literature and her *Ramayana* used to be performed only by the women. The entire manuscript of this *Ramayana* was not found. Ramayana scholar Chandrakumar Dey discovered it and published it in three parts. He commented, "মেয়েরাইইহারগায়ক, ইহারকবিত্রীলোক, ইহারশ্রোতাওগায়কেরাওঅধিকাংশস্থলেস্ত্রীলোক " (Women are the performers of this *Ramayana*. The poets too are women as also the audience) (cited in Bandopadhyay 450). This *Ramayana* was mostly influenced by the folk narratives. Bandopadhyay wonders if Chandrakumar Dey's editing disfigured the language of the original text as the language pattern found in Dey's edition is nearer to the language of the 20th century and in many places appears as language of modern poets. Asit Bandopahyay compared extracts from Madhusudan Dutta's poems which he found very much similar to *Chandrabati Ramayana*. Dineshchandra Sen holds that Madhusudan may have copied from Chandrabati, but Bandopadhyay disagrees. According to him Sen's comment is in consonance with his desire to put folk literature above *bhadrolok* literature. Bandopadhyay strongly feels that

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[11]*Palagan* is an indigenous form of musical performance. The content of this performance are mainly stories from *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and other myths.

Chandranath Dey rewrote the texts and effaced the regional dialect to make the text more acceptable to the audience of metropolitan areas (453).

Similar is the case of *Mayman Singha Geetika*, a collection of folk songs and rhymes from Maymansingha region of East Bengal. As with all folklore, the authenticity of the pieces is doubtful and the editors might have changed words to make the text *bhadrastha* or bhadralok-suitable. Perhaps the European flavor and taste of the urban/metropolitan urban literary class which appropriated and transformed folk literature and the translated texts were rewritten to be and accepted. Several versions[12] of *Ramayana* and have been found, the translations by different poets and they translated different sections from of the epics to emphasize different aspects of the society. Chandrabati's translation is highlighted as a feminist text as it shows the empowerment of women in mind and spirit. The text is also a symbol of resistance against the patriarchal society. It is clear from this the significant role played by translations for reshaping the Hindu society. However, some of these texts show non-involvement of women with socio-cultural behavior and political events. The texts, unless performed, were also not accessible to women. But it is clear, when chance presented itself, women raised their voice and resisted the patriarchal norms.

While discussing the work of Ghanashyam Das and his peers, we can find them using the word *anusaran* along with *anukaran* to talk about process of adaptation of the *Ramayana* story. The word *anusaran* means following after. *Anusaran* and the word *Anubad* both the words are meant for almost similar object. The way Asit Bandopadhyay used the words *Anukaran* and *Anusaran* as the methodology of adapting. He used these to write how the text has been translated. The word which

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[12]The words 'version' or 'variant' are used by A.K. Ramanujan. This argument acknowledges the existence of at least one Ur-text, Valmiki's *Ramayana*. There are parallel *Ramakathas* prevalent apart from versions of *Ramayana*. Many translators incorporated folk *Ramkatha* in their translations of the *Ramayana*. (25)

appeared as opposite of *Anusaran* is *Moulik*, original or originality. *Anusaran* in this context to signify a kind of translation.

The tradition of *Mahabharata* translation was initiated by Kashiram Das (16th century) who is the most famous and followed by Bijaya Pandit, Sanjay and so on. Kashiram Das's work had immense influence in the society,although not quite like Krittibas *Ramayana*. Probably Nityananda Ghosh translated few chapters or the full *Mahabharati* into Bangla before Kashiram Das. Asit Bandopadhyay quotes King Pritwichandra's *Gourimangal* to get an idea of the time of the poet Nityananda Ghosh. He writes: "অষ্টাদশপর্ব্বভাষাকৈলকাশিদাসানিত্যানন্দকৈলপূর্ব্বেভারতপ্রকাশা।।" (459). (Kashidas narrates eighteenth parts in bhasha/ Nityananda narrated *Bharata* before that, Translation mine). Sukumar Sen says Nityananda's *Punthi* could not be written before the 18th century. Yet, Nityananda's *Punthi* preserved in University of Calcutta Library was copied in 1676, which means the poet lived earlier to this time. The *Punthi* was also written long before 18th century, perhaps in early 17th century.

Medieval Bangla translation also shows 'translation' as a manipulative act. Asit Bandopadhyay maintains that often when Kashiram Das's translated *Mahabharata* was performed by *kathak-thakur*[13] they and various *lipikaar*[14] added extra lines or interpolated lines from the translations of poets like Nityananda and others to extend the text and therefore the performance. Nityananda was much more skillful than other poets so passages from his translation were incorporated more into Kashiram Das's text.There are even examples that the same *Punthi* carries the names of both Kashiram Das and Nityananda.Thus, *lipikaars*[15]and *kathak- thakur* easily manipulated translations. Moreover, many

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[13]*Kathak Thakur*s are itinerant performers who narrate and sing the stories from *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata.*

[14] In manuscript culture, many educated people copied texts and were called *Lipikaar*.

[15]Gerald L. Bruns calls manuscripts 'open text'. By 'closed text' he means "simply the results of an act of writing that has reached a final form."(113) The existence of *Lipikaar* as a professional group in a society proves that there was no end or final shape for textual imagination in manuscript forms. In manuscript culture text has manifold texts and are multilayered, so the text is 'open text'. Translation is also a never ending process, and therefore remains open until the print closes it.

medieval texts by particular translators are also the product of collaborative authorship. One can only examine and raise questions about their 'authenticity', hardly anything is verifiable due to lack of supplementing texts and necessary documentation. Sometimes even the booksellers of a would change the date and other information to make it appear older and more valuable.

Kashiram Das was most popular translator of *Mahabharat* in Bangla. He shows influence of post-Vaishnavism Bangla language, and critics find his language more organized than that of Krittibas. There are many *anulikhan*[16]found in the name of Kashiram Das, there are debates on the authenticity of many parts of *Mahabharata* he had translated. *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* inspired the most popular translation culture in medieval Bengal, though there were other trends also like the translation of *Purana, Bhagbata* and texts on *Krishnaleela* in the post-Chaitanyadev era. A noteworthy translation on *Krishnaleela* theme is Bhagbatacharya's *Krishnapremtarangini* of 16th century, which was a complete translation of *Bhagabata* and probably the only complete translation of this kind. Other poets were Sanatan Bidyabagis, Krishnadas, Krishnakinkar, Dwija Haridas, Abhiram Dutta, Durlabhnandan, Kabichandra of 17th century (Bandopadhyay 490). However, most of them translated one or two chapters of *Bhagabata* avoiding the theoretical or philosophical sections of the text. Kabichandra's translation of *Bhagbata* presented chapters from *Bhagabata* in *pala* form. Not only the form but also the language and in some places the content too has been changed. So Asit Bandopadhyay was not ready to call this translation (Bandopadhyay 491). But such changes in form are accepted as translation bymodern translation theories. Another poet Parashuram summarised the *Bhagabata* and rewrote it in his own language. Another poet of the same name Parashuram's translation was known as *Madhabsangeet*(date not known).Asit Bandopadhyay explains that thelatter poet Parashuram

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[16]*Anulikhan* is means copying some text almost verbatim, there may some additions and deletions made by the copier.

incorporated the Krishna narrative popular in the village culture. Bandopadhyay providesfew more examples of *Krishnaleelakabya* in his workunder the category of 'non-translation' of *Bhagbata* (448).

Krishnabhakti of *Bhagabata* became Vaisnava Krishnabhakti in translation in the post-Chaitanya era, although translations of into Bangla had begun earlier to Chaitanya. Such translations increased in number and value in post-Chaitanya era. The Vaisnavite philosophies and other religious theories were also translated into Bangla as the Sanskrit texts from Vrindaban for the Vaisnav leaders in Nabadwip as well as the followers in rest of Bengal. *Bhagabata* interpretation*, Natak, Vaisnabsmriti, Kabya, Alamkarshashtra* by Sanatan Goswami, Roop Goswami, Jeeb Goswami, Gopal Bhatta, Raghunath Das were translated in huge number through 17th and 18th century. Jadunandan Das translated Bilwamangal's *Krishnakarnamrita* and Krishnadas Kabiraj's note on *Saduktikarnamrit* as *Sarangarangada*. He also translated Roop Goswami's *Bidagdhamadhaba* as *Rasakadamba*, and *Daankelikoumudi* as *Danleelachandramrita*, Krishnadas Kabiraj's *Gobindaleelamrita* as *Gobindabilas*(Bandopadhyay 451).

The whole narrative of Bhasha was not only the resistance against the Brahminism but against of cultural space where Sanskrit culture was condensed. It was about to break the hegemony of space also. Here I will take few examples to show the contribution of poets from different places to build the culture of *Bhasha*. One is, Dwija Haridas, a poet of 17th century wrote in his *Panchali*,   সংস্কৃত নাহি বুঝে সাধারণ জনে। ভাষা কথা কহি আমি তিথির কারণে॥

ভাষাকথা কহি বীর নাকরিহ হেলা। হাথ দিলে আগুনে না পোড়ে কোন বেলা॥ (Naskar 225)

(Common people do not understand the Sanskrit/ Hence I narrate the *Bhasha Katha*/ I narrate it, please do not ignore/ When the fire does not burn, translation mine.)

The second is the poet Pitambar who wrote *Nala Damayanti* in 1544 under the patronisation of the king Samar Singh of Kamta, he also wrote,

পুরানাদি শাস্ত্রে যেহি রহস্য আছয়। পণ্ডিতে বুঝয় মাত্র অন্যে না বুঝয়॥

একারণ শ্লোকভাঙ্গি সবে বুঝিবার। নিজ দেশভাষা-বন্ধে রচিয়ো পয়ার॥ (Naskar 225)

The mystery in *Purana*s/ Only scholars understood it/ So I write these *Slokas so* all understand/ One should write in *Payar* of one's own language. (translation mine.)

The third one is the order of Paragal Khan, ruler of Chattogram, when he told Srikar Nandi to translate, he instructed,

সংস্কৃত ভারত না বুঝে সর্বজন। মোর নিবেদন কিছু শুন কবিগণ॥

দেশীভাষে এই কথা করিয়া প্রচার। সঞ্চরউ কীর্তি মোর জগৎ ভিতর॥ (Naskar 226)

All do not understand Sanskrit here/ please listen to me, oh poets! / write in *Deshi Bhasha*/ establish my name in this world. (translation mine)

It is a bold move by the poets to start translating from Sanskrit into *Bhasha*, instead of writing more in Sanskrit. They felt a social responsibility to make people aware of the treasure of literature, philosophy and other knowledge. Most of this translation was meant as resistance against the Brahminism and its use of Sanskrit rather than against of Islam. *Desh* too was being imagined through the use of local language and translation. The language of translation was *Deshi Bhasha*. Sanskrit was the language of the elites. Poets and other creative writers realized that *Desh* could be imagined only through *bhasha*. Hence these translations of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Puranas* and the *Bhagabata* not only built and encouraged the *bhasha* but also helped to imagine *Desh*.

The project of *Bhasha* through these translations of the epics mentioned above was a reality not only of Bengal but in other parts of India also. It is surprising that similar terms and ideas were introduced and used in different regions of India for this linguistic shift of literary texts. For example, according to Tymoczko,

Incidentally, Malayalam, too, uses an indirect indicator for a translation that many other Indian languages use, of prefixing to the title of a text the word *Bhasha* to indicate that it is a translation from Sanskrit, e.g. *Bhasha Ramayana, Bhasha Mahabharata* etc. Though *Bhasha* by itself means merely 'speech' or 'language' … it has come more specifically to mean a modern Indian language, indeed any modern Indian language is distinct from Sanskrit… and it did not need to be further specified to be a 'translated' Ramayana; the word 'Bhasha' itself served as a signifier of its translated condition. (Tymoczko)

Bhasha shows the relation between Sanskrit and modern Indian languages. As Tymoczko mentions, "Bhasha Hamlet" is not possible. Bengali translation of texts from Persian never used the word 'bhasha' for them. Neither Alaul nor his instructor used the word *bhasha.* This was more about the sentiment for *Deshi Bhasha, Loka Bhasha.* Even the point to be noted is that the Bengali translation of Sanskrit texts never carried the word *bhasha* as prefix, unlike Malayalam and Hindi translations, as mentioned by Tymoczko. Saji Mathew uses the word *Bhasha* even in case of translation from Indian language into English and from English into Indian language. Mathew takes *bhasha* as unifying term for all modern Indian languages. I quote, "... there are so few *bhasha* translations of English texts as compared to the enormous industry of English translations of *bhasha* texts." (177)

1.5. Muslim Translators, Patronage of Translation

> The rise of Persian as a court language offers interesting parallels for contemporaneous shifts in linguistics usage in South Asia, where, around the beginning of the second millennium CE, vernacular literary codes and forms began to replace the more translocal Sanskritic forms, which South Asian elites had favored from the first few centuries of the Christian era. (Flood 8)

Finbarr Barry Flood rightly pointed out the significance of the Persian in social and cultural life being a court language. This comment is equally true for Bengal as in other parts of South Asia. The translations from Persian and Persian as a language of power had strengthened Islamic identity and offered people cultural prestige. In this context Islamic rule and Persian as court language carries significance in the history of Bengali translation also. Through their translation Islamic literature and the religious and philosophical ideas reached the common Muslim people.

Hindu texts were published and preserved *punthi*. Later, British Indologists helped to preserve Sanskrit texts. Understandably, the Muslim society was indifferent towards the *punthi* and so the many *Musalmani*[17] texts were lost. Perhaps it is fortunate that performative culture was a dynamic mode which has retained versions of the manuscripts. The translated texts before the printing culture came into being survived not only because of *punthi,* in whatever condition they may be, but mostly because of the vibrant oral and performance traditions of Bengal. Abdul Karim, a scholar of manuscript studies, writes,

> Is there no Zamindar or rich person in our Musalman society? So many people earned lacks of rupees in the time of last war. Many of them are highly

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[17]*Musalmani* texts are translations to build the religious identity and religious consciousness among the Muslim communities of Bengal.

educated. None of them came ahead to establish a Sahitya Parishad, or a library or any other public welfare. With my poor economy and wasting my blood and health, I have collected many *Punthis* and I have taken care of all these with deep affection. … Many times I have visited from door to door of the people with an appeal to publish these *Punthis,* but nobody has responded. No rich Musalman has come and said, well, I will publish Alaul's *Padmabati* or *Janganamar* or *Rasul Bijaya.* How can I say people have love towards *MusalmaniPunthi?*(cited in Bhadra 30)

Some portions of the great epics*Padmabati* and *Sayfulbodiujjaman* by Sayed Alaul were alive (Bhadra 29) among the people as *pala* and survived in the popular culture. Thus, the performative culture gave after-life to many texts and made them integral parts of folk life, as in the case of Krittavas's*Sree Ram Panchali*. Abdul Karim wrote the 527 manuscripts or*punthi*describing the beauty of Padmabati and Badiujjamal which was very popular among the Muslims. They were sung and performed during different festivals and were interpreted by scholars.

Translation from Sanskrit to Persian and Persian to Vernacular was also popular and patronized during Mughal rule, especially in the 16th century during Akbar's time. Akbar employed translators to translate the *Mahabharata* into Persian. Several texts had also been translated from Persian into Bangla. Perhaps the most popular was the story of *Laila-Majnu*. Doulat Ujir's 463 number *punthi* of *Laila Majnu* was a moving tale of *love*. Though the common Bengalis could not understand the meaning of Sufism but they received it with the cultural knowledge of Vaisnav*Leelarasa*[18]. The translated text lived among the people as performance.So a text originating in another culture could easily appeal to Bengali receptors. Another story of *Yousuf Zoleikha* was translated by Shah Muhammad

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[18]*Leela Rasa* derives from the love of Radha and Krishna, very popular in Bengali folk life, fostering different performance traditions of Bengal.

Sagir and was claimed to have been translated in the 14th century, even before *Srikrishnakirtana.* But Golam Murshid maintains that the language and other historical evidences show it could not have been translated before 17th century (274). If indeed *Yousuf Zoleikha* was translated before *Srikrishnakirtana*, it could well claim to be the first text of medieval Bengal. One might say this is a deliberate ploy of religious contestation to claim itexistence before *Srikrishnakritana.* The first Bengali text is claimed to be *Charyapada* which is written by Buddhists and the second text is *Srikrishnakirtana* written by a Hindu. If these positions of precedence are contested by the *Yousuf Zoleikha*, then many historical assumptions have to be rewritten. The debate is not justified as history proves *Yousuf Zoleikha* wsa not translated before *Srikrishnakirtana.*

Besides the translation of Hindu literatures, the trend of translating Hindi and Persian texts were established by the Muslim poets of medieval Bengal and thereby contributed different streams of translation in Bangla in different themes. Famous poet Alaul, whose *Padmabati* became the paradigmatic text for the Muslim society, translated many other texts from Hindi and Persian, like*Tohfar, Chhayful Mulk Badi-Ujjmal, Iskandarnaamaa,* and *Sekendarnaamaa* into Bangla. The first romantic love narrative was the contribution of Daulat Kazi who ranslated Sadhan's *Mainasat* as *Sati Mayna* (17th century). Poet Nabhadas'*Bhaktamaal* was by poet Krishnadas Babaji (Laldasji) in 27 volumes (146-147). Poets Sabirid Khan and Muhammad Khan wrote stories of Hanifa and Kairapari, folk tales from Chattagram. Muhammad Khan's book was titled, *Hanifar Larai.* These were translations of folk narratives into *punthi* in the17th century.

Asit Bandopadhyay comments when Hindu poets were writing about the folk gods, Arakan poet Alaul was writing about people's love. But Bandopadhyay does not praise him except for *Padmabati* and the last section of *Lorchandrani* Alaul portrayed the Islamic theology in his *kabya*s and Alaulis not identified as a poet of *loukik jibanrasa* or the flavour of folk life (737). I cannot agree with Asit Bandopadhyay that all medieval literature is religion-centric in this era of Hindu revivalism.

Muslim community also needed to strengthen their religious identity. Muslims were new in Bengal, and lacked religious texts in Bangla. Both Buddhists and the Muslim intervention in literary history have been marginalized in some extent. Literary history refer to Muslim poets always as 'Muslim poets' whereas Hindu poets are called 'Bangali poets'. Even when the history is written by Muslim scholars, the same labels are used. Since Muslims are latecomers in the land known as Bengal, it is presupposed that anything related to Bengal is synonymous to Hindu. Bandopadhyay criticizes Said Alaul and accepts two categories of translation, one that has quality of literature and the other as mere [mechanical?] translation. He argues that Alaul is a successful translator and only reaches literary quality in some cases. Bandopadhyay situates Alaul as a translator and as a second class citizen in the literary society although it is my view that Alaul sometimes showed literary genius. When Bandopadhyay talks about Krittibas and Kashiram Das, he calls them great poets (738). To me, this historical analysis seems biased as Alalul's reception in the Muslim society is not lesser than that of Krittibas and Kashiram Das among the Hindus or in entire Bengali community. Bandopadhyay concurs with Muhammad Shahidullah that translation is a less achieved work. Shahidullah praised Alaul as a good translator to be placed with other creative writers. Bandopadhyay also praises Alaul as a good translator who followed or proposed method of translation for the first time in the history of Bengali literature. Most other translators used their creativity freely instead of following the source text. If I agree with Asit Bandopadhyay's view about translation, then one must confer Alaul a separate place in the history of translation for his dedication towards translation and his contribution to the field. Alaul's *Saifulmuluk Badiujjamal* is a translation of Arabian fiction *Alif Laila* which Alaul does not translate word for word but is more creative. Alaul also translated Persian *Hapta Paykar*, a collection of Iranian stories by Nizami Samarkand in 1663. Nizami's *Sekendarnama* was translated by Alaul in 1673.

There were few Muslim poets who translated Hindu literary and religious texts also, like Sadek Ali's *Ramchandrer Banabas* and Sheikh Muhammad Hossain's *Chanakya Sloka*. This shows the tradition of reception of Hindu text in the society as the texts of knowledge.

There are conflicting views among the Hindu and Muslim historians of Bangla literature regarding the translation and literary creations of the medieval era. Abdul Nabi translated *Dastan E Ameer Haamjaa* as *Ameer Haamjaa* in Bangla in 1684. Enamul Haque Saheb calls it better creation than Kahsiram Das's *Mahabharata* , a statement which is called unjustified by Asit Bandopadhyay (774) as neither commentators offer reasons for their views.

1.6. *Bhasha, Bhakti* and Translation

Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature edited by Andrew Schelling, in its introduction on *Bhakti* poetry explains the origin and history of *Bhakti* movement in India and its relation with 'vernacular' literature and culture. I found this noteworthy to refer in this dissertation to find another connection between the *Bhasha* and *Bhakti*. So far, this dissertation mainly analyzed the political aspect of *Bhasha* and tried to read the medieval society from the political viewpoint. But that is not the only reality of medieval Bengal as well as India which made translation inevitable. *Bhakti* movement engaged the people across class, caste and religion, and successfully endorsed people's language and spirituality. Schelling comments, "Driven by spiritual hunger, a fierce desire for spiritual freedom, and long-simmering demands for social or economic equality, bhakti poets issued forth in dozens of languages"(xiv). This was not only about the social and economic equality but also about the cultural equality and right to knowledge. *Bhakti* movement and *Bhasha* culture synthesized people's belief and people's literature which was there in oral tradition and in local language with the philosophical and religious thoughts which were found in scriptures and classical text. Medieval translation always carried the traces of "raw vernacular vocabulary, riddles, secret codes, and non-rational images" (Schelling xv) which shows the deep affinity between the translation and social life, which further ensures that translation reached its target audience.

The texts which were translated during medieval period not only tried to bring knowledge from Sanskrit and later from the Persian texts but also tried to express spirituality in people's language. According to Schelling, "Bhakti poetry occurs at the confluence of Sanskrit with India's vernacular traditions… Bhakti, and the poems that convey its passions, are, in A.K. Ramanujan's words, deliberately 'anti-tradition" (xvii). The motivation for the development of *bhasha* was to oppose religious hierarchy and politics of knowledge restriction within certain caste and class. It also sought to satisfy people's desire for spirituality. *Bhakti Bhava* of the creative poet-translators' ' mind for the

selection, translation and circulation of particular texts. Krittivasa's popularity and wide circulation of his manuscript was due to his *Bhakti Bhava* towards Vaisnavism and his devotion in that culture. Alaul's *Padmabati* was very much influenced by his knowledge and belief on Sufism which also made this translated text acceptable to the Bengali community, most especially among the Muslims. Schelling adapts Dilip Chitre's term to describe the literary productions of Bhakti movement as 'orature'. Schelling also comments that, "... bhakti is oral poetry, orature not literature, enunciated by the poet, and written onto the page only later- often centuries later. In this sense its natural habitat has always been performance"(xix). In the Bengali scenario, *Bhakti* was not only expressed in the performative or the oral tradition but was in written forms also, as in other cultures. It was a happy marriage between written culture and oral tradition, as 'local' was reflected in the pages of the manuscripts which were adapted by the *Katha thakurs* to perform. *Bhakti* and *Bhasha,* were determining factors for the birth of medieval Indian translation and thus Indian literature too.

According to Schelling there are six characteristics of *Bhakti* poetry as follows:

1. The poem is carried by the poet's voice. It has been composed orally, sometimes spontaneously.

2. A highly developed process of thinking in images.

3. A minimal art of maximum involvement. 'Intensity'.

4. Listeners or spectators. These are public 'events'. The poet creates a theatre of participants, willing or unwilling.

5. 'Animal-body-rootedness'. The poem is an act of both body and spirit.

6. Poet as shaman. He or she is controller of the 'techniques of ecstasy'. (xxi-xxii)

When I argue that *Bhakti* and *Bhasha* are intrinsically related to translation, I mean the spiritual-cultural- social environment of the time with the surfeit of *Bhakti Bhava* made translation possible. It is not about the *Bhakti* poets who translated or not always about their direct influence which made

translation possible but it is about the entire cultural environment. It is not only about Meera, Kabir, Tukaram, Dadu or Chaitanyadev whose influence directly opened the possibility of translation but the environment which was created by the *Bhakti* movement or people's spiritual desire towards *Bhakti* that made this possible. I mentioned the characteristics of the *Bhakti* poets suggested by Schelling to understand the situation of the poets and the position of translation, to understand poet's role in translation. The history of medieval translation shows the force of *Bhakti* and its philosophical foundations strengthenedby the patronage of kings and later sultans helped translation. Another point to be noted is that the translators were not necessarily *Bhakti* poets as the above characteristics list, but they were certainly driven by *Bhakti Bhava.*

Schelling adds, "*Bhakti* poetry occurs at the confluence of Sanskrit with India's vernacular traditions" (xvii). But the influence of *Bhakti* was not only limited within this culture of Sanskrit, the influence of Sufism led the translation of Alaul's *Padmabati. Bhakti* was involved with the making of *bhasha.* For example, the songs of poets Ramprasad Sen (1728/1713-1775) and Kamalakanta Bhattacharya (1769-1821), devotees of *Kali*, helped the development of *bhasha* but did not result in translation at that time. The long tradition of Shakta Padavali of Bengal was creation of devotion of the poets towards Kali, Durga and Uma.

2.7. Conclusion

The medieval period of Bangla literature witnessed the emergence of the *Mangal Kabyas* (13th - 18th Century) on one side and translation in the other. Most popular translation of this era was into performance. Most scriptures were translated and performed for the common folk. In the beginning translation emerged with the performance culture of Bengal. *Pala Gayak* and *Kathak Thakur* are very popular translators of this kind. Through this kind of translation myths were localized.

Most interesting thing of the translation of this period is that translation was a continuous process. It is doubtful that Krittibas's manuscript was replicated in multiples by Krittibas alone. As most popular translator of the *Ramayana* in Bengal, Krittibas's translation dominated the sociao-cultural domain since its translation. So, many texts[19] are found bearing Krittibas's name, which might not been done by him. Critic Kalidas Ray argues that Krittibas was born into an educated educated class which promoted his translation (53). But it is also credit to his talent, not just the overwhelming influence of tradition. There is a regional division in the reception of Krittibas *Ramayana* also which was more popular in south-west Bengal; Adbhut Acharya was popular in north-east Bengal. The regional representation and identity may have been reflected in different translations. Somewhere the Gour culture is prominent, somewhere the culture of north-east Bengal is prominent. This is another significant finding that the translation of this era reflects though the language is the same. Kalidas Ray wonders how it is possible that Krittibas most popular translator of the *Ramayana*. He claims many translations written at different times appropriated the name of Krittibas so he remained so widely

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[19]A.K Ramanujan claims the existence of *Ur*-text of *Ramayana* and its many versions or variants. I would like to argue that there is no single *Ur*-text but many *Ur*-texts. Krittibasa was so popular, there are many texts claiming his name and there was manipulation by the *Lipikaar*s. This makes questions about authenticity problematic. The people who appropriated Krittibasa sometimes negatively impacted his popularity. They had only Krittibasa in mind as the original poet. They were not bothered about Valmiki. General people in Bengal knew Krittibasa'sb*Bhasha Ramayana* or *Ramkatha* in *Bhasha*. This is how Krittibasa appeared as original. Many versions of Krittibasa will be found yet there's no meaning in searching for the 'original' Krittibasa. In this sense, I would like to argue, translation also may appear as original text or *Ur*-text.

and continuously popular (53). It is also a fact that performers, *Kathak Thakurs* and *Pala Gayak* proved to be the symbiosis force in the whole culture of medieval translation. They adapted available texts of *Ramayana* for performance and thus gave *Ramayana* stories their universal appeal. This may be the reason for unidentified *Ramayana* stories to be found in the folk life and in the oral tradition. I guess this is also another significant finding of this era about translation that through performance traditions different poets of the medieval era contributed in the project of creating folk *Ramayanas*. So, the translation of the *Ramayana* into single manuscript appeared as an unidentified universal narrative of the folk or oral *Ramayana*.

Kalidas Ray and other historians also raise the issue of authenticity of the translation and the the question of authorship. Manuscripts were handwritten and copied by the *Lipikar* so there was great possibility of manipulation and editing as per popular demand. This too is an acknowledged fact about translation in the medieval era.

Sanatkumar Naskar agrees with the opinion of Sukumar Sen that the birth of translation into medieval era actually happened through the oral culture. The Brahminical hegemony of language, knowledge and religion was actually resisted through oral performance tradition of the *Kathak Thakur* and the *Gayaa* who performed the religious narratives for the common people. They were also responsible for building the environment for the reception of Sanskrit religious texts among the common people. The performance tradition of Bengal also built the culture of translation and prepared the ground for written translation. The oral tradition is also responsible for initiating the culture of *Bhasha*, the story of *Being Bhasha* was mainly their enterprise. Another significant finding of this era is that *bhasha* also developed the idea of *Desh*. Translators always mentioned Bangla as a *Deshi Bhasha* and translation happened for the folk or *Deshi* people.

Regarding the translations by Muslim poets and Hindu poets, I guess there was contestation between these two sections of receptors. Muslim poets translated texts to build the identity of the

community; the Hindu identity was already strengthened through different translations of Hindu texts. Hindu poets were more concerned about *bhasha* whereas Muslim poets' concern for *bhasha* was as a form of resistance against overall Hindu hegemony of the literary space. As such *bhasha* was not mentioned in their texts. The issue of Muslim patronage to write in *bhasha* was also a form of resistance against Hindu hegemony over knowledge. It was a project to build public knowledge.

Paragal Khan understood if he wanted to be famous or for his name was to continue in people's mind, he should encourage or patronize the poets to write and translate in *bhasha*. The poets and translators of this time were the communicators between the treasury of knowledge [in Sanskrit] to which the common people had no access. The language understood only by pundits was translated to convey the meaning to the common people and the translator's role is that of an interpreter too.

According to Itamar Ivan Zohar, a great translation theorist of Tel-Aviv School of Translation, translation takes place when a particular polysytem has any one of the following conditions: "(a) when a poly-system has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature" (47). In case of Bangla, the project of building *bhasha* was initiated by religious education, resistance of the Brahminical hegemony, and strengthening expressivity through *bhasha*.

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CHAPTER III

'Renaissance' in 19th Century Bengal:

Printing Press, Colonial Modernity, Book Market and Translation

The advent of 'renaissance' as a terms and its advent in 19th century Bengal is much debated and must be distinguished from the European context. The different aspects of Bengal renaissance are examined below. I argue that renaissance is also co-terminus with modernity. The various aspects of modernity are evident in the form of new technologies that became available to the intelligentsia of this time; namely, printing press and text books which had tremendous impact on translation and led to the creation of space for public debate and the book market.

This chapter talks about the translation in the age of "closed text" in Print culture from the era of "open text" of Manuscript culture [20]. Time is taken here for the discussion of what is commonly known as the period of renaissance in Bengal, though the whole concept of renaissance in the Indian context is a matter of debate. Apriori notion of Bangla literary history[21] on wich the notion of renaissance is based is to be questioned. The civilizing mission of this period of imperial culture is questioned as the medieval Indian history is full of cultural resources, religious thoughts and philosophical developments. I would prefer not to emphasize the time as the age of renaissance without nuancing the term. I would prefer to call it as the age of colonial modernity and age of printing press which brought revolutionary changes in the imagination of textuality, or the age of Book Market

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[20]Gerald L. Bruns in his article, The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture Author(s), discussed about the concept of "closed text" and "open text". He explained these two terms from the point of view of imagination of textuality. By the term closed text, he means, "simply the results of an act of writing that has reached a final form" (Bruns 113) and open text is the text of manuscript culture where authenticity is questionable and there are many manipulative agencies to offers multiple imagination of textuality.

[21] The notion of "Dark Age", medieval period as uncivilized, etc. which are already questioned in the first chapter of this dissertation.

(as the first book market *Bottola* in Bengal was established in this time) and I would situate translation as a cultural agency[22] within these socio-cultural-economic conflicts[23] in history.

This chapter begins with the history of printing press in Bengal since the work of translation began with this new culture, therefore it talks about process of colonization through the spread of literature and translation and the response of the Bengali elites or *Bhadrolok* towards this civilizing mission. It discusses the second phase[24] of vernacularization of Bangla language and the introduction of new genres and themes in literature through translation, adaptation and reception of Europe and its culture and literature. Besides this, it discusses the prominent figures of translation and the literary figures of Indian and World Literatures. *Bottola* market as a transformative space is discussed in detail. This chapter discusses about the role of *Bottola* and creation of communal space in the age of colonial modernity.

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[22] By the phrase "cultural agency", I mean, translation as a powerful medium of colonization and machinery of civilizing mission. This also becomes a powerful medium of proving ourselves as civilized by translating ancient Indian literature and religious texts.

[23] I argue that there are contesting agencies, and spaces contest with each other. Translation took birth in these spaces and thus grew the history of translation.

[24] First phase of vernacularization began during the Islamic rule in Bengal with the translation from Sanskrit and Persian. Creative writing in *bhasha also began*. In medieval period, many translators said (see first chapter) that they translated as most people did not know Sanskrit and Persian. Same was the reason for the translation to flourish in the age of early printing and colonization(1778-1866).

3.1. Debating the Renaissance

> For us, renaissance had to be a modern, and for that reason historically
> authentic, re-creation of our memory of the nation's glorious past.
> (Partha Chatterjee 6)

Defining the term "renaissance" and whether to accept or reject the phenomenal factor of 19th century which makes Bengal or India modern is very relevant. The idea of "modern" needs to be understood to understand whether modern and the renaissance stand for the same social, cultural, political elements of 19th century, or if these two are different from each other. Partha Chatterjee's comment that "there might be modernities that are not ours" (*The Present History of West Bengal* 193) makes the matter more complicated. This discussion also has to carry the responsibility of pointing out modernity and the differences among modernities if there are any. The product marked as the result of renaissance is also the marker of modernity -- it might be western education, it might be the new literary genres or the urbanization in Calcutta. Therefore renaissance itself is modern and Partha Chatterjee showed us there are also multiple modernities. Modernity counters modernity. Partha Chatterjee makes the subject more complex by questioning whose modernity is of what kind.

In the essay, "Our Modernity" in his book, *The Present History of West Bengal*, Partha Chatterjee quoted Kant to talk about Western Modernity, he wrote

> In 1784, Immanuel Kant wrote a short essay, *Aufklarung,* which we know in
> English as the Enlightenment, i.e. *alokprapti*. According to Kant, to be
> enlightened is to become mature, to reach adulthood, to stop being dependent
> on the authority of others, to become free and assume responsibility for one's
> own actions. When man is not enlightened, he does not employ his own
> powers of reasoning but rather accepts the guardianship of others and does as
> he is told. (199)

One may ask whether Enlightenment is at all possible in the colony when everything is decided by somebody else and there is the guardianship of the other. Now the matter becomes a little more complicated and raises the obvious question: does the sense of reasoning depend on whether someone is colonized? Perhaps no; or at least it is not so proved in the Indian context. Despite being colonized, subject intellectuals of Bengal did not depend on Western reasoning to understand their cultural products although they do use the lens of Western world view as analytical tool. Later in his article cited above, Chatterjee discusses Foucault's critique of Kant's essay where he focuses on the limiting ground of arguments made by Kant since Kant did not explain the features of the age of Enlightenment as transforming from the previous age to the later (199-200). Thus if we locate "renaissance" in Indian history it can only indicate the radical social cultural changes.

Partha Chatterjee considers Rajnarayan Basu's criticism of 19th century modernism as quite important. Chatterjee tries to find that 'there must be something in the very process of our becoming modern' (204), making evident his skepticism towards a singular concept of modernism. Chatterjee's argument is that Indian modernity is intertwined with the history of colonialism, so there cannot be 'a universal domain of free discourse, unfettered by differences of race or nationality'[25] (204). Therefore the colonial subjects cannot be considered as the consumer or the unproblematised producer of modernism. In this context Chatterjee cites example of 'the emergence of national societies for the pursuit of the modern knowledges'. Modern knowledge of science and arts started to circulate among the Indians, even in Indian languages (205)[26]. He took example of the establishment of the Bangla section in Calcutta Medical College in 1851. But not only there was Indianization of knowledge through the learned societies[27] but also dynamic spaces like *Bottola* came into being and contributed to

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[25]Dodson and Hatcher, *Transcolonial Modernity In South Asia* refers to the opening of Ayurveda department of Calcutta Medical College.

[26] It happens in different Indian languages through translation of Sanskrit and Western Medical literature.

[27] "Learned Society" means different institutions engaged in translating, like *Banga Bhasha Anubadok Samaj*, *Tattwabodhini Sabha* and so on.

the larger project of Indianisation of European modernity and knowledge systems. *Bottola* provided translations of medical books. Ratnabir Guha in his article on medical literature, writes that "most of Bangla medical literature were translations of European works" and that "Charaka, Susruta, Madhav Kar and Gobinda Das were published in Bangla translations and were circulated through multiple editions' also with the books of 'local materia medica'" (22). Besides this, he showed how the 'cultural project of nationalism' took birth as 'national modernity' or 'alternative modernity' within the time and space of colonial modernity, to which literature and arts also had contributed (207). For Guha, modernity is a "social philosophy" which allowed common people to dream of independence and self-rule. Hence, once colonial modernity was felt illegitimate and network of power is the promised land of modernity (208-209). We had to cope with modernity and this is how our modernity was different from Western modernity. "Ours is the modernity of the once-colonized. The same historical process that has taught us the value of modernity has also makes us the victims of modernity. Our attitude to modernity, therefore, cannot but be deeply ambiguous" (Chatterjee 210).

Bangladeshi historian Musa Ansari also states that freedom and independence are primary conditions of Enlightenment as per Kant's theorization. He would like to see renaissance as a historically evolving process rather than any sudden revolution or historical miracle. According to him, the whole practice of cultural communication is possible only when a country is in a position to decide what it wants to import from another country (204). He argues that renaissance was not possible and did not happen in Bengal since it was still colonized. He further explains that although the elements of renaissance like liberalism, humanism, realism or naturalism, and scientific spirit were not absent in Bengal renaissance, these were not primary concerns of this renaissance. Moreover, the difference between the feudalism and capitalist trends were not strongly visible in colonial Bengal. Ansari referred Rajanipam Dutta who describes Rammohan Roy as a bourgeois intellectual soft towards British imperialism and who believed that permanent settlement could not be removed. Nor did Roy think

that the peasant problem was the basic problem of Bengal. He even supported the 'colonial whigs' in their means of production system (207). Ansari wonders what actually happened in the late 18th and in 19th century Bengal, why this period is called renaissance and what was the real picture of this renaissance? He said was that newly emerged bourgeois class tried to adjust with the colonial power. According to him, the primary and popular flow of so called Enlightenment was visible in the field of religion[28]. But the religious reformation in the context of Europe was entirely different than in the context of Indian renaissance because it was more religious revivalism than reformation[29](208). The Hindu revivalism first appeared with Anglo-Hindu cooperation and later became reactionary communalism which started with Rammohan Roy and was shaped by Bankimchandra and other thinkers. Ansari maintains that social reform also was confined to upper caste Hindu in the urban[30] areas only. There was much stronger protest against the social reform like *Bidhaba Bibaha* (widow remarriage) by Iswarchandra Vidyasagar. Ansari comments that instead of becoming progressive, social reform movement of 19th century became reactionary (210). In Ansari's view the renaissance intellectuals from Rammohan to Vidyasagar were more influenced by pre-renaissance epistemology, which was infact the expression of feudalism (211).

Religious movement or reformation was not unique to 19th century Bengal. Medieval Bengal had also witnessed Vaisnavism, Sufism, Bhakti movements. But Ansari calls all these religious movements utter failures because they only promoted social prejudice. Obviously this opinion of his

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[28] Hindu religion was 'modernized' (?) by different intellectuals like Rammohan Roy, e.g. his 'modernization' of Vedanta. There were many religious reformations undertaken, like Abolition of Sati.

[29] Asit Bandopadhyay in his *Bangla Sahityer Itibritta*, 8th volume, comments that Bankim tried to revive ancient Hindu religion and philosophy through his journal *Bangadarshan* (1872). European Indologists also were fascinated by the ancient Indian social, religious and cultural life. Through this knowledge the newly educated Bengalis started again keeping their faith in ancient Indian (Hindu) religion and philosophy (11).

[30]Binay Ghosh, another scholar of Renaissance opines that Bengal renaissance was Calcutta-centric and even the villages nearby Calcutta was not at all influenced by Bengal renaissance. He also points out the shifting of knowledge space from Nabadwip – Murshidabad to Calcutta during renaissance. At the end of his book he added a chapter called "Banglar Nabajagaran: Ekti Atikatha" or Bengal Renaissance: A Myth. (Ghosh 36 and 162)

is questionable for any scholar who has studied the religious fermentation which impacted social uprising or reorganization during medieval times. The religious movements of the medieval times made available to the common people sacred knowledge which had been restricted to Sanskrit through translation and performance. Instead of social and religious reformation, Ansari gives more importance to education and language movement, especially the role of Christian Missionaries, William Carey and Serampore Mission and groups of poets and writers of Bengal influenced by English. He called these progressive. This again is questionable because the education movement was urban elite centric and created a class of anglicized Indians and in other way this was a mechanism of later Eurocentrism.

Whatever sort of Enlightenment happened during 19th century Bengal renaissance, the British wanted to strengthen their rule India through different agencies. Ansari says that the feudal oppression and imperial oppression were two major problems of Bengal as the 95% of Bengal population comprised the peasantry. Newly emergent literary genres, like the novel represented with the new burgeoise class of Bengal. Ansari says there is no class in language (?) and that is why the development of Bangla language was a powerful contribution of Bengal renaissance. Ansari holds that language has no class but it is obvious that the development of Bangla language also has shown distinct class hierachy[31] [as does any language]. Western education, industrialization, urbanization were all agencies of imperialism. Considering all the above discussions on renaissance, it is my contention that the newly emergent burgeoise class of 19th century Bengal got the opportunity to encounter colonial forces, Western power and knowledge system, were touched and powerfully influenced by the light came from Europe, and this is understood --or misunderstood -- as the renaissance.

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[31] I guess by this comment that language does not have any class, he means that people across the classes can access Bangla, whereas, everybody cannot access Sanskrit or English as Sanskrit need caste privileged knowledge and English needs social and cultural capital in the context of 19th century.

Susovan Sarkar (cited by Ansari 218), describes 19th century as the age of Bengal renaissance but also found certain limitations of it. According to him, 1) the products of the renaissance like Rammohan and the others understood the concept of progress as synonymous with British rule and they avoided the question of colonial slavery and oppression; 2) there was a huge gap between the mass and the representative of the renaissance and 3) Islamic consciousness was detached and excluded as Bangla renaissance was dominated by Hindu consciousness. Sarkar's observation was subscribed by Ansari also. Bhadrolok's perception of Bangla literature was very much hierarchical.

That Bangla renaissance happened is Narahari Kabiraj's strong claim in his book *Unish Shataker Banglar Jagaran: Tarka O Bitarka*. Kabiraj presents different epistemological examples from the intellectual practices of the 19th century and surveys the nature of publication and themes carried in the newspapers published in 19th century. Kabiraj opines that the newspaper is the most important product of the Bengal renaissance (5), he collects few articles on general themes to discuss the progress of thought and the development of powerful prose Bengal renaissance. Dipika Basu's article on the journal/ patrika, *Jnananweshan* (date of first publication 1831) shows how this *Patrika* emphasized the translation of European knowledges into Bangla and the translators of this knowledge were described as the pioneers of the renaissance (Basu 21). This article also endorses *Jnananweshan's* belief about medieval period as the period of darkness and Basu also supports this view. Kabiraj talks about the role of *Tattwabodhini Patrika* (date of first publication 1843) and points out the importance of mother tongue in education and how this *Patrika* continuously represented peasant oppression and tried to build social awareness about it among the readers (Kabiraj 49). Nandini Sen's article on *Somprakash* (date of first publication 1858) distinguishes this *Patrika's* role in the intellectual debates regarding renaissance in the 19th century. *SomprakashPatrika* contributed to the development of the idea and theory and philosophy of communism and it made people aware about different people's movements what were happening in different parts of the world. This *Patrika* continuously made people aware of

the colonial and imperial oppressions had been doing by the Europe in different parts of the world (Sen 65). Nirmalya Bagchi's article on higher education of 19th century claims that Rammohan Roy was not a supporter of the British, as he introduced Bangla language as the medium of instruction in his school and wrote and translated many books in Bangla (Bagchi 94). But it is quite evident that perhaps Bagchi misunderstood the feudal and colonial structure of the time, where the content and target audience of writing are more important than the language of writing. Dipika Basu's another article on renaissance was supported by her claim on the Bengal modernism and Tagore's view on Rammohan[32]. But Dipika Basu's concept of modernism is again a matter of debate, whether it must be progressive and whether it should be distinctive[33] than the medieval era in all the sphere of human practices[34]. Kabiraj also states that the main essence of Bengal renaissance is the 'modernity' (Kabiraj 130). He situates Bengal renaissance and its significance in the historical reality of 19th-and early 20th century. He locates the beginning of Bengal renaissance is in 19th century and its development into the *Swadeshi Movement*, eading to the India freedom struggle. He divides the time span of Bengal renaissance in two parts, one is from 1817-1857 and the other from 1857 to 1905-11 (Kabiraj 137). Kabiraj accepts Rammohan Roy and Young Bengal initiatives as reformation and not necessarily social revolution and the important to fight against feudal society (138). He also discusses their concern regarding peasant movements. This contests the common criticism against the renaissance intellectuals

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[32] Tagore mentioned Rammohan as the pioneer of modernism in India (Basu 101). Tagore also discussed the social context of Rammohan's time and said that he was the first in his time, he took birth in such a time when there was crisis everywhere in Bengal: crisis of education, crisis of honesty, crisis of freedom etc.
[33] "The renaissance cannot be considered as a contrast to medieval culture, not even as a frontier territory between medieval and modern times". (quoted in Tripathi 36) and "Renaissance' and 'middle ages' are strictly speaking not names for historical periods at all, but they are concepts of 'ideal types' in Max Weber's sense". (quoted in Tripathi 36)
[34] There is also debate on modernism, whether it must be progressive. Rabindra Gupta claimed if we agree with the British's role as progressive in Indian, only we can claim that the pioneers of the Bengal renaissance were progressive. (Kabiraj 3)

that they did not bother of the situation about the peasants[35]. Kabiraj took example of essays and other writings of Sanjibchandra, Bankimchandra, Rameshchandra Dutta, Abhaycharan Das and the role of *Hindu Patriot* (143). Another sensitive issue regarding the Hindu- Muslim[36] relation also is addressed by Kabiraj, in the above mentioned volume. He supports Rajnarayan Basu's view[37] showing the renaissance's concern about the Hindu- Muslim relation and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*'s role in this regard.

Narahari Kabiraj and the writers of his anthology express their view on renaissance which is shared by many and presents interesting contribution to the debate. He tries to find the references of his arguments from the intellectuals practices of the then Bengalis and from the newspapers. And it seems he tried to justify the previous and existing allegations against renaissance. Through this book he presents the role of civil society and media played by the Bengali feudals and middle class.

Subrata Dasgupta[38], a renaissance scholar, claims this phenomenan as 'revolutionary awakening of the Indian mind' (2). Different Indian thinkers fought for different social, cultural, political, religious, philosophical and scientific causes and led to the mergence of nationalist

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[35] No activism as such was observed on behalf of the renaissance intellectuals. They played a role of communicator between their observation of peasant oppression and the British government. The same problem was observed in their role in Hindu - Muslim unity and in the development of the Muslim society.

[36] His contribution in this discourse is utterly failure. Many worked already has been done on the conditions and participation of Muslims in Bengal renaissance and how this was the act of upper class Hindus only. Later part of my dissertation also will hint at this.

[37] He himself was very much critical about the influence of renaissance and renaissance culture. See *Se Kal Ar E Kal*.

[38] At the beginning of his book Dasgupta has "A Chronology" that is very much integral to the Bengal renaissance. Here I select few from them which I found significant to the civilizing mission through the work of translation. In 1772 Warren Hastings was appointed as the governor of Bengal, Nathaniel Halhed came to India. Rammohan Roy was born. In 1799 Joshua Marshman arrived in India. In 1800 Fort William College and Baptist Mission were established, Serampore Press was established, Ramram Basu was appointed as pandit in Fort William College and Carey's Bangla translation of Bible was published. From 1806-10, the *Ramayana* was translated by Carey and Marshman and published from Asiatic Society. In 1815, Rammohan Roy's *Vedanta Grantha* was published. In 1818, Serampore College, Calcutta Book Society and Calcutta School Society were established. Perhaps, these incidents play a significant role in the aforementioned project of translation and civility.

consciousness[39] (2). According to him it does not matter whether Bengal renaissance is like Italian renaissance or not but there is evidence of "revolutionary awakening". Dasgupta believes, "But what connected them all was that they shared in the creation and formation, in one way or another, of a mentality which straddled two cultures, Western and Indian"(2). This cross cultural encounter is the "supreme product of Bengal renaissance", which is described as the "Indo-Western mind" by Dasgupta. He also holds the view there was no existence of Bengal renaissance without this cross cultural encounter (2-3). Dasgupta's view raises certain questions regarding the "awakening" of Bengal which is marked as the product of British encounter. Bengal renaissance made exclusive map of Bengali society where a particular section of people had had access to the awakening mechanism of British. Here the difference is found between pre-British and British era of Bengal. The other view is that the medieval Bengal, the project of Chaitanya movement and Bhakti movement led the society towards awakening which was new to the time and it was more inclusive[40]. The growth and development of *Bhasha* culture and the celebration of regional or local god and goddesses offered common people access to sacred knowledge and religious rights and practices. But western renaissance in India had a distinctive paradigm shift where knowledge was offered to be accessed by the urban Bengalis. I have provided few tables of publications that show the geographical locations of the publication houses in Calcutta or in towns of late 18th or 19th century Bengal. So there are both qualitative and quantitative differences between the "awakenings" happened in the medieval era and the British era.

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[39] It is noteworthy in this context to mention Rajnarayan Basu's view on the difference between his time and the past which is discussed in detail in Partha Chatterjee's, "Our MOdernity". Rajnarayan Basu in his book *Se Kal ar e Kal* (1873), 'he spoke of Seven areas where there had been either improvement or decline. These seven areas were health, education, livelihood, social life, virtue, polity and religion' (The Present History of West Bengal 194).

[40] More inclusive in the sense that people across the class and caste would have had choice to participate and people across the class and caste participated also. Not only that Vaisnavism (though caste division also was there inside it) also offered freed of desire to the women especially, as the Vaisnav *Akhra* was kind of shelter to the many young Hindu widow.

I am skeptical about comparing European medieval history with Indian medieval social scenario. Europe emerged from the medieval feudalism but the situation in India was quite different. In India a huge paradigm shift happened in social life with the Islamic invasions and with the spread of translation which enriched the popular domain. In the meantime after the Islamic invasions and especially in the case of Bengal, conversions into Islam happened. Since very beginning Islam gave social and religious freedom to a certain section of people who, before conversion, did not have any right to religion. Through renaissance, Europe was in a sense planted in India. Indian renaissance did not emerge from the Indian soil but was planted into Indian soil. So, what happened inEurope and Britain over several centuries happens in India within 100 years, as the British experiences gathered through the British history, planted here in India.

If we read the history of colonial modernity in general or Bengal and during renaissance in particular through the history of translation, we can find logical historical coherence between ancient and medieval Indian literary history and the literary history of colonial modernity. In his *Banglar Renaissance*, Annadashankar Roy was amazed to see the difference between the social awakening between Mughal era and the British era. He remarked that nowhere in the world it happened that a 'renaissance' became effective within 60 years. England took about three hundred years to reach the history of Industrial Revolution from the Age of Renaissance, Italy's renaissance did not influence the rural Italy (71). But, I would like to disagree with him, as the Renaissance in Italy or England evolved through the historical process which took time but in India, it was inspired by that spirit of Renaissance but moreas a tool of colonising mechanism which helped to plant imperialism in India. It was not historically evolved in India like England or Italy but planted here in British colony.

Western education and urbanization were two unique things of colonial modernity among few more others. The social, cultural or religious reformation in Bengal, was the result of the initiatives of both Bengali social reformers and British administrators. Rammohan Roy might not have been

successful in his fight against Sati without the support of the colonial administrators. Yet Rammohan Roy manifested a continuity with the knowledge and inspiration of the Chaitanya movement of medieval Bengal. If my assumptions carry currency, it can be claimed that the reformation in Bengal actually emerged as a result of the historical evolution of Bengal, not merely by the affiliation with Western thought and glorified as 'renaissance'.

Annadashankar Roy comments that the Italian renaissance did not touch the rural Italians (71)[41]. In that sense it can be said that printing, publishing and translating in Calcutta and nearby places in 19th century showed how certain sectors remained at the periphery of 'renaissance'. The Muslim society on the periphery of this cultural activity and the few number of Muslim books were published by the Muslim initiatives. The medieval history of Bengal makes clear that texts which were translated during the later Muslim rule in Bengal were printed from the Presses of Calcutta and *Bottola* (discussed in detail below) played a significant role in connecting the medieval with the modern and building the Bangla Bhasha. And interestingly this *Bottola* is an alternative sphere of literary activity as a result of Bengal renaissance. If it can be said there is symbol of renaissance among Muslim community that was because of *Bottola* not by the Western education and urbanisation. The *Musalmani Kechcha*, a genre of 'low' literature to the producer and consumer of Bengal renaissance was the literary element which connected the Muslim people with the literature of medieval era and this genre continued. This literary genre provided knowledge and identity to the Muslim people. The exclusiveness of the Italian renaissance which is criticised by Annadashankar Roy, can also be a point of criticism against Bengali renaissance the influence of which did not reach much beyond the urban centre of Calcutta. Roy comments in another book, *Renaissance O Rabindranath*: he commented,

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[41]Annadashankar Roy thinks one of the differences between Italian and Indian renaissance is that the rural areas of Italy was not lightened by Italian renaissance. This is the negative side of Bengal renaissance also, the periphery was not enlightened by the renaissance.

...ভারতের মধ্যযুগ ইউরোপের মধ্যযুগের সঙ্গে হুবহু মেলে না। এদেশের মানুষকে সমাজে ও রাষ্ট্রে স্বাধীনতা দেওয়া হয়নি বটে, কিন্তু সব দিক থেকে আষ্টেপৃষ্ঠে বেঁধে রাখাও হয়নি। এটা মনোপলি নাথাকার সুফল। তাছাড়া প্রাচীন ভারতের সঙ্গে ধারাবাহিকতা চিরটা কাল ছিল, অন্বয় রক্ষা করেছিল মহাভারত ও রামায়ণ। (62-63)

(Medieval India is not similar with medieval Europe. People of this country did not get social freedom as such but they were not in bondage also. This is the benefit of not being monopolized. Apart from this, there was continuous connection with ancient India through the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*) (translation mine)

Thus he underlines difference between medieval Europe and India, saying that here, people did not have complete freed in society and state although they were not slave also. In India, texts like the*Ramayan* and the *Mahabharata* becomes important links of continuity from ancient to medieval to modern time. Roy referes to diverging views on Bengal renaissance, one view denies such a phenomenon happened while the other view confirms it. Those claimed there was no renaissance were told in that case then Bengali culture had become hollow after Tagore's died. He believes renaissance could not have been imposed without the acceptance of the people of Bengal and the changes that this interaction brought establishes paradigm shifting in thinking which can be described as renaissance. Annadashankar wrote,

...রেনেসাঁস কখনো পরের উপনিবেশে ঘটতে পারেনা। অতএব ওটা রেনেসাঁস নয়। আরেক দিকের বক্তব্য হলো রেনেসাঁস যদি ঘটে থাকত তাহলে আমাদের সংস্কৃতির এ দেউলে দশা কেন? রবীন্দ্রনাথের পরে এমন নিঃশেষিত অবস্থা কেন? অতএব ওটা রেনেসাঁস নয়। ... রেনেসাঁস ঘটে ছিল বটে, কিন্তু তার মেয়াদ ফুরোবার আগেই কাউন্টার রেনেসাঁস ঘটে। (59)

(Renaissance is not possible in colony. So, it was not renaissance. This is the argument of one side. The other side tells if there was any renaissance, why our culture is so hollow? Why nobody is there after Tagore? So, it was not renaissance. … Renaissance was happened but before it was ended, a counter renaissance happened) (Translation mine)

He believed there was renaissance but before its influence got over, a counter renaissance happened in Bengal. But this argument of Roy also is debatable. If the age after so called renaissance is counter renaissance, there is difficulty to find historical support in favor of this argument. Like, it is very difficult to situate nationalist consciousness as counter renaissance what happened in the later half of19th century.

3.2. Printing Press and the Translators in the Colony

Shaktisadhan Mukhopadhyay, a critic of the 19th century Bangla literature, in his essay "Renaissance O Bangla Sahitya" writes of the progress of Bangla literature through the adoption of European literature (1175). It can be said through the colonial encounter and through the so called renaissance or colonial modernity, Bangla language and literatures also developed as did many bhasha literatures of India through interaction with colonial modernity. New genres and themes were adopted and developed and new kind of language expressivitywas introduced into Indian literatures. This was the age of transition when the literatures transforming from indigeneity to the state of modernism. And translation was a medium, a tool or a mechanism which helped literatures to develop into the state of modernism. Here, translation served two purposes, one as a medium which marginalised indigeneity and another is a medium which promoted the European and the Sanskrit literatures.

Amalesh Tripathi points out that the Asiatic Society discovered the lost oriental knowledge, Fort William College gave birth of Bangla prose and Hindu College promoted the knowledge of the West. Here in this country few things happened together in 19th century, those are evangelicalism, expansion of Western education, discovery of oriental knowledge and the development of Bangla language (45). Tripathi described them to be the result of Bengal of renaissance.

Towards the end of 19th century Haraprasad Shastri drew attention to the hybrid cultural complexities. He observed the status of the oriental mission and the mission of civilizing of the British. Translation became an important tool for both these mission. Translation as a means of accessing Sanskrit and English gave it social status and certain amount of dignity. Interestingly translating between these two languages and into Bangla carried the prestige of knowledge of these two languages. He introduced another idea of translation in the socio-cultural context of the 19th century. He said translation was the destiny and the behaviour of the people under colonization by an alien power. According to Ratte, a scholar of 19th century,

Haraprasad Shastri explained in 1880s in his different articles published in different journals including *Bangadarshan*, that there was two distinct categories of literary scholarships, one who practiced the Sanskrit grammatical and rhetorical rule in Bangla language composition and another group wanted to use any other language pattern than the Sanskrit. "Writers of both groups, Haraprasad said, had one characteristic in common: they could not think in Bangla about subjects they wanted to write on, but only in either of the other two languages. Hence, what they wrote in Bangla, when not a literal translation, was actually a translation of thought originating first in the other languages.

(Ratte 81)

This theoretical statement can be supported with the cultural historical narrative on 19ᵗʰ century by Sunil Gnagopadhyay's *Sei Samay* (Those Days), that also refers to Shashtri's comment on the function of translation. In my view the changes that renaissance bought in terms of colonial modernity appears as a cultural shock to the general people and the middle class of Calcutta. This view seems endorsed in Gangopadhyay's reconstruction of Calcutta of *Those Days*. The renaissance and/ or the colonial modernity appeared as cutlrural shock even to the common people or to the section of middle class of Calcutta. How the modernity did appears as the synonymous of luxury of 'Babus' and flouting of social norms by the Young Bengal groups (54). In Gangopadhyay's novel, Bidhushekhar a pundit of Sanskrit and Farsi expresses his hatred towards English saying, 'this is the victory age of *Mlechcha* language' (25-26). This also shows ordinary people's reaction towards the language policy introduced by the colonial administration.Young Bengal elites like Madhusudan Dutta (37) was strongly against of Bangla and Sanskrit languages as also traditional and religious beliefs of the Hindu society (48). Students from the Hindu college under the leadership of Henry Derozio carried such views and supported the colonial administration. Shashtri perhaps is hinting towards this class.

According to Subrata Dasgupta, Fort William College brought British and Indian scholars under one roof. William Carey has historical significance for strengthening Bangla prose form and promoted Bangla translation[42]. He completed the translation of Bible into Bangla in 1796 but it was published in 1800 (Dasgupta 61). Ramram Basu became the munshi of William Carey in 1793, and Dasgupta comments: "The Bengali taught the Englishman Bangla and Sanskrit, and assisted him in translating the Bible; the Englishman in turn taught the Bengali English (and, no doubt, the Gospel)" (61). The first Bangla translation published from Sreerampore Mission Press in 1800 was the Gospel of St. Matthew by Ramram Basu and John Thomas (cited in Dutta 27).

Beside publishing the translation of the Old and New Testament and the Gospel of Matthew, John Baptist Mission Press published several other translations and creative writing[43] in Bangla also (See Table 3-6). The translations include, Ramakrishna Kabiraja's *Dharmapustak Pathoparok* in 1846 (Khan 120), Edward Roer's *Mahakabi Shakespear*[44] in 1853 (cited in Khan 129-130), *Ainer Abhidhan* by John Robinson in 1860 (cited in Khan 138), *Karmadevi* by Rangalal Bandopadhyay in 1862 (Khan 139), *Hriday Darpan* by Umeshchandra Chattopadhyay in 1864 (cited in Khan 140)[45] etc. School Press also published *Hitopodesh* in 1820 (cited in Khan 146), it was so popular literary texts for the students.

The tables given below show the trend of translation in the 19th century identified as the era of renaissance. Besides creative writing and their translation, there were also legal translations which contributed to form Bangla prose and writing style. Translation promoted and patronised by the

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[42]"His new vocation as translator and Bengali scholar - a very secular occupation was the means to that end.Learning the vernacular, translating into the vernacular, expounding in the vernacular were but tools. But Carey, like all fine craftsmen, cared for his tools. Thus it was that Carey honed Bangla grammar and Bangla prose. This was indeed his secondary vocation- but the one that contributed to the shaping of the Bengal Renaissance". (Dasgupta 62)

[43] Michael Madhusudan Dutta's *Tilottama Kabya* was published in 1860 (Khan 138)

[44] This is the translation of *Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare* under the category of "Garhosta Bangala Pustak Sangraha", these are the *Marmanurup* of the plays collected in Lamb's book. This book was translated for the Vernacular Literary Society (Banga Bhasha Anubadak Samaj).

[45] This book was translated for the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society.

western institutions were mainly for education and for providing textbooks for students. So interpolated were lessons on morality and ethics and was marked by the lucidity of the language of translation. This culture of translation in the era of so called 'renaissance' was a part of colonial modernity[46] and helped to build the West-East intellectual culture which continues upto early 20th century.

Rammohan Roy's note in his translation of *Vedanta Grantha* illustrates his desire to rediscover knowledge from the darkness of inaccessibility of Sanskrit texts. He wrote in the introduction of his Vedanta: "As it was behind the darkness of the curtain language called Sanskrit and Brahmins had monopoly on it, and they only made them *adhikari* to practice it, was almost unknown to the mass" (cited in Mukhopadhyay 1334). But this may not be the only reason. It is noteworthy that he did not choose any other text to translate.*Vedanta* was Rammohan's project in the conjunction of 'East meeting West'. For Roy, the Indian treasure to be modernised for the newly educated class would be *Vedanta*. Brian A. Hatcher comments in his book:*Bourgeois Hinduism or the Faith of the Modern Vedantists: Rare Discourses from Early Colonial Bengal*, "The genealogy of modern Vedanta rightly begins with Rammohan Roy, a Bengali Brahmin, who after 1815 initiated the project of making Vedanta modern through an ambitious program of translation, publication and public debate" (4). Moreover this was 'to fit the spiritual need of his generation' (4), and not merely the transference of the text into *bhasha*

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[46]By colonial modernity I understand the concept of modernity which is imported from the Europe with the colonial rule and for the colonial rule. This modernity was a shadow figure of European modernity. This time translation happened under the supervision of the colonizer's institution and in the colonising environment (as the private press established by the Indians also used to publish similar kind of translations and other texts which were used to be published from the Government or the British Presses). Not only that, translation was taken as a tool of better (easy) administration and for civilizing mission. In the later half of 19th century and in the beginning of 20th century the trend of translation drastically changed with the growth and development of the Bengali intelligentsia outside the Western educational institutions. This began with the growth and development of literary magazines in Bengal. While under Western educational system, texts were translated. Literary magazines did not owe not have any responsibility for particular kind of instruction. Because of this gradually the trend of translation and the literary or other knowledge area of translation also expanded. Hence, the question of renaissance in this regard is questionable and I would like to prefer it colonial modernity. Printing press was one of the most powerful tools of modernisation and this time observed this cultural changes.

from Sanskrit.Rammohan Roy's efforts in this direction were continued by*Brahmo Samaja, Tattwabodhini Sabha* and scholar and reformer like Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905). Debendranath Tagore translated *Brahmo Dharmagranther Banganubad* in 1851/1852. The purpose of this translation seems to be the creation of public interest in the new religious reformation.

Among the most prominent translators, writers and educationists of the age is Iswarchandra Vidyasagar[47] (1820-1891). He is indeed a pioneer. He worked in Fort William College from 1841 to 1846. He started to translate the *Bhagabat Gita* and the *Basudeb Charit* (1842- 1846/47) in prose, but the first published translation by him is *Betal Panchabimshati* in 1847. Vidyasagar questions in his "Sanskrito Bhasa O Sanskrito Sahitya Shastra Bishayak Prastab", that, why one must use Sanskrit language and literature, as the new language and literatures as Hindi, Bangla were not well wealthy, so to make those languages wealth full, the element of Sanskrit language and literature should be entered into these. He consciously avoided the *Adirasa* (sensual narrative) in his translation of *Basudev Charit* and he used to avoid this while he was teaching also. But general Sanskrit pundits did not use to avoid any sensual narrative of the text. This may be because Vidyasagar had 19th century morality (Victorian?). However this is regarded positively by historian Asit Bnadopadhyay. *Betal Panchabimsati* was also translated into Bangla from Mujahar Ali Khan and Lallulal Kar's Brajabhasha edition of *Baital Pachchisi* (1805). Here too Vidyasagar ignores sensual elements. Initially the translation was not accepted as text for the Fort William College but later with Marshman's permission it was accepted into the syllabus. Below mentioned tables show (Table 3-5) its popularity. There were many editions of this translation and according to Asit Bandopadhyay this book was popular in entire Bengal and even women used to read it (Bandopadhyay 30). According to Bandopadhyay this was the first book to bring the taste of "story"

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[47] Bankimchandra (1838-1894) was critical of Vidyasagar as a translator not as the creative writer. Bankim wrote, "If successful translations from other languages constitute any claim to a high place as an author, we admit them in Vidyasagar's case; and if the compilation of very good primers for infants can in any way strengthen his claim, his claim is strong. But we deny that either translating or primer-making evinces a high order of genius; and beyond translating and primer-making Vidyasagar has done nothing" (Bandopadhyay 27).

to the Bengali readers. In this context he mentioned about Mrityunjay Vidyalankar's *Buttrish Singhasan* which was not popular among the common readers, its readership was limited to the students only (30).

Kalidas's *Sakuntala*[48] was translated into Bangla by Vidyasagar in 1862. 15 editions of this translation were published during Vidyasagar's life time. Biharilal Vidyasagar's biographer praises for the wonderful transference of the beauty of Sanskrit language into equally elegant Bangla. This to Vidyasagar's credit as Bangla language was not so developed at that point of time. Biharilal says much of Sanskrit*Sakuntala* was not understood which became easy to understand in Vidyasagar's translation (cited in Bandopadhyay 32). Vidyasagar translated many Sanskrit texts into Bangla. His translation of *Sitar Banabas* (1860) from Bhababhuti's *Uttarcharit* and *UttarkandRamayana* was also popular and Asit Bandopadhyay compares Vidyasagar's translation with that of Jyotirindranath Tagore's translation of *Uttarcharit*. Bandopadhyay gives importance to Vidyasagar's translation for skillful combination of the classical and romantic style of writing whereas Tagore translates it in more lucid language but Bandopadhyay gave importance to Vidyasagar's translation saying that Vidyasagar has skillfully used the classic and romantic style of writing.

Vidyasagar also translated European texts. As for example Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* in 1869 as *Bhranti Bilas*. This translation localized the text completely. Bandopadhyay compares this translation with the Lebedev's translation of   *Disguise* as *Kalpanik Sangbadal* (38) in 1795. Vidyasagar was among the most prominent translator in 19th century. His main aim for translating was to develop Bangla prose and provide text for school education. His translations help the growth of Bangla literature in two ways: Bangla prose was strengthen and Bangla literature was enriched with input from

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[48] Vidyasagar avoided supernatural beings in this translation to favour reality. This is praised by Asit Bandopadhyay. Biharilal writes that this affected religious Hindus (32). But it seems Bandopadhyay is little biased towards Vidyasagar. When Vidyasagar avoided sensual narrative while teaching *Vidyasundar* in Fort William College and while translating *Basudev Charit* (29), Bandpadhyay says he isnt progressive, even he doing injustice to the text criticism.

non-Bangla sources. About Vidyasagar's contribution to Bangla language Bandopadhyay comments

that *Sadhu Gadya* (Sanskritized prose) which Vidyasagar developed, and which was further shaped and

polished by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, Rabindranath Tagore and others till the time of Pramatha

Choudhury in early 20th century[49].

Translation became an important tool of Western education and educational reformation (See

Table 1). The establishment of University of Calcutta (1857)[50] strenghthened this initiative of

translation of knowledge texts. Different organisations like *Bangabhasha Anubadok Samaj[51]*contributed

in this project (cited in Bandopadhyay 12). Translation was also needed for educational institutions

like Hindu Metropolitan College, Oriental Seminar School, Seil's Free College, Hindu Hitarthi

Vidyalay, and Indian Free School etc. (See Table 3-5). Besides Western knowledge and English, Bangla

also was one of the prime concerns of these institutions. It was desirable that educational institutions

be free from the missionary influenceand Christian proselytizing. Translating East for the West and

vice versa became important for the Bengali youth to appear as'civilized' as the colonizers. Asit

Bandopadhyay writes that the path of education became easier with the translations published by the

Bangabhasha Anubadok Samaja (cited in Bandopadhyay 13) (See Table 3-5). Few British officials like,

Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo expressed discomfort about English education made available to the

natives as this might empower them to challenge the British. They tried to promote Bangla as teaching

medium in schools but were met with protest (Bandopadhyay 12-13). This religious character slowly

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[49](Bandopadhay 47)

[50]But the Hindu College (1827) could not brough demand of translation like the University of Calcutta. As this college was established by the Hindus, they were afraid that the translation of the Bible and the Gospel may harm the religious sentiment of the Hindus and Christians and Muslims should not be allowed in the institution as the government did not contribute a single penny to build this college (Bandopadhyay 12). The demand of textbooks and other knowledge books of the University of Calcutta paced the work of translation in 19th century.

[51]One aim of the Vernacular Literary Society was to make available Bangla translation of English novels in cheap editions. Cowell served as the secretary to this society. He wrote to his brother about the Bangla translation of Robinson Crusoe, "immense difference between such really delightful stories and the impure atrocities which teem from the native Bengali presses". (Ratte 160-161)

being acquired by educational institutions divided the people. While Christianity was promoted by the British administrators and missionaries, Hindu religion was supported by kings, zamindars and upper class through educational institutions.Muslims were gradually marginalized as other than Madrasas they were not allowed admission into the educational institutions patronized by the Hindus.

Tarashankar Tarkaratna (1828-1858) of Sanskrit College is famous for his translation only among two what he did in his very short life span. One is translation of Sanskrit Banbhatta's *Kadambari* in 1854 as well as Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas* in 1857. Later Rabindranath Tagore also translated few sections of *Kadambari* which are described as "transcreation" by Asit Bandopadhyay, later Probodhendu Tagore also translated *Kadambari* in *Chalitbhasha* and another translation of *Kadambari* by Nabapatra publication published in 1960s (74).The original text is not followed word for word when translating for students. The purpose was to make the text easily understood through lucid language. Translators were also anxious to plant important Sanskrit text into new language Bangla where the prose form was not yet established.

Kaliprasanna Singha[52] (1841-1870) is an immensely important literary figure of 19th century is famous for two seminal works, one is his translation of the *Mahabharata* in 18 volumes (1858-1866) and the satirical work *Hutam Pnyachar Naksha* (1861) (See Table 3-5). He also translated some Sanskrit plays like*Bikromorboshiya* (1857), *Sabitri Satyaban Natak* (1858), *Malati Madhab* (1859). He was very earnest about his translation of the *Mahabharata*. He used to consult Sanskrit pundits to ensure the correct rendition. Singha was a literary activist who distributed 3000 copies of this 18[53] volume (cited in Bandopadhyay 116) *Mahabharata* in free of cost, even he did not take the postal charges from many of the subscribers (116-117). His translation of *Srimadbhagbat Gita* was published posthumously in 1902. His translation of the *Mahabharata* is an example of collaborative work and this translation

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[52]Pandit Hemchandra translated Valmiki's translation supported by Kaliprasanna Singha. (Ratte 79)

[53] *The Indian Mirror* says only 15 volumes were distributed in free of cost.

shows Kaliprasanna's significance role in translating and editing. Though different Sanskrit Pundits used to help him regularly and Vidyasagar also used to see his translation. This translation of the *Mahabharata*[54] in prose was a gigantic project.

The popularity of Kashiram Das's *Mahabharata* was dominated by Krittibas's huge popularity but it did reach the common people alright through the manuscript culture of medieval Bengal and continued to be circulated. Kaliprasanna Singha's gigantic *Mahabharata* in prose was popular among the educated people through his own initiative of free distribution. But his work contributed a lot in the development of the growth and development of Bangla prose. And this prose translation is first of its type. This prose translation and his *Hutam Pnyachar Naksha* were published before Bankim introduced his novels into Bangla. This is the historical importance of his work.

It is noteworthy that the literary epic was one of the most important products of colonial modernity in Bengal (See Table 3-5). A group of poets who began writing literary epics under the influence of Dante, Virgil and Milton are Madhusudan Dutta (1824-1873), Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay (1838-1903), Rangalal Bandopadhyay, Nabinchandra Sen (1847-1909). Their epics helped the translation mission also. Hemchandra Bandopadhyay, a poet and lawyer, translated Norton's *Law of Evidence* as *Nidarshan Tattwa* (1862), *Tempest* as *Nalini Basanta* (1868), *Divine Comedy* as *Ashakanan* (1876) and *Romio Juliet* (1895). Hemchandra had a great respect for Shakespeare and calls him a Kalidas of Europe. Shakespeare was translated in great number in 19th century, both on stage and in literature. Hemchandra and other readers of Shakespeare also wanted to find new philosophy of life and world. Hemchandra's purpose of translating Shakespeare was to enrich Bangla literature and give his people a taste of great literature of the world (Bandopadhyay 162-205).

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[54] In his death, *The Indian Mirror* in 29th July 1870, wrote, "His celebrated translation of the *Mahabharata*, which before his time never stood in descent Bengali, and the free distribution of the fifteen volumes of his great work made him popular with every native of Bengal that could spell a sentence of his mother tongue".

Nabinchandra Sen, another poet of literary epic also translated few texts from Sanskrit and western literature. His translations include *Cleopatra* in 1877, *Markendeya Chandi* and *Srimadbhagbat Gita* in 1889 (Bandopadhay 206). He translated Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night's Dream* as *Nidagh Nishith Swapna*. It is incomplete translation as poet fell ill and the exact date of translation is not found though it would have around 1889, and serially published in *Malancha* (Bandopadhyay 731). Akshay Choudhury (1850-1898) translated Thomas Parnell's *The Hermit* as *Udasini* in 1874. Another poet Rajkrishna Roy (1849-1894) translated quite a few texts which are diverse in character. He translated Valmiki *Ramayana* and Vyas *Mahabharata* in *Payar* rhyme and these were favourites of Bankimchandra who said that Kashiramdas's *Mahabharata* is far from the original, Kaliprasanna Singha's prose translation is difficult for the common people, but Rajkrishna Roy's translation is for everyone and comprise faithful translation. An advertisement of his forthcoming translation of Shakespeare's *Tempest, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, Julius Caesar, Romeo and Juliet* were given on the cover of the play *Raja Bikramaditya* in 1884. But Asit Bandopadhyay says there was no trace of these translations (Bandopadhyay 255- 262).

Dwijendranath Tagore (1840-1926), translated Edward Spenser's *Faerie Queene* as *Swapna Prayan* in 1875. Akshay Kumar Baral (1866-1919) translated Omar Khayyam's poetry from Fitzgerald's English translation as *Pantha* in *Sahitya* magazine. Asit Bandopadhyay describes this translation *Bhabanubad, Anusaran, Nabasristi*. Another poet Debendranath Sen published few translations of English poems in his collection of poems, *Nirjharini* (1881), Kamini Roy translated, *Dharmaputra* (1907), a collection of translated stories.

Jyotirindranath Tagore was a multilingual scholar and creative writer. He translated from Indian and European languages. He learned French and Marathi. Jyotirindranath translated Marcus Aurelius'*Meditations*, Shakespeare's*Julius Caeser*; and from French, he translated Pierre Loti, Théophile Gautier, apart from many novels, stories, travelogues and books on history, and philosophy. He

translated Kalidas's *Abhijnansakuntalam* and *Malati Madhab* and Sudraka's *Mrichchakatikam* between 1899 and 1904. *Geetarahasya* of Balgangadhar Tilak also was translated from original Marathi. His *Sarojini* was written by following (*Chhaya Anusaran*) the Jean Rasin's *Iphigenie*, it was influenced by Madhusudan's *Krishnakumari* also. Performance of this translated play was popular in theatre and in *Jatra* both. It reached to the greater audience. He wrote *Hathat Nabab* (1885) based on Moliere's *Le Bourgeois gentil.* His *Alikbabu* (1900) was influenced by Molleur's *Le Tartuffe.*

There was a significant role of theatre to form public knowledge of European literature as well as world literature, though the idea of world literature was not there but the literature of the ruler constitutes the world of literature. And to the Bengali till 19th century these languages were Persian, Hindoostani, Urdu and English. Pioneering figures in translating drama and performing it in *Sadharan Rangamancha* (common auditorium) were Jyotirindranath Tagore, Girishchandra Ghosh and a few others. Both were translators of high merit. There were many more playwrights and translators who translated play and performed them. Rajkrishna Roy, a poet and translator, translated *Laila Majnu* from Persian in 1891 and another text in 1893 as *Benajir Badre Munir*. Both were plays. Rajkrishna Roy translated from Persian but the trend of translating since the beginning of 19th century was from European literature and mostly from English.

The table number 1 below lists drama translation mostly from Shakespeare who also dominated as the most performed playwright. This craze for Shakespeare still exists in Bengali theatre. Ardhendu Mukhopadhyay, in his essay "Kolkatar Rangamanche Shakespeare", quoted from Morton Bloomfield that "...he became the king of English as well as of modern dramatic literature. Political expansion did the rest" (684). The first staging of Shakespearean play was in Prasanna Thakur's *Rangalay* in 1831 (Mukhopadhyay 686).

Gurudas Hazra translated *Romeo Juliet* in 1848 (Bengali 1255), Girishchandra Ghosh translated *Macbeth* in 1899 (Bengali 1306) and it was performed in Minarva and Classic theatre. Haranchandra

Rakshit translated Shakespeare in four volumes in 1902 (Bengali 1309). *Cheleder Shakespeare* was translated by Shrishchandra Bhattacharya in 1918. Upendrakrishna Bahadur translated *Comedy of Errors* in 1929 as *Bhram Koutuk Natok*. Shudhangsharanjan Ghosh translated complete works of Shakespeare in 1948 (Bengali 1355). There are many more instances of Shakespeare translation into Bengali over time, even in the contemporary times also. Few are listed to understand the reception of Europe in 19th century Bengal. These examples show Shakespeare's influence extending beyond the colonizer's institutions. It is needless to say, Shakespeare was such a literary personality who occupied the ground of 19th century drama and theatre. He is another significant machinery that attracted people's aesthetic respect towards the Europe. Ironically, he was became a symbol of the high civilization, culture and intellectuality.

Historians place Rabindranath at the end of the renaissance history. The title of Subrata Dasgupta's 2006 book on Bengal renaissance is *The Bengal Renaissance: Identity and Creativity from Rammohun Roy to Rabindranath Tagore*, illustrates Tagore's position in the history of Bengal renaissance. Narahari Kabiraj in his article, "Banglar Jagaran: Marxiya Bichar", marked Rammohan as the intellectual at the beginning of Bengal renaissance and Tagore as the intellectual at its end (130). Interestingly, Tagore's life span (1861-1941) is from the later half of renaissance periodization to the age of nationalism and anti-imperialism. He is a product of the so-called renaissance and he walked beyond that. His translation cannot be read in the context of renaissance only. He was engaged with many other discourses, like the discourse of Indian nationalism, of national literature and World Literature. Tagore translated from ancient Indian literature, from modern Indian languages and from world literature. He has three collections of translated work: *Anudita Kabita, Rupantar* and *Anubad Kabita*, along with a work on translation, *Anubad Charcha*.

If we consider Tagore's translation (see Table 7), we see the wide range of his selection. While translating ancient Indian literature he chose poets who had not got much attention. The so- called

renaissance had its own frame of literary canon and knowledge which was very selective about ancient Indian poets and authors. Texts translated duyring medieval Bangla literature were printed during this time or few canonical poets and writers were translated. Tagore's translation shows his role as a reader while he was translating. He translated the texts he loved to read. This is quite evident as he did not complete translations of any text. However he led the Bengali readers beyond the literary culture of the renaissance[55]. He showed a sincere effort to construct the idea of World Literature and Indian Literature in Bangla which was beyond the practice of the colonizers and early *bhadrolok*s of the 19th century.

Another relevant point is the role of Company Press translations for preparing the ground for Bangla prose and writing style of official notes. Company Press used to translate legal documents and notices and law into Bangla. This offers a different kind of translation from literary translation and helped to build the style of writing prose and technical writing in 19th century (See Table 2).

The translation of knowledge texts as well as literary texts which are mentioned in the table 1, are from the check list of 19th century Bangla translations which came out as a result of project by the English department of Jadavpur University. Indira Choudhury, the editor of this collection says the limited scope and unavailability of data obviously left out many translations published Bangla journals in 19th century. Because of unavailability of data about translation, they had to exclude one of the most popular translations of 19th century -- *Poula Bharjini* by Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya which was serialized in *Abodh Bandhu* (1968-69). Rabindra Tagore as a child reader was moved by this translation and mentions this in his *Chhinnapatra*.

The above mentioned collection is kind of archiving of 19th century translation, though a digital archive is now created at the Centre for Studies on Social Sciences, Kolkata. The editor of the above

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[55]He also translated Eliot and Dante, Petrak from English translation.

collection Indira Choudhury writes about the history and translation of 19ᵗʰ century which I think significant to quote here. She writes,

> A study of the history of translation reveals not only the ways in which original texts are rewritten but also exposes the routes through which innovations are introduced in the literary field. The colonial context of these works writes itself into the assymetrical relationship between the European originals and their Bengali translations. This compilation marks a small step towards understanding this relationship. The proliferation of texts translated from European languages, especially English, in colonial Bengal indicate the multiple layers of contact between the two cultures. The political, technological, cultural and aesthetic processes that originate from such points of contact are yet to be traced. (Choudhury)

In this chapter, I have tred to find the multivalent relationship between two cultural zones, Europe and India through the history of translation.

3.3. *Bottola* Book Market: A Transformative Space

> Naval Kishore belonged to the North Indian Service gentry. He embodied the
>
> synthesis of Indo- Muslim and Hindu learned traditions in an examplary
>
> fashion - most poignantly captured in Khvaja AbbasAhmad's succinct
>
> characterization of him as a, 'Muslim Pandit and a Hindu Maulvi'. (Stark 2)

Naval Kishore, mentioned in the above epigraph was a renowned publisher in 19th century of

Hindi books from the region of Uttar Pradesh. Stark in the introduction to his book titled *An Empire*

of Books, mentions that Naval Kishore had a strong sense of 'publisher's cultural mission in society'

and that such kind of publishing enterprise was non-existent in 19th century Bengal earlier to him.

History of medieval Bengal showed that the difference among Hindu-Muslim-Buddhists gradually

increased and separated their literature according to religious category. The debate on renaissance

discussed above also marks the non-participation of Muslim community in the production of

knowledge under the influence of renaissance. Perhaps *Bottola* was the only publishing sector which

published texts without any religious bias. But the imitated Victorian morality of the *Bhadrolok* under

colonial influence made them move away from *Bottola* public sphere, so gradually *Bottola* catered to

lower class Hindus, the non-Bhadrolok Hindu and the Muslims[56]. The British rule primarily promoted

Hindu religious texts and Sanskrit literature and the translation of Sanskrit literature which made

Muslims insignificant in this new culture. Muslim community also had to identify themselves with

their religious identity and they also had to serve their own community with the knowledge. This

project was started in the medieval period but the huge paradigm shift brought by the British rule

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[56] "The world of cheap printing has gone largely unappreciated in the writing of the social and cultural history of 19th century Bengal. Historians have tended to pick on refined literature of the educated middle classes for discussion and have ignored the cultural self-expression in print of lesser social groups. One idea in such historiography is that a refined, standardised modern Bengali print culture flourished and became the marker of a culturally chauvinistic *Bhadrolok* (literally gentlefolk) middle class. But print did not mirror the aspirations of the dominant classes only". (Ghosh 169)

happened when the Muslim rulers were replaced by the British. For the *Bhadrolok*, *Bottola* became associated with low quality publications. In my view *Bottola* stands as symbol of religious harmony[57] in Bengal which made the religious differences apparent.

Stark explains that his book is not about the transformation of orality into the written or from manuscript to print. His book focuses on the paradigm shift that print culture brought which he calls 'commercialization' (3-4). He elaborates the term 'commercialization':

> The term 'commercialization', as used here, refers to a number of parallel and interconnected processes that shaped the regional language book trade from around the 1840s: the introduction of new reproduction techniques and the ensuing shift to industrialised mass production; the decline in production costs and the concomitant possibility of reduction in book prices; the transition from European to large-scale Indian ownership, agency, and investment in the book trade; the rise of the marketplace as a dominant force in literary culture; the emergence of commercial genres; and, finally, the creation of a new class of professional authors. In short, commercialization describes the transformation of the printed texts from artifact and cultural asset into a cheap and easily available consumer commodity. As such, it is intimately linked to wider economic, social, and cultural shifts induced by colonialism - notably, the dawning of the age of industrial capitalism, the spread of colonial literacy and formal education, and the rise and economic empowerment of an Indian educated middle class. (4)

This observation is also true in the context of *Bottola* and the geographic shifting of the book market from *Bottola* locality to College Street which now houses commercial book shops. The Bottola market

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[57] Sumanta Bandopadhyay also comments that *Bottola* culture demonstrated the coexistence of differences. (139)

place itself is a symbol of alternative space as also an extension of the literary culture endorsed by the renascent intellectuals. Though the beginning of the history of *Bottola* was not so distinct than the culture endorsed by the western institutions in case of publishing and translating but gradually it developed when those newly established western institutions found their place and began the process of cultural dictation. *Bottola* had greater contact with the masses of Bengal.

Now in the location of the erstwhile *Bottola*[58] is a police station of North Kolkata and an electoral constituency. According to Binay Ghosh, a scholar who researched the subject, there is no cartographic indication of *Bottola* anymore and therefore it is now <u>an absence in history</u>. History and geography of Kolkata have 'erased' *Bottola* which symbolized an important transition in Bangla literary culture. Binay Ghosh claims that *Bottola* spread over North Kolkata areas like Chitpur, Ahiritola, Sovabazar, Darjipara, Jorasanko, Garanhata, Jorabagan, Chorbagan and Barabazar, and may have extended upto Sealdah, Mirzapur, Kalutola, Kosaitola, Bowbazar, Jaanbazar. It is interesting that printing presses such as *Sambad Timirnashak Press* of Mirzapur, *Munshi Hedatallar Press* and the *Siddhajantra* of Pitambar Sen of Sealdah also claim to be part of *Bottola* (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar;).

The book market of Bottola began with the publication of religious texts and people were made conscious about the purity of the sacred texts. The ink of printing was mixed up with the water of the Ganges and the compositor was a Brahmin. These texts were actually the transformation of manuscript into printed books. Few school books were also allowed to be printed.

Binay Ghosh divides *Bottola* as a geographical region and a literary region. According to him, entire Calcutta received the publications of *Bottola*. Sripantha, another researcher on *Bottola*, claims that the whole Bengal received the works published from *Bottola* (Rahman).

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[58] Bottola literally means a place under the banyan tree. Place under the banyan tree is very much a cultural space especially in Bengali folk culture. *Bottola* started selling books under a banyan tree and from there the market spread. The name itself carries the sense of modest indigeneity.

The published works from *Bottola* was divided in two categories, one is *Musalmani Punthi* another is *Hindu Punthi. Musalmani Punthi* was known as *Kitab, Shayeri* and *Punthi* and *Hindu Punthi* was known as *Punthi, Potha* and later as *Grantha, Pustak* etc. Gradually the expansion of western education and emergence of Bengali middle class by subscribing the British sponsored educational culture with *Bhadrolok* morality dominated the *Bottola* literary culture. This affected the 'Musalmani Bengali literature'. As at first the *bhadralok* readers scorned *Bottola* as the producer of 'low literature' and later the marketplace was shifted to College Street, a place under the geographical circle of the University of Calcutta, Presidency College, Sanskrit College, Hindu School, Hare School, and the Calcutta Medical college, the institutions which are symbol of colonial modernity and significance in the emergence and promotion of *Bhadrolok* culture. This view is also reflected in Rahman observation quoted below. He says that *Bottola* and College Street market are related like cousins but College Street always mocked *Bottola* culture. In actuality, there's hardly any difference between College Street and *Bottola* culture and *Bottola* played a significant role in the development of Bengali literature and literary taste since the very beginning of 19th century:

> কলেজ স্ট্রীট ও আজকের বটতলার মধ্যে আসলে ক্রস-কাজিনের সম্পর্ক থাকলেও তাদের মধ্যে মুখ দেখাদেখি নেই। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়াশ্রিত কলেজ স্ট্রীট অঞ্চলে কালচার অভিযান আজ সমুদ্যত। তার কাছে বটতলা আজ অবজ্ঞাত । যে কোন কুৎসিত সাহিত্য ও কদর্য ছাপা গ্রন্থকে আজ কলেজ স্ট্রীটের কালচার বাগীশরা 'বটতলার সাহিত্য' বলে বিদ্রুপ করে থাকেন। কিন্তু কলেজ স্কোয়ার অঞ্চলের হরেক রকমের যৌন-সাহিত্য ও পত্রিকাদির দিকে চেয়ে বটতলা শুধু মুচকি হাসে, বোবার মতন চুপ করে থাকে, কোন উত্তর দেয় না। কলেজ স্ট্রীট থেকে বটতলা বেশী দূর নয়, কিন্তু মানসিক দূরত্বটা আজ অনেক বেশী। কলকাতার মধ্যবিত্ত কালচারের স্তরে স্তরে অনেক পলেস্তারা জমেছে, তার-ই তলার স্তরে বটতলা, উপরের স্তরে বর্তমান কলেজ স্ট্রীটা। কলেজ স্ট্রীট যে বটতলারই বংশধর। আজও তার প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়। বটতলা তাই শুধু বিদ্রুপের পাত্র নয়, তার একটা ইতিহাস আছে এবং একটা বিশেষ কালে সাহিত্যের ইতিহাসে তার একটা ভূমিকাও আছে। বিদ্রুপ করবার আগে কলেজ স্ট্রীটের 'কালচার্ড'দের সেটা জানা উচিত নয় কি? (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar;)

(Though there is a relationship like cousins between *Bottola* and today's College Street, they do not see each other's face. College Street, a place of educated people ignores the history of *Bottola.* All poorly print books and pornography is marked as *Bottola* books by the 'cultured' people. But *Bottola* only smiles and becomes silent seeing the pornography published from *College* Square (a place situated in College Street). *Bottola* is not far from College Street but the mental distance is too far. *Bottola* exists at the lowest level middle class taste whereas College Street occupies the highest. Actually, College Street is a successor of *Bottola* as evidence shows. *Bottola* is not a matter of joke or mockery, it has its own history and contributed to Bangla literature. Shouldn't the cultured' people of College Street know this before mocking?)   (Translation mine)

Binay Ghosh says that the first "democratic publishers"[59] of Bengal were from *Bottola* and were the first to popularise Bangla literature among the readers of greater Bengal.

In his online article "Bottola: Sekaler Boi Para", Goutam Hazra comments that the golden age of *Bottola* extended from 1840 to 1865. During this time *Bottola* used to publish translations of Persian literature (Qissa) like *Chahar Darbesh, Hatemtai, Arabyarajani, Gulbagicha, Layla-Majnu* and so on; religious books as well as books on social life; and books carrying the lebel "for adults only".*Bottola* printing presses also published popular manuscripts of medieval era like*Krittibasi Ramayana, Kahsidasi Mahabharata*, books on Chaitanyadev and the *Mangal Kabyas.* These religious texts used to be distributed free. *Bottola* is also credited of publication of Gangakishor Bhattacharya's *Bengal Gazette* in 1816. According to Goutam Hazra publisher Biswanath Deb speeded up *Bottola* publication in 1820 (Hazra).

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[59] Perhaps with this phrase "democratic publisher", he wants to mean the type of publication which *Bottola* offered was for the readers across the class, caste and religion. Though there was religious sentiment behind publication of different publishing house but till *Bottola* was a place of beautiful coexistence of publishers across the religion and the books across the language, theme and religious identity.

Jibananda Chattopadhyay writes in his *Bottolar Bhorbela* that often British administrators used to announce grant to encourage Bangla translation which promoted or created interest among translators, many of whose translations published from *Bottola*. In this context Chattopadhyay refers to *Puratana Prasanga* (1854) by Brahmamohan Mallik which carries the news of education dispatch of this kind which when circulated in Calcutta created interest amongst translators.

Bottola published books at extremely low cost for readers from all classes (Rahman). These books include translations. *Ramayana* of Krittibas remained popular among Bengali perhaps because of the *Bottola* publishers. Binay Ghosh showed that Krittibas's *Adiparba* was published by Ramchandra Malik in 1831 which cost 3 rupees and Sudhasindhu Press published the same in 1856 which cost only 2 *Anas*[60]. Likewise, Kalidas Kabiraj's translation of *Betal Panchabimshati* was published by Samachar Chandrika Press in 1831 which cost 2 rupees; Sudhasindhu Press published it only in 4 *Anas*. Sripantha another scholar of 19th century also showed many similar kind of examples (Rahman). Sripantha, another scholar of 19th century, also comments, how it would have been possible for Bengalis to access all kinds of literary texts , also Ramayana, Mahabharata, if these were available such low cost.

> বটতলার সরস্বতীকে আহ্বান করে একটু বিদ্রূপ করার পর থেকে অনেক সাহিত্য ঘোড়ছওয়ার বটতলার নামে নাক সিঁটকে থাকেন৷ বলি, ও ঠাকুর! কোথায় থাকত তোমার বাঙ্গালা বিদ্যা, বাঙ্গালা সাহিত্য, ভাষা, বাঙ্গালা গদ্য-পদ্য যদি না চোদ্দ আনায় বিকৃত বটতলার বাঙ্গালা মহাভারত, বাঙ্গালা রামায়ণ? (Rahman, S.M. Lutfar;)

> (Many literary scholars mock *Bottola* literature and show their discomfort with it. But I would like to ask where you could have found your Bangla studies, Bangla literature, language, Bangla prose and poetry, if *Bottola* did not sell *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* in 14 *Anas*). (Translation mine)

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[60] 16 *Ana* is equal to 1 rupee.

According to Rahman *Bottola* publication not only promoted Hindu texts but also non-Hindu texts like *Tajkeratul Auliya, Kachhachhol Ambiya, Dastane Ameer Hamja* and *Saha Namahalso* were published. *Bottola*, to the Hindu scholars have been seen from the *Hindu* point of view (Rahman). But this observation is not entirely true. This contribution of *Bottola* presses is discussed in detail by Sukumar Sen in his book *Islami Bangla Sahitya* (1921)[61](first published in 1951) and the 2011 issue of *Anustup* journal on *Bottola* also shows different picture.

Laila Majnu, one of the most popular narratives of the time was published from Bottola. According to Jibananda's idea, the translation of the story of *Laila Majnu* was started by Doulat Ujir Baharam of Chatigan, then Mahesgchandra Mitra had translated it and it was published with the help of Dwarakanath Roy in the Bangla year of 1260. Mohammad Miran of Algich of Faridpur (now in Bangladesh) translated Persian *Enayetulla*, into Bangla, *Bahar Danesh,* it was published into 1260 Bangabda (Bangla year), the second edition of the book was published from Sealdah of Kolkata, in the house of Ketabuddin Sarkar and was distributed from Srimanta Mohammad Derastulla's house. After that, Safiuddin made Dwarakanath Roy to translate *Bahar Danesh* again to fulfill the wish of Gangadharchandra Roy of Dhaka (Bangladesh). Munshi Tajddin Muhammad Saheb made Munshi Ajimddin Saheb to translate *Futuhswas* from Urdu into Bangla.

The Islamic literature is categorised as *Dobhashi Sahitya* by Sumanta Bandopadhyay (115), as a new subject area of literature was introduced by *Bottola*. This body of literature comprises mainly translation of romantic stories from Persian and Arabic and life of Muhammad. These translated texts are multilingual in nature. Though translated into Bangla, there are words from Urdu, Arabic, Persian words are interpolated into Bangla.In post colonial time translation has interpolation of foreign words.

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[61]He was sceptical to categorise this kind of books as 'Islami'. He pointed out in his introduction that this kind of books, once served a great number of reader's community and now days this is a forgotten genre. He also pointed out the role of Muslim poets in the genre of romantic narrative poetry. According to Sen, once our predecessors were amazed by *Pranay Gatha* and *Romantic Kahini* but now we have forgotten all these. (4)

Schiermacher Lawrence Venuti have theorise this. We can find this theorization in post-colonial translation in practice in 19th century translation of *Mishra Bhashar Sahitya* (literature of multi-lingual text). Ulises Franco Arcia calls the multiliguality of a text as Code Switching (CS) and describes this kind of text as transcending the relationship of bilinguality as that happens for creole texts also (Arcia 65). Lawrence Venuti calls Blackburn's multiple lexicon in poetry as also multilingual (242). This multilingual texts increase the lexicon in target language one side and specifically this Bangla texts consolidate Islamic identity through this multilingualism. This trend of multiplicity of lexicon also is found in Kavi Nazrul Islam's (1899-1976) poems which transcend religious identity and is receives as Bengali.

However, another scholar from Dhaka, Anisujjaman opposes terms like 'Dobhashi' or 'Islamic Sahitya' or 'Musalmani Sahitya' and prefers to call this literature *Mishra Bhasharitir Kabya* (poetry in multilingual style) (Sumanta Bandopadhyay 117). Thereby he is trying to transcend the religious categorization of this literature. And locate it in a larger body of literary studies. Sumanta Bandopadhyay links this too the changes brought in the style of writing under the influence of the Wahabi movement of 1930s (118), and says that many historians assumed the readers of such texts to be only Muslims[62]. He refers to Akshaykumar Sarkar's confirmation that these texts were equally popular among the Hindu readers. Sumanta Bandopadhyay gives the example of pupolarity of *Sonabhaner Punthi, Janganamah, Akher Jamana,* etc. and Sumanta Bandopadhyay mentions that this genre also is being published now days from the then *Bottola*area, one very popular among these books is *Asan Bibir Brata*. Sumanta Bandopadhyay quoted a note from translator of *Quran* that one of the greatest books of the world was not accessebile to Bengali Muslims who did not know Arabic. The translation of the book was essential to educate them and remove their distancing from the Holy

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[62] Historian Sumit Sarkar emphasizes on the historical importance of commercial vernacular publications while discussing lower middle class group in 19th century Bengal. (Ghosh 190)

Book. Translator wrote that "the greatest book" of the world *Quran* is far from the Bengali Muslim and most of the Muslims of Bengal do not know Arabic, so the translation is to educate them, to erase the distance between the *Quran* and the readers (135-136).

Anandaram Fukan, an Assamese student of Hindu College from the batch of 1841-1844, and later a government employee, struggled to introduce Assamese in schools. He associated himself with the *Bottola* market to publish texts of law, court verdicts etc in several volumes. He was the first author of the book of law in Bangla which was published from New Press. He collected different verdicts of courts, translated and published them from New Press. He took this task sseriously and he invited his friend Nabinchandra Ray around 1855 to be editor and take care of these works.

In 1816, Gangakishore, who worked for few days as a compositor in Sreerampore Press, joined Karim and Company Press and published Bharatchandra'a *Annanadamangal,* a pictorial book in Bangla. According to Jibananda Chattopadhyay the first *Haatua* of *Bottola Haat* was Gangakishore who also published *Betal Panchabimshati* and *Chanakya Sloka* along with *Annandamangal.* Rammohan Roy also found Gangakishore a better option for the publication of his books. Likewise, Harachandra Ray, a member of Rammohan Roy's 'Atmiya Sabha', established Bengali Printing Press, at 45Chorabagan Street, Kolkata, in collaboration with Gangakishore. Rammohan Roy's *Upanishad* and *Kathoponishad* also were published from this press.

Ramakrishna Mallik published *Adiparba* of Krittibas's the *Ramayana* in 1831 and Kalidas Kabiraj's *Betal Panchabimsati* in 1856. Since there was competition among different Presses Sudhasindhu press decreased the price of *Smacharchandrika* to compete with Ramakrishna Mallik's Press. Bhabanicharan, another famous publisher of Bottola, deliberately promoted religious sentiments to enhance business. He published *Srimad Bhagbat* in 1830 according to *Bishuddha Hindumat.* To ensure the sacredness of the process of printing, he used to mix printing ink into Ganga water and employ a Brahmin compositor. The price of purity and sacredness increased the price of the printed

book from thirty to forty rupees. According to Sukumar Sen, Bhabanicharan was the first to publish the Sanskrit books in the format of *punthi*. Another popular publication of Bottola was *Biyer Padya,* (poems of marriage). Traditional Hindu elite, rich people funded their money to publish the manuscripts treasured in the *Rajbati*s as book form and they circulated these without cost. They followed the model of Christian missionaries who distributed religious texts free of cost. But the workers of the press went for more popular and necessary demands of daily life for their livelihood, and these consisted of the printing of marriage letters, poems of marriage, advertisement of *Jatra,* rent bills of the houses etc. Marriage rituals also they had printed and it was called as *Bibahamangal.* A copy of *Bibahamangal* was found, the author of the text was Bidhusekhar Shastri of Bolpur *Brahmacharyaashram,* which was published from Brahmabrata Bhattacharya's Indian Press of Allahabad in 1907. There was a seal of Bottola on the book. Rabindranath advised to circulate the books. Later, Nandalal Basu, Asit Kumar Haldar Ramendranath chakroborty added their paintings and three songs on the theme of the marriage were also added in that book. The *Bibahamangal* includes few translations of the *Rig Veda Samhita*, the *Vyas Samhita*, the *Atharva Samhita*, and the *Manu Samhita.* These were translated into simple Bangla language which was easily understood for the newly marriage women and it was for their wellbeing.

According to Sukumar Sen if the first businessman of Bottola was Gangakishore, the last artist was Kaliprasanna Sinha, who illustrated his *Mahabharata.* Jibananda Chattopadhyay claims that, it was Kaliprasanna Sinha who brought down prices of Bottola books. Initially the religious texts which were published from Bottola were mainly the Vaisnav texts. Christian texts from Sreerampore Mission targeted the so called Bengali elites. It was difficult to them also to enter in the houses of the traditional Hindus. Jibananda writes that the real readers of Bangla literary publications were the Vaisnavites and their families. Women's education in Bengal started little earlier than is generally thought through different agencies like advertisement and the lectures of the scholars etc. And Vaisnav women were

the teachers. One can refer Soudamini devi's *Pitri Smriti.* The women of the traditional Hindu families learned Bangla, Sanskrit, and were taught to read Ramayana, Mahabharata and few stories. They used dried banana leaf to write on. The Vaisnavs created the demand for religious texts in the inner courtyard of the Hindu household! Vaisnav ladies used to copy manuscripts of Sanskrit texts for the press.

Bottola also published the medical books, both Indian and English. *Meteria Medica* was most probably the first translated book of medicine. Besides this, The Practice of Medicine, Text Books of Anatomy were also translated and printed from Bottola (Guha). Gradually, newspaper comics or pictorial stories made readers uninterested towards Bottola books. Jibananda claims people who used to read cheap detective books in the past when Bottola was still doing its business wouldn't leave those books even for Sherlock Holmes or Agatha Christie! Bottola offered the books of language learning also and languages like Urdu, Persian, English and Hindi were available there. But the noticeable point here is the all these were either court language or the official languages or the languages of communication.

Since its very first day of publication Bottola concentrated on translating children's literature and Gangakishore was pioneer of this. New reading culture in new colonial civilization of Kolkata was introduced. Children of Kolkata were reading the translations of *Betal Panchabimshati, Hitopodesh, Chanakyasloka, Tutinama, Hatemtai* etc. Imported English books were sold from the port, and came directly Radha Bazar Mayor's Quarter and re-sold from there. Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay, probably the first Bangali businessman in this particular area, became the assistant editor of the Vernacular Literature Society located at 276/1 Garanhata, just opposite of the Hindu College, and started to translate the English books into Bangla. Goutam Bhadra comments, "When I was looking for the shadowy world of the books of the time period between mid- 19th century to the first two decades of the 20th century, I have to stop by Bottola. In my thinking and discussion, Bottola has appeared

sometimes for the cheap popular printings, sometimes for the pervasion of reading, sometimes to get the old manuscripts in the printed form, sometimes for the daily regular common reading" (Bhadra: 2011: Gourchandrika). When the scholar of 19th century Bengali culture and history Goutam Bhadra comments like this, it shows the range of publication and readership of Bottola publications. There was both the culture of *Deshi* and *Margi*, publications for both the *Bhadrolok* and *Elebele,* the latter word meaning *common mass,* the word has been used by Goutam Bhadra, instead of the word chotolok which is opposite of the concept of bhadralok as he doesn't accept this difference. Because of the popularity of the Bottola books, they were also pirated and became difficult to know the difference with the original.

In the first chapter of his book, *Bangla Punthi Talika Nirman O Atmasattar Rajniti: Munshi Abdul Karim Sahityabisharad*, Goutam Bhadra gives some information about the books translated from Bottola. Through the history and analysis of interest of Munshi Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisharad, who actually entered *Bottola* primarily to prepare an authentic volume of Alaul's Bangla translation of Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padumabat, Padmabati,* prepared a list of Bangla manuscripts. Research of thirty years unearthed much information about early Bangla translation. In the chapter *Kendra theke Prantik* [Centre to periphery], Bhadra writes that the British government was interested to prepare a list of Sanskrit manuscripts and the government allocated some money to collect the manuscripts from all over India taking cognizance of the proposal made by Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore in 1854. But Manuscripts of Bangla or languages other than Sanskrit were ignored. The list was prepared following Albrecht Weber's catalogue of Berlin manuscript library and the Theodor Aufrecht's Bodlian library Sanskrit manuscript catalog. Thus the history of other manuscripts were ignored. The translations from the medieval period were in manuscript form and recovery of those manuscripts and their cataloguing was very much required for the historiography of translation. Abdul Karim actually engaged himself in this work. Many translation of medieval period what were in manuscript form

could bring a culture of reading and grew an interest of the *Loka* towards the Bangla literature. In his memoir, Abdul Karim writes,

> We used to organize *Majlis* of *Punthi* (manuscript) reading in my house or the neighbor's house. Though I could not understand much, I used to sit and listen to Alaul's *Punthi.* I cannot forget the feeling of my child mind after the hearing the *Punthi.* Thus I became interested towards Bangla literature. Gradually it made me desirous to taste the *Rasa* of the old literature. (cited in Bhadra 10) (Translation Mine)

This shows the popularity of Alaul's *Punthi of Padmabati,* and the culture of community reading through which the written text got its afterlife and reach wider audience.

Sukumar Sen's research locates few Bottola presses as explained in his "Bottolar Chhapa O Chhobi", [Bottola print and pictures] like Anubad Jantra/Anubad Press (Balaram Dey Street, Jorashanko, Established in 1853); another was Anubad Jantralaya owned by Baikunthanath Das. Anglo Indian Union Jantra (92, Panchu Dutter Gali, Garanhata Street, Kolkata, Established 1844), it had published *Chahar Darbesh* (1773 Shakabda) by Sri Harishchandra Nandi, translated from original Urdu, this book was edited (Sangshodhita) by Sri Anandachandra Bedantabagish. Anbar Shoheli also published from this press in 1855 and this was translated by Gopimohan Chattopadhyay.

Adrish Biswas, the guest editor of the Bottola issue of *Anustup*, comments in his introduction that *Bottola* was a space of plurality (*Bahuttwabadi Space*) where the common people, the marginalized people and the 'other' are significant (3). This was the grand success of book trade of the 'natives' what led them towards College Street. *Bottola* offered a space for *Deshi* and *Lok*, and for *Deshi* reception of. *Bottola* also offered unrestricted cultural space for all who liked to read. This perhaps was the beginning of the general Bengali's encounter with the literatures from different parts of the world.

The publication and reception of translation from this place shows a resistance of the sort of culture endorsed and promoted by the *Bhadrolok* and the British rulers.

3.4. Conclusion

Bengal renaissance is defined and discussed, but is mostly seen from the perspective of the history of translation. Existing debates and other aspects on Bengal renaissance have not been addressed here as they do not fall within the purview of this study. The work of Rammohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Tagore and many others are places in the history of translation. At the end of this chapter, I tried to establish that the printing press and publishing of translation play a significant role to 'make' Bengali intelligentsia and bring radical changes in literary history. The period introduced many new literary genres, themes, new language in writing and played a significant role to keep link between the medieval and modern. The 'open text' of manuscript culture morphed into the 'close text' of print culture and this step showed how the new literary society evolved not only from the colonial modernity but also from the tradition of medieval literary culture. Sense of self-reflexivity, introspection and retrospection was the primary achievement of literary and philosophical psyche of Bengalis in 19th century.*Bhasha* becomes more consolidated which consolidated the growth and development of Bangla language and literature. Advent of printing press created a paradigm shift in literary thought and literary creation of this time, and translation appeared as a major tool to achive this. History of translation here is more about the history of printing and book history. The translators of this era were famous not merely for translation but for other reasons like social and religious reformation, promotion of education. The translated book shows the way of reading history and it seems more important than the positionality of an intellectual engaged with the work of translating. Here also lies the difference between the medieval and modern translators. In the medieval period, translators are known only for their translations but in the modern period scenario is quite different. Rammohan Roy is a social reformer, Vidyasagar is an educationist, Tagore is a poet and philosopher and so on. Krittibas is a translator of *Ramayana*, and Sayed Alaul is a translator of *Padumabat* plus many unknown and anonymous translators especially from Bottola presses whose contribution should not be

overlooked. This chapter of history shows that how target readership shifts from the common folk to those people who had access to the English education or the English sponsored education whereas the medieval translation was for the common people and it reached the common people through performance. In this context, the role of Bottola printing becomes significant. The print culture, the new emergent class as the *Bhadrolok*s or the *Baboo*s initially helped the mission of colonization and urbanization of knowledge and culture that gradually distanced the urban from the rural civilization. 19th century translation was mainly used for education (teaching), for the civilising[63] mission of British, for the cultural contestation of *Bhadrolok* with the British, as well as for constructing the identity of the Muslim community and for serving the society with the literature in cheap price from *Bottola*.

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[63] I would like to refer Anindyo Roy's introduction on civility and the literature of colonial India to his book *Civility, Literature and Culture in British India 1822- 1922*

The tables below showing the publication of translations records the way civilizing mission of colonizers used translation as did the orientalists' for the imperialisation.

Table 1 : List of Translations Published between 1800-1900[64]

	Title of the Book/ Category/ Genre	Number of Published Work
1	Old Testament	10
2	Book of Ishaish	3
3	Life of Daniel	2
4	Psalms	8
5	Proverbs	5
6	New Testament	28
7	Bible by C.G. Barth	4
8	Gospels	4
9	The Gospel of St. Matthew	13
10	The Gospel of St. Mark	4
11	The Gospel of St. Luke	6
12	The Gospel of St. John	3

[64] Source: A Check List of Translations of European Texts in Bengali, 1800-1900, Department of English, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, 1996

13	Acts of the Apostles	1
14	Epistels	3
15	Life of Paul	1
16	Book of Revelations	2
17	Prayers and Life of Christ	25
18	Biographies and Exemplary Lives	15
19	Economics	4
20	Arithmetic	2
21	Astrology	1
22	Astronomy	1
23	Botany	1
24	Chemistry	1
25	Geometry	7
26	Land Measurement	2
27	Natural Science	1
28	Physics	2
29	Zoology	1

30	Geography	6
31	History	9
32	History of Bengal	5
33	Grammar of History	1
34	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan	33 (including different Volumes)
35	A Brief Account of the Jews	27
36	Law	56
37	Civil Law	10
38	Criminal Law	20
39	Income Tax Law	11
40	Indian Law Report	5
41	Text Books and Commentaries	2
42	Literature (Fiction)	93
43	Literature (Poetry)	19
44	Literature (Drama)	31 (27 from Shakespeare)
45	Literature (Miscellaneous)	8
46	Medicine and Child Rearing	15

47	Philosophy	2
48	Political Tracts	3
49	Religion and History of Religion (Christianity)	24
50	Religion and History of Religion (Hinduism)	4
51	Religion and History of Religion (Other/ Jews)	1
52	Moral Tales	2

Table 2 : Translation Published from Honourable Company's Press (1778 -)[65]

Date of Publication	Translated Text
5th July, 1783	Translation of Juridical regulations introduced by Governor General in Council
18th May, 1778	Translation of summary of clauses of the act of parliament as related to the native of the British India. Translation by Jonathan Duncun
8th June, 1787	Translation of extract of the regulations for the conduct of the collectors in the revenue department
8th June, 1787	Translation of regulations of the weavers.

[65]Source of Table 2- 6: The Bengali Book, History of Printing and Book Making, 1667-1866, Vol II, Bibliography of Early Imprints, 1778-1866, Mofakkhar Hussain Khan, Dhaka Bangla Academy, 2001

3rd December 1790, 1828	Translation of the regulations for the administration of Justice by the Fouazdarry or Criminal court by Neil Benjamin Edmonstone in Serampore Press
18th May, 1792	Translation of the regulations for the guidance of the Magistrats
22nd March, 1793, 1826, 1828	Translation of the regulations passed by the Governor General in the Council
1796-1800	Translation of the regulations passed by the Governor General in the Council in Serampore Press

Table 3: Translation Published from Serampore Press (1800- 1866)

Date of Publication	Translated Text
1800	Translation of Bible New Testament Matthew by William Carey
1800	Translation of the *Address to the Lascars*
1801-1806	Translation of the regulations passed by the Governor General in the Council

1801	Translation of New Testament by William Carey
1801	Bible Old Testament
1801, 1806, 1808, 1814, 1821	*Hitopodesh* by Goloknath Sharma
1801	*Mahabharata* by Kashiram Das
1802	*Mahabharata* by Kashiram Das Serampore Press
1802	*Bhalo Samachar*
1802, 1808, 1818	*Buttrish Singmhasan* by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar
1803	Bible Old Testament Job-Songs of Solomon
1803	Volume 3 of Old Testament by William Carey in Serampore Press
1803, 1832	*The Psalms of David* by William Careyin Serampore Press
1803	*Mahabharata* by Kashiram Das in Serampore Press
1802, 1803, 1830	Krittibas's *Ramayana* Vol 2
1803	Krittibas's *Ramayana* Vol 3 (again in 1830), Vol 4 (again in 1830)- Vol 5 in Serampore Press

1804	Krittibas's *Ramayana*
1804 and 1806	Translation of *The Gospel Messanger* by Ramram Basu
1805- 1806	Translation of *Tota Itihas* by Chandicharan Munshi
1806, 1816, 1832	*New Testament* from Greek translated by William Carey
1806 and 1807	The Gist of the Bible
1807	*The Old Testament* from Hebrew by William Carey
1808	*The New Testament* Luke, Acts and Romans by William Carey
1809	Old Testament Joshua - Esther by Carey
1810	Virgil's *Aeneid* by H. Sargent
1813	New Testament in Serampore Press
1814	Old Testament Pentateuch
1815	Vidyapati's *Purushparikkha* by Haraprasad Ray
1819	The New Testament by J. Elerton

1820	*Britain Deshiya Bibaran Sanchay,* a translation of the story of Julius Ceaser from his invasion to his death by Felix Carey in the Press of Serampore Mission for the Calcutta School Book Society
1820	The Science of Anatomy from the 5th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica by Felix Carey
1820	*Hitopodesh* by Ramkamal Sen in Serampore Press for the Calcutta School Book Society
1821, 1822	John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* by Felix Carey
1826, 1828	Regulations by the Governor General in the Council by H.P. Forster in Serampore Press
1827	*Sera Upahar* by William Carey
1832	The Holy Bible
1833	*Ainer Sangraho* by the Governor General in Council
1833	*Dharma Pustaker Antabhag,* the New Testament
1833	Krittibas's *Ramayana* Vol 1-4

1833	Krittibas's *Ramayana* Vol - 6
1833	*Purabritter Sankhep Bibaran* by John Marshman Clark
1834	*Ain* , Acts passed by the Governor General in Council from 1827-1833
1834	Krittibas's *Ramayana* Vol 7
1834	*imiya Bidyar Sar*, translation of the *Principles of Chemistry* by John Mack
1834	Translation of Todd's edition of Johnson's English - Bengali dictionary by Ramkamal Sen, Vol 1-2

Table 4 :   Translation Published from Hindoostanee Press (1802-1832)

Date of Publication	Translated Text
1819	*Mangal Samachar* translation of *New Testament* by John F Elerton
1819	*Mangal Samachar* translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* and St. John for The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society
1819	*Mangal Samachar* translation of the *New Testament* by J Ellerton

Table 5:   Translation Published from Bangali Press of Harachandra Raya (1817-1825)

Date of Publication	Translated Text

1817	Translation of *Kathoponishada* by Raja Rammohan Roy
1817	*Santisatak, Sringar Tilak* and *Adirasa* translated by Silhan Misra
1820	*Kabitakarer Sahit Bichar* by Rammohan Roy
1824	Translation of Sanskrit Astrology by Mihir translated by Nandakumar Dutta
1824	Acharya Baranasi's translation of *Jyotish*
1825	Kashinath Sarbabhouma's *Chourapanchashika*
1825	Mrityunjay Vidyalankar's *Batrish Singhasan*
1825	Ramesbar Bandopadhyay's *Chanakya Sloka*
1825	Ramesbar Bandopadhyay's *Daybhag*

Table 6: Translation Published from other Presses

Date of Publication	Translated Text	Press
1824	*Battrish Singhasan* by Shibchandra Ghosh	**Mahindy Laul Press (1822-1832)**

1822	*Hasyarnab* by Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyay	**Samachar Chandrika Press (1822-1866)**
1819	*Hitopodesh* by Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyay	do
1823	*Mahimnastab* by Gangadhar Bhattacharya	do
1824	*Padma Purana*	do
1825	*Puran Bodhoddipak* by Shibchandra Bandopadhyay	do
1825	*Betal Panchabimshati*	do
1844	*Ishwarer Bakyo* by Krishnamohan Bandopadhyay	do
1849	*The London Pharmacopoeia* By Madhusudan Gupta	do
1856, 1862	*Rajdut* translation of *King's Messanger* by Krishnamohan Bandopadhyay	do
1862	*Ishwarokto Shastrodhara* by Krishnamohan Bandopadhyay	do
1863	*Git Samhita* translation of Old Testament	do
1824	*Kabitamritakup* by Gouramohan Bidyalankar Bhattacharya	**Calcutta School Book Society (1824-1866)**

1834, 1836, 1837,1839	*Pasbabali* Part I,II and III by Ramchandra Mitra	do
1853	*Bangadesher Purabritta* translated from John Clark Marshman	do
1863	*Chin Deshiya Bulbul Pakkhir Bibaran* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay, translated from English under the category of Garhostho Bangla Pustak Sangraha	**Jointly published by the Calcutta School Book Society and the Banga Bhasha Anubadak Samaj**
1864	*Elizabesth* by Ramnarayan Bidyaratna under the category of Garhostho Bangla Pustak Sangraha	do
1865	*Kathataranga* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay from Stanford and Morton	do
1865	*Nanaker JIban Charit* by Ramnarayan Bidyaratna from the collection of the book by R.N. Cost	do
1866	*Khetra Tattwa* by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, translation of first three chapters of Euclid by the order of H.H. Wilson ESQR, printed and Reformer Press	**Calcutta School Book Society**

1866	*Bigyanan Sebadhi* by Amalchandra Ganguli and Kashiprasad Ghos, translation from Lord Brougham's Treatise, printed at the Soodhakar Press, under the series of Translating European Sciences, four volumes	do
1834	*Koutuk Tarangini* by Bhubanmohan Mitra and Gopallal Mitra	**Jnananbeshan Press (1831-1840)**
1834	*Cheter Filed's Advice*	do
1835	*Bhagbad Gita* by Gourishankar Tarkabagish	do
1840	*Ayurbed Darpan* by Srinarayan Raya, 3 volumes	**Sambad Prabhakar Press (1831-1866)**
1842	*Bangalar Itihas* by John Clark Marshman	do
1865	*Lanka Kanda, Ramayana* by Krittibas	do
1865	*Ramayana* by Krittibas, all the seven Kanda	do
1848	*Romio ebang Juliet*[66] by Gurudas Hazra, translated from Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare	**Sambad Purnachandroday Press (1835-1866)**

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[66] The introduction of this translation says, that the book is translated for those people who want to get the *Rasa* and knowledge together from the English literature but do not have knowledge in English. It says that the translation is a nice way to achieve knowledge. Moreover this introduction claims that without having any knowledge of English people can be educated and skillful about English literature through reading translation. Interestingly, this particular translation is claimed as history. And this for the *Manoranjan* (entertainment) of the readers and the text is *Manohar* (entertaining). Introduction appeals to the readers that, if the readers ignore the faults of the translation and they receive the *Rasa* of the history, similar kind of history will be translated more. (Khan 242)

1849	*Manatatwasarsangraha* by Radhaballabh Das	do
1851-1852	*Ramayana* by Krittibas, all the seven parts	do
1851-1852	*Srimadbhagbad* by Addhaitachandra Adhya, Part II- VIII	do
1856	*Prasthan Bhed* by Ramnarayan Bidyaratna	do
1858	*Srimadbhagbad* by Addhaitachandra Adhya, Part IX-XII	do
1860	*Hitopodesh* by Adhaitachandra Adhya	do
1864	*Gopigita* by Kalikrishna Deb	do
1865	*Srimadbhagbad* by Addhaitachandra Adhya, Part XI - XII	do
1850	*Rajbyabastha* by Hemchandra Mukhopadhyay	**American Baptist Mission Press, (1836-1866) Assam**
1852	*Robinsoncrusor Charitra* by John Robinson	do
1847	*Hitopodesh* by Jnanchandra Siddhanta Siromoni	**Jnanratnakar and N.L. Sil Press (1838-1866)**
1854	*Nitiratna* by Gourishankar Bhattacharya	do
1854	*Ramayan, Adikanda* by Krittibas	do
1856	*Bhagbatgita* by Gourishankar Tarkabagish	do

1840	*Bharatbarsher Itihas* by Gopallal Mitra	**Anglo Indian Press (1840)**
1849	*Bedantasar* by Anandachandra Bedantabagis	**Tattwabodhini Sabha and Brahma Samaj Press (1840-1866)**
1854	*Bhagbatgita, Srimatbhagbatgita* by Hitalal Misra	do
1857	*Bikramorbosiya Natak* by Kaliprasanna Singha	do
1857	*Chindeshiya Bulbul Pakkhir Bibaran* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1857	*Maramet* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1857	*Noorjahan* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Brihat Katha* by Anandachandra Bedanta Bagis	do
1858	*Bhagabatgita* by Hitalal Misra	do
1858	*Kutsit Hangsa Shabok* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Nurjahan Rajnir Jiban Charit* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhya	do
1858	*Bedanta Sar* by Anandachandra Bedantabagis	do

1840	*Manoram Upakhyan* by George Galloway translation of Gladwin's *Persian Moonshi*	**P.S.D. Rozario and Company's Press (1840-1866)**
1846	*Betal Panchabimshati* by Vidyasagar	do
1853	*Bedantasar* by Anandachandra Bedantabagis	**Anglo Indian Union Press (1844-1866)**
1853	*Sulalita Itihas* by Ramlal Mitra, translation of Kalidas's *Abhijnan Sakuntalam*	do
1854	*Chahar Darvesh* by Harishchandra Nandi, translation of Amir Khashru's *Persian Tales*	do
1860	*Srisri Durga* by Rajkrishna Chattopadhyay	do
1861	*Suniti Sangraha* by Harishchandra Palit	do
1865	*Betal Panchabimsati*, a story in verse by Kalidas Gupta	do
1849	*Betal Panchabimsati* by Vidyasagar	**The Sanskrit Press**
1851	*Bangalar Itihas* by Vidyasagar	do
1852	*Koutuk Tarangini* by Bhubanlal Mitra and Gopallal Mitra	do

1852	*Jnanchandrika* by Gopallal Mitra	do
1852	*Rasatarangini* by Madhabchandra Mukhopadhyay	do
1852	*Arabya Upanyas* by Nilmani Basak from the English Arabian Nights (2nd edition[67])	do
1859	*Bikromorboshi* by Ramsaday Bhattacharya	do
1859	*Kadambari* by Tarasankar Tarkaratna	do
1860	*Raghubamsha* by Chandrakanta Tarkabhushan	do
1860	*Malati Madhab* by Loharam Siroratna	do
1862	*Jiban Charit* by Vidyasagar	do
1862	*Mahabharata* by Vidyasagar	do
1864	*Raghubamsha* by Chandrakanta Tarkabhushan	do
1864	*Sakuntala* by Vidyasagar	do
1848, 1854	*Sonabhaner Punthi* by Eradatullah	**Hanifi Press (1848-1854)**
1848	*Iblishnama* by Munshi Garibullah	**Mastafai Press (1848-1854)**

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[67] 1st edition was published in 1849. Translator wrote in his note on 2nd edition that this book was sold from the book shop only. There was no need to go house to house for selling and there was also not any question of push selling and collecting money later. People from different races, classes, castes and genders read this book. (Khan 340)

1848	*Ritusanghar* by Nabakanta Tarkapanchanan and Prasannachandra Gupta	**Bindubasini Press (1848-1855)**
1858	*Sanyasi* by Oliver Goldsmith from J. Goldsmith's *Hermit*	**Bidyaratna Press**
1858	*Ahalya Haddikar Jiban Brittanto* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Jahanirar Charitra* Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Putra Shokatura Dukhini Mata* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Bichar* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1858	*Elijabeth* by Ramnarayan Bidyaratna	do
1858	*Hitakathabali* by Ramnarayan Bidyaratna	do
1863	*Brahma Baibarta Mahapuran* by Ramlochan Das	do
1865	*Haikorter Pradhan Pradhan Mokaddam Samuher Sarsangraha* by Girishchandra Mukhopadhyay	do
1865	*Srisribrahma Sanghita* by Nandakumar Kabiratna Bhattacharya	do
1853	*New Testament* by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with the Native Assistants	**Calcutta Bible Society Press**

1850	*Meghdut Kabya* by Anandachandra Siromoni	**Chittabhanu Press 1850**
1865	*Saekoumudi* by Anandachandra Barman	**Kamalasan Press**
1854	*Balak Shikkhartha Udbhijja Bidya* by Brajanath Bidyalankar	**D' Rozario and Company**
1855	*Gangar Khaler Sankhep Bibaran* by John Robinson	**Satyarnab Press**
1856	*Benisanghar Natak* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna	do
1856	*Brahma Stotro* by Rakhaldas Haldar	**Sudharnab Press**
1856	*Janapader Aay Nirnayak Pustak* by Bidyotsahini Sabha	**Anubad Press (1853-1866)**
1856	*Abhijnan Sakuntalam Natak* by Nandakumar Raya	**Bengal Superior Press (1853-1866)**
1856	*Anutapini Nabakamini Natak* by Shyamacharan Dasdutta	do
1859	*Malati Madhab Natak* by Kaliprasanna Singha	**G.P. Ray and Company**
1862	*Dhan Bidhan* by Gopalchandra Dutta	do
1854	*Battrish Singhasan* by Nilmani Basak	**Sucharu Press (1854-1866)**
1855	*Bairagya Shatak* by Baneswar Bidyalankar	do
1856	*Parasya Upanyas* by Nilmani Basak	do

1857	*Kalikatar Prachin Durga o Andhakup Hatyar Itihas* by Ramgati Nyayratna	do
1859	*Brihat Katha* by Anandachandra Bedantabagis	do
1859	*Bayu Chatustayer Akhyayika* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1860	*Choto Kailas ebong Boro Kailash* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1863, 1864, 1865	*Raghubamsham*	do
1863	*Mahabharat* by Kashiramdas	**Harihar Press**
1861	*Ratnabali* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna	**Chapatala Bangali Press**
1854	*Srimadbhagbatamrita* by Joy Gobinda Raychoudhury	**Nimtala Press 1854**
1861	*Gitagovinda* by unknown	**Sahas Press (1860-1863)**
1863	*Laila- Majnu Kabya* by Harimohan Karmakar	do
1866	*Bharatbarshiya Kutir* by Dinanath Sen	do
1863	*Tom Khuro* by Tarinicharan Chakraborti, translation of *Uncle Tom's Picture Book*	**Prakrit Press (1860-1866)**

1863	*Kumarsambhab Kabya* Pyarimohan Sengupta	do
1863	*Jepan* by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay	do
1860	*Mahabharat,* Volume IX, by Kaliprasanna Singha	**Puran Sangraha Press (1860-1866)**
1862	*Mahabharat* Adi Parba by Jaganmohan Tarkalankar	**Satyaprakash Press Bardwan (1861-1863)**
1862	*Mahabharat* Sabha Parba by Baneswar Bidyalankar	do
1863	*Jayabatir Upakhyan* by Harimohan Mukhopadhyay	**Dhanasindhu Press Murshidabad (1863-1865)**
1863	*Ramayana* by Krittibas	**Hindu Press (1863-1865)**
1865	*Mahabharat* by Kashiramdas	do
1865	*Euchap Jelekhar Punthi* by Garibullah Munshi	**Kabita Koumudi Press 1865**
1865	*Mahabharat* by Kashiramdas, Astadash Parba	do
1865	*Mahabharat* by Kashiramdas, Adi Parba	do
1865	*Raghubamsham*	**Mudiyali Mitra Press (1865-1866)**
1811, 1825	*Tota Itihas* by Chandicharan Munshi	**Printing Farm of the Cox Family, London (1785-1866)**

1816, 1836	*Batrish Puttalika Sangraha* by Mrityunjay Bidyalankar	do
1826	*Purush Prikkha* by Haraprasad Ray	do

Table 7: List of Tagore's Translation

Sl. No.	Source Text/ Author/ Language	Target Text	Title of the Collection
1	Victor Hugo	Kabi	Anudita Kabita
2	do	Bisarjan	do
3	do	Tara O Ankhi	do
4	do	Surya O Phool	do
5	Shelly	Sammellan	do
6	do	Bideshi Phooler Guchcha	do
7	Mrs. Browning	-	do
8	Ernest Myers	-	do
9	Aubery De Vere	-	do

10	Augusta Webster	-	do
11	P.B. Marston	-	do
12	Victor Hugo	-	do
13	Moore	-	do
14	Mrs. Browning	-	do
15	Christina Rossetti	-	do
16	Swinburne	-	do
17	Christina Rossetti	-	do
18	Hood	-	do
19	From English translation of an unknown Japanese poem	-	do
20	-	Veda: Samhita and Upanishada	**Roopantar**
21	Kalidas and Bhababhuti	Kumarsambhab, Raghubamsha, Meghadut, Abhijnansakuntalam, Malabikagnimitra,	do

		Malatimadhab, Uttarramcharit	
22	Disciple of Gorakhnath, Kabir, Shikh Bhajan,	Medieval Hindi	do
23	Bhattanarayan, Barruchi, Ghatakarpar, Kusumdeb, Kabibhatta, Bhartrihari, Jaydeb, Bhattihari, Jayadeb, Amaru, Tribikram Bhatta, Jagannath Pandit, Ballabhdeb, Chanakya, Narayan Pandit,	Bhattanarayan- Barruchi Pramukha Kabigan	do
24	-	Dhammapada	do
25	Vidyapati	Maithili (1882)	do
26	-	Mahabharata, Manusamhita	do
27	-	Pali-Prakrit Kabita	do
28	-	Sanskrit-Gurumukhi-Marathi	do
29	Shakespeare	Macbeth	**Anubad Kabita**
30	Thomas Moore	Bichched	do

	Moore's Irish Melodies		
31	Robert Burns	Biday Chumban	do
32	George Gordon Byron	Kaster Jiban	do
33	Thomas Moore Moore's Irish Melodies	Jiban Utsarga	do
34	Robert Burns	Lalita Nalini	do
35	Mrs. Amelia Opie	Biday	do
36	William Shakespeare	Sangeet	do
37	George Gordon Byron	Gabhir Gabhiratama Hridaypradeshee	do
38	Thomas Moore/ Irish Melodies	Jao Tobe Priyatama Sudur Sethay	do
39	George Gordon Byron	Abar Abar Kenore Amar	do
40	Unknown	Briddha Kabi	do
41	Unknown	Jagirahe Chand	do

42	Irish Song	Patay Patay Duliche Shishir	do
43	Irish Melodies	Bolo Go bala Amari Tumi	do
44	Irish Melodies	Giyache Sedin Jedin Hriday	do
45	Robert Burns	Rupasi AMar Preyasi Amar	do
46	do	Sushila Amar Janalar Pore	do
47	William Chappel	Koro Na Cholona, Koro Na Cholona	do
48	Lord Cantalupe	Chapalare Ami Anek Bhabiya	do
49	P.B. Shelley	Premtattwa	do
50	Alfreed Tennyson	Nalini	do
51	Thomas Moore	Din Ratri Nahi Mani	do
52	Thomas Moore	Daminir Ankhi Kiba	do
53	Matthew Arnold	Adrister Hate Lekha	do

54	Robert Buchanan	Bhuja Pash Baddha Antony	do
55	do	Sukhi Pran	do
56	Victor Hugo	Jiban Maran	do
57	Heinrich Hein[68]	Swapna Dekhechinu Premagni Jwalar	do
58	do	Akhipane Jobe Ankhi Tuli	do
59	do	Prathame Ashahata Hoyechinu	do
60	do	Neel Baylet Nayanduti Koritecho Dholo Dholo	do
61	do	Ganguli Mor Bishe Dhala	do
62	do	Tumi Ekti Phooler Moto Moni	do
63	do	Rani tor Thot Duti Mithi	do

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[68] Published in *Sadhana* in 1299 Bengali year (1892)

64	do	Barek Bhalobese Je Jan Moje	do
65	Byron	Bhalobase Jare Tar Chitabhasma Pane	do
66	Heinrich Hein	Bishwamitra Bichitra E Leela	do

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CHAPTER IV

Little Magazines, Literary Magazines and Journals:

Furthering Translation Culture

Little magazines, often called "small magazines", are literary magazines that publish experimental and non-conformist writings of relatively unknown writers. They are usually noncommercial in their outlook. They are often very irregular in their publication. The earliest significant examples are the transcendentalist publication The Dial (1840–44), edited by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller in Boston, and The Savoy (1896), edited by Arthur Symons in London, which had a revolt against the Victorian Materialism as its agenda.

Little magazines played a significant role for the poets who shaped the avant-garde movements like Modernism and Post-modernism across the world in the twentieth century. The Little Magazine Movement originated in the fifties and the sixties in many Indian languages like Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Malayalam and Gujarati, as it did in the West, in the early part of the 20th century. *(Midnapore Little Magazine Library)*

This chapter focuses on the Little Magazines, literary magazines and journals and their role in creating space for the discussion of Indian and World literature in Bengal. This topic needs a special focus as there is a strong history of little magazines movement in Bengal since the late 19th and the beginning of 20th century. The chapter aims to discuss how the literary magazines reflect the consciousness and attitude of the literary sphere, including publishers, editors, and authors of Bengal. The magazine culture presents changes in literary practice especially from the point of view of translation. Research studies are available on the magazine culture but no work has been done on their

role on promoting translation. But the relation between the translation and magazines and journals yet not established in academic research. This chapter deals with the matter of archive, translation and readership.

By definition literary magazine, journal and Little Magazine are different from each other. Literary magazine publishes literary works for all classes of readers. A Journal contains more serious work, mostly academic and has its own target readers. The general reader is not ideally the reader of a journal nor would find interest in it. Little Magazine is generally published within a small time span. It is not sponsored by any institution; has its own small reader group; it is regional and appears sometimes as a medium of expression for a particular group publishing it. It therefore carries specific literary, cultural, political thoughts, poetics, politics and sometimes movements also. Little Magazine reflects the public intellectuality and culture of local or regional knowledge. Little magazines are not expected to make profit by its very definition and character. It is worthwhile to remember that there is not much difference in the Bengali culture among Little Magazine, literary magazine and literary journal. There are examples of Little Magazines engaged in serious research debates besides publishing different creative genres. Little Magazines can easily play role of literary journals.

Apart from this, this chapter also focuses on the issue of archives and translation. To understand the problem of researching the history of translation with no archive, nothing to draw upon is an important issue taken up here. This chapter also refers to archives which preserve collections of little magazines, literary magazines and the journals, the study of which manifests the development of translation. However, there is no chronological history of publications of little magazines, literary magazines or journals, because there are problems with archiving these. The history of translation is also not archived as such. It is not as though all magazines and journals would publish translations but those who do show consciousness about greater literature. And in most of the cases

these magazines are beyond the culture of academic practices, as the editors are mostly non-academicians.

Since 19th century there has been a strong culture of *Sambad- SamayikPatra* (News Papers and Periodicals) in Bengal and these journals not only focused on literature but on all possible subjects of human interest, experience and encounter. I analyze the examples of all sorts of literary magazines, not just the magazines of science, philosophy or religion. I shall be studying the history of little magazines that is interwoven with translation as this culture of little magazine is much stronger and dominating than any other literary magazine and journal in Bengal. Moreover, little magazines are also engaged with serious research work in different fields like academics, media, private research etc. At different periods of time, Little Magazines or literary magazines encouraged writers or groups of writers to meet and create a discourse on a subject, debate a particular idea of literature, theory, or movement.

4.1. Pre-History of Magazine/Journal: 19th Century

Swapan Basu historicizes the type of magazines published in Bengal. This historicization shows why and how magazines of different nature were published. The first Bangla *Sambad Patra* (newspaper) and *Samayik Patra* (periodicals) were both published in 1818, but nobody thought about *Sahitya Patra* (literary magazine) in that time. It was only Iswar Gupta who began to publish literary pieces in his *Sambad Prabhakar* in the 1830s, around which a literary society was formed. This followed the model of Gentleman's Magazine of England. Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay published *Banga Darshan* in 1872. Basu comments, "Bankim showed Bengal the model for a quality literary magazine" (Basu 406. Translation mine). *Banga Darshan* also attracted a group of writers whose work was published in this magazine. Thus the journal is a milestone in the history of sahitya patra (literary magazine). Literary figures supported it and most of the great writings of the time were published in this magazine. Thus it became a milestone in the history of *Sahitya Patra* of Bengal.

Ashish Khastagir writes in his article, "Unish Shataker Patra-Patrikar Sampadak" that editor Bholanath Sen edited a magazine called *Anubadika* (The Translator) in 19th century (91), but the date for this magazine is not known. Shekhar Bhoumik in his article on "Anchalik Patrika" describes the role of different local or regional magazines in translation and in protesting against colonial rule. *Chandannagar Prakash* used to publish translation of French criticism against the British (145). This local magazine was published from Chandannagar which was a French colony in Bengal. Prabhata kumar Das's article "Kabita Bishayak Patrika: Purbapar Uttaradhikar" mentions a magazine called *Kabitakusumanjali* which also published translation of English and Persian poetry in the 1850s (175).

4.2. Little Magazines and Translation in the 20th Century

The trend of translation of modern[69] literature in Bengali is vividly depicted in the notes written by Hemendrakumar Roy (1888-1963) in his *Samaychitrakatha*. I translate from his Bangla note,

> When our group was formed, Bengali language did not have much good quality translated literature. Sahitya and other journals used to publish stories of Maupassant and other writers of previous era and few Bengali writers of that time like Dinendrakumar Roy and Harisadhan Mukhopadhyay. Translation is a major category of literature. English has so much demand now days because it opens the world of translation. We know about the literature of other parts of the world through English. We always believed in literature from different parts of world, that, when introduced to Bengal would enrich Bengali and it can produce great ideas too. But most of the famous writers of Bengal were not happy with the idea of translation. Even someone like Sharatchandra Chattopadhyay doesn't acknowledge the success of translation. He used to discourage me if saw me translating a text. He used to call translating a waste of time. But interestingly, he himself translated two English novels into Bengali at the beginning of his writing career.

> When our group sponsored by Jahnabi[70] grew in number, the emphasis was on translation. A close relationship was established with the writings of different modern and contemporary writers of different European countries. But we were not satisfied only with reading global literature. We were very interested and used

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[69] By the word modern, I mean the literature written in different parts of the world in early 20th century mainly those influenced by the World War, Bolshevik Revolution, Great Depression etc. This 'modern literature' also includes literary translation and practices in Bengal following the age of so called renaissance to inaugurate colonial modernity. And it also includes Post-Tagorian poets and writers in translation.

[70] This little magazine was edited by Naliniranjan Pandit and after his death, Sudhakrishna Bagchi .

to get pleasure to present the taste of Western literature to Bengali readers, same as one can get pleasure by serving good food.

People who joined us were Satyendranath Dutta, Charuchandra Bandopadhyay, Manilal Gangopadhyay, Sureshchandra Bandopadhyay, Sourindramohan Mukhopadhyay. All had same view about translation that they made available good literature in keeping with the time. No other poet of Bengal could match the number of texts translated by Satyendranath Dutta. All the above mentioned writers contributed in creative writing and none called translation a waste of time. They did not translate for their fame but to enrich their mother tongue. In this category of literature, the contribution of our group is remarkable. The path they walked beckoned many other new writers to join them. Hence the treasure of translation was being gradually enriched. (76-78)/ (Translation Mine)

Hemendrakumar Roy's note explains the contribution of the literary figures to Bangla translation. Similar is the endeavor of the group of writers associated with the journal called *Jahnabi*. The sincerity of these writers encouraged modern Bangla translation and created a link between translation and readers' societies which served the further development of Bangla language and literature.

Hemendrakumar Roy was not ready to label any period of Bangla literary history. He didn't like calling the early 20th century decades as *Kallol Yug*. He argues that *Kallol* magazine's contribution was not so remarkable, moreover the poets who wrote in *Kallol* also wrote in other magazines. There were many magazines promoting Bangla literature like *Shanibarer Chithi* edited by Sajanikanta Das (73-75).

Kallol (1923-1929), a literary magazine edited by Dinesh Ranjan Dash (1888-1941) and co-edited by Gokul Chandra Nag (1895-1925) successfully created a group of writers who ushered in a new era and a new taste in literature. This was a rather reactionary group challenging the Sanskritised

the elite language of Tagore's prose and the romanticism of his poetry. They also expressed a kind of 'an anxiety of influence' that Harold Bloom talks about. The writers of *Kallol* were influenced by the philosophers of modernism like Marx, Nietsche, and Freud. Their writing showed the impact of modernity. *Kallol* also had immense importance in the history of Bangla language and translation. In fact, in hindsight, it can be said, *Kallol* effected a paradigm shift in Bangla language and literary culture. History of Bengali literature acknowledges *Kallol* as an epoch-making literary magazine. Achintya kumar Sengupta, a Kallolian, has written a memoir called *Kallol Yug* (Kallol Era) which provides the history of this literary magazine and the group of writers engaged with it. This magazine took the initiative of widen the sphere of translation. This was a remarkable turn in the history of Bangla translation and literary reception. However the credit for this cannot be claimed by Kallol alone. There were other magazines also that way responsible. The general attitude of writers of this time was to take translation as an anti-colonial act. The texts or literary subjects promoted by colonizers and so called renaissance personalities where consider confining and colonial. *Kallol* and other magazines tried to go beyond this. The translation promoted by the magazines of this time introduced and widened the idea of World literature (beyond English) in the imagination of Bengali mind. Kallolians defined the modernism in their own terms as different from the Tagorian concept of modernism. *Kallol* declared itself a 'modern' and Kallolians defined modernism in their own terms which differed from Tagorian modernism and perspective. The way they try to 'modernize' literature was not Tagore's way. *Kallol* movement in Bangla literature brought a self-defined unique modernism Bangla literature has ever seen. Critic Pabitra Gangopadhyay writes that "they (Kallolians) brought 20th century modernism in Bengali literature and the mind of Bengali culture" (Gangopadhyay).

Partha Chatterjee writes in his essay on "Our Modernity" that some concepts and writings on modernism by the 19th century intellectuals show the shift in the notion of modernism. He attempts a comparative evaluation offered by Rajnarayan Basu in 1873, in his *Se Kal Ar E Kal* (Those Days and

These Days), where Basu highlights the difference between the era before introduction of English education in Bengal and the era that followed. Chatterjee points out that the word *adhunik* used for 'modern' in the 19th century is different from *Nabya* (new), the word used later to describe Western education and thought. Another word is *Unnati,* an equivalent of English word 'improvement' or 'progress' which is synonymous with contemporary word *Pragati* (Chatterjee: 2010: 137). Kallolians too tried to bring *Pragati* (progress) and *Natunatto* (novelty/uniqueness) in Bangla literature to distinguish from 19thcentury renaissance practices. *Kallol* is a product of 20th century and a product of Post –Darwin , Post-Marxian, Post- Freudean, era. This is how the difference had been so clear between 19th and 20th century.

Swapan Basu traces the history of Samayik Patrika and the new style of writing they introduced in the 20th century. "Bish Shataker Sahitya Patrika" (literary magazine of 20th century) describes the history of *Samayik Patra* chronologically and the tradition which permeated into the 20th century. Within that tradition literary magazines like *Kallol-Kali Kalam-Pragati* etc. took birth. This historical tradition is very important to understand the nature and objective of *Kallol* magazine and the other literary magazines which were linked with it. *Sabuj Patra* and *Kallol* were two magazines which introduced novelty of theme, style, world-view and language, unlike and radically different in tone from *Banga Darshan* and other magazines published in the 19th and the first decade of 20th century. *Sabuj Patro* promoted *Chalit Bhasa* [colloquial language] for literature as opposed to *Sadhu Bhasha* [erudite language] , and published essays on different subjects One of the founders of *Kallol* Achintya Kumar Sengupta wrote, "Kallol had moved away from Rabindranath...into the world of the lower middle classes, the coal mines,...slums, pavements, into the neighbourhoods of those who were rejected and deceived " (cited in Chakraborty 157). Buddhadev Basu described "The main symptom of the so called Kallol-era was rebellion and the main target of that rebellion was Rabindranath....it was failed that his poems had no intimate connection to reality (bastab), no intensity of passion, no

signs of the agony of existence, that his philosophy of life had unfairly ignored the undeniable corporeality of human beings" (cited in Chakraborty 157). Kallolians were looking for new language of the new age to express the agony, pain and malady of the time. All these poets/writers were college, university educated young people showed contemporary angst. Kallolians were fond of new literatures of new age and wanted to extend the horizon of literary imagination into the world. Buddhadev Basu remarked that if the translation of French, Russian and Norwegian novels were available in Bengal, young Bengalis would not have looked only to Tagore for the message of universal love (Basu 20). *Kallol* and other literary magazines moved their attention towards the West beyond England or France and also towards Asian countries like China and Japan. The translation of socio-politico-historic realities of these cultures were positively promoted by the little and literary magazines. Debkumar Basu writes that Soumendranath Tagore translated the *Communist Manifesto* in 1919 and since that time Manabendranath Roy, Bhupen Dutta, Nazrul Islam, Muzaffar Ahamed's communist ideology influenced Bengali writers and intellectuals (Basu 2006 19). Nripendrakrishna Chattopadhyay's book *Russ Sahitya O Tarun Bangali* (Russian Literature and the Young Bengali) shows deep affinity with Russian literature. The important transition was Marxism which provided a new lens for reading world literature through translations. It is noteworthy that anti-colonial attitude at this point of time plays a very important role for understanding World Literature.

The new inventions and discoveries of Planck, Rutherford, Einstein, Heisenberg in the field of science, philosophical thinking of Bergson, Jeans, Edington, and Freud (mainly his *Interpretation of Dreams*), Havelock Ellis's (*Psychology of Sex*) psycho analysis, Darwin's *Origin of Species,* Marx's and Engels's communist ideology, *The Capital,* Bolshevik Revolution, World Wars created a different kind of environment which influences the early and mid 20th century.

Kallolians understood that the era to which they belonged needs a different way of expression. They compared the subject of their literary tradition with the world history and wanted to reflect the

diversity of foreign life, undiscovered subjects, and the words of the contemporary time and they practiced these in their literary life. Translation of foreign literature was one of the components to fulfil this objective. Achintya Kumar Sengupta (1903-1976), a literary stalwart and a chronicler of the Kallol era translated Knut Hamsun's novel. Gokul Chandra Nag (1895-1925), Kalidas Nag and Shanta Devi translated works of Romain Rolland) and Jean Christophe. Besides these, they published 23 short stories of 16 authors like Tolstoy, Maupassant , Turgenev, Gorky Emile Zola, Chekhov, Andre Godard, Wladyslwa Raymont, Karoly Kisfaludy, Stephen Butler Leacock. Some translators were Nripendrakrishna Chattopadhyay, Pabitra Gangopadhyay, Jyotirindranath Tagore, Subodh Dasgupta, Sureshchandra Bandopadhyay, Probodh Chattopadhyay, Sailendranath Bhattacharya, Anindyasundar Thakur, Renubhusan Gangopadhyay, Sukumar Bhaduri, Shamsur Nahar, Achyut Chattopadhyay, Bijay Sengupta, Achintya Sengupta, Taranath Roy, Chittaranjan Acharya. Sudhindriya Bandopadhyay translated Francoise Copee's "The Substitute" as "Dwipoantarer Asami". Stories were selected from the languages like, English, French, Russian, Hungarian, Polish, Italy, and Japanese.

Kallolians did not have any particular method of translation. They translated literatures of the world to introduce them to Bengali readers, in some cases they localize the stories, for example Pabitra Gangopadhya's translation of Zola's story as 'Biraler Swarga'. Sometimes the source text is just a shadow for the target text. There was no word to word or sentence to sentence translation or what is now referred as literal translation or faithful translation, but just the translation of the theme of the story. Shailendra Bhattacharya's translated story 'Greptar' is such a shadow translation of an English short story. Sukumar Bhaduri's translation of Gorky's story as 'Piyasi' carried the proper nouns of ST into the TT, but the language pattern, and other cultural issues were transformed into Bengali culture. Maximum translations followed this method. Though Kallolians were liberal regarding the status of translation, I guess they could understand the problem of equivalences in case while translating. Interesting thing for their translation was, when they were keeping the proper noun as it is in the TT,

and localizing the other cultural signs, they tried to make the reader understand that this is translation from another tongue and simultaneously as a part of mother tongue. Sureshchandra Bandopadhyay's translation of Godard's story 'Kabir Uttaradhikar', Achyut Chattopadhyay's 'Utsab Raate', Taranath Ray's translation of Chekhov's story, 'Sannyasi', are the exceptions among the translated stories, as these completely localized everything of source text including proper nouns and places. But Kallolians were not serious about the source of the stories and rarely mentioned titles of the ST, so it is difficult to trace the ST for study or comparative analyses..

Debkumar Basu and Anunay Chattopadhyay who collected these stories from different libraries and archives, said three types of translation are found here: faithful, sense to sense and transceation based on the shadow of the source text, and through these translations *Kallol* brought the view of the readers outside the country and their known literary world and thus the readers became mature with the taste of differences. Different numbers of *Kallol* are not available at any single library and these are not well preserved and it is difficult for a reader to get all the issues to examine the literary practice of *Kallol*. To read the texts published in *Kallol* , one must have easy access to several archives. The volume of collected stories from Kallol documents their literary and cultural practice and helps contemporary readers to understand the texts which are important to understand the changes in the history of literature, the change from the old to the new. They actually connect the cultures through the literary texts and appropriating the texts into the source culture. And through this documentation we can find and make available almost a lost milestone to us which influenced the then readers.

Translations published in *Kallol* served a specific purpose. While editing the translated stories to be published as a book, Basu and Chattopadhyay say they answer a demand of a time. Kallol translated writings of less known writers beside the known ones. Editors of this volume mentioned

very few writers like, Rowling, Gunter Grass, Marquez, who are known to us through translation or as English writer, even in this age.

Buddhadeb Bose used to edit a magazine on poetry and poets, called *Kabita* (1935-1960). This magazine started publishing translated poems since 1955. The main translators of this magazine was poet Buddhadeb Bose and Bishnu Dey. Poems of Rilke, Holderlin, and Baudelaire were translated in this time and Buddhadeb Bose translated Kalidas's *Meghadut* in this magazine. Ashu Chattopadhyay in his book *Kallol Juger Pore*, wrote about his edited magazine *Agragati*, which was being published since 1935. They mainly translated essays in their magazine. They collected texts with their personal contacts from various foreign writers. Host Poley, a German language teacher in Kolkata wrote an article which was translated and published in this magazine as "German Bishwabidyalaye Chatra Jiban". Rabi Ghosh translated it from German. Another German Maks Rise travelled a long way on motor bike and he wrote an article on his experience which was also translated by Rabi Ghosh and serially published in this magazine. The Bangla title of this essay was "Morur Pathe Motor Bike e". An Austrian captain travelled a long way on the sea by a rubber boat and he wrote his travelogue in English for this magazine, and was translated into Bangla and published serially. Jesuppe Martirosi, a friend of Mussolini, visited India once on behalf of Italian government to see the conditions of Italians in India. The magazine could get an article on Mussolini from this person. Astrid Kustram, a Norwegian lady wrote an article on modern Norwegian literature which was translated into Bangla and published in this magazine. Dilipkumar Roy translated Sri Aurobindo and Roma Rolland's two articles from Pondicherry for this magazine.

The most interesting and significant thing of this magazinewas their personal contacts and initiative and urge to find writings from the foreigners. The type of writings they had translated and published were quite different than the time. 1930s, when people were thinking about literary pieces

like poems, stories and novels this magazine continuously was publishing essays and travelogues which was rare. This magazine set up a personal contact to serve the World Literature through translation.

Saraswat, edited by Amiya Kumar Bhattacharya, published translation of Vietnamese poem of the poet Vien Phuong (1928-2005), who was a member of Communist Party of Vietnam. Abanti Kumar Sanyal translated *Choto Boner Chithi* of this poet in 1977 issue of *Saraswat*. Before this in 1975, Abanti Kumar Sanyal also published Vietnamese poems in this same magazine. He translated Song Hong, Le Duk Tho, Juan Thui, The Lu, Van Dai, Ho Chi Minh, Hang Phuong. Beside this, in the same time, in same issue this magazine published contemporary Oriya poetry by Satindranath Maitra. Kumaresh Ghosh translated a Korean poem by Kim So Ul. Vietnam War influences this magazine to publish Vietnamese poetry serially. But not just political interest and solidarity, this magazine also responds to the literature of the neighbours. Not only were literary magazines, several books also being translated in the solidarity with the Vietnamese people. And *Saraswata* is one of the pioneer to publish translations of Vietnamese literature and it contributed to this discourse of discovering new world and in the imagination of extended geography of World Literature.

Bahuroopi, a magazine of Bahuroopi theatre group, publishes regularly and invariably publish translation. For example, its 87th issue in May 1997 published the work of one of the renowned Shakespeare translator Sunil Kumar Chattopadhyay's translation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*. There is a very significant contribution of theatre group and theatre magazines to translate drama from different languages and to perform. This is how theatre helps our imagination of world and world literature to. The translation whatever they publish is text of drama to the student of literature and we get taste of different World Drama in Bengali. But this is another discourse, discourse of performance and theatre traditions of Bengal and the role of theatre groups in greater politics. The aim of this dissertation is to mainly historicize the translation of literary texts, so the politics of theatre is kept

aside. Though the printed form of script is also literature, it is deeply affiliated with the whole history of theatre and performance tradition.

Ebang Jalark, a progressive magazine believes in Marxist ideology, also publishes translation in different issues. It especially publishes Marxist literatures in translation. In January 1990, it published Niharranjan Bag's translation of Veronika Polnskaya's *Vladimir Mayakovskyr Smriti*, and Kristiman Kabyabachaspati's *Octavio Paz O Tar Kabita*. This magazine contributes to the popular literary and political discourse of socialism of post-1960s[71] Bengal. Two issues in December 2000 and July-December 2001 were on Krishan Chander, his writings along with discussions on them.

In this section I have tried to argue that translations published by all these magazines were actually a disavowal of the colonial hegemony on literature and augured a new journey towards World literature. They opened the possibility in the first half of twentieth century of introducing Comparative Literature as an academic discipline and desirable pedagogy. This comprises historic importance in the history of Bengali (Indian) literature and also in the political history that these translators and writers were able to define World literature, both the East and the West. The geographical territory of this cultural concept (World literature) was not confined to the Europe. The discussion was able to come out of Eurocentric definitions of World literature, as proposed by Spivak towards the end of 20th century about the scope and attention of comparative literature and that is to move towards the Global South [*Death of the* Discipline]. Not only the reading culture but also new trends of writing were initiated. I found while reading these translations, their difference from the translations of preceding generation that one of the objectives of the renaissance-translation was to 'frame' modern Bengali literature and fix the model structure, whereas translators of the early 20th century decades looked for new literary themes and literary areas that express contemporary happenings all over the

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[71] Bengal experienced different political movements like Nakshalbari Movement, movements led by different communist parties.

world of their time. But what was similar in these two translation trends is both brought development and progress in Bengali literature. It must be noted that 20th century translation built a bridge between Bengali and Indian and World literature.

4.3. Little/Literary Magazines, Webzines and Translation: 21ˢᵗ Century

      This section mainly discusses the history of translation in this millennium, of the last one and half decade. Since the very beginning of this century, computer printing even in the rural areas of Bengal has brought many changes in the publishing of little magazines, the duration of printing, availability of press and lowered their production costs etc. Another paradigm shift happened after the mass access of internet and laptop, android phone, iphone, tablets etc. The trend of blog writing, private and individual publications, e-journals, e-magazines, webzines are popular now. Since publication became free of cost, easily available and easy to share across space, the transformation of the publisher or editor into designer happened. Another interesting feature of digital era is the circulation of matter through social networking sites like face book. There is growing popularity of Bengali webzines also and many of these webzines publish translations. This marks the beginning of a remarkable change in the history of publishing in regional languages encouraging growth of local interest. Translation also benefitted hugely[72].

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[72] The first decade of this century (2001–10) is considered to be the period of New Age in Little Magazine movement. The magazines prominent in this period are:@Aahir.com, Meghjanmo, Sanjhbati, Lalon, Joydhak, Nabamanab, Bodhshabdo, VAPRA, Pratishedhak, GhoMosh, Lemosh, snO yI, Abosardanga, Ashtray, Somoyer Shobdo, "ebRokhebRorong", "resurrection","deowal","aachhi","jatnaghar","mahool","daur","batighar","arani","uttar etihas"," craker","tabu abhiman","manthan","adorer nouka","elora" "duende",Sutorang,point blank range,Sarbonam.

Prominent figures of the period are: Somabrata Sarkar,Selim Mallik,Sabyasachi Majumdar,Prabir chakraborty, Rajdip Roy, Rangeet Mitra, Atanu Singha, Krishnendu Mukherjee, Souptik Chakraborty,Chandan Bangal, Arup Ghosh, Rangeet Mitra, Somtirtha Nandi, Saurav Chattopadhyay,Sayan Sarkar, Atindriyo Chakraborty, Debanjan Adhikary,Sohom Nandy, Joydeep Dam, Atri Bandopadhyay, Animikh Patra, Ratul Pal, Rohon Kuddus, Himadri Mukhopadhyay,Debabrata Kar Biswas, Aritra Sanyal, Dipangshu Acharya, Somnath Ghosal, Swadesh Mishra, Arko Chattopadhyay, Arpan Chakraborty, Argha Datta Bakshi, Ripon Fio, Subha Adhya, Kumaraditya Sarkar, Tanmoy Ray, Ric Sourock, Sujit Patra, Ripan Arya, Kishaylay Thakur,Shayak Mukhapadhyay, Jubin Ghosh, Sanjoy Rishi,Arup Palmal,Biswajit Roy,Subhodip Roy, Gouranga das,Gishan Roy, Torsha Bandopadhya,mujibar Ansary, sanny Sarkar. (Midnapore Little Magazine Library)

4.3.1 Translation in Little/ Literary Magazines

The history of 21st century Little Magazine is taken as a shift in the history of Little Magazine movement. The print quality and presentation of magazines brought radical change in printing history. As mentioned above, the benefits of computerized print culture are visible in the history of Little Magazine of this decade too. This includes literary magazines also. And any kind of literary magazines (non-profit or commercial) advertises books especially translations. *Boier Desh*, a quarterly publication from the ABP Limited, is a magazine of book reviews with a section on new publications of translations. *Desh*, a celebrated literary journal also advertise new books in every issue, including translations.

Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy and Pashchimbanga Natya Akademi are government sponsored institutions publishing translations and discussions on them. These have their own literary journals which cannot be called Little Magazines but literary journals. December 2005- May 2006 issue of Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy Patrika published two articles on translation, one on poet Utpal Kumar Basu's *Anubader Ananda* and the other on Alokranjan Dasgupta's *Beckett ke niye Du-Char Katha*. Editor's note by Nirendranath Chakroborty, a celebrated poet of Bengali, also discusses *Tarjuma*. February 2004 issue of Pashchimbanga Natya Akademi Patrika is on *Patha Natak* [street plays] and a list of them including their translation, for instance, Hirendra Kumar Roy's translation of A.K. Raina's *It is a Political Murder* which was published in *Group Theatre* (Nov. 1988- January 1989). This kind of academic discussions fill some gaps in the historicization and theorization of translation in Bengali.

Bangla Academy also publishes a magazine on books called *Boi Pora*. This introduces new books and reviews of books. April- August 2012 issue of this magazine informs about Shankho Ghosh' translation of Iqbal, *Iqbal Theke* (Papyrus, Kolkata, February, 2012). This translation includes *Zavidnamah* of Iqbal. Review says when we talk about our nationalism we hardly talk about Iqbal who tried to imagine a geography of the Indian communities and he had to stay in Pakistan. There is a

political context behind translating Iqbal, besides reviving interest in Iqbal's literary writings in Bengali (6). The history behind this translation definitely claims for another imagination of India and Indian literature.

However, the primary agenda of Little Magazines is to react on marginalized issues ignored by mainstream media and culture, issues bypassed every day, and anti-establishment propaganda. Perhaps because of this ideology, translations drew their attention being a marginal practice and still occupying marginal space in the literary sphere .Little Magazines also react against anti-people activities happening in any part of the world. Iraq war was one of the major debates in the articles for some time, and there were translations from Iraqi literature. This is the significant role of the Little Magazines, beside the information and academic discussions it brings through the translation of literature. Moreover, the cultural map of the world and the idea of World Literature also expands. This expansion of literary map through translation is also a politically benefit, as the cognitive consciousness about politics of identity formation and their contestations are brought into discussion beyond the stereotypes. Thus the Iraq war, American mission into Afghanistan, Israel-Palestine war were the major international political incidents which were covered by the Little Magazines. The literatures from these lands also were translated and published in different magazines to acquaint the readers with their culture for better understanding of their socio-political condition – a contribution of immense significance. For example, *Amritalok*, a Little Magazine from Midnapore edited by Samiran Majumdar published the translation of *Iraq-Palestine er Kabita*, collected from different blogs. Among the poems from Palestine, Badare Muneer translated *Philistani Ami* of E. Yaghi, *Hadiler Gaan* of Hanan Ashrasbi. Al Mamun translated *Gaza* of Kani Al-Rahami and Abu Salma's *Phire Asbo*; Ripan Mahanud translated *Shahid* of Abdel Rahim Mahmud; Fahmidul Haque translated *Galpo* of Kamal Nasir. From Iraqi poems, Bakhtiar Ahmed translated *Sainiker Parajay* by Nadia Al- Ramahi, Badare Muneer translated *Ferestar Daake* by Karem Al Iraqi. From poems of Afghanistan, Ripan Majumdar translated

Ghari by Musa Marufi, Badare Muneer translated *Shunyata* by Jalaluddin Rumi,*Netritwa* by Hanjala –E-Badghis.   The March 2008 issue of *Kabisammalan* was dedicated to Iraq war and translations of anti-war poems from an English poetry called *Poets Against the War* by Sam Hamill. In the same issue, Aryanil Mukhopadhyay translated poems of Neels Haw, a poet from Denmark. Bangla translation history had not attended to poems from Scandinavian countries before this so this is historically significant in that sense. The December 2008 issue of this magazine published Chilean poet Gonsalo Rohase's poems translated by Ankur Saha. The same issue also published Iranian woman poet Fara Farokhzad's poems translated by Aryanil Mukhopadhyay. The November-December 2008 issue of *Kabisammelan* published Mukhopadhyay's translations of Pierre Alferry's poems.   Ankur Saha and Arynil Mukhopadhyay are two translators who strive continuously to bring new poets from different parts of the world to the attention of their readers. And this is a significant way of introducing world literature.

Last decade also observed a major turn in the history of Bengali translation. A Little Magazine called *Antarjatik Chotogalpo* came into being. I found the second issue of it in 2007 which published two short stories by Paulo Coelho, two Santhali folk stories and another story by Maxim Gorky. The 2007 issue of *Anubartan* published Kabir's *Doha* and Debashish Tarafdar's translation of Victor Hugo. Mukul Guha, a well-known translator writes that Bengali readers started moving towards Latin American and Afro-American writers and poets from the 1960s, though Bengali readers were introduced to Latin American writers a little earlier when Gabriela Mistral got the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945. Guha translated few poems of Latin American poets with a brief introduction. The poets translated are, Miguel Da Unamuno, Hesse Marti, Gabriel Mistral, Lorca (though he is from Spain), Pablo Neruda. In its inaugural issue *Banhik,* edited by Anamita Basak and Saikat Saha, published these translations in November 2008 issue (Guha 85-94). Little Magazine *Nandan* regularly publishes translations of literature from different era. An issue was dedicated to poet Adrian Michelle

(1932-2008) commemorating his death in February 2008. It also published translations of the work of Gabriela Mistrel, Harold Pinter, Maya Angelou, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, and so on. The 2006 issue of *Ebang Mushayera,* edited by Subal Samanta, was on Sartre, along with the translation of eight essays by Sartre, and on Sartre. In March 2007, this magazine devoted an issue to *Don Quixote* with full or partial translations of *Don Quixote* including a Bengali translation*,* along with articles on *Don Quixote*. The October- December 2013 issue of *Thir Bijuri* was dedicated to old books in Bengali and their translation. This issue carried discussion on print history also. This shows the position of translated Bengali book in the history of Bengali literature and print culture.

Bartika, edited by Mahasweta Devi, also regularly publishes translation of mainly Indian Literature and literature from new literary experiences[73]. In the issue of May 2014 carries on its cover the announcement: "Hangover of English exists among Bengalis. I call it colonialism; it did not leave Bengalis, though the British left. The shadow of this colonialism is rooted in the marrow of our taste and culture." *Bartika* carried Shamayita Sen's translation of Alejo Carpentier's novel as *Harano Podokkhep*; Parul Bandopadhyay translated Nabin Joshi's *Dabanal* from Hindi; Trishna Basak translated Ushakiran Khan's *Sitapatar Gachh*; Rahul Dasgupta and Jay Bhadra translated Babar'a *Tujuk-e-Babari,* a history of medieval period. The translation section of this journal is divided into parts. Besides these, Rahul Dasgupta wrote a *Tathyapanji* , listing about 100 best novels of the world, as a guide to the readers of world literature. The editorial note on this issue presents the objective of this magazine fighting against intellectual colonialism or neo-colonialism. The May-June 2008 issue of *Ekush Shatak* published a story by Surajit Sarana[74] as *Nishpatti*. The translator of this story is Shyamal Maitra and it was edited by Manikanchan Das. The same issue published Pablo Neruda's poems on Fidel Castro. We can find that the last decade is especially conscious about translating both Indian and

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[73] Translation of writing from Latin America, Africa and progressive literature and on peoples' movement from different parts of the world.

[74] Surajit Sarana is a Punjabi poet, born in 1930 and got Sahitya Akademi award in 1996.

world literature through both government sponsored institutions and privately printed magazines. Ratan Sikdar wrote an article on translation in *Prasanga: Anubad Sahitya* in the January 2013 issue of *Alinda* published from Debagram, Nadia. The 2011 issue of this magazine published translations by Ratan Sikdar, Sampa Saha's translation of Kafka's and Rob Hopkot's stories.The 2014 issue advertized that *Iskra* published an issue on Indian stories as *Bharat Katha*, a collection of stories from 27 Indian languages (52).

The last one and half decade has seen a paradigm shift in shaping or imagining Indian or World Literature. Some major changes have been described in the next section, especially marking the growing trend for translating from Indian literature. I have translated few short stories and poems too. *Jagori* published my Bengali translation of Radhika Anand's short story *Chokh* in January 2010. *Tobu Ekalabya* published my translation M.T. Vasudev Nayar's story *Laal Prithibi* in 2012 as also the translation of Hoshang Marchant's poems in October 2012, which is the first translation of Merchant's poems in Bengali. *Karok*, a magazine published from Bongaon, North 24 Parganas, edited by Amitkumar Biswas, published my translation of Basheer's story *Jodi Juddha Thamate Hoy*. *Alap Parba* published my translation of Volga's story which I consider an important contribution as there are very few translations of Telugu literature in Bengali. It also published translations of few poems from Pablo Neruda's *Song of Despair and Twenty Love Poems*. Nilratan Sarkar's *Baishe Shraban* published my translation of Ramakanta Rath's *Radha and Other Poems* in 2014. Along with these, *Charvak*, one of the leading Little Magazine published in 2013 my essay on *Bharotiya Sahityer Dharana O Banglay Bharotiya Sahitya Charcha: Oitihasik theke Samprotik*, dealing with the imagination of Indian literature in Bengal

4.3.2 Translation in Digital Space Era

  As remarked before, since last couple of decades, the publication patterns and processes have changed rapidly. There are not such problems about sponsorship and funds, there's less demand of and domination of the market. Many web magazines are publishing Indian and world literature regularly. Mrigankashekhar Gangopadhyay wrote an essay called "Chhapar Gandho" [the smell of print] on his experience of webzine in *Alinda* (2014. He had no money to print magazines. Since he had already started writing on social network pages like Orkut, he was inspired to enter the world of webzine (29). There are similar stories of this shift in publishing format for many other editors also. There are a good number of webzines being published in Bengali, as for example, Bengali Blogzine[75] *Baak* edited by Anupam Mukhopadhyay, which has been publishing poetry in Bengali and translations of Indian and world poetry. The unique focus of this monthly blogzine is to translate poems of the young poets from different languages. Arjun Bandopadhyay, editor of the translation section of this journal writes, "We believe, poetry of one language is enriched by the poetry of another language. We believe honest and sincere translation can make us aware of the international literary scenario, erasing the inferiority of our mind" (Bandopadhyay) (translation mine).

Japanese poets Taguchi's (1967) six poems have been translated in its July 2013 issue. In August, 2013 issue Marry Kashiwagi's (1970) poems were published and the next issue in September 2013 published Iranian poet Ali Abdolrezayei's (1969) poems. The 75th issue (01/11/2013) of this blogzine published poems of Tamil poet Kutti Revathi's work as a feminist poet of repute. May 2015 issue published Israeli poet Orit Gidali's (1974) poems. The significant contribution of this blogzine is that it tries to present the Indian and world literary scenario and literary politics of the world through the translations of contemporary poets. The poets selected for translation are all born in the 1960s and 1970s. There

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[75] Present decade has introduced so many new words in regional culture also. This word is one of the evidences. *Blogzine* is now considered as a category of published material. And this claimed as first *Blogzine* in Bengali by the editor. *Blogzine*= Blog + (maga)zine

are photos of the poets with short introductory notes on them. There is also encouragement for new poets from different not much known to Bengali readers. This is a significant effort towards expanding cognition of understanding to help readers imagine the literary geography of world literature and make familiar that which is unfamiliar.

Another webzine *Journey 90*, edited by Rajarshi Chattopadhyay started with the memories of writings of 1990s. The journal also published translations regularly. The 3rd issue in 2013 presents Pat Clliford's poetry translated by Koushik Chattopadhyay, and of Biuleta Medina of Chile by Suvro Bandopadhyay and Bhaswati Thakurata. This latter translation was as a collaborative effort between poet and the translators. Two poems from *Sprachgitter* (1959) and two more from *Zeitgehoft* (1976) of German poet Paul Celan (1920-1970) are translated by Arko Chattopadhyay in the January 2015 issue. Chattopadhyay is the major translator and all the translations mentioned below were done by him. In August 2013 issue, he translated two poems of Philip Nikolayev (1966) from his collection *Letters from Aldenderry* (2006). The translator marks poet's affinity with India as he stayed in New Delhi and Kolkata for some time and wrote few poems on Kolkata. Translations of the work of Irish poet John Montagu (1929) appeared in *Journey 90s* September 2013 issue with a brief introduction by the translator Arko Chattopadhyay. Translations of Seamus Heaney (1939-2013) by appeared in the October 2013 issue to commemorate the poet's demise. November 2013 carried translations from Michael Ferrell from his collection of *A Raider's Guide* and the note explained that the translator had 'taken freedom while translating these poems'. Two poems of Australian poet Lisa Gorton were translated from her *Press Release* in January 2014; "Four Postcards" of Jacques Derrida was translated in March 2014; few poems from Joan Burns from his *Un Illustrated History of Diaries* (2007) appeared in April 2014; Jacques Roubaud's[76] poems from his *The Plurality of the World of Louis* were published in

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[76] This poet is especially significant for his contribution to the Oulipo Movement which is criticism against the surrelalism. This translation introduces a new discourse in Bengali literary imagination, as till the date Bengali

the June 2014 issue and in the September 2014 issue, Australian poet Jennifer Maidain's two poems from her *Friendly Fire* were translated. This short list of translation carried by this webzine shows translator's deep interest and knowledge with contemporary poetry of the world which represented new literary experience in themselves and thereby to the Bengali readers. I believe that the reception of literature evolves in a pattern that is also reflected in pattern of their translation. As for example, in the medieval era it was Sanskrit and Persian; in the 19th century it is European literature, mainly English, French, German and later Russian, African and Latin American. A pattern can be observed in the selection of poets or authors also. But these two webzines discussed above apparently break the presumptions of patterns of translation and reception of literature and introduced new experiences.

Another webzine *Ritobak* edited by Susmita Basu Singh also has a different section on *Anubad Sahitya* and has till the date published Khuswant Singh's *The Portrait of a Lady* translated by Indrani Ghosh; Nietzsche's *Der tolle Mensch* by *Sumanta* Bandopadhyay; Henry F. Lite's *Abide With Me* by Pallab Chattopadhyay; Jayanta Mahapatra's *Death of Boy* by Ishani Roychowdhury; Nicaraguan poet Manolo Cuadra's *La Palabra* by Jaya Choudhury; Maya Angelou's *Phenomenal Woman* by Indrani Ghosh; Herman Hesse's poems by Sumanta Chattopadhyay. *Achena Yatri* edited by Amit Kumar Biswas began as a webzine and then went into the publication of ebooks. This webzine too contributed to translation. Spanish poems of Peruvian poet Ivan Rodrigues Chavez were translated by Mainak Adak as *Chnuye Pora Andhakare Roktakto Murchona* (24th March, 2014). Another webzine is *Dwaipayan* hosted by this above blog and edited by the same editor, also publishes translations, recently that of Spanish poems of Alfredo Peres Alancart by Mainak Adak. This was earlier a print magazine and later transformed into a digital archive as *Achena Yatri*. *Kalimati* webzine edited by Kajal Sen publishes translation as *Pratibeshi Sahitya* (literature of our neighbours). Jaya Choudhury translated poems by

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readers were introduced very much with the reception and practice of surrealism and the counter discourse of it is significant.

Gabriela Mistrel published on 22nd May 2015 and of Nikolar Parra on 25th April 2015. An interesting thing in this webzine is the 'Comment Section' inviting debates and discussions.

The digital age publication is a gift to the literary society. First of all there is documented history in the form of archive, and translations are saved in the digital archive. Another gift is the possibility of interactive writer-translator-reader discussions also recorded. The reception of a particular text can be traced with the statistics. All these webzines are running successfully and are proactively promoting translations. Mainak Adak in *Achena Yatri*, Arko Chattopadhyay in *Journey 90s* and Jaya Choudhury in *Kalimati* is are regular translators. This is significant because these translators carved space for themselves in the literary world as translators and can claim to have contributed significantly to literary development.

4.4. Conclusion

Preceding chapters show that translation developed in different periods of history of Bengali literature and culture for political, social or religious reasons. But this culture of magazines shows a counter example of translation as a process of experiencing and informing about other literatures to the readers. Yet, the random selections of source texts and writers, irregular publication of translations show that publishing translation is just for informing the reader community about the literary others. There are few magazines which brought translation culture to serve some purposes in the literary society. Sadly, among these very few purposeful journals was *Anubad Patrika*. But the archive of this journal was destroyed by fire and all copies are gone. The saving grace is that Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, has kept a good collection of this magazine which a boon for historians of translation history. Little Magazine movement and general consciousness and love towards Little Magazine is evident in Bengali literary culture. Every year Pashchim Banga and Bangla Academy organizes a Little Magazine fair at the 'Nandan' area of Kolkata and the annual Kolkata Book Fair keeps a place for Little Magazines. Since last few years a small Little Magazine Fair is also happening during December at College Square of Kolkata. Gobardhan Adhikari, a research scholar of Bengali literature and language at the University of Calcutta has organized Little Magazine Fair at the Tala Tank area of North Kokata. All the local book fairs of different districts also promote local little magazines. These initiatives go a long way in encouraging local literary interest and aspirations. This is how general consciousness about literature is also promoted. This history shows us an alternative history of thinking and practice of literature and translation and local is being enriched through it.

Little Magazine is important for archiving purposes also. Sandip Dutta[77] has established Little Magazine and Research Centre at his home at Tamer Lane, Kolkata and is a pioneer archivist of Little

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[77]There is a Little Magazine Library and Research Centre at Tamer Lane (run by Sandip Dutta since 1978), Kolkata, India, which collects Bengali little magazines published anywhere in the world. (Midnapore Little Magazine Library)

Magazines. He has also published a bibliographic list of translations of African Literature into Bengali in 2012. Many other Little Magazine libraries have been established at different places like *Little Mag Udyog* in Kolkata, *Little Magazine Sangrahashala* by Sudakkhina Mitra in Malda, *Little Magazine Sanrakshan Ebang Gabeshana Kendra* in Berhampore, Murshidabad, *Little Magazine Sanrakshan Kendra* in Kanchrapara, North 24 Parganas, *Little Magazine Sanrakshanshala Ebang Gabeshana Kendra* in Bethuadahari, Nadia, and *Little Magazine Sanrakshan O Gabeshana Kendra* in Berhampore, Murshidabad. This effort towards archiving is a welcome change specifically for translation. Earlier Little Magazines and literary magazines are kept scattered in different libraries of West Bengal, few among those are Jaykrishna Library, Bangiya Shitya Parishad Library, Rabindra Bharati University Library, West Bengal State Library, National Library and so on. Very few magazines published in early 19th and 20th century can be found. A much clearer picture and a coherent history of translation can be traced with the help of the various Little Magazine archives. The work of digitization also has begun. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata, has made a historic contribution in this regard. They have digitized most of the available 19th century and 20th century Little Magazines and literary magazines and provides an open archive accessible to all. Another remarkable contribution is that of Midnapore Little Magazine Library. It is a digital library with a database of Little Magazines and articles on Little Magazines. *Sristi Sandhan* is also another archive of Little Magazines and holds 3704 writings of 578 Little Magazines (Sristi Sandhan).

Each Little Magazine has itsown ideology as do literary journals. Little Magazines are very much political in this sense and this gets reflected in their selection of texts for translating also. Each magazine reflects its own idea of literature, aesthetic, literary mission and its response towards particular literary, culture and political theory.

This chapter does not try to write a coherent history of translation published in the Little Magazines or literary magazines but try to represent very scattered historical examples on translation

they carry to understand the history or the method of writing history, if at all. The scattered examples of translation and even more scattered examples of the magazines help to understand the literary cultural scenario. The magazines are selected from different areas, like digital magazines, magazines published from government organization from non-government organization and from individual initiatives. This chapter primarily tries to understand the imagination of Indian and World Literature in Bengali. Translation as a tool can be used to read any other histories also but here the aim is to read the scattered and non-coherent material to get a sense of the translation activity in place and its contribution to the evolution of Bengali language, culture and world view. I have tried to see the paradigm shifts in translation process and publication in different decades. But that is not only in the domain of Little/Literary Magazines but on a wider sphere that will be discussed in next chapter.

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CHAPTER V

Indian Literatures and Translation:

Discipline and Discourse : 1919-2015

... the major modern Indian languages have developed not only through 'vertical translations from the languages of power and knowledge - English and Sanskrit - but also by engaging in 'horizontal' translations of one another, ultimately contributing to the creation of an inherently pluralistic body of literature in India.

Uday Narayan Singh

(*Translation as Growth: Towards a Theory of Language Development*)

The time frame of this chapter is between 1919 and 2015. I took 1919 as the beginning of this period as in this year the Modern Indian Languages department was established in the University of Calcutta. And I consider this initiative as the systematic beginning of practice of Indian Literature in Bengal. This chapter discusses the publications and other initiatives regarding translation and the role of different publishing houses including Sahitya Akademi, National Book Trust, National Translation Mission, and various State Akademies for the promotion of literature which are supported by central government and other state initiatives. This chapter also takes up for discussion the initiatives of private publishing houses. The combined impact was to sensitize national awareness and spread national literatures. In my view the process of nation building is well served through the dissemination of literature through the creation of such literary spaces and the encouragement with translation. India is a multiligual country and networking among many languages and literatures is both imperative and essential for nation building. But not only translation and their publication or circulation, proactive

and determined promotion of Indian Literatures, Translation Studies and Comparative Literature must be emphasized for enhancing and enlarging the idea of nation and national literatures. Within the nomenclature of national literatures is also included their translation. This chapter has two sections, one on translation and the publication houses; the other is on academic disciplines and the role of other institutions.

As a Bachelor of Arts in Bangla language and literature, a graduate in Comparative Indian Language and Literature and a research scholar of Comparative Literature doing research in a State [other than my own] where the medium of instruction is English [whereas the earlier degrees are in mother tongue medium], I am confused about the 'territory of national literature' and the idea of identifying myself with 'national literatures'. In the country like India where English has been accepted as an official language, rather as the most dominating official language even in regional sectors also, I grapple with English hegemony. I must admit that English is 'foreign' to my literary imagination as I am not competent enough to use it. It is not a typical Indian mother tongue though these days many urbans choose English for communication. Indian writing in English and Translation Practice in India are popular now but, I feel that to <u>truly</u> 'imagine the nation' one may need bhasha or one's mother-tongue. So, placing 'Indian' before 'English' problematizes the notion of national literature and national identity. It gets equated with a mono-lingual culture. This "mono lingual cacophony" (G N Devy's term) disturbs me and my imagining of national literature and identity. But the situation must be much more difficult for those whose mother tongues are marginalized and there are very few literary texts available in their languages either written or translated. As a Bengali I am privileged in that sense as there is a long and rich heritage and culture of imagined/constructed nationhood we have been grown up with. But what about Bhanumati (protagonist in *Aranyak*/Bibhutibhushan Bandopadhyay, a novel on tribals) who asks Satyacharan: "where is this India?" Spivak's theory of nation may be contextualized here, as she rightly points out that "the 'nation' is a hegemonic or

oppressive structure willfully imposed on the 'subalterns" (Paranjape 114). In *Aranyak,* Satyacharan, a Bengali bhadrolok brings the information of nation to Bhanumati. Nation is imposed to Bhanumati who has no idea about it nor can imagine it. So, those who are more privileged have a greater sense of 'nation'. So, nation building depends on the practice of basic rights of people about to stay and live in a particular space. When I talk about translation and nation building, it takes into consideration those cultures and people who can access the state. Here, the Indian nation does not mean the <u>total</u> geographical territory of India and does not cover all the linguistic and cultural communities of India, many of whom still remain excluded from the whole project of 'nation-building'.

If I claim here that translation builds nation through networking languages, or it is at least one among the many tools of nation building, I am partially correct. The 1988 video of *Mile Sur Mera Tumhara* produced by Lok Seva Sanchar Parishad and promoted by Doordarshan, the national television channel, for national integration and to promote the concept of 'unity in diversity in India', is itself a representation of exclusion. Many sectors like the North East, the tribal belts are not represented in the unity building process of India. Though the question of representation is always problematic in a diverse country like India, and no representation can be totally inclusive. So, we may consider the spirit of the song. However, this 'spirit of the song' appears distorted in its remake. It is more problematic and a clear insult to the nation. It is made with Bollywood actors and shows a bias against brown skinned Indians. If *Mile Sur Mera Tumhara* is an example of intra-national communication, translation also serves the same purpose for communicating within the nation. Translation from different Indian Bhashas into English or among the Bhashas makes an intra-national communication possible and thus it brings consciousness about diverse races, cultures, languages and creates knowledge about the nation among the people of different regions. The song is actually about the privileged languages of India and the personalities used are from privileged classes and celebrities. The periphery or minorities (in a pluralistic sense) are not represented. In case of translation, most

selected texts are from the centre or the canon of different languages. The notion of world literature or national literature is 'fashioned' with representative texts of the source languages/cultures, which is more exclusive and inclusive. How these translated texts play their roles in the target culture, this is another issue to be discussed later. So, here one must see who is the contributor of the *Sur*? How is the *Sur* of different communities meeting and interacting? Similarly, one must consider how a literary canon is made representing what kind of experiences. But before engaging with the complexity of national question, I would like to discuss about the pre-conditions of nation building through the work of translation.

It is desirable that translation is seen as a collaborative work through which every medium can get represented. Translation is collaborative work and its influence also results of this collaboration. The source text author (text to be translated), target text author, publishing and circulation (it is common for any other book publishing also), critic or reviewer, readers, practitioners in an academic discipline – everybody helps to create the public life or bring translation into the public sphere. Thus the process of nation building also happened through these mediums and they promote the afterlife of the translated text. Paul St. Pierre pointed out the same with more elaborative discussion. Bijay Kumar Das discusses the role of translation in nation building and takes a nationalist approach promoting the 'Unity in Diversity' principle and believes that no other way is possible for integration. But the question of 'nation building' has always encountered the question of believability. The post-1990s incidents make this more challenging and complex. For instance, the Bhopal Gas Tragedy, Mandal Commission Report and the reaction to it, Advani's Ratha Yatra, Babri Masjid Demolition, Ayodhya Verdict, the hanging of Afzal Guru and the Kashmir problem, the problem of Northeast, tribal issues create discomfort among certain sections of the people about the concept of the nation.

Most modern Indian languages and literatures have benefitted through their interaction with literatures of Europe via translation. But there are always exceptions, as for example, Dogri language

and literature developed with the resurrection of oral and folk traditions and culture after the availability of print technology. Indian bhasha literatures share a common ground of history, social movements, political movements and tradition of literary genres and themes. Here is the root of integration among different bhasha literatures. Amiya Dev's 'plus' theory of individual Indian literatures talks the way every literature evolved and grew in affiliation with other Indian languages and literatures. Dev comments,

> …the method of Comparative Literature allows for a view of Indian literature in the context of unity and diversity in a dialectical interliterary process and situation. There was a time when I spoke in terms of an extra consciousness on the part of individual langua-ge writers: for Bengali literature, for instance, I saw a Bengali+, for Hindi literature a Hindi+, for Tamil literature a Tamil+, etc. My understanding of Indian literature consisted of the author's extra consciousness and not of an archivable entity as such but rather a state of mind in order to justify the unity of Indian literature. However, today, with a focus on reception and the theoretical premises offered by the notion of the interliterary process, I understand Indian literature as ever in the making.   (Dev 6)

This connection among Indian literatures hints towards the literary relationships which are built through migrations of language, themes and concepts, and translation, though the role of non-literary mediums or elements such as, academic disciplines, literary festivals so on cannot be ignored. Amiya Dev mentions certain periods when history of literary-plus tradition was made. Meenakshi Mukherjee, while explaining the mutual translation among Indian literature in the context of novels, writes that in the recent past the trend of mutual translation has declined and now the trend is progressively from one Indian language into English (109). Both critics talk about a particular past when Indian literatures were growing with each other.

Languages, literatures and cultures which have been represented through different mediums (literature, film, advertising, newspapers etc.) have their own kind of 'nationalism' and cultural identity. Modernism in those Indian literatures came with print technology and the translation of English texts (in many senses). So, the whole notion of literature which has been popularly taken for granted is basically colonial as were some of the genres too. The translation into one another's language brings alive that colonial memory, history and ideologies of those genres of colonial modernity. I would like to call it 'generic imperialism' which is found as a common denominator of Indian literature to be identified as <u>one</u>. Those who believe in the saying that 'Indian literature is one though written in many languages' also believe in 'unity in diversity' and claim that different parts of India share almost same historical past. But this idea excludes many people and many literatures which exist far from this colonial modernity, like tribal and folk literature. One must contend with the fact of there being other literatures which do not belong to generic imperialism and do not share this common denominator of Indian literature which identify with only the centre of Indian literary system. Behind the apparent oneness (which is constructed) of Indian literature, there are many and different Indian literatures. Hence the importance and mobility among the literatures of different cultures, races and linguistic geography should be there to imagine the nation through literatures.

5.1. Publication and Circulation of Translation

The above discussion problematizes the contemporary situation in imagining national literature. But this problematics is not the major concern of this dissertation, because this dissertation deals with the imagination and formation of a literature culture in Bengal and secondly, the complication of defining national literature from a Bengali perspective which is historically privileged and shares mainstream history of the nation. But this dissertation will certainly focus on the issues related with the problem of imagining national literature through the discussion of translation activity in India. This will engage with the issues of 'National Literature' as imagined in Bengali culture.

The concept of National Literature in India in whatever form meets continuous resistance from regional language fighting the monolingual cacophony of English and other related issues. Being a multilingual and multicultural country, plurality rooted in its tradition and history must be remembered and becomes the important path for the understanding of National Literature. Our imagination of Indian Literature is a conscious effort to resist against linguistic imperialism and to historicize the people rooted with the literature. It is more important to synchronize the idea and imagination of Indian Literature as a gradually evolving and expanding domain.

There are two initiatives towards building national literature in all Indian languages. One is the State initiative mentioned above, and the other are private publishing houses, literary magazines and literary movements. In this second category, I would like to discuss the role of Indian People's Writers' Association, different Private Publishing Houses, literary magazines like *Bhashabandhan, Anubad Patrika* and others.

5.1.1. Sahitya Akademi, Translation and Making of Indian Literature in Bangla

This section deals with the role of Sahitya Akademi role in building the idea of Indian Literature, with special focus on Bengali and will deal with the translations published in Bangla. Sahitya Akademi extends its work among all Indian languages, religions, cultures and traditions. But for this dissertation, it's activities as a regional branch located in Kolkata will be assessed mainly through the Bangla translations. I quote from Sahitya Akademi's website "About Us":

> Sahitya Akademi, India's National Academy of Letters, is the central institution for literary dialogue, publication and promotion in the country and the only institution that undertakes literary activities in 24 Indian languages, including English. Over the 56 years of its dynamic existence, it has ceaselessly endeavored to promote good taste and healthy reading habits, to keep alive the intimate dialogue among the various linguistic and literary zones and groups through seminars, lectures, symposia, discussions, readings and performances, to increase the pace of mutual translations through workshops and individual assignments and to develop a serious literary culture through the publications of journals, monographs, individual creative works of every genre, anthologies, encyclopedias, dictionaries, bibliographies, who's who of writers and histories of literature. It has so for brought out over 6000 books, the present pace of publication being one book every 19 hours. Every year the Akademi holds at least 50 seminars at regional, national and international levels along with the workshops and literary gatherings-about 300 in number per year, under various heads like Meet the Author, Samvad, Kavisandhi, Kathasandhi, Loka: The Many Voices, People and Books, Through My Window, Mulakat, Asmita, Antaral, Avishkar, Nari Chetna, Yuva Sahiti, Bal Sahiti, Purvottari and Literary Forum meetings. *(Sahitya Akademi)*

Sahitya Akademi as an institution provides knowledge of Indian Literatures and different methods for practicing and theorizing Indian literature. In this sense, this institution is a pioneer. It also showed the way of reading different flavours of Indian literature successfully. Sahitya Akademi provides significant space for the Bengali readers to gather knowledge about Indian Literature. Few books on histories of different Indian literatures as "Makers of Indian Literature" series is very useful. Its translation of Dalit literature into Bangla is noteworthy since the Dalit literature of Bengal is still in its infancy in terms of its historicization, publication and reception. Two collections of translations of contemporary Indian Writing in Bangla, *Sammelak,* represents a synchronized idea of Indian Literature for Bengali readers. Sahitya Akademi's anthology in Bangla on the Partition narrativeS (Deshbhag Granthamala Series) is another segment which is valuable and opens a new vista for comparative study of Partition narratives from different Indian languages in Bangla.

Literary space is always occupied by memories, whether of childhood or adulthood. Sahitya Akademi has published eight books in the category of children's literature so far. These books are selected from Urdu, Marathi, Hindi and Indian English. Below is the list of translations published by Sahitya Akademi from different Indian and foreign languages into Bangla.

Table 1. List of Translation done by Sahitya Akademi into Bangla.

Source Language	Other	Short Story	Poetry	Novel	Play	Total
Assamese	1	3	2	8	-	14
Bengali	12	4	16		2	34
Uttar Bangla Folk	-	-	-	-	-	1

Bodo	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dogri	-	-	-	1	-	1
Gujarati	1	-	-	1	-	2
Hindi	6	4	6	10	1	27
Kannada	-	4	1	4	-	9
Kashmiri	-	1	-	-	-	1
Konkani	-		-	1	-	1
Malayalam	-	-	-	5	-	5
Manipuri	-	-	-	1	-	1
Marathi	4	-	2	3	-	9
Maithili	-	1	1	-	-	2
Nepali	1	1	1	-	-	3
Oriya	3	3	4	6	1	17
Punjabi	1	2	-	-	-	3
Sanskrit	-	1	-	1	1	3
Santali	-	-	1	-	-	1

Sindhi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamil	-	1	-	1	-	2
Telugu	-	1	-	1	-	2
Urdu	2	1	3	2	-	8
English	3	-	1	1	1	6
Indian English	7	1	1	4	-	13
Russian		-	-	1	-	1
French	3	-	-	3	2	8
Romania	-	1	-	-	1	2
Nichobar	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bihar	-	1	-	-	-	1
Japanese	-	1	-	-	-	1
Rajasthani	-	1	1	-	-	2
Greek	-	-	1	-	2	3
Czech	-	-	-	-	1	1
Africa	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hungary	-	1	1	-	-	2

Tripura	-	-	1	-	-	1
Spanish	-	-	2	-	-	2
German	-	-	1	-	-	1
Chinese	2		-	-	-	2

Source: Data put in the Table above is collected from the List of Published Books by Sahitya Akademi, found on Sahitya Akademi website. 'Other' section includes genres of Biography, Essays, Research writings etc. and this is selected from the "General" section of Sahitya Akademi's "Bengali" book list. (See Works Cited)

Table 2. List of number of Makers of Indian Literature from different languages published by Sahitya Akademi and the languages those history of literature is translated into Bangla

Source Language	Makers of Indian Literature	History of Literature
Bengali	27	yes
Sanskrit	2	-
Punjabi	1	-
Tamil	2	-
Marathi	2	-
Hindi	8	yes

Urdu	2	
Assamese	1	yes
Gujrati	1	-
Malayalam	1	yes
Indian English	1	-
Telugu	1	-
Maithili	1	yes
Kannada	-	yes
Nepali	-	yes

Source: Data put in the Table above is collected from the List of Published Books by Sahitya Akademi, found on Sahitya Akademi website. (See Works Cited)

Some gaps remain. For instance, 'Makers of Indian Literatures' are selected from eleven languages only and the history of different Indian literatures available in Bangla are only from seven languages including Bangla. Thus the representation of a plural nation like India appears rather limited here. The popular notion of Indian literature which is represented by the responsible institution like Sahitya Akademi appears exclusive, since Sahitya Akademi as a central body is expected to promote all literatures. It is the responsibility of Sahitya Akademi and similar institution to go beyond the dominating and canonical literature and aesthetics. I would like to call the existing practice as

encouragement to 'literature outside the market'[78]. As the national academy of letters, Sahitya Akademi must promote literature that exists outside the market to uphold the plural idea of *Desh* or nation.

The above tables show uneven process of translation of Indian literatures into Bangla. Many marginal languages are given recognition in the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution which is accepted by Sahitya Akademi for encouraging translation from all these languages and awarding the best translation works every year. This includes marginal and tribal languages too. But while reviewing the situation of translations in Bangla, it is not so encouraging. The very location of Sahitya Akademi and its branches all over India are not only urban-centric but also dominated by the metro city. The Northeastern region is taken care of by the eastern regional centre at Kolkata with a at Tripura. In their unpublished paper, "From Pedagogical to Performatives: Re-Postcolonizing Indian Sahitya Akademi", Saswat S. Das and Anindya Sekhar Purkayastha comment,

> In this sense, Akademi's postcolonial status is more due to its strategical location in space and time—it was ironically spin doctored into what the Heideggerians may choose to call its ortschaft or into having its settled locational value. Though lately Institutions stand philosophically discoursed as 'accidental eruptions', as 'immanent creations' of the cosmic order, meant to channelize its forces, which we often conceptualize as desire or power, Akademi, speaking as per the classical pragmatist constructivist logic, was one of those few institutes—or one of those timely creations bearing the traces of that 'eruptive violence' of the interventionist

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[78] Market has been received here in broader sense. Market is that what assume or define or locate or present particular sets of literature as literature of particular kind and always promote a certain type of aesthetic as only literary aesthetic. Market what determines what kind of books are to be translated, what kind of books are popular, what language is the rich literary space, and what kind of literature people want. It includes our trend to publish, circulate, translate, read and celebrate most of the Western Literatures and dominating Indian literatures from different states of India. As literature has its own idea of nation and different forms of literature including the oral traditions and performance cultures of India carries own ideas of nation having in their mind of the greater people of India.

human agency it arose from—that was set up within a decade after independence in order to promote Bhasa writing and Indian writing in English, relegated to obsolescence during the colonial times. (3)

The books published by Sahitya Akademi have limited circulation, as the Akademi represents itself only in metropolitan book fairs. Local shops are not given the books for selling. Other literary programs organized by Sahitya Akademi are also limited to the regional centres which are again metropolis-centric. Sahitya Akademi's journal of Indian Literature is published in only three languages: English, Hindi and Sanskrit, at least two of which are not easily accessible to Indian readers. Sahitya Akademi's recognition of only 24 Indian languages so far is also problematic as the plurality of Indian literatures cannot be limited to these languages only. The languages are usually prominent ones functioning as official languages of the States. So the whole project of nation building or imagining the nation is very much limited and often canonical. Though the existence of Sahitya Akademi matters in the post-colonial world and especially in the context of Indian literary studies, bhasha remains marginal.

5.1.2. National Book Trust and Bangla Translation

This Logo of National Book Trust, India, designed by the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad, is a harmony of tradition and innovation, earthiness and imagination.

The Banyan Tree, symbolizing stability and knowledge, reveals into the flying leaves of an open book through a contemporary visual. The combination of red with earthy brown colour portrays the rootedness to Indian soil as well as the passionate urge for knowledge.

The stylistic representation of 'nbt.india' indicates the modernistic commitment of the organization engaged in preparing the readers for a future world. The typography is 'bold slab-serif' which provides a strong base to the idea.

The motto, एकः सूते सकलम् taken from Kalidasa's Meghadutam, signifies the purpose of NBT for striving to give every thing desired in the world of books.

Launched on 1 August 2013 by Dr. M M Pallam Raju
Hon'ble Union Minister of Human Resource Development
Government of India

The logo of the National Book Trust of India has been adapted from the sculpture of *Kalpa Briksha*, a mythical tree which can fulfill everyone's desire. Though the logo has changed over the time, the spirit remains same. The motto is *Eka Sute Sakalam*, taken from Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*, echoing the sentiment of the song 'mile sur mera tumhara, to sur bane hamara …'! The present logo stands for tradition, innovation, rootedness and imagination. The image of Banyan tree or the concept of *Kalpa Briksha* suggests the fulfillment of the desire for knowledge and wisdom available in the treasure-house of books. Publications of National Book Trust of India highlight this objective prominently. It motivation is to create a harmony of culture through the world of books. National Book Trust's approach is slightly wider than that of Sahitya Akademi. These two institutions were established in a same decade with different objectives. The "Introduction" to National Book Trust mandate says,

The objectives of the NBT are to produce and encourage the production of good

literature in English, Hindi and other Indian languages and to make such literature

available at moderate prices to the public and to bring out book catalogues, arrange

book fairs/exhibitions and seminars and take all necessary steps to make the people

book minded.

The main objective is to spread the culture of book and readership and has so far made

significant contribution to creating literary spaces in Indian languages, specifically in Bengali.

Regarding inclusiveness of languages, NBT also has its limitations. The primary problems of

publication and circulation of books is almost like those of Sahitya Akademi. NBT has own mobile

book-shop to cater to different areas where NBT does not have sales counters. Many classics have

been translated into Bengali. However very few languages are as privileged as Bengali.

Table 3. List of Books published by NBT in different languages

Language	Total Pages of Catalogue	Total Number of Books Enlisted	Number of Books Published in 2014/ Under consideration/ In press/ Just Published
Hindi	198	1182	52
Maithili Rajasthani Dogri Himachali		5 1 1 1	

English	123	532	37
Oriya	79	570	13
Nabasakkhar Hindi	57	359	
Urdu	82	415	
Kannada	96	362	7
Marathi	124	441	12
Malayalam	109	352	32
Telugu	75	404	14
Tamil	85	431	
Gujarati	83	348	-
Children Books in English	130	317	-
Punjabi	120	892	-
Bengali	47	440	16
Konkoni	12	32	3

Source: Book catalogue found on NBT website (see Works Cited)

Even though NBT has different categories of books available at very reasonable prices, it has its limited existence outside the urban spaces despite its mobile book-shop with a special category of books for rural readers –though I realize this categorization itself is problematic, suggesting a stereotype of the readers of the villages who require a separate category of books. If NBT wants to build the taste of reading good books among the people of India, it is not logical to have books to suit the spatial and location of the readers. "About Us" on NBT their website says,

> …NBT is mandated to publish (a) the classical literature of India (b) outstanding works of Indian authors in Indian languages and their translation from one Indian language to another (c) translation of outstanding books from foreign languages and (d) outstanding books of modern knowledge for popular diffusion. The major activities of NBT include publishing of non- textbooks, organizing Book Fairs, Book Exhibitions, conducting literary events, activities for children, training in publishing throughout the country, participating in International Book Fairs to promote Indian literature…

NBT's main focus is on building book culture among the readers from different sections and linguistic background. It encourages translations and publishes books from different areas of knowledge from different languages and categorize books in different segments In this context of NBT's objective, I feel that not just publication of literary texts and their translation but also other instruments of dissemination of knowledge like book fairs, literary events, seminars should also be taken into consideration to construct the national Indian literature or even World Literature for that matter sicne NBT promotes another set of literature, that is, Asia-Pacific literature. NBT's innovative project *Adan Pradan* [Give and Take] offers a wonderful means to imagine, understand and appreciate the plurality of Indian languages and literature. However, like that of Sahitya Akademi, the above NBT catalogue also shows the prominence of few languages. Marginal languages are not so well represented.

NBT's promotion of world literature is through its project *Adan-Pradan*. Representative texts from different Indian literatures are translated as are some from the world, with the hope that they will be translated into different languages of the India and the world. NBT's catalogue of world literature is post-colonial in its selection of texts, choosing literatures from the former colonies from Africa and Latin America. It established connection with a leading school of translation theory and from Africa, *Hot Days Long Night* into Bangla. It also took up translation of Asian Literatures, especially literature of the Asia-Pacific region. These are wonderful additions to the Bangla literary world as all these literatures are new to the readers. Literature from are Pakistani, Korea and Sri Lankan are also offered. There are collections of remarkable short stories and plays titled *Stories from Asia Today* and *Together in Dramaland* are translated into Bangla by Aditi Mukherjee and Prabhat Mukhopadhyay. This extends our literary imagination beyond Europe and America, and builds a larger cartography of literary imagination. NBT site added,

> Moderately priced, NBT publishes books under different series in English and in all major Indian languages of India, viz. Hindi, Asamiya, Bangla, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Bhojpuri, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. In addition, NBT also publishes select books for children in Bhili, Gondi, Santhali and some north-eastern languages, such as Ao Naga, Bhutia, Boro, Garo, Khasi, Kokborok, Lepcha, Lirnboo, Mising, Mizo and Newari. NBT pays special attention to those genres which are not adequately covered by other publishers. These relate to books on science & technology, environment, the land and people of India, and the books in Braille; designed especially for the general reader. *(National Book Trust)*

It is my contention that the Imagining of the Indian nation is limited through the publication choices of Sahitya Akademi and to an extent, NBT. These two institutions were established with two

distinct objectives though not entirely discrete. But the imagination of a nation requires much more, like collections of biographies, literatures of the diaspora, and more importantly, more inclusive selection of literatures of India.

5.1.3. Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy and Promotion of Translation

Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy publishes translations, like the voluminous collection of Premchand's short stories, first published in 1988, then reprinted in 2001 and 2006 (I have information only till 2006). In his note, the then secretary of Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy Sanat Kumar Chattopadhyay writes that Bengali readers have great affinity with Premchand so the volume is published in the eve of his birth centenary. This anthology carries a long introduction by eminent scholar Pabitra Sarkar who compares Premchand's style and philosophy with that of Dickens and Gorky. Sarkar also discusses the methods for translation. Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy has an expert committee comprising eminent language editors to monitor and review translations undertaken to maintain the quality of literariness and the standard of translation. Generally, the trend is for 'word for word' translation in keeping with the style of writing, especially in the case of Premchand, to match the language structure of Bangla. Pabitra Sarkar writes in the introduction to this book,

এই সংকলনের গল্পগুলির অনুবাদ ও সম্পাদনার পদ্ধতিটি ছিল এইরকম: প্রথমে প্রেমচন্দের গল্পকার-জীবনের প্রথম পর্ব থেকে শেষ পর্ব পর্যন্ত প্রকাশিত প্রায় আশিটির মতো গল্প নির্বাচন করলেন সম্পাদকেরা। এই নির্বাচনের মধ্যে তার শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পগুলি যেমন আছে, তেমনই আছে প্রতি পর্বে তার সবচেয়ে প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক গল্পগুলি। অর্থাৎ গল্পকার প্রেমচন্দের ধারাবাহিক বিবর্তনের ছবিটি যাতে এই গল্পগুলিতে ফুটে ওঠে, সেই দিকে সম্পাদকদের লক্ষ্য ছিলো, সেই সঙ্গে তার অভিজ্ঞতার বিপুল বৈচিত্র ও বহুমুখিতা এবং দৃষ্টি ভঙ্গির নানা ভাজবিভঙ্গও তুলে ধরার পরিকল্পনা ছিল তাদের। গল্পগুলি নির্বাচনের পর সেগুলি অনুবাদকদের হাতে দেওয়া হয়। অনুবাদকদের ক্ষেত্রে ভাষাজ্ঞানমাত্র যথেষ্ট ছিলোনা, তাদের সমস্যায় পড়তে হয়েছে একই গল্পের বিভিন্ন সংস্করণের পাঠ নিয়ে। এমন দেখা গেছে, মান- সরোবর নামক বৃহত্সংকলন- যাতে আপাতত প্রেমচন্দের প্রায় সমস্ত গল্পই সংকলিত, তার পাঠের সঙ্গে পৃথক গ্রন্থের পাঠে অল্প বিস্তর পার্থক্য আছে। উর্দু-হিন্দির পাঠের অসঙ্গতি তো আছেই — অন্তত প্রথম দিককার বেশ কিছু গল্পের ক্ষেত্রে।

সম্পাদকেরা প্রেমচন্দ-তনয়প্রখ্যাতলেখক অমৃত রায়ের পরামর্শে মান-সরোবর গ্রন্থমালাকেই মূলত অবলম্বন করেছেন অনুবাদের প্রাথমিক উত্স হিসাবে।

অনুবাদজমাপড়বারপরএকজনহিন্দিভাষী, একজন উর্দুভাষী এবং অন্তত একজন বঙ্গভাষী সম্পাদক প্রতিটি অনুবাদ পরীক্ষা করেছেন নিয়মিত বৈঠক করে। এখানেও মূলের ভাষা শৈলীর প্রতি আক্ষরিক আনুগত্য এবং বাংলা ভাষার স্বাভাবিক ভঙ্গীমার বিষয়টি পুনখানুপুনখরূপে বিবেচিত হয়েছে। সম্পাদকেরা দুইয়ের প্রতিই শ্রদ্ধাশীল ছিলেন — প্রেমচন্দের নিজস্ব ভাষিক বিশিষ্টতা এবং বাংলা ভাষার স্বাভাবিকইডিয়ম। অনুবাদের সম্পাদনায় এদুইয়ের সামঞ্জস বিধানে তারা এবং অনুবাদকগোষ্ঠী কতটা সফল হয়েছেন তা সুধী পাঠকরা বিচার করবেন। সম্পাদকেরা একসঙ্গে প্রেমচন্দের এতগুলি গল্প বাঙালি পাঠকদের হাতে তুলে দিতে পেরেছেন বলে আনন্দিত ও কৃতার্থ। অনি কোথাও একখন্ডে এতগুলি গল্প পাওয়া যাবেনা। দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণে আমরা আরও তিনটি গল্প যোগ করেছি। *(Sarkar)*

(The method of translating and editing of this collection was like this: editors selected 80 stories from the first to last phase of Premchand's creative oeuvre. Some of the best stories are selected as well representative story from each phase of his writing career. The aim was to trace the growth and variety of his writing style and his immense and diverse experience of life. After that stories were given to the translators. Knowledge of TL was not enough, the translators had to compare different versions of the same story. It was observed that *Man-Sarovar,* the collection of all most of his stories is quite different from many smaller collections. Also, there are differences between Urdu-Hindi readings of the stories, at least that happened in the first phase of his life. Editors discussed with Premchand's son Amrita Roy and took Man-Sarovar as most authentic collection When translations were submitted, experts from Urdu, Hindi and Bangla language examined them through several meetings. The concern was about retaining the

linguistic style of the original text in Bangla. How far they are successful, will be evaluated by the readers. Editors are happy and grateful they have gifted this collection to the readers. So many stories in one collection is not available anywhere in Bangla. In second edition we have added three more stories.

(Translation mine)

Hence, the process of this anthology-making as elaborated above is possibly one of the best examples of translation method. Whole entire project illustrates care taken at every level to convey an 'authentic' Premchand to non-Hindi/Urdu readers.

5.2. Training Courses and Workshops on Translation

Here, in this sub-section, I discuss the role of different workshops, conferences and seminars beside the training courses on translation and Indian Literature to build the idea and consciousness about Indian Literature in public sphere. I did not historicise these programmes here but I took few examples to understand the role of aforementioned agencies. This sub-section tries to understand the role of aforementioned agencies to build the idea of Indian Literature, apart from the publication of translation and circulation of it.

5.2.1. Training Programmes, Conferences, Workshops to Conceptualize National Literature

The role of workshops, conferences and seminars, and training courses on translation and for networking literatures go a long way in building awareness about the plurality and diversity of literatures of our country. Imagining the nation through literature can't be achieved only through translation but with the help of other modes and agencies. Revising syllabi to incorporate neighboring languages including Santhali and such marginalized literary areas can bring new awareness of the wide net of literature. A wise step was taken on the eve of 150th year celebration of Calcutta University by introducing a Masters Programme on Comparative Indian Language and Literature under the department of Bengali Language and Literature.

Translation by Sahitya Akademi and National Book Trust hold seminars and conferences regularly, one needn't list those. I shall only mention the work of Centre for Translation of Indian Literatures, training programmes at Rabindra Bharati University, workshop at Sidho Kanho Birsa University at Purulia. These are worthwhile initiatives to raise consciousness about translation in such marginal areas with large peasant and tribal presence like Purulia. In November 2009, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, organized a National Seminar on Translation on Ashapurna Devi's *Subarnalata* and its English translations at North Bengal University. Refresher course on "Anudito O Anusari Bangla Sahitya" was organized by the Academic Staff College and Department of Bengali

Language and Literature of the University of Calcutta in February, 2005. This was also a significant initiative where teachers from different colleges took part and presented papers on translation. A survey of these papers shows the general focus on the large area of translation of Indian and world literatures into Bangla. Similar kind of experience is seen in the national seminar on "Comparative Study of the Narrative in Bangla and other Indian Literature" organized by Ramakrishna Mission Vidya Mandir in February, 2006. Recently, Visva Bharati University's Bengali department organized a national seminar on Indian Literature where research scholars and teachers presented papers on various aspects of Indian literature. The Bengali department of Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata, introduced a special paper on Indian Literature and also organized a national seminar in January 2015 on the subject. There are many such welcome initiatives. The Department of Bengali Language and Literature at Netaji Subhash Open University under the leadership of Dr. Manan Kumar Mandal has been organizing lectures on Indian Literature and publishing them. Besides this, the first comprehensive book on the theory of Indian Literature or Comparative Indian Literature in Bangla was published by Manan Mandal. Comparative Literature Department at Jadavpur University has done exceptional work in promoting Indian Literature since 1954. The point to remember is that the most work is done in English. And this must change.

5.2.2. Centre for Translation of Indian Literatures

Centre for Translation of Indian Literatures, Department of Comparative Literature, Jadavpur University privileges translation. Since 2008, this centre has engaged with translating indigenous literatures into Bangla in collaboration with Sahitya Akademi. Literatures from languages such as Lepcha, Missing, Kokborok were translated into Bangla. I participated in one such workshop. While translating folk lore, the cultural context and the history of the community appear as the source text. Folk lore is difficult to authenticate or pin down as there are many versions of a text circulating in the community. The texts talk more about the community as live testimony, as the biography of a community. The texts are records of culture, history and imagination of a community. To get the meaning of words and an adequate understanding of the source text, one needs to grasp the socio-cultural context of the testimony from which the community story has emerged. Thus the cultural context of the texts taken for translation appear as the source text author for the translators. The translations were compiled as books. The book on Lepcha translation, for instance, carried an introduction by Liyangsang Tamsang, an eminent scholar of Lepcha language, literature, culture and also a social activist, serving the community in many ways. He speaks about their folklore and provides geographical, historical and political description of the community, their language and new formed alphabets, and most importantly, the processes of naming. The creation of Lepcha alphabets is a recent development. The Centre engaged in re-writing their lore in their script and then developing a software for printing it. The translation took place through this transformation of Lepcha folklore from oral to manuscripts, then from manuscripts into printed books. Liyangsang Tamsang collected the folk tales, poems and songs from different regions of Lepcha land and prepared a uniform version for each text and helped Sahitya Akademi to translate these into English. The first English translation of Lepcha folklore happened in this age of transformation and documentation, moving from memory through machine into print. So, the first translation of the texts happened at a momentous point of

technological transition of Lepcha literary culture into print and digitization. Lepcha tribe folklore serves also for educating their people about their history and culture. It is immensely valuable as living memory which is at once myth and real experience. Their tales shelter their minds from the problems of life, poverty and economic struggles of the community. The translation project of first the Lepcha and then the other languages of the northeast region brings the knowledge of hill to the plains of Bengal. Editors of the translated books claim this as a new experience of reading of such kind of texts.

Translation workshops are good for developing creative writing skills for the participants. When translators straddle the border-line of cultures, one must look for supplementary sets and structures to fit the source text. While translating, we were imagining the images for the target text readers. And it was a collaborative work, the learning process gave us feeling of creating the lore. Translation and celebration of Lepcha folklore brought moments of joy of both sharing and creating knowledge. In Dipesh Chakroborty's words, this is one way of creating the public life of translation, texts and the discipline. Wolfgang Iser sees translation not only as "the encounter between cultures" but also as an "interaction between cultures" (quoted in Pym 211). This observation fitted the situation well as people from source and target cultures interact to understand each other's culture. Translating in a workshop can also be described through *skopos* theory of translation as the work has a particular aim or objective and transforms the source text into the target setting and culture, and among the intended audience. It means that before translating, other issues related to translation are predefined, planned and addressed. The source text's 'offer of information' is carried over to the reader in a target culture. Paul Kassmaul argues that the 'function' has deep affinity with the *Skopos* theory (quoted in Pym 176).

Source text has a hierarchical position in the theory of equivalence, especially if the source text is from a dominating culture. When Nida talks about dynamic equivalence related to the reception study of the translated text, he suggests an hierarchical position for the source text,. Anthony Pym

also argues that the hierarchy is always there. But when a text from a marginalized culture is translated, it is not offered a canonical position in a target culture.

The idea of collaborative authorship has been used for testimony writing like *Popul Vuh, Cogewea,* and *I, Rigoberta Menchu* where the indeterminacy of the writer always creates debates about authorship. Albert Braz claims that usually but not always indigenous literatures are the result of collaboration. And in case of *I, Rigoberta Menchu,* authorship and copyright goes to Rigoberta Menchu's main interviewer and editor of the book, Elizabeth Burgos. Indeterminacy of authorship can lead to a debate because this is not folklore and the people engaged with the memoir are known and prominent. When translating indigenous texts there is no debate about the source text author and the work of translation becomes an activity of collaboration.

The absence of the knowledge of a cultural context can be an obstacle for the transference of an alien text into the target culture. If the source context is too far from the target readers, the question about visibility/invisibility of the translator becomes irrelevant and creates difficulties to situate the translated literature in the target literary culture. This fate of the translated literature from an unknown source culture makes the translated texts more marginalized among similar translated literatures in the target culture. The book itself produces cultural knowledge but community is marginalized and not well represented in the target culture. So, this kind of texts must actually fight for existence in the target culture.

Regarding the Lepcha translation, the editors' note reveals unintentional hierarchy about the source text as the target language and people appear more privileged. The Lepcha land appears as a wonder land to the editors who write, "Another side, these folk lore open a new horizon of beauty of hills to the people of the plain land. It brings strangeness while reading Lepcha folk lore, the richness of lightening imagination and surprising creativity. The creative mind which is behind these creations does not belong to any individual but it is of a community. If the rasa of that creativity has been tasted,

the respect towards the community will be naturally increased in multiplied mood…. People of this community have been suffering from poverty, oppression and they are underprivileged, but no one can find the sign of those in their tales". The tales talk of happiness and beauty. But Lyangsang Tamsang says in his introduction to the book, "Thus the folk tales of the Lepcha community or the art of storytelling is still alive and have been living as a part of the hardest life of the poor people of the community". But the editors concentrated on the beauty of the hills, forests and nature which are reflected in the tales and imagined the community with happiness and beauty only."

George Steiner talks of ideal translation in his book *After Babel,* that ideal translation would "achieve an equilibrium…between two works, two languages, two communities of historical experience and contemporary feeling" (429). And when Nida talks about dynamic equivalence, he argues about the similarity of messages of the texts both in the source and target culture (32-36). When Lepcha folklore gets translated, the editor's note says that translating is like certifying. When we read early Bengali translations of Shakespeare's plays in Bangla, Shakespeare appears like a colonial lord, a part of the colonial system! So the translated texts represent the travel of texts from high culture to low culture or vice versa. Translation belongs in between and waits for reception and afterlife in a target culture. Nida's dynamic equivalence is possible only when text travels from dominating culture into dominated culture.

5.3. Indian Literature: The Role of Private Publishing Houses

Many private publication houses have helped to promote translation of Indian literatures in Bangla. It will be useful to remember that there are different forces at work behind translating Indian literature. During 1940s, many small publication houses in Kolkata printed progressive literature influenced by the Indian Progressive Writers' Association. For example, Radical Books Club published translation of Mulk Raj Ananda's *Daraj Dil* by Swati Sen in 1946. This book cross-refers to other translations by the same publisher. Bangla titles of some of these books are: *Kuli, Duti Pata Ekti Kuri, Achchut, Narasundar Samiti, Private Life of an Indian King* and so on. Premchandra appears as one of the most significant symbols of Indian literature as well for translation. Premchand's *Dui Sakhi* was translated by Subimal Basak and published by Tin Sangi publishers in April 1985. Juba Prakashani published *Premchanda Rachanabali* in 1991 by various translators like Shila Choudhury, Dhananjay Bandopadhyay and Subrata Sarkar. This is now a rare book as copies have disappeared and the publication house has ceased to exist. Different decades find different symbols while imagining National or World Literature. Sadat Hasan Manto is another popular symbol. Though his most of the writings were written in Pakistan, he is celebrated for Partition stories. His birth centenary was celebrated in different places of Bengal and invariably many translations of his writings were published. He is mainly popular in Bengal because of his Marxist ideology and continuous protest against the British and orthodox society. National Book Agency, which publishes radical literature published translations of Manto's of short stories by Sanchari Sen titled, *Sadat Hasan Mantor Galpo.* Many little magazines published Manto birth centenary issue. Nabarun Bhattacharya translated Manto's story *Thanda Gost O Anyanya Galpo* from Bhashabandhan publisher in 2013. Arup Kumar Das, professor of Bengali of the University of Calcutta published translation of Manto's story from the Rabindra Bharati University press. Sharmila Bagchi translated *Sadat Hasan Mantor Nirbachito Galpo* in 2010, this

translation was published from Ekush Shatak. All these translations carry introductions on Manto and/or translator's notes. Bagchi writes in her note,

"বাংলা ভাষায় যতদূর জানা আছে মান্টোর গল্পের তেমন অনুবাদ নেই! অথচ মানুষের বামন বৃত্তির বিরুদ্ধে আপোষহীন লড়াইয়ে আজও মান্টো পড়াটা প্রয়োজনীয় বলে মনে করি।" (Bagchi) (As far as I know, there are very few translations of Manto in Bangla. But I feel Manto is very significant for the struggle of human beings in modern society) (translation mine).

Translator Bagchi wrote a long introduction on Manto and his short stories. This introduction is useful to understand the relations of different Indian Literatures. She presents her points in a comparative framework, comparing Manto with other Urdu and Panjabi writers; while talking about Partition, she compared with Prafulla Ray; and while talking about the genre of *Anugalpo* (Very Short Story), she compares him with Bengali writer Bonoful. Manto's *Ganje Fereshte* is an important account on the history of Hindi cinema, and was very popular. This book is translated by Mostafa Harun with introduction by Sandipan Chattopadhyay and summarized by Chandi Mukhopadhyay, published by Prativas in 2009. Sandipan Chattopadhyay's introduction explains that the book was also translated earlier and he found that translation in the private library of Partha Choudhury. But no details about this translation are given. The introduction adds another information that this book was serially translated since June 1967 in a film magazine called *Chitrali* published from Dhaka, Bangladesh. Harun's translation was reprinted 1985 and 1989 before it was published by *Prativas*. It shows the enormous popularity of the book. .

Another translation anthology published by Mitra and Ghosh publisher of Kolkata is *Bharatjoda Kathankatha* (2012), edited and collected by former secretary of Sahitya Akademi, Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay, who is himself a translator and a creative writer. He had a clear political motivation

for this collection. He writes in his note that Sarvapalli Rahdakrishnan's comment[79] on Indian

Literature is not unbiased as it talks about the written culture but there are thousands of literary

productions and cultures in India which are neither written nor collected. So, one does not have any

idea of these *Katha*s which are scattered all over of the country. Some of these literary cultures were

discovered by the colonizers and seen from the colonizer's point-of-view, sometimes from the

imperial religious view or as exotic. But the reality of their life lies beyond all these perspectives. So,

this collection has been prepared and could successfully contradict with the views of the colonizers

and the imperialists, and tries to represent the plurality in Indianness and the country's the Bhasha

culture. This collection was has stories by Lakshminath Bezbarua, Dakshinaranjan Mitramajumdar,

Javerchand Meghani, Madhuram Malu, Bhagabandas Patel, Debabrata Joshi, Taranimohan Rupini.

The title of Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay's introductory note on "Swadesher Katha O Kahini" is

significant here. He wants to imagine *Desh* and *Swadesh* in the postmodern era. According to Bauman,

"Johann Gotfried von Herder, in whose vision the oral literature of a people was both the highest and

truest expression of its authentic national culture and the appropriate foundation of its national

literature" (Bauman 1). Similar is the vision behind the project of translation of folk narratives. This

collection claims *Swadesh*, and it claims it is possible to find the essence of the *Swadesh* even in the time

of imposed culture of globalization. The collection has 108 stories from 52 languages. Ramkumar

Mukhopadhyay says that this kind of *Katha* which existed in oral cultures among the common folk

who had no literacy or education to construct the alternative history of India. This collection is in

search of that alternative history. He found the 'self' deeply rooted in the memory of past, which lives

in all narrative of traditions of India, and must be the same in other ancient cultures too. He writes,

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[79] "Indian Literature is one though written in many languages".

বাঁচার ও বাচতে দেওয়ার কতনা রকমফের যা থেকে ভারতীয় সভ্যতার প্রচলিত ইতিহাসের বিপরীতে একটি সমান্তরাল ইতিহাস গড়া যায় উইলিয়াম কেরীর অনুসরণে 'ইতিহাসমালা' নামে। আর হরিচরণ বন্দোপাধ্যায় তো জানিয়েছেনই যে 'ইতিহাস' শব্দের একাধিক অর্থের মধ্যে একটি হল 'পরম্পরারূপে আছে'। আর তাই এই বিকল্প ইতিহাসমালার মধ্যে স্মৃতির সঙ্গে সত্তা নিবিড়ভাবে সংপৃক্ত থাকেই। সেই ভারত ইতিহাসের সন্ধানেই এই কথন-কথামালা বাহান্নটি ভাষার একশ আটাশটি গল্প নিয়ে। *(Mukhopadhyay, Ramkumar;)*

(There are diverse ways to live and let live. We can find parallel history from these like William Carey's Itihasmala. And Haricharan Bandopadhyay informed us that one of the meanings of the word 'Itihas' is something which is there in the tradition. So, in this parallel history, self and memory are deeply rooted. In search of that Indian history I have collected 128 stories from 52 languages.) (translation mine)

Earlier to this collection, Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay published another collection titled *Bharotjora Galpakatha*, (2007-2008) from the same publication house. The Introduction of the editor, "Bharatbarsher Sandhane' is interesting. It seems Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay began to conceptualize 'Swadesh', digging into the memory of traditional Indian narratives. There were different initiatives to write the history of India through different expressions of the people. Vatious kinds of literature reveal different thoughts on the Indian nation. He writes,

অনুবাদের মাধ্যমে এক ভাষার সাহিত্য অন্য ভাষার পাঠক লেখকদের কাছে পৌঁছে দেবার এক বৃহত্তর প্রচেষ্টা দেখা গেল। তা থেকে শুধু যে আমাদের নন্দন - অভিজ্ঞতা বিস্তার পেল এমন নয়, আমরা এই দেশকেও অন্যভাবে চিনতে ও জানতে শুরু করলাম। .... তবুও আঠারোটি ভাষার পয়তাল্লিশটি গল্পের ভেতর দিয়ে হয়তো ভারতীয় জীবনের একশ বছরের একটা চালচিত্র ভেসে উঠবে চোখের সামনে। *(Mukhopadhyay, Ramkumar;)*

(Literature of one language is sent to the readers of another language through translation. From this process we have received not only the expansion of aesthetic but we started to know this country differently. … Still, from these 45 stories of 18 languages will show us Indian life of last 100 years.) (translation mine)

Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay is an eminent scholar of Indian Literature and served as the secretary of Sahitya Akademi in the eastern region. He understood the need for to know Indian literature through Bangla language. These two collections of translation present a rich resource for the Bengali readers. In the second collection he briefly discusses the traditional narrative as he did in the first one. These two books expand literary value and aesthetics and can be treated as source books of Indian literature for Bengali readers. A similar initiative was also taken by National Book Trust when they published a book on Indian folk tales collected and edited by A.K. Ramanujan and its Bangla translation by Mahasweta Devi as *Bharater Lokakatha* (1998). Even earlier to these, *Gujarati Lokakatha* was published by Best Books, a private publishing house from Kolkata in 1992. This book is by Ratul Bandopadhyay, who was a student of Bengali literature and a journalist who felt that Indian culture can be known best through folk tales, the voice of the people. The same publisher also printed folk tales of Bihar, Assam, Andaman Nichobar, Punjab and the folk tales of Santhali community. (See Appendix I)

Among Indian Literatures, Urdu has a popular literary tradition. There are many books on the development of Urdu language and literature, for example Touhid Hossain's *Urdu Kabyer Bhuban* published from Karuna Prakashani. On one side there is a long tradition of Urdu and Hindi writing of Premchand; on another side, a separate tradition was built with Manto and Ghalib. Sahitya Akademi has published a large collection of Ghalib's ghazals along with Ghalib's biography. Ghalib is not only a Urdu poet but another prominent symbol of Indian Literature. There are several translations of

Ghalib, published from different publication houses. I cite the example of few here. A website on Bengali culture comments on the 2007 production of Ganakrishti's *Jhora Samayer Kabya*,

> Ganakrishti's latest production "Jhora Somoyer Kabya" (Verse of Whithering Time), has won critical acclaim and appreciation. The play chronicles the life of Mirza Asad-ul-llah khan Ghalib, who was not only a poet and musician but also a great philosopher. The play depicts, through the eyes of Ghalib, the changing time of Indian history when the people beganto feel the growing power of the British empire gradually spreading its wings of oppression across India.

This production was a marker of Ghalib's reception in Bangla. Since a long time Ghalib was being translated into Bangla by various agencies, governmental or private. In this context it must be remembered that theatre plays important role in creating awareness and space for Indian Literature. There are many examples of such texts or authors who are not translated into Bangla language but performed on Bengali stages. This cultural expression also contributes a lot to form the idea of Indian Literature. Famous Bengali poet Kazi Nazrul Islam was very influenced by Ghalib and wrote ghazal-style poetry in Bangla. Though ghazal as a literary genre is not used in Bangla but Ghalib's popularity transcended that. It cannot be that Ghalib's popularity was due to the transition in Bengali theatre or Bangla translation of his poetry, but definitely because of Ghalib's universal talent which cannot be limited into a particular language, culture, religion or literary space. But the point is, Ghalib is equally appreciated by the Bengali authors, critics and readers. A good translation of Ghalib was done by critic Abu Sayed Ayub, a Urdu speaker. His translation of Ghalib's *shayeri* was first published serially in a leading Bengali literary journal *Desh*, then published in 1976 and reprinted in 2010 by Dey's Publishing House, one of the most dominating publishing housees of Bengali literature, culture and history. Ayub is an eminent scholar of Urdu and Bangla literature. His descriptive note on Ghalib and his own method of translation which he calls literary but not a mechanical word to word translation since the

symphony of Urdu into Bangla requires certain amount of freedom. Ayub translated Ghalib in prose form and discusses the problems faced while translating. The book can be considered a source book Ghalib and ghazal and a perfect example of comparative study of literature as Ghalib is compared with different Urdu poets, even Tagore. Thus Ayub presented Ghalib to Bengali readers with all the possible dimensions to understand Ghalib.

More than the 'symbols of Indian Literature', I would like to discuss the role of few publishing houses especially Prativas, Bhashabandhan etc. which are leading publishers of translations offering different Indian and World Literatures. I wish to draw attention to the politics of selection of texts for translation. Bhashabandhan is an important publisher and also publishes a . monthly journal on Indian and World Literature besides translated books and creative writing. A brief list of its publication is given as Appendix 1,though not the list of translations from the monthly journal because the number would be enormous. In addition to the translation of Modern Indian Literatures, there is long history of translating ancient Indian texts and religious texts. The first chapter of this dissertation explained the translation of Sanskrit texts and Hindu religious texts. During colonial period this trend increased. of the Translations of ancient manuscripts and religious texts were printed from Sreerampore Mission and Bottola market. This practice continues. though there is competition among the texts of different tastes. Translation of Krittibas's *Ramayana*, Kashiramdas's *Mahabharata*, *Bhagbat*, *Upanishads*, Islamic religious texts, Buddhist *Jataka, Dhammapada* are popular reprints. Gorakhpur Geeta Press and Udbodhan Karjyalay of Ramakrishna Mission are pioneering institutions besides private publication houses like D. M. Library, Karuna Prakashani, Deb Sahitya Kutir, Akshay Library etc. Nowadays, the ancient Indian texts are received in two distinct categories, firstly as religious texts for Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists; and secondly as literature. like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Jataka*, *Padmabati* etc. Religious texts of other religions are popular as literature among some readers and scholars. This dissertation does not focus on religious texts; religious texts are culturally defined.

5.4. Adivasi Literature, Translation, and Conceptualizing Indian Literature

Adivasi literature, especially of the Santhali communities which live in close contact, is of much concern to the Bengali literate society. Santhali rebels like Birsa Munda, Sidho, Kanho are nationalists [though not acknowledged earlier histories] for opposing British imperial forces. Comparatively much attention had given to the Santhalis and whatever attention is given has also been self-serving for the Bengalis. The limited knowledge about Indian tribals shows negligence and ignorance about their rich traditions and culture, though this is being rectified. Pashchimbanga Bangla Academy has published Bengali-Santhali dictionary about a decade ago. Jadumani Besra and Subodh Hansda, two well-know translators from Bengali to Santhali and vice versa try to make communication easier between two communities. This initiative of Bengali-Santhali translation project is not only about imagining Indian Literature but it is about to understand the cultural geographic reality of Bengal. Certificate and degree courses in Santhali in different universities of West Bengal is a welcome move. Subodh Hansda's translation of Santhali story has been included in the Bengali literature syllabus of University of Calcutta. Best Book's publication of *Santhali Lokakatha* is a noteworthy initiative to enrich knowledge about their culture. Tapan Bandopadhyay, Animesh Kanti Pal are well-known translators of Santhali literature into Bangla. His edited *Saotali Kabita* has more than two hundred poems and songs of the Santhals. This book was first published in March 1976 then Deys' edition came in November 1980, reprinted in January 2010, endorsing the popularity of the volume. Recounting the history of translation of Santhali is important to prove the interest of the people in the rich Santhali culture and literature and to encourage more texts and documents on the subject to provide material for study in schools and universities. The initiative for translating Santhali literature is supports the desire to know the neighbour, not just as an exotic remainder from the past [Mahasweta Devi's remarkable story about Pterodactyl comes to mind]. Yet, for the translator of Santhali literature must also grapple for space in the literary culture of the language to be heard.

In 1955, a Bengali Daily *Dainik Basumati* carried an item on Sri Gurudas Sarkar's *Saotaldi Katha* published by Biswabani, as follows:

ভারতের বিভিন্ন আদিবাসীদের মধ্যে আমাদের সর্ব নিকটস্থ প্রতিবেশী ও বহুলাংশে ধর্মগত সম্বন্ধযুক্ত হল সাঁওতালরা।

আমাদের আধুনিক সভ্য সমাজের সঙ্গে তারা সংশ্রবশূন্য হলেও, তাদের নিজস্ব সমাজ জীবনে আমাদেরই মতো

সুখ-দুঃখ, প্রেম-বিরহ আছে- সংসার, সমাজ আছে, এবং তার বাইরেরও আছে নানা কাহিনী। বহু প্রচলিত গল্প,

উপকথা আছে সাঁওতালদের মধ্যে। তাদের নিজস্ব ভাষাও আছে। সেই ভাষাভিজ্ঞ লেখক সহজ ও সাবলীল বাঙ্গালায়

সাঁওতালি সেই গল্পগুলি প্রকাশ করেছেন এই গ্রন্থে। এগুলি সবই রূপকথা বা উপকথা ধরণের। কিন্তু সম্পূর্ন নতুন

পরিবেশ ও বিচিত্র চরিত্রের সমাবেশে এগুলির ঘটনারূপ সাধারণ রূপকথা বা উপকথার গল্প অপেক্ষাও বেশী উপভোগয়

হয়েছে। সর্ব্বসমেত ন'টি গল্প আছে বইখানিতে এবং সেই সঙ্গে আছে ১৮/১৯ খানি উডকাট ধরণের সুন্দর চিত্র।

বইখানি প্রধানত: কিশোরদের জন্যে লিখিত হলেও, পরিণতরাও পর্য্যাপ্ত আনন্দলাভ করবেন এথেকে। প্রচ্ছদ পটটিও

মনোরম। *(Sampadokiya;)*

Such perception translation of Santhali stories into Bangla shows that contemporary Bengali society was unaware about the community and their literature, culture and existential problems. The book was an initiative taken to know the 'Other' who is actually a neighbor. The book's intended readership was the children and the translator hoped these stories of the marginal community will find place in the world of Bangla children's literature which already had accommodated from the world. This review of the book mentions 18/19 pictures made with woodcut painting to accompany 9 stories.

Unpublished M.Phil. dissertation titled "Bangla Anubad Parikalpana: Saotali Bhasha Sahitya" by Debdip Dhibar from the Department of Comparative Literature, Jadavpur University, studies on the history of translation of Santhali literature into Bangla in detail. The scholar says that mostly Santhali songs and poems are translated as being most popular genres in Santhali. Olchiki, the script for Santhali language was developed by Pt. Raghunath Murmu in 1925.

But not only Santhali, Lepcha or Kokborok, Monfokira, a private publishing house publishes Missing[80] poems of Assam, *So on Shiri Ar Jonbeli*, translated by Manik Das. March- April 2008 issue of a literary magazine, *Kabita Pratimaase* published a review of this collection by Krishanu Basu, who clearly wrote that this initiative is for becoming Indian, to imagine and know India and diverse literary culture of India.

Translations from other languages into Santhali is rare but can expand their world view, and is being introduced in some schools and colleges. But the tribal languages have to fight to survive, more in these times. A teacher of Translation Studies, Professor Shivaram Padikkal says if there was no translation such languages would become stagnant and thereafter die. Padikkal maintains that a translation is like a window to the world. If a language does not accept translated works it may suffer from poverty of knowledge (News Crrespondence). The translation of Santhali literature or any other tribal literature in a dominating language or a language of power in a specific geo-cultural area is a way of building knowledge or to know the small voices of history.

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[80] A tribal community from Assam and Meghalaya.

5.5. Dalit Literature and Translation

History of Dalit movement and Dalit literature in Bengal is about 100 years old. The Dalit movement of Bengal mainly driven by the Namasudra community of Bengal. The Partition of Bengal divided this community which spread to several neighboring States like Tripura and Assam. Namasudra Dalits are a majority community in Bengal now, having come at the time of the Partition. In a long essay on Bengali Dalits, I have tried to establish that West Bengal Dalit movement is not consolidated because of the uprootedness caused by the Partition. Since the last two decades, Dalit mouthpiece *Chatortha Duniya* is trying collate the history and literature of this community in relation with the Dalits of other parts of India. *Chaturtha Duniya* [Fourth World] regularly publishes translations of Dalit literatures from different parts of India. It encourages discussions on Dalit literature, society and politics. Its August 2001 issue was dedicated to Phoolan Devi. Another Dalit magazine called *Neer* [Nest/Home] edited by Kalyani Thakur Charal also publishes Bangla translations of Tamil, Marathi, Telugu, Hindi Dalit writing. The June 2011 issue of *Neer* published translation of Tamil Dalit poetry, and poetry in a marginalized language which is called *Chnai Bhasha*. The December 2011 issue published translations of Tamil Dalit short stories and the June 2012 published Dalit women writing from Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi and Gujarati. Besides this, different publishing houses have also started to publish translations of Dalit literatures. A noteworthy volume is edited by Debesh Roy called *Dalit* published by Sahitya Akademi. National Book Trust also published two collection of Dalit writings titled *Kissa Gulam* by Rameshchandra Saha, *Daas Kahini* by Ajit Ray.Ekush Shatak. A publication house from Kolkata, which focuses on people's movement and literature, published *Dalit O Rabindranath* by Chitta Mandal. Debu Dattagupta translated *Dalit Bharat,* originally written by P. Sainath published from Seriban in 2011.

Swapna Banerjee-Guha, a Mumbai based professor and translator, translated a collection of Marathi Dalit poems, *Chhander Alinde Bidroho* (2012), by Thema publishers, Kolkata. This collection

traces the whole history of Marathi Dalit poems and selects representative poems of the poets. This translator has her personal contact with the poets and poets also have seen this collection translated into Bangla. Translator here included a long introduction on Marathi Dalit literature and there is very brief introduction of poets in the concerned sections where their poems are translated. In an interview with me she told she has to write a long introduction and note on poets as most of the Bengali readers do not know much about Dalit literature and she believes this collection also will contribute to find the Dalit history in India and consolidate Dalit movement and identity in Bengal (Banerjee-Guha).

5.6. On Discourse and Discipline

This section discusses about the thought on Indian literature and about the discipline of Indian literature to find the theoretical understanding and practice of Indian Literature in Bengal. I try to show here that, besides translating and publishing Indian literature into Bangla, there is significance of the theoretical discussions and academic discipline to build the literary canon of Indian Literature.

5.6.1 Bengali Discourse of Indian Literature

Legendary poet-philosopher Shankho Ghosh's a collection of Bengali essays on comparative literary study *Oitihyer Bistar* [expansion of tradition or culture] presents a discourse on literary study beyond the boundary of any particular language or culture. But, the question would be, what or whose culture or tradition? Every community has its own expressivity, own tradition or culture of creativity. Communities often evolve through a long historical process and become rooted in a particular cultural system. Shankho Ghosh writes in the introduction to the book:

> অন্য দেশ বা অন্য প্রদেশের সাহিত্যচর্চা- জীবনচর্চা প্রসঙ্গে কখনো কখনো কৌতুহল হয় আমাদের. সেটা যে কেবল
>
> অন্যকে জানবার জন্যই তা নয়, তার মধ্য দিয়ে নিজেদের যেন খানিকটা নতুনভাবে দেখবার সুযোগ পাই. তাই দান্তে
>
> বা কাফকা, কুমারণ আসন বা ইকবাল – এর যে-কোনো লেখকের প্রসঙ্গে ভাবতে গেলে আমাদেরই ভাষার কোনো
>
> – না – কোনো লেখকের প্রতি তুলনার কথা এসে পড়ে, অন্তত পটভূমিতে একটা ছায়া থেকে যায় তার. *(Ghosh,*
>
> *Shankho;)*

> (Sometimes we feel interested towards the life and literature of different region/ province or nation, not only to know the other but to see ourselves differently. So, when we think about Dante, Kafka or Kumaran Asan or Iqbal, we find them comparable with the writers of our language, at least a shadow of comparison is suggested. (Translation mine)

According to Ghosh, it is our inherited urge to know others, not only to know them but to know ourselves with the reference to their artistic and literary expressions. When we read other writers we compare them with our own writers. If we do not compare in particular there is always a shadow of impression of reading foreign authors in our mind. Whenever we read, we compare. This method of comparison comes into our mind as we are also privileged in creating literature; but what of marginalized literary communities? How would they 'know' themselves or compare their work with rest of the world. This whole process of knowing the other to know ourselves to augment our knowledge comes through different ways, the most powerful being, reading. *Oitihyer Bistar* assumes a tradition of reading, thereby a tradition of *knowing* others, and thereby knowing ourselves:

> অন্য কে জানা মানে নিজেকে লুপ্ত হতে দেওয়া নয়, অন্যকে জানা মানেই অন্যকে মেনে নেওয়া নয়। কেবল বোধের সম্প্রসারণে স্পর্শকের মতো যে ছুয়ে যায় নিজের বাইরে অনি অনেক কিছু, ছুয়ে থাকে, ক্রিয়া প্রতিক্রিয়ার সংঘর্ষে যে জেগে উঠতে থাকে আমাদের নিজস্ব পরিচয়, সেইটুকুই মনে রাখবার. *(Ghosh, Shankho;)*

> (Knowing others does not mean to diminish the self. Knowing other does not mean to be imitative or to agree with them. It expands our vision, ideas; resolves possible conflict of action and reaction, gives birth to new identity….) (Translation mine)

It is interesting to see that the advantage of the positionality of a privileged linguistic community where we have our 'colonial' privileges. Shankho Ghose assumes we might be afraid of losing our identity by acquiring the knowledge produced by others. Does Ghose assumes this 'fear' because Indians are suffering from 'amnesia' forced by the experience of colonial domination and hegemony. Or, is it our nature to create boundaries around us, being afraid of becoming declassed. So, he feels the need to reassure that knowing of others is a process of identity building and of expanding consciousness. He further formulates his idea in his essay titled "Oitihyer Bistar":

শক্তি আর জীবনানন্দের প্রভেদ বিষয়ে দিলীপের এই প্রত্যক্ষণ কতটা সত্য বা কতটা সম্পূর্ণ , সে - কথাটা তখন ভাবছিলাম না আমি. আমি ভাবছিলাম এই সাবলীলতার বিষয়ে, যে অবলীলায় দিলীপ বলে গেলেন কথাগুলি, যেমন অল্প আগেই বলেছিলেন নিরালা বা আডিগা-র কথা, মুক্তিবোধ বা সুধীন্দ্রনাথের কথা. পশ্চিমজগতের আধুনিকতায় যেমন, তেমনি তার চেতনা ঘুরে বেড়াতে চায় আমাদের এই গোটা দেশেরও চারপাশে৷ যেন এই সবটা নিয়েই তিনি পেয়ে যান নিজের কোনো ঐতিহ্য৷ (Ghosh 13)

(I was not thinking about Dilip's observation about the difference that Shakti Chattopadhyay and Jibanananda Das had with each other. I was thinking about Dilip's ease in talking about these poets as he was talking about Nirala or Adiga, Muktibodh or Sudhindranath. He is equally competent to talk about western literature and different Indian literature, as though his own heritage is affiliated with all these literary creations) (Translation mine)

Shankho Ghosh cites Marathi poet Dilip Chitre's discussion of Bengali poets Jibanananda and Shakti in a meeting of Indian writers in Bhopal. Shankho Ghosh pointed out Dilip's keen interest in world literature and Indian literature and was urged by Dilip Chitre's discussion on Bengali poets to think in these lines. He observes that interest in Western modernism and in Indian writings, Dilip Chitre seems to build his own tradition of literature. Thus this cross cultural understanding assists one to know others, acquire literary authority[81] and will help to situate oneself in a greater literary sphere. Shankho Babu's experience of what led him towards this realization is fine, but what of scholars' indifference to this idea? In general, I have found scholars from different parts of India knowledgable about Bengali literature, but Bengalis don't show such awareness about other literatures. Is the colonial history

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[81] 'Literary Authority' is supposedly a right which comes to an individual with the knowledge of different literary understanding and with the appreciation of literatures of different cultural systems.

responsible for this attitude of ethnocentriciyt? As the modernity in Indian literatures came with the colonial intervention and modern Indian literary genres were adapted as the result of the colonial interaction, most European and especially British literature was translated via Bangla into other Indian languages. This historical reality of modern Indian literature placed Bangla literature in a privileged position. Besides this, another reason for this privileged position and the reason for Bengali indifference is Tagore's Nobel Award. The huge popularity of Sharatchandra led to translation of his stories in many languages. And because of this, I think, Bengali writers are translated into different Indian languages, while Bengalis prefer translating from different world literatures. According to Ghosh,

বাংলা বলেই কোনো কথা নয়, মালায়লম বা তেলুগু, অসমীয়া বা গুজরাতি, যে-কোনো প্রসঙ্গেই যদি ঘুরে যেতে পারে এমন সর্বভারতীয় কোনো আড্ডা, তাহলে সেইটেকে ভাবা যায় মনের সৌন্দর্যময় এক স্বাস্থ্য৷ কিন্তু তখনই এই প্রশ্নটা উকি দিতে থাকে ভিতরে-ভিতরে, বাংলা কি এই স্বাস্থ্যের দিকে এগোতে চায় কখনো? বিশ্বপট যতখানি, আমাদের সাহিত্যের সামনে ভারতীয় পট কি ততটা উন্মোচিত? না কি আমরা সংকীর্ণ এক আত্মতৃপ্তির গভীর মধ্যে নিজেদের বেধে রাখতে পেরেই খুশি?   Ghosh 14)

(It is not about Bangla, if such kind of Adda can give a space to discuss about Malayalam or Telugu, Assamese or Gujarati or any other language and literature, it will be enhance the health of our mind. But then, this thought comes into my mind, whether Bangla at all want to pay attention in this mental health? The way world is unfolding before us, will India too? Or we are happy to limit ourselves within a small boundary of self-satisfaction and approbation?) (Translation Mine)

Bengali thinkers and creative writers in different ages have thought about Bengali indifference and ignorance towards other Indian literatures. It cannot be a matter of duty to read others reading us

because they are reading us. As our interest increases towards the West, why shouldn't we be more interested in our own literatures? Shankho babu mentions poet Amiya Chakraborty's essay on poet Bhai Beer Singh to introduce him into Bengali readers. While was writing this essay Amiya Chakraborty regrets that Bengalis don't show interest in such eminent writers from other languages.

He write there seems no possibility of 'Akhanda Bharati Manas', or a Seamless Indian Consciousness He believes Bangla literature can be richer with wider reading trends, situated within the differences as well as similarities among them. . Shankho babu quotes from *Asampta Alochona* [incomplete discussions] of the poet Jibanananda Das comments before his death that, "it would have been better for our national culture, if the Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil or the Hindi poetry would have taken the places of French or English, in this case" and then he realised also, 'I do not think there is any possibility in near future'. Shankho Ghosh discusses issues of Bengali's collective ignorance about other Indian Literatures with the examples of comparison of different poets. He comments that the poet Kaifi Azmi is known through his actress daughter Shabana Azmi; we do not know Iqbal beyond his 'Sare Jahan Se Achcha'; Kolkata is silent about Tamil poet Subramanium Bharati's birth centenary and so on. He says Bengalis do not feel for *Desh* in a way that they too can receive from other parts of the *Desh*. If we see this comment in present context, perhaps all of us (Indian) are now unconscious about contemporary Indian writings. We are suffering from the unconsciousness of futuristic past[82]. Indian literatures known to each other is about modern Indian literatures. As Shankho Babu mentions our knowledge about Hindi literature is remains limited to the era of *Chhayavad*; some may also know Bengali literature as that of Tarashankar, Bibhuti, Manik etc. I feel there are two kinds of literary needs for knowing other literatures. One, for progressive development of my own literary culture; another

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[82] This phrase means our knowledge about different Indian literature has stopped in a particular era. We no nothing of the later developments. The understanding of a particular literature is created with that knowledge of the past, not realizing there is a future that is missing in such conceptualization

is to build a feeling of solidarity with each other. The first reason was there or may still be active and so we translate other literatures, though not fully knowledgable about contemporary literature. But why read and translate world literature? A reason may that the still colonized mind places European or English literature on a pedestal or that the printing, publication, translation and circulation is more active in English language. It may also be that world literature offers more variety so to know other world literature in whatever scale means to know the world, so there is satisfaction of knowledge gathering. If we reflect on this, we may realize that our knowledge about world literature is quite biased. Just a a nation is defined by few regions, religions, languages and races, so too is the world defined in our mind. For instance, if I wish to read literature of Vietnam or Papua New Guinea, I will not able to find the books. But there is no dearth of information or books about certain other societies.

I would like to address the question of solidarity in literary culture. Shankho babu mentions there was a time when different Indian literatures came into contact with each other, especially during the Progressive Writers' Movement. It was a historic moment of alternative political discourse that called together different literatures of India. I would like to claim that our literature is our activism, our literature is our right. We need to build a sense of solidarity to know and let know. We need more Comparative Indian Literature departments and language courses. Our national literature appears as a resistance against national politics and hegemony. Building the bridges among literatures is a major aim of Comparative Literature. This discipline can create a rich archive for the study of both Indian and world literatures and thus help to fill the gaps of knowledge about different literatures and literary cultures. Indian government offers the opportunity of learning Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit free of cost or with nominal charges. There are three different kinds of institutions for these languages, namely, distance learning courses, and competitive learning at Central Institute of Indian Languages. I leave the condition of tribal languages. This is why talking about inclusive Indian literary study is actually a resistance what primarily can be made with translation communication and through the disciplines of

Comparative Indian Literature. Shankho Ghosh too raised the issue of translation. Ignorance about translation makes us ignorant. When Manabendra Bandopadhyay translated and published five volumes of *Adhunik Bharatiya Galpo* Shankho babu said the next generation will be grateful to Manabendra Bandopadhyay for this.

But all these games of blaming and praising concerns the period of modernity of Indian literatures. Now the scenario is quite different. Different Indian authors are translated into Bengali and I am not sure whether other Indian literatures are also doing so. In contemporary times, most Indian literatures have established, or are trying to establish, the history of literary expressions in their languages. And during the colonial modernity and the time of making own literary history, it was the colonial responsibility[83] of other Indian literary systems to know about Bengali literatures. As I mentioned Europe was translated via Bengal. And to all of us (Indians), Europe was the idea and the idea was Indianised through Bengali. Since last two decades we are more concerned about Indian literatures as English departments are changing the parameters of instruction which gets reflected in the syllabi which is more inclusive, with Indian literatures [via translation] figure. There seems increased mobility among languages which hasn't erased class consciousness regarding prioritizing English. But this consciousness does not come only with the English education but with the increased public life of Indian literatures and translation. It is about the consciousness among common readers and different publication houses also. That is why we can find not only Sahitya Akademi or National Book Trust, but also other private publication houses publishing translations. There are literary journals like *Bhasha Bandhan*, first edited by Nabarun Bhattacharya, which have been appearing regularly.

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[83] As colonialism brought amnesia to the Indian people what made us to forget our own culture and history, naturally then the colonisers, colonial ideas and practices appeared as responsibility of becoming and this is how the then capital of British India (Calcutta, Bengal) appeared as colonial burden to be known as a space of knowledge.

5.6.2. Our Discipline/ Our Response

Still the question arises about negligence towards Indian literature. I suppose this is because there are no 'Indian Literature' department in our colleges and universities except one or two, as in Delhi University (Modern Indian Languages and Literary Study, 1961), Guwahati University (Modern Indian Languages, 1967), and the University of Calcutta (Comparative Indian Language and Literature, 2005). Academic disciplines help an area of study or enquiry to get public life and contributes towards the academic study and research. Indian universities tend to focus on single language/literature, not being able to transcend sectarian borders. Disciplines that do this are Comparative Literature, Indian Literature, World Literature, but these disciplines lack encouragement and funding. Different Indian states offer courses in the languages of the majority of the State along with English. And people think this is how duty towards the local and global is served. As English as a discipline grows in breadth and width, it has begun to include some amount of regional and world literature, creative writing, translation studies, cultural studies, even comparative literature, from American English to Jharkhandi English (!), whatever is available in English language or even not. We have situated ourselves with two binary areas of literary study one is English for the knowledge of everything and the Bengali/ Telugu/ Kashmiri / Gujarati/ Manipuri to stand for our indigeneity, for our root. Nothing exists between these polar approaches. It is desirable that Comparative Indian Literature become a part of studies to promote our literatures. The difference between Comparative Indian Literature and any single literature department lies in its pedagogy and method of approaching texts. This discipline is multilingual, multi literary, and multicultural, dealing with the literatures of a single nation or the world. As Indian comparatist Gurbhagat Singh comments, Indian Literature is always already a *Differential Multilogue*, but not as Radhakrishnan stated. Singh means dealing with different notions of literature and arts as multi-level discourse. Once American comparatists Rene Wellek remarked to Indian

comparatist Sisir Kumar Das that one should do what one can do top expand literary horizons. Being comparatists or literary practitioner, we must try to do what we can. What we can do very well is to place Indian literatures in a comparative framework to network languages and literatures. We can know Caribbean literature but we cannot do Caribbean literature, if we agree that lived experience is much more competent to create narration about something than the mere experience.

Now, I guess we have reached at more complex problem. In what sense single literature is different than National literature of a multilingual country? Is the only difference that one is regional and the other more than that? No, I think it is about knowledge that is different, knowledge of the new. It is about understanding different issues of history and politics and history that one has not previously experienced. It is about re-appropriating our own identities, re-visiting our own existence and re-framing our own situations. It is about celebrating plurality and acknowledging our multiple and various identities.

Then what about Comparative Literature? Comparative Literature is a worldwide approach towards literary study and if one reviews different disciplinary dimensions of Comparative Literature, we can find that each has shaped itself according to needs. This may teach us to shape our discipline in India too. But then why do we not practice Indian literature in Comparative Literature mode? Is it because we are thinking little differently from the way Comparative Literature thinks. Comparative Literature goes beyond boundaries -- of nation, culture, language, region. Here, the focus is to study national literatures, as our nation is multi lingual, multi literary, multireligious and multicultural. Comparative Literature because of its nature cannot focus solely on Indian Literature and we feel, being Indian, our knowledge about own national literatures is partially blind. Yet, it is not possible to practice only Indian literature under the banner of Comparative Literature as the Comparative Literature has own history of the nomenclature and the growth and development of the discipline and we cannot ignore that.

Then what about the rest of World and their literatures? We have to historicize and to fill the gaps in literary study, we have to know each other staying in different parts of India, we must know ourselves differently, through adequate reading of our history, politics and culture of the nation. All this is fine. But do we need to do this being detached with the rest of the world? Medieval history of discovering new lands, our colonial history, our radical political discourse, our political and social movements created different chapters of our literature, then Indian literature has to be read with the references of other worlds. To understand our national issues we have to visit the world by clicking the mouse in our academic discipline. But that is our secondary focus. Dante, Milton, Gorky, Kafka, Neruda, Lorca, Achebe no way can be stayed far from Indian literature. But here, in this discipline of Comparative Indian Literature, our discipline will decide whom to read to know our history better, whom to read to know our contemporary politics.

Comparative Indian Language and Literature department of the University of Calcutta has been trying to satisfy the necessary and primary condition, now probably waiting for the sufficient condition. Once Prof. Bimal Kumar Mukhopadhyay dreamed of this discipline, Prof. Biswanath Roy has been nourishing it since the beginning and Prof. Nrisingha Prasad Bhaduri along with Prof. Biswanath Roy is trying to shape the discipline properly. It is to satisfy long historical and political demand of the nation. If Tagore and Ashutosh Mukherjee was alive, I hope they would be happy to see this discipline at the University of Calcutta and Shankho Babu is there in Kolkata, I do not know whether he is aware of this discipline, he will be happy to know that his dream of expansion of tradition is now being materialized, I hope.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter shows how the idea of Indian Literature builds in Bengali imagination through the translation into Bangla. Besides talking about different state sponsored institutions this chapter sincerely tries to consider the role of academic discipline and institution. While it talks about role of private publishing houses, it focuses on the paradigm shift what happened in the context of translation of Indian literature. This chapter also finds the role of Adivasi literature and how this translation practice is changed in 21st century in the imagination or in identifying Indian literature into Bangla. The major finding of this chapter is that besides the work of literary translation, there is immense role of academic institutions also which play a great role in the history of translation. One among other findings of this chapter is the significance of the symbol of Indian literature to consolidate the idea of Indian literature or in other way this chapter finds that translation culture makes some literary figures as the symbols of some literary area to imagine, such as Indian literature.

There are lots many translation which happened from different Indian literatures into Bangla and list of some more have been added in the appendix. In this chapter I do not talk about all the translations but find the trend from available data to periodise the history and find the trends of imagination of Indian literature.

This chapter also finds that the discourse of Indian literature into Bangla is not only can be found through the work of translation but also in the academic discussions. And Shankho Ghosh's work *Oitihyer Bistar* have been paid much attention here. As this work is one among very less work on translation and Indian literature, though before him we can find such kind of initiative by Asutosh Mukherjee's *Jatiya Sahitya* in the second decade of 20th century. I did not discuss that here, as Mukherjee paid much attention to the Bangla Jatiya Sahitya, which leads towards a sub national identity. But most significant thing is that Mukherjee's thought on Bangla Jatiya Sahitya in practice made Modern Indian Languages department in the University of Calcutta in 1919 and it came back in 2005 as Comparative

Indian Language and Literature which offers methodological study and reinvention of Indian literary understanding and mapping Indian literature, so it is discussed here.

This chapter also finds the limitations of translations published from state sponsored academies and institutions and so, this chapter shows few tables on the statistics of translations. This chapter tries to find a structure of imagining Indian literature, and I believe, the immense number of translation which is already there can be fit into this structure.

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CHAPTER VI

Imagining World Literature:

Translation as Political Act: People's Movements, History and Progressive Culture 1919-2015

This chapter focuses on the translations undertaken in Bengal. under Marxist influence and communist culture. The discussion begins with Soumendranath Tagore's translation in 1919 of Marx-Engels *Communist Manifesto* to set the ground for a historical discourse on translation vis-à-vis building of communist culture. The translations which came to Bengal from the communist translation centres of Moscow and Beijing play a significant role. There grew a symbiotic relationship between translation and communist culture in Bengal, both dependent on each other.

There is a long tradition and history of communist movement and culture in Bengal. Bengali intellectuals were influenced by socialist artists and revolutionists from different parts of the world anticipated a people's war, or some kind of revolution and resistance as were happening in different parts of the world. They responded to these movements through different forms of expression. So, films, theatres, paintings, literatures, music every art form expressed communist movements and ideology and became integral to communist culture. These art forms also accompanied different socialist movements happening in Bengal and in India.

Translations of communist literature coming from Soviet Union were sold from the publication houses of Kolkata and one can still find some of those books in the old book markets of College Street in Kolkata. Some libraries stock them and few individuals have their own personal collection. Now these books are memory only. Children don't get nor care about these books as they used to once upon a time. The communist cultural environment was constructed with the political participation of communist parties of India, mass movements, literatures and pamphlets, theatre, films, songs, slogans and writer's association like Indian Peoples' Theatre, Indian Progressive Writers'

Association and so on.   The exhortatory Ganasangeet, evolutionary songs of people were motivational. The discussion in this chapter is rather an inter-medial and inter-disciplinary reading of communist culture, as the different mediums and forms of expression were not isolated from each other. Hence translations of communist literature cannot be seen only from the perspective of a literary system. So, this chapter takes communism as a cultural theme and situates translation within that thematic study.

This chapter will read the pages of contemporary world history or phenomenal historical events to find the links and to read the contexts of changing notion and area of translation. The Fall of Berlin wall and the demolition of the Soviet Union brought a shift in this kind of translation practice. Bengal turned attention towards the translation of Latin American and African literatures. This shift of interest and attention can be situated in the post-Soviet history. In the first phase of reading communism as theme, the focus will be the translations done from Soviet Union and in the second phase the focus will be the translations of Latin American and African literatures as dominating areas of translation. The time period for the two phases has been divided as pre-1991 and post-1991. The difference between these two periods is that in the first phase most translations were published from Soviet Union, from Raduga, Vostok and Progreessive Publication houses and some translations published from West Bengal. And in the second phase, translations were all published from West Bengal, and these translations include popular communist texts of World literature – especially from Latin America and Africa. I argue that the second phase is actually a continuation of the cultural memory of a certain generation. The language of films, songs and literatures changed, political slogans also changed with the changing socio-politico-cultural scenario but the yearning remains. One would like to explore memory as archive for constructing a history and writing a narrative of cultural memory and cultural expressions.

As this chapter deals mostly with the people's literature, people's movement and people's history and how all these forces create a progressive cultural and political environment, I would like to explain the word people's literature, as the primary concern of this dissertation is literature only. I define the people's literature is very much prominent in this chapter. The literature which talks about people's active engagement with the society, politics and culture to change, build, reconstruct their surroundings or to respond and react towards the common loss or profit of the people not divided by class, caste, race, religion, language, gender, and the people who are not driven by any major exclusionary social or institutional forces.

6.1. Translating Ganasangeet: Music and Movement

This section will focus on some books and youtube videos to discuss the translation of the profoundly influential *Ganasangeet* which helped to develop the discourse of communist culture, world literature, and consequently the history of Bangla translation. The songs are selected from *Ganasangeet Sangraha* edited by Subrata Rudra. There are several books of Ganasangeet published earlier like *Mukto Habe Priya Matribhoomi* edited by Joli Bagchi and Partha Bandopadhyay, a collection of songs from 1960a and 1970s; *Ganasangeet* edited by Anupkumar Dasin 1979 on behalf of Gananatyo Utsab. Another important references are *Shilpi Joddha Hemanga Biswas* published by Janamat in 2013, on the eve of Hemanga Biswas's birth centenary; and *Salil Choudhury: Pratham Jiban O Ganasangeet* by Samir Kumar Gupta, published by Milemishe.

Subrata Rudra wrote in the introduction to his anthology that these were protest songs against people's oppression, urging people to choose a happy life (1). He quoted Hemanga Biswas's comment that "where the flow of *Swadeshikata* mixes with the sea of *Antarjatikata* of the proletariat, that *Mohona* is the birth place of Ganasangeet' (2) Or, the estuary where nationalism meets internationalism is the birthplace of ganasangeet (translation mine). Goutam Bhadra praises Hemanga Biswas in a television show called *Ujani Gang Baiya* in the following words:

> The translation theory of Hemanga Biswas is quite transparent, that is*, Lok,* cannot
> be claimed simply as *Lok,* but must be achieved by *Anchalik* [regional] merging into
> *Antarjatik* [international]. What is the intervention? *Deshaprem* and *Lokaprem*. So,
> when it meets with *Antarjatikata* keeping all the spirit of Anchalikata, it becomes
> translation of Ganasangeet. This was Hemanga Biswas's definition. *(Bhadra ,*
> *Goutam;)*

This definition of translation is important for reading and appreciating Ganasangeet and attempt their translation. Hemanga Biswas's idea of translation carries political significance as pointed out by Goutam Bhadra. Hemanga Biswas talked about *Antarjatikata* ; but this term has no analogy with the concept of globalization. Subrata Rudra writes that too talk about '*Gana*', or the people who are conscious about their rights and aware of class differences. The proletariat ideology was introduced in India after the October Revolution. Nazrul Islam was among the first writers who promoted this new ideology and movement. He translated the communist international into Bangla, during the *Nikhil Bangiya Praja Sammelan* held in 1926 at Krishnagar. All writers and artists adopted different folk music as the frame for revolutionary and thus emerged Ganasangeet. Hemanga Biswas was a celebrated Ganasangeet composer and singer. He translated many songs and adopted different musical genres from Bengal and from other cultural sources and experimented with many musical genres. He talks of his experiments with Ganasangeet in his autobiography and the historical contexts which urged those experiments (Bhadra , Goutam;). For example, he used the folk style of Uighur tribal community of the Tsan Kiyang region of China for *Ami Je Dekhechi Sei Desh/ Ujjwala Surya-rangin*. Another song *Dur Neel Paharer gaye Ghnesha Gaye/ Thake Ek Bonobalika* also was inspired by Chinese folk song. He translated Cornell Alexandriv's song written during the October Revolution as *Bhedi Anashana Mrityu Tusharo Tufan*; Liu-U-Yan's *Pubdik Lal Surjer Abhay/ Bishwer Shoshiter Mon Rangay*; and *John Henry* in 1970s. Hemanga Biswas's *Antarjatikata* was not confined to western music or the music of China, he translated Mongolian rhythms for *Togbog Togbog Dhaboman Aswo Khure/ Prantare Dhuli Ure/ Neel Akashe Meghero Pale/ Buno Hnase Palla dur;* Vietnamese song, for *Egiye Chol Muktisena Drirho Podokkhepe;* and Tibetan, *Ki kore Ador janai*. Mainak Biswas, son of Hemanga Biswas, says in above mentioned TV program,*Ujan Gang Baiya.* Hemanga Biswa believed that the labour class is not limited in any region, it is necessarily international and so his Ganasangeet appeals to all and travelled to different parts of the world (Biswas, `Mainak;). Most of the songs he translated were from the Soviet

Union like *Jhanjha Jhor Mrityu Ghire Aji Chaturdik, Sagar Jatra Nabik Nirbhor*. He also translated *We Shall Over Come* and songs against racism like *John Brown er Deho Shuye Somadhitole*; Peet Seger's *Foolguli Kothai Gelo/ Kotodin Kete Gelo*. This tradition of musical translation is carried forward by contemporary Bengali singers like Kabir Suman and Anjan Dutta.

Not only Hemanga Biswas, there were many other poets and singers who translated and sang songs of revolution. Gaziul Haque wrote the first song of *Ekushe, Bhulbo Na Bhulbo Na, E Ekushe February Bhulbo Na,* in 1953 which was inspired by *Dur Hato, Dur Hato Oi Duniyawale, Hindusthan Hamara Hai*. Another poet, Mohit Bandopadhyay also translated Communist International first written in 1871 in Pari Commune the first labour nation of the world. Mohit Bandopadhyay's translation was accepted by the Communist Party of India. Poet Bishnu Dey translated Langston Hughes's *Rushdesher Comrade Lenin Pathorer Kobore Shoyan,* and Betrolt Brecht's *General General.* Samar Sen and Pratul Mukhopadhyay translated *Amra Churna Korechi Pahar,* Birendra Chattopadhyay and Pratul Mukhopadhyay translated *Chhokra Chnad Joyan Chnad He*, Subhasha Mukhopadhyay translated Ethel Rosenberge's *Sonamonira Jakhan Boro Hobe/ Jnabe keno Bandho Kore Gan*, Utpal Dutta translated Betrolt Brecht's *Dakkhine Nadir Dharei Jato Dhaner Khet*, *Nadir Dharer Shahare Jabe Maal*, Shankho Ghosh translated Chorabandaraju's song *Ki Amader Jaat, Aar Dharmai Ba Ki/ Mati Chene Jakhan Inter Pnaja Banacchhi*, Pulak Bandopadhyay and Shibdas Bandopadhyay translated Bhupen Hazarika's songs. Jyotirmoy Nandi translated a song *Comrades, the Bugles are calling*, a song of the October Revolution, Kanak Mukhopadhyay translated two songs of 'Knights of Labour' party's 1886 songs *Mehanati Janata Uthche Jege* and *Amra Anbo Natun Din*, Ajitesh Bandopadhyay translated Betrolt Brecht's songs *Ekta Galpo Boli Shono,* Amitabha Dasgupta and Pratul Mukhopadhyay translated Benjamin Molayek's *Haoyar Haat Mora Daale* and *Nakosi Sikende Africa*, Manabendra Bandopadhyay translated Otto Rene Castillo's *Tomar Ache Banduk Ar Amar Ache Khudha*. Kamalesh Sen translated Mao Zedong's *Long March* and *Paharer Niche Samatale Ore/ Rakto Nishan Shato Shato.* Samaresh Bandopadhyay translated Alfred

Heisse's *Kaal Raate Joe Hill Ke Swapne Dekhechi* and Betrolt Brecht's *Comrade Eso Dole Dole*. Geeta Mukhopadhyay's translated Dr. Nakruma's *Amar Kanthe Bijayaer Malyo*, Amar Mukhopadhyay translated World Youth Song, *Lokkho Jojon Dure Janmobhumi*, Suneet Sen translated an American folk song, *Aaj Mukhomukhi Dariyeche Duto Dol* and Satyam's song *Amra Railer Majdur Ei Rail Amra Chalay*. Pratul Mukhopadhyay translated Mao Zedong's song *Shuno Shuno Sharbojon Shuno Diya Mon*, Lyangston Hughes's *Way Down South in Dixie*, George Rebelo's *Eso Bandhu Bolo Tomar Jiboner Katha*, Subbarao Panigrahi's *Laal Rang Dekhe Kichu Lok Hoy*.

This history of music, translation and performance shows that the idea of Hemanga Biswas's *Lok* was enriched not only by the international musical texts but also from India. The musical translations were widely circulated in different parts of Bengal and helped to build a communist consciousness. Translation of Marxist literature from Soviet Union and China became known in Indian villages! So, the combined activities of Communist Party/ Parties, Ganasangeet and the circulation of Soviet and Chinese translations of Marxist literature through local party offices built the socialist communist culture of West Bengal.

6.2. Translation from Soviet Union and China: An Alternative Encounter with World Literature

No doubt, these three forces brought a culture of *Antarjatik Sahitya* (International Literature) in the *Loka* or *Anchalik* (Local). The significance of these translations is that they reach the grassroot people with political initiatives. Translations from Soviet Union and China had very low price and bookmaking was of good quality and attractive. I argue, there is very few instances of translated literature reaching the people so widely. The idea of world literature introduced by Marxist/ People's literature is much more vibrant than any other efforts to popularize it in Bangla. Perhaps the political and organizational support and systematic circulation of these translations were responsible for this reach. There are few collections available of these translations at Bhupesh Gupta Bhawan office of Communist Party of India. There is also an online archive on Soviet translations. The founder of the archive says these books revive childhood memory of a generation. The publishing houses of Soviet Union which used to publish these translations are given below:

Table 1. Soviet Translation Publication Houses

Publishing House	Description
The Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow	These guys published books in smaller print runs early on in the history of the Soviet Union. The editions are usually well made, with illustrations and nicely bound. Some of the earlier books have a constuctivist aesthetic.

Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow	The FLPH published was created to centralize all works bound for non-Soviet readers. They published in all subjects, but specialized in politics and literature. These editions are usually nicely bound and illustrated, often with eye-catching full colour dust jackets.
Progress Publishers, Moscow	The FLPH became Progress sometime in the 1960s. Their logo has the Sputnik satellite on one side, which is very cool. On the other is the Russian letter ∏, for Progress.
Raduga, Moscow	In the 1970s or 80s Progress gave up publishing literature to Raduga. These books, too, are not of good quality. Raduga published many of the classics of Russian Literature, and few contemporary novels. Many children's books were published under the Raduga imprint.
Mir Publishers, Moscow	At the same time Raduga took over literature publishing from Progress, so too did Mir take on the sciences. Mir published technical and scientific titles, as well as children's science books, like the 'A to Z of Cosmonautics'.
Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow	Novosti published mainly pamphlets and small soft cover booklets. The material for these came mainly from Soviet journalists.
Aurora Publishers	As well, Aurora Publishers, Leningrad, published Soviet art books, both contemporary and historical.

Source: "I Collect Soviet Books", an online archive. (See Works Cited for details)

According to above list, almost 130 writers and 207 books were translated into Bangla ny nearly 42 translators. Some were Leo Tolstoy's books including *Punarujjiban*, Karl Marx's *Capital*, Lenin's collected works, Maxim Gorky's *Prithibir Pathshala, Ma*, Ivan Turgenev's *Pita Putra*, Anton Chekhov's *Kashtankha* and few more. Arun Som writes in his article "Pragatir Patharekha", that The Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow was established in 1931; it changed into Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, in 1939, and then became Progress Publishers, Moscow, from 1963. Progress Publishers was world's largest publication house and had to open a branch in 1982 to translate fiction and children literature. Arun Som was permanent translator for Bangla. Another branch of Raduga for Bangla translation was opened in Tashkhand where Purnima Mitra was recruited as translator. Permanent Bangla department was established in Moscow in the 1950s. Nani Bhoumik, Kamakkhiprasad Chattopadhyay, Nirendranth Roy, Falgu Kar, Samar Sen, Shubhamay Ghosh etc. went to join there as translator, perhaps in 1957. Nirendranath Roy, Nani Bhoumik, Arun Som, Hayat Mahmud were experts in Russian language and translated from Russian while and other translators translated from English. Arun Som says after the birth of Bangladesh, more translators were recruited from Bangladesh like Hayat Mahmud and Khaled Choudhury. Besides translating books of literature and other knowledge texts, translations appeared in magazines like *Soviet Desh* (available numbers- June, 1984- August 1990), *Soviet Nari* (available numbers - April 1975- August 1991), and *Soviet Union* (available numbers- April 1975- March 1990). The foreign language translation department of Progress and Raduga closed in April 1991 and the publishing houses closed forever in December 1991.

Republic of China also translated many books into Bangla. According to available data the number is more than 50. Archive says nearly 70 books from Soviet Union and many translation of China cannot be traced now. Chinese translations were mostly poetry and writings of Mao Tse Tung, Lu Xun, Chin chin Mai, history of modern China, How to be a Good Communist and so on.

The Bangla online archive of Soviet Books, "Soviet Books Translated in Bengali" describes these translation of Soviet and China, especially Soviet as the books with what last few generations of Bengalis have grown up. One side these books created a local space of international literature[84]or we may call World Literature, in other sideit made the childhood memory of Bengalis. I think, this later mentioned memory issue is very much significance to prepare the ground for reception of any kind of translated literature without any stigma as the memory was built with translated text. And this is how the history of Soviet (and China too) translation left its shadow in translation culture and space.

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[84] In Hemanga Biswas's term.

6.3. Translating 'The Other New World': Latin American and African Literature

Historian Fernand Braudel, in his book *A History of Civilizations*, mentions Latin America as 'The Other New World' (BRAUDEL, FERNAND;). Bengali's imagination about Latin America through its history and literature is like a visit to the New World. The motivation to translate Latin American Literature into Bangla was to discover the world beyond Europe which identified itself with the Third World. Latin America and Africa were perceived as two new literary spaces of new kind of literature, knowledge and politics. In the latter half of the 20th century these literary regions helped Bengali readers to understand the of socio-political realities of these countries previously colonized by Europe.

We have noticed that the books which are translated carry an informative introduction to familiarize the reader with the contextual features of the text. Similar practice is very often found when a text is translated from the dominated culture into the dominating culture. Such introductions and annotations help the readers of the target culture to understand the socio-political situations and the philosophical direction of the book in terms of specific cultural and political context, very useful when the aim of the translation is a part of a socio-political movement. But a text translated from dominated culture into dominating culture with introduction might be meant to make the text more acceptable. But whatever the end, introductions serve their purpose as the means of acquainting the reader with hitherto less familiar context. The same trend can be found in books translated from Indian Bhasha literature into English or Latin American of African literature or non-European/ non-American text translated into Bhasha literature. Notes and prefaces to translated texts from Latin American and African literature have distinctly political dimensions which fit in well with the Bengali worldview. The cultural psyche introduces an alternative aesthetic to read world literature as an act of discovering the world. And selection and circulation of translated world literature is imbued with

certain political ideology and existential crisis which appeal to Bengali readers brought up with the revolutionary ethic of resistance to oppression. This political endeavor was different than the Freedom Struggle or than the whole project of nation building. India had the need of new revolutionary political discourse to encounter the social problems inherited from the colonial era, and aggravated by neo-colonial policies of the government. There was need of ideological and social working guidelines for the betterment of people's lives that demanded a new language of expression to prepare a new literary culture and consciousness. Introduction of Communist ideology in Bengal and India, and awakening of people's consciousness through different platforms like Kisan Sabha, Majdur Union etc. initiated the necessity of historical instances which were planted from different parts of the world. The translations of Marxist texts from Moscow, Soviet Union and China. constructed a specific literary culture and readers which made people's movements like the Tebhaga movement, organizations like IPTA, IPWA, Naxalbari movement acquire focus and zeal and encouraged the socio-cultural environments.

The translations were not only about acquaintance with literature but more importantly about history and politics. Translating history of people's movement of different parts of the world was necessary to construct the identity of similar of the self where the revolution can be guided and appropriated by the references of the histories of other colonized countries. The Latin American or African texts would require to be set in specific historical discourses.

Among the Latin American writers Octavio Paz is significant for different reasons as he was the Mexican Ambassador to India. The introductions or the note about the source authors which are available in the translated books or with the translated pieces of Octavio Paz highlighted his political self and political activities. Hence, Indian interest in Paz's literary soul is active behind translating him as well as his political engagements at different stages of his life. The translations of Paz I refer to do not give such impression that Paz was closer to the Indians during his sojourn here. Biplab Majee, a

well-known poet and critic translated Octavio Paz in 1991, immediately after he won the Nobel Prize in 1990. The book was published by Anjali Publishers as *Latin Americar Kobi O Kobita* (poetry and poets of Latin America) which carried translations of Pablo Neruda, Octavio Paz and Gabriela Mistral. Once Octavio Paz said, "I can understand, up to a certain point, what it is to be Indian, because I am Mexican." A comment like this from a poet from a distant land conveys a sense of affinity with regard to literary, cultural and political awareness. He seems to hint at political and social/historical similarities of experiences of Indians and Mexicans. Paz writes, "Poetry is the other voice. Not the voice of history or of anti-history, but the voice which, in history, is always saying something different." Hence, to read Latin American poetry would mean reading the history of Latin American nations. Translations had to carry this edge of experience too. On his transfer transfer to India which was a political move, Paz writes,

> The reason for my transfer was that the government of Mexico had formally established relations with India, which had gained its independence in 1947, and now was planning to open a mission in Delhi. Knowing that I was being sent to India consoled me a little: rituals, temples, cities whose names evoked strange tales, motley and multicolored crowds, women with feline grace and dark and shining eyes, saints, beggars... (Octavio Paz)

But he did not limit himself to the position of diplomat or ambassador, he wanted to acquire all the 'flavours' of the country. He writes, "But my secret obsession was poetry: to write it, think it, live it." When he was in Paris between 1945-51, he explored the city and enjoyed the flavor of civilization there, perhaps this is his one of the expressions of poetic mind, he states, "I was trying to write and, most of all, I was exploring the city that is probably the most beautiful example of the genius of our civilization: solid without heaviness, huge without gigantism, tied to the earth but with a desire for flight." He came to India with a translation of the *Bhagabat Geeta* and Kabir's songs. During his stay,

he interacted with the literary figures from different regions and became part of a peer literary group. In Calcutta, he met Malay Roychowdhury, a pioneer of the Hungry Generation Movement of 1960s. Paz and others wrote a poem of friendship following a poetic genre of Japan. He was invited by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to deliver a lecture on Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and also invited by the later Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1985. Paz definitely made his acceptance in India more welcome, perhaps as a result of his interest in the country he makes manifest through his poems on India.

There was another legacy of the past in Bengal's the relationship with Latin America and that is through Tagore's visit to Latin America and the cordial reception accorded to him there, though Alfonso Chacon R. claims it is 'The Forgotten Stone' to talk about 'On Rabindranath Tagore and Latin America'. It is interesting how some incidents become indications of future events. Tagore's visit carved a place for Latin America in the Bengali imagination. Chacon R. writes,

> Who can tell, when throwing a stone into a pond, where do the ripples created go? When weeks ago, in the middle of an electronic discussion about the connections between Latin American and Indian literature, I ventured to mention Rabindranath Tagore's high standing among current Latin American readers, many were surprised. And I have to confess that I myself was also surprised, because it never occurred to me Tagore's presence in Latin America would sound odd to anybody, least of all to a Bengali.

Exploring the relations between Tagore and Latin American countries, Chacon R comments that though time changes many things, traces remain. But it is about the history of contact that remains as a trace, and the contact of great minds that can shape the thought of the civilizations. And when we revisit or reestablish the international relations among different countries this history becomes more significant we had to refer this history of relations, politics of friendship.

I found this essay extremely helpful to understand the relation between India (more specifically Bengal) and Latin America. And this greater scenario is important to situate Octavio Paz. Tagore also becomes significant in this discourse. Bengali or rather Indian translations of Latin American literatures show how Latin America is received by us and here, it is the voice of other side of the relation, how Tagore or other Indian creation has been received by the Latin Americans. We can assume there are lots of other things beside literature that brings these affinities to the fore to build this relation between two faraway lands. Chacon R. gave examples of Latin American poets who were influenced by Tagore:

> Now, not only did prose and narrative drink from Tagore's source. One Chilean, Pablo Neruda, fell in love with the Bengali's poetry during his youth, and for critics like Octavio Paz Neruda's first works are deeply impregnated by its essence. Actually, in what was to be his first major piece, Twenty Love Poems and a Desperate Song (1924), the young Neruda - who was to win the Literature Nobel prize in 1971 - included a paraphrase in his 16th love poem, some critics even say a direct translation, of Tagore's 30th poem from The Gardener : "Tumi Sandhyara Meghamala." And another Chilean poet, also Nobel prize in 1945, Gabriela Mistral, collaborated in a compilation of the best poetry by Tagore, adding several glosses of her own, in response to the "anxiety of the gardener. (Chacon R., Alfonso;)

Octavio Paz, as a poet, critic and politician was very much concerned about this relation and the politics of friendship. He studied the history of relations between these two land, their culture and politics, engaged himself to strengthen the affinities between the two lands. Chicon R writes:

> For some, these affinities can explain the long love affair the Latin Americans have had with Tagore's poetry and thinking. In a lecture on Tagore's manuscripts, given at the University of Delhi by Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet (Nobel Prize of

Literature in 1990, and for some time a resident in India) mentions the existence of an essay by Nirad C., in which the Indian scholar points out the similarities between Bengal and Latin America. Paz extends these affinities to Kerala and Goa, saying that, same as the cultural syncretism which resulted from the clash between Spaniards, Portuguese, African and Native Americans in what was called the New World - syncretism that was to adopt the name of Baroque - something similar happened in these three regions of India, where the Western influence was not to neutralize but to be fused into the huge Indian tradition.

It may be relevant to cite the Nobel Prize write-up on Gabriela Mistral: "… For her lyric poetry, which, inspired by powerful emotions, has made her name a symbol of the idealistic aspirations of the entire Latin American World" (Gabriela Mistrel Facts). Mistral also represented or referred to 'common property' or shared experiences of history through her works. Translator Biplab Maji took Mistral, Paz and Neruda under the banner of 'Latin American Kobi O Kobita' so Bengali readers can identify with the similar and shared history of the two countries. Later translators too have distinctive clusters of Latin American literature and the process of selection is the same. Maji also translated Lev Tolstoy and Australian short stories. This is about an individual translator but the entire scenario of translation practice was to build the culture of revolutionary political discourse by translating different poets and people's literature from different parts of the world.

Ebang Jalark, a journal promoting communist published translations of few poems of Octavio Paz in its *Boishakh-Poush 1397* (1990) issue along with Veronika Peleskova's memoir on Mayakovski. So, the trend has been of situating Paz either in the pan-Latin American context or with the context of other poets who were engaged with the peoples' movement. In January 2004, *Tibro Kuthar*, a Bengali literary journal published an issue on Latin American literature and carried an interview by Octavio Paz and a short story. Dipanjan Sharma and Tapoman Ghosh translated Paz's interview which was

taken three days after Paz won the Nobel Prize. Translators also found Paz's affinity with the Mexican history which is again similar to Indian history in nature. In the same collection, translator Sumit Guhathakurta introduces Gabriel Garcia Marquez's short stories as follows:

বিষয়বস্তুর দিক থেকে এই গল্পগুলি অনবদ্য। বিশেষত চরিত্রগুলির অকৃত্রিম অনুভূতি, আবেগ প্রবণতা, মনন ও

মানসিকতা, সুখ-দুঃখ, ব্যর্থতা, সাফল্য, সব মিলিয়ে মনে হয় তারা খুবই বাস্তব, আমাদের আশেপাশেরই মানুষজন।

এই বোধের পেছনে কাজ করেছে লাতিন আমেরিকার ঔপনিবেশিক ইতিহাস এবং তাদের আর্থ-সামাজিক পরিস্থিতি,

ইউরোপীয়দের থেকে যা অনেকটাই ভিন্ন এবং আমাদের প্রায় সমজাতীয়। *(Guhathakurata, Sumit; 22)*

(These stories have excellent themes. Feelings of the characters are not artificial. Emotions, happiness, sadness, intellect, success, failure – all makes them real. They seem familiar to us. We feel like this, because of history of colonization of Latin America and their socio-economic conditions, very different from Europe, and much alike ours.) (Translation mine)

So, translating Latin America is a project for finding alternatives in social and political narratives is very different than Europe.

Octavio Paz's 'In Light of India' is translated by Morshedur Rahman from Oitihyo Prakashani, Bangladesh. Interestingly, when Paz is translated in Bangladesh, the Indian links becomes important. Perhaps a new born nation tries to find historical and political narratives via India though the socio-economic condition of Bangladesh is very similar to India, especially Bengal of which it is a part before being partitioned. There is therefore a rich heritage of Bengali literature and translation produced within similar kind of socio-economic-cultural conditions.

A new collection of translated poems comes in February 2014, which includes Octavio Paz along with Yumlembam Ibomcha, Hans Magnus Enzensberger. The translator emphasizes on translator's role as reader. He writes -

সে কবিতার মধ্যে পাঠ করতে চায় মানবিক ইতিহাস, মানবিক সময়কে। পাঠ করতে চায় ব্যক্তিজীবন ও সমাজজীবন — এর নানা উদযাপন ও সংকট, স্বপ্ন ও স্বপ্নভঙ্গ, ক্রোধ ও হতাশা। যে কবিতা গড়ে উঠেছে এমন শব্দ, এমন চিত্রকল্প, এমন ইতিহাসকে গঠন একক করে যা সময়-দেশ-সংস্কৃতি-র সাপেক্ষে দূরত্বে স্থিত, তা পাঠ করতে গেলে অবধারিতভাবে প্রতিটি শব্দের বিপরীতে দাঁড় করাতে হয় নিজস্ব শব্দ, প্রতি চিত্রকল্প পুনর্বার এঁকে নিতে হয় নিজস্ব তুলিতে, অন্তর্গত ইতিহাস-আখ্যান-এর বিপরীতে দাঁড় করাতে হয় নিজস্ব ইতিহাস-আখ্যান। এভাবে পাঠের মধ্য দিয়ে চলে অনুবাদ। পঠিত কবিতা হয়ে দাঁড়ায় অনূদিত কবিতা। সমাজ-ইতিহাস-কে যে দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে পাঠক দেখছে নিশ্চিতভাবেই তা কবিতার চয়নে ও তার পাঠ/অনুবাদ- এ অন্যতম নির্ধারক ভূমিকা নেয়, এখানেও নিয়েছে।

(Biplab Nayak,)

(One wants to read history and human time in poetry, to read individual and social life – different celebrations, crisis, and dream and breaking of dream, anger and frustration. We want to read such poetry which is created with such words, imagery, and histories, which are situated far from the culture, space and time of our experience, we have to plant our own word against of each word of source poetry, we have to create our own imagery, we have to situate our own historical narrative against of source poetry's underground historical narrative. This is how translation goes through the reading. Read poems appears as translated poems. Reader's point of view towards the society and history always is reflected in the translations. Here also the same thing happened.) (Translation Mine)

The translator presents himself as reader. The entire selection of the diverse poems is intended to show a reader's engagement with poetry and time as integrated in the poetry. Translation necessarily demands a historical narrative of the reader's surrounding to match with that of the selected poet. Creating own history through translation of poetry is another reason to translate Paz. Paz once wrote, "poetry is the other voice. Not the voice of history or of anti-history, but the voice which, in history, is always saying something different" (Caistor, Nick;). Poetry conceives the voices beyond mere historical understanding; here history is something more and probably that 'something more' claims a public history within which reader exists.

Nandan, a monthly literary journal with Leftist ideology published an issue to celebrate the birth centenary of Octavio Paz, with essays by Rahul Dasgupta and Jyoti Ghosh and translations by Manabendra Bandopadhyay. Bengali titled, 'Tada', Arpita Mukhopadhyay translates long poetry of Paz, titled, 'Suryaprastar' (Piedra de Sol), Biplab Biswas translates Paz's 'My Life with the Wave' as 'Dheosangi Jiban Amar' and Anup Sengupta translates last part of Paz's essay, 'Introduction to the History of Mexican Poetry' as 'Itihas O Kabita'. This essay of Anup Sengupta is reprinted from Biplab Chowdhury's collections, titled, *Duratwa,* published in October, 2011. This issue of the above mentioned journal again makes readers remember about Octavio Paz and this is a contribution to the practice of World Literature in Bangla. Their 2014 issue was on Marquez, Maya Angelou, Nadine Gordimer and few others.

All these above mentioned examples of Paz's translation in Bangla are from the private and individual initiatives but some were backed by institutions. Dibyajyoti Mukhopadhyay and Aveek Majumdar edited a volume of translation of Paz's fifty poems from Spanish, titled, *Octavio Paz: Panchasti Kabita* in 2008. This collection is sponsored and patronized by the Mexican Embassy in India and the Indo-Hispanic Society, Kolkata. Beside this, I would like to mention about the latest Bangla collection Paz's poetry which is published in October, 2014, is a collection of translation from Spanish by some

of the renowned and new translators. This translation involves Spanish Study Centre of Jawaharlal Nehru University and Hispanic scholar Shyama Prasad Ganguly. As they publish it in the eve of birth centenary of Octavio Paz, they tried to give a brief introduction on early Bangla translation of Octavio Paz in the introduction. This collection includes a rich note by the Hispanic scholar Shyama Prasad Ganguly who gives brief but deep analysis of Paz's work. Introduction of this collection informs about Atanu Rej's translation of Paz's *Piedra de Sol,* Asoke Raha's translation of selected poems of Paz etc. Translators of this collection are Atasi Chatterjee, Ashesh Ray, Mahua Dutta, Sarnath Mukhopadhyay.

There are several translation of Pablo Neruda in Bangla. He is the most celebrated poet in Bengal. Shakti Chattopadhyay translated *Pablo Nerudar Premer Kabita* followed by *Pablo Nerudar Shreshtha Kabita* in 1988 with help from Bikraman Nayar to access Spanish and describes Neruda as "our poet"(3). Mangalacharan Chattopadhyay translated 26 poems of Neruda, published from Saraswat Library, Kolkata in 1972. He calls Neruda as the one of the greatest poets of the century (5). Asit Sarkar and Kamalesh Sen translation of 35 poems is titled *Pablo Nerudar Shreshtha Kabita,* published from New Age Publishers' Private Limited in 1379 (Bengali Year, English 1972). Once Joy Goswami, a famous poet of Bengal wrote in *Anandabazar* about his reception of Pablo Neruda, he started with sharing his experience with Neruda's poem in 1973, Goswami writes,

সেটা '৭৩ সাল। কলেজ স্ট্রিটে, এক জুন মাসের বৃষ্টিতে সুভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়ের নতুন কবিতার বই কী বেরিয়েছে, খোঁজ করলাম দোকানে। কাউন্টারে চোখে পড়ল একটা বই: 'পাবলো নেরুদার কবিতাগুচ্ছ'। সুভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়েরই অনুবাদ করা। বাড়ি নিয়ে গিয়ে উলটে-পালটে পড়ি আর অবাক হই। 'মাচু পিচুর শিখর থেকে' কবিতাটি পড়ে এক রকম দিশেহারা ভাব তৈরি হল আমার। কী বিরাট ক্যানভাস! কত দূর-দূরান্তে ছড়িয়ে যাওয়া কল্পনাবিস্তার! কিছুটা ধরতে পারি, বেশিটাই পারি না। … তবে নেরুদার যে লেখাটা পড়ে সবচেয়ে আলোড়ন পড়ল আমার মনে, সে কিন্তু কবিতা নিয়ে লেখা কবিতা। কী ভাবে কবিতা এসে এক জনের মধ্যে ঢুকে পড়ছে, কী ভাবে কাজ শুরু করছে, সেই

অভিজ্ঞতার ঘটনাক্রম, যা সত্যি অবর্ণনীয়। কবিতা যার মধ্যে কাজ শুরু করেছে, তাকে প্রায় সে কিছু না জানিয়েই

শুরু করে দিচ্ছে নিজের খেলা। ... মানবেন্দ্র বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় ও সুভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়ের ছোট্ট ছোট্ট লেখাও নেরুদার

পরিচয় তুলে ধরেছে বাঙালিদের কাছে। (Goswami)

(That was '73. I asked to a book shop in college street in a rainy day of June what
is the new book of poem by Subhash Mukhopadhyay has published. I found in
counter, 'Pablo Nerudar Kabitaguchcha'. Translated by Subhash Mukhopadhyay. I
went home and started reading. The pages I proceed, I became more astonished. I
almost became hypnotized to read the poem 'Machu Pichur Shikhar Theke'. What
a canvas! The poem has extended a far to too far. I can catch some, I lost some. …
But the poem what influenced me most is the poem about the poem. How poem
comes inside someone, how it starts work, that experience and choronology of
incidents is really beyond description. The poem, within whom it starts its work, it
never allows him/her to know about it. Subhash Mukhopadhyay and Manabendra
Bandopadhyay's small pieces and poems of Neruda make him so popular in
Bengal). (translation mine)

Shakti Chattopadhyay and Mukul Guha translated "Negro poems of 100 years" as *100
Bachorer ShreshthoNegro Kabita*, published from Dey's in 1980 and has a long introduction on slavery
and people's resistance. The introduction give their reason for selecting these poems: "বস্তুত সমস্ত নিগ্র

সাহিত্যের কবিতার ইতিহাসই জ্বলন্ত জীবনের স্পষ্ট ইতিহাস, ভালোলাগা, ভালোবাসা, সংগ্রামের গতিশীল ইতিহাস, যে ইতিহাস মানুষকে উদ্বুদ্ধ

করে প্রতিনিয়ত" (Guha, Mukul; Chattopadhyay, Shakti;), (The history of poetry in Negro literature is the

history of struggle and fight of continuous struggle. It is also history of love which inspires civilization

in every moment) (translation mine). Another path breaking collection of translation of African/ African-American poetry is *Ami Amar Mrityur Pore Swadhinata Chaina* by Sunil Gangopadhyay and Goutam Dutta published in 2005 by Ananda Publishers, carrying the writing od Wole Soyinka, Ngugi O Thiong, Coetzee

We observe paradigm shift after the collapse of Soviet Union when attention of the translators turned towards Latin America and Africa. Radical Books, a private publishing house was an important outlet for these. National Book Agency carries on with the legacy of Soviet and Chinese publications at a cheap price. Last two decades saw more publishers like Kodex publication with books loke *Latin Americar Nirbachita Galpo*, *Alo Andharer Kabi* (Latin American Novel), *Chilir Chhoto Galpo, Macaroon er Che Guevara, Cubar Chhotogalpo* etc. Deys' Publishing house published *Latin Americar Upanyas Samagra* by an eminent translator Manabendra Bandopadhyay.

6.4. Vietnam, Symbol of People's Movement

Once it was a time when the streets of Kolkata resounded with the slogan, '*Tomar Naam Amar Naam/ Vietnam Vietnam*' [my name your name is Vietnam]. Vietnam was another area of Marxist literature. Vietnamese texts were translated and published in different little magazines and as books. This initiative brought acquaintance with yet another sphere of world literature. Bengali publishers also took initiative to make people aware of people's war, revolution, resistance and protest in Vietnam. This practice makes the symbols and myths of revolution visible to the readers, as Vietnam, Africa (Black) or Latin America as part of world history with affinity with people's resistance movements in India. The literature of these lands appear in Bangla literature in different contexts. There is a continuous flow of translating literature from these select areas. Kamalesh Sen and Asit Sarkar edited a comprehensive book of Vietnamese poems of revolution in September 1972, where they wanted to reflect and present the changes what happened in Vietnamese literature after August revolution. They claim many Vietnamese poems were translated and published in different little magazines but those are scattered and cannot show the political context from where the Vietnamese poetry rise. The August Revolution brought new aesthetic in poetic practice of Vietnam what brought the hard reality into the poetic narrative. This book presents short notes on the poems and poets and their context:

বিচ্ছিন্নভাবে বিভিন্ন পত্র-পত্রিকায় এ ক-বছর ধরে যে ভিয়েতনামের কবিতা অনূদিত হয়নি তা নয়, যা হয়েছে তা যথেষ্ট নয় বরং বিক্ষিপ্ত। এ থেকে ভিয়েতনামের কবিমানসের পূর্ণাঙ্গ পরিচয় পাওয়া একেবারেই সম্ভব নয়, বরং ভুল ধারণার সৃষ্টি হতে পারে। আমরা বহুদিন থেকেই অনুভব করছিলাম আগস্ট বিপ্লবের পর থেকে ভিয়েতনামের সাহিত্যে যে নতুন জোয়ার - নতুন চেতনার উন্মেষ হয়েছে এবং যা চিরায়ত কাব্য আন্দোলনকে ভেঙেচুরে ইস্পাতদৃঢ় করেছে সেই সংগ্রামী ইস্পাতদৃঢ় কবিতার হৃদয়কে বাংলা ভাষাভাষি কবিতা পাঠকদের হাতে তুলে দিই। চেষ্টা করেছি

নাতিদীর্ঘ এই গ্রন্থের অবয়বের মধ্যে উভয় ভিয়েতনামের সেই দীর্ঘ বিপ্লবী কাব্যচেতনাকে সুসংহতভাবে ধরে রাখতো

যদি সার্থক হয়ে থাকে তবে আমরা আনন্দিত। (Back Cover)

(It is not true there was no translation of Vietnamese poems into Bangla in literary magazines but those are very much scattered. But the available translations do not give an adequate picture of poetic mind of Vietnam and may even represent Vietnam wrongly. We were thinking since long time to give Bengali readers the translation of Vietnamese poems which have changed a lot since October Revolution and has broken the traditional way of writing poetry. We have tried to keep the flavor of Vietnamese poems from both Vietnam here. Reader will examine how far we are successful.) (Translation mine)

Dipayan publisher has good number of translated books, most were on revolution and resistance. *Pratirodher Galpa Vietnam,* translated by Bhairabprasad Haldar and Sultan Ahmed was first published in Bhadra 1390 [Bangla calendar], the second edition was published in Magh 1411 (January 2005). This collection of carries ten translated stories of resistance from Vietnam. This book was dedicated to the soldiers of Asia, Africa and Latin America who fought against the imperial and fascist forces. Each story of this carries photos which were painted by Vietnamese artist Pa Minha Chaw. Beside this book this publication house published *Pratirodher Galpa China, Pratirodher Galpa America, Pradirodher Galpa Russia* (Edited by Asim Chattopadhyay and Sultan Ahmed), *Iraner Pratibadi Galpa* (Edited by Kamalesh Sen), *Palestines Galpa, Kabita, Prabandha* (Edited By Sultan Ahmed and Dharitri Ray), Krishan Chandra's *Sampriti O Dangar Galpa, Dadarpuler Bachchara, Tomar Mukh, Jab Khet Jage, Prem O Bhalobasar Galpa, Gadhar Jababandi, Amar Priya Galpa,* Eriskine Caldwell's *Kalo Manush Sada Manush,* Vercors's *Silence of the Sea* (mental resistance against German imperialism), Mikhail Sholokhovs's *Adrista O Anyanya Galpa,* Luigi Bartolini's *Bicycle Thieves*, Jack London's *Shesh Juddher Ghora, Call of the*

Wild, White Fang, Son of the Wolf, and Bruno Apitz's *Naked among the Wolves* etc. Saraswat Library published *Jailkhanar Karcha* in 2001, this book was published by some other publication house before it was published by Saraswat Library. This book was translated from French *Carnet de Prison* and translated by Abantikumar Sanyal. This book is a collection of four line Tang poems by Ho Chi Minh during his days in different jails of China. The translator Ghanashyam Choudhury also translated *Vietnamer Majar Galpa* (Vietnamese Traditional Humour) which shows a different way to read Vietnamese writing. This book was first published in September 1990 and Ekush Shatak published it in 2007 Kolkata Book Fair.

6.5. Classic as Translation

This section examines the popular notion of classic with examples of translation of Spanish short stories. This argument is based on the claim made by the translator of this collection. The front blurb of the book says,

ক্ল্যাসিক সাহিত্য সম্ভার আক্ষরিক' ও সার্বিক দুই অর্থেই ক্ল্যাসিক, ধ্রুপদী। যার সময়সীমা আবর্তীত বেশ কয়েকটি শতাব্দী ধরে। তা সত্ত্বেও বর্তমান সংকলনের গল্পগুলির আবেদন কালের সীমা ভেদ করে আজও মনে হয় কত প্রাসঙ্গিক। বাস্তবে জীবন, তাঁর নানা দিক ও বাঁক, দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি একই থেকে যায়, তার পরিপ্রেক্ষিত পাল্টে গেলেও।

(Chatterjee, Debashish; 1-2)

(This collection is classic in both literal and universal sense. These texts are alive for more than a century, yet they remain so significant. In reality life is almost same across the time, though the context changes.)

It is claimed that these texts remain significant in contemporary times though written hundred years earlier in different historical contexts. This significance of past in the present life is being claimed as classic, the reason for translation. These stories address different feelings and social relationships. This translation also appears as a knowledge text, with an introduction to the writers as well as their stories, describing the land, different dialects, its literature and Spanish fascination with the 'ism'. How an 'ism' is related with another social movement at far land, how other literatures are related with the particular 'ism' etc. For example, he talks about Gongorism (16th century) and its influence in Latin literary movement Culterismo (16th century). Spanish literature appeared to us with the *Don Quixote* of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra which came in Bangla as *Don Kihote,* later on Bangla literature has encountered different Spanish writers and poets, major interest and share goes to the Latin American writers and poets. Spanish enterprise of 'Generation of Nineteen Eight' and the 'Generation of

Twenty Seven' contributes to the building of World Literature. These movements, especially the later one was an organized initiative to represent the Spanish literature in front of the World and to receive different ideas and 'ism's from Europe, especially. Such kind of organized literary movements brings a prominent significance for the home country to other countries or literary areas. Among many other reasons, these two movements were one behind the reception of Spanish literature into Bangla, at least the scholarly introduction of this translated books show it.

The other European literature, African and Latin American or Asian literature especially Vietnamese introduce us to new areas of knowledge that does not dominate us, there is no relation of bloodshed and hatred between each other. We feel more comfortable to receive those literatures and to build our own idea of world. Spanish literature as a whole offers us that comfort zone. I qoute, "হুয়ান রামোন হিমেনেজ, মিগেল দে উনামুনো, আন্তনিও মাচাদো, ভাইয়ে ইঙ্কলান, পিয়ো বারোখা, এবং অবশ্যই গার্সিয়া লোরকা প্রমুখ যে কখন প্রাচ্য-পাশ্চাত্যের ভেদাভেদ ভুলিয়ে দিয়েছেন তা টেরই পাওয়া যায়নি" (Chatterjee, Debashish; 3) (Huan Ramon Himenej, Migel de Unamuno, Antanio Machado, Vaie Inkalan, Piyo Barokha and definitely Garcia Lorca made us forgot the difference between East and West, we did not even realize.) (Translation mine)। Perhaps this is another turn in our literary journey and to announce the end of colonial modernity. The age of modernity and total colonial enterprise led us towards the difference between East and West. Not only the difference but also the definition and nature of the East and the West.

This history of literature and translation unfolds a world of aesthetic comfort in front of us. This is not only because of aesthetic urge towards new literatures but also because of political urge to find new philosophy. This introduction raises an interesting point of comparison between the reception of Spanish and French and Spanish and Russian literature. They way French and Russian literature is placed in the sphere of World Literature Spanish literature did not get that place, in spite of having many great literary figures. Such kind of observation reopens the possibility and significance of reception study in Comparative Literature and World Literature, how the things are political and

how the history is responsible to build the aesthetic bias in literary study or building a great category of literature. One more interesting observation has been made by the translator in the introduction of the volume. We recognize Latin American literature as the Spanish literature of the time. The colonizers are little bit behind of the colonized lands in this regard. But he opined, once Spain produced a group of remarkable writers and poets and till now we have been receiving them in many ways.

The claim what was made in the beginning of the volume now has been problematized more at end of reading of the introduction of the translator. The classic is not only translated because of classic nature of the texts but there are deep political and historical causes also. Identifying classic for translating or to build our own imagination of World Literature itself is political. The whole history of Spanish civil war, the cold war between Spain and France, domination of French literature and aesthetic over the other European literature perhaps also takes part to decide that what kind of European literature will be exported to build the idea of World literature or to build the idea of European literature to imagination of the readers in far land. Being classic is a necessary condition probably but not the sufficient condition in this case.

Dipayan publishing house is one significant publishing house to publish translations of World Literature. The translations published by it comes under this category of resistance and people's literature, are, *Ana Frank Rachan Samagra,* Eriskin Clodswell's *Kalo Manush Sada Manush,* Verkoros's *Silence of the Sea,* Mikhail Sholokov's *Adrista O Anyanya Galpo*, Luiz Bartolini's *Bicycle Thieves,* Kamalesh Sen and Sultan Ahmed edited *Pratirodher Galpo America, Pratirodher Galpo China, Pratirodher Galpo Russia*, Sadat Hasan Manto's *Jiban Piyasa*, Haward Fast's *Conceived in liberty*, Bruno Apits *Naked Among the Wolves,* Kishan Chander's *Sampriti O Dangar Galpo, Dadar Puler Bachchara, Tomar Mukh, Jab Khet Jage, Prem O Bhalobasar Galpo, Gadhar Jabanbandi, Amar Priya Galpo,* Kamalesh Sen edited *Iraner Pratibadi Galpo* and Sultan Ahmed edited Palestiner Galpo, Kabita, Prabandha. All these books are categorized

as classic literature by the publisher. These translations have published in last two decades. The objective of publishing these translations was to announce a symbolic protest against imperialism, to call for World peace and to extend solidarity to the poets and writers who are raising their voices for the freedom of people all over the World (Roy, Dharitri; Ahmed , Sultan;).

Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, former chief minister of West Bengal and Polit- Bureau member of Communist Party of India (Marxist), is also a good translator who has translated texts from people's literatures like poems *Chena Phuler Gandho* (1984), *Ei Ami Mayakovski, Chilete Gopone*, and *Bipanna Jahajer Ek Nabiker Galpa* and *Bipanna Jahajer Ek Nabiker Galpo* (1994) by Marquez with a map to help readers visualize the narrative in the place where it is situated. I think this map is a significant addition in the process of visualization of narrative of World Literature. In this afore mentioned collection of poems translator selected poems of Heinrich Heine, Walt Whitman, Lu Xun, D.H. Lawrence, Boris Leonidovich Pasternak, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Paul Éluard, Louis Aragon, Federico García Lorca, Bertolt Brecht, Kanoko Okamoto, Langston Hughes, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Matej Bor, Adrian Mitchell, Sipho Sepamla, Ian Campbell, Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Pentti Saarikoski, Hugh Lewin, Fernando Gordillo Cervantes, and Alan Bold so on.

6.6. World Literature across the Time

Not only the people's literature but also other masterpieces contribute a lot to the imagining of World Literature in Bangla, although the introduction happened in pre-colonial time when Persian and Arabic literature started to be translated and in the 19th century when Bengali culture experienced a kaleidoscopic shift. Classics, like Arabian Nights, Iliad and Odyssey, Greek plays and poetry, Shakespeare and Marlow, writings of Goethe, Victor Hugo, Baudelaire, Sartre, Nietzsche, and T.S. Elliot are always known figures of World Literature in Bangla. There are children writers too, like Arthur Conan Doyle, Agatha Christi, Jul Verne, and Harz and so on. Besides this there are several other books. There were translations of Poe's stories, and of P.G. Wodehouse like *Thank You Jeeves, Carry On Jeeves,* Agatha Christ's *Mangalbarer Sandhya Boithak, Kabutarer Jhnake Beral,* Jack London's *Shesh Juddher Ghora, Call of the Wild, Son of the Woolf, White Fang*and so on.

There are several translations of Omar Khaiyyam is found in Bangla. He is one of the most prominent literary figure of World literature in Bangla. Kantichandra Ghosh translated Omar Khayyam in the beginning of 20th century. Rabindranath Tagore and Pramatha Choudhury wrote two different introduction of this translated book. Satishchandra Mitra's translation of Omar Khayyam published from D.M. Library in 1982. Khirodkumar Roy translated Omarkhayyam in 2000, which is published from Subarnarekha and Kanaipada Roy's translation published from Bibartan in 2004.

The poets of new generation after Tagore are such a personalities who, besides their creative writing and fame as poet of Bangla language, translated Western and Indian literature sincerely. Satyendranath Dutta is one among them. Perhaps he is only one among the creative writers who translated most in Bangla. His famous translations are from Walter De La Mare, Yeats and so on. Buddhadeb Basu is a popular translator of Baudelaire's *Kledaja Kusum*, and *Meghadutam* of Kalidas, Bishnu Dey is a successful translator of T.S. Elliot, Sudhindranath Dutta is a popular translator of English, French and German poems, Arun Mitra is very famous for his French knowledge and his

translation of French poetry, Amiya Chakraborty also translated from British and American English poems besides translating Iqbal and Bhai Beer Singh, Shakti Chattopadhyay translated *Bhagbat Geeta*, Mayakovsky, Raina Maria Rilke, Ghalib, and so on, poet Utpal Kumar Basu translated Safo. Subhash Mukhopadhyay translated *Gaha Sattasaii,* Nazim Hikmat, Pablo Neruda and Hafiz. Sunil Gangopadhyay and Shankho Ghosh are more contemporary because of their time span. They revisited the Bangla translated poems and published a collection called *Sapta Sindhu Dash Diganta* in 2012. They tried to map world poetry in Bangla. Besides this Sunil Gangopadhyay translated European poems, Afro-American poems and many more.

Dur Pradesher Sankirna Path (1990) by Matsuo Bashou was translated by Kyouko Niuya and Gouri Ayub, inspired Tagore's haiku translation, the way which is mentioned here in the poetry book, Bashou traveled there in 1689 when Calcutta was established by Job Charnok, so there is another analogy of this book with Bengali culture.Translator wrote a long introduction to this translation. Sandip Sengupta translated Mao Tse Tung's poems in 1977 from Standard Publishers, this translation carries introduction and detail annotations. Ekush Shatak published *Chiner Prachin Sahityer Sankhipto Itihas* by Shyamal Maitra which definitely contributes to the building of world literature as this is the literary history book in one's own language for detail literary knowledge.

But not only this, in 1967, we have seen Nirmalendu Roychoudhury's two volumes of history of World Literature which helps to form the idea of literary canon of World Literature. Besides this there is history of Russian literature by Arun Some published by Pahschim Banga Bangla Academy and history of American literature by Marcus Kanlif (Jukta Rastrer Sahityer Itihas translated by Jitendranath Chakraborty in 1962) in Bangla which is also published more than two decades ago. Bhashabandhan publishers also publishes several translation along with the discussions on literary figures of World which is published in a collection called *Alor Michhil* : *Biswasahitya.*

There is 10 volumes of collection of shorth stories and novels from different World literature by Grantha Nilay. This collection is perhaps only collection of such kind. And it exists as mammoth symbol of World Literature.

Bob Dylan is one among the most popular singer who is ada(o)pted in Bangla several times. Anjan Dutta, Kabir Suman also made him popular. Monfakira, a publishing house from Kolkata publishes translation of Bob Dylan's *Guitar ar Ekta Andhakar Rasta*(in 2005, 2009, 2011)*, a collection of songs and interviews. This publication house also publishes *1968 er France: May Diner Chhatro Biplab, Istahar Graffiti Itihas*(May 2014)*, this collection is collected and edited by Sandipan Bhattacharya.

6.7. Conclusion

      I have emphasized on the radical political discourse of India what makes most of the Latin American, African, Afro-American, Chinese and Vietnamese writers and poets to be translated into Indian languages more specifically in Bangla. One of the finding of this chapter is translation of and reception of Tagore in Latin America brings two way communication between Bangla and Latin American Literature.This chapter also finds the political role of Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) to circulate Soviet and Chinese texts to the different corners of Bengal.

      The project of imagining or projecting third world also brings Latin America, Africa and India together, at least literarily and mentally. And this whole initiative offers us a different world of World literature which is beyond Europe or America and unlike Europe and America. Several times we have read and translated Latin America or literature of small countries of East Europe or Africa as a resistance against European hegemony of literature, aesthetics and philosophy. Translating Neruda, Paz or translating Gabriela Mistral is not any single incident or mere celebration of great works of World Literature, it is also about a greater literary and cultural identity. These literary translations contribute to the history of revolution also.Because of this political consciousness Lorca being a European is not identified as European poet but a people's poet. He also equally contribute to the project of revolutionary political discourse. Bangladesh also share this flavor and political philosophy of World Literature. Perhaps this is how we come together and the lines of borders among different countries appear as shadow some time.

      Renowned professor of Bengali literature Rabin Pal's study on Latin American literatures and its Indian reception shows the affinity between Latin America and Bengal. He explains that these poets and writers become symbol of new aesthetics and world politics as history plays a role.   In second chapter I talked about colonial modernity and translation which also makes our idea of World

Literature. Consciousness about World literature came with Tagore's lecture on *Viswasahitya* Tagore delivered at National Council of Education in 1906. But 20th century see a leap in interest in World Literature. This has been briefly discussed in third chapter. Here I have found how these Marxist literature/ Peoples' literature occupy the Bengali psyche as World literature. Bengali's imagination of World Literature is mostly occupied by such kind of literature and translation. Here again and again I emphasize on Marxist and People'sliterature as all the people's literature did not come through Marxist revolution.

Appreciating world heritage of literature, receiving it, absorbing it and situating it within own culture happens through different ways also, like the major political incidents, wars, book fairs, travelling and mobility of the poets, poet's role in movement and so on. This chapter hinted towards that but discussed only the literary issues with music for limited scope. And this is how we build a greater environment of love and solidarity.

Table 2. Tentative List of World Literature across the Time and Theme (Not Mentioned in the Text)

Sl. No.	Translated Text/ Translator	Publisher and Year	Description
1	Mao Tse Tung er Kabita/ Amitava Dasgupta	Prativas 2005	These poems are collected from Foreign Language Press, Beijing, Chinese Literature and Literary supplement of Times.
2	Nazim Hikmater Kabita by Rabindra Sarkar	Prativas 2010	Hikmat is also translated by Subhash Mukhopadhyay before this translation get published. He is also one of the most favorite poets to the Bengalis. This book has a long introduction.
3	Yanis Ritsaser Kabita by Rabindra Sarkar	Prativas 2011	
4	Baudelaire er Gadyo by Narayan Mukhopadhyay	Prativas	
5	*Chayabihin* by Adalbert Shamiso translated by Sandipan Chattopadhyay	Prativas	

6	Wedding Song by Nagib Mahfouz translated by Kabir Choudhury	Prativas	
7	Satye Basobaskari by Nagib Mahfouz translated by Kabir Choudhury	Prativas	
8	Prem O Kolera By Marquez translated by Kabir Choudhury	Prativas	
9	Obismaraniya Michale K by Coetzee translated by Kabir Choudhury	Prativas	
10	Borborder Opekkhay by Coetzee translated by Kabir Choudhury	Prativas	
11	Mayakovsky's *Amar Katha O Nirbachita Rachana* by Kartik Lahiri	Prativas	
12	Brecht er Kabita O Gan by Alokranjan Dasgupta	Prativas	
13	Shakespeare's Venus o Adonus by Amitava Dasgupta	Prativas	
14	Rainer Maria Rilke r Kabita by Amitava Choudhury	Prativas	
15	Pablo Nerudar Isla Negra by Amitava Choudhury	Prativas	
16	Kendra O Onuposthitir Majhkhane by Chinmay Guha	Prativas	A collection of French Poetry

17	Brechter Kabita O Gan by Samir Dasgupta	Farma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1972	This is a rare book. I have in my collection
18	George Thomson's Marxbad O Kabita by Jatindranath Maitra	Grantha Nilay, 1987	This is a rare book. I have in my collection
19	Mahachiner Pathik by Kalyan Choudhury and Samar Sen	Subarnarekha (Bengali 1386)	
20	Jelkhanar Kabita by Hochi Minh translated by Sudip Bhattacharya	Dey's Publishing 1991	
21	John Reed's Duniya Kapano Dosh Din by Nani Bhoumik	National Book Agency 1995	This book first published from Progress Publishers Moscow and first printing in India happened in 1995. Till now this one of the most popular text of World Literature.
22	Norway er Lokakatha by Nirmal Brahmachari	Antarjatik Prakashan 2006	
23	Chesoyav Miush Shrestha Kabita by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing 1982	
24	Herbert's Bhabukbabu by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing	

25	Hans Magnus's Kabita Jara Pore Na tader jonyo Kabita by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing	
26	Peter Hantke's Arthahinatar Sukh by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing	
27	Atmarakkhar Upay by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing	This is a collection of poems by five poets of Europe
28	Harasimovich's *Ei Swapna, Ei Gantabya* by Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Dey's Publishing	A revolutionary poet of Latin America
29	Aime Cesare;s Deshe Ferar Khatha by Manabendra Bandopadhyay and Debolina Ghosh	Dey's Publishing	
30	Stanisoyav Lem's Mukhosh O Mrigaya By Manabendra Bandopadhyay	Pratikkhan in 1382 Bengali year (1975)	This book carries a long introduction about the author
31	Miroslav Holub O Tar Kabita by Ananda Ghosh Hazra	Bishwagyan 1987	This collection holds two different introductions and long discussion on the translated poems.
32	Africar Shrestha Galpo by Dibyendu Bandopadhyay	Nath Brothers 1989	

33	Ank Duk's Ahru Rakto Swapno by Bhabani Mukhopadhyay	Grantha Prakash 1372 Bengali year (1965)	
34	China Mati by Mohanlal Gangopadhyay and Amitendranath Tagore	Subarnarekha 2001	

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CHAPTER VII

Theorizing Translation: Views of Writers and Translators

I try to arrive at a theorization of the translation processes in the Indian context which, we as have seen, has a long and complex history of translation. This chapter focuses on collating various and sometimes even disparate views and comments of writers and translators [in Bangla] to propose certain trends of translation in the specific cultural context of Bengal. These comments are found in prefaces and introductions, translators' notes and critical discussions by eminent creative writers of Bengal. Very interestingly, through these discussions and debates a cluster of words come to the fore to define the activity of translation which are similar but each is slightly nuanced. The chapter is divided into three sections: focusing on the terms, on theory leading to the third section on perception of translation activity in the academic and public sphere.

7.1. Defining the Term

Popular term for 'translation' in Indian languages including Bangla is *'Anubad'.*There are several other terms used in different Indian languages to define the term 'translation', each is fascinating because each term brings a different perspective regarding the practice of translation. These words signify different types of translations and some of the terms unfold the followed methodology of translation followed by certain translators.

There are synonyms of *Anubad* in Bangla as well as in many other Indian languages, like *Bhashantar*, *Tarjuma*, *Rupantar* etc. *Tarjuma* and *Anubad* are closer to each other than *Bhashantar* which does not signify freedom in translation but emphasizes transformation from one language to another. *Rupantar* suggests the change of one form into another. Therefore *Rupantar* and *Bhashantar* have an affinity with each other. *Anubad* is most used term, and other terms come under the umbrella term of

Anubad. The person undertaking *Rupantar* is *Rupakar*, or one who shapes, creates or mould something, or a creator.

In contemporary translation practice, a renowned translator Manabendra Bandopadhyay prefers to use the term *Tarjuma* for translation, as in his translation of *Latin Americar Upanyas Samagra.* Alokranjan Dasgupta, another celebrated translator, uses the term *Bhashantar* to explain his process of translation, as in *Gunter Grass er Kabita.* Rindon Kundu, a research scholar of translation at University of Hyderabad, discusses *Rupantar* in detail in his unpublished M.Phil dissertation and equates the term with the concept of adaptation. Citing the translation of eminent Bengali theatre personality Ajitesh Bandopadhyay's translation of Western plays, mainly Chekhov, Kundu explores meaning and usage of the term which unfolds greater scope the term in the study of modern Translation theory. He says,

> The dissertation has made an attempt of equating the ideas of rupantar and adaptation going into the botanic metaphor and viewing it through the prism of the theory of evolution of species as forwarded by Charles Darwin in the nineteenth century. This was possible because the study of lexicons yielded a very interesting but hitherto unattended fact that the concept of rupantar in Bengali is also related to the idea of ropon or planting. Such a connotation of the word not only provided newer directions to a hitherto unidirectional thought process but also opened broader avenues for further research and debates especially in the world of theatrical adaptations. Therefore the third and the final chapter uses these ideas to analyse some of the works of Ajitesh Bandyopadhyay whose basic philosophy behind translation was to make the aesthetic sensibilities of the foreign accessible to native people through the native language. He referred to the practice as "swadeshi bhasai bideshi phool" which literally means "making a foreign flower blossom in the native language". Such a term not of alludes to the aestheticism of

the practice of adaptation, but also brings in the botanic metaphor where the translator assumes the role of a gardener who brings to his native land, which has a completely different geographical condition, a sapling from a foreign land and plants it in the new soil. He then tends the plant and helps it blossom in the new atmospheric and geographic condition and thus indigenize it. (6)

Kundu's study of genealogy of the term and analysis of the connotations, offers new comparison between the Indian and Western understanding of the activity of translation. Kundu's major focus is on the word *Ropon* or 'planting' which he defines as derivative from *Rupantar*. This critical analysis engages itself towards a new finding of notion of translation and offers a new concept of planting or re-planting with regard to translation. While searching the etymology of the term *Anubad*, Kundu finds the term being used with different connotations, like, "justification", "interpretation", "to expostulate" with *Anubadak* is the "interpreter" (15). He quotes William Carey to find the related words which are important to understand the discourse of *Anubad*. The related words are:

Anubad: a response, an abusive reply, a sentence which responds to some other sentence.

Anubadak: speaking in consequence of a prior circumstance, replying; a person who quotes the words of another.

Anubadakata: the circumstance of quoting a sentiment or passage from another.

Anubadi: replying, responding, quoting. (17)

A similar word for translation, *Anubarnan* was introduced by Gurudas for his translation of *Romio ebang Juliet*, published from Sambad Purnachandroday Press in 1848 (Khan 242). This translation was originally from Lamb's re-tellings of Shakespeare's plays. Here, translation was adapted as *Anubarnan* or, descriptive recreation. While Kundu traced the etymology and genealogy of translation, this

dissertation is focused more on the use of the term and how the usage brings different ideas. Kundu's work is referred to here to understand the interesting range of meaning of the term *Anubad*.

In medieval practice, translation was conceived as a free act. Word to word translation was not the standard. The primary condition was that the text should offer comfortable readability. So, *Anubad* is a process which both transfers words and meaning of the source text and but allows the translator's voice to be heard along with that of the author/poet. Faithful or word to word translation or translation by following the source text closely was equally appreciation if it contributed to ease in reading. Said Alaul of medieval Bangla literature is celebrated as the translator of *Padmabati* , one of the most circulated cultural text from the oral tradition of the Muslim community of Bengal. Here the translator did literal translation of the source text Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padumabat*, but in some places he added his own ideas and philosophy and his creativity went beyond the voice of the source text.

The history of Bangla literature written in different period helps us to understand the critic's understanding of the broader categories of translation. Accepting translation in literary history helps to understand the social reality and position of translated text in the society. Contemporary literary historians and critics are still skeptical about the definition and reception of translated texts since Translation Studies is not securely established as a discipline. So, organized study and methodology of the discipline is not commonly known. The histories of literature I deal with here are written much earlier than Translation Studies appeared as discipline, and came to some Indian universities. There werent many books on translation, and those that were, were not well circulated. So, this dissertation deals with such perception of translation as was expressed by individual practitioners.

Historians of Bangla literature seem to assume translation as a broad category with some distinct features, so there exist multiple terms to describe the activity. Their skepticism seems to be about the authority of the term *Anubad*. Translation of epics into Bangla in the medieval period was

to make Sanskrit texts accessible to the uneducated people. The word *Anubad* may not have been introduced at that time, at least I did not come across the term while researching the documents of the time. Translation had equal importance as creative writing since it was also *Rachana* [creating]. By hindsight we realize that this *Rachana* was very much a social and political act, as resistance to Brahminical hegemony as well as to educate the people. Translation was mainly from Sanskrit to *Bhasha*. Anubad in medieval Bengal came in the context of building literary resource in Bangla, or strengthen the presence of *Bhasha* in the literary sphere. Texts transferred into *Bhasha* was translation. In many cases this type of literary creation or production (translation) was like mosaic work. One would collect narratives from folk life, imagine stories, or collect some from Sanskrit or other languages. These could be composed or interpolated as a single text. This is how *Anubad* happened in medieval era. *Anubad* was popularly a collaborative work. First there should be a text to be followed then translator's own creativity would work on it. Most of the translated texts of medieval Bengal illustrates this process as creating/recreating/ writing in *Bhasha.* The notion of translation as 'planted' in the context of *Bhasha* becomes relevant, as Kundu pointed out. And translation appeared as a style of writing. It is a point to be noted that in the time of growth and development of a language [bhasha], translation appeared as a style of writing. Translation in medieval Bangla literature was identified with the existing genres of literature, like in 16th century Pitambar said he was breaking Sanskrit Sloka (Sloka Bhanga) into Bangla. Pitambar called his translation *Rachana*, or creative composition, and *Anubad* was perceived as *Bhanga* (Breaking). Translation works as decoding the source language into Bangla. Translation also was imagined as something that contributes to the notion of *Desh,* which means the local and the people in the real world. But how would this code of knowledge of Sanskrit reach the people of *Desh* (country), in the form of *Katha.* Therefore translation was acknowledged as a powerful medium to imagine *Desh* and it was sent through *Katha* to the people by breaking the code of source language.

The influence of modernism gradually pushed translation in the marginal position as the high literature of the West took the canonical position in the literary system. The notion our literary history puts forth about translation is very much modern. *Anusaran* or to follow after, is also used as a equivalent term for translation. It should be mentioned that *Anubad* has a greater connotation than the term 'translation', although now translation as a discipline and discourse can acquire greater connotation. Literary Historian like Asit Bandopadhyay has used the term *Anusaran* as less qualitative than *Anubad. Anusaran* has seemed mere following of source text and it seems *Anusaran* has less literary value than *Anubad.* Other terms are *Anukaran, Anusristi, Anusrijan. Anukaran* is imitation, that is translation as imitation from the source text. Here the notion of *Rochona* or creativity is missing. It does not create something entirely new but imitates the source text to produce another text. Hence, *Anukaran* seems to have less merit than *Anubad.* But *Anusristi* or *Anusrijan* has more merit than *Anukaran.* To some people *Anubad* is mere word to word translation whereas *Anusristi* or *Anusrijan* is much worthy work. As the prestigious word like *Sristi* or *Srijan* (creativity/ creation) is attached with the morpheme *Anu,* scholars using the terms *Anusristi* or *Anusrijan* must situate them as more appropriate 'doing word' that *Anukaran* (limited meaning and limited than *Anubad*) or *Anubad,,* translation practice different from . Another term for the word "translated" is *Anukirtitta* used for thematic translation of Sati-character of Rajasthan by Rangalal Bandopadhyay in his *Krmadevi* (1862)[85]. Here the poet is assumed on a space which is hybrid in a sense, that he belongs in between the credit of original creative poet and as well as a good translator.

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[85]This information is found in the first volume of the *The Bengali Book History of Printing and Book Making* by Mofakhakhar Hossain Khan, published by Bangla Academy, Dhaka in 2001. The chapter on "Bibliography of Early Imprints (1778-1866)", lists books published by the Baptist Mission Press and mentions *Karmadevi* of Rangala Bandopadhyay is *Anukirtitta* (139). Though I do not whether the word is used by the editor or was used by Rangalal Bandopadhyay. Anyway, this term shows a conscious effort to replace the word *Anubad* or any other term. As this kind of translation hardly is accepted as translation popularly or by the scholars or people outside the domain of Translation Studies.

A similar kind of initiative can be found in understanding of translation by National Translation Mission project at Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, where *Anukriti* is more often used instead of *Anubad*. 'Kriti' is credit, achievement, art etc. therefore *Anukriti* means something creative, something should be appreciated and something which is of credit but something has been done following something else. **Swatantra** (autonomous/ independent), is another term used to signify free translation (translated text), where translation takes his/her freedom of originality or imagination to translate.

Now I would like to discuss the terms used to reflect the methodology of translation. I found four terms in this context,: *Mulanug, Mulanubad, Marmanubad, Bhabanubad*. First two terms are similar to each and the last two are similar to each other. Source text is *Mul* (root/ original), so the translation which is faithfully followed by the source text is *Mulanug* or *Mulanubad*. And the last two terms are entirely opposite of these first two. *Marma* is heart and *Bhab* is essence, central idea, theme, flavour etc. While translators translate the theme or the central idea or the essence or the mode of the narrative of the source text, then translation is not only *Anubad* but more specifically it is *Marmanubad* or *Bhabanubad*. Hence, it is claimed that particular translation is *Marmanubad/ Bhabanubad/ Mulanug/ Mulanubad* of particular source text, the claim itself reflects two major category of methodology of translation. Another similar word is also found, that is, *Marmanurup*[86]. In the Indian tradition people do not engage in the debate about faithfulness or the issue of translator's integrity towards the source text. In this regard, another word is found, and that is *Bhabartha*, which means the central meaning of the source text which is translated into the target text. *Akkharik* [literal] and *Hubahu* [exact copy] are

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[86]This word is used to talk about the translation of *Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare* under the category of "Garhosta Bangala Pustak Sangraha", that, this is the *Marmanurup* (130)of the plays collected in Lamb's book. This book was translated for the Vernacular Literary Society (Banga Bhasha Anubadak Samaj). The information is found in the chapter of "Bibliography of Early Imprints (1778-1866)", in the first volume of the *The Bengali Book History of Printing and Book Making* by Mofakhakhar Hossain Khan, published by Bangla Academy, Dhaka in 2001.

terms also used to talk about word for word translation. Asit Bandopadhyay used *Akkharik Anubad* in case of Said Alaul's *Padmabati* (751). The term *Anusaran* also used to do *Akkharik Anubad*.

There were many professional writers and copy makers or *Lipikaar* in the pre-modern era who used to copy manuscripts. They, knowingly or unknowingly, consciously or unconsciously, became translators. These *Lipikaar*s could easily manipulate/modify the texts by changing, editing, or even rewriting the original text according to the demands of the time and the people. Sometimes they collected stories from a famous translation to incorporate in their *Lipi* or copy. This manipulating agency helps us to read the history of time and to understand the possible reason for such manipulation. Very often such manipulations are detected by comparing different versions of the same text. Often, the language and the style would indicate major differenced. As we do not have enough concrete evidences regarding the voices of receptions and authenticity of text, we have to accept many texts as original although these are having manipulation. In this given paralysis of historicity makes us bound to accept and analysis the work of *Lipikaar*s as translation.

Two more related terms are found in history of circulation of translation in the time of manuscript culture. These terms are *Anulikhan* and *Anulipi*. *Anulikhan* means writing something following an earlier text. As it is 'thereafter' so the manuscript is called *Anulipi* (later text). This process of coping by the *Lipikaar* is *Anulikhan* and the manipulated text is *Anulipi*. If the translated manuscript is not copied from the original translated text, also translation can be understood as *Anulikhan*, as something is written later than the source text. But in same logic it is difficult to situate the term *Anulipi* in case of first target text, as *Anulipi* has its connotative affinity with exact copying. So, I guess *Anulipi* is mainly applicable for the manipulated translated text. *Lipikaar*s are not translator in our general perception but it is the truth of time that we have to accept *Lipikaar*s as the translator. In their performance also text interact with the greater society or reflects *Lipikaar*s own purpose. It is also as lively act as the translation.

I would like to bring into discussion the concept of *Pathantar* (another text/ another reading). This, however, is more in the domain of reception of the text, though it can instruct the process of translation with the translator as an interpreter or reader. In manuscript study, manuscripts are compared with different *Pathantar*s. Tagore has several manuscripts of his writings which are recognized as different texts. In the study of manuscriptology comparing different manuscripts become important [for example different versions of Shakespeare's plays are compared to arrive at the most acceptable version as Variorum Shakespeare]. As mentioned above, different *Lipikaar*s could provided different *Pathantar* of same piece of writing. All these manuscripts and *Pathantar* are considered as translation and literature respectively. We get translation through this process of *Pathantar*. Translation offers us different reading of the source text and this different reading of the source text ensures the afterlife of the source text. I hold that only through *Pathantar* is translation possible. *Pathantar* offers different form or content or language of the text. Translator or the person who rewrites the source text tries to find different meanings or tries to decode the meaning, *Pathantar* is also about this alternative. If we do not acknowledge the *Pathantar* as translation, it is difficult to us to historiocize the translations especially of the medieval era.

Prakkhep or addition and/or deletion also appears as part and parcel of translation. The practice of *Prakkhep* changes the original translated text and presents multiple translated versions of same piece. *Prakkhep* happens due to some reasons. One could be the culture of manuscript and the practice of copying the text; another important reason is performativity of the translated text or the performativity in a particular literary culture. *Prakkhep* made some text memorable and/or a matter of debate. But *Prakkhep* definitely is historical. There were historical and cultural reasons for *Prakkhep* to happen. This true mainly for the popular and culturally rooted texts like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and the numerous translations of these two texts. Asit Bandopadhyay in his history of Bengali literature, *Bangla Sahityer Itibritta* [Vol 3, Part 1] wrote about the *Prakkhep* of *Raamraas* which is included

in the Krittibas translation of *Ramayana* (428). Bandopadhyay thinks this happened because of *Pala Gayaka* who used to perform this *Ramayana*. Since the *Pala Gayaka* was Vaisnav, he added this poem on *Raamsaas* using the name of Krittibas to please the audience of the post Chaitanya period. This whole process of *Prakkhep* helps us to understand the audience and receptorship of medieval and also colonial era, the poetic skill of the performers, the cultural need of rewriting texts and the socio-cultural environment of the time. A text travels from one era to another; *Prakkhep* sometimes confuses us about the historicity of the original translated text but to some extent it also helps to understand the historical lineages through which the text travels. *Prakkhep* does not signify the whole text but a part or very small part of the text and can happen not only with the translated text but also with the original text. *Prakkhep* is also a manipulation and it offers another reading of the text and also offers the *Pathantar*. Hence, *Prakkhep* can be considered is one of the methods of *Pathanatar*, an important aspect of translation.

In medieval era, when translation was mostly of Sanskrit and Persian texts to make the narratives available to the common people's language or bhasha and through performance of the translation, Magan Thakur, a patron of Alaul's *Saifulmuluk Badiujjamal*, instructed "সকলেনাবুঝেএইফারসীরভাবা৷পয়ারপ্রবন্ধেরচএইপরস্তাবা৷" (Bandopadhyay 760), (everybody doesnot understand Persian. So create your poem in bhasha ryhme) (translation mine). *Payarprabandha* was the rhyme of medieval poetry in Bangla bhasha and it is historicly significance of the rhyme is that it was the only medium through which translation happened. *Kathak Thakur*s appropriated the translations and perform as *Kathakata*. *Kathak Thakur*s were an agency through which literary texts used to get their public life and a way to be rooted in the culture. These performers created space for Hindus and Muslims. Translation appeared as people's right to knowledge about religion and history of the communities. This intersemiotic form of translation was not only universal accommodating form of all the texts which were adapted for the performance but also translation itself as they used to change

the narrative and used to do addition and deletion according to the demand of the audience. It was living translation and on the other side it made translation live among the people through the flowing culture of performance since the medieval era.

Parashuram Chakraborty wrote *Krishnamangal* in early 17th century what is according to Nalinikanta Dasgupta, a translation which made *Bhagabata Upajibya* **(**quoted by Asit Bandopadhyay 492). *Upajibya* can be understood as support for creating the target text. Meaning, Parashuram's creation took support of the *Bhagabata*. *Upajibya* can be understood as the central idea of the source text which becomes the essence of the translated text.

Most translation theorist accepted *Chhaya*[87] [shadow] as an equivalent of the term translation. Rindon Kundu equated it with adaptation. K. Satchidanandan also discusses the *Chhaya* as a term which reflects similar concept of translation. This term signifies the concept of free translation. The source text is not entirely followed but in reading of the target text anyone can understand that there is some reflection of the particular text which is source text to the target text.

In my unpublished M.Phil dissertation, I used two metaphors to understand translation, especially the adaptation of novels into films, where there is opportunity for extreme freedom. These metaphors are *Radha-Krishna* relationship between the source text and target text, and translation as a flowing river. I used metaphors of *Avatar* to understand the translation though I found later that this metaphor was also understood by other theorists and scholars. I quote from my M.Phil dissertation:

> The 'process' of translation is like a flowing river with its natural current and force.
>
> I would like to relate the 'processes' of translation with the river flowing with life
>
> on its banks, reflecting human strifes and struggle. The river, when read like a text,

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[87]Hemchandra Bandopadhyay used this word *Chaya* for his translation of Shakespeare's *Romio Juliet*. He said it is not translation just shadow of the original. The difference between culture, society and religion do not allow a text from foreign to be translated so this is the method. If this method is not followed, he believed none of the foreign text can be translated into Bengali and Bengali literature also will not be enriched. (Bandopadhyay 204)

embodies both the source text and its estuary or the imagined target text. These two points are same yet different in character. … It is like the philosophical perception of Radha in Vaisnava philosophy or Vaisnava Rasa Tattva. The genealogy of the process of translation is further comparable to the genesis of Radha. Radha is the Hladini Shakti (power of pleasure) of lord Krishna created to appreciate the flavour of his own soul. Radha's existence is because of lord Krishna but Radha has her own soul to - and own character which is completely different. Her magical existence is to make aware Krishna the mystery of his own life and living potency of his self. I extend the metaphor of Lord Krishna's Hladini Shakti and related to translated text- a Radha who is created out of a source text (krishna) similar yet different and in many ways and reflecting the vitality of her source. (31-32)

The *Radha-Krishna* metaphor the source text is given necessarily a hierarchical position. Though in common and popular understanding source text occupies hierarchical position in the literary or cultural system, at least in our imagination. But in some cases we find the source text is very historic and archival and the translation is living and carries the identity of the source text but the source text is hardly read or known by the audience/readers. As for example, Valmiki *Ramayana* and the Vedavyasa *Mahabharata* whose multiple translations are read more being in bhasha than the Sanskrit originals.

The view of translation in medieval times and during renaissance presents a evolving understanding of translation work. The modern terms for translation show a continuation in terms used, with some differences, as discussed below.

7.2. Views on Translation

Translation practice in modern Indian languages emerged during 19th century and formed new writing styles in Bangla. The leading translators were William Carey, Rammohan Roy, Vidyasagar whose work shaped standard Bangla prose style to be followed by the later writers. In second chapter I have discussed about the translation and theory which have emerged from these translation practices. This section starts with Rabindrnath Tagore's (1861-1841) views on translation. Perhaps Tagore is the first who regards the method and purpose of translation differently. He used translation as a purpose of communication and language learning. His translations show him as a reader of other Indian literatures and world literature. Tagore talks about world literature in his talk on "Viswasahitya" but he focused on this as a translator and a reader. Most of his thinking on translation took shape when he taught at Santiniketan. Let us regard these two sides of Tagore, as a translator and another as a teacher to theorize his idea of translation.

Tagore has three collections of translations titled *Rupantar, Anudita Kabita, Anubad* and a book on translation that is *Anubad Charcha*. *Rupantar* is a collection of poems from India and the other two are collected poems from Western, Asian or non-Indian poems. When he talks about translation from one Indian language to another it is *Rupantar*, a change in a language but when it is from non-Indian poems it is *Anubad.* This means Tagore considers different types of translation with different aim and therefore methodology. Indian languages are very closer to each other and the cultural symbols of different Indian linguistic community are not that mush foreign. So when it is a question of translating one Indian literature into another, it is *Rupantar* or change of form and language. But when it is non-Indian literature, it is *Anubad,* which means translator needs freedom for *Anubad*, as the language and culture of the source text are very different. The titles of Tagore's translated volumes explicates Tagore's vision of translation. He proposed definition of *Rupantar* and *Anubad*, emphasizing *Rupantar* as more faithful towards the original text and *Anubad* gives translator some freedom. In his book on

translation *Anubad Charcha*, Tagore wrote about language learning and that language is English. Being a product of renaissance and colonial modernity, the obvious emphasis on English is for it being the language of office and as well as of literature and knowledge. Tagore believed that one can have good grip on language, both the English and Bangla through translation. This is why he introduced the idea of *Pratyanubad* also, besides practicing *Anubad*.

Pratyanubad means 'back translation' which is quite popular in this century for medical and scientific research. proposed by WHO. The idea of back translation (BT) was introduced in West by Richard W. Brislin in 1970 as a methodology of cross-cultural research. He proposed it as "Two aspects of translation were investigated: (1) factors that affect translation quality, and (2) how equivalence between source and target versions can be evaluated" (Richard W., Brislin;). In Translation Studies departments, this method is used to understand the process of translation. Uldis Ozolins describes back translation as the voice of translators. But long before this, Tagore practiced it and taught it to his students for learning English and Bangla well. In *Anubad Charcha*, he includes lessons for teaching students. This theory of translation proposed by Tagore is presented as pedagogy.

Pramatha Choudhury (1868-1946), a critic and an essayist theorizes his idea of translation in his essay "Tarjuma" in 1912. The time was of Swadeshi Movement when Pramatha Choudhury is writing this article, when Tagore is writing about "Bangla Jatiya Sahitya", Sharatchandra and Ashutosh Mukherjee are preoccupied with same subject. This was the time for Bengalis to find their identity. Pramatha Choudhury said Bengalis are confused about choosing a path, they sway towards ancient Indian culture then towards West. Choudhury says that every Yuga has its own religion. He declares that the religion of Yuga when he is writing is the Yuga of *Tarjuma*. Only through successful *Tarjuma* can Bengali identity be formed. Bengalis have already translated the East to protest against modernity and translated the West to protest against the ancient culture. And according to Choudhury, the task of translating or *Tarjuma* is the characteristic feature of the era (350), this is the time to translate time

and identity. Following this Yuga Dharma, Bengalis can find their own language, literature, philosophy and finally identity. He defined *Tarjuma* as acquiring others' attributes with discernment. What is different between *Tarjuma* and *Nakal* (copy/ mimetic)? He explained that *Tarjuma* is *Rupantar*. One cannot achieve *Rupantar* by snatching another's property by greed, we copy that. When someone does *Tarjuma,* one actually engages oneself in the process of acquiring. There must be effort whereas *Nakal* is mechanical, to satisfy mere greed to something which is another's property. He gave examples to explain his idea. For example, the messages of the sages of ancient India are translated so well through oral tradition that nobody thinks they are translations. The *Baul* songs are also fine translations of *Upanishada* philosophy but have distinct character and position. There is a *sloka* in the *Geeta,* where Krishna says, *Atma* is never killed, it never dies, never be burnt, it only can change from one body to another, like one changes dresses. When *Atma* changes one body for another, it doed not carry he memory of previous birth. Choudhury says, *Tarjuma* is like that. He said we are unable to do *Tarjuma* of Europe, so our educated class is so hollow, we only do *Anukaran* or *Nakal* (355). *Tarjuma* is a means decolonizing the mind and culture.

Sudhindranath Dutta (1901-1960), an eminent poet, essayist and scholar of Bangla and Comparative Literature, translated European poems in Bangla in his book *Pratidhwani* in 1954. He did not believe that *Rupantar* is possible for poetry. Sudhindranath's understanding of *Rupantar* is similar to Tagore's . He thinks faithful translation of poetry is not possible. According to him *Kavya* is *Adwaita* of *Ukti* (utterance) and *Upalabdhi* (realization)*,* and this is the reason *Rupantar* of a poem is not possible. Try to make the target text exactly the same as the source text is can render the text meaningless. There are huge differences between Bangla and English/ French /German or any other. His idea of translating poem is to follow the rule of target language sincerely as the translated text is for the target language audience. And poet's duty is to enable the meeting of *bhab* (emotion) and *bhasha* (language) and the translator's duty is the same while translating poem. So, invariable the demands of the target

language will dominate over the source language (253). According to Sudhindranath, as Bengalis are so much influenced by West, it is difficult to them to produce any creative writing as well as translation. Translator can find the *Abhibyakti* (expression) of poet in poetry but *Anubhuti* (feelings) which is perceived by sense is only by the original poet not by the translator. This also makes *Rupantar* of poetry impossible. So poetry translation is *Pratidhwani* (reflected sound) which follows a *Dhwani* (sound). *Pratidhwani* is also a process of decolonizing also. Tagore once wrote "Dhwani tire Pratidhwani Sada Byanga kore", (Sound is always distorted by reflected sound). Now, if we break the word *Byanga*, we get, bi+ anga, which means *Bikrita* (distortion) or mimicry. Western poetry can be *Pratidhwani* in Bangla or any other language what mimic its western original. Sudhindranath mainly translated English, French and German poets in this collection. In translation Bangla is imposed over the foreign language and it must happen according to Dutta. And this is how translation or *Pratidhwani* is Indianization of Western poetry.

Buddhadeb Basu (1908-1974), an eminent Bengali poet, critic and translator wrote his thoughts on translation in the introduction to his translation of *Kalidaser Meghdut* in 1957. According to him, Bengalis are distant from Sanskrit literature and those with the taste of English never look back to Sanskrit literature. There is difference in time. But this huge gap of time can be overcome through translation, there might be other ways also, but translation is an adequate way (65).An ancient text can be contemporized by the translator not by the anthropologist or the historian. Translator is for those who try to make us understand that the texts of ancient times are not immovable giant stones, they too can acquire mobility and that is why we call them classic.

Bishnu Dey (1909-1982) translated Mao Zedong, Pablo Neruda, T.S. Elliot, William Wordsworth and African and English poems. All of his translations were published in a collection called *Tumi Robe Ki Bideshini* (1986) from Navana. Bishnu Dey was particular about rhyme and rhythm. When he translated Mao Zedong's poetry (1957) he collaborated with a Chinese scholar at Visva

Bharati and tried to set Mao's poems in Bangla rhyme. According to Bishnu Dey, rhyme and *Mejaj* (mood) are two things what makes a poetry translation successful.

Arun Mitra (1909-2000), a fine translator of French writing, wanted readers to come out of the bias of cultural imposition and British style of translation(1). Mitra like Pramatha Choudhury and Sudhindranath practiced translation as a tool for decolonization. Perhaps it was the reason he translates French literature to contest the British literary presence in Bengal. He thinks translation should bring the foreign writer to the target reader and the target reader to the foreign writer. First one opens an immense scope of freedom for translator as everything can be *Deshi*. In the second case the target reader is supposed to understand that s/he is reading a translation. Mitra did not suggest following any method in particular. He even said one need not differentiate between the two stages. Translator should use one or the other according to necessity.

Goutam Bhadra talks about Hemanga Biswas's (1912-1987) views on translation in a TV program called *Ujan Gang Baiya*, which I have already discussed in the previous chapter. Bhadra said,

হেমাঙ্গ বিশ্বাসের অনুবাদের তত্ত্বটা খুব স্পষ্ট, যে, লোককে লোক বললে চলবেনা, লোককে আঞ্চলিকের মধ্য দিয়ে নিয়ে গিয়ে আন্তর্জাতিক করতে হবে। ইন্টারভেনশনটা কি, দেশপ্রেম এবং লোকপ্রেম। তাই আঞ্চলিকতা রেখেও সেটা যখন আন্তর্জাতিকতার সাথে মেশে তখনই সেটা গণসংগীতের অনুবাদে রূপান্তরিত হয়। এটাই হেমাঙ্গ বিশ্বাসের ডেফিনেশন ছিল। *(Bhadra , Goutam;)*

Translation theory of Hemanga Biswas is quite transparent. Lok cannot be claimed simply as Lok, but must be brought through the Anchalik towards Antarjatik. What is this intervention? - Deshaprem and Lokaprem. So, when it meets with Antarjatikata keeping all the spirit of Anchalikata, it becomes translation of Ganasangeet. This was Hemanga Biswas's definition. (Translation mine)

Hemanga Biswas, being a member of Communist Party and active participant of political work tried to transcend the narrow national identity of modern state which oppresses working class people. So his idea was to meet the *Antarjatik* (international). And to his vision the nation was *Desh* and this *Desh* or nation is made with *Lok*, working class people. To him, being *Antarjatik* does not means to lose the local identity. Here he apply translation as a contact zone where *Lok* meets *Antarjatik*. Translation to him is about solidarity of working class of the world and this was not mere theory, he practiced it sincerely through his translation of music. He sincerely played with forms and genres of music to make successful his idea about translation.

For Subhash Mukhopadhyay (1919-2003) an eminent poet and translator who translated *Charyapada, Gaha Sattasii, Nazim Hikmat, Pablo Neruda* and others, translation is a political act. Being a Marxist poet and activist he was concerned about political affairs and conflicts in the world. He used translation for political solidarity and to find historical relations among different affairs.

Shankho Ghosh (1932) and Sunil Gangopadhyay (1934-2012) together translated and edited *Sapto Sindhu Dosh Diganta* [seven seas and ten directions] to map world poetry. Shankho Ghosh also translated many other texts and according to him translation is the expansion of one's own tradition. Sunil Gangopadhyay also translated different poems to bring the best writings of the world into Bangla and for political solidarity with African and Afro-American poets. Shakti Chattopadhyay (1933-1995), one of the most popular poet of Bengal and an eminent translator regarded translation as an alternative for creative writing. He was very much conscious about his positionality as a reader. He translated different Indian and World poetry.

Following Sudhindranath's note on translation Utpal Kumar Basu (1939) another poet of Bengal who translated Sappho's poems, expresses view similar to that of Sudhindranath. According to him, translation is *Ananda* [bliss] which in Tagore's term can be called *Leela* [play]. Basu emphasizes history of translation and expresses the need for a systematic study of translation.

7.3. Conclusion

This chapter shows the thought on translation of Bengali poets, writers and critics. And these thoughts were expressed and published long before when Translation Studies came to India as academic discipline. None of them were trying to match Western theorization of translation. Their thoughts emerged from their practice and their views are not just theorization but comprises their experience as translators.

The major findings of this chapter are the different terms used as equivalent of the English word translation and their nuanced use in different processes of translation. Another finding is how translation has worked for decolonization of mind and culture and for mobilizing resistance against colonialism and imperialism. Translation also was a tool for mapping world literature, literally and figuratively. This chapter's main contribution is proposing Indian theories of translation, deriving from the long history of translation practice.

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CONCLUSION

This work has its own limitations in the very idea of the theme. One problem has been the limited data/documents on the history of medieval Bangla translations and almost no cohesive research available on the history of modern Bangla translation. In view of this, the time frame selected for study presented a challenge. Several aspects of social, cultural, political and historical import could not be addressed despite best efforts. Since no comprehensive archive exists in India with entire, or at least adequate, data on translation not only for Bangla but for all Indian languages, I took up this work with the hope that at least a beginning can be made on historiography of translation. Our research initiative till now did not go towards the relation and necessity of translation and archive. The aim of this dissertation was to propose a historiography of translation and to begin a history– even though necessarily incomplete. I began with the study of the farther past history of Bangla translation to connect it with the immediate past that should lead the way in the future. I regard translation to be one of the most powerful forces to shape a particular culture, as also a lens to examine read the culture, politics and literary history of particular social system.

I have tried to address these issues as the research questions I began with. An obvious drawback was not being able to examine in detail all the translated texts in Bangla language in terms of their translation methodology, but textual criticism of the translations was never the intention. I depended much on translation history of a text and the available comments on the translators to contextualize the literary, cultural and the political conditions and demands of the time that chose certain texts for translation, sometimes repeated translations, over other texts. This helped to build its history also. I tried to find the reasoning behind the kind of data that was available. The fortunate find was cross-referencing in the notes on translations through which I could find many other valuable information.

It is very difficult, or quite impossible, to relate the history of translation chronologically or to situate the work of translations as total history. Many translated texts do not follow any trend of translation of a particular era, although I tried to fit those texts chronologically. The best option was to create a broader spectrum to situate the translated texts and study the trends of translating. Thematic history of translation offered a feasible way to organize a history of translation as many texts may be taken to come under some general groupings of themes. What other alternative could be there? Perhaps here lies the importance of the archive while researching the history of translation. The lack of archive ads to our collective cultural ignorance about the history of texts, not just translated texts. This is an obstacle towards conceiving any sort of historiography. Even after completing my arguments, I still wonder if history of translation possible at all! If each text has its 'individual' history then each text demands its own position to be visible in the history. Then the history of translation would comprise multiple small voices; would this multiplicity of small voices lead towards any conclusive or even adequate understanding of any literary network?

Whether a conclusion is needed or not, at least some destination to understand translation as a discourse and discipline is required. So, to return to the earlier question, what could be another approach for writing such a history? It would have been a history of translators. But could this instantiate any kind of development, or how each is related with another in terms of practice? Here, it is important to discuss the difference between the history of single literature and the history of translation. History of translation has to be accepted as the history of multiple literatures, cultures and traditions. Not only because that some texts have been translated from different languages, cultures or from the nations but also for the concerned history of the text to be selected and translated. So, in the history of translation, there is multiple single history of literatures, there is multiple single history of the texts and there is multiple history of contacts.

This dissertation is incomplete in many senses but being first of its kind, I claim to be a beginner of sorts. What methodology have I followed in this dissertation? How is the history proposed? I try to trace general impressions about the reception of translation in Bengali culture. The translation practice of ancient and medieval era tries shows what demands led to the choice of texts for translation, how literature and translation in particular was received. And later, while gauging the reception, public opinion, and views reflected in newspapers, journals, magazines, information and advertisements are taken into consideration. This history is more about the role of translation in public sphere and in broader culture than the academic investigation in the dark silence of history. This proved to be both convenient and troublesome. Texts like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were translated repeatedly over time and wielded great influence on subsequent writing and translation. Stories from these texts were recreated, reconstructed, adapted in several other forms and mediums. It is difficult to find historical reasons behind each single translation. There were varied socio-cultural and historical needs for *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* to be translated. Almost all the mediums of entertainment were contented with the themes of these two epics. There is even longer history of reception of these two texts which became deeply rooted in the cultural ethos of the country. Then there was the British enterprise of finding 'Indian essence', so these two texts were published and included in the colonial curriculum. But the situation becomes more complex in postcolonial or postmodern era. The question now is to explore any other reason for the cultural rooted history of these two epics. Not only that. The problem is also where to situate such a text? Is *Ramayana* and its many versions to be accommodated in the same category in the history of Bangla literature? The texts has spread into many other spheres.

There was another problem while historicizing the popular or canonical texts or texts by the popular or canonical authors. Like, Jyotirindranath Tagore's translation of Shakespeare. This translation first published in 19th century and thereafter published several times by many other

publishing houses and reprinted many times. It shows the demand of this translation or the demand of Jyotirindranath Tagore as an author of early modern Bangla literature. In this case, I try to situate the text in the history of the time when it was first published then try to refer the contemporary or later publication and its reception in contemporary time with remarkable influence, if any

The chapters are divided here across the time under broad categories, based mostly on the reception of literature and political issues related with the literary fields. These thematic categories could study the contribution of the texts to culture.

Different books of history of Bangla literature has been addressed and consulted here to situate the translations in a historical line and to propose historiography of translation in Bangla. One of the latest history on Bengali culture, GolamMurshid establishes his history of Bengali literature from an interesting and more secular point of view. In the beginning of the chapter 'Bangla Bhasha O Sahitya', he pointed out Bengali culture is not as united as it is diverse (267). So, he represented history of Bangla literature as a part of Bengali culture from the linguistic perspective. He claimed that the unity what is found in Bengali culture is the unity of language. So, he started to investigate the history and development of Bengali language in the history of literature, history and other written documents. This historiography unfold another possibility of reading translation from linguistic perspective in order to read sociocultural conditions more adequately within what the translation is being developed. This dissertation tries to understand this complexity of intra cultural contests and conflicts through translation. Bengali culture, which is divided in two majority religion and which is united with a Bengali identity can be understand adequately with this perspective of relation between translation and language.

Another observation what this dissertation made is the difference between the ancient, modern and later translation in case of historicizing. In the history of medieval and modern literature we found that the translation has been emerged from/ within the socio-political scenario or need but

when after modernity, the independent authority of translation came into the hand of Indians along with the printing press and commercial authority of publishing, translation is being situated in the history. I would like to call the previous as translation emerged and the later translation situated.

I also found at the end of my work that this dissertation is not only about historiography of Bangla translation but translation also can be used as historiography of writing cultural and political history of Bengal. I found there is clear difference of category of Muslim and Hindu Bangla literature and that is created in medieval century and promoted in the time of colonial modernity and it is quite visible in present available history of Bangla literature where literature created by Muslims are Musalmani Bangla literature and literature created by Hindus are Bangla literature. I do not claim that none of the Muslim writers are considered as the writer of Bangla literature but they have to fit in the category of so called secular literature. Mainly the issues of the use of Arabic and Persian word in Bangla is considered as Musalmani, exception is Nazrul for many political reasons and because of the question of religious harmony. Though the public image is quite liberal but the literary history is still biased, where in history the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* is Bangla text, *Laila – Majnu* is Musalmani Bangla literature.

I found how the resistance against Brahminism and Sanskrit gave birth of Bangla Bhasha literature during Muslim rule in medieval Bengal. And with this the emergence of local or *Loka* is observed in translational history of Bangla literature.

This dissertation finds the role of colonial modernity in formation of Bangla literature through translation, whereas in Bangla literary history, the role of translation is paid less attention. The whole culture of Bottola appeared as alternative space during 19th century and translation is one of the most responsible force behind this. This dissertation also finds it.

This dissertation finds the role of Little Magazine to crystalize the local culture and local intellectuality and formation of Indian and World Literature in the local. This is one of the major

contributions of this dissertation, I think. This dissertation also claims through its findings that Little Magazine is most competent field to imagine diverse and non-canonical Indian and World Literature. From 3rd to 5th chapter, this dissertation moves forward and backward to find the history and to situate translation in different historical context. Like there is a distinct significance of Little Magazine in Bengali culture. The translation which are published in Little Magazine are different historically than the translation which are published from different publishing house in same time. So, I believe, translation published in Little Magazines need separate chapter or section in history, this cannot be situated with other translations.

In 4th and 5th chapter when I discuss translations from different Indian and World Literatures, I think, it is important or most adequate to see these translation as purpose of building Indian and World Literature in Bangla. And to form this historiography, I referred the discourse of Indian and World literature available in Bangla also. First two chapters show chronological history of translation and next three chapters show thematic history.

This history of translation also shows how translation has been theorized by different creative writers of Bengalthrough their translation practices to decolonize the Bengali culture and mind and to set up new Bengali identity and language of expression. The 6th chapter which is last chapter if this dissertation, in my opinion, is most significant contribution of this dissertation. This chapter finds quite few new words which are Bangla equivalence of translation but those have specific historical connotations. And the later part of this chapter, in brief, tries to find the emergence of Indian or Bengali theory of translation which may help discipline of Translation Studies to reshape in future. The theory of translation which is found in this chapter also reflected in my work in previous chapters. In this chapter, I try to establish that this theory of translation is very much historical and help us to have better understanding of historiography of Bangla translation. In comparatist's view such kind of work is excentricity, 'perpetual moving away from the any kind of centrality', as Tutun Mukherjee

theorized. And, this is comparatist's subject of study that the history of translation is always about excentricity.

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    workshop >.

APPENDIX

List of Bangla Translation (Publisher wise List)

1.Ananda Prakashan

Sl No	Title	Author	Title of the Translation	Translator	Year of Publishing	Source Language
1			Chobite Ramayan	Sukumar Roy		
2			Chobite Mahabharat	Sukumar Roy		
3			Eksho Ishaper Galpo	Nirupam Ghosal		
4			Jatoker Shrestha Galpo	Swapan Manna		
5			Chotoder Arabyo Rajani Bachai Galpo	Chandrabati Roy		
6			Chotoder Panchotantrer Bachai Galpo	Chandrabati Roy		
7			Shakespearer Shrestha Galpo Abalambane Natok	Jyotirmay Kumar		

8			Shruti Natoke Agatha Christir Pnachti Shrestha Galpo	Jyotirmay Kumar		
9			Shri Shri Krishna Prembhaktibilas	Shri Madhusudan		
10			Shrimadbhagbat	Shri Madhusudan		
11	So Many Hungers	Bhabani Bhattacharya	Kato Khudha	Subhash Mukhopadhyay		
12			Good Bye Mr. Chips	Premendra Mitra		

2.Ananda Publishers'

Sl No		Title	Author	Title of the Translation	Translator	Year of Publishing	Source Language
1			Amartya Sen	Unnayan O Swakhamota			English

2			Amartya Sen	Jibon Jatra O Arthoniti			
3			Amartya Sen	Tarkopriyo Bharatiyo			
4			Amartya Sen	Porichiti O Hingsa			
5			R.J. Mini	Charles Chaplin	Nirendranath Chakraborty		
6			M.J Akbar	Bharat: Andarer Aborodh			
7			Jawaharlal Nehru	Atmacharit			
8			Jawaharlal Nehru	Biswa Itihas Prasango			
9			Jawaharlal Nehru	Bharat Sandhane			
10			J.D. Bernal	Itihase Bigyan	Asish Lahiri		
11				Madam Levir Diary	Nandadulal Dey		
12				Upanishad 1	Swami Lokeswaranand a		

13				Upanishad 2	Swami Lokeswaranand a		
14				Chaitanya Charitamrita			
15				Manu Samhita	Suresh Chandra Bandopadhyay		
16			Sonia Gandhi	Rajib			
17			Sarge Bremly	Leonardo Da Vinci	Jasodhara Roy Chowdhury		
18			Paris Splin	Sharl Bodlear Lipika	Goutam Pal		
19			Verner Lambersi	Jodio Amar Hriday Garjoman	Sunil Gangopadhyay and Manjus Dasgupta		
20				Pado Ratnabali	Rabindra Nath Thakur and Shrish Chandra Majumdar		
21				Hafijer Kobita	Subhas Mukhopadhyay		

22				Pnach Shataker Farashi Premer Kobita	Shusnato Gangopadhyay		
23			Sir Arthur Conan Doyal	Sharlok Holmes Galpo Sangraho			
24			Jawaharlal Nehru	Kalyaniyasu Indu			
25				Grim Bhaider Roopkatha	Mohan Lal Gangopadhyay		
26				Problem Solver Pulla Reddy	Meera Balsubrhamaniyam		
27				Baroti Kishor Classic	Sekhar Basu		
28				Bharatiya Kishor Galpo Sankalon			
29				Rush Upokatha	Supriya Ghose		
30			Gosini and Euderjo	Asterix O Cleopatra			

31				Asterix O Gath Dasyu			
32				Asterix O Narman Dal			
33				Asterix O Sonar Kaste			
34				Gol Desh Porikromay Asterix			
35				GalJodhdha Asterix			
36				Gladietor Asterix			
37				Dhaler Khnoje			
38				Dui Pradhane Dhundhumar			
39				Britain e Asterix			
40				Roman Sainik			
41			Harz	Karamakor Agyuntpat			
42				Gantobyo New York			

43				Gokhro Upotyaka		
45				Jon Pamper Uttaradhikar		
46				Manitoba Jahajer Rahasyo		
47				Americay Tintin		
48				Ashchorjo Ulka		
49				Otokarer Rajdando		
50				Kangoy Tintin		
51				Calculaser Kando		
52				Knakra Rahosya		
53				Kaan Bhanga Murti		
54				Kalo Sonar Deshe		

55				Krishna Dwiper Rahosya		
56				Chandroloke Abhijan		
57				Chnade Tintin		
58				Tibbate Tintin		
59				Nilkamal		
60				Panna Kothay		
61				Faraoer Churut		
62				Flight 714		
63				Biplobider Dangole		
64				Bombete Jahaj		
65				Momir Abhisap		
66				Laal Bombeter Guptodhan		
67				Lohit Sagarer Hangor		
68				Surjo Deber Bandi		

69				Soviet Deshe Tintin			
70				Hangor Hrader Bhibhisika			

3.Asiatic Society

Sl No	Source Language	Title of the Book	Author	Title of the Translation	Translator	Date of Publication
1	Sanskrit	Aswalayan Shroutro Sutra			Amar Chattopadhyay	
2	English		Amartya Sen	Bharoter Atit Byakhya Prosonge	Ashish Lahiri	
3	Sanskrit	Dattak Tilak		Dattak Tilak	Joydeb Ganguly Shastri	
4	Sanskrit	Sangeet Damodor	Pandit Shuvankar	Sangeet Damodor	Mohua Mukhopadhyay	

5	English		William Jones	Asia: Manob o Prakriti	Amit Chakroborty	

4.Bani Prakash

1			Betal Pancha Bingshati o Batrish Singhashan	Sudhangsu Ghose	1986/7th edition 2010	Bani Prakash
2		Karl Marx	Capital (6 volumes)	Pijush Dasgupta	4th edition 2009	Bani Prakash

Banishilpa

Sl. No	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1		Jose Maria Merino	151 ti Anugalpo	Tarunkumar Ghatak	
2	Film Sense	Sergei Eisenstein			
3	Film Form	do			

4	Charly The Kid	do			
5		Migel De Servantes	Entremes	Samarpita Ghatak	
6			Tolstoyer Galpo	Rabi Dutta	
7			Chekhover Galpo	Rabi Dutta	

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www.bestbookskolkata.in   Email: bstbks@gmail.com

Sl. No	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Biharer Lokakatha	Meera Pakrashi	
2			Assamer Lokakatha	Nandalal Bhattacharya	
3			Punjaber Lokakatha	Mukul Guha	
4			Gujarater	Ratul	

			Lokakatha	Bandopadhyay	
5			Andaman Nichobarer Lokakatha	Bandana Gupta	
6			Saotali Lokakatha	Nandalal Bhattacharya	

Bhashabandhan

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Bideshi Fuler Rakter Chhite	Nabarun Bhattacharya	
2			Adhunik Urdu Chhotogalpo	Biswanatah Bandopadhyay	
3		Sadat Hasan Manto	Thanda Gost O Anyanya Galpo	Mabinul Haque	

4	Vita Nuova	Dante Alighieri	Nabin Jiban	Shyamal Kumar Gangopadhyay	
5		Haruki Murakami	Murakamir Nirbachita Galpo	Abhijit Mukherjee	
6			Pakistaner Urdu Galpo	Mabinul Haque	
7		Usha Mahajan	Nirbachita Galpo	Chhanda Sukla Hazra	
8		Kusum Ansal	Tapasi	Chitra Basu Mallik	
9		Mangalesh Dobral	Nirbachita Kabita	Soma Bandopadhyay	

Deb Sahitya Kutir Private Limited

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Robin Hood (3	Mayukh	

			vol)	Choudhury	
2		James Fenimore Cooper	The Last of the Mohicans		
3		Jack London	The Call of the Wild		
4					
5		Theodor Dostoyevsky	Idiot		
6		Johan Rudolf Weisse	Swiss Family Robinson		

5.Dey's Publishing

1		M.K. Gandhi	Gandhiji: Amar Jibon Amar Bani	Shyamaprasad Basu		Deys' Publishing	
2			Sapto Sindhu Dash Diganto	Shankha Ghosh and Alokranjan Dasgupta, Edited by		Deys' Publishing	

3			Anyo Jolbatas Anyo Dheo	Chinmay Guha		Deys' Publishing	French
4			Che'r Shesher Dingulo o Boliviar Diary	Paritosh Majumdar		Deys' Publishing	
5		M.K.Gandhi	Atmakatha Athaba Satyer Sandhane	Khitish Roy		Deys' Publishing	
6		Madanjit Singh	Sashiyar Galpo	Surabhi Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
7			Aleho Karpentiyer Rachana Sangraha	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
8			Jul Vern Amonibas 1	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
9			Jul Vern Amonibas 2	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
10			Jul Vern Amonibas 3	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
11			Jul Vern Amonibas 4	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	

12			Jul Vern Amonibas 5	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
13			Ramayan	Krittibas Ojha		Deys' Publishing	
14			Mahabharat	Kashiram Das		Deys' Publishing	
15			Shrimadbhagbat	Upendrachandra Mitra		Deys' Publishing	
16			ShriChaitanya Charitamrita	Amitra Sudan Bhattacharya		Deys' Publishing	
17			Shrimadbhagbat Gita	Sunil Jana		Deys' Publishing	
18		Matsuo Bashou	Dur Pradesher Sangkirna Path	Gouri Ayub		Deys' Publishing	Japanese
19		Gabriel Garcia Markez	Galposamagro	Amitabha Roy		Deys' Publishing	
20			Main Camf	Paritosh Majumdar		Deys' Publishing	
21			Narok Aousvitz	Paritosh Majumdar		Deys' Publishing	
22		La Roshfuko	Maxim	Chinmay Guha		Deys' Publishing	French

23		Agnes Medly	Matir Kanya	Supriya Acharya		Deys' Publishing	
24		Aleho Karpentiyo	Rachansangraho	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
25		Alexandar Salzentszin	Ivan Denisovicher Jiboner Ekdin	Subhash Mukhopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
26		Arthur Conan Doyal	Baskarvilder Hound	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
27		Gabriel Garcia Markej	Chilite Gopone	Budhdhadeb Bhattacharya		Deys' Publishing	
28		Gabriel Garcia Markej	Ei Shahare Kono Chor Nei	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
29		Rahi Masum Reja	Adhagram	Ina Sengupta and Chandrakala Pandey		Deys' Publishing	
30		Haward Fast	Spartakas	Sunil Kumar Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
31			Jak Londoner Chotogalpo	Debabrata Dasgupta		Deys' Publishing	
32		Prosper Merime	Karmen	Prafulla Kumar Chakraborty		Deys' Publishing	

33			Bhed-Bibhed 1	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
34			Bhed-Bibhed 2	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
35		Frantz Kafka	Bichar	Nripendra Sanyal		Deys' Publishing	
36		M.T.B Nayar	Kuyasha	Ashis Sanyal		Deys' Publishing	
37		Erich Kestnar	Emiler Goyenda Bahini	Kamakshiprasad Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
38		Hew Alen	Bharater Banejangale	Paritosh Majumdar		Deys' Publishing	
39			Nirbachita Hindi Galpo	Sunil Gangopadhyay and Siddhesh Edited by		Deys' Publishing	Hindi
40			Orissar Nirbachito Galpo	Jugalkishor Dutta, collected by		Deys' Publishing	
41			Asomer Mahila Kathakar	Translated by Anjali Lahiri and		Deys' Publishing	

				Edited by Pranab Biswas			
42		Victor Hugo	Ek Danditer Sesh Din	Swapan Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
43			Ekguchcho Raktakarabi: Nandini ke	Tapan Bandopadhyay, Edited by		Deys' Publishing	Santhali
44			Lorkar Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
45			Pablo Nerudar Premer Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
46			Hainer Premer Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
47			Omar Khaiyyam er Rubayt	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
48			Kumarsambhab Kabya	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
49			Kalidaser Meghdut	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
50			Galiber Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	

				and Ayan Rashid Khan			
51			Rainer Mariya Rilke Duino Elegy	Shakti Chattopadhyay and Mukul Guha		Deys' Publishing	
52			American Indian Shrestha Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay and Mukul Guha		Deys' Publishing	
53			100 Bachorer Shrestha Nigro Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay and Mukul Guha		Deys' Publishing	
54			Chesoyav Mius Shrestha Kabita	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
55			Nikanor Parrar Shrestha Kabita	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
56			Nirbachita Nazim Hikmat	Subhash Mukhopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
57			Nirbachita Pablo Neruda	Subhash Mukhopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	

58			Roga Egol	Subhash Mukhopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
59			Bahul Debata Bahu Swar	Shankha Ghosh		Deys' Publishing	
60			Vasko Popar Shrestha Kabita	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
61			Mayakovoskir Srestha Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhya, Siddheswar Sen and Mukul Guha		Deys' Publishing	
62			Miroslav Holuber Kabita	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
63			Latin Americar Srestha Bidrohi Kabita	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
64			Chiriyakhana O Anyanyo Kabita	Shankha Ghosh		Deys' Publishing	
65			Lorkar Srestha Kabita	Amitabha Dasgupta, Kabita Singha		Deys' Publishing	

66			Pablo Nerudar Srestha Kabita	Shakti Chattopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
67			Tumi Rabe Ki Bideshini	Bishnu Dey		Deys' Publishing	
68			Chena Fuler Gandho	Budhdhadeb Bhattacharya		Deys' Publishing	
69			Galiber Gajal Theke	Abu Sayed Ayub		Deys' Publishing	
70			Meerer Gajal Theke	Abu Sayed Ayub		Deys' Publishing	
71			Rubayt e Omar Khayyam	Narendra Dev		Deys' Publishing	
72			Rubayt e Hafiz	Kantichandra Ghosh		Deys' Publishing	
73			Rubayat e Omar Kheyyam	Kantichandra Ghosh		Deys' Publishing	
74			Meghdut	Narendra Dev		Deys' Publishing	

Sl. No.			Latin AMericar Upanyas Sangraha	Manabendra Bandopadhyay		Deys' Publishing	
75							

D.M Library, 42/ Bidhan Sarani, Kolkata- 6

Sl. No.	Source Text	Source Author	Translated Text	Translator	Source Language
1			Alibaba	Kshirodprasad Bidyabinod	
2			The Murder	Chhabi Bandopadhyay	
3			Omar Khayyam	Chhabi Bandopadhyay	
4	Dr. Faustus	Christopher Marlowe	Christhopher Marlower Dr. Faustus	Jiya Haldar	English
5		Pablo Neruda	Garad Bhanga Sangrami Sob Jago	Shanta Basu	
6		Trotsky	October Biplaber Samarthane		
7		David	USSR er Obosan		

		North			
8		Manifesto of 4th International Committee	Samrajyobadi Juddha Ebong Upanibeshbader Biruddhe Rukhe Daran		
9	Ishopanishad		Ishaponishad	Muktipada Bandopadhyay	

Ebang Jalark

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1		Krishan Chander	Prakriti Samaj Pragati		
2		Varvara Rao	Kabita		

Ebang Mushayera

Sl.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language

No.				
1		Jul Bloch	Bharatiya Arya Bhasha	Mrinal Nath	
2		Horhe Lui Borhes	Samagra Galpo	Manoj Chakladar	
3		William Folkner	Nirbachita Galpo	do	
4		do	Jakhan Ami Mrityu Shajyay	Swapan Chattopadhyay	
5		Rabo	Narake Ek Mrityu	Loknath Bhattacharya	French
6		Migel De Servantes	Don Kihote 1st Part	Tarun Ghatak	Spanish
7		do	2nd Part	do	do
8			Spain O Latin Americar Galpo	Tarun Ghatak	do
9		Mario Vargas Yousa	Kukurchhana	do	do

10			Adbhut Dwigbijay	Bipinbihari Chakraborty	
11			Rainar Maria Rilker Kabita	Buddhadeb Basu	
12			Holderliner Kabita	do	
13			Chekov er Hasir Galpo	Shekhar Basu	
14		Franz Kafka	Smagro Galpo	Manoj Chakladar	
15		do	America	Manjulekha Bera	
16		Albert Camus	Samagro Galpo	Palash Bhadra	
17		Goethe	Sheyal Pandit	Alokranjan Dasgupta	German
18					
19		Brecht	Sratar Dinpanji	Alokranjan Dasgupta	do
20		Yeats and Elliot	Duti Mahakabita	Alokranjan Dasgupta	

21		Rone Shar	Ekti Kabi: Kayekti Kabita	Prithwidranath Mukhopadhyay	
22		Carlos Drumond Di Andaradi	Majhrastay	Manabendra Bandopadhyay	
23		Albert Camus	The Myth of Sisyphus	Manoj Chakladar	
24		Do	The Rebel	do	
25		do	Patan	Prithwidranath Mukhopadhyay	French
26		do	Aparichita	Pabitra Sengupta	do
27		do	Plague	do	do
28		Voltaire	Amabeder Patra	Pushkar Dasgupta	French
29		Indira Goswami	Chhinnamastar Manushti	Mukti Choudhury	Assamese
30	Seven Nights	Jorge Luis Borges	Seven Nights	Manoj Chakladar	
31			Ei Samay Anya Prithibi (French	Sumana Sinha	

		Poetry)		
32		Marguerite Duras	Laman	Narayan Mukhopadhyay	
33	Hamlet	Shakespeare	Hamlet	Shakti Biswas	English
34	Le Ma Sal	Jean Paul Sartre	Rajnaitik Hatya	Arpita Ghosh	
35	Animal Farm	George Orwell	Pashukhamar	do	
36			Hans Andersener Kabita	Sabyasachi Deb	
37			Hans Andersener Galpo	Arunkumar Ghosh	
38	Upanishad		Akashe Joraye Thake	Chitra Guha Dasgupta	
39		Abbi Man	Nuremberger Bichar	Asim Chattopadhyay	

Ekush Shatak

Sl. No	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Fasi Birodhi Germanir Galpo	Soumitra Lahiri	
2			Chindesher Dinbadaler Galpo	Shyamal Maitra	
3			Maru Shaharer Galpo	Sachin Das	
4			Desh Bidesher Galpo	Shyamal Maitra	
5			Sadat Hasan Mantor Nirbachita Galpo	Sharmila Bagchi	
6			The Woman of Rome	Amiya Roychoudhury	
7			Vietnamer Mojar Golpo	Ghanashyam Choudhury	
8			Austriar Roopkatha	Biplab Majumdar	
9			Anubader Pokkhiraje	Sunanda Rudra	

			Galpokathar		
			Tepantore		

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1		Subir Sinharoy	Boyetguccha	Pranesh Sarkar	
2			Anubad Sangroho 1	Arun mitra/Ed by Chinmay Guha	
3			Anubad Sangroho 2	Arun mitra/Ed by Chinmay Guha	
4	Calcutta Diary/ 1976	Ashok Mitra	Kolkata Protidin	Malini Bhattacharya, Manabendra Bandopadhyay	
5			Shakespear Sonnetmala		
6		Hans Sachs	Freud : Shikkhok O Bondhu	Pushpa Mishra	

6. Haraf Prakashan

1			Kuran Sharif	Moulobi Bhai Girish Chandra Sen		Haraf Prakashani	
2			Kuran Sharif	Moulani Mobarak Karim Jaohar		Haraf Prakashani	
3			Bed			Haraf Prakashani	
4			Upanishad	Atul Chandra Sen		Haraf Prakashani	
5		Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak	Gita Rahasya	Jyotirindra Nath Thakur		Haraf Prakashani	Marathi
6	Dhammapada		Dhammopad	Mihir Gupta		Haraf Prakashani	
7			Shrimadbhagbat	Tripurashankar Sen Shastri		Haraf Prakashani	

Jadavpur University Publication

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language

1	Il Principe	Niccolo Machiavelli	Rajpurush (2012)	Dayita Majumdar	
2	Leonardo Da Vinci		Shilpachinta (2012)	Sukanta Choudhury	

Kabita Pakkhik

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Shunya Tapanker Niche (French Poetry)		
2			Sampratik Greek Kabita	Rudra Kingshuk	
3		Allen Ginsberg	Allen Ginsberg er Kabita	Malay Roychodhury	
4		Jean Kakto	Crucifixion	do	

Karuna Prakashani, 18A/ Temar Lane, Kolkata 9, Mobile : 9831028409

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Jim Corbett Omnibus	Mahasweta Devi (ed.)	
2			Savar Manushkheko	Do	
3	Jataka		Jatak	Ishanchandra Ghosh	Pali
4			Jatakmanjari	Do	Pali
5			Bharater Lokakatha	Nilanjan Chattopadhyay	
6			Dhammapad	Charuchandra Basu	
7			Jatakmala	Purba Sengupta	
8			Milindapanchah	Sadhankamal Choudhury	

9			Bishuddha Suttanipat	do	
10			Bishuddha Dighnikay	do	
11			Therigatha	do	
12			Mahabamsha	do	
13			Thupbamsha	do	
14			Mahabagga	do	
15			Chulalbagga	do	
16			Majhjhimnikay	do	
17			Abhidharmartha Sangraha	Sri Birendranatha Mutsuddi	

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Sl. No.	Source	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Languag

	Text				e
1			Bharotjoda Kathankatha	Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay	
2			Bharotjora Galpokatha	Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay	
3		Oe Kenzaburo	Shikar O Onyanyo Galpo	Ali Ahmed	
4			Bideshi Galpo Sanchayan	Gajendrakumar Mitra	
5			Cheleder Arabya Uponyas	do	
6			Shishu Ramayan	do	
7			Shishu Mahabharat	do	
8			Mahabharater Nitigalpo	do	
9			A Tale of Two Cities	do	
10		Meera	Jagatjure Rupkatha		

		Balasubramaniam			
11			Hundusthani Upakatha	Sitad Debi, Shanta Debi	
12			Nanan Desher Roopkatha	Sukhalata Rao	
13			David Copperfield	Sumathanath Ghosh	
14			Chotoder Bishwasahitya	do	

Nabajatak

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Stalin Rachanabali (14 Volumes)		

2			Mao Tse Tung Rachanabali (4 Volume)		
3		Bruce Smith	Mao er Shesh Sangram		
4		Rahul Sankrityayan	Bhago Nehi Duniyako Badlo		
5		Albert Einstein	Samajtantra Keno		

Offbit

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1		Margerite Duras	Mrityubyadhi	Debatosh Mitra	
2		Homen Borgohain	Jiban Sadhana		

Priya Book House

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1			Bhoutik Galpo Samagro	Prithwiraj Sen	
2			Chhotoder Arabya Rajani		
3			Birbal O Nasiruddiner Sera Galpo Samagra		
4			Mirar Padabali	Priti Palchoudhury (ed.)	
5			Kabirer Doha	do	
6			Chanakya Sloka	do	
7			Dash Diganter Bangla Kabita		

Parul Prakashani

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Langua ge
1			Kathasarit Sagar	Adrish Bardhan	
2		Robin Wood	Apu Trilogy	Chinmay Guha	
3		Antoyan Da Santek Superi	Chatto Rajkumar	Shankarlal Bhattacharya	
4			Hitopodesher Galpo	Ujjwal Kumar Majumdar	
			Chanakya Sloka	Prabirkumar Chattopadhyay	

Ruplekha Prakashani 206, Bidhan Sarani, Srimani Bazar, Kolkata 700006, Ph: 2241-1388

1	Apple Biography	Steve Jobs	-	Subrata De		
2			Godyo Geeta			

Tagore Research Institute/ Rabindra Charcha Bhaban, Kalighat Park, 97 C, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee Road, Kolkata 700026, Ph: 2466-9440

1		Krishna Kripalani	Rammohan O Gandhi	Raikamal Dasgupta		English

Setu Prakashani

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1		Rodni Hilton	Samantratantra Theke Punjibade Uttaran	Niharranjan Bag	
2			Verrier Elwin er Adibasi	Ritwik Mallik	
3		Julius Fuchki	Leniner Hasi O Anyanya Rachana		
4		Yan Mirdal	Bharater Akashe Laal Tara	Niharranjan Bag	
5			Nakshal Bari theke Laal Garh	Suman Kalyan Moulik	

Shaiba Prakashan Bibhag

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1		Aizac Asimov	Kalpa Bigganer Rahasya Galpo 1	Souren Bhattacharya	
2		do	do -2	do	
3		Arthur C. Clark	Kalpa BIgganer Rahasya Galpo 1		
4			Bideshi Bhoutik Galpo	Souren Bhattacharya	
5			Betal Panchabimshati	do	
6			Batrish Singhasan	do	

Thema

Sl. No.	Source Text	Author	Translated Text	Translator	Language
1	A Mid Summer Night's Dream	Shakespeare	Chaitali Raater Swapna	Utpal Dutta	English
2	Macbeth	Do	Macbeth	do	English
3		Coleridge	Buro Nabiker Upakatha	Alokranjan Dasgupta	English
4			Marina Svetayevar Kabita	Koushik Guha	
5			Gunter Grass er Kabita	Alokranjan Dasgupta	German
6		Wilhelm Bush	Max O Morits ebong aro Chitrakatha	Alokranjan Dasgupta	German
7			Chhander Alinde Bidroho: Maharastrer Dalit Kabita	Swapna Bandopadhyay	

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1			Aashwalayan Shroutsutra	Amar Chattopadhyay		
2		Sir William Jones	Asia: Manob O Prokriti	Amita Chakraborty		
3	Sangeet Damodar	Pandit Shuvankar	Pandit Shuvankarer Sangeet Damodar	Mohua Mukhopadhyay		
4		Amartya Sen	Bharater Atit Byakhya Prasange	Ashish Lahiri		

NOTES

- Bengali – is used for the Bengali race, ethnicity and culture

- Bengal – is used for the geographic region

- Bangla – is used for the language