Chapter IV

Oriya through Translation History (1803-1936)

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

4.1. Translation through History

The study of translation and translation history is an important aspect of Translation Studies. Translation and translation history have a clear demarcation that translation is a process and product of rendering of textual materials from one language into another language whereas translation history refers to the phenomenology of translation process and product studied from the historical point of view. Translation history provides the ideas about the role of translation and translators’ motivations from the historical perspectives. It means translation history is a multidisciplinary subject that helps to study the translation theories from the historical points of view and also provides clear ideas about the history of vernacular languages, literatures, and socio-political issues related to the development of linguistic identity and loyalty of a speech community. Linguistic and cultural interpretations of human behaviours in translated literature are given equal importance through translation history. That’s why translation history is one of the unique resources of the literary renaissance signifying the linguistic authenticity and social identity of the native speakers. Development and standardization of mother-tongues are considered as tangible aspects of translation which can be studied through translation history. Translation strategies, development of script, and writing system (grammar and punctuation), literary vision, values and styles, sociology of
language, and culture are the most significant activities of translation that can be understood through translation history. Another important goal of translation history is to discover the biography of language and its historical development through the ages. Language competence, culture competence, and subject competence of the translators can be evaluated through the methodological equipment of translation history. From translation history, one can evaluate the linguistic interpretations of translated texts which contain linguistic and socio-semiotic perspectives of the embedded texts. The activity of translation through history proposes the politics of translation and its involvement in the process of literary textualization. These might be the reasons for a movement against the gobble-de-gook of dominant languages. So translation and translation history both are the important aspects of translation studies that need to be discussed and explored in every language justifying to their linguistics and literary culture. It is worth mentioning here that the development of the vernacular languages and the politics of literary canonization can be determined through translation history. This chapter tries to introduce the theoretical notions of translation history and its nature in brief. Taking into consideration of the theoretical backdrop, findings are desired to be explored in the Oriya language through translation history and the various socio-political reasons associated with the progress of translation activities during the colonial period. The socio-religious, political, educational, linguistic, and economic issues are interrelated with the translation activities in Orissa which are equally important to be studied from the translation studies perspectives.
Translation through history refers to not only the historical importance of translation but also the role of translation and its interface. “Ideally it combines the history of translation theory with the study of literary and social trends in which translation has played a direct or catalytic part” (Long 2007: 63) in the development of national literature. Through translation history, one can equate the relationship between the past, the present, and the future of the nation in studying the linguistic resources and the literary traditions wherein the translation played a significant role. The linguistic responsibility of the people and their emotional attachment with their language identity and loyalty are the visible aspects of the language rights to be stressed in the frame of translation history. Language as a social phenomenon manifests the human expressions first, and then it recognizes a plural identity by a linguistic community. It is also considered as an intangible form of cultural practices which reflect the versatile ideology of human culture through linguistic interpretations. So it has been considered as one of the most “distinctive features of a culture, which may be described in a simplistic manner as the totality of the beliefs and practices of a society” (Nida 2005: 13). Translation is one of the scientific activities that try to bridge the gaps between two texts, two languages, and two cultures. It is not only a method of rendering the textual materials from one language into another language but also “meant expropriating ideas and insights from another culture to enrich one’s own language” (Schulte and Biguenet 1992: 2). In this context, Lambert’s statement is very appropriate who said “historians of translation are needed more than ever before” (Lambert 1993: 22). Lambert’s innovative statements are: “the history of translation helps translators, those discreet travelers, to emerge from the shadows and helps us to better appreciate their contribution to intellectual life. The pages
that follow are teeming with the figures that have left their mark on the profession in various ways. In investing alphabets, enriching languages, encouraging the emergence of national literatures, disseminating technical and scientific knowledge, propagating religions, writing dictionaries - their contribution has been prodigious. Translation cannot be dissociated from the nation of progress: some even maintain that a society can be measured by the translations its aspects” (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: xiv-xv). The main purpose of translation history is to determine the translators’ motivations towards language, literature and culture, finally nation and nationalism from the history. Their ideological consciousness and practical experiences will provide the theories or models adopted by the translators.

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

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Therefore, translation history means the unique resources of the linguistic community need to be studied in the interdisciplinary perspectives. This chapter intends to study the translation history of Oriya which is an under-discovered area. It is appropriate to study and discover various aspects of translations and particularly mapping the translation strategies of the native and non-native translators. Translation history “helps define and account for the policies employed by past translators and so gives at least a point of departure for developing strategies”(ibid: 64). From the Oriya translation history we may explore translators’ linguistic competence, culture competence, and subject competence through the translated literatures. How did they negotiate the bilingual and bi-cultural uniqueness in one text? What strategies did both the non-native and native translators adopt for making the translations readable and faithful?

At the same time the colonial power, British language policy, educational facilities, and missionary activities were implemented in Orissa division ensuring Oriya is an independent language. Oriya translations through history were taken for granted as an experimental ground for studying translation strategies and their functions in social issues like language standardization, economic interest, and nationalist agenda like linguistic awareness of the native speakers and their literary participations in the state formation. Two important issues are intended to be explored through translation history. Oriya translation history provides the multidimensional perspectives of translation which are necessary to be discussed in conceptualizing the importance of translation and translation history in the development of Oriya language, literature, and culture.
4.2. Oriya: through Translation History

Oriya, a scheduled language of the Indian Constitution, occupies the official Language status in Orissa. During the period of 1803 to 1936, Oriya was neglected as an independent language in Orissa. By that time most of the Indian territories were ruled by the British government. Orissa was divided spatially into the three main presidencies at that time: the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces. The people of Orissa did not allow the British government to capture the region easily. It took around sixty years for them to fully occupy Orissa and bring it under the British East India Company. Finally, the Company annexed Orissa at least in three different phases, Coastal or North Orissa proper in 1803, Western Hilly Tracts, i.e. Sambalpur in 1849 and Southern Orissa in 1868. Then Orissa was divided into three divisions: the Coastal division, i.e. administrative division and part of the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, which consisted of three districts, Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri and the areas nearby them. The other two major parts of Orissa: Ganjam and Sambalpur were controlled by the presidencies of Madras and the Central Provinces respectively. Though Orissa and Bihar were a part of the Bengal Presidency, they were separated from the Bengal in 1912 and later Orissa was separated from Bihar on 1st April, 1936. As a result, Orissa was declared as an independent province of India. It is, of course, the first linguistic state in this country.

4.2.1. Foundation of British Rule in Orissa

In Orissa division, “from the beginning of the Company’s rule, the officers and servants of the Company adopted an unsystematic attitude towards the people of Orissa” (Samal 1977: 112). They all were excluded from every job such as the Police, Revenue,
and Salt departments (ibid: 114). Walter Ewer (quoted in Mukherjee 1964: 137) rightly observed that “the exclusion of the genuine Hindu inhabitants of Orissa from every situation tended to check the diffusion of the knowledge of the British system of administration”. It has been observed that the linguistic incapability of the Oriyas was the main cause of exclusion from the administrative services. At that time the court language of Orissa was Persian. A very few Oriya *Amalas* spoke the Persian language perfectly and fluently. Before the British, “the key posts were held by outsiders who had knowledge of Persian” (ibid: 13). The Oriya *Amalas* did not have proficiency either in Persian or Bengali or English which were the languages of British administration. That’s why the Oriyas were not given an opportunity in British administration; instead the Muslims and Bengalis were preferred. Meanwhile “the British Government and various missionaries operated in Orissa attempted, albeit in a limited way, to establish printing presses and educational institutions chiefly to introduce English education into this tract. This in its own way prepared the ground for growth of nationalistic feelings in later years” (Mohanty 2005: 13-14). There are ample examples show the colonial empowerment virtually brought about customary effects over the vernaculars in Orissa. The question of vernacular and the act of national identity were articulated simultaneously by production of various types of literatures. The Oriya translators and writers struggled to create a new milieu in 19th century Orissa. Positioning the vernacular in administrative and educational levels was a very sensitive issue at that time. On the one hand, linguistic domination of the Bengalis, and on the other hand, the British language policy for lower provinces made resilience of the new literary genres.
Many new literary genres were created out of the colonial thoughts implanted through the translation activities.

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

The role of translation in the Oriya language movement was significant in establishing the linguistic authenticity of Oriya in 19th century. Though the historians, scholars of literature, and linguists of Orissa have studied the same field, this area is under-explored. It is one of the main objectives of this study to uncover the neglected aspects of the Oriya language movement. The translation activities of the native and non-native Oriya translators were to resolve the important issues like: religious conversion, textbook preparation, preparing dictionaries and grammars, language agitation, language standardization, literary cannon formation, script evolution which were often related to the national interests. The socio-cultural background of the translation needs in the particular period and its relevance are necessary to be discussed in situating the views of translation history.

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

4.2.2. Paik Rebellion: Translation and the Oriya Language Movement

There were several problems in educating the Oriya people properly in the three different provinces of the British administration. By that time they could not resolve the three basic issues of education: “the content, the spread and the medium” (quoted in Khubchandani 1997: 180). The vernacular language medium of Orissa was extremely poor and the people did not have the multilingual skill in order to work under the British government. Not a single Oriya person was found in British government in 1803. One of the colonial officers (Toynbee 2005: 94) rightly mentions this view: “When we (Company) first acquired (Orissa) in 1803 there was hardly a single native of Orissa in Government employ. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian, and it was not until 1805 that the Commissioners directed that in all written communications with the natives of the province, the subject should be written in Oriya as well as
Persian”. The order of the Commissioner could not show any result instantly because the Oriya *Mohurirs* (record writers) were less capable in comparison to the Bengali clerks. Again, Toynbee states “when this order necessitated the employment of Oriya *Mohurirs*, who, though skilful enough with their iron pen and bundle of palm leaves, were almost helpless when, required writing on paper with an ordinary pen. They are said to have been slow in acquiring any facility in (to them new method of writing, ignorant of business in general, and especially of the English system of revenue accounts (as indeed they well might be). All the best ministerial appointments were consequently in the hands of Bengali *Amalas* (bureaucrats), who attracted by the high pay that had to be offered to procure the requisite standard of efficiency, left their homes in Bengal, and bringing their families with them, settled in the provinces and became naturalized Oriyas; their descendants hold at the present day the chief officers in the various courts of revenue, criminal, and civil law” (ibid: 95). The regular domination of Bengalis made them resort to “bribery, corruption, peculation, and forgery” (ibid.) in Orissan administration. Banerjee admits that “in fact Bengalis of low type ruled Orissa for nearly half-a-century after the conquest. Having control of judicial and executive work, the Bengali found Orissa an easy means to get rich quick……Hundreds of old Oriya noblemen were ruined and their ancient heritage passed into the hands of Bengali *Zamidars*” (landlords) (quoted in Mansinha 1962: 166-167). The process of Bengalization in Orissa had paralyzed the Oriyas and activities of the contempt by the Bengalis caused immense inconvenience for them in getting the job opportunities under the British administration. The main cause was the monolingualism of the Oriyas as opposed to the multilingualism of Bengalis.
Multilingual proficiency of the Bengalis helped them to monopolize the administrative jobs in Orissa. Afterwards, it became a sign of serious threat to the Oriyas.

In order to protest against the Bengali domination and irresponsibility of the British administration, a passive movement was started by the Oriya Paiks for their linguistic identity after 14 years of the British rule. During these fourteen years, the people of Orissa experienced how they have been exploited by the British administration as well as the Bengali officials. As a result, there was a massive resistance by the Oriyas, notably the Paik Rebellion in 1817. It was the first linguistic protest against the British rule and Bengalis which has not been dealt with in detail by the Oriya scholars. The Oriya scholars, e.g. Natabara Samantaray, Gaganendra Nath Dash, Bibudhendra Narayan Patnaik, and Panchanan Mohanty and the historians, e.g. Prabhat Mukherjee, Kishori Mohan Patra, Jayakrushna Samal, and Kailash Chandra Dash never discussed the Paik Rebellion from a linguistic perspective. Though they have traced the route of Oriya language movement which took place between 1868-1872 through the Paik Rebellion, they have not pointed out the role of translation and linguistic domination of Bengalis which worked as a key instrument in it.

The language policy of the British administration created an enormous difficulty for understanding the rules and regulations meant for the natives in order to pay their land revenues and other domestic taxes. There is a noticeable example which shows how linguistic domination and linguistic misappropriation led to a social revolution against the British East India Company in Orissa, i.e. the Paik Rebellion. The military chief of Khurda, Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara Mahapatra, who was victimized by the British administration and brutality of the Bengali officer Krishnachandra Singh, who was a
polyglot having proficiency of Arabic, Bengali, Oriya, and Persian and worked as a *Dewan* under G. Groeme, the Collector of Cuttack. His intimate friend Chandraprasad Singh was a *Sheristadar* under the Tahasildar of Puri who assisted to divest *Rahanga* estate from Jagabandhu’s possession in using the expression ‘*Rahang Ogyreh*’ (Samantaray 1983: 11, Mukherjee 1964: 126). *Rahanga* was one of the farming estates of Jagabandhu which was later purchased by Krishnachandra Singh vide the notification of government in 1807. There was no mention of the *Rorung* estate specifically in that notification of the government for selling out the estates whereas the *Rorung* was included under *Ogyreh Killah Rorung* (Mukherjee 1964: 122 quoted in Ewer’s Report, Para-18: 1818). Using the word *Ogyreh* that means “etc” or “including some of other things belonging to the same” helped tactically taking away the estate *Rorung* from Jagabandhu’s possession. The problem was created due to the vagueness in the word *Ogyreh* in modern standard Oriya, an artful linguistic interpretation by Krishnachandra Singh and his intimate friend Chandraprasad Singh. Later, “it was understood by Jagabandhu and he found out that *Rorung* had been sold away along with *Rahanga* and thus he had been betrayed” (Mukherjee 1964: 123) Linguistic command of both the Bengali officials Krishnachandra and Chandraprasad made a political and judicial issue for Jagabandhu which insulted him and ultimately that situation became one of the serious causes for the Paik Rebellion. Along with the linguistic discrimination by the Bengalis the faulty system of administration of the country by the English was mainly responsible for the whole trouble. The linguistic misappropriation of the Bengalis and the faulty British administration policy caused the Paik Rebellion. An indigenous militia group of Orissa started the revolution against the monopoly of the British administration
as well as the linguistic domination of the Bengalis. The people’s agitation for vernacular language and translation of the rules and regulations of British government into the vernacular language, Oriya, were the serious factors for the Paik Rebellion.

A serious scholar of Oriya language movement, Natabara Samantaray states that the “Paika Rebellion is nothing other than a protest against a destitute administration of the foreigner” (Samantaray 1983: 11 my translation). There was another related cause advocated by Gaganendra Nath Dash, i.e. “dishonesty of some of Bengali clerks and negligence of British administration” (Dash 1993: 47). The views of G.N. Dash are based on Samantary’s and Mukherjee’s interpretations. Though he cited Walter Ewer’s commission report, he has not made it clear how linguistic domination of the Bengalis led to the Paik Rebellion. His statement of exclusion of Oriya clerks from the administration was pointed out earlier by Walter Ewer (1818), Prabhat Mukherjee (1964), Samantaray (1964). Dash’s views are not really appropriate in the context of linguistic domination of the Bengalis. In this context, the historical linkage discussed by Panchanan Mohanty is clear and convincing. He says that “resistance against British rule, notably Paik Rebellion in 1817, a protest in the way the British government had treated Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara Mahapatra who was the Bhramarabara Ray (military commander) for the King of Khurda” (Mohanty 2002: 53-54/2008: 102). He has not only connected the British language policy, Bengali domination, and role of translation in British administration but also has discussed the economic interest of colonial Oriya writers along with their participation in the Oriya linguistic movement. The missionaries, colonial officers, and colonized intellectuals all took part in this movement. His hypothesis clearly indicates how Jagabandhu was humiliated and discriminated by the
British administration. Simultaneously, the Bengalis’ multilingual skill helped them to get job under the British administration and that is how they monopolized the whole system of British administration in Orissa.

The historical evidence of the Paik Rebellion not only stemmed from the economical deprivations, salt monopoly, humiliation of the Raja (king), miserable condition of peasants, rapacity, exaction and torture by Amalas but also failure of the rules and regulations of the Company. Historical evidence for it was given by Walter Ewer, an acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack. His brief report on the same was submitted to the government on May 13, 1818 that shows all the roots of the Paik Rebellion and role of British administration in it. Ewer’s thorough discussion of the Paik Rebellion states some of the genuine factors related to translation and its importance. He claimed that “they (the natives of Orissa) seem unconscious of any particular benefits which have resulted to them from the operations of British laws and regulations, whilst it is very apparent that they have increased the assessment, required payment of revenues in silver instead of cowries, augmented the price of salt to six times its former rate, and dispossessed upwards of two-thirds of the original native proprietors from their estates. The people of the interior seemed also to have thought all applicants to the court vain and fruitless of late years, unless besides the legal, authorized overwhelming expense of stamp paper, fees, etc., they could further produce a considerable sum to purchase the favour or at least the forbearance of the sudder amlah […]. Translations of the regulations exist only in the Persian and the Bengali languages. Not a single regulation has ever been translated into great vernacular language of the Province” (quoted in Separate Province for Utkal 1928: 406-407). Ewer ascended on “the question of the failure of the British
laws and regulations which were introduced in Orissa was a matter of grave concern that not a single regulation had been translated into Oriya, the language of the people in Orissa” (quoted in Patra 1971: 32). The target languages of translation were Persian and Bengali which were actually difficult to understand by the common people of Orissa. “To add this inconvenience the government had followed a policy of systematic exclusion of the natives of Orissa from all officers in their administrative machinery” (ibid.). Not only that they had been subjected to the Bengali Amalas, who monopolized all subordinate officer jobs of the administration at that time, but also exclusion of the Oriyas from “all officers of trust and responsibility’ had tended to check and confine the diffusion of knowledge of the British system to a great extent” (ibid.). In such a situation, the people of Orissa were not aware of the British rules and regulations, even the tax folios were not written in Oriya. The failure of translating rules and regulations of the British administration to Oriya and exclusion of Oriya Amalas from the Company service were also the causes of the Paik Rebellion. The impact of this Rebellion uncovered the faults of the British administration and brutality of the Bengalis. After that the British government tried to reform the administration policies in favour of the Oriyas.

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

4.2.3. Oriya Cultural History after Paik Rebellion

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

**4.2.4. Oriya and its Official Language Status**

After the Charter Act of 1813, a decisive shift took place in the British language policy in India. The court language of Orissa was Persian. There were very few Oriya Amalas who had good competence in this language. After the Paik Rebellion, the Government realized the essence of vernacular language education which was emphasized in Walter Ewer’s report. He pointed out the issues as mean “exactions and injustice of the Bengali Amalas” in the British administration creating problems for the Oriyas. Commissioner, Gouldsbury, attributed the insurrection ‘in some measure’, to the “machinations of the Bengali Amalas in oppressing and plundering the people and fraudulently dispossessing the Oriya landlords of their estates” (ibid: 139). Under these circumstances, the Government took serious actions against “many of the principal officers and they were sent to jail or were suspended on charges of corruption. At the same time, “an attempt was made to give employment to local people, as recommended by the Court of Circuit, Calcutta” (Mukherjee 1964: 138). In 1824, C.J Middleton, Magistrate of Cuttack, received a despatch from the Court of Directors in which it was mentioned “to encourage respectable natives of Cuttack to qualify them for employment” (ibid: 167). “In 1828 October 23rd an important administrative change took place in Orissa, it divided Orissa into Northern, Central, and Southern divisions. Before, Orissa division was administrated under a collector. After partition of Orissa, it became easier to rule Orissa. The Government appointed Henry Rickets, W. Wilkinson, and R. Hunter as
the Magistrates and Collectors of these divisions. Thenceforth each of the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri had its own official decorum; official records of land and revenue, British rules and regulations were maintained” (ibid: 167). The ideological and political changes in the British administration towards Orissa show the impact of the Paik Rebellion. Simultaneously, the linguistic domination of Bengalis was also observed by the Government, as a result Oriya was introduced in the official level after twenty years of the Paik Rebellion.

The Government realized the linguistic problems of Indian provinces and there was an order to replace Persian from the court in all the provinces. By that order, Persian was abolished by 1832 in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and by 1837 in the Bengal Presidency. A letter from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Judicial Department in 1835 argued for abandoning Persian, and pointed to each of the concerns. In this respect, there was a despatch by the Court of Directors which stated its view on the replacement of Persian from the official status. “In the event of appearing to you that any advantage would result from discounting the use of the Persian as the language of Courts, you will state what language you would propose to substitute in its places, as well as whether the change would be attained with any and what reduction of expense” (Samantaray 1970: 4-5). In the minutes of 1836, Governor General Auckland noted the same reaction about Persian that it was not a colloquial language in any part of Company territory; to retain it as the language of the courts, therefore, was to keep the bulk of the people in ignorance of the judicial proceedings to which they may be parties. Auckland observed that this left the company with no means to check those proceedings or appreciate the court’s impartiality. The obvious remedy was to abolish Persian in the
Bengal presidency, where it was still the official language of the courts and revenue proceedings. But what language should or could replace it? The Company sought the opinions of Districts Commissioners and Judges subordinate to them. The resolution was passed in November as Act No 29 (1837), and Persian was officially replaced from the Bengal Presidency. Act 29 itself directly affected only the Bengal Presidency. Then the Bengali, Oriya, and Urdu (or Hindustani in Indo-Persian script) languages were designated as official languages of the courts and revenue proceedings in those areas where they predominated. However, Act 29 was significant far beyond Bengal because it was an all-India Act, and as such set a precedent for future language policy throughout India. It ensured that from 1837 on, vernacular languages would be the medium of colonial governance at all but the highest levels” (Mir 2006: 403-404). Finally, Persian was replaced from the official language status of Indian provinces and vernacular languages were introduced in its place. Especially in the Orissa division, Oriya was introduced and also promoted by many of the British officials.

Andrew Moffat Mills, who was for several years the Collector of Cuttack promoted vernacular education in Orissa. Due to his efforts, vernacular schools were established at Balasore, Remuna, Bhadrak, Hariharpore and at Mahanga in 1844 and 1845 (Mukherjee 1964: 173). Oriya language, education, and literature were promoted by the British officers William Wilkinson, Gouldsbury, G.F. Cockburn, R.N. Shore, John Beames, T.E. Ravenshaw, R.L. Matrin, and G.S. Wilkins. Missionaries and colonized Oriya officers, teachers, landlords, and official staffs became patrons of the language and literary discourses. “The motivations of these foreign agencies were totally utilitarian: the Christian missionary interest was spread of the Word doctrines of Christian; the interest
of the East India Company was to assure administrative” (Das 1991: 70). They moved
towards establishing the Oriya language and its literature in order to make it independent
from the Bengali domination. They had popularized the act of translation not only in the
literary spheres but also in the fields of textbook preparation and districts Gazette
writings. The Oriya translation committee was formed for these purposes especially for
writing of the Gazetteer in 1840 by the British government.

4.2.5. Translation Committee in Orissa

The question of vernacular language and its position were sorted out by the
district commissioners of Orissa and they introduced translation policy for improving the
Oriya language. On the account of development of vernacular languages in 1839 the
Governor General Auckland proposed in his minute that the English texts should be
translated into Indian languages for various reasons. He tried to reintroduce the
vernacular teaching, which was banned by T.B. Macaulay. For this purpose, he extended
financial support for establishing and running vernacular schools in the lower provinces.
To promote the Oriya language, the Government decided to translate the gazetteers. For
this purpose the Government constituted a selection board for appointing translators in
order to prepare the Gazetteer in 1840 on July 18. This was initiated by a committee
comprising the then commissioner of Orissa, the Civil and Session Judge H.V. Hothorn,
District Magistrate of Puri, Collector J.K Yart, Deputy Collector Brajasundar Ray and
Munsif Abdul Dian. They decided to appoint Amos Sutton for his command over three
languages, English, Bengali and Oriya. As a result, the translation committee selected
Amos Sutton to be a translator of the Government on a scale of three hundred rupees per
month. The committee strongly expressed the views on the translation policy that it was
the right way to solve the language discrimination and they declared, ‘the work (Oriya translation) is greatly wanted. It would be productive of incalculable good in improving the language which is not what it should be, and that the committee have little doubt that would greatly facilitate the medium of communication between the Governor and the Governed’ (quoted in Samantaray 1979: 80). That is why the Government agreed to publish the Gazette, the rules and regulations in Oriya. Amos Sutton was the first editor of the Oriya Gazette. In 1842, Government asked Rev. Amos Sutton to translate the Acts of the Government very quickly. The Sudder Board of Revenue also approved a proposal in 1844 to translate certain books in Bengali to Oriya. “Siva Prasad Singh, Munsiff, proposed to publish Oriya translation of Police regulation XX of 1817, provided that Government would buy 200 copies @ Rupees 2 each. The Government of Bengal agreed to buy one hundred copies as recommended by Gouldsbury, Commissioner (under secretary to government to Gouldsbury, dated 18th October 1848, No.1219)” (Mukherjee: 1964: 433). After Sutton’s retirement, the Government appointed Charles Lacey and after his departure his son William Carey Lacey took over the charge of the editorship and responsibility of the translator profession up to 1870 (reported in Utkala Dippika 5.12.1870, Vol-5, and No-6, quoted in Pattanaik 1972: 124). Throughout the 19th century with the help of the missionaries, the Government edited and published the Oriya Gazette (Swaro 1990: 202) and translation activities were supported by the Court of Directors in 1841. In the same year 1841, on 3rd February Commissioner A.J Mills wrote: “The Judge Mr. H. V. Hothorn’s modification of the plan of translating Govt. Regulations from beginning to the end suggests head of Judicial authority be authorized to select for translation into Oriya such of the Regulations and Acts of Govt. appertaining to this
province as would add to this suggestion that forthcoming regulations and Govt. Gazette be also published in Oriya. If the expense of this work be considered too great, I would recommend that an Oriya translation of the Govt. Gazette be alone published” (quoted in Samantaray 1979: 80). The British language and education policy also supported the use of the vernaculars in the administration as well as education in Indian provinces. The Government approved Auckland’s proposal and gave permission to implement the translation policy in the Indian provinces. Further, translation and its implementation in the educational level were highlighted by the Principal of the Company Control Board Charles Wood. He had submitted a brief education despatch to the Governor General Lord Dalhousie on July 19, 1854 wherein he mentioned that “the English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches, and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country” (quoted in Pennycook 1998: 70). Wood’s Despatch suggested the use of vernacular medium “to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with English” (Richey 1922, Naik 1963 quoted in Khubchandani 1997: 180) and also stated to “promote the European knowledge, the English texts are essential to be translated into Indian vernaculars” (Mahapatra 1986: 28). When the translation activities flourished in the Orissa division, a few educated Oriyas like Gaurisankar Ray, Chatrubhuja Pattanaik, and Bichhanda Charana Pattanaik were appointed as Government translators and worked for several years with a good salary under the British government.
4.2.6. Translation History and its Multidimensional Perspectives

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

1. Religious Evangelization
2. To Introduce Modern Literary Genres, i.e. autobiography, biography, novel, short story, travelogue, and different forms of poetry such as ballad, lyric, and sonnet, etc.
3. Writing Textbooks in various areas of knowledge
4. Preparation of Grammar and Dictionary
5. Language Learning
6. Employment and Economic Interest
7. Language Conservation and Preservation

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

4.2.7. Missionaries and their Contributions to Orissan Literary Scene

The Paik Rebellion of Orissa ended in 1818. In 1821, Lord Hastings, the Governor General of British Government, permitted the missionaries to start their activities in Orissa (Patra 2004: 12, Swain 1991: 68). The philanthropic nature of the missionaries pushed Orissa towards various denominations of the missionary groups. They were the General Baptist of England, the General Baptist, the American Freewill
Baptists, the Evangelical Missionary Society and Roman Catholics. They opened their philanthropic stations all over Orissa for their evangelical work. Thus it was rightly remarked: “the province of Orissa is a portion of field of missionary labour, which has all along been occupied by one denomination only at a time. First, the Serampore missionaries sent preaches of the Gospel thither but on the arrival of the first missionaries from the General Baptist denominations they cheerfully relinquished the district in favour of the new labourers. Since that time Orissa proper, has, a mission field, been occupied exclusively by evangelists belonging either to the English General Baptists” (Swaro 1990: 1-2). Among these Missionary groups, the General Baptists Missionary Messrs. Bampton and Peggs proceeded from Calcutta in the later part of January, 1822 and they landed about fifty miles from Cuttack, on February 11th, 1822 for the purpose of evangelization (Sutton 1854: 19). Soon after them Charles Lacey came to Cuttack with his wife in 1823 and Amos Sutton followed them with his wife and they reached Cuttack, in 1825 (Sutton 1835: 61, Samantaray 1979: 45). Unfortunately, due to the death of his wife, he returned to England in 1825. In September 1836, Sutton visited the United States and again returned to Cuttack with Eli Noyes and Mrs. Noyes, and J. Phillips and Mrs. Phillips, the missionaries of the American Free–Will Baptist Society. They committed to their activities in Orissa division in 1838, though they had come two years earlier to Sambalpur. The Evangelical Missionary Society started its work in 1896 due to the inspiration of Miss Gilbert, who visited Mayurbhanj in course of her missionary tour in Bengal. Her inspiration led Kate Robert Allanby to come to Mayurbhanj from Brisbane for evangelical work (Swaro 1988: 80). Right from the beginning, the missionaries were characterized by a drive to translate the Bible as a means of providing a basis for the
preservation of orthodoxy and an accurate recounting of the life and teaching of Jesus. And also “translations of the works were produced mainly to meet the demands of pedagogy” (Das 1991: 75). They provided vernacular grammars, dictionaries; textbooks, philological writings, and religious and non-religious texts into Indian languages for the purpose of education and administration. The missionaries had considered it a legitimate duty to educate the natives. James Peggs, the first Baptist missionary of Orissa wrote “we hope to promote education as preparatory to the reception of the gospel” (Dhall 1997: 151). Rev. Amos Sutton another missionary since 1824 wrote that “the promotion of education among the people is another legitimate branch of missionary benevolence and they promoted both vernacular and English education. Around 1823, they established 15 elementary schools” (ibid.). The missionaries started to promote vernacular literature in all aspects. Though, William Carey, Ward, and Marshman of Serampore had prepared the Oriya Bible and Oriya religious tracts through translation, later on the process of translation continued by Reverend Amos Sutton, Charles Lacey and his son William Charles Lacey, Eli Noyes, J. Phillips, E.B.C. Hallam, J. Stubbins, J. Buckley, J.G. Pike, and their wives and converted Oriyas. Then, vernacular education, English education, special education for women were introduced and promoted by them. They established the first printing press at Cuttack in 1838. Their main objective was to covert the natives into Christianity. Through the process of conversion, they understood “if preaching of the gospel was necessary it was necessary to spread education so that the Bible could be read and understood. Its translation and publication into Indian languages were also essential. As a result, the missionaries turned out not only to be preachers and translators, but also publishers and educators” (Dhall 1997: 142). Distributing Bibles and religious tracts
among the native converts made them translate the religious stories to the native vernaculars.

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

“Orissa – we have received a copy of a tract missionaries have this year established at that station. It is printed in the Oriya character and for neatness of execution is not exceeded, doing any similar brochure which has issued from the Metropolitan Press in Calcutta. It does no little credit to those to whose feelings of public spirit and Christian benevolence the district is now indebted for an efficient press. The establishment of a press in any province is an important era in its history. It is delightful therefore to contemplate the rapid increase of the means of intellectual and religious improvement through means of this mighty engine in the various and even remote provinces of this empire. We know witness the establishment of process at the opposite extremities of the Bengal presidency through the spirited exertions of missionaries, but for whose labour those provinces might long have remained destitute of them. Looking down to the southern most of the provinces, we find a press setup in country of Orissa. “We rejoice that a press has been established in that country capable of executing any works in the Oriya language and character. The extent to which the language is used has only been discovered of late. We find that it is spoken and written through and extent country three hundred miles in breadth from the sea to one hundred miles in breadth from the sea, to one hundred miles in length west Sambalpore, and more than two hundred miles in breadth from Midnapore, where it melts into Bengalee (Bengali) , to Ganjam, where it meets the Telooogoo (Telugu).It was indispensable therefore to the competences of missionary operation to that kingdom that means should be provided on the spot for multiplying books in a language so extensively used. But why should the benefits of this local press be confined to missionary operation? “Why should not Government avail itself or the means of communication with the people which have thus been provided, by publishing its own acts and notifications through the same channel? We know that a strong disposition exists in the highest quarter to provincialize the public service in Orissa. It is the wish of Government that those who are appointed to this province should apply themselves earnestly to the acquisition of the vernacular tongue, and should more in a circle of promotion within the province itself. In this arrangement there is much wisdom. But to render it efficient, it is necessary to follow it up by the translation of all orders, which the people are required to understand and act on, into their own language, and by a liberal use of the press which has now been established in the province….. Two presses have even since been kept in operation, and a large number of useful works published, under the management of Mr W.Brooks, (Sutton.1850. 319-320). “The Orissa missionaries have ever been characterized by their devotion to this department of missionary labour .Messrs, Lacroix and Mullins, in their lecture
on the Orissa mission, remark — "The preaching of the gospel in the vernacular language, has been the great means employed by the missionaries in Orissa. They have not neglected the preparation of a Christian literature, the translation of the bible, the printing of tracts, or the education of youth; but public preaching in all parts of the country has always been considered by them a first and chief duty." After other remarks, laudatory of our missionaries in applying the native language and mythology to the purpose of the evangelization of the people, they add—"The Orissa mission may justly claim the title of the great preaching mission of Bengal. "We mention these things, not to unduly praise the instruments of God's mercy to a heathen land, but to show how successfully the native language, native illustrations and modes of thought, and a knowledge of the native system, may be acquired by English missionaries who take up this matter as their one great subject of study, and the one great vehicle of preaching the gospel to Hindoos (Hindus)." We cannot but be obliged to our brethren of another denomination for this generous testimony. The writer hopes, however, it is not so exclusively due to the Orissa missionaries. There are some in Bengal and other parts of India, he knows, who are like-minded, while several of his brethren of the American Baptist mission on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal have equaled, if not exceeded us, in this mode of evangelical labor" (Sutton 1850:328-329).

This description of Sutton states the pioneering efforts of missionaries in setting up a printing press, translating sacred texts and government treaties, school books, vernacularization of texts encouraged and promoted by the missionaries. Newspapers, journals, and periodicals in Oriya were published by them. They wrote “textbooks for use in the schools and translated Holy Bible and compiled dictionary in Oriya” (Mohanty 1988:88). They introduced new literary genres: prose, fiction, translation, travelogue, grammar, and dictionary in vernacular languages. Their main goal was to spread Christianity in Orissa by establishing the printing press, running the literary periodical and journals which supported them in preaching Christianity on the soil of Orissa. Their mission of proselytizing not only flourished but also helped in canonization of the Oriya literature. They contributed a large number of translated texts in Oriya which were used by the Vernacular School Book Society (VSBS) as the textbooks for pedagogical purposes. The grammar, dictionary, journals and periodicals were introduced during the same period for evangelic and teaching purposes.
There is ample evidence about the modern era of Oriya translation which was introduced by the missionaries. They sped up their religious evangelic activities and tried to spread the western knowledge and reality of human life through the Christian literatures. The literary contributions of the missionaries represent the variety of literary compositions in Oriya which were written, transcreated, and translated by them. The religious texts like the Bible, religious tracts, and religious pamphlets were translated by the missionaries and converted Oriya missionaries. The examples of Oriya Bible translations and religious tracts shed light on the translation history of Oriya and its important aspects.

4.2.8. Translation of the Bible to Oriya

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

4.2.9. Translation of Tracts and Religious Literature to Oriya

Translation of religious tracts into Oriya was another religious translational contribution of the missionaries. The Bible Translation Society and Tract Society of
America provided funds for printing the religious gospels and tracts in native languages. The first religious tract in Oriya was written early missionaries, Rev. William Bampton, and Rev. J. Peggs. While coming to Orissa in 1822, they received 1000 religious books and 500 religious tracts from Serampore Mission Press, Calcutta for spreading Christianity among the natives. In 1835, 28000 tracts were distributed by the missionaries to the native people of Orissa (Samantaray 1983: 98). It was one of the primary duties of the missionary groups to translate and prepare the religious tracts in Oriya. The first tract to be printed by the Orissa Mission Press was “Jagannath Tirtha Mahatmya” (Greatness of the Pilgrimage to Jagannath). Most of the tracts published in Oriya were translations (Dhall 1997: 195). Amos Sutton also composed thirty tracts, several of them in poetry, to meet the requirements of the people. A list of Oriya tracts are extracted from the book *Unabimsa Satābdire Oriya Sāhityare KhriTian Misanārimānānkara Dāna* (Contributions of the Christian Missionaries to the 19th century Oriya Literature) by Mohapatra (1988: 132) which are given below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya Translation</th>
<th>No of Copies Printed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catechism (Vol-1)</td>
<td>sesa bāNi</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Story</td>
<td>purātana kāhāNi</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Sayings</td>
<td>kareNT Seings</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Commandments</td>
<td>dasa āgyān</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Refuge</td>
<td>asala saraNārthi</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Servant</td>
<td>nigro bhurtya</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripe Mango (in verse)</td>
<td>pacilā āmba</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the process of evangelization, the missionaries translated and distributed a large number of tracts in Orissa. In the year 1835, about 28,000 copies of tracts were distributed amongst the native preachers of Orissa. For the purpose of translating and publishing tracts, the American Tract society had financed 500 dollars to Orissa missionaries. In 1837, the missionaries of Orissa received ninety reams of paper and one thousand dollars for printing of tracts in Oriya. The Annual Report of the Committee of Baptist Missionary Society in 1897 gives a list of the following tracts that were published by that time in Oriya:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. No</th>
<th>Name of the Tract</th>
<th>No. of Copies Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>māLati o bhāgyabati</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jewell Mine o Salvation</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sermon of the Mount</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Miracle of the Christ</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>muktira mārga</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>jamidāra o rayata</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>srustira kathā</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>pilānka dharma geeta</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>baibelara sisu</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Selection of the Tract</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All these Oriya tracts were translated from English by the missionary translators. The publication of copies confirms the popularity of the tracts and various important social and religious themes were narrated in those tracts. A few tracts were discovered by Mukherjee (quoted in Dhall 1997) which are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. No</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abridgement of Baxter’s Call to the Uninvited</td>
<td>pāpimānanka prati nivedan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>True Refuge</td>
<td>satya āshraya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Three Words of Instructions</td>
<td>upadesara tinoTi kathā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Memoirs of Laxi Bai and Duibee, Two Christian</td>
<td>laxmibāi puNi duibeenkara carita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Death’s Judgment of Futurity</td>
<td>mrityu bichāra dina o paraloka bisaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were several tracts translated by W. Brooks and were listed by Srinibasa Mishra’s Adhunikā Oriya Gadya Sahitya-1811-1920 (Modern Oriya Prose Literature-1811-1920) (Mishra 1995: 48).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL No</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Christ’s Invention</td>
<td>Christian āmantraNa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Open Door</td>
<td>unmukta dwāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Jewel Mine of Salvation</td>
<td>muktira maNimaya kāhāNi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Answer Relating Religious Questions</td>
<td>Dharama sambaMdhiya Jigyansara uttara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a few tracts catalogued by J.F. Blumhardt’s (1894) *Catalogue of Assamese and Oriya Books* (pp.1-34) in the Library of the British Museum, London. Those are not referred to by the Oriya missionary researchers of same period. These tracts need to be discussed for studying the modern literary styles of Oriya prose and poetry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL.No</th>
<th>Publication Year</th>
<th>Name of the Press</th>
<th>Name of the Tracts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Serampore Mission Press</td>
<td>iswarankara datta sastra ki (The Divine Original of the Bible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Dubanara niyama (Baptismal Convenant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>sad sat jagannath brutāntā, Jagannath, a Form of the God Vishnu: an Account of the True and False</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Mission Press Cuttuck</td>
<td>pāpimānankara prati nivedana (An Abridgement of Baxtor’s call to the Unconverted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>mahāvicāra dina (The Day of Judgment)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>mrutyu, vićāra dina, paralokara bisaya (Death, Judgment, and Futurity)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>dibya varamāLa (The divine alphabet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1840/1848</td>
<td>traNacaritrodaya (The Life of Christ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>satya dharma prakāsa (An Epitome of the True Religion)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>ghatā chhar helā (The Gate Thrown Open)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>dharma-pustakara sāra (The Essence of the Bible)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Jisu khrishTara nimantraNa (Christian Invitation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>khrisTara āścharyā kriyā (Miracles of Christ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>ksrīsTar drisTanta kāthā (The Parables of our Lord Jesus Christ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>joshephara caritra (The History of Joseph, extracted from Bible)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>dharma vyavastāh (Divine Law)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The textbook or school book preparation was one of the greatest contributions of the missionaries. Before 1822, there were no modern schools in Orissa and also before 1852 “there were then no printed books in Oriya except the Bible and no printing press in Orissa except the Cuttack Mission Press. The missionaries ran a school in Balasore. Only the Bible was taught there. No Hindu children would attend for fear of losing caste by reading their book” (Senapati 2006: 64, Boulton 1985: 12). In the year 1823 the English Charity School was established by the missionaries in Cuttack (Sahu 2001: 1134). For the educational purposes, they translated a few English and Bengali books into Oriya. The textbook writing initiated by the colonial officers with the help of the missionaries like Rev. Amos Sutton, Rev. J. Phillips, W.C. Lacey who had written grammar, dictionary, history, geography, parables, and fables, mathematics, and general science were “the first crops of writings meeting the indigenous pedagogic requirement” (Pati 1994: 03). For writing textbooks in Oriya, the missionaries adopted translation as a method to prepare the school books in a short duration. The British Government also encouraged and patronized the missionaries and their textbook writing activities were appreciated. Keeping this in mind the then Commissioner Mr. Pakenhome had requested Rev. Amos Sutton to compile an Oriya grammar book. In 1831, Rev. Sutton’s Book *An Introductory Grammar of Oriya Language* was printed at Serampore. Again Mr. Pakenhome’s request, Rev. Sutton translated this book into Oriya entitled as *Oriya Byakaranara Upakramanika* (An Introduction to Oriya Grammar) Company purchased for 100 copies, at five rupees each” (quoted in Samantaray 1979: 15, Dash 1983: 33, Mahapatra 1988: 187, Dhall 1997: 200). On this occasion, Sutton wrote: “I have endeavored to simplify the language as
much as possible. That no improvement can be made I do not support, however, I did the best circumstances would allow” (quoted in Samantaray 1979: 15). He further remarks: “I hoped the Government subscription would about clear the expense and that the Mission and the cause of humanity would receive sufficient benefit to justify the labour employed on the publication” (quoted in Dhall 1997: 200). In the process of translation the General Baptist Missionaries of Orissa tried to fulfill the want of School books in Oriya. They printed and distributed a few primary school books among the Oriya Schools. Of the early missionaries of Orissa, William Charles Lacey, Amos Sutton, and J.S Phillips the textbook writers and their books got selected by the School Book Society and Vernacular School Book Society in Orissa. The Annual Report of Council of Education for the Year 1842-43 : ( pp.32-33) contains a section (from no. 55 to no.67) on the instructions of writing Vernacular Class Book in Oriya in which the textbook writing guidelines were discussed. The parameters were:

1. On the 10th of September, 1842 the Local Committee of Cuttack requested that with reference to the circular letter of the 20th June, 1842 above recorded, and in compliance with the directions therein contained, they had selected, subject to the approval of the Govt. Rev. A. Sutton, whose proficiency in Oriya literature is well-known and Bissumbhor Bideabhusana, the Head Pundit of the Govt. School, as the fittest persons for preparing the required books in the vernacular language.
2. The Local Committee proposed that the first book should be made out of 3 little works already in use in the Govt. schools: first, a small primer; second, a Nitikatha or Moral stories; third, an elementary geography with small alternations, and the addition of a fourth part of Oriya spelling.
3. With reference to the grammar, the Local Committee stated that Mr. Sutton had two works in hand, but that with neither did he feel satisfied, any they proposed to adopt one then in course of preparation by the School Pundit, subject to such alternations as Mr. Sutton might think fit to make, while it was passing through the Press.
4. The vocabulary Mr. Sutton was willing to prepare and sent to the Local Committee a specimen which they were of opinion would answer the desired purpose.
5. It was mentioned that there was a Local Committee at present in use in the School; but the Local Committee and Mr. Sutton concurred in opinion that a copy of the one used in Bengal (Ganitanka) should be obtained and the necessary alternations made to adopt it in Orissa.
6. The Local Committee wished to introduce in the school a work in English and Oriya (Oriya) entitled Elements of Natural Philosophy in a series
of familiars dialogues on Geography, Astronomy, etc. with a few brief historical notices, chiefly compiled from works approved by the Committee and published by the School Book Society. Mr. Sutton suggested that it might possibly be enlarged and improved by any compendium by Dr. Yates, or otherwise.

7. Mr. Sutton also had commented upon Vol.2 of this work, relating to the animal, Vegetable and Mineral kingdoms, it was stated to be a verbatim translation of the later part of Dr. Yates’ books and the Local Committee recommendation that Mr. Sutton should be solicited to complete it for the Govt. institution in the province.

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

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

After this resolution, radical changes were seen in Oriya textbook writing. The maximum Oriya textbooks were prepared by Amos Sutton. His *Introduction Grammar of the Oriya Language* published in 1831 from Calcutta. It is claimed to be first printed grammar of Oriya language (Samantaray 1979: 15, Dash 1983: 29, Mahapatra 1993: 22, Mahapatra 1999: 3). There were several textbooks which were translated and composed by Amos Sutton. A list of these is given below: (1) *Introductory Lessons in Oorya (Oriya) Language* (1843) translated from Grierson’s “Idiomatic Expression” or “bākyaboli” (1820), (2) *A Vocabulary of the Current Sanskrit Terms* (1844), (3) *The First Lessons in Ooryah- Ooryah and English* (1844), (4) *Vernacular Class Book Reader* or sārasangraha (1846) (it was translated from Yates’s *Vernacular Class Book*
Reader for College and School (1844), (5) Ooryah (Oriya) Instructor (1846), (6) History of Orissa (1846), (7) Ooryah Primer (fourth edition: 1850), (8) padarthavidyasara or Elements of Natural Philosophy (1830, 1832, 1845), (9) The Moral Class Book in Ooryah (1852) were translated and written by Amos Sutton. Besides these the books like: geeta govinda (1840), nitikathā (1840) amarakosa (1845), batrisha singhsana (1850), and oDiya gaNita (1856) were selected for the pedagogical purpose.

The tradition of textbook writing was followed by many missionaries of Orissa. Phillips wrote Geography of Orissa (1845) and a dictionary in Santali. William Charles Lacey wrote Oriya Grammar (1855) and edited nitikathā (1855) and hitopodesa (1855), and J.S. Phillips wrote Geography in Oriya in 1845 (quoted in Swaro 1990: 201-202). phulamaNi o karuNāra bibaraNa (The History of Phulamani and Karuna of Mrs. Mullens, a book for native Christian women) was translated into Oriya from Bengali by Rev. Stubbins and published in 1871 by Cuttack Mission Press (Blumhardt 1905: 332). There were also several Bengali books prescribed in Oriya medium schools during the same period. Mr. Rose, the first inspector of Orissa, after making a survey of the educational system had spoken in favour of improving the standard of textbooks in Oriya. He had acknowledged Oriya as a separate language and not a subsidiary of Bengali. Therefore, he had expressed his gratitude to Rev. Sutton and Rev. W.C. Lacey for their contribution towards the preparation and publication of textbooks for students (quoted in Dhall 1997: 205). In the context of textbook preparation, translation was adopted by the textbooks writers for supplying the school books in Oriya and also the same had been followed by the Oriya textbook writers. The missionaries translated a few Bengali and English books to Oriya which were selected as the textbooks. These are: swargiya jātrira bruttānta (1838) was
translated by Amos Sutton from J. Bunyan’s “The Pilgrim’s Progress” and “The Holy War” of him was translated into Oriya as *dharma juddhara bruttānta* by W.C. Lacey in 1880 (Blumhardt 1894: 15) and again it was revised by W. Brooks of the original Oriya translation by Charles Lacey by the same name *dharma juddhara bruttānta* (1880) and published in Cuttack Mission Press. A religious text, *dharma pustakara sahakāri* (Companion to the Bible) a revised edition prepared by J. Buckley of the original translation of Amos Sutton and that was published in 1880 by Cuttack Mission Press. Philip Doddridge’s *the Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (Part-1)* translated into Oriya as *manushyara manare dharmara upatti* (1840), W.C Lacey translated Rajkrishna Vandyopadhya’s Bengali *nitibodha* (1864) and Tarinicharana Chattapadhya’s *bhugoLa bibaraNa* (1859) into Oriya. William Miller translated J. Vaughan’s *Missionary* into Oriya as *saphaLa bhabishyavāNi* (1878) (Blumhardt 1894: 1-34). The command over the languages helped the missionaries for preparing the textbooks, grammars and dictionaries in the vernacular languages. The government also patronized them for writing the same. On the one hand, the religious evangelization and on the other hand, their survival interests were instrumental for cooperation with the government in acting in the favour of native education and running the government without any disturbance. The grammar and dictionary writing in vernacular languages was another significant contribution of the missionaries. Oriya grammar and dictionary writing was initiated by the missionaries and Amos Sutton, wrote one of the Oriya grammar in 1831 on receiving an instruction from the British Government.
4.2.11. Journalism and Oriya Prose

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

Pati (1994) has discussed the significance of *prabodha candrikā* and its contribution to the growth of Oriya language, literature, and cultivation of the native minds. He states, “it was both a literary and newsmagazine which was edited by William Lacey, and brought out under the hearty support of Christian Mission, the paper was distinguished for its liberal outlook, and commitments to local culture and interests. William Lacey deserves the highest compliments for his sagacious editorship of the paper. Under his supervision it popularized a number of edifying stories from ancient Indian literature, conveyed brief but balanced and representative accounts of the local, state level, national and international scenario, incorporated a number of informative articles on a wide verity of geography, culture (including tribal life), scientific, historical, and religious subjects and also carried a monthly calendar, result of unknowing native language and translation of fables. Most important of all, it prepared the grounds for healthy indigenous organs to develop by transmitting an awareness of the vital significance of such attempts, and by demonstrating the flexibility and precision of a nascent modern Oriya prose in tackling a wide variety of themes. In the first editorial note, Lacey wrote for the paper is a memorable document.
In it he reminds the Oriyas of ancient glories of their land and its vast spread, goes on to emphasize that even in its present state it is a considerable territory with a large population, draws their attention to the neighbouring state of Bengal where modern newspapers and books in the native language had proliferated in a short time through the efforts of intellectuals who had sharpened and polished their prose into an effective medium of modern communication, and with the support of new educational institutions had stimulated and economic and cultural regeneration in the state, and ruefully points out how the Oriyas have languished, cherished small acquisitions and neglecting that knowledge with the aid of which far greater prosperity could be attended. The editorials then outlines a broad profile of the paper and concludes by saying it is not intended to further the interests of any particular religion and no one should apprehended a danger to his faith in subscribing to the paper” (Pati 1994: 31-32). In addition to the views above, there was an epilogue titled pāThakamānanka prati prathamapatra. “First letter for the readers” written by the editor of the prabodha candrikā (in 1856, January) in its first issue in which he declared that “the gist of the paper will based on the translation of the English and Bengali newspapers publishing in Calcutta” (quoted in Mohanty 1984: 03, my translation). This newspaper not only contained the translation of fables, but it was also a complete byproduct of translation. The role of translation in the development of journalism was one piece of evidence for positioning the vernaculars from other linguistic sources.

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

4.2.12. The Oriya Language Movement and Translation

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

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

Most languages have their own systems that develop through the processes of evolution and influences. Similar strategies are found in Oriya which was privileged to come out through the practice and production of translation. The present section aims to focus on the essence of translation which was proposed for the pedagogical demands and often brought out the linguistic and literary genres in Oriya. There were several
continuous efforts from the British officials for the development of the vernacular language, literature, and education in Orissa. At the same time the cultural and linguistic contact between Oriya and Bengali institutionalized the politics of translation and its multidimensional activities very significantly.

The socio-political and cultural contact between Bengali and Oriya was formed through the policy of religious preaching, trading, war, and official services. As a result all these sociological and historical events benefited them for their service and survival. In this context, one of the historians of Orissa, Pyarimohan Acharya states that the Bengalis started settling down in Orissa beginning from the time of the Ganga Dynasty. According to him “the number of Bengali settlers in Orissa at the present day (1879) is by no means small, for it almost exceeds one lakh. They began coming to Orissa in the time of the Ganga Dynasty. The last independent king of Bengal himself fled to Orissa in 1203. And afterwards Caitanya came to Orissa in the 16th Century, together with many Bengali Vaisnavas. Puri Jagannath temple also tempted many Bengalis to come to Orissa. Many of them settled down here, influencing considerably Oriya society and customs, and being them strongly influenced in their social practices by close contact with Oriyas” (quoted in Boulton 1993: 64-65). So it is a fact that the same emigrational attitude of the Bengalis was found during the period of Mughal, Maratha, and then British in Orissa. The regular cultural and political encounter between Oriya and other immigrants benefited in the form of linguistic conversancy and they settled down in Orissa for their livelihood and survival interests. By showing their linguistic qualification, they were appointed in various official positions under the British Government. Significantly in 19th century, most of the higher posts in Orissa were held by Bengalis and they were very
dominant because of their European knowledge and multilingual skills. Almost half a century from the Paik Rebellion (1817) to another historical catastrophe, Na Anka famine (1866) is described as follows: “this disaster could only open the eyes of the rulers and the administration had a direct impact on the subsequent developments in the state. The ruling class then tried to be careful about the Oriya’s improvement. Communication system was improved, postal facilities were made available, railway lines were laid and thus gradually Orissa was connected to outside world” (Das 1998: 3). All kinds of social situations gave a chance to the Bengalis for enjoying their living in Orissa under the support of British government. A similar view about Bengalis’ migration to Orissa has been observed by Boulton, who points out that “by the 1860s the major part of Orissa had been reduced to virtually a ‘suburb’ of Bengali. The administration, education, and commerce of Orissa were all subservient to Calcutta. Orissa’s coming under British rule after Bengal had set in motion a vicious circle of events which threatened to annihilate Orissa. Because of the administration set up, the non-European Inspectors of Schools in Orissa were recruited from Bengali because of the shortage of textbooks in Oriya, textbooks were imported from Bengal, because of the Bengali textbooks, the medium of instruction, and most teachers in Government schools were Bengalis. It was a self perpetuating chain of events, whose ultimate effect was to stunt the Oriya language and whose ultimate effect would have been to stunt the Oriya nation” (Boulton 1993: 66-67). In the 19th century, Orissa was occupied by the immigrants from states and “the Oriya felt invaded and superseded by foreigners. Phakir Mohan Senapati, the master craftsman of the realistic tradition in Indian fiction, wrote in his Atmajibanacarita (autobiography) that not a single Oriya was allowed to join the Public Works and Postal Departments. He has
also vividly described the situation in *Utkala Bhramanam* (Travel in Utkal) (1892) as follows:

The Kammas (Telugus) have occupied the south; the north has become the home for the Bengalis; the west has gone into the Marathas’ hands. . . . The Marwaris, the Kapodias, the Bhojpuris, and the Modis have taken over the trade and commerce. The Oriyas till the land and cut the paddy plants, but the Gujaratis enjoy the harvest. The judges, the pleaders, all are foreigners. Even the clerk in the post office is not a native. As a result, there were not enough literate, native Oriyas to carry out the job of maintaining records in their mother tongue” (quoted in Mohanty 2002: 58-59). Since there was no single native Oriya with the required education, the Bengali and other immigrants occupied most of the teaching and administrative posts in Orissa. Their linguistic hesitation often raised the question of language replacement by using their own mother tongues. Bengalis wanted to use their mother tongue Bengali as the medium of education in Orissa. These issues became very serious among these linguistic groups. As a result, Oriya language movement started in 1868. For resolving the linguistic tension between two linguistic groups, British officials and native intelligentsia from both the sides debated and discussed seriously and regularly for their linguistic specificity. The issues like shortage of textbooks, literary texts, and linguistic independence were hotly debated by them. These issues created the linguistic consciousness among the native and non-native intellectuals and they tried to resolve this linguistic tension between the Oriyas and the Bengalis. Similarly, Sambalpur and Ganjam both regions were also threatened by Hindi and Telugu speakers respectively at the same time. In 1871 and 1896 these two
languages were replaced from both the regions and Oriya was introduced as the language of the province.

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

If we consider the pedagogical scenario of Orissa before the period of language movement it will not be wrong to state in this regard that there were merely a few textbooks, grammars, dictionaries which were prepared by the missionaries and Bengalis. Since there was no Oriya intelligentsia who could write or translate textbooks in Oriya and also educate the pupils using their mother tongue, the entire education system was captured and dominated by the Bengali immigrants. There are several causes which triggered serious debates and nationalistic sensibilities after the great famine of Orissa in 1866. The social factors triggered a massive movement against the antagonistic views exaggerated and spread by the Bengali intelligentsia on the Oriya literature, language, education, and linguistics studies. Though several scholarly writings have been published on Oriya language movement in the recent years, they have not emphasized the role of translation in it. In the context of Oriya and its restoration movement, the historical and political views have been explored and discussed by the scholars of Oriya literature,
linguistics, and history, but no remarkable steps have been taken to position the role of translation in Oriya language movement which played a significant role for Oriya language restoration. The following aspects of Oriya language and literature such as linguistic authenticity, literary identity, and literary canonization evolved through the translation activities are quite silent in their discussions. So the present section tries to give a clear picture on the Oriya language movement and the appearance of translation for creating an Oriya identity. At the same time Oriya intellectuals were involved in various literary activities including establishment of printing presses, writing of textbooks, editing of manuscripts, publishing of journals and periodicals, newspapers, and compiling of dictionaries and grammar for creating new literary genres in Oriya.

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

There are plenty of archival materials about the Oriya language movement documented by the colonial officials, but a systematic study of the movement started in 1960s first by scholars of Oriya literature and then by historians. Linguists have shown their interest in it recently. Samantaray first attempted to explore the various growing perspectives of modern Oriya literature. The fifth chapter of his book entitled *Oriya Bhasa Bilopa Andolana* (Oriya Language Abolition Movement) comprehensively discusses the roots of Oriya language movement and its final result. A regular conflict between the two linguistic groups (Oriya and Bengali) continued with the support of strong archival records and historical evidence. The role of Oriya and Bengali intelligentsia and British
language policy has also been discussed in the same chapter. In order to establish the politics of colonial Oriya language, he cites a lot of sources in viewing language consciousness beginning from the day of Paik Rebellion through the famine of 1866. Finally, it reaches the stage of Oriya language movement (1868-1872) and ends with the visible growth of modern Oriya literature. In connection with the modern Oriya literature and language movement, his later writings are devoted to the forgotten chapters of language movement which have been explored with some of the additional and authentic views of previous writings, his concentration on the role of translation in Oriya language movement is sidelined. In this connection, he tries to present ample data on the growth of modern Oriya literature through the process of westernization wherein the role of translation can be viewed and established. There is no doubt about his contributions which have given a lot of information about the importance of translation in the British administration. According to him, “the committee expressed that the Oriya language can grow and make close relationship between the ruler and the ruled through translation” (Samantaray 1983: 214, my translation). His outline obviously views the information about translation, but he never expressed in detail why and how translation created literary motivation and linguistic consciousness among the Oriyas.

While exploring the colonial history of Orissa, Prabhat Mukherjee has tried to provide a few historical documents in the book *History of Orissa-Vol.VI* published in 1964. His discussions on the Oriya language movement are not systematic. His main point on Oriya language does not have the strength to connect and establish the social chemistry between translation and British language policy. Mukherjee finds the colonial
impact over Oriya literature less important whereas Samantaray’s discussions clearly justify the growth of Oriya literature under the era of colonization.

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

Gaganendra Nath Dash has discussed in detail the Oriya language movement in the 1980s. He has two books to his credit namely *Odia Bhasa Carcha Parampara* (The Tradition of Oriya Language Analysis published in 1983), and *Odia Bhasa Surakhya Andolana* (Oriya Language Restoration Movement published in 1993) and a few research papers on the same topic. Basically, Dash’s language discussions are more or less based on Samantaray’s works and arguments. Though his discussion contains new piece of historical evidence left out by Samantaray, a clear road map of the Oriya language and modern the Oriya literature filtered through the process of translation is absent in his writings. He has failed to establish the role of translation either in Oriya linguistic discussion or in Oriya language movement. His recent paper “Decolonization and the Search of Linguistic Authenticity” (2006) in Oriya also does not present any idea about translation or filtration of Oriya prose during the era of Phakir Mohan Senapati which can
be established through an intervention of translation. In order to establish the views of Oriya language movement and role of Oriya linguistic discussion, a paper titled “Oriya language movement and Oriya Linguists” was published by B.N. Patnaik in 2002. In it, he tried to discuss “the linguistic and pedagogical issues that were raised and debated during the period of Oriya language movement” (Patnaik 2002:17). Though Patnaik has mentioned that “the origin of Oriya linguistics is to be traced in this debate” (ibid.), he has totally ignored to provide the sociolinguistic directions of the Oriya language which evolved during the period of language movement or before when the Missionary education and the British language policy were simultaneously introduced for the Orissa division. At the same time, Oriya grammars, dictionaries, and language readers have been written and published in the favour of colonial administration and vernacular education. In fact, language teaching and learning materials had been prepared through the Grammar-Translation method, and also translation helped to prepare many bilingual dictionaries and grammar books in Oriya.

In order to connect the historical debates between Orientalism and Anglicism during the period of colonial rule, especially at the time of Oriya language movement, Panchanan Mohanty in his paper “British language Policy in 19th Century India and Oriya Language Movement” (2002) provides a close affinity between British language policy and Oriya language and the role of the intelligentsia from various perspectives. He tries to view the role of translation in relation to Oriya language and literary growth during the period of language movement. In this context, he cites the following points that “to correct the shortage of suitable textbooks, the Secretary of the Central Education Council sent a circular on June 20, 1842 to the Secretaries of various local education committees,
directing them to recommended names of people who could write manuscripts of the province in the local language. The Education Council was ready to pay remuneration to the writers and publish the books. Four months later, the Council decided to select a series of textbooks written in English and send them to the Vernacular Class Book Department which would be responsible to translate them into local languages making appropriate changes to suit the local conditions. This was the beginning of centralized education planning in India” (Mohanty 2002.109). But he has not provided the supporting data as to why and how translation was introduced in this particular situation. However, it makes sure that the role of translation and its participation during the period of Oriya language movement was strong and effective.

During the period of Oriya language movement the essences of translation were facilitated and established by the British officials. Who proposed various translation activities in the progress of the Oriya language, education, and literature?

4.3. British Language Policy and Translation

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

There is ample evidence for mapping the translation activity as a key event during the period of Oriya language movement. When the question of Oriya textbooks arose, Bengalis claimed that the Oriyas did not have sufficient textbooks for pedagogical purposes. But the then Commissioner of Cuttack, T.E. Ravenshaw, tried to resolve this textbook tension through the process of translation from other languages. His letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No.369, dated 12th September 1865, mentioned the necessity of translation for the development of Oriya. He said “I would lastly call attention of the Education Department to almost entire neglect of the Oriya language in the more advanced classes. This may have originated in the want of proper Oriya textbooks, but many have since been printed; there is already a press attached to the Cuttack Mission capable of turning out excellent vernacular works, and were there a demand for Oriya translations of all the best textbooks, I have no doubt the supply would be forth coming” (Ravenshaw 1865:10, Samantaray 1992: 24-25, Dash 1995:108).
Ravenshaw clearly indicates the essence of translation and its significant role for writing Oriya textbooks. His intention was to show the similar textbooks as well as linguistic status of Oriya which the Bengalis already gained through translation. He was convinced that “the Oriya language possesses the same capacity as Bengali, being derived from the same sources, but is a distinct dialect, and spoken over a tract of country extending from Midnapore to Ganjam and from Bay of Bengal to the confines of Sambalpur, within which limits it is exclusively spoken by the people. To this neglect of Oriya Vernacular I attribute the small success attained by native Oriya. Moreover, were the Oriya exclusively had in Orissa schools education would have found more favour with the people than at present, the present proportion of Oriya to Bengali boys in all the schools I have visited is almost one to five, and so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, Oriya lads are by means inferior in intelligent to Bengalis. The subject is one deserving consideration, and measure should be taken for introducing, wherever possible, Oriya books to the entire exclusion of the Bengali. Many of the masters are already well acquainted with Oriya, and were the High school or Collegiate class established; there would soon be a supply of properly educated Oriya lads competent to become teachers” (Ravenshaw 1865, quoted in Ramachandra Nayak’s personal collections and Samantaray 1993:24-25). Ravenshaw attempted to introduce Oriya as the medium of education by showing its linguistic autonomy, but it was delayed for a few years due to the conspiracy of the Bengali intelligentsia. The textbook crisis could not be solved within two years. Again the same paucity of Oriya textbooks was repeated in a letter submitted to the Government of Bengal, the Director of Public Instruction, No-3686- dated 8\textsuperscript{th} November, 1869 based on the views communicated to Government letter No-3691, dated 26\textsuperscript{th}
August, 1867 by Mr. Martin, the Inspector of schools of the South-West Division. In his first letter Mr. Martin “expressed that the study of Bengalis should be made compulsory in all the middle and high class schools’ and that ‘not much was to be gained carrying further the study of a tongue which was almost without a literature” (quoted in Samantaray 1993:02). Such a statement of Mr. Martin perhaps inspired the Bengali intellectuals to emphasize their linguistic hegemony and leading to their economic interests by replacing the Oriya language from the educational as well as administrative levels. After a few months, Mr. Martin understood the real educational situation of Orissa and Oriya textbook crisis, soon after his thorough investigation of the schools. He wrote another letter dated 30th March 1868 to the Government of Bengal about the school book crisis and its urgent remedy through translation. He pointed out that “in the first instance, school books suited to the students of all capacities must be immediately prepared in history, geography, and arithmetic; there are some books in these subjects, which will be of use; there are also easy Uriya (Oriya) readers and in course of time many more difficult literary books will be translated into the language; meanwhile for boys for whom the present books in literature are not sufficient advanced the study of the Bengali language must still continue, but I would substitute Uriya (Oriya) literature for Bengali as soon as the former language becomes rich enough and undoubtedly in time, though it may be a work of years, it will as a language be quite equal to the Bengali” (quoted in Samantaray 1993:14-15). Mr. Martin’s opinions on the crisis of Oriya textbooks and how they should grow through translation were explained. He suggested that if Oriya textbooks are created through translation then Oriya would obtain equal status which Bengalis had already gained through the same process. After translation of
the texts, Oriya would be able to replace Bengali, but Bengali intellectuals aimed to
defend the circulars of government by showing a close affinity again between Bengali
and Oriya. Another letter of R.L. Martin dated 1st August 1869 suggested “the Oriya
language was very much akin to the Bengali inasmuch as they were both were derived
from the original Sanskrit. But in all the particles and inflections of the nouns and verbs
they varied. Each was as a consequence an entirely separate from the other” (Martin
1869, quoted in Samal 1977: 300). Nevertheless, Mr. Martin’s observations and
suggestions and the translation resolutions proposed by the higher authorities were in
favour of Oriya. But their implementation was delayed due lack of translators and
printing entrepreneurship in Orissa. Bengali domination over the Oriya school service
was one of the predominant causes for delaying it. As a result, the Oriya intelligentsia
brought out a squirt motivation on the Oriya textbook crisis that was fulfilled through the
translation activities. At the same time a few printing presses were established and some
literary magazines were released in Orissa.

Though, a few years before the first indigenous printing press of Orissa, Cuttack
Printing Company (July 1865) was set up due to special interest taken by Bichitrananda
Das, Jagmohan Ray, and Gaurisankar Ray; it was one of the joint ventures, and “the
major share of the credit for establishing the press would have to go to Bichitrananda Das
who was instrumental in persuading a number of Kings, Zamindars (landlords), and
businessmen to extend financial support for the venture”(Pati 1994:33). The shareholders
of Cuttack Printing Company Biharilal Pandit, Banamali Singh, Madhusudan Das, and
Commissioner of Cuttack, T.E. Ravenshaw, made sincere efforts for the improvement of
the Oriya language through such public patronization. On behalf of the Cuttack Printing
Company, a newspaper named *Utkala Dipika* (Light of Utka) was brought under the editorship of Gaurisankar Ray and its first issue was published in the month of August, 1865. The next year, Gaurisankar Ray drew the attention of the School inspectors to the shortage of Oriya textbooks and to the critical condition of the Oriya language. He stated that “the deputy inspectors of Orissa are not interested in improving the Oriya language. Instead of this, they want to introduce Bengali replacing Oriya from village schools” (reported in *Utkala Dipika* 1866, my translation). Gaurisankar’s opinion on the work of School inspectors and Bengali teachers got very enthusiastic responses from the Oriya native speakers, and this created a language consciousness among the native intellectuals.

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

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

The linguistic dispute between Oriyas and Bengalis was discussed serially in a reputed newspaper of Oriya, *Utkala Dipika*. Its editor, Gaurisankar Ray regularly wrote the rejoinders emphasizing the damaging views held by Bengalis. The colonized Oriya intelligentsia reacted to the Bengalis’ antagonistic attitude towards Oriya. A Bengali indologist and scholar, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra was appointed to prepare a book on the antiquity of Orissa. During his stay at Cuttack, he was asked to deliver a lecture by *Cuttack Debating Club* (1869), a cultural society founded by Bengalis. In his speech, Mitra said: “the first thing anyone would do who really desired to promote the wellbeing of Orissa would be to abolish the Oriya language and introduce Bengali; for, as long as Oriya remains, it will be impossible for Orissa to progress” (quoted in Boulton 1993:71).

The hegemonic views of Mitra on Oriya were criticized vehemently by the editor of *Utkala Dipika*, Gaurisankar, who wrote: “we thought that by coming to Orissa Rajendra Babu had learnt much, and we are, therefore, surprised to hear him asking that above remarks. In actual fact it is difficult to determine, whether he was expressing his own convictions, or whether it was out of excessive loyalty to Bengal that he tried to vindicate this view with misleading argument. Did he not know, when quoting the population figures for Orissa that they applied only to the Mogala Bandi that the northern limit of the Oriya–speaking tracts is Medinipur and the southern Ganjam: and that they extend from the Bay of Bengal in the East to Sambalpur in the West? If he did not know this, then he has needlessly caused great harm by imparting his ignorance to his audience...The fact of
the matter is that the Oriya speaking tracts are as extensive as the Bengali. Consequently, there is every likelihood of Oriya progressing. His remarks on publishing are equally misleading. Orissa is lagging behind, because, as we have said a thousand and one times already, the Government has not been favourably disposed towards Orissa for as long as it has towards Bengal. Had the Government paid equal heed to both countries, Rajendra Babu’s arguments would have applied, but how can one expect the same results, regardless of circumstances? Orissa is evidently progressing now that since the famine the Government has been paying heed to her. Had these projects been instituted ten years ago, then Rajendra Mitra would have been hard put to it to find an argument in support of his opinions…. Is there then no impediment to the progress of the Oriya language? Our belief is that like the cucumber bed of the three disputants, Orissa is being harmed needlessly. Its guardians are three Governments, and since one part is under the Government of Madras, and another under the Central provinces, it is not being developed equally and uniformly. Different principles are being followed and different textbooks introduced in each of three areas …so, as the guest of two houses, the Oriya language goes to bed hungry, fed by neither …. These conditions are deplorable and … ought to be swiftly remedied …in line with the decision to have only one medium of instruction for the whole areas, there ought to be only one official to administer it” (reported in the *Utkala Dipika* 1869, quoted in Pattanaik 1972, Boulton’s translation 1993.72-73). Mitra was also vehemently criticized by many other Oriya intellectuals. His proposal for removing Oriya and introducing Bengali was regularly reported in *Utkala Dipika*. The main intentions of Mitra about the Oriya language and textbooks were expressed in his rejoinder to John Beames. It was discussed in the context of Babu
Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a Pundit in the Government School at Balasore, who wrote an atrocious booklet, *Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nahe* (Oriya is not an independent language) published in 1870 which have also been quoted by Gaganendra Nath Dash and Panchanan Mohanty:

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

“Nor is the fusion of their language into ours at all impracticable. The experiment has already been tried and found to be completely successful. Some twenty years ago when the district of Midnapur was transferred from the Commissionership of Cuttack to that of Burdwan, the language of the courts there and of the people was Uriya. The Commissioner, for the sake of uniformity in all his districts or some other cause, suppressed Uriya, and introduced the Bengali language, and nearly the whole of Midnapur has now become a Bengali speaking district, and men there often fell offended if they are called Uriyas. That similar measures in Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri would effect a similar change; I have no reason to doubt” (Beames 1870 quoted in Dash, 1993:45/ 2006: 4802, Mohanty, 2002: 70, Pattanaik 2004: 261). From the above arguments Mitra’s views clearly imply economic interests rather than anything else.

Mitra was criticized by the British civilian and philologist Mr. John Beames for supporting the pamphlet which was written by Babu Kantichandra Bhattacharya in 1870 claiming that “Oriya is not an independent language” (Beames 1870: 192, Senapati
but “a patois of Bengali, and he found support from a group of Bengalis, including the distinguished Indologist Rajendralal Mitra. Although criticized by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, the well-known Bengali writer of that time, and strongly repudiated by John Beames, as ‘profoundly destitute of philological arguments’; this book created a stir among the Oriya intellectuals who were up in arms to protect the honour of their language” (Das 1991: 128). The voice of Bengali intellectuals was strongly protested by “a small group of Oriya intellectuals (native and non-native) a campaign to develop textbooks written in Oriya so as to establish the language as medium of instruction in the school of Orissa. For two years, there was a heated debate between supporters of Oriya and supporters of Bengali, culminating in a victory for Oriya and laying a foundation for its establishment as the identifying official language of a unified state” (Mohanty 2002:54, 2008:102). By encountering the damaging voice of Kantichandra Bhattacharya, John Beames published his essay On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages (published in the proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870: 192-201) and then his book A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India (in three volumes, 1872-1879) was released. Beames attempted to demonstrate a clear linguistic difference between Oriya and Bengali. Finally, he concluded that Oriya was not a corrupt variety of Bengali; rather it was an independent language of the Oriyas. During the Oriya language movement and soon after, several translations, grammars, language teaching and learning literatures, and dictionaries were published. At the same time, many journals and periodicals appeared and printing presses, professional bodies, and academic institutions were established for the progress of the Oriya language and national identity. After the success of the Oriya language movement, the non-native and native
intelligentsia were interested to compose grammars, bilingual dictionaries, textbooks, translate the government rules and regulations, religious texts, moral stories, biographies, essays, poems, epics, novels, travelogues and short stories and language teaching materials to Oriya. A colonial history of Oriya translation flourished under the patronization of the British government.

4.4. A Short History of Oriya Translation

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

4.4.1. Oriya Translations

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

Other popular texts like: Chandranatha Ray’s *ākhyaṇamanaṇjari* (1872) originally written by Iswarachandra Vidyasagar and Govindachandra Pattanaik’s *dhatubagai* (1872), *upakramaNikā* (1868) originally written by Ramakomal Vidyalankara and Iswarachandra Vidyasagar were translated from Bengali. William Charles Lacey’s *nitibodha* (1877) of Rajakrishan Vandyopadhyya and Kapileswara Bidyabhusan’s *nitipāThaka* (1871) were also translated from Bengali. Govardhana Ghosal’s *prakritipāTha* (1876) was an Oriya rendering of the Bengali writer Rajakrishan Raya Chaudhuri. These translations were mainly done for the demands of pedagogy.
Some Persian texts, such as *gulistān* and *karimā* of Sadi were translated by Abd-al-Majid Khan and Radhashyama Kar respectively as *probodhabākya* (1869) and *nyāyaratnākara* (1877).

We must not forget the following Oriya translators who have translated from Sanskrit to Oriya, e.g. Radhanatha Ray’s *meghaduta* (1873) of Kalidas, Madhusudan Rao’s *uttara rāmacaritam* (1885) of Bhababhuti, Mrutyunjaya Rath’s *kumarsambhava*, *bikramorbasi*, and *mudrārākhyasa*, and Phakir Mohan Senapti’s *rāmāyaNa* (1870-1885), *mahābhārata* (1886-1905), *bhagabad gitā* (1886), *kiLa haribamsa* (1902), and *upanisada sangraha* (1905).

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

Another interesting feature of the Oriya translation activities in this period is the translation of foreign fictions into Oriya. Jagananath Ballabha Ghosa’s *pitrubhakti* (1908) and *bhrantibiLāsa* (1909) were translated from Charles Lamb’s “Stories from Shakespeare”. Similarly, Tolstoy has occupied a popular place among the Oriya translators. Tolstoy’s stories have been rendered by a famous woman Oriya translator, Narmada Kar. Her translations were published between 1916 and 1919 in a literary journal, i.e. *Utkala Sahitya* edited by Biswanath Kar. These are: *sākhyatkāra* (Where Love God is), *tinoTi prasna* (Three Questions), *parajāya* (Evil Allures, but Good Endures), *rahasya* (What Men Live by), *sekāLa ekāLa* (A Grain as Big as a Hen’s Egg), *kuhuka* (How the Little Devil Attended for the Crust of Bread), *trusna* (How Much Land Does a Man Need), *daNDabidhāna* (Too Dear), *drusTi lābha* (Esarhaddom, King of Assyria), *pariNāma* (Work, Death & Sickness), *bandi* (A Prisoner in the Caucasus), *bibadābhanjana* (Little Girls wiser than Man), *bhrānti* (Crasus and Solon), *sānti* (A Spark Neglected Burns the House), *dhupadāni* (The Candle: or, How the Good Peasant Overcame the Cruel Overseer), *dharmaputra* (The God-Son) are the translation of Tolstoy’s stories.
Gradually, the demand for vernacularization and thoughts of national integration emerged and the native intellectuals got associated with “the cultural and national resurgence, and eventually with the growth of democracy promoting quality of opportunity through education” (quoted in Khubchandani 1997:180-181). Especially in Orissa, though the followers of Phakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanatha Ray, and Madhusudan Rao continued writing down to the first part of the nineteenth century, the forms and contents of the Oriya literature ceased to be “a literary force by its first decade. A new group had come into the field which was somewhat critical of the contributions of Radhanath and Madhusudan. This was the Satyabadi School, founded by Pandit Gopabanddhu Das of hallowed memory” (Mansinha 1964: 235). The English educated scholars, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Godabarisha Misra, Acharay Harihar Das, Krupasindhu Misra, Lingaraja Misra, and the followers of Gopabahdu Das and Nilakantha Das assembled under the grove of intellectualism and nationalism of the Satyabadi School. The members of the School expressed their thoughts through their creative writings and portrayed their ideologies through the translations from English. The translations of Pandita Nilakantha Das’ praNayini from The Princess and dāsa nāek from Enoch Arden by Lord Tennyson, and some of the poems badhu o bāsanti (Edwin and Angelina by Oliver Gold Smith), barara sesa golāpa (The Lost Rose of Summer by Thomas Moore), kabi o kitāba (Poets and Critics by Lord Tennyson), cāsapua prati (Song of the Men of England by P.B. Shelly). Nilakantha Das was a successful translator besides being regarded as a frontranking critic of Oriya. Mayadhar Mansinha (1964: 239) has written about him: “in those days he produced excellent translations, rather adaptations, of Tennyson’s Enoch Arden, and The Princess which read almost like original works and
are most enjoyable for their style. In dāsa nāek (Encoh Arden) it is colloquial and in praNayini (The Princes) loftily grand” (Mansinha 1964: 239). Manasinha’s views about Nilakantha’s translation represent the general strategy of translation and the literary fidelity of a translator.

The Oriya prose translations of this period, which undoubtedly earn special attention, include those by Godabarisha Misra and Godabarisha Mohapatra. Godabarisha Misra’s paTāntara and aTharasa satara were translated from R. L. Stevention’s Dr. Jackle and Mr. Hyde and Charles Dicken’s A Tales of Two Cities. Godabarisha Mahapatra’s novel raktapāta (1930) was translated from the vendītā of Mary Karlite. During the period from 1868 to 1936, Oriya grammars, bilingual dictionaries, language teaching books, and linguistic studies were published for the development of pedagogical and nationalistic interests. Newspapers, periodicals, literary magazines, and journals in Oriya appeared between 1865 and 1936 for the progress of Oriya literature and national identity. Among them Utkala Subhakari Patrika (1869), Balasore Sambada Bahika (1872), Utkala Hitaisini (1869), Utkala Darpana (1873), Utkala Putra (1873), Bhakati Paradayani (1873), Bidesi (1873), Sikhyaka o Dharmabodhini (1873), Purusotama Candrika (1874), Swadesi (1876), Bartalahari (1877), Utkala Madhupa (1878), Odiya Gazette (1879), Mayurabhanja (1879) Purusotama Dipika (1880), Kohinur (1880), Purusotama Patrika (1882), Prajabandhu (1882), Sebaka (1883), Sanskaraka (1883), Taraka (1885), Dhumaketu (1883), Sikhya Bandhu (1885), Nabasambada (1887), Odissa Students (1886), Samyabadi (1888), Odiya Patriot (1888), Asha (1888), Dipaka (1889), Sambalpur Hitaisini (1889), Utkala Prabha (1891), Indradhanu (1893), Bijuli (1893), Prabhati Tara (1896), Utkala Sahitya (1896), Alocana (1900), Mukura (1906), Utkal
Sebaka (1913), Satyabadi (1915), Samaja (1919) Sahakar (1919), Seba (1921), Nabajuga (1928), Nabina (1930), Prachi (1933), and Nababharata (1934) were recognized as the popular newspapers, literary journals and magazines. Publication of newspapers and literary magazines was made possible through numerous printing presses, which were established during the period of Oriya language movement and soon after the movement. Apart from the two indigenous printing presses, viz. Cuttack Printing Company and P.M. Senapati & Co (or Balasore Utkal Press), a few other local printing presses were established in different parts of Orissa. They were Balasore De Press (1873), Utkala Hitaisini Press or Osissa Patriot at Cuttack (1873), Puri Bhaktidayini Press (1874), Ganjam Press (1875), Mayurbhanja Press (1879), Orissa Printing Corporation (1885), Bamanda Press or Sudhala Press (1885), Victoria Press (1885), Puri Printing Corporation Press (1890), Arunodaya Press (1893), Ray Press Cuttack (1894), Darpanaraja Press (1899), Balasore Vinod Press (1899), Utkal Sahitya Press (1898), Satyabadi Press (1919), and Nababharat Press (1933) (Samantary 1981: 174-75, Kuanr 2000: 44, Das 2003: 127, Mohanty 2005: 56-57). Newspapers, literary magazines, journals, and associated printing presses stimulated the literary and nationalistic awareness among the common people and drew attention to various issues of language, culture, education, politics, and society for the national interest. In addition, the question of linguistic-based state formation arose and the native intellectuals sacrificed their lives for the demand of separate state formation. Finally, Orissa became a separate linguistic state on 1st April of 1936.
The literary history of Orissa from 1803 to 1936 passed through several difficulty phases. At the same time, the non-native and native Oriya translators were inspired to contribute to the Oriya literature besides meeting the pedagogical demands. The sociological, cultural, economical, and political issues were symbolized through the literary entreprenurships through literary periodicals and newspapers in Oriya. Fidelity of translation needs to be demined through a comparative analysis of the SL and TLT. This study attempts to find out the non-native and native Oriya translators’ strategies by making such a comparative analysis between the SLTs and the TLTs.