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Decentering Translation Studies

India and beyond

edited by Judy Wakabayashi and Rita Kothari

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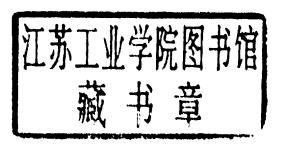
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John Benjamins Publishing Company Amsterdam/Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI 239.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Decentering translation studies: India and beyond / edited by Judy Wakabayashi, Rita Kothari.

p. cm. (Benjamins Translation Library, ISSN 0929-7316; v. 86) Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Translating and interpreting--India--History. 2. India--Languages--Translating.

3. Indic literature--Translations--History and criticism. I. Wakabayashi, Judy. II. Kothari, Rita, 1969-

2009028549

P306.8.I5D43 2009

418'.02--dc22 ISBN 978 90 272 2430 9 (HB; alk. paper) ISBN 978 90 272 8892 9 (EB)

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John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Acknowledgements

Some of the papers from India included here were first presented at a workshop on "Indigenous Traditions in Translation" in Ahmedabad in 2005, which was sponsored by Katha (New Delhi), a not-for-profit organisation and publishing house devoted to the preservation and translation of Indian literature. Some of the other papers are drawn from another conference titled "Asia in the Asian Consciousness: Translation and Cultural Transactions" hosted by the Adivasi Academy in Tejgadh, Gujarat, India. While these two events in India were the trigger for this volume, the book was also inspired by and extends the possibilities apparent in an earlier conference on "Asian Translation Traditions" in London in 2004, in which both editors were involved.¹

^{1.} The outcome of that conference was a book titled *Asian Translation Traditions*. Eva Hung and Judy Wakabayashi (eds.). Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2005.

Foreword

Ganesh Devy

In November 2005 a small group of distinguished scholars arrived in Baroda, Gujarat State in Western India. Each of these scholars had made a mark on the field of literary translation and translation theory. They had promised for themselves a discussion on how cultural traditions moved across regional boundaries through translation and how Asia's self-awareness developed through cross-linguistic migration of Buddhism and Sufi mysticism. The venue fixed for the discussion was a semi-barren piece of land in a tiny village a good ninety kilometres from the nearest internet connection and where even the simplest toilet facility was a thing of the future. The choice of venue was strange, and the area of discussion bringing the scholars together was no less strange. In fact, none of us really have any activist stakes in Asia's self-recognition as Asia.

The previous year I had traveled to London to participate in an Asian Translation Traditions Conference. Though I had been deeply involved in translation study, comparative literature and translation theory during the last quarter of the twentieth century, areas that I had forsaken after turning to scholarship and activism related to the indigenous peoples in India, I went to the London conference not in order to reconnect myself with translation scholarship, but more as a return to a favourite haunt for spiritual solace. For some years preceding the London conference, my state in India had experienced genocidal conflict and violence emerging out of hatred between religions, and the tribal villages where my work is based had been direct witnesses to the brutality. The arsonists had not spared the sacred sites built to Sufi saints. Notwithstanding the silence of centuries separating us, I wanted to pray to those saints and apologise to them for the hatred and fury unleashed by my people, my times. And my heart was crying out to meet with Mahatma Gandhi and Gautam Buddha, to ask them the pathways to tolerance.

In London I met two remarkable women, both scholars of distinction, and rather than talking of translation theory, we started discussing Buddha's philosophy. It struck me then that Buddhism could bring Asia together, just as, as I had known by myself, Sufi mysticism could do that. What I liked about our conversation

was that none of us was given to theocratic rhetoric, but each had been trying to discover the human in the human.

Though by then I had already given literary theory as my main mental preoccupation, I felt that the greatest glory of translation is in its ability to humanise a text, to draw it back from its lexical enshrinement to the raw warmth of speech. The thought created a longing in me for the idea of a dialogue on Buddha and the Sufis linking Asia through a myriad of subterranean cultural streams that the riottorn tribal villagers in Gujarat could sit through.

The two women, with an intuitiveness peculiarly theirs, understood my non-literary, non-theoretical, non-academic agony. They responded by entering the dialogue with my villagers. But one of them, Dr Eva Hung, said that she was herself entering a kind of 'retreat', and in deference to her wishes I did not press the invitation further. Dr. Judy Wakabayashi agreed to travel to Baroda, a city, and Tejgadh, the village where the Seminar was to be held. She contacted other scholars, and they all arrived at Tejgadh in November 2005.

Tejgadh is where I have been trying to create the Adivasi Academy, an experiment in thinking that disregards all institutional traps. Obviously, nothing at all at the Conference, beginning with the 'Call for Papers' to 'Logistics and Schedules', looked even anything remotely like a conference. To begin with, we had parked the scholars inside a forest for the night stays. Eminent Indian poet Dilip Chitre remarked, as poets do, that he would like to be a primitive animal among scholars, rather than being a poet amidst ancient trees and forest animals. Chitre was to give the inaugural lecture. And, in tune with his desire, we decided that he would be welcomed not by offering him a garland of flowers but a live cobra as a scarf round his neck while he spoke. This was actually done. Chitre went into a trance-like condition and spoke as beautifully as Homer or Valmiki may have done in their own forest times.

Side by side with the 'Asia in Asian Consciousness' conference we had at the small campus of the Adivasi Academy, two other conferences were held at the same time. One focused on Nomadic Communities in India, whose existence as legal citizens of India has not yet been possible. The other conference dealt with literature in some sixty threatened languages in India for whom 'writing' has been a culturally oppressive practice. Thus the three conferences together highlighted the conflict between the sedentary and the nomadic, the oral and the written, and the original and the transformed. The politics of the Adivasi Academy was inevitably more imaginative towards the nomadic, the oral and the transformed, more attuned to non-possession and sharing as celebrated in Sufi mysticism and Buddhism.

The Adivasi Academy is built on the scale of an Ashram: everything there is simple, rudimentary and closest to nature. The air is unpolluted, and at night the stars are so clearly visible that the sky gets a little heavy with their weight and comes

closer to the earth. The discussion of 'Asian consciousness' that took place at Tejgadh made one feel that if the earth is to be saved from the ecological ravishment that it has been repeatedly encountering all over, words, texts and cultures must return to nomadism, must get translated for ever, must learn the humility of the displaced and the dispossessed, and recover visions of the world concealed in Sufi mysticism and Buddhism. This, one may say, is a kind of 'Asian consciousness'. I am aware of how vast Asia is and how amazingly rich is its cultural, philosophic and social diversity. I hope it will be understood that I am not trying to promote any theory of a 'single consciousness of Asia'. I am not trying to present here the 'essential' 'genius' of Asia, etc. I am talking of love, tolerance, understanding and humility. The tribal villagers at the Tejgadh Academy who with the greatest of patience sat through the presentations by the scholars seemed to understand the power of translation, not as authority but as a challenge, as giving up rather than gaining, just as Prince Gautam Buddha gave up in order to transform the world. For the dispossessed of the world, 'gain' sounds like 'greed', 'giving up' sounds like 'life as it is lived'. In this light, translation is perceived as an offering, rather than a conquest.

When the papers presented at the Tejgadh conference, put together with papers presented at a conference held by Professor Rita Kothari in Ahmedabad, are read by researchers, translators and teachers, they need certainly evaluate the papers as descriptive or theoretical statements and judge their value in terms of traditions of scholarship. But I should also like to invite them to go beyond the theoretical or scholarly significance of these papers and to think of them as an indication of an alternative possibility of knowledge tradition, knowledge based entirely on experience, whether logical or not. More such seminars will be necessary to construct an understanding of Asia's self-absorption, more volumes to bring out the maze of long-distance cross-connections, more translations to restore words into the realm of meaning.

Ganesh Devy Baroda/Tejgadh March 07

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Introduction

Rita Kothari and Judy Wakabayashi

Untold Stories

In 1981 a group of poets, literary translators and Hindu and Jesuit theologians from the Indian state of Gujarat undertook the task of translating the Bible into Gujarati, the state's official language. This was not the first Gujarati translation of the Bible, but it was the first complete version and the first produced by a Catholic group. In a conscious act of inculturation, the title Sampoorna Bible (The Complete Bible) evokes the cultural memory of the famous Hindu epic Sampoorna Ramayana (The Complete Ramayana²). The translation was triggered, among other factors, by the 1965 decision of Vatican II to encourage use of the vernacular—i.e., by a set of new cultural and political imperatives that prompted the Jesuits of Gujarat to fit the Biblical text into a world familiar to the people. This exercise was particularly aimed at groups that were traditionally marginalised by the upper-class and upper-caste sections of Gujarat-i.e., it targeted tribal people and Dalits (so-called low-caste people), to whom conversion to Christianity provided an opportunity for self-redefinition outside the Hindu caste hierarchy. This translation has become the most popular version of the Bible used in Catholic church services in Gujarat, and it has been accompanied by iconic translations, with images from the everyday lives of the tribals and Dalits being incorporated into church architecture. This whole exercise helped create not only a physical text but also Christian faith-in-translation, thereby constituting a highly significant moment in the regional history of translation and Christianity.

^{1.} The first Gujarati translation was undertaken by the Serampore Mission Press in 1820. Then in 1861 Rev. J. V. S. Taylor translated the Bible into Gujarati, and this was followed by revised editions in 1899. These nineteenth-century translations used turgid and formal prose that did not evoke the cultural affiliation and emotions generated by the first Catholic version, the *Sampoorna Bible* of 1981.

^{2.} The *Ramayana* is an ancient epic written in Sanskrit. This canonical text is attributed to the poet Valmiki and is variously dated between 500 and 100 B.C.E.

This local event might, however, seem far less noteworthy than the emergence of the Authorised Version of the Bible in seventeenth-century England. After all, the relevance of the Gujarati translation is restricted to a small number of people in what might appear to be a remote corner of the world. Moreover, the act of vernacularising the Bible dates back to John Wycliffe and Martin Luther, and there are parallels wherever Christianity needed to make itself local in order to survive and 'save'. Yet this event reveals new contexts in Bible translation, involving as it did a multiplicity of faiths, nationalities and specialisations. The moving spirit behind the project, Fr. Isudas Queli, was a Spanish priest who 'translated' himself into the ethos of Gujarat and formed a remarkable intimacy with its language and culture. He obtained the assistance of Niranjan Bhagat (a well-known modernist Gujarati poet) for the translation of the Old Testament, and for the New Testament he sought help from Nagindas Parekh (an established translator and critic in Gujarati) and Chandrakant Sheth (a distinguished poet specialising in lyrical poetry). Fr. Queli employed a Dalit Christian poet, Yoseph Macwan, as translator of the Psalms. Below is an extract from the translation of Psalm 23, "The Lord is my Shepherd", which reflects a spoken idiom:

> Prabhu Maaro Govaal Prabhau maaro govaal chhe jaate Mane uunu nahin koi vaate (Sampoorna Bible 1981: 1133)

The word Govaal for "Shepherd" is interesting, because it means cowherd, evoking images of the Hindu God Krishna, who was a cowherd. Songs about Krishna the cowherd are a part of popular Hindu culture, so the translated psalm fits beautifully into that world. Thus a European Christian, a Gujarati Dalit Christian, and Hindu Gujarati poets, translators and critics belonging to different castes came together to create a culturally adapted version of the Bible that has become part of local churchgoers' vocabulary. Both the process and success of this translation defy any assumed synonymity between translation and translator, religion and authenticity. This instance of an untold story of translation presents a different view of the trajectory of Bible translation and the dialogue between exegesis and local cultures, thereby highlighting the need for further examination of the largely untheorised phenomena of translation in 'distant' cultures.

This is but one of many possible illustrations of how a local story of translation can take a different course from the 'original' story of translation in Europe—i.e., the translation of the Bible. Unearthing and listening to local stories of translation reinforces the realisation that translation theory, like everything else, must emerge from the specific experiences of different cultures. Just as the experience of Bible translation in Europe shaped some key translation principles there (e.g., the

'sacredness' of the source text and the resulting notion of fidelity to that text³), theories of translation in and for other parts of the world are and will have to be conceptualised through local experiences of translation.

Yet even in a book attempting to move beyond prevailing mainstream approaches, the Gujarati example that first sprang to mind involved a translation of the most canonical text of the *West*, illustrating again just how powerful a hold this particular instantiation has on our minds. The histories of translation in non-Western contexts⁴—or at least what is best documented in these histories—are so heavily dominated by translation from or into European languages that it is difficult to move beyond these conceptual limitations. As editors, we realise that we too have some unlearning to do.

Unsettling the foundations

Although translation is often perceived as a cosmopolitan act bridging linguistic and cultural divides, the discipline of Translation Studies is for the most part grounded in the relatively homogeneous and restricted experiences of translation in Western Europe. This bias neglects the full richness of translational activities and discourses. In turn, contemporary discourses in the non-Western world sometimes tend to regard traditional discourses on translation as 'backward' and to borrow theoretical principles from the West without fully evaluating their validity in the light of longstanding local practices and modes of self-articulation. And both

^{3.} Religious texts—be they the Christian scriptures, Islamic texts, or the Sanskrit sutras of Buddhism—have been a fundamental spur to translation activities around the world. Although translation's early links with sacred texts led to it being idealised in the West as an act of fidelity, faithfulness is not an issue in India, a deeply religious country. What qualifies as a 'sacred text' there is much more loose and interpretative, and translation of form and multiple interpretations of 'sacred texts' in dance, sculpture and narrative do not constitute "a fall from the origin" (Devy 1994: XII).

^{4.} One tricky issue is how to refer to that very diverse entity consisting of the 'non-West'—a term that, as Tymoczko (2006: 13 n. 1) has pointed out, problematically takes the West as the centre and point of departure. Apart from the problems inherent in a simplistic and polarising East-West dichotomy, the term 'the East' smacks of Orientalism, while 'Asia', although having a more contemporary and neutral ring, is actually a Western term and concept and is too narrow to encompass all ex-centric geographical and cultural entities. Such nomenclature represents fuzzy and artificial constructions, rather than meaningful referents, and these essentialising categories then "determine the way in which we tend to approach the study of these topics" (Schwartz 1994: 6), thereby hindering more probing analyses. Nevertheless, there are no viable linguistic alternatives, and these constructions have themselves taken on a factual status.

Western and non-Western discourses, derivative or otherwise, have largely failed to address the heterogeneity of practices and views *amongst* non-Western cultures.

The editors came to this book out of a shared awareness—emerging from Rita Kothari's work on the 'Indian experience' and Judy Wakabayashi's research into Japanese translation history—of experiences of translation that are at times qualitatively different from the dominant perspectives of translation articulated in the West. For instance, anxiety about 'original' and 'translation' is not universally germane, and there are even cases where a translation is more privileged than the original. In the plethora of versions of the Ramayana and Mahabharata⁵ surrounding Indians of different caste, class and tribal affiliations, the question of possessing the most authentic version never arises. This is not to say that there are no internal hegemonies among the multiple versions, but that the anxiety of what came first and what followed is absent from the Indian discourse. This can be attributed to a long-standing oral tradition that remained free of notions of 'fixity' of text and the need to respect the text's boundaries. Even after some 'texts' that started out as oral practices become 'fixed' as written texts, they continue to this day to undergo transformation through being performed orally. Translators in such settings are not talking about the text as a fluid entity, just doing it. Although these untheorised practices might seem to lend themselves to postmodernist labels, such a perspective would wrench them out of their local contexts. Non-Western contexts can also challenge, problematise or broaden other Western attitudes (towards, for example, translationese) or concepts (such as equivalence, as well as the very notion of 'translation' and the forms it takes).

The recent signs of interest in non-Western translation⁶ are driven by a desire to push back the largely Eurocentric boundaries of the discipline and to remap the field, in what Cheung (2005: 41) hopes will constitute an "international turn in Translation Studies". As Maria Tymoczko (2007: 7) argues, Eurocentric conceptions of translation are rooted in the privileging of literacy over orality, in practices of translating Christian sacred texts, and in the connection between language and nation in Europe. It is highly problematic to use these conceptions to understand translation in parts of the world where oral texts have traditionally been of greater significance, where attitudes to local religious texts have very different epistemological bases, and where sub-national units and supra-national links undermine the language-nation connection. Here we are simply arguing that the transferability of constructs and practices often assumed to be universal needs to

^{5.} This other major Sanskrit epic is ascribed to Vyasa. Its final form was completed by the first century, although parts of it date back much further.

^{6.} This interest is evidenced, for instance, by Rose (2000), Simon and St-Pierre (2000), Branchadell and West (2004), Hung and Wakabayashi (2005), and Hermans (2006).

be examined on a case-by-case basis, and, conversely, that some local phenomena might have productive implications for other contexts—and not just as data to confirm 'universally valid' models. The narratives and perspectives in this volume augment, complement and sometimes challenge those circulating in Europe and Northern America, thereby representing a step toward a more comprehensive, inclusive and pluralistic history of translation and a decentring and reconceptualisation of Translation Studies. Commenting on the "blank spaces" in the history of translation, Santoyo (2006: 38) has stressed that "above all, maybe before anything else, the urgent task [is] de-Westernizing the history of translation". The thread unifying the contributions in this volume is that they all examine translational practices and ideas from non-mainstream traditions. Beyond that, it is their very diversity, rather than any putative unity, that characterises these papers.

In fact, the heterogeneous experiences of translation emerging from these micro-narratives hamper any attempts to find common ideational grounds. Within Asia, the fantastically diversified region with which most of these chapters deal, there is neither a reality nor a perception of an 'Asian translation community' or of an 'Asian' intellectual praxis. Despite certain experiences and values that might constitute unifying factors (e.g., oral origins, cultural or political subordination), other factors (e.g., different languages, differing scripts, differing religions) have acted to fracture any putative sense of collective identification.

Our purpose here is to document some of these untold stories of translation and to relativise Translation Studies, perhaps shake the edifice a little, until a time comes when it can be built anew, if necessary. Any claims as to universals of translation that emerge at that point will be on much more solid ground than the assumed 'universals' of the present.

Micro-archives

Although interest in diverse translational experiences does seem to be emerging through the influence of postmodern and postcolonial studies and developments within Translation Studies itself, this interest is not yet matched by adequate information about diachronic and synchronic translational practices and ideas around the world. This book therefore foregrounds some local moments of translation, albeit just a small sample, in the hope that they will contribute to a more stratified and nuanced analysis, to new questions and perhaps new answers. Focusing on local micro-archives does not imply provincialism or ignoring the broader context. In fact, as Kundera (2007: 30) has pointed out, it is dominant cultures that are provincial, complacently believing that their own culture is "sufficiently rich that they need take no interest in what people write elsewhere". An acquaintance with

alternative concepts of translation highlights just how restricted are such statements as "translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes" (Jakobson 1959/2000: 114) or the equating of oral translation with interpreting. Such are the concepts that are currently passed on to students in translator training programs and that are widespread among professional translators and the general public, but the diversity of concepts and practices suggested by the chapters here illustrates just how narrow are the grounds on which such claims are made.

Of fundamental importance is the ethical attitude of learning from each other. Non-Western ideas and practices should not and do not require validation by the West, which would carry the risk of a colonising act of appropriation (as implied by the word "enrich" that is often used in this context). Yet such concerns should not be allowed to impede intellectual exchanges—as long as these are carried out with mutual respect and an openness to self-transformation. A prerequisite for any such learning experience is detail and context—'thick' descriptions of specific practices and their underlying dynamics and epistemology. Partly because of the many gaps that remain, our approach here is perhaps akin to that of a pointillist painter, juxtaposing little dots of diverse narratives of translation. With pointillism, the resulting landscape might be visible only from a distance when the viewer visually blends the isolated dabs of colour, but it has greater vividness, and the equally sized dots never entirely merge in the viewer's perception. Equality and an avoidance of total (sub)merging of disparate practices, concepts and discourses are goals worth striving for in the field of Translation Studies.

This book has a particular focus on Indian contexts of translation. As an instance of not one but many micro-archives, the linguistic and cultural kaleidoscope of India eludes easy generalisations and merits special attention for that very reason. Along with the usual differences between the standard (national) language(s) and dialects, India presents a situation in which numerous languages and linguistic sub-systems co-exist and in which there are also linguistic divisions based on caste. Along with the disparate historical circumstances and diverse attitudes toward language and literature in different states and communities, this makes for a complex situation with virtually limitless translation permutations and possibilities. As Trivedi (2006: 103) has argued, however, the "characteristically Western assumption" that India's linguistic diversity makes it "one of the richest and most productive areas in the world for translation activity" overlooks the fact that widespread bilingualism and multilingualism (which do not entail the "psychological or cultural barrier" [104] associated with foreign languages) obviate much of the need for translation felt by monolinguals. Nevertheless, India's translation contexts deserve attention if for no other reason than that India is one of the first non-Western nations with "power and clout enough to override the traditional intellectual literature set by North Americans and Europeans" (Stevens 2008: 116). The focus on India here is not, however, the result of any attempt to posit it as the 'new centre' of the discipline, but simply because of the book's genesis in the second Asian Translation Traditions conference held in India in 2005.

'Translation'

So far we have used the term 'translation' unproblematically, but in fact a recurring theme in these chapters is the diversity in how this act is manifested and viewed. This range of constitutive norms and perceptions means that 'translation' has been accorded different statuses in different linguistic communities and at different historical junctures. This calls to mind Gideon Toury's (1995) advocacy of descriptive, rather than prescriptive, definitions of translation. By rights, then, the term 'translation' should be problematised in inverted commas to suggest the scope of activities and concepts associated with this term or its 'equivalents' in different languages, as well as the dangers of extrapolating from English practices and conceptualisations.

In some cultures, for instance, translation has been regarded as a mere aid to accessing texts that are already largely understandable. In other cultures 'translation' has constituted, for example, transcreation or "infusing the spirit of the host culture into deserving texts from other languages" (Prasad in this volume)—a very different perspective from that of adapting source texts to fit the target culture's needs, even though both might seem to fall under the Western label of 'domestication'. Many works undergo intralingual or interlingual retelling and adaptation, sometimes resulting in what Ramanujan (1991: 45) has referred to as "symbolic translations"—i.e., using "the plot and characters and names of Text 1 minimally ... to say entirely new things, often in an effort to subvert the predecessor by producing a countertext."

In Kerala, as the paper by E. V. Ramakrishnan notes, translations were used to move away from or even subvert the dominant Sanskrit and Tamil traditions and to define Kerala's own identity. G. J. V. Prasad explores how the act of translation in the Dravidian language of Tamil took the form of purification in response to an Aryan language and identity that Tamilians wanted to shrug off—i.e., the Sanskrit language and Sanskritic culture. Here the conventional concept of translation is broadened so as to encompass internal changes within a language as a result of hybridity and purification. Negotiating elements of the more powerful language was a "recipe for survival". Prasad also points out that Tamil/Sanskrit bilingualism in this society meant that interlingual translation was merely an explanatory aid (commentary), which is why it was regarded as a secondary act. In an example of how translations are sometimes put to primarily political ends, Christi Merrill's paper explores how the British colonisers hired Brahman pandits to create San-

skrit texts and translate them into the administrative language (Persian), from whence they were retranslated into English for use in court, all as an aid to establishing control over multilingual eighteenth-century India. Merrill points out the attachment to a "prelapsarian past" that underpins translation in the West, as well as the limitations of this linear approach based on a singular origin(al) and the ensuing notion of fidelity. Instead she draws on an analogy with transmigration to theorise translations as a pluralistic, cyclical afterlife or "cycle of rebirths". Tridip Suhrud's paper demonstrates how the act of translation on the part of Mahatma Gandhi operated at various levels—ranging from a process of internalising alien meanings to the transformation of a particular literary genre to the transformation of Western scientific methods into a spiritual practice. He notes how English-educated Indians in Gandhi's day virtually defined their identity through the medium of English; yet although Gandhi was fluent in English, the cultural implications of the discriminatory Asiatic Act passed in South Africa, where he was practising as a barrister, could be fully comprehended only in his native language, Gujarati. This hints at the challenges faced by those who have 'translated' themselves into the coloniser's world but who, at some deep level, have not fully internalised it.

Stanley Ridge transports us to a different time and place, as well as to translation not just as a linguistic but also a cultural transaction in which, however, the concerned parties did not stand on equal footing. By analysing archival material relating to the 1874 trial of Chief Langalibalele in the Colony of Natal, Ridge reveals the significance of contending understandings of translation and interpreting, with the imperial government and colonial settlers operating on the basis of a very different conceptual frame from that of the Chief, and the African witnesses again exhibiting a range of understandings of their role in the proceedings. Ridge also mentions a rare recorded instance of negotiation between the oral and written traditions, and he documents the efforts of the cultural 'translator' Bishop Colenso to reveal how Zulus made meaning. In Colenso's case, 'translation' sometimes took the form of "untranslating"—i.e., undoing mistranslations by colonial powers.

The concept of translation in the sense of cultural representation or negotiation also underlies the essay by Rita Kothari, who argues that the multi-lingual and multi-religious traditions of the region of Sindh (now in Pakistan) made it a zone of translation in this sense. She illustrates this phenomenon through Shah Abdul Latif, the best-known Sufi poet of Sindh, and shows how his poetry operated like a migrant text, refusing to remain confined within well-defined borders of language and religion. The imagery in Latif's poetry has shades of Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism, and this hybridity characterised Sindh in pre-Partition India, preventing people from over-identifying with ideas of a Hindu or Muslim state at the time of Partition in 1947. Like texts in a constant state of translation, Sufi tradi-