

# Europeans in Bengal Territory: the Pioneer and Dexterous Translators of Oriental Writings, 1765 - 1857

FIROJ HIGH SARWAR

Research Scholar, Department of History (CAS), AMU, ALIGARH, INDIA

Email: [firojhighsarwar@rediffmail.com](mailto:firojhighsarwar@rediffmail.com)

**Abstract-** Paradoxically, in the infant stage, European colonization has not been possible without translators and translation in India<sup>1</sup>, owing to continuous exigency of politico-cultural transaction to run the colonial administration. This paper looks at traditional and orientalist approaches to translations activity, crafted in Bengal during East India Company's reign, and considers how in latter phase the European and native writings have got impetus to its dimension and nature from these translations. Here an attempt has been made to reformulate the orientations of European scholars behind translation mission during the East India Company's rule in Bengal and offer an insightful perceptiveness from which to undertake the study of Early British activity in unearthing and demonstrating oriental writings (Ancient Sanskrit and Medieval Persian writings) before the occidental world. Finally paper has been concluded with a critical analysis of different modes of linguistic shift from Bengali, Sanskrit, and Persian to English and other European languages, along with its consequences.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In a post- Enlightenment intellectual environment, the European started defining themselves as modern or civilized vis-a-vis the Orientals and thus rationalised their imperial vision from the last quarter of eighteenth century in India, which witnessed the so called civilizing mission, primarily started with the exploration of colonial culture and heritage to know the socio-cultural base of colonised mass. Translation has often been characterized as a 'central act' of European colonialism and imperialism. It has been argued that translation had been utilized to make available legal-cultural information for the administration and rule of the non-West, but perhaps more importantly, translation has been identified as important for the resources that provided in the construction of representations of the colonized territory. In the context of British imperialism in South Asia, Bernard Cohn has persuasively demonstrated the fundamental point that the codification of South Asian languages in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served to convert 'indigenous' forms of textualized knowledge into 'instruments of colonial rule.'<sup>2</sup>

European translations of Indian texts prepared for a western audience provided to the 'educated' Indian a whole range of Orientalist images. Conventionally, translation depends on the Western philosophical notions of reality, representation and knowledge. Translation functions as a transparent presentation of something that already exists, although the original is actually brought into being through translation. In the Hegelian conception of history, the translation helps bring into being endorses a teleological, hierarchical model of civilisations based on the "coming to consciousness" of "Spirit", an event for which the non-western cultures are unsuited and unprepared.<sup>3</sup> Translation is thus deployed in different kinds of discourses- philosophy, historiography, education, missionary-writing, travel-writing-to renew and perpetuate colonial domination.

"Scholarly" discourses, of which literary translation is conceptually emblematic, help to maintain colonial rule by showing its "subjects" how best they can shape themselves. Therefore translation became a vital part of the colonial enterprise is obvious from mid-eighteenth-century to obtain information about the people ruled by the merchants of the East India Company. A. Maconochie, a scholar connected with the University of Edinburgh, urged the British sovereign (in 1783 and again in 1788) to take steps as may be necessary for discovering, collecting and translating whatever is extant of the ancient works of the Hindus and also of Muslim literatures.<sup>4</sup> In this context the most significant endeavours of William Jones' discovery of oriental writings reflects the basic notion that (a) the need for translation by the European, since the natives are unreliable interpreters of their own laws and culture; (b) the desire to be a, law-giver, to give the Indians their "own" laws; and (c) the desire to "purify" Indian culture and speak on its behalf.<sup>5</sup>

In this case, the act of linguistic translation is more clearly being enumerated as a practice of cultural translation. English translations of the ancient Sanskrit texts and mediaeval Persian literatures of India have been analyzed for the rhetorical work that the text performs in certain contexts.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, European-produced translations of these texts might serve to reinforce the dominance of a European aesthetic sensibility through a process of 'naturalization,' in which the culturally-

<sup>1</sup>Dharwadker, Vinay. *English in India and Indian Literature in English: The Early History, 1579-1834*, Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. 39, No. 2, Penn State University Press, (2002), pp. 93-119

<sup>2</sup>See for details: Cohn, B. *"The Command of Language and the Language of Command,"* repr. in his *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997 (preface)

<sup>3</sup>Niranjana.Tejaswini. *'Translation, Colonialism and Rise of English'*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 25, No. 15 (Apr. 14), 1990, p.773.

<sup>4</sup>Dharampal. *'The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century'*, New Delhi: Biblia Impex, 1983, p 9.

<sup>5</sup>Niranjana.Tejaswini. op. cit., p. 774

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Niranjana, T. *'Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context'*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992.

specific is 'sanitized,' subordinated to a European norm, thereby inherently limiting the 'artistic achievement' of the colonized. European translations from Sanskrit might include anthropological notations which explain the cultural relevance of the text, or might instead adopt an overly literal rendering of prose, thereby foregrounding differences in syntax, vocabulary, symbol, or motif.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it is argued that strategies of translation developed principally from European ideas about the status of language within the imperial project of imposing 'civilizational advancement' upon the non-West through education. Particular strategies of translation can be viewed as a key mechanism through which Western concepts of progress through a civilizational hierarchy, at the top of which stood Britain, were authorized for Indian acceptance.<sup>8</sup>

The first translation of any part of a Sanskrit work into a European language appears to have been made at second hand by the Dutch preacher Abraham Roger, who published in 1651 '*Open-Deuretot hetverborgten Heydendom*', containing some proverbs of *Bhartrhari*, translated into Portuguese for him by a Brahman.<sup>9</sup> A translation of the *Yajurveda* was brought for Voltaire from Pondicherry in 1761 under the title "*Ezour-vedam*" and was published in French in 1778. In 1788 a French translation of the Tamil version of the *Bhagavata Purana* was published at Paris, followed by a German translation in 1791. Paulinus an Austrian Carmelite, who was in India from 1776 to 1789, wrote two Sanskrit grammars and several books on India. His books, *Systema Brahmanicum* (Rome, 1792) and *Reise nach Ostindien*, showed great knowledge of India.<sup>10</sup> This work produced but faint ripples in the pool of European learning.

At the same time, however, the English, too, had begun to concern themselves about the language and the literature of the Indians. As a result Calcutta soon became the centre of British intellectual activity under the successive Governors of Company beginning with Warren Hastings to Dalhousie. Two main kinds of translators of Indian literature appeared in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, administrators like W. Hastings and William Jones and Christian missionaries like the Serampore Baptists William Carey and William Ward. Their indefatigable work in preparing western-style dictionaries and grammars of indigenous languages fed into the Orientalist project.<sup>11</sup> The missionaries were among the first to translate Indian religious texts into European languages. It was no less a person than Warren Hastings, the actual founder of British rule in India, from

whom emanated the first fruitful stimulus for the study of Indian literature, which has never since been interrupted. In his Essay on the Literature of the Hindus, which Hastings seems to have written about this time, he reveals his ambition to make Great Britain the chief expounder of Sanskrit to Europe.<sup>12</sup> The books or sources which were translated, perhaps inevitably, the best that could have been chosen. They included the most famous of Hindu dramas, the sweetest of Sanskrit religious lyrics, a collection of moral fables, Persian literatures and history etc.

Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal, wanted to reconcile British rule with Indian institutions. This meant a further investigation into the manners and the customs of the country, and more studies in the literature and the laws of the Indians.<sup>13</sup> Hastings stressed the pragmatic value of Oriental studies. He had laid down that in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usage and institutions, the laws of the Quran with respect to Muslims and those of the Sastra with respect to the Hindus should be adhered to. This particular policy approach made it necessary for British administrators to learn more about Hindu law, and thus promoted a process of 'finding' Hindu law, which was supposed to be located in the ancient texts.<sup>14</sup> Asia was the 'nurse of Science', the 'inventors of delightful and useful arts'. European could profitably spend their leisure time in acquiring into the laws, religion, forms of government of the Asiatics and the natural wonders of Asia.<sup>15</sup> As a lover of Indian literature and philosophy, Hastings was the first to realise the spiritual value of *Bhagwat Gita* as a master piece of philosophy. To make it available to the world at large, he got it translated into English. This enabled the sacred book of the Hindus, to be known all over the world. Hastings himself introduced the first translation thus: "The writings of inhabitants of India will survive long after the British dominion in India shall have ceased to exist and the resources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance."<sup>16</sup>

Hastings acted on the principle of understanding of people through its language, literature, customs, poetry, and its mythology.<sup>17</sup> David Kopf has stressed the roots for 'British orientalism in India' to the new cultural policy of Warren Hastings. This policy aimed at creating an "orientalised service

<sup>12</sup>Dodson, Michael S. Op. cit., p. 801-2

<sup>13</sup>Mukherjee, S. N. '*Sir William Jones; A study in eighteenth century British attitudes to India*', Cambridge University Press, London, 1968, p.79.

<sup>14</sup>Kyosuke Adachi's review on Ludo Rocher (ed.): *Jimutavahana's Dayabhaga*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 66, No. 1 (2003), Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies, p.114.

<sup>15</sup>Mukherjee, S. N. op. cit., p.81

<sup>16</sup>Gupta, B. B. '*India through the Ages*', Niyogi Books, New Delhi, 2006., p.256

<sup>17</sup>Hasting said "every accumulation of knowledge, and specially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state : it is the gain of humanity" emphasizing the necessities and value of such activities, which would bring the Indians' "real character home to observation," he had stress on oriental literature as these, hasting depicted, would survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist" see for detail: Bose, N. S., '*Indian awakening and Bengal*', Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1977 p.17.

<sup>7</sup>Dodson, Michael S. '*Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India*', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), Cambridge University Press, p.809-10

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.810.

<sup>9</sup>Master, Alfred. '*The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies*', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1946), Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies p.798

<sup>10</sup>Edward, Michael. '*British India, 1772 – 1947: a survey of the nature and effects of the alien rule*', Sidwick and Jackson publisher, London, 1967, p.302

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the textualisation of Indian religion, see Lata Mani, '*The Production of an Official Discourse on Sati in Early Nineteenth-Century Bengal*', (edt.) Francis Barker (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985), pp 107-127.

elite competent in Indian languages and responsive to Indian traditions<sup>17, 18</sup>

William Jones, the prominent oriental scholar arrived in India in 1783, who first took the noble cause of translation in Bengal. People also know Jones for his pioneering study of Sanskrit and his Jonesian System for transliterating Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit into Roman orthography.<sup>19</sup> His English translations and interpretations of Sanskrit literature helped expand the frontiers of European knowledge. His comparative conclusions demonstrated the value of a grand East-West cooperation. His remarkable appreciation of the variety and richness of the literature was particularly revealed in "*On the Literature of the Hindus*," a translation of a short Sanskrit paper and a commentary that tripled the length of the original. He concluded this paper in 1787 for the Asiatic Society with the nationalistic hope that the English would pioneer in giving the West an accurate knowledge of Indian religion and literature.<sup>20</sup> His earliest Indian English works "*The Palace of Fortune: An Indian Tale*" (Poems, 1772), Jones's second prose translation, of Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*, also originated as a language exercise. The first to render this exquisite lyrical work into English, The rendition appeared in the fourth volume of Asiatic Researches (Calcutta, 1794). Sir William Jones's translation of Kalidasa's '*Sakuntala*' or '*the Fatal Ring*' (Calcutta, 1789) was a major event introducing the literary East to the West.<sup>21</sup> It aroused so much interest among Western scholars that within seven years it was reprinted thrice in Britain and was retranslated into French by A. Buguiere in 1803, German by George Foster in 1791, and Italian by Luigi Doria in 1815.<sup>22</sup> It has recognized the "most pleasing and authentic picture of old Hindu manners, and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia has yet brought to light".<sup>23</sup> When Jones introduced this drama, he simultaneously confirmed his early judgment that Sanskrit literature compared favourably with Greek, that Kalidasa, Valmiki, and Vyasa could be praised alongside Homer, Plato, and Pindar. Jones lacked the time to translate the *Ritusamhara*, of which he had collected four versions and edited in 1792. The last of Jones's literary translations, the *Mdnava- Dharmasastra or Manusamhita*, (1794) is the most important of the metrical institutes of Hindu law. Inspired by a non-literary and humanitarian zeal he translated the

---

18Kopf, David. '*British Orientalism and the Bengal renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*', Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969., p.17-20

<sup>19</sup>In 1778, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed described Sanskrit as "of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity." See: Halhed, N. B. '*A Grammar of the Bengal Language*', Hoogly Press, 1778, p. iii.

<sup>20</sup>Cannon, Garland. & Pandey, Siddheshwar. '*Sir William Jones Revisited: On His Translation of the Śakuntalā*', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1976), American Oriental Society, p.528

<sup>21</sup>As a twentieth-century scholar puts it, "It is not an exaggeration to say that he altered our [i.e., Europe's] whole conception of the Eastern world. If we were-compiling a thesis on the influence of Jones we could collect most of our material from footnotes, ranging from Gibbon to Tennyson. (Niranjana.Tejaswini, op.cit., p.774)

<sup>22</sup>Trautmann, Thomas R., '*Aryans and British India*', Yoda Press, New Delhi, (3<sup>rd</sup> edit) 2004, p.29

<sup>23</sup>Cannon, Garland. & Pandey, Siddheshwar. op. cit., p.528

*Manava- Dharmasashtra* (Ordinances of Manu) so that the Indian people might be ruled justly according to "their own prejudices, civil and religious, and suffered to enjoy their own customs unmolested."<sup>24</sup>

The missionaries were anxious to translate the Christian scriptures into vernacular languages of India as it was essential to their ultimate goal of converting the vast multitude people. In this way Carey, in England translated almost the entire Bible into Bengali. He had also brought with him an old press, and in February 1801 the New Testament was first published in Bengali.<sup>25</sup> Bible also translated into forty different languages. But in the process of translating the bible the missionaries contributed to the growth of numerous Indian languages and even dialects which had hitherto no grammatical base, were promoted into languages with grammatical forms. What is important to note is that by translating the Bible, by publishing books on various subjects, by reprinting old Bengali verses and by approaching the people in simple language, the missionaries gave an impetus to Bengali, particularly to the growth of its prose literature. Missionaries translated, edited and published many books included Bopdeva's *Mugdhubodh*, the *Amarkosa* edited by Colebrooke, Valmiki's *Ramayana* in four volumes edited and translated by Marshman and Carey, and the latter's Sanskrit grammar etc.<sup>26</sup> The publication of such works drew the attention of the people to their ancient culture and heritage and succoured the revival of Oriental learning.

The journal of the society, 'Asiatic Researches' made a great hit in Europe as may be seen from the reprints and translation that were published in response to a celebrity that it attained soon after its first volume was printed in Calcutta in 1788. In 1785 Charles Wilkins produced the first English translation of the *Bhagvat-Gita*, which had a special appeal for the American Transcendentalists Emerson and Thoreau, and Thoreau was so impressed by Langolis' translation of the *Harivamsa*. Late addition to the *Mahābhārata* in praise of Krishna, that he published his own English translation of Langlois' text.<sup>27</sup> In 1781 Charles Wilkins brought out a Sanskrit translation of *Monghyr Inscription* of Devapali (written in Kutila characters). It was the first attempt at deciphering old Indian characters, but no notice of such a revolutionary move was taken until the translation was republished in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. He also published a translation of *Hitopadesa* in 1787.<sup>28</sup> His English grammar (1808)<sup>29</sup> is a land

---

<sup>24</sup>ibid., p.528

<sup>25</sup>Bose, N. S. op. cit., p.22

<sup>26</sup>Bose, N. S. ibid., p.22-23

<sup>27</sup>Hopkins, Thomas J. '*The Rediscovery of The "Bhagvadgita" In Modern India*', Journal of South Asian Literature, Vol. 23, No. 2, *Bhagvadgita: On the Bi-centennial of its First Translation into English* (Summer, Fall 1988), Asian Studies Centre, Michigan State University, p.58-59

<sup>28</sup>Dodson, Michael S. Op.cit., p. 800

<sup>29</sup>Charles Wilkins' Sanskrit grammar, was hailed upon its publication as the best of the Sanskrit grammars published to that point, not only because of its ready availability in Europe, but because it made accessible to a European audience both a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar upon a largely European model, as well as the rudiments of Indian grammatical science, vyakaran. See Alexander Hamilton's anonymous review, entitled, "*A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, by

mark in the paraphrase movement. He was also labouring hard in translating the Mahabharata.<sup>30</sup> Francis Gladwin, a member of the society, who had been experience as an author and a journalist, brought out a magazine Asiatic Miscellany in 1785. This contained mainly translation from eastern literature, extracts from old works, poems on oriental subjects and a few original papers.<sup>31</sup> The works initiated by Wilkins and Jones were continued by Colebrooke (1765-1837) and Wilson (1786-1860). Colebrooke was the President of the Society from 1806 to 1815 and contributed nineteen papers to the Transactions of the Society. His translation of the *Dayabhdga* and *Mitdksara* (1810)<sup>32</sup> played a significant role in modern Indian legal history because it established a model of codified legal structure that paved the way for later modernist interventions through further codification and secularizing law reforms.

Some orientalist engaged in the production of new text under British patronage or encouragement. Two other digest of Hindu law the *Vivadasarnava* of Trivedi Sarvorusarman and the *Vivadabhangarnava* of Jagannath Tarkapancanana, translated under the title of '*Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions*' (1798), translated after Jones's death by Henry T Colebrooke in 1797).<sup>33</sup> Radhakanta Sarma's epitome of history from the Puranas, *Puranarthaprakasa*, was translated by Halhed, into English.<sup>34</sup> In the reconstruction of Hindu chronology Jones depended largely on the Persian translations of the *Bhagavata Purana*. In this way John Shore supplied him with another work called *Puranarthaprakasa*.<sup>35</sup> Colebrook also published a critical edition of the Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakosha* (1808). Wilson was the Secretary of the Asiatic Society from 1811 to 1832, who published Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (1813) and translated eighteen principal *Puranas* into English. He also published an edition of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* in 1825. Wilson's work entitled *Select specimen of the Theatre of the Hindus* published in 3 big volume in 1827 was also translated into German and French languages. Sir John Shore (1751-1834) who succeeded William Jones as President of the Society in 1794,<sup>36</sup> published from a Persian version an abridged English translation of the *Yoga Vasistha*. Alexander *Csoma de Koros's Grammar* of Tibetan Language was published in 1834. Most of the works of the Society are

research-based and research-oriented, and have not been loudly spectacular.

In the beginning, Persian was the principle medium through which the approaches to Indian ancient past were made. The first work of the new Orientalism, prior to the formation of the Asiatic society at Calcutta, were mostly translations from Persian: Anquetil – Duperron's translation of the *Zind – Avesta* (1771) with the help of Persi scholars in India; John Zephaniah Holwell's '*Interesting historical events, relative to the provinces of Bengal*' (1765-71), which relies on Persian sources in part, although it also contains what product of the translations from a mysterious Hindu ancient text, *Charitah Bhade Shastah* (Sanskrit, Catur Veda Sastra). Alexander Dow's translation of Firishtah's Persian '*History of Hindustan*' (1768) and the '*Code of Gento Law*' (1776)<sup>37</sup> of N. B. Halhed from a Persian translation of a Sanskrit digest of Hindu Law compiled by Pundith on commission from the East India Company. The translation by Francis Gladwin of Abul Fazal's Persian account of Akbar's government, the *Ain – i – Akbari* (1783-86), gave European readers a Mughul perspective upon India. It was through his publications on Persian and Arabic literature that William Jones had made a formidable reputation for himself as an orientalist well before coming to India and taking up Sanskrit; these included the translation of the *History of Nadir Saha* into French which later on appeared in English (1770) and German (1773) versions. '*The Grammar of the Persian Language*' appeared in English in 1771, in French, 177 and in German, 1773. It was written especially for the use of the East India Company and a most successful work. Jones also translated a Persian work '*Laila Majnu*'. Other works commenced by European was the '*Poseos Asiatic commentariorum librisex*' (1774) and a translation of the pre – Islamic Arabic classic poems, '*The Moallaka't* (1782).<sup>38</sup> '*The Muhammadan Law of Succession*' and '*The Muhammadan Law of Inheritance*' (1782)<sup>39</sup> prepared by W. Jones was a translation of an Arabic treatise by Ibn al – Mulaqqin, also intended for the use of the EIC. Anwari's poems were translated by William Kirkpatrick, an English EIC's official, who paraphrased it as '*The Tears of Khorassan*' published in the Asiatic Miscellany at Calcutta in 1785.<sup>40</sup> '*Sultan ush – shuara*', one of the famous mystical poems of Khusrau was translated by the librarian of Manchester library, J. H. Hindley (1765-1827), though a little known figure, yet the latter also had the honour of translating Hafizian *Lyrics*.<sup>41</sup> It is said that first Persian

Charles Wilkins, London, 1808," in The Edinburgh Review 13, 26 (Jan. 1809), p 367.

<sup>30</sup>Mukherjee, S. N. Op. cit, p.77-8

<sup>31</sup>Mukherjee, S. N. ibid, p.87.

<sup>32</sup>However, since the British worked with the help of pandits from the eighteenth century onwards, and those experts referred principally to the Dayabhaga and the Mitdksara, these two texts gradually gained importance at the expense of older Sastras. See for details: Kyosuke Adachi's review on Ludo Rocher, ibid. p.114.

<sup>33</sup>Derrett, J. & Duncun, M. '*The British as patrons of the Sastra; In Religion, law and the state in India,*' Faber and Faber publisher, London, 1968, p. 225-269.

<sup>34</sup>L. Rocher. '*The Puranas: A History of Sanskrit literature*', vol. 2, fasc. 3. (ed.) Jan Gonda., Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1986, p.217

<sup>35</sup>This work was by Pundit Radhakanta who wrote it for his patron Warren Hastings. The work is in four parts, (a) Kalasankhyaprakarana (b) Dharmarupapanaprakarana (c) Srstyadinirupana (d) Rajavamsa. See for more: Mukherjee, S. N p.102

<sup>36</sup>Bhattacharyya, S. '*A dictionary of Indian History*', University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1967, p. 830

<sup>37</sup>J. Duncan Derrett's survey (1968) lists nearly fifty Sanskrit treatises of law or known conjectured to have been produced for the British. The first of these was the Vivadarnavasetu, the 'bridge across the ocean of litigation' compiled by eleven pundits from 1773 through 1775, translated into Persian by Zayn al Din Ali Rasai, and translated from Persian into English by Halhed as the code of Gento Laws.

<sup>38</sup>Trautmann, Thomas R. op. cit., p.30-31

<sup>39</sup>Bhattacharyya, S. op. cit., p. 525

<sup>40</sup>Arberry, A. J. '*Classical Persian Literature*', George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1958, p.117

<sup>41</sup>Khan, Gulfishan. '*Western Orientalists 'representation of the pre-Mughal indo-Persian literature: A reappraisal,*' Indo-Iranica, Vol. 62, No. 3-4, 2009 p.37

translation of New Testament was made by the late Lieut.-Col. Judge Colebrooke and it 'blesses his memory'.<sup>42</sup>

The foundation the Fort William College become 'a veritable laboratory where European and Asians worked out new transliterations schemes, regularised spoken languages into precise grammatical forms, and compiled dictionaries in languages relatively unknown in Europe'.<sup>43</sup> In 1806, the Gospels translated into Bengali by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, (professor in Fort William College) but Claudius Buchanan, Vice-Provost of Fort William College, was quoted as having said that Colebrook translated the Gospels first into Urdu and published in March, 1805.<sup>44</sup> In 1819 Thomas Roebuck, one of the College staff, published a similar book entitled '*The Annals of the College of Fort William*'. It contains "a general list of all works patronized or encouraged by the College".<sup>45</sup> The New Testament translated into Hindoostanee by Mirza Mohummud Fitrut (a learned natives of the College of Fort William) revised and compared with the original Greek by Dr. William Hunter. This translation appears in Buchanan's College of Fort William, under date September, 1804. The Hindi version of Testament was prepared by William Carey in 1811.<sup>46</sup>

The works written in vernacular language, particularly in Bengali about this time by European writers covered a vast field. The list below is mainly based on the catalogue on vernacular works compiled by the Rev. J. Long in 1955. Dr. Gilchrist's Bengali translation of '*Aesop's Fables*' published in 1803. '*Hitopadsha*' was translated by Jones and Murray's '*English Grammar*' translated into Bengali by Rev J. Pearson in 1820. Meanwhile, J. Robinson's Bengali Grammar (a translation of Carey's Anglo-Bengali Grammar) appeared in Calcutta. Goldsmith's '*History of England*' translated into Bengali by Felix Carey in 1819.<sup>47</sup> '*Vanga Deca Puravritta*' translated from Marshman's '*History of Wenger*'.<sup>48</sup> Tucker's History of the Jews translated into Bengali by J. Kempbell in 1845. Carey's Bengali Anatomy '*Hadavali Vidyas*' published from the Srirampore Press in 1820. A designed was constituted in 1818 to prepare a Bengali encyclopaedia, which would consist chiefly translation of 'esteemed compendiums of European art and science'. Rev. J. Pearson's '*Pathachala Vivarana*', is a translation of the more important part of Dr. Bell's instruction for modelling and conducting schools, published from Chinsura in 1819.<sup>49</sup> Virgil's '*Aeneid*' translated into Bengali by J. Serjeant, a student of Fort William College, which came out in 1805. Shakespeare's Tempest, translated into Bengali by Monckton, a student of the Fort William College. First part, Robinson Crusoe, translated into plain Bengali by the Rev J. Robinson, illustrated by 18 wood

cuts. A second edition was published in 1855. Pilgrim's Progress, translated into Bengali in two volumes by Felix Carey. Gladwin's pleasant stories, translated into Bengali by George Galloway in 1840. '*Lamb's Tales*' from Shakespeare was translated by the Dr. Roer. Forster translated the '*Regulation of 1793*', the '*Regulations of 1802-1819*', translated by Turnbull and Sutherland.<sup>50</sup> The '*Megha Duta*' or '*Cloud Messenger*' a poem in the Sanskrit language, with a translation in English verse, by Horace Hayman Wilson, was published at the close of 1813.<sup>51</sup> Francis Gladwin publishes in 1793 an English translation of a '*Materia Medica*', entitled '*Ulfaz Udwiye*' (a medical dictionary), compiled by N. Muhammad Abdul, Physician to the emperor Shahjehan.<sup>52</sup>

Morton's Sanskrit Dictionary, was published in 1828, with Bengali Synonyms and an English translation. Robinsan's '*Erushu*' is a "master-piece of fiction" was translated into plain Bengali by the Rev. Jr. Robinson. In 1834 the Society for Translating European Sciences, under the direction of J. Sutherland, published a Geography of India, compiled and translated from Hamilton's Hindustan and other works. Vernacular class books was compiled by Dr. Grant in English in 1845 and it was translated by Yates. '*Proverb, 873 Bengali*', by W. Morton, with an English translation and explanation, gives European an insight into the characters and modes of thought of natives.<sup>53</sup> The majority of the books translated, however, were of European and, specially, English origin. Early translations were almost entirely the product of Christian missionary endeavour and were therefore largely confined to Christian works or to works purveying simple morale prospects.<sup>54</sup>

English translations of an Extract from the '*Tarikh-i-Tebry*' (wrote by Bal'amy) was published in Indian Oriental Miscellany, Calcutta, 1798. Another translation of the same book was published in the name '*Essay towards the history of Arabia antecedent to the birth of Muhammad*' by the Major David Price in London in 1824. An Urdu translation of this book made for the use of the students of the Fort William College by Jafar Shah Ridwai. A. Sprenger translated the Ghazzaly's '*History of the Prophets*'.<sup>55</sup> English translation of Rashid al Din's account of Ghazan's administration made by captain William Kirkpatrick as the '*institutes of the Ghazan Khan, Emperors of the Monghuls*',<sup>56</sup> '*Khelassut-ul-Akhbar*' of Khondemeer translated by an anonymous translator.<sup>57</sup> '*Malfuzat - i - Timuri*', translated by Mojoy Davy with J. White's notes as '*Political and Military Institutes of the Emperor Timour*', appeared in 1785, Calcutta. Extract from the '*Matla us Sadein*' of Abdur Rezak translated by William Chambers.<sup>58</sup> '*Bayan - i - waqi*', condensed translation by F. Gladwin as '*the memoirs of Khojeh Abdul Khurreem*', appeared in Calcutta in 1788. An extract from '*Gulshan - i -*

<sup>42</sup>Grahame, Bailey T. '*Judge H. T. Colebrooke's Supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806*', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 3 (Jul., 1936), Cambridge University Press, p.495

<sup>43</sup>Bose, N. S. op. cit., p.28

<sup>44</sup>Grahame, Bailey T. Op. cit., p. 492-3

<sup>45</sup>ibid., p.486

<sup>46</sup>ibid., p.494-95

<sup>47</sup>Long, J. '*A descriptive catalogue of Bengali Works*', Sanders, Cones and Co, Calcutta, 1955, p.7-24

<sup>48</sup>Sen, Dinesh Chandra. '*History of Bengali Language and Literature*', Gain Publishing House, Delhi, 1986, p.870-1

<sup>49</sup>Long, J., op. cit., p.29-45

<sup>50</sup>Sen, Dinesh Chandra. Op. cit., p. 874-77

<sup>51</sup>Carey, W. H. '*The Old Days of Honourable John Company*', Quins Books Company, Calcutta, 1882, p.126

<sup>52</sup>ibid., p.118

<sup>53</sup>Long, J., op. cit., p.4, 14, 54, 83

<sup>54</sup>Edward, Michael. Op. cit., p.136-7

<sup>55</sup>Storey, C. A. '*Persian Literature; Bibliographical survey*', vol. 1, Part. 1, The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1927-39, p.64-5

<sup>56</sup>Appeared in the New Asiatic Miscellany, v. 1, Calcutta, 1789

<sup>57</sup>Appeared in the Asiatic Miscellany, v.1, Calcutta, 1785

<sup>58</sup>Asiatic Miscellany, v.1, Calcutta, 1785, p. 71-97

*Ibrahimi*, with English translation by Anderson published under the supervision of Asiatic Society.<sup>59</sup> English translation of 'Jahangiri Nama' as a 'Memoires of the Emperor Jahingir', translated by Major D. Price and published in London, 1829.<sup>60</sup> A description of Assam, extracted from the 'Alemgeer Nameh' of Mohhamed Cazim and translated by H. Vanistart.<sup>61</sup> The same English translation was published in the history of the first ten years of the reign of Alamgir, written by M. Sakee, translated by H. Vanistart appeared in Calcutta in 1785. The 'Siyar ul Mutakherin' of Ghulam Hossain was translated into English by Raymond, appeared in 1789 in Calcutta and a revised edition from the translation of Hazi Mustafa by J. Briggs published in London, 1832.<sup>62</sup> Captain Charles Hamilton, one of the first members of Asiatic society of Calcutta, is known as the author of a translation of the Persian Hidsyah, printed in London 1791. William Erskine accomplished the translation of the 'Memoirs of Baber' published in London in 1826.<sup>63</sup> 'Tuti-Nama' Translated into English by M. Gerrans, London, 1792 and again by Francis Gladwin as 'The Tooti Namah or the tales of a parrot' (London 1801), which was later on followed by French and Russian translation.<sup>64</sup>

The western interest in the Eastern languages, Arabic and Persian, is as old as the contacts between the two civilizations. It was in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the establishment of a direct contact with India, and other eastern countries that the languages and literature of the East began to stimulate the western scholars and literati. The period also witnessed the growth of oriental studies, and interest in Islam and Hinduism along with its languages and literatures.<sup>65</sup> The years of the EIC's rule witnessed full flowering of this intellectual tradition through organizing or individual efforts. These western Orientalist focused in the present essay inherited a legacy of almost two hundred years of scholarship about the Hinduism and Islamic languages and culture. What followed was a series of eminent Orientalists who devoted their scholarly endeavours in the field. With changes in methodology and approach to the culture and religion of Asia, the 20<sup>th</sup> century is regarded the most brilliant phase of British Orientalism. It is signified in the careers of B. Browne the Persian, R. A. Nicholson the Dervish, the Bibliographer C. A. Storey and above all Arberry, the Islamist.<sup>66</sup> Most of the Mughal literary and historical pieces were introduced by Sir Henry Miers Elliot (1808-56) and John Dowson to English speaking world in their eight volumes "History of India as told by its own Historians". However, it is worth mentioning that even before Elliot and his compilation of the History of India there were a number of English scholars who were seeking to explore Indian's literary assets under the aegis of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Considering the long and intimate connexion of England with India, one might naturally suppose that the collection of Persian Manuscripts (MMS) for British Library become easily and even those collections which were formed in India embrace a considerable numbers. Claudius James Rich, (EIC's servant) during early nineteenth century, made himself complete master of the leading languages of the Asia and his rich collection from Asia covers the entire field of Persian literature. Other hand, Warren Hastings stocked very huge Persian and Arabic MSS.<sup>67</sup> Sir Henry M. Elliot, (company's writer on the Bengal establishment), was invited to compile an index of native works done in medieval India. In Elliot hand this index soon expanded into several volumes. It becomes an exclusive survey of the historical literature of India, with critical notices of the authors and copious extracts from their works. The first volume was published in 1849, under the title of "Bibliographical index to the Historians of Muhammadans India".<sup>68</sup> In furtherance of his vast scheme, sir Henry Elliot often availed himself of the willing assistance of Persian Scholars in the junior rank of Indian service, and translation supplied by them have only partially been used by himself or his editor.

In 1806, it instituted the 'Bibliotheca Asiatica', in which it was intended "to published, from time to time, as their funds would admit of it, translation of short works in the Sanskrit and other Asiatic languages, or extracts and descriptive accounts of books of greater length in those languages. In the year 1847 that it become possible to make an actual beginning of the series.<sup>69</sup> By the 1852, under the supervision of Dr. Roer the texts of major Upanishads (excepting *Chhandogya*) were published along with its translation. The *Nyaya* philosophy, the *Bhasha Parichheda*, had been edited and translated by Roer in 1850. There were several other translations of extracts or of small Sanskrit works were under taken by the British scholars in India. viz. the opening stanzas of Mahga's well known poem, the *Sisupala Badha* was translated by Mr. J. C. Sutherland. In 1845 appeared the *Vedanta Sara*, an introduction into the Vedanta Philosophy by Dr. Roer. In 1847, the *Prasnottara Mala*, or a catechetical dialogue of Suka, by Mr. J. Christian and Kachchayana's celebrated grammar by D. F. Mason published in 1857 in Bibliotheca Indica.<sup>70</sup> Other hand Calcutta School Book Society was started in 1817 as a voluntary organization by few Europeans to prepare textbooks for schools. Here, too, Indians were included at a latest stage, particularly considering their usefulness in translating and writing books. Society's members provided an "effective service in writing, translating and approving the books to be published."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup>Rieu, Charles. Op. cit., p. x - xvii

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. xxii-iv

<sup>69</sup>'Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society, 1784-1884', The Asiatic society of Calcutta, (published by Chandan Roy Chaudhuri, general secretary of Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1885, p.138

<sup>70</sup>ibid., p.140-60

<sup>71</sup>Sanyal, Rajat. 'Voluntary Association and Public Life in Urban Bengal, 1815-1876: An Aspect of Social History', Ridhi Publication, Calcutta, 1980, p.68-69. Incidentally, Raja Rammohan Roy's 'Geography' was one of the books translated in 1819-20. The society published many other useful monographs which proved to be of considerable benefit to the early crop of Indian studying science. These work covered a wide range of subjects included Robert May's work on

<sup>59</sup>Asiatic Miscellany, vo. 2, Calcutta, 1786.

<sup>60</sup>Storey, C. A. op. cit., p. 559

<sup>61</sup>Asiatic Miscellany, vol.1, Calcutta, 1785

<sup>62</sup>Storey, C. A. op. cit., p.586 & 638

<sup>63</sup>Rieu, Charles. 'Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum', vol. 3, Longmans & Co., 1883, p. xvii-xx

<sup>64</sup>Khan, Gulfishan. op. cit., p.34

<sup>65</sup>See: Murray, Alexander. (ed.) 'Sir William Jones (1746-94): A commemoration,' Oxford University Press, 1998

<sup>66</sup>Bosworth, C. E. 'A century of British Orientalists', Oxford University press, Oxford, 2001

As consequences of modern translation mission, the ancient philosophy of India started gaining recognition, which may have otherwise remained buried. Thinkers of Europe gradually become aware of rich ancient heritage of India. The discovery of Ancient Indian legal texts inevitably undercut the notion that Indian was a land subject to an 'oriental despotism'. As Halhed proudly proclaimed, his 'Code of Gentoo Laws' offered a complete confutation of the belief to common in Europe, that the Hindus have no written laws whatever. The outcome of British study of the ancient texts, in Jones's view, was to be complete digest' of Hindu and Muslim law, which could be enforced in the Company's courts, and preserve 'inviolable' the rights of the Indian people. As Jones proudly told Lord Cornwallis, with such a code the British Government could give to the people of India 'security for the dual administration of justice among them, similar that which Justinian gave to his Greek and Roman subjects'.<sup>72</sup> Likewise, the translations the Persian writings (weather historical or literature) into English opened up the encyclopaedic information before the world, which may further succoured in the formation of critical 'Mediaeval Indian History.'

As a great boon of these translations activity, we can see that the native writers got an opportunity to write both in native and English language, that expanded the horizon of Bengali Literature. Atulchandra Gupta said, 'our beginnings were modest, our writers mostly educated in English, started with translations owing possibly to the obscurity of our early history.' Ramram Basu (writer of *Raja Pratapaditya Charita*), Rajiblochan Roy, (writer of *Raja Krishna Chandra Rayasya Charita*), and Haliram Phukan of Assam were engaged in translation work.<sup>73</sup> In 1832, twelve Bengali gentlemen under the direction of Committee of public instruction translated Robinson's Grammar of History. With the second phase of new education introduced by the joints efforts of Bentinck and Macaulay, more and more translations and adaptations of English authors were undertaken to be prescribe as suitable text books. Jones's translation helped stimulate a remarkable intellectual and even spiritual regeneration, a renaissance of national culture. Indians could take pride in their rich literary past and perhaps face more equally the administrators of a people who boasted of their Shakespeare and the world's strongest military force. His emphasis on mankind's basic values and on the necessity of cultural-material ex-change between East and West indicates that he would have been delighted.

The real reflective effects of translations from Sanskrit and Persian to English were to appear in the poets and writers of early nineteenth century Germany, France and America. The writers like Friedrich Major (1772-1818), Schiller (1759-1805) T. Carlyle (1795-1881) of Germany, Josephe Mery of France

---

Mathematics (1817), John Pearson on Geography and astronomy (1824), William Yates on physics (1824) and on Astronomy (1833), Lawson and Pears on zoology (1828), Felix Carey on Physics (1820), and John Mack on Chemistry (1834). See: Sen, P. 'Educational and cultural societies in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal', The Calcutta Review, 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1926, p.127

<sup>72</sup> Metcalf Thomas R. 'The Cambridge History of India', III. 4, Cambridge University Press, London, (1<sup>st</sup> edit.) 1995, p.12-13

<sup>73</sup> Gupta, Atulchandra. (ed.) 'Studies in the Bengal Renaissance', The National council of Education of Bengal, Calcutta, 1958, p.363-66

started to manipulate the Sanskrit text language for their own linguistic lust.<sup>74</sup> This effort by British Orientalists in India was soon supplemented by scholars in France, Germany and Italy. The *Sakuntala* was translated into these three languages. A German translation of Jones's translation of Manu's Code appeared in 1797. Consecutively, Langlois' French translation of the *Hanvamsa* ' in 1834, and Burnouf's translation of the first part of the Bhāgavata Purāna in 1840 published for the European audience.<sup>75</sup> The French were already interested in Indian literature, and the 'Bibliothèque Nationale' had accumulated, probably through the agency of *Sonnerat*, a store of Indian manuscripts, which no one could read. *Anquetil-Duperron* published in Latin in 1802 and a translation of Dara-shikoh's Persian version of the *Upanisads*, under the name of 'Oupnek'hat' also appeared. About this time (1803-4) Alexander Hamilton, who was a member of the Asiatic Society, prepared a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts, which was duly published in 1807. Antoine de Chezy commenced his study in 1806, using the translations of Wilkins and Jones as dictionaries, and later Carey and Marshman's translations, which were brought to him by George Archdall. He published translations of a Sanskrit grammar, a *Prakrit grammar*, and other works. In 1815 he was appointed to the first chair of Sanskrit in Europe. He must be regarded as chiefly responsible for establishing the Jones-Wilkins-Colebrook tradition firmly on the Continent.<sup>76</sup> Certainly it is true that in many instances European writers and translators working in India derived much of their linguistic skill, as well as their knowledge of the cultural meaningfulness of Indian languages, from interaction with their tutors and assistants. In a significant respect, then, the process of knowledge formation about Indian languages and Indian civilization reflected some sort of a dialogic process.<sup>77</sup>

By the way the west is on many occasions try to be friendly to the East and is quite catholic and helpful but sometime their good intention is taken to be bad and friendliness becomes enmity in reality. Though the translation procedures bore several shortcomings, but this was only possible things through which oriental languages or ideas would be taught and that oriental mode of thinking would be popularised in Europe. So that few generations after, east should get part of the western ideas and west should get eastern ideas and these exchange of thoughts would absolutely proof for healthy progress of both civilization.<sup>78</sup> Other hand missionaries like Dr. Carey and his colleagues did not consider their works done by merely propagating the truths of Christianity. They wanted sincerely to give our countrymen education according to their own standards, in all department of knowledge. There is not a subject in which these Europeans did not come forward to writes books in Bengali in order to spread Christianity among the masses,<sup>79</sup> they carried out this noble work for their intellectual discourse. In this context, Gholam Hossain Khan in his prefatory note said that

---

<sup>74</sup> Edward, Michael. op. cit., p. 304-5

<sup>75</sup> Hopkins, Thomas J. op. cit., p.58-59

<sup>76</sup> Master, Alfred. op. cit., p. 803-4

<sup>77</sup> See Irschick, E. F. 'Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895', University of California Press, London, 1994

<sup>78</sup> Dutt, Mohendranath. 'Society and Education – Society and Women', The Mahindra publishing committee, Calcutta, 1982, p.28

<sup>79</sup> Sen, Dinesh Chandra. op. cit., p.857

“those gentlemen employed at the public office in Calcutta in translating Persian latter paid great pain for the cause and translation took place on a scrupulous manner.”<sup>80</sup> But some modern Indian writers accused the methodology of translation. Initially some of the radicals were in believed that the translations were made for the cause of proselytize ambition. Apart from that, P. Lal an Indian scholar believes that the Sanskrit language has enchained many translators to its structures and has been mainly responsible for bad translations of Kalidasa’s work. To him early translators failed to communicate the essence of Hindu literatures because they remained slavishly faithful to Sanskrit. Other hand Dr. Naunihal Singh said “Max Muller was especially employed to create the translation of the Rig-Veda in such a way that it should appear disgraceful and idiotic and also to abuse all the aspects of Hindu religion.”<sup>81</sup>

## REFERENCES

### Primary works:

- [1] Halhed, N. B. ‘A Grammar of the Bengal Language’, Hoogly Press, Bengal, (1778)
- [2] Khan S. Gholam Hossain, ‘Seer – ul – Mutaqherin’ or ‘Review of modern times’ (4 vo.) written in Persian in 1780 A.D., Low Price, Delhi, translated print in 1926
- [3] Asiatic Misellany (Asiatic Society), v. 1, Calcutta, 1789
- [4] Asiatic Miscellany (Asiatic Society), v.1, Calcutta, 1785
- [5] Asiatic Miscellany (Asiatic Society), vo. 2, Calcutta, 1786

### Secondary works:

- [1] Cohn, B. “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” Oxford University Press, Delhi, (1997)
- [2] Dharampal. ‘The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century’, New Delhi: Biblia Impex, (1983)
- [3] Niranjana. T. ‘Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context’, University of California Press, Berkeley, (1992)
- [4] Edward, Michael. ‘British India: 1772 – 1947: A survey of the nature and effects of alien rule’, Sidwick and Jackson publisher, London, (1967)
- [5] Lata, Mani. ‘The Production of an Official Discourse on Sati in Early Nineteenth- Century Bengal’, (edt.) Francis Barker, University of Essex Press, Colchester, (1985)
- [6] Mukherjee, S. N. ‘Sir William Jones; A study in eighteenth century British attitudes to India’, Cambridge University Press, London, (1968)
- [7] Gupta, B. B. ‘India through the Ages’, Niyogi Books, New Delhi, (2006)
- [8] Bose, N. S. ‘Indian awakening and Bengal’, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, (1977)
- [9] Kopf, David. ‘British Orientalism and the Bengal renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835’, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, (1969)
- [10] Trautmann, Thomas R. ‘Aryans and British India’, Yoda Press, New Delhi, (2004)
- [11] Mukherjee, S. N., ‘Sir William Jones; A study in eighteenth century British attitudes to India’, Cambridge University Press, London, (1968)
- [12] Derrett, J. & Duncun, M. ‘The British as patrons of the Sastra; In Religion, law and the state in India’, London: Faber and Faber, (1968)
- [13] Rocher, L. ‘The Puranas: A History of Sanskrit literature’, vol. 2, fasc. 3. (edit. by Jan Gonad) Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, (1986)

- [14] Bhattacharyya, S. ‘A dictionary of Indian History’, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, (1967)
- [15] Arberry, A. J. ‘Classical Persian Literature’, George Allen and Unwind Ltd., London, (1958)
- [16] Long, J. ‘A descriptive catalogue of Bengali Works’, Sanders, Cones and Co, Calcutta, (1955)
- [17] Sen, Dinesh Chandra. ‘History of Bengali Language and Literature’, Gain Publishing House, Delhi, (1986)
- [18] Carey, W. H. ‘The Old Days of Honourable John Company’, Quins Books Company, Calcutta, (1882)
- [19] Edward, Michael. ‘British India: 1772-1947; a survey of the nature and effects of the alien rule’, Sedgwick and Jackson, London, (1977)
- [20] Storey, C. A. ‘Persian Literature; Bibliographical survey’, vol. 1, Part. 1, The Royal Asiatic Society, London, (1927-39)
- [21] Murray, Alexander. (ed) ‘Sir William Jones, 1746-94: A commemoration,’ Oxford University Press, (1998)
- [22] Bosworth, C. E. ‘A century of British Orientalists’, Oxford University press, Oxford, (2001)
- [23] Rieu, Charles. ‘Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum’, vol. 3, Longmans & Co., (1883)
- [24] ‘Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society, 1784-1884’, the Asiatic society of Calcutta, (published by Chandan Roy Chaudhuri, general secretary of Asiatic Society), Calcutta, (1885)
- [25] Sanyal, Rajat. ‘Voluntary Association and Public Life in Urban Bengal, 1815-1876: An Aspect of Social History’, Ridhi Publication, Calcutta, (1980)
- [26] Metcalf, Thomas R. ‘The Cambridge History of India’, III. 4, Cambridge University Press, London, (1995)
- [27] Gupta, Atulchandra. (ed.) ‘Studies in the Bengal Renaissance’, The National council of Education of Bengal, Calcutta, (1958)
- [28] Irschick, E. F. ‘Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895’ University of California Press, London, (1994)
- [29] Dutt. Mohendranath. ‘Society and Education – Society and Women’, The Mahindra publishing committee, Calcutta, (1982)
- [30] Sen, Dinesh Chandra. ‘History of Bengali Language and Literature’, Gain Publishing House, Delhi, (1986)
- [31] Singh, Naunihal. ‘Impact of British Raj on Indian History’, Zenith Book International, Delhi, (2008)

### Journals and Articles:

- [1] Niranjana, Tejaswini. ‘Translation, Colonialism and Rise of English’, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 25, No. 15 Apr. 14, (1990)
- [2] Dodson, Michael S. ‘Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India’, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), Cambridge University Press,
- [3] Master, Alfred. ‘The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies’, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1946), Cambridge University Press.
- [4] Adachi, Kyosuke. ‘Ludo Rocher (ed.): Jimutavahana’s Dayabhaga’, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 66, No. 1, Cambridge University Press, (2003)
- [5] Cannon, Garland. & Pandey, Siddheshwar, ‘Sir William Jones Revisited: On His Translation of the Sakuntalā’, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1976), American Oriental Society,
- [6] Hopkins, Thomas J. ‘The Rediscovery of The “Bhagavadgita” In Modern India’, , Journal of South Asian Literature, Vol. 23, No. 2, Bhagavadgita: On the Bi-centennial of its First Translation into English (Summer, Fall 1988), Asian Studies Centre, Michigan State University.
- [7] Hamilton, Alexander. (review) ‘A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, by Charles Wilkins’, London, 1808, the Edinburgh Review 13, 26 (Jan. 1809)
- [8] Bailey T. Grahame. ‘Judge H. T. Colebrooke’s Supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806’, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 3 (Jul., 1936), Cambridge University Press.
- [9] Khan, Gulfishan, ‘Western Orientalists’ representation of the pre-Mughal indo-Persian literature: A reappraisal,’ Indo-Iranica, Vol. 62, No. 3-4, (2009)

<sup>80</sup>Khan, S. Gholam Hossain. ‘Seer – ul – Mutaqherin’ or ‘Review of modern times’ (4 vo.) written in Persian in 1780 AD. By, Low Price, Delhi, translated print in 1926, p.18

<sup>81</sup>Singh, Naunihal. ‘Impact of British Raj on Indian History’, Zenith Book International, Delhi, 2008, p.26

- [10] Dharwadker, Vinay. '*English in India and Indian Literature in English: The Early History, 1579-1834*', Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. 39, No. 2, Penn State University Press, (2002)
- [11] Sen, P. '*Educational and cultural societies in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal*', The Calcutta Review, 19<sup>th</sup> April, (1926)