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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE
TRANSLATION
ORIENT
TRANSLITERATION
VERNACULAR
QUESTIONS OF TRAVEL & EMPIRE
LINGUISTIC CODES
MUGHAL
THE BOOK OF DEATH
THE BRITISH RAJ
TRANSCREATION
CURRY
ENGLISH EUPHEMISM
MOONSTONE
CULTURAL EXCHANGE

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**LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
(LLIDS)**

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LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

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EDITORIAL

Deeksha Suri

I will begin by thanking everyone who have put their hearts in making the first issue of *LLIDS* a success with multitude responses from diverse scholars. In the same spirit, our second issue also carries forward our attempt to furnish an authentic platform for the upcoming as well as established scholars to publish their research. While determining the scope of our journal we came to realize that in recent years there has been a burgeoning of multiple interdisciplinary journals as resources for research. But in today's publishing scene there has also been a marked decline in the standard of the published research. This problem however is symptomatic of a deeper malaise that has affected not only publishing but also our practice of active and critical reading. Rapidly changing academic scenario coupled with economic crisis resulting in intense competition in jobs have been but few of the reasons for the dilution of academic research. We, as scholars and readers, are duty-bound to reflect upon and improve the current crisis. Considering all these challenges, *LLIDS* attempts to distinguish itself as a responsible open access journal acknowledging both mainstream as well as marginalized voices for promoting quality research and enhancing readership of the same.

Our research pool includes interfaces of various fields of enquiry that get enriched by symbiotically appropriating concepts from each other. That is why in order to understand, interrogate, map, and broaden our perspectives on existing and emerging discourses we have a theme based section in this journal.

Papers in the themed section of the current issue offer fundamental insights into Translation Studies in terms of both theory and practice of translation. As a discipline, translation has been constantly developing and responding to the broader questions of ideology, culture, and language. The research included in this issue highlights the concerns related to language and its relativity to cultural context which poses challenges to the task of the translator. This issue of the journal is also informed by the transtextual elements of translation that introduce new modes and mediums for wider cultural exchange. Translation studies not only involves transference of written content from one language to another but also proposes new strategies of reading and approaching literature. This exchange of views upon what translation is and how it could be theorized adds new dimensions to the interpretation of both literary and non-literary translation.

With this issue, we inaugurate the Book Review section through which we aim to generate a library of pre-eminent as well as recent texts of varied disciplines. The purpose of this endeavour is to initiate a dialogue on mainstream texts and to reintroduce the recent scholarship in a larger critical perspective for the young generation of scholars. This would enable the readers as well as scholars to chart out the history of ideas. We strongly encourage scholars to contribute their insights in the form of book reviews either on books of their interest or by selecting them from the section of suggested books on the website. The path to maintain and regulate the rigour of scholarship is full of challenges, yet we are committed to fostering and disseminating scholarly research. We hope to achieve this vision by establishing synergy with the readers as well as scholars.

Project Ginsberg and Me: Reflections on an Experimental Translation

Anuj Gupta

“... to find, in a translation, something other than [the] reproduction of meaning...”

Walter Benjamin, *The Task of a Translator* (259)

“Just as a tangent touches a circle lightly and at but one point—establishing, with this touch rather than with the point, the law according to which it is to continue on its straight path to infinity—a translation touches the original lightly and only at the infinitely small point of the sense, thereupon pursuing its own course according to the laws of fidelity in the freedom of linguistic flux.”

Walter Benjamin, *The Task of the Translator* (262)

This paper is a preface that I wrote for an experimental translation project that was carried out in the summer of 2016¹. In this project, I collated a series of extracts from poems by Allen Ginsberg that swivel around the idea of “freedom” (a word that gained immense semantic intensity due to the political environment in JNU in February 2016) and then performed translational procedures on them at multiple levels (of mode, media, culture and form). The purpose of this project was to explore the signifier of “freedom” across historical formations, using translation as a research method. Whether translation could be used as a method for research or not is a larger question that I sought to ponder over through this project. The audio-visual translation itself was published on 16th June, 2016, in the 26th issue of *Café Dissensus* (<https://cafedissensus.com/2016/06/16/project-ginsberg-me-ruminations-on-freedom/>) and must be referred to in order to make sense of the current paper, which is a reflection based on it.

[Re]Thinking Translation/ Translating Translation Studies

Before we move onto a discussion of the project itself, we must first look at the theories of translation that guided it. Translation theory is not fixed and absolute, but is rather (re)created afresh with each new translation. This is why I feel that I must talk about how I have thought about translation at the outset itself—a stream of thinking that emerged through a to-and-fro movement between performing translation procedures myself and through explorations in contemporary translation theory.

¹This project was conceptualized by me and materialized with the help of Yatin Dawra (audio production) and Dhairya Gupta (visual footage).

The most significant impact on my thought about translation has been of Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Studies. The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* defines a system as "a multi-layered structure of elements which relate to and interact with each other" (Baker and Malmkjær 176). Polysystem theory then, as the name suggests, looks at semiotic phenomenon not as isolated phenomenon that exist on their own, but as systems that are embedded in a complex matrix with other systems to produce what we know as culture — which is itself a (poly)system embedded in a matrix with other (poly)systems of politics, society, religion, and so on—leading to ever increasing dynamic formations that are never completely isolatable into a single, uniform structure.

Applying this to translation studies helps one move beyond traditional approaches to translation which looked at all translational procedures only as attempts to create equivalences between fixed, isolated source and target texts, to thinking of translation as a kinetic process which involves transferences between two or more systems within a polysystem, governed by the systemic relations that exist between them. These transfers bring different layers of a polysystem into dialogue, initiating cross-pollination between them and leading to the production of newness within the polysystem. Transfers can be thought of broadly as (but not limited to) processes that involve either the decomposition of a source system phenomenon and its simultaneous re-composition into a target system phenomenon, or the transplantation of source system phenomenon into a target system phenomenon (Even-Zohar 74-75). This new orientation allows us to re-think adaptations, as both traditional translations and as varying degrees of transfers between systems within a polysystem.

What always helps in understanding these transfers is an "awareness of the tensions between strata within a system" (Even-Zohar 14) as heterogeneity is a "motoric impulse in the dynamics of culture" (Ben-Ari 144). Such an awareness has led Polysystem Studies to "the study of cultural interference and intercultural relations" (Ben-Ari 147) created through translations and furthermore, each turn in translation studies (the empirical turn, the globalization turn, the turn of technology, the ecological turn, etc.) continues to improve our understanding of the multiple layers within (poly)systems and the translational procedures that constantly happen across them.

In terms of the direct application of this theory for translators, it helps them develop an acute awareness of the various (poly)systemic layers and the multiple transfers happening across them in any translational procedure. To do so, drawing a diagram always helps. What follows now is a polysystemic diagram of *Project Ginsberg and Me: Ruminations on Freedom*—the experimental translation project that I had undertaken in the summer of 2016—a project that by no means sought to create an equivalence between a source and a target text, but rather sought to explore the signifier "freedom" by circulating it across several (poly)systemic layers by performing a series of translational procedures on them:

A Diagrammatic Skeleton

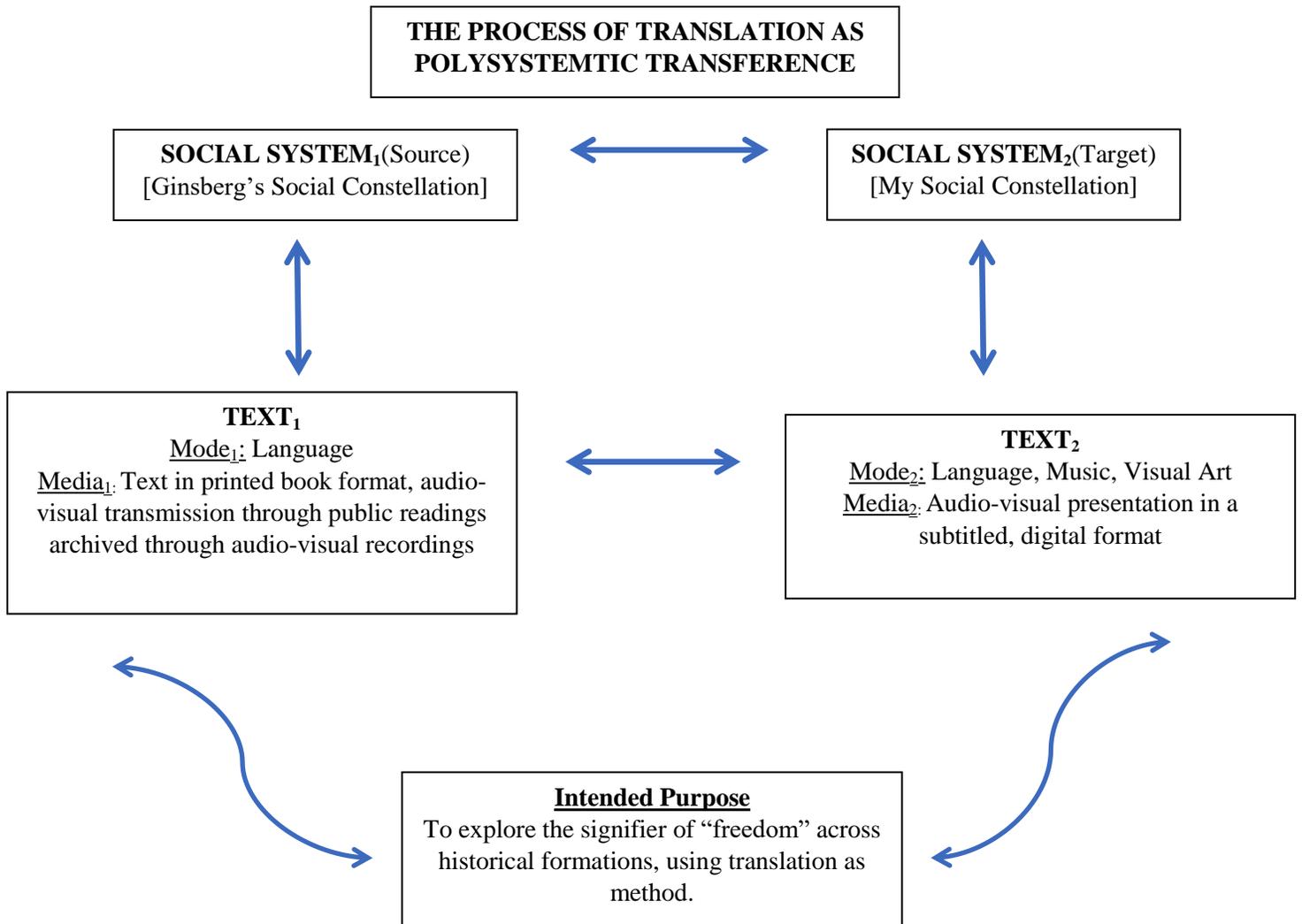


Fig. 1: Project Ginsberg and Me: Ruminations on Freedom

Project Ginsberg and Me: Ruminations on Freedom performs translational procedures at multiple levels of this polysystem through transferences between several systemic layers. In order to better understand these transfers, one must look at the various parameters involved in this translation process. For ease of description, these parameters have been divided into a social and an aesthetic paradigm. However, in actuality, the two must be understood as deeply enmeshed in each other as they cannot be isolated as separate phenomenon:

a) Social Parameters

The two social contexts involved in this project are:

- Allen Ginsberg’s social constellation: 1960s America—advanced capitalism in the West—Vietnam war—McCarthyism—Civil rights movements—student movements—black, feminist, queer rights—war on drugs—war on communism.
- My social constellation: Delhi, India in 2016—advanced capitalism in a post-colonial context—#standwithJNU—Nationalism/anti-nationalism binary—progressive attempts at a left, dalit, feminist solidarity against a right wing-neoliberal nexus—war on terrorism.

These are not mutually exclusive constellations as several processes of transference (like the transplantation of the American neo-liberal capitalist model in India in the 1990s) have been going on between them much before this project was ever conceived of. These pre-existing systemic relations form the horizon under which this project got crystallized. The process of translation (represented by a two-directional arrow between the two social constellations in Fig.1) interacts with the cross-pollination that already exists between the two social contexts and also goes beyond these pre-existing relations by bringing them into a new dialogue.

A common trope that circulates between these two contexts, with respect to this project, is the figure of the liberal arts university student (visualized through the titular “Ginsberg & me”) oscillating between nihilistic frustration and ecstatic epiphanies in the quest for freedom, both at a social and existential level.

b) Aesthetic parameters

The aesthetic dimensions of semiotic phenomenon can be classified into two sub-parameters—mode and media. Although these two parameters are closely related, they are not exactly the same. Mode is an expressive resource that allows for the externalization of one’s cognitive experience through the deployment of material resources or media. Phenomenon like language, music, dance, image, etc. are types of modes in which one can externalize one’s cognitive content and this externalization can be achieved only through a deployment of media. For example, the mode of language can be crystallized through written or oral media, while the mode of music can be actualized through the medium of live performance or audio recordings, etc.

Each mode has its own internal classifications (the language, for example, could be Hindi, English, etc., while the music could be Hindustani classical, blues, etc.). Apart from such typographical classifications, one also needs to be aware of the fact that each mode operates with its own laws to provide a unique semiotic experience—“images, for example, are perceived holistically; language is perceived gradually in the form of words and sentences” (Kaindl 265). Similarly, internal stratifications exist in media forms as well—the written medium, for example, can exist in printed or digital forms.

Translation studies was initially a mono-modal and mono-medial discipline as it looked primarily at translations only between linguistic texts, largely of the written, printed variety. In the last couple of decades, however, developments in cultural and media studies have made translators more and more conscious of the multi-modal and multi-medial nature of semiotic phenomenon. The impact of this on translation studies has been the rise of an awareness of the parameters of modality and mediality in both the study and practice of translation.

With respect to this project, the source polysystem's texts (the poems of Allen Ginsberg that have been selected by me) exist primarily in a linguistic mode (English) crystallized through two media—written, printed books as well as audio-visual transmissions through public poetry readings which were archived as audio-visual recordings by Ginsberg's peers.

At the level of mode and media then, this projection performs the following translational procedures on a selection of Ginsberg's poems:

- a) inter-modal translation—translating language into a mix of language, image, and music.
- b) inter-medial translation—translating written, printed and oral poetry into a subtitled, audio-visual, digital format.

Furthermore, one must specify exactly what kinds of language, image, and musical practices are in play here for which an approximate mapping of the aesthetic horizon of both social constellations involved in this translation project becomes important—

- i) Allen Ginsberg's aesthetic constellation: Beat poetry—Hippie phenomenon—Counterculture—Rock n roll/blues music—Television revolution.
- ii) My aesthetic constellation: scattered experimentations in literature heavily influenced by Beat and modernist poetry—post-rock/alternative music—Internet revolution.

One must look at a, b, i, and ii as interconnected layers that form the aesthetic horizon of this translation and then understand the precise translational procedures that have been performed at the level of the following constituent systems:

- A) Language: While Ginsberg's language has not been translated here in the sense of a traditional translation from one language to another (which would be the case if I were translating his poems from English to Hindi for example), nonetheless two translational procedures have been performed on it. The first involves a collage-like extraction of linguistic content from a selection of his poems, which inevitably alters their original form. The second involves a clashing of these linguistic elements against linguistic content from my own constellation (like Rohith Vemula's suicide letter and various news recordings on #standwithJNU)—a process of juxtaposition that produces new meanings by altering the original semiotic environment of Ginsberg's poetry, producing a postcolonial Beat aesthetic of sorts.
- B) Music: While Ginsberg's poetry did make extensive use of a musical mode in the latter half of his career (to the extent that several of his poems come with musical notations set down by him), the poems that have been selected for this project did not originally involve a musical dimension. Thus, rather than occurring between two musical forms, the translational procedure involved here was one between language and music. This presented certain difficulties. Initially, I had trouble as I tried to force equivalences between a lexical and a musicological unit. What could be the musical equivalent of the linguistic phrase—"I saw the best minds of my generation..."? What would be the nature of the entities being transferred between them?

Since there could be no semantic equivalence between these two modes, I then tried to

perform a translation at the level of rhythmic form where I attempted to create equivalence between the rhythm of Ginsberg's verse and the rhythmic structure of my song—a laborious and unfruitful endeavour. Finally, I decided that if there was to be any translation between a lexical and a musical mode, it could happen only at the level of affect. I strived hard and tried to get inside Ginsberg's mind to ascertain the emotions that he must have felt while writing his poems. After a point, I realized that this was pointless. Rather than Ginsberg's intended affects, the only resources that I had access to were the affects that I experienced while reading his poems. These affects appeared at some sort of a meeting place between his mind and mine. This is what I could further translate into a musical form. Having this clarity was important. Once you realize that there isn't any "original" and what exists is only your subjective experience of the absent presence of an original, you start to move beyond any misguided attempts at trying to create equivalences through translation.

The predominant affect present in the poems that I had chosen (something that had in fact determined their selection in the first place) was that of an amorphous mass of feelings arising from the dialectical tussles between a yearning for freedom and the frustration of confinement. Transferring this affect into a musical form involved the creation of a song made up of distorted guitar tones, melodic synth harmonies, tight but simplistic drum grooves, and a melancholic bass lick—all of which flowed together not in a linear but a sluggish, cyclical manner with a rising and falling tempo such that the music, rather than moving forward towards a resolution, seemed to be coiling upon itself—thereby producing what I felt was a sonic representation of the affects predominant in the texts that I had chosen.

In terms of musical form, rock music prevalent in Ginsberg's own times was characteristic of an energetic, linear thrust towards a climactic sonic resolution, which is why it could not be used for the purposes of this project. I instead chose post-rock, a genre that has developed in recent times out of critiques of rock. This genre abandons rock's fetish for teleology and instead creates sonic spirals that constantly coil upon themselves. This is why the musical content of this project was inspired by post-rock.

The layering of Ginsberg's verses (recorded in my voice) onto this music would, I hoped further intensify these affects. The key here, however, was to realize that anyone who hears my translation will not magically experience these intended affects, the way I can never access the exact affects that Ginsberg felt and intended in his poetry. The subjective nature of all affective response would ensure that listeners would not fully interpret this co-mingling of Ginsbergian texts and a musical approximation of what I think are their pre-dominant affects in ways that I imagined, but would rather create a third space that would include Ginsberg, me, and the listeners which would further intensify the process of systemic transferences. Once one moves beyond ideas of equivalences, one realizes that this constant slippage into newness that translation accelerates is the real potential of translation.

- C) Image: Ginsberg's poems are accessed today primarily in a written form, that does not contain a non-lexical, visual dimension. The other form in which they can be accessed—

the audio-visual recordings of his poetry—does contain a visual dimension but their intention is bent more towards archiving the historical Ginsberg and his poetry, rather than towards adding new translative dimensions to them. The only visual experimentation with Ginsberg's poetry that I have so far come across is the brilliant animated rendition of the poem, "Howl" in Rob Epstein's 2010 film by the same name starring James Franco as Ginsberg. Visual phenomenon seem to provide a level of stimulation to our minds that textual ones cannot always compete with and the deployment of both resources together in order to produce a multi-modal text adds new dimensions to a work of art.

Keeping in line with this idea, Yatin Dawra (my musical partner in this project) and I approached Dhairya Gupta (a visual artist who experiments with camera techniques) to add a visual dimension to our project. The result was phenomenal. The visual art piece that forms the background to this translation is a video recording for the 4th of July fireworks in Seattle, U.S.A, rendered through a camera technique called "bokeh" which constantly focusses and un-focusses the lens of a camera in order to produce a splintering of light into multiple, blurred entities.

Apart from a thematic connection of the visuals (the video being an archive of the American nation celebrating its national "freedom"), in terms of visual aesthetics too they worked for us as they represented the idea of a polysystem quite efficiently—multiple, radiant particles interacting with each other in a kaleidoscopic fashion to produce dynamic relationships. These visuals were thus added onto the linguistic and sonic layers of the translation in order to further expand its aesthetic horizon.

Connecting the Dots

If we now go back to the skeletal diagram in Fig.1 as well as the preliminary definitions with which this paper started, this project should start to become clearer.

Project Ginsberg and Me: Ruminations on Freedom exists in a liminal third space between a whirlwind of socio-aesthetic phenomena culled out from the respective polysystems of Ginsberg and me. The two polysystems are brought into a new dialogue through transcultural, multi-modal, and inter-medial translations happening across their layers. These translational procedures generate a dynamic, kinetic force from which this translation (which is itself a polysystem) has come into being—a genesis which, even if in a minuscule capacity, leads to the evolution of the overarching polysystems involved in its birth.

Furthermore, the primary thrust for any translation is the purpose, whether conscious or unconscious, for which it is undertaken. As stated in the diagram as well as the preliminary definition, the purpose of this translation was to explore the signifier of "freedom" across historical formations using translation as a method. What exactly do I mean by this?

The key signifier of "freedom" which is the thematic glue that holds this project together is a signifier that has gained immense semantic intensity in our present times. Due to the events of 9th February on the JNU campus, one has seen (and in fact continues to see) immense mutations of this concept under the pressures of several polysystemic energies that emerged around it in the Indian public sphere. Instigated by these happenings, I pondered over this

phenomenon at length which de-familiarized my erstwhile understandings of “freedom”. What exactly is *azaadi*?²

If one experiences *Project Ginsberg and Me*, one sees several kinds of desires for freedom, and their frustrations, clashing with each other in a collage-like manner. There is a range of historical continuities and discontinuities between the different material contexts of “freedom” that one may glean from this experience. That is what a traditional literary-historicist analysis of this project might reveal to us. That is not, however, the most exciting reading that this project makes possible.

As a researcher in literary studies/social sciences, one is usually conditioned to develop an affinity towards one or more forms of historicist-materialist methods when dealing with semiotic phenomena. This method usually leads one to perform a rigorous contextualization of a subject of enquiry into the material conditions from which it arises. There is immense diversity in the ways in which this overarching method may be practiced and while there are clear merits to such a method, one gradually starts to see the redundancy involved in limiting one’s critical activity to bracketing off a subject of enquiry into what one believes to be the material conditions from which it arises. Should the study of Ginsberg be limited to simply stretching his body of work around the dots of the American 60ies, the Beats and the Hippies? Isn’t there anything else that a researcher in literary studies may do? Can Ginsberg be deployed to study not just his, but also other social realities that are connected to the polysystems that gave rise to him? Can one use different texts, not just to study their respective historical realities, but phenomenon that lie beyond them, and in fact tie them together? Thinking deeply through translation processes allowed me to start thinking in these interesting new directions.

Project Ginsberg and Me allows the reader to abstract out from the particularities of the various struggles for freedom represented in it, and ruminate over the metaphysical substance that lies within all of them—something which allows us to see them as connected, which is the concept of “freedom” itself. When one translates X into Y, there comes a moment, when one is forced to ponder over that semiotic surplus which lies beyond X and Y and connects them together—that which is being translated between them—something which cannot really be articulated, but only felt. The concept of freedom is that semiotic surplus which lies beyond the various historical instances of freedom contained within this project and true potential of this project lies in its ability to make that semiotic surplus tangible enough for readers to experience. This becomes most evident in the final part of the song.

The Sonic Chaos at the End of the Tunnel

“Translation alone possesses the mighty capacity to unbind it [language] from meaning, to turn the symbolising element into the symbolised itself, to recuperate the pure language growing in linguistic development. In this pure language—which no longer signifies or expresses anything but rather, as the expressionless and creative Word that is the intended object of every language—all communication, all meaning, and all intention arrive at a level where they are destined to be extinguished.”

Walter Benjamin, *The Task of the Translator* (261)

²Editor’s Note (herein after called Ed. N.): freedom

It is the final section of my project that most interests me. Here, all the voices and sound samples that had been used throughout the song are rubbed against each other to produce sonic chaos that I believe forms the metaphysical core—the magical substance—that runs behind this entire project.

It is here that one lies in the pure immanence of a whirlpool of sounds, fragments, meanings, ideas, languages, and desires that had been conjured up by this translator around the specter of freedom.

It is here that the process of transference between utterances is intensified to the extent that it starts to unstitch and dissolve them altogether.

It is here that language folds back upon itself and is wrenched out of the realm of meaning, which extinguishes all its semantic content.

It is here that the vulnerability of my translation struggling to hold itself in the whirlwind of socio-aesthetic energies circulating around it caves in and provides a brief, illuminatory flash into something that lies beyond either of the polysystems from which it was birthed.

This un-stitching is a liberating process—a moment of intensity which cannot be quantified into a set of thematic resolutions but is rather something that can only be felt. Any formal containment, whether political, social, or aesthetic leads to incarceration. Giving form is a violent act. Usually the struggle for freedom involves the replacement of one form with another, rather than the dissolution of forms altogether. Freedom, as a philosophical idea, perhaps lies in the dissolution of forms altogether.

The embracing of chaos—to *experience* without any formal conceptualization—to realize the ur-form which is formlessness itself—that would perhaps be freedom in its true, naked sense.

Enabled through a method of translation, “freedom” in this final moment acquires a theological dimension as it gestures towards the freeing of language from meaning itself.

Afterthoughts

What one sees in this project is the early gestation of a new practice—the use of translation as a research method. The idea here is to take the subject of research (in this case, the signifier of “freedom”) and refract it across the veins of several polysystems by performing translational procedures at multiple systemic levels in order to a) understand the phenomenon and the polysystems around it better and b) generate a creative newness, a surplus energy which not just studies, but also alters and evolves the polysystems in question, in whatever capacity.

While the contours of such a method, in its current nascent manifestation are still blurry, one hopes that this will mushroom out in the future in interesting new directions.

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A Pragmatic Analysis of English Euphemism and its Application to Literary Translation: A Case Study of *A Dream of Red Mansions*

Wang Huabin

English euphemism is often used in daily communication, where inoffensive words are used to replace the offensive ones so that communication can be harmonized. The word “euphemism” originates in ancient Greek, with “eu” meaning “well, pleasant, good” and “-pheme” meaning “speech, saying.” Thus, the word “euphemism” literally means “pleasant speech”. English euphemism is a way of expressing facts and opinions in the process of social communication. Without a proper use of euphemism, effective communication in English would be difficult or even impossible. This is regarded as the communicative function of English euphemism. Many such examples can also be found in written works. To take literary works as an example, in order to harmonize interpersonal relationships, characters in stories often employ euphemism during their talks. As for the narration part, writers tend to use it as a tool to convey a message for readers to understand. Literary translators, while constrained by the rules of literary translation, should pay special attention to euphemisms in literary works and endeavour to produce proper translations, which requires a study of linguistic devices, pragmatic functions, cultural differences, and other related aspects.

Definition of English euphemism

Researchers have different ideas about the definition of English euphemism, with some listed as follows. Euphemism is considered as “a generally innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant” (Webster’s Online Dictionary). In the book *Fair of Speech* Dennis Joseph Enright indicates that, “Euphemizing is generally defined as substituting an inoffensive or pleasant term for a more explicit, offensive one, thereby veneering the truth by using kind words.” Thus, it can be said that the use of euphemism can make unpleasant things sound better and leave a good impression on listeners in communication.

Formation of English euphemism

Scholars have summarized several linguistic devices that generate euphemism (Guo & Chang 77-80; Chen 49-50). Basically, five devices contribute to the formation of euphemism which include phonetic, lexical, grammatical, figurative, and pragmatic devices. The phonetic device refers to the method of neglecting or changing the sound of a word. For example, people use ‘JC’ to replace ‘Jesus Christ’, ‘G-man’ for ‘garbage men’ and ‘SAM’ for ‘surface to air missile.’ This can be defined as abbreviation. The lexical device refers to the use of vague expressions, synonyms, and loan words. It is considered to be the most common method to create euphemism. In the sentence ‘He is tight with his money’ the word ‘tight’ is used instead of ‘frugal’ so that the speaker can reach the goal of euphemism. The grammatical device includes negation, ellipsis and other devices in English. “You want to tell me, and I have no objection to hearing it.”¹ This sentence in *Pride and Prejudice* highlights the unwillingness of the speaker to

¹This is uttered by Mr. Bennet, who feels annoyed while listening to Mrs. Bennet in Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*.

hear it. The writer, Jane Austen, adopts the negation device to express her implied meaning. The figurative device refers to the use of metaphor, analogy, metonymy and periphrasis, etc. That is, if a person is a cleaner, people may say that he is a 'sanitary engineer.' Lastly, the pragmatic device refers to delivering an indirect speech. For example, people say 'Can you close the window?' to indicate the imperative 'Please close the window.' Based on the devices above, it is concluded that participants use these devices to make a polite statement so that the communication is conducted in a better way.

Euphemism and pragmatic functions

Euphemism is introduced on formal and informal occasions to avoid unnecessary embarrassment and to maintain a comfortable atmosphere. Scholars have listed pragmatic functions of euphemism (Zhu 53-55; Lu 89-91; Zhang 51-52). Basically, there are five pragmatic functions including taboo, avoiding vulgarity, concealing, beautification, and humour. For instance, different cultures in different countries lead to the existence of their own linguistic taboo. Thousands of expressions can be found to replace the meaning of "die" such as 'to pass away', 'to be gone to a better place', 'to be with God', 'to be safe in the arms of Jesus', 'to pay the debt of nature', 'to lay down one's life', 'to make the ultimate', and 'to fire one's last shot', etc. Usually old people are gently called 'senior citizens' and old teachers are given the title of 'experienced professors.' In terms of beautification, men usually say a girl is 'slender' or 'slim' to imply she is 'skinny.' If a teacher finds a student cheating in class, she may alternatively say that 'the student is depending on others to do his work.' The purpose of using euphemism in this situation is to avoid the violation of the student's dignity and to educate the student in a positive way. In this way, the student will not feel hurt or discouraged. Concealing means that people change a bad thing into a good one, which can be found especially in political issues because politicians often use it as their political means. For example, during World War II, 'slaughter of the Jews' was called 'depopulation.' Similarly, 'genocide' was taken as 'final solution,' and 'Iraq War' was demonstrated by the US government under the banner of "Free Iraq Operation."

Principles of using English euphemism

Based on the analysis of pragmatic functions of English euphemism, scholars argue that they have much to do with and are usually addressed in terms of following two principles: the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle.

The Cooperative Principle

"The American philosopher Paul Grice (1975) noticed that in our daily communication people do not usually say things directly but tend to imply them" (Hu 84-87). Grice explains the Cooperative Principle (CP) on the basis of the argument that speakers and listeners stick to some rules in order to reach their communication goals. Under this principle, you should "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice 45). In order to explain this theory, he introduces four categories of maxims (quantity, quality, relation, and manner), listed as follows:

- **Quantity Maxim**
 - a. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)

- b. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required

- **Quality Maxim**
 - a. Do not say what you believe to be false
 - b. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

- **Relation Maxim**
 - a. Be relevant

- **Manner Maxim:**
Be perspicuous.
 - a. Avoid obscurity of expression
 - b. Avoid ambiguity
 - c. Be brief (avoid prolixity)
 - d. Be orderly

Based on the definitions and features of euphemism, it can be said that “the pragmatic function of concealing reflects the violation of CP, including the four maxims” (Hu 84-87). In reality, people do not always obey the rules of CP because sometimes they need to express their ideas in an implied way. Other similar examples can be found by using euphemism which violate these principles in mutual communication.

The Politeness Principle

In daily communication people sometimes cannot help violating the CP because they want to avoid hurting others. Thus, the Politeness Principle (PP) was proposed by Geoffrey Leech in 1983. In general there are two aspects to the Politeness Principle:

- To minimize the expression of impolite beliefs.
- To maximize the expression of polite beliefs.

This principle agrees with the communicative function of English euphemism. Leech points out six maxims listed as follows.

- **Sympathy Maxim**
 - a. Minimize antipathy between self and other.
 - b. Maximize sympathy between self and other.

Here comes a paragraph of an article from *New York Times* on June 24, 1974. This example is collected from *A Dictionary of English Euphemisms* edited by Chun Bao Liu in 2002:

The city ordinance passed this spring proclaiming that a 900-foot-long strip of Black’s Beach was an “optional swimsuit area” was made possible by a 1972 California Supreme Court ruling that nude sunbathing was not illegal if it took place on beaches secluded from the public view.

“Optional swimsuit area” means a place where people can go nude sunbathing. This is a sensitive topic and some readers may feel uncomfortable when they read this piece of news. Thus, the use of this phrase makes readers feel less offensive when they come across the news coverage.

- **Approbation Maxim**
 - a. Minimize dispraise of other
 - b. Maximize praise of other

For example, if a person is poor, people sometimes tend to use the following adjectives: “needy,” “disadvantaged,” or “underprivileged.” When someone says he is “born on the wrong side of the blanket,” it means he is a by-child. By using these words, the speaker aims at minimizing dispraise of others.

- **Modesty Maxim**
 - a. Minimize praise of self
 - b. Maximize dispraise of self

Many examples can be found as evidence in daily life. For example, a husband calls his wife a good and faithful “helpmate.” Besides, in ancient Chinese a person uses “犬子” to introduce his son.

- **Generosity Maxim**
 - a. Minimize cost to other
 - b. Maximize cost to self
- **Tact Maxim**
 - a. Minimize benefit to self
 - b. Maximize benefit to other
- **Agreement Maxim**
 - a. Minimize disagreement between self and other
 - b. Maximize agreement between self and other

Use of English euphemism shows its violation of CP and adaptation of PP. Obviously, the occurrence of English euphemism violates CP to some extent, which may induce listeners to consider the implied meaning. In terms of PP, people tend to express facts and opinions in an indirect way.

Research methodology and data collection

The process of data collection is mainly handled in written documents. Online resources are first utilized for research, and then a brief review of previous theoretical studies from journals and dictionaries is undertaken. Some of the data has been used for pragmatic analysis as examples illustrated above. As for research methodology, case study is extremely important with contextual analysis as a central consideration. In order to have a deep understanding of English

euphemism and its application to literary translation, one famous Chinese novel and its C-E² translation are to be examined, namely *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Cao Xueqin and Gao E with its English translation by Yang Hsien-Yi and Gladys Yang in 1978. First, a detailed comparison is made between the source and target languages in terms of pragmatic devices and functions. Second, the use of euphemism is examined to see how the characters and the narrators in the literary context violate the Cooperative Principle and adapt to the Politeness Principle. Finally, possible factors are determined towards a cultural understanding of the linguistic phenomena, which may contribute to improving the quality of literary translation especially in the process of translating euphemism data.

Analysis of euphemism and its C-E translation in *A Dream of Red Mansions*

- **A brief introduction**

As is known to all, *A Dream of Red Mansions* narrates the story of an influential Family Jia in the feudal society. There are two young characters in the plot, which include Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu. The following part of the research consists of three tasks, one for revealing pragmatic functions, another for conducting translation studies, and finally for making a cultural summary.

- **Case One**

不过说黛玉之母如何得病，如何请医服药，如何送死发丧。不免贾母又伤感起来，因说：“我这些儿女，所疼者独有你母，今日一旦先舍我而去，连面不能一见，今见了你，我怎不伤心！”（第三回，P67，下划线为笔者所加）

All the talk now was of Daiyu’s mother. How had she fallen ill? What medicine had the doctors prescribed? How had the funeral and mourning ceremonies been conducted? Inevitably, the Lady Dowager was most painfully affected. “Of all my children I loved your mother best,” she told Daiyu. “Now she has gone before me, and I didn’t even have one last glimpse of her face. The sight of you makes me feel my heart will break!” (Chapter 3, P68, underlined by the author of the paper)

SL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
Chinese	Lexical	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Context

TL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
English	Lexical	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Context

As is mentioned above, death is a taboo in communication. In order not to mention this affair directly, grammatical device is employed here to achieve the pragmatic function. “Gone” refers to someone’s death, which has the equivalent “去” in ancient Chinese. Also, the speaker

²Editor’s Note (herein after called Ed. N.): Chinese to English translation

says that she could not see her daughter or have her last glimpse. So readers can infer the person's death from this context. With the contextual factor as the dominant role, the translator tries to carry the message from the source text to the readers of the target text. Here, the literal translation contributes to a successful message transfer, which is acceptable in this situation.

• **Case Two**

转过牌坊，便是又一座宫门，上面横书四个大字，乃是：“孽海情天”。又有一副对联，大书云：

厚地高天，堪叹古今情不尽

痴男怨女，可怜风月债³难偿。（第五回，P132，下划线为笔者所加）

Beyond this archway was a palace gateway with the inscription in large character: Sea of Grief and Heaven of Love. The bold couplet flanking this reads:

Firm as earth and lofty as heaven, passion from time immemorial knows no end;

Pity silly lads and plaintive maids hard put to it to requite debts of breeze and moonlight. (Chapter 5, P133, underlined by the author of the paper)

SL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
Chinese	Figurative	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Context

TL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
English	Figurative	Beautification	Violation	Adaptation	Context

Similarly, people use “风月债” to refer to debts of love in ancient Chinese. The use of this phrase also violates the Manner Maxim with the purpose of avoiding a direct description of love and sex but Chinese readers can still get the implied meaning. In this case, the author wants to maximize the expression of polite beliefs, which means the adaptation of the Politeness Principle. Although people cannot find its English equivalent, the translator still chooses “breeze and moonlight.” Contextual factor and beautification are the primary reasons. “Pity silly lad” and “plaintive maids” get readers to think about love affairs between man and woman. Also the word “debt” reminds the readers of the complicated relationship between lovers. So in this context, it is natural for them to understand the deep meaning of the phrase although there is no word like “love.” Besides, the use of “breeze and moonlight” reveals a poetic atmosphere which enables the translator to achieve the pragmatic function of beautification due to the features of the English language. That is why the literal translation is used here.

³“风” literally means wind while “月” refers to the moon.

- **Case Three**

贾宝玉初试云雨情⁴刘姥姥一进荣国府（第六回，P164，下划线为笔者所加）

Baoyu Has His First Taste of Love Granny Liu Pays Her First Visit to the Rong Mansion (Chapter 6, P165, underlined by the author of the paper)

SL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
Chinese	Figurative	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Culture

TL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
English	/	/	/	/	Culture

Bassnett and Lefevere argue that the functions of translation lie in two aspects: the target language and the role that the original text plays in the source culture. As a result, translators should try to achieve a successful translation between the two cultures. In ancient Chinese culture “云雨” (cloud and rain) is related to sexual affairs. That is why they use this phrase to refer to love and sex, which violates the Manner Maxim because the speaker is supposed to avoid obscurity of expression. Obviously, the purpose is to avoid talking about love and sex directly but readers can still get the implicature. In the Chinese culture the use of “cloud and rain” dates back to the story of “巫山云雨” in *Rhapsodies of Gaotang Peak* by Songyu in the Warring States Period. However, its English equivalent cannot be found. It is unacceptable to translate “云雨情” into “love of cloud and rain” because in this way the translator cannot achieve the same function in the target text. As a result, free translation is used here with “Taste of Love”, which focuses on the description of love but sacrifices the consistency of pragmatic function. Although readers can understand its meaning, the taste of using “云雨” has lost its meaning in the target text. This means that the translator has failed to achieve the same pragmatic function of euphemism as the writer does in the source text. The same euphemism cannot be used for cultural reasons.

- **Case Four**

这贾蔷外相既美，内性又聪明，虽应名来上学，不过虚掩耳目而已。仍是斗鸡走狗，赏花玩柳。总恃上有贾珍溺爱，下有贾蓉匡助，因此族中人不_{敢触逆于他}。（第九回，P260，262，下划线为笔者所加）

⁴“云雨” originally comes from “巫山云雨”, which literally means “cloud and rain.”

Jia Qiang was as intelligent as he was handsome, but he attended the school only as a blind for his visits to cock-fights, dog-races and brothels. (Chapter 9, P261, underlined by the author of the paper)

SL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
Chinese	Figurative	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Rhetoric

TL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
English	/	/	/	/	/

In ancient Chinese “花” and “柳” invoke sexual associations. The use of this phrase can be looked on as a figurative device. In the translated version, Yang expresses the meaning by using the words “brothels” as there is no equivalent in English. In this way readers can know the exact meaning of this sentence although this method sacrifices the consistency of pragmatic function. However, David Hawks in his translated version in 1975 adopts another image “the Garden of Pleasure” to replace “brothels.” “The Garden of Pleasure” reminds the audience of “the Garden of Eden”, where Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit. In this way “the Garden of Pleasure” is compared to a place where people commit sexual activities. From this perspective, this problem may arise due to different cultures and their respective languages. In ancient Chinese culture “斗鸡走狗” and “赏花玩柳” are games and activities for the exploiting classes, as can be found in the original description in *Historical Records* by Si Maqian (BC145-BC90). As a result, it is very difficult to translate culturally-loaded phrases because there are no equivalents for these linguistic items. These cultural differences need to be recognized first so that the translators can get the message across to readers.

- **Case Five**

凤姐儿答应着就出来了，到了尤氏上房坐下，尤氏道：“你冷眼瞧媳妇是怎么样？”凤姐儿低了半日头，说道：“这个无法了！你也该将一应的东西后事用的，也该料理料理。冲他一冲也好。”尤氏道：“我也暗暗的叫人预备了。就是那件东西，不得好木头，暂且慢慢的办罢。”（第十一回， P307， 下划线为笔者所加）

Promising to do so, Xifeng left. She went to sit with Madam You who asked, “Tell me frankly, how did you find her?” Xifeng lowered her head for a while. “There seems to be little hope,” she said at last. “If I were you I’d make ready the things for the funeral. That may break the bad luck.” “I’ve had them secretly prepared. But I can’t get any good wood for you know what, so I’ve let that go for the time being.”(Chapter 11, P308, underlined by the author of the paper)

SL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
Chinese	Grammatical	Taboo	Violation	Adaptation	Grammar

TL	Device	Function	CP	PP	Basis
English	/	/	/	/	Grammar

In this case, “后事”, “冲一冲” and “那件东西” are translated into “funeral”, “break the bad luck,” and “you know what,” respectively. In the target text the translator just uses “funeral” to express death so that the meaning is clear. Therefore, free translation is applied here without adopting euphemism. Besides, one point that needs to be picked up is that in the process of translation the grammatical equivalence is supposed to be achieved. “后事” and “那件东西” are noun forms while “冲一冲” is a verbal phrase. So the translator strives for keeping the same part of speech in the target text, which is also very important in literary translation. However, in actual situations people cannot always achieve the ideal goal. In this case, free translation is adopted when encountered with expressions characteristic of distinctive Chinese cultures.

- **Case Six**

谁知近日水月庵的智能私逃进城，找至秦钟家下，看视秦钟，不意被秦业知觉，将智能逐出，将秦钟打了一顿，自己气的老病发了，三五日光景便呜呼死了。（第十六回，P402，下划线为笔者所加）

Now, a few days previously, Zhineng had stolen away from Water Moon Convent and come to town to look for Qin Zhong in his home. He had been caught by his father, who drove her away and gave his son a beating. The old man’s rage had brought on an attack of his chronic disorder, and within a few days he was dead. (Chapter 16, P403, underlined by the author of the paper)

Here, “呜呼死了” is considered to be a Chinese interjection without any equivalent in English. Other similar phrases like “呜呼哀哉”, “寿终正寝” and “一命呜呼” also share the same meaning. For this reason, Yang just translates “呜呼死了” into “he was dead.” This can also be ascribed to the cultural factor.

- **Discussions and findings**

After the analysis of six cases in *A Dream of Red Mansions*, it can be concluded that English euphemism is used for pragmatic purposes, which should also be shown and represented in its translated version. By examining the source text and the target text in terms of its pragmatic functions, a better evaluation can be achieved. In addition, it is necessary to recognize the

inconsistency of pragmatic functions in the translation of euphemism due to the cultural differences between the two languages.

Based on the analysis of English euphemism in the data, the following factors exert a great influence upon translating euphemism, including grammar, lexis, rhetoric, context, and most importantly, culture. Grammatical factor requires translators to emphasize the construction of words and sentences while lexical factor refers to the vocabulary choice for creating euphemism and its translation. A good command of the target language lies in its fluent use of lexical items, which is a challenge for translators. Rhetorical factor can be seen in euphemism because speakers usually avoid telling the truth directly. Above all, translators should realize that the difficulty of translating euphemism results from cultural differences. Meanwhile, a solid grasp of its pragmatic functions benefits literary translation while dealing with culturally-loaded contents, some suggestions are as follows: first of all, translators should try to transfer the euphemism from the source language to the target language as the ideal goal. They are supposed to bear in mind the significance of contextual factors and identify the corresponding connotations; second, they should also pay attention to the skills applicable to the translated works especially under the literary context, which are intended for achieving a culturally-bound translation; third, if the implicature of euphemism can be kept in the target language, literal translation should be employed; fourth, as for difficulties caused by culture, translators may think of another similar image to replace the euphemism in the source language. Otherwise, they have to give up the use of euphemism and approach free translation for expression. Finally, as euphemism is a linguistic phenomenon as well as a cultural one, translators should understand the culture of the source language and the target language, which is of great help towards the improvement of the translation quality.

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Indigenous Knowledge System and Linguistic Code with Reference to Ngu Loc Community of Vietnam: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal

Hemanga Dutta and Pham Thi Ha Xuyen

There are a number of studies about the relationship between language and culture. Saussure in his book *Course of General Linguistics* analyses language as an organized thought coupled with sounds because without language thought will be an uncharted nebula. There are no pre-existing ideas and nothing is distinct before the appearance of language. However, Sapir has offered an alternative approach to this debate and he claims that language constitutes a sort of logic, a form of reference which is instrumental in molding the thought process of its habitual users. One of the most important theories about the relationship between language and culture is contributed by Sapir and Whorf. This is known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Brown (1976:128) said,

Whorf appeared to put forward two hypotheses: I) Structural differences between languages systems will, in general, be paralleled by nonlinguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of the two languages. II) The structure of anyone's native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language.

Wardhaugh defines a language as "knowledge of rules and principle of the ways of saying and doing things with sounds, words, and sentences rather than just knowledge of specific sounds, words, and sentences" (2). David Elmes claims that according to Sapir, language cannot be dissociated from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determine the texture of our lives. In other words, it is a key to the cultural past of a society and a guide to social reality.

Thus a question arises what is the relationship between language and culture? In the theory of Sapir-Whorf, they argue that language and culture have a close relationship. It is not possible to understand or appreciate one without the knowledge of the other. One of the most important factors to identify a community is language. It has formed and developed continuously through time. Therefore, to each generation, language reflexes our time, our culture. Language sticks to individuals when they start to talk and become aware of the world. A human normally learns it from his or her own specific speech community and uses it to communicate in daily life. A member of the community learns everything through his or her language and so it can be seen that a community reflexes the cultural traits through language and a language reflexes a certain community's ethos and knowledge system.

According to Whorfian view, we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native language. Language is not simply a reporting device for experience but a defining framework for it. It brings to the fore the fact that the languages we speak affect the way we perceive the reality surrounding us and our thought processes almost like a straitjacket affects our movements. Daniel Everett expressed that the researchers who are investigating the effect of language on human cognition and thought processes have come to be known as "neo-Whorfianists." They

believe that language can affect (not determine) the way we think. However, language affects our thinking in carrying out tasks in quick and subtle ways. Through his study of Pirahã language, he supports the view that social choices are determined by cultural values. Therefore, in order to understand the channel of language, its use, nature, and origin, it is necessary to understand Piraha culture. It means that to understand a language, we must understand the culture. Accordingly, there are a number of studies pertaining to difficulties associated with transliteration. Experts are always concerned with the issue as how it is possible to convey the cultural meanings associated with a community. J.C Catford provided a theory on translation in his study where he pointed out that translation is “an empirical phenomenon discovered by comparing the source language and target language.” This theory is based on the theory of Halliday which focuses on the structure of language and the functional language. E. Jakobson runs his study in the same way with an analytic approach. They all indicate that the effect of translation largely relies on its function. Eugene Nida established another aspect which focuses on the intuitive ability of human beings. All the things such as the message, the source, and the receptor are main components in a conversation. Appropriately, they conclude that linguistic code and culture have an intricate relationship with each other. This relationship exists between sounds, words, and syntactic structures conditioning the language of a community and the way people of that community perceive reality can be studied with more accurate details if we bring the issue of literary translation into our discussion in this context. Translation, especially where it is concerned with literary discourse, involves not only the ability to transfer the denotative aspects of language but its connotative aspects as well. The translator takes the responsibilities in translation with passion as well as devotion, and does not simply convey the context but also the culture of a certain community. The main purpose of translation is communication, and therefore it is an *art* as described by Theodore Savory (1957). There were several combinations between a linguistic and literary theory of translation in the 1980s, the most important of which can be assigned to the work of Laurson who argued that “each society will interpret a message in term of its own culture[;]” and that in addition, the language in any type will be an effective instrument to convey culture and vice versa.

In this paper, we are trying to investigate if the indigenous knowledge system represented by the Ngu Loc community of Vietnam is specific to a particular cultural domain. In other words, this research tries to explore if the symbolic behaviour associated with this fishing community, manifested through the medium of culture specific linguistic jargons, can be translated into other tongues.

Each community brings its own culture to the fore through the medium of language and fishing communities are no exception to this. They have different environmental habitats and the ways they earn their living vary from one another. Historically, these things have affected their cultures. So, they have created a culture to reflect their environment condition. As a result, their traditions have become associated with their identities which are instrumental in shaping and forming their identities distinct from others.

This study focuses on the relationship between linguistic codes and the ways in which people perceive the external reality surrounding them. It is also concerned with the usage of indigenous knowledge in a certain community which is transmitted through the usage of linguistic code. Indeed it evaluates the difficulty involved in the process of translation of a

typical community's language into another language on the part of the translators. To deal with that purpose, this study uses the proverbs, unique vocabulary items, folk tales, and narratives related to fishing in Ngu Loc community of Vietnam. These proverbs are mostly concerned with the way people forecast weather, find the school of fish, their experience while calculating sea level in fishing, the way they practice the rituals pertaining to fishing, etc.

The data of this paper is based on secondary sources available in literature mostly from Phung Dao (1991). In addition, there are some interviews that were conducted with the people of this community. We have discussed various culture specific linguistic items evident in the proverbs used by the members of Ngu Loc community of Vietnam. In addition to the proverbs and the rituals pertaining to taboo, euphemism practiced by the members of this particular fishing community is also discussed. The findings of this research are brought into the penetrating light of scrutiny in the backdrop of popular sociolinguistic theories, especially Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to arrive at the generalizations along with the implications for further research on this line.

Background to the Study: Indigenous knowledge system and cultural traits

Since the paper talks about the linkages between cultural traits, indigenous knowledge system, and lexical items used in the folk narratives of the Vietnamese fishing community, it is quite imperative on our part to know as to how indigenous knowledge traditions give rise to a specific cultural identity to a community in the course of time. This term "indigenous knowledge system" is a proof of the inner cultural value of invasion in front of assimilation of colonial countries.

Generally, many types of research show that sociocultural environment influences people's behaviour. According to Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe:

Indigenous knowledge... is an everyday rationalization that rewards the individual who lives in a given locality. In part, to these individuals, it reflects the dynamic ways in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural belief, and history to enhance their lives. (Kincheloe and Semali 3)

Ngu Loc community is not an exception to such conditioning. Because of its close proximity to the sea, this community based their traditions on their environmental habitat. They have exploited sea resources to earn a living for more than 800 years. Because of the intimate relationship between the community and environmental habitat, they have created a lot of cultural values through this linkage. For example, there are a lot of words created during the time of fishing and the historical interaction between human beings and environment, such as words used for the fishing tool, proverbs of fishing experience, sea foods, folktales about sea's Gods, festivals for fishermen, and fishing communities, etc. They display many aspects of its life, such as tradition, symbols, sacred, and mundane, etc., in a particular way. Therefore, it has evolved as a unique community on the basis of its unique culture specific linguistic jargons and usages. Such interaction between nature and people always gives rise to the development of unique set of

vocabulary items which are the exclusive properties of that particular community. According to Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, indigenous knowledge belongs to a certain community. If one can access it, it will be a key to contact with the community. Indigenous knowledge generally refers to knowledge systems embedded in the cultural traditions of regional, indigenous, or local communities. Indigenous knowledge plays a vital role for a community and hence, understanding the connotative aspects pertaining to words used in a community is the best way to understand a community. The study of indigenous knowledge system in a way focuses on the intrinsic relationships pertaining to language and culture and vice versa. Daniel Everett said that:

... if the historical development of each human language engages cultural values so as to help the language better serve the communicative needs and values of the community that speaks it, then each language-culture pair will teach us not only about itself but also about the bounds of human nature and experience. (Everett 258)

Indigenous knowledge system gets its manifestation through the medium of proverbs, rituals, and narratives and folk songs to mention a few. These means are part and parcel of a community and the significance associated with them are comprehensible only to the members living within that geographical territory and socio cultural environmental habitat.

In the next section, we are going to show the relationship between proverbs and the indigenous system associated with Ngu Loc community.

Proverbs and words used in Ngu Loc community

Ngu Loc community has a long history with 800 years of establishment and development. People living here have developed a unique cultural identity for themselves over the years which distinguish them from others. In this cultural milieu, proverbs appear as a potent force of instrument to express their life in a dynamic and colourful way and these proverbs reflect their attitude and perception towards the world. Through their indigenous knowledge system we can see the wide range of unique words which are used exclusively within this community domain which have become the hallmark of their identity and the part and parcel of their culture which strongly expresses their association with their environmental habitat. According to Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, “in many fables, riddles and proverbs were weaved into many of these stories as lessons to be learned.” (Kincheloe and Semali 8) As an example of a fairytale, he supposed that “people keen on the struggles amongst themselves, and particular between the beasts and the victims of prey. These twin struggles, against nature and other animals, reflected real life struggle in the human being” (Kincheloe and Semali 8). He said that through stories, people can learn not only lessons but also the value of words, for their meaning and nuances (Kincheloe and Semali 8) which provide the readers a view of world. Let us consider the following proverbs.

A. “*Đi khơi gặp đống, đi lộng gặp tia.*”
Go offshore meets pile/heap, go onshore meets ray

Paraphrase: Going offshore one can meet school of seafood and going onshore one can meet flock of fish.

Ngu Loc people usually use this proverb to wish themselves good luck when going to catch seafood. In this proverb, two words “*đồng*” and “*tia*” describe the huge amount of fish and seafood. They are the vernacular words replacing the word “*đàn cá*” - “school of fish” in Vietnamese.

B. “*Cá ngon là cá lắm xương,*
Fish delicious is fish many bones,
Làm vua cá bệ, làm vương cá mèi”
be king fish cavalry, be princely fish pilchard

Paraphrase: A delicious fish has many bones and the kings of fish are cavalry and pilchard.

This proverb shows the experience of the coastal residents involved in enjoying seafood. With their advantages in exploiting the sea as a source of food, they have access to many types of fish; and thus gain the knowledge about the most delicious of them. Cavalry and pilchard are two varieties of fish which are called the king of fish because of their wonderful taste. Through this proverb, a stranger can gain information about the popular seafood among the inhabitants of that fishing community of Vietnam.

C. “*Một con cá gúng bằng một thùng cá đổi”*
A Gung equivalent one basket anchovy

Paraphrase: A *Gung* is equivalent to the value of one basket of anchovy.

This proverb describes the high value attached to *Gung* in comparison with anchovy. *Gung* is a famous variety of fish in this community which is valued for its quality. *Gung* is also the instance of a culture specific lexical item that is coined by the community. A characteristic of this fish is its sharp thorns unlike other fish and hence the usage of this term is language specific.

There is another proverb that mentions this type of fish as shown below:

D. “*Muốn ăn con cá ba gai,*
Want eat fish Ba Gai,
Đem con mà gả cho trai xóm Thiên”
Bring your kid married man in Thien

Paraphrase: If you want to eat Ba Gai fish, you should let your daughter marry a man of Thien.

In this proverb, once again, the community evaluates the importance of *Goc* fish among the inhabitants of the Ngu Loc community of Vietnam with reference to the saying that the daughters of the community should marry a man in Thien. If one does that, the son in law will bring *Ba Gai* fish for the family of his in-laws. In this context, *Ba Gai* is a name given by Ngu Loc residents. Ngu Loc people took *Ba Gai*'s characteristic to name this type of fish. Therefore,

it is easy to recognise them by their characteristics. Besides, Thien is a private name that belongs to a sub-village in this community. People living in this place were famous for their skills in fishing *Ba Gai* fish in the past. It can be seen that this proverb not only indicates the value associated with a specific variety of seafood but also gives compliments to people in this community in a judicious fashion.

E. “*Tháng Bảy tháng Ba, vào ra ba chuyến*”
July March, in out three times

Paraphrase: On the month of July and March, the fishing boats can go for exploiting fish three times.

This proverb implies that in the months of March and July, fishermen catch a huge amount of seafood because these are the main months of fishing season. It also describes the efficiency on the part of fisherman who normally go fishing twice a day. However, in these two months their skill of fishing increases sharply which is implicitly shown in the availability of huge amounts of fish during this time of the year. It uses two verbs “*in*” and “*out*” to describe the frequency of fishing and to replace a noun that is ‘the fishing boats driven by fishermen’. A proverb, likewise, reflects not only the fishing activities but also a rich repertoire exclusively used by the members of a typical fishing community.

F. “*Trời rắng mỡ gà, ai có nhà phải chống,*”
Sky rắng fat chicken, who have house must against

Paraphrase: When the clouds in the sky assume the color of chicken fats and the sky-line signals the arrival of the storm, people are advised to stay inside their houses to protect themselves and their assets from the devastation caused by the storms.

This proverb reflects the abnormal phenomenon of weather. According to the experience of Ngu Loc residents, when the sky is “*rắng,*” meaning when sun rises or sets and its rays are reflected on the clouds, it makes a patch of sky that is flaming yellow or red. It signals the stopping water stream on the sea. This is a sign of approaching bad weather. It predicts that they may face the storm and heavy rainfall. In the past, there were no dams to protect the land, humans, and their assets in bad weather due to their close proximity with the sea. Hence, they had to collect an array of experiences to cope with their environment habitat. This proverb not only shows the sign of weather but also the difficulties and experience of the coastal residents at the time of adverse weather.

G. “*Móng cụt không lụt thì bão.*”
Nail amputated either flood or storm

Paraphrase: An incomplete rainbow implies the concurrency of a storm.

This proverb shows the experience of the coastal residents in predicting the weather. When they see an incomplete rainbow it means the weather will become worse, it might signal

the advent of a storm and heavily rain fall. In this proverb, the residents do not use exactly the word rainbow - “*cầu vồng*” in Vietnamese language, they use another word “*amputated nail*” - “*móng cụt*” to describe this phenomenon. It is a metonymy word. It shows that if an individual is not a resident of this community, he/she may not know why he/she uses that word in this proverb. It also shows that to translate a proverb into another language, one should know the exact meaning of the target language.

H. “*Con ơi nhớ lấy lời cha, trăng xuống mái nhà,*
Kid mark word father, moon reach house’s roof
nước đã chảy lên
water has already run up”

Paraphrase: Son, please mark my word, when you see the moon rises on your house’s roof, you should be sure that the sea level has already risen.

This proverb reflects an experience associated with the rise of sea level. Regularly, in the first days of the month, when the moon dives, the sea level rises. At the end of the month, when the moon rises, the sea level dives. To the fishermen, catching the rule of sea level rise thoroughly is very important because through this rule they will know the direction of the stream, the direction of a school of fish and the time they can go to sea for fishing. The characteristic of a school of fish is that they always swim following the stream. Besides, in Ngu Loc, when the sea level does not rise, the area near coasts becomes shallow. People have to wait until the sea level rises to a certain level so that they can drive their boats into the sea. Therefore, it is important on the part of fisherman to gain knowledge pertaining to sea level in order to have a sound experience about fishing.

In this proverb, there is no unique vocabulary for strangers who do not belong to this community. However, being strangers they cannot understand the essence and connotation associated with this proverb adequately.

I. “*Trong ba cũ, ngoài ba con*”
Inside three old, outside three tides

Paraphrase: Inside there are three old tides, outside there are three new tides.

Because of the importance of knowledge about the sea level, fishermen also have an experience of gauging it. This proverb explains the rules of the sea level rise. To understand its laws one has to know that one circle of a tide includes 14 days. There are 6 days during which the sea level rises lightly on the last three days of the old circle and the first three days of the new circle. This is considered to be the best time for fishing. That is why this proverb mentions about “*inside*” and “*outside.*” Similar to the proverbs mentioned above, this proverb also uses metonymy to talk about the circle of the sea level rise and tides. This leads to confusion and misunderstanding for those who do not belong to this community.

Through these proverbs, it can be surmised that to understand sufficiently and exactly the meaning of a context, one should first understand the symbolic speech patterns and culture

specific vocabulary of the community. Culture and community are inextricably interwoven, in their usage as the linguistic codes have been constantly used by the community while living in a social decorum.

J. “*Cá đặng, cá đối, cá kìm*
Dang, mullet, fishing pliers
Để cho văng sẻo đi tìm cá đêm”
Make vang, seo find all night

Paraphrase: Dang, mullet, and pliers are very precious types of fish, so a great deal of effort is needed to catch them.

This proverb indicates the difficulty of fishing three types of fishes. In this context “*văng*” and “*sẻo*” are the type of nets used in fishing in Ngu Loc community. “*Văng*” is made of a net and four small bamboo pieces. While using this net, two people hold two parts of the mouth of the net, and then they pull this net from the sea close to the shore to catch fish. “*Seo*” is made by the yarns of flax; it is used for catching the small shrimps offshore. However, these two words are used in order to replace fishermen in this proverb.

K. “*Cả làng Diêm Phố om sòm*
All village Diem Pho noisy
Gọi nhau gõ, giã cá tôm lặng trời”
Call each other go, gia fish shrimp silent sky

Paraphrase: All of Diem Pho are noisy. They call each other to go fishing because of the good weather.

In this proverb, Diem Pho is the old name of Ngu Loc. “*Gõ*” and “*giã*” are two ways of fishing in this community. The people in this village usually use the way offishing to name their jobs. “*Gõ*” is one of the strategies adopted by the fishing community while fishing. The process involves eight or ten boats surrounding a creek where the fishermen use long sticks and beat many times on the surface of the water to make fishes scared which helps them to catch the fish. “*Giã*” is the way one or two boats use a huge net to fishing inshore or offshore. As we can see, these two words can be translated into English or any other language because they are unique to the vocabulary of Ngu Loc community. Consequently, in a work of translation, translators may usually face challenges because of the lack of cultural expertise associated with the target language. It establishes the claim that language and culture are closely intertwined with each other. When someone learns a new language, they also have to learn its culture and vice versa.

L. “*Thuyền không đi, thuyền đậu nhà*
Boat doesn't leave, boat moor house
Như mắc phải tội ông Ba mươi đời
Like being guilty of Mr. Ba mươi lifetime
Đi thì bàn lộng bàn khơi,
Go is discuss offshore, discuss inshore

<i>Cá</i>	<i>ăn</i>	<i>như</i>	<i>mớ,</i>	<i>biết</i>	<i>trời</i>	<i>ở đâu</i>
<i>Fish</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>mo,</i>	<i>know</i>	<i>sky</i>	<i>where”</i>

Paraphrase: When fishermen do not go for fishing, their boats moor at the seashore. This situation implies that they are cursed by Mr. Ba Muoi. When fishermen go for fishing, they usually discuss the advantages and disadvantages of offshore and inshore fishing.

This folk narrative uses metonymy words in order to make it livelier. For example, they consider the seashore as the house of boats. However, fishermen are scared of Mr. Ba Muoi. Mr. Ba Muoi is an image of tigers - king of the jungle. In the past there were a lot of tigers living in the mountains, near the vicinity of the fishing community. They signaled danger for the human race. Tigers are believed to have a great soul which scares human beings. Vietnamese people consider it as a symbol of awe and respect. In this context, it means that if a boat does not go for fishing, it is considered as being cursed by Mr. Ba Muoi. In the last two sentences, this proverb shows the lifestyle of the fishing community. They usually discuss their experience while finding the school of fish. They say that all kinds of fish eat too much and hence it is hard to find them on the basis of their eating habit. The word “mớ” is a dialectal usage which means eating too much.

Taboo and Euphemism Practiced by Ngu Loc Community

The linkage between language and culture can also be brought into penetrating light of scrutiny with reference to the usage of taboo terms and euphemism of a particular speech community. Taboo is a social or religious custom prohibiting or forbidding discussion of a particular practice or forbidding association with a particular person, place, or thing. In a similar way, euphemism is a mild or indirect word or expression substituted for one considered to be too harsh or blunt when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing. Language is a way of communication that people use in order to communicate to each other. In euphemism, language is used to avoid saying certain things that people do not talk about or are mentioned in a very roundabout way.

Closely associated with the culture of Ngu Loc is their religious practices. To Ngu Loc commune, their religion mirrors their culture dramatically. People here believe that there are powerful superstitious elements which exert influence upon their course of life which can bring them both good luck and bad luck. Accordingly, people tend to create some solutions to deal with such problems. One of the ways is avoiding saying the things that bring them bad luck directly. For example, in Ngu Loc people’s view, there are ghosts around them. They are scared of them and try to avoid being haunted by the ghosts. Thus, they avoid calling or speaking the word “ma” - ghost in Vietnamese directly. They replace it by using other words such as *Tong* or *Dich*.¹ These two words are also from their vernacular vocabulary. One more interesting example is that Ngu Loc people avoid speaking the word “mặt trời” - the sun in Vietnamese because they believe that if they say it out loud they will meet with bad luck while going for fishing. Thus, they have created another word “*mặt dặt*” or “*ông nắng*” equivalent of “Mr. Sunshine” to say it indirectly. In this case, we cannot translate the word “*mặt dặt*” into English because it is a

¹Euphemism for Ghost.

cultural specific linguistic which is beyond the mapping of translational tools. Hence, to understand the significance of this word we need to understand the rich cultural tapestry of this community first. Ngu Loc community also believes that their boats have souls which help them in finding the school of fish and if people keep them pure and clean, it will help them in catching more fish. Otherwise fishermen will face challenges of various kinds. That is why the Ngu Loc community created some rules especially for women to dodge such misfortune. Women are not allowed to go over the paddle or sit on the head of the boat, etc. It is a taboo for pregnant women to sit in a boat. In addition, mourning families and those who have just come back from ancestral graves are never allowed to climb into a boat. If they do, both the owners of the boats and the boats are haunted by misfortune. They call it "*phong long*" to express a superstition of bad omen for the boat as well as its owner. This term is beyond translation because of its cultural specific dialectal linkages.

Many fishing communities in Vietnam are scared of dolphins. It is considered as the God of the sea. It saves fishermen's lives when they meet with an accident while fishing offshore. Dolphins, therefore, are addressed in a respectful way and the term used for them is "Mr. Cá Ông." Besides calling dolphin with this respectable name, they also call it "*cá heo*" instead of "*cá heo*" in Vietnamese. These are all dialectal terms which are very difficult to translate into other tongues.

All the above examples above indicate that language has its function that people can use euphemistically. It is the way we tend to dress up a language to make it more presentable, more polite, and more palatable to public taste. They help to enhance not only language but also culture as we humans have continuously attempted to develop our language so that it caters to the taste and opinions of the civilized world.

Conclusion

Language is associated with culture in an intricate manner. Language reflects the particularity of a culture and its practice and vice versa. This relationship is important to be acknowledged by an individual who aspires to understand a community in a holistic fashion. Language and culture are never a static phenomenon but always subject to dynamic dispositions which cause challenges for the translator. Therefore, a translator should understand not only the grammatical structures governing the target language but also the culture and norms of that particular speech community. In this paper we have discussed various culture specific linguistic items evident in the proverbs used by the members of Ngu Loc community of Vietnam. In addition the rituals pertaining to taboo as well as euphemism practiced by the members of this particular fishing community drive home the point that linguistic code of a community is very much dependent on the cultural repertoire and expertise that the members of the community possess and it is interesting to observe that some of the linguistic items such as 'mat dat,' 'rang,' 'ba gai,' 'phong long,' etc. are replete with such regional and cultural fervour that it is quite impossible to find their equivalent terms in other languages. Dutta (2009) considers it as a problematic venture on the part of a translator to reproduce a linguistic expression in its totality through an exact equivalent in another language. Each word in a literary piece is not a lexical entity but a cultural matrix in which the whole society participates. Linguistic codes especially

with reference to literary pieces of writing create an associated horizon of understanding in which the meanings get contextualized.

The findings of this paper justify the claim that there are always some typical language and culture's items in every community that add to linguistic and cultural specificity. Therefore, a good translator should be endowed with the potential to be true to not only the source of language but also its social context with responsibility and ethical concern. The translator plays a vital role in communicating between two cultures and two heterogeneous groups although the cultural terms used in proverbs and euphemism will undoubtedly make the translator's job a difficult one. Although it is said that a translator contributes in bridging the gap caused by culture and geography, some gaps cannot be overcome because of the unique cultural and linguistic identity possessed by each specific community. Therefore, such claims definitely go against the principle of linguistic homogeneity and support the multicultural plurality of this global village.

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Wealth and Entitlement in Detective Fiction: Britain's History of Pillage in India

Keertika Lotni

"Does a nation inherit the evil of its forbearers if it accepts benefits derived from the crime?" (Reed 287).

This paper deals with the subjects of wealth and entitlement in detective fiction, for which two novels, namely *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins and *The Sign of the Four* (1890) by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle will be used as primary texts. The basic arguments of this paper are to trace colonial and precolonial pillaging of India (as presented in the text) and to look at how the idea of 'earning' wealth is related to the mere dislocation of production of wealth. In the course of the paper, London will be interpreted as a sight of an empire built upon pillage and loot and, at times, even founded upon crime.

In both these novels, the plot is influenced by the events of a mutiny or uprising, most of it has to do with plunder and loot. Thus, it becomes crucial to briefly locate the structure of balance between Britain's imperial ventures and its subsequent effects upon the empire. It has been argued that the classical colonist-colonised relationship between the empire and India came forth only post 1857. India was expected to survive by itself and also support the cause of the empire. India was both a ground for raw material and a market for manufactured goods, the profits from which never filled its own coffers. Surprisingly, there was no import duty on trade affairs (in British India) even though other colonies exercised it. Through India's export trade, Britain maintained its own deficit with other countries. This is in keeping with the opium wars¹ that Britain fought with China to ensure its trade market did not remain one-sided and dependent with the export of tea, porcelain, etc., thus, ensuring that China opened its markets for opium import. Bandyopadhyay describes how India was comfortably drained of its wealth:

There were several pipelines through which this drainage allegedly occurred, and these were interests in foreign debt incurred by the east India company... irrigation, road transport... the government purchase policy of importing all its stationary from England... paying for secretary of state... military personnel. (Bandyopadhyay, 123)

The real money transfer occurred through the sale of 'council bills'. These were bought by buyers of Indian goods in London (in sterling) who got Indian rupee in exchange. Post the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, "The entire contents of the Bengal treasury were simply loaded into 100 boats and punted down the Ganges from the Nawab of Bengal's palace to Fort William, the company's Calcutta headquarters." (*The Guardian*)

In the novella, *The Sign of the Four*, Sherlock Holmes is called upon by a lady by the name of Ms. Morstan (Dr. Watson's future wife) who is troubled by some letters that she has

¹First opium war: 1840-1842; Second opium war: 1856-1860.

received. A woman of limited means and employed as a governess, Miss Morstan, is the only child of her father, Captain Morstan, who serves in the British army in India. She has been receiving rare pearls to undo the wrong done to her father, which the sender claims to be her fair share. The story revolves around the valuable 'Agra treasure' which belonged to a King of northern provinces of India and the truth about the means of its attainment remains dubious. This treasure is being transported by his servant, Achmet Singh, who is waylaid by Jonathan Small, Dost Akbar, Abdullah Khan, and Mahomet Singh, who later swear a pact of honest division of the loot amongst themselves and call it the 'sign of the four.' This very treasure, now buried in the fort of Agra, is further divided by them to incorporate a fifth share to gain freedom while serving as prisoners in the Andaman. While the novel compliments the marvellous expertise of the detective, it is interesting to note the tremendous amount of riches that flow through the text in the form of the 'Agra treasure' and the strange claims that people lay on it.

There seems to be an unusual culture around the luxurious case containing the Agra treasure decorated with Benares metalwork. The looters discovered it at the time of the Mutiny of 1857. The treasure is introduced by name in the later part of the book. It is believed to have belonged to a *Rajah*² of 'some' northern province of India who has inherited some of the money from his father and hoarded the rest. In the face of the mutiny, he is protecting his riches by placing part of it, that is, the Agra treasure with the British. The first claim made upon the money is by the *Rajah* who, as mentioned, is probably not the real owner of the money. As Doyle quotes, "There is a rajah in the northern provinces who has much wealth, though his lands are small" (79). Who owns it then? It is not revealed to the reader. The treasure contains:

... one hundred and forty-three diamonds of the first water... 'the Great Mogul' and is said to be the second largest stone in existence... ninety-seven very fine emeralds, and one hundred and seventy rubies... There were forty carbuncles, two hundred and ten sapphires, sixty-one agates, and a great quantity of beryls, onyxes, cats'-eyes, turquoises, and other stones... there were nearly three hundred very fine pearls (Doyle 82-83).

Yet, it represents the empty wealth, which just changes hands from one 'robber' to the other, each of whom considers it his own. This idea is reiterated by Watson when he says, "Thank God!" on hearing about the treasure's loss because its looming shadow had become a hindrance between his chances of a relationship with Mary Morstan. Jonathan Small is tricked by Major Sholto who runs away with the treasure and the former's entire life is spent in pursuit of revenge and the 'fair share' of which he attains none. At the end of the story the treasure is drowned and spread across five miles on the bed of river Thames, most definitely not in a place where it belonged.

The fate of the treasure is much like the unfair economic setup shared by Britain with its colonies. Wealth that is produced in Indian colonies is transported to Britain in the form of rich silks, muslins, gems, etc. London seems to be no less a recreation of the fabled east, given that a whole area in the city is named, 'Pondicherry lodge'. It is laying claim over a land through its name. Nonetheless, the most poignant example of this dislocation of wealth is the room of Thaddeus Sholto, as he himself puts it: "An oasis of art in the howling desert of South London"

²Editor's Note (herein after called Ed. N.): King.

(Doyle 17). Sholto's room is a celebration of luxury and decadence as perceived in the days of the Raj:

The richest and glossiest of curtains and tapestries draped the walls... to expose some richly-mounted painting or Oriental vase. The carpet was of amber-and-black... Two great tiger-skins thrown athwart it increased the suggestion of Eastern luxury, as did a huge hookah... A lamp in the fashion of a silver dove was hung from an almost invisible golden wire in the centre of the room. (Doyle 17).

All these elements suggest a re-creation of the lifestyle enjoyed by the rich *zamindar*³ class of India, a hookah smoking Sholto seated amidst his own creation of a mini East. This opulence suggests a kind of moral degradation which makes him desire more riches, an element which is more pronounced in his twin, Bartholomew Sholto. Bartholomew lays personal claim upon the treasure without any knowledge of its origins and meets a tragic end. Whereas, Thaddeus, who wants to share with Morstan her 'rightful' claim survives. Men like Bartholomew and Captain Sholto represent the nature of the Raj towards the colonies, with an assumption that the East is a wild exotic space to loot riches and collect mementos from. They assume that an entitlement goes along with the possession of the treasure. Similar is the case with Achmet Singh, who promises a reward to Small and his companions if they grant protection to him and 'his master's' belonging, whereas ethically he is not in a position to do so. Post the quelling of the mutiny, it is heard that the Rajah is exiled from the country and can no longer hold land or property. The mutiny sets new parameters to the establishment of land policies.

Metcalf writes that it was Lord Canning who realized that small native states or provinces (like the one belonging to the *Rajah* here) were 'breakwaters to the storm' of mutiny and decided to enable policies that would create support for these states in contrast to previous annexationist methods. The government of India derived maximum revenue from land. The process of defining land rights made British instrumental in restructuring class structure, thereby their dominance in society. From the *ryotwari* system⁴ (which proved disastrous for north-western provinces and Punjab), revenue collection moved to the *talukdari* system⁵. The British gave up attempts at any kind of peasant reforms and agreed to a subtle manner of revenue collection through *taluks*⁶, to whom people were already accustomed. It was after the anarchy of Oudh (Awadh) (1857-8) that the ideals of peasant proprietorship were discarded and *talukdars* were able to resume control of the estates. *Talukdari* system also agreed with the "laissez-faire" system of political economy, thus finding support from many quarters. Prior to the mutiny, the now deposed *Rajah* (from *The Sign of the Four*) and said 'owner' of the treasure must have been a part of the *ryotwari* land revenue collection himself. There is a possibility that the riches were hoarded out of the labour of generations of peasants of his estate. Given that the aftermath of the mutiny did not work well for him, only the name of place where his treasure was looted, that is 'Agra,' stuck on.

³*Ed. N.*: a landowner, especially one who leases his land to tenant farmers.

⁴Direct collection of land revenue from individual cultivators by government agents. The system was devised by Capt. Alexander Read and Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Munro at the end of the 18th century and introduced by the latter when he was governor (1820–27) of Madras (Chennai).

⁵The talukdar or the administrative head would be responsible for the collection of taxes.

⁶*Ed. N.*: administrative districts for taxation purposes

The sheer excessiveness of the Agra treasure, its power to attract, to kill, and to elude capture, and, perhaps most significantly, its imminent return to the shores of Great Britain in the form of a murderous conspiracy, is symptomatic of its origin in the discursive unmanageability of the Mutiny. (Keep and Randall 212)

The second half of the Nineteenth century and the first half of the Twentieth saw many fictional renditions of the event of mutiny. These are enough evidence to read the extent of the changes it brought about in the empire's working. Some examples of this are Nisbet's work, *The Queen's Desire* (1893), Merriman's *Flotsam* (1896), Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), Lady Inglis's 1892 diary, and Lord Roberts's 1897 memoir. Colonists have attempted to quell the importance of Indian uprisings by referring to them as 'Mutiny,'⁷ limiting them to military misadventures. However, the uprising may have had various methods of approach to 'protest,' defying the limitation of the term. The word 'Mutiny' severely constraints comprehension of an event that was much larger than the trouble with chewing greased cartridges.

"... these men that we fought against, foot, horse, and gunners, were our own picked troops, whom we had taught and trained, handling our own weapons and blowing our own bugle-calls" (Doyle 76) – there is a sinister dread among the British from the men fighting them, still dressed in red coats of the Raj army. In their essay, Randall and Keep make an interesting observation about how the empire or rather London in the novel is thrown off-guard, in an unexplainable uncomfortable space due to the mutiny. The geography of the city resounds with these uncertainties. The blindfolded trio in the carriage, Holmes, Watson and Morstan, are led by a street 'arab' into a strange eastern haven (Sholto's room) while two of the passengers are unable to recognise the geography of their otherwise well traversed city of London. London becomes a strange space an "unmapped and unknowable place of origin, the colonial periphery" (Keep and Randall 213).

Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868) also deals with the ill-begotten inheritance of a rare gem that John Herncastle gives to his niece, Rachel Verinder, after being slighted by both his sister and niece. This gem, the Moonstone, has a history of its own. It was attained by Herncastle as loot in the Battle of Seringapatam (1799)⁸ when he was fighting for the British army. This sacred yellow diamond, due to be delivered by Rachel's cousin and suitor Franklin Blake is guarded by three Indian Brahmin priests who are following the gem. Eventually the gem is stolen on the night of her birthday and the European detective, Sergeant Cuff, takes over the case. Suspicion falls upon Rosanna Spearman, a reformed thief, as well as on various members of the household and later Rachel herself. The other important characters in the story are Gabriel Betteredge, the family steward, Ezra Jennings, a man with a sordid past but a sound mind, assistant to the Verinder family doctor (Dr Candy) and Godfrey Ablewhite, Rachel's

⁷*Editor's Note (Herein after called Ed.N.):* The Indian Rebellion of 1857 is also called the Indian Mutiny, the Sepoy Mutiny, India's First War of Independence or India's first struggle for independence. It began on 10 May 1857, as a mutiny of sepoys of the British East India Company's army.

⁸Fictional rendition of the actual Siege of Seringapatam (5 April – 4 May 1799). It was the final phase of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War fought between the British East India Company and the Kingdom of Mysore. The British, with the allied Nizam of Hyderabad, won the war after breaching the walls of the fortress at Seringapatam and storming the citadel. Tipu Sultan, Mysore's ruler, was killed.

philanthropist cousin and the real thief. Yet, the most important story is that of the Moonstone itself. The Moonstone adorns the forehead of the Moon God, the statue of whom is moved to Benares from Somnath to escape being plundered by Mahmoud of Ghizni in the Eleventh century. From here it reached the hands of a high-ranking official in the army of Aurangzeb when they looted and destroyed temples. Thus it travelled from one 'lawless mohameddan' (Collins) to another eventually reaching Tipoo, the Sultan of Seringapatm, who had it engraved in a dagger. Herncastle ripped it from the dagger during the battle. The theft of the Moonstone then is a fabulous tale about suffering curse from wrongful acquisition of someone else's property. Here the curse is basically that of incurring debt and humiliation, for both Herncastle and Godfrey.

Ilana Blumberg makes a critical observation with respect to the travels of the Moonstone in her essay. The Moonstone is an idea modelled around various fabled gems, especially the prized Koh-i-noor. The Koh-i-noor found its place in Queen Victoria's crown, the gem embodies the idea of gift and theft as being understood interchangeably with respect to colonial history. The attainment of the gem is reflective of the helplessness of the colonised and the prowess of the colonist. This fetish with diamonds is also seen in *The Sign of Four* where the Agra treasure contains a huge diamond of the first water, also called 'the great mogul'; having the great mogul is almost like having the *Mughal* empire in one's pocket.

The mutiny was often seen as an uprising that perpetrated the British domestic space. The incidents of Lucknow and Kanpur forts housing women and children, surrounded and plundered by Indian savages is well known. While these claims might, to some extent, be justified, their constant repetition seems to be a method to negate ages of perpetration by the empire into the colonized lands. It is ironical that not only the women and children need to be protected, they also need to be adorned with colonial 'gifts'. Both the Koh-i-noor and the Moonstone were worn by women, at least once.

The Moonstone being ripped off a dagger or the forehead of a God is the violation of its sacred value. This sacrilege is passed on to Rachel as a gift of 'forgiveness' for her and her mother's slight towards the uncle. Herncastle could only make a gift of it if he thought himself entitled to its possession, his assumption echoes with that of the imperialists who thought themselves to be the natural master to riches of the East. A gift, with its own market value, is exercised upon a promise of return; unlike the altruist self-sacrificing tradition of gifting as professed in Victorian culture, in the novel at least, it is the demand of an even-handed reciprocal exchange. Blumberg compares this process to the solemn Christian practice of Christ's sacrifice to grant grace to humankind. Whatever merit people earn through good deeds or charity, they will never surpass the sacrifice of God and salvation shall always remain a gift. In the novel, there are several gifts given, most of them with an intention of gaining something in return, the Moonstone is no different, if only as a means to incur curse and calamity.

The position that Collins takes here is quite novel for his times as he manages to club the acts of a British soldier (that of loot and murder) with the common denominator of plunderers and looters towards whom his opinion is less than lenient, "the Moonstone passed (carrying its curse with it) from one lawless Mohammedan hand to another" (Collins 1). Unlike Doyle in *The Sign of the four*, who seems more concerned with the honesty of the pact (irrespective of

whoever the treasure belongs to), Collins recognises the activities of the Raj as that of pillage and loot:

... utterly false logic of imperialism: we are doing them a service. Wilkie Collins challenges this factitious binary in *The Moonstone* by constructing a private, domestic history as simultaneously imperial, collapsing not only home and away, but also private and public, and family and empire... (Free 2).

Collins provides the reader with a choice while systematically demystifying the legacies of the empire that provided a severely constrained narrative to the history of events. The Christian trope of carrying the white man's burden, of doing them a service for the higher values of altruism and charity are laid bare by a straightforward telling of a fitting singular event, i.e., the ways in which the Indian empire was looted for years. "In some of my former novels, the object proposed has been to trace the influence of circumstances upon character. In the present story, I have reversed the process. The attempt made here is to trace the influence of character on circumstances." (Collins, Preface) The same approach could be used for readers; they can choose if the entitlement of the gem (representative of the wealth of the colonies) transfers with the possession gained through force or vice versa. Otherwise, the benign nature of the colonist is kept at the forefront and the atrocities suffer a collective amnesia. To a western reader, the Battle of Seringapatam and subsequent pillage poses a sense of thrill and patriotic pride to the Coloniser. Tennyson's poem, "The Defence of Lucknow" (1902), is an example of the trend of thought and emotion: "Handful of men as we were, we were English in heart and in limb, Strong with the strength of the race to command, to obey, to endure..."

Collins presents the empire as an entity separate from the integrated nation space of Britain and allows Seringapatam a location and culture that belongs to the native; it is in opposition to Tennyson's claim of the Englishman's natural right to command. The situation of the imperial nation is like a "... scandal of a grasping nation overreaching itself, protected by the urgency of containment." (Free 343).

One common trope in both the aforementioned novels is the use of opium, its addiction and its presence in the novels as a catalyst to events. *The Sign of Four* begins with Holmes injecting himself with cocaine and Watson expressing his displeasure at his "sinewy forearm and wrist all dotted and scarred with innumerable puncture-marks." (Doyle 1). Holmes needs something to keep his mind occupied, for him it is either cocaine or a case engaging enough. When the Agra treasure case is successfully solved, he goes back to his cocaine bottle. Thaddeus Sholto is also given to addictions, like the hookah. Similarly, in *The Moonstone*, Ezra Jennings is a good man but cuts a tragic figure as an opium addict, eventually losing his life to the addiction. Jennings has a mixed parentage and like a colonial subject, he is shunned by society. His sordid past is his undeserved guilt, which the empire will not help to uplift. The theft of the gem from the Verinder house itself happens under a wrongly administered dose of opium. Collins was a laudanum addict and it seems that many of Jennings experiences with the drug are Collins's personal contributions. The various characters given to opium use seem to be paying for the sin of wrongful hoarding of wealth and its misplaced entitlement; for opium trade was the crown in Britain's export trade, given its addictive nature. "Opium steadily accounted for about 17-20% of

Indian revenues... In fact, the revenues don't account for entire profits generated [out of opium trade] - there was shipping, there were so many ancillary industries around opium."

Opium was also the reason for the then infamous opium wars Britain fought with China. Opium trade produced "the transient satisfactions by which the imperial imaginary sought to confirm its mastery..." (Keep and Randall). Holmes's body is punctured by the cocaine syringes and his drug use is an addiction, his body is like the sight of empire punctured due to its stint in wrongdoing while hallucinating a non-existent clarity, like Holmes, the empire yearns for 'mental exaltation'. Yet use of narcotics suggests being out of control and normal order, the need for an artificial stimulant is the weakness of the body, the empire is tripping over groundwork of its own making.

For a long time *The Moonstone*, being a novel, was not perceived capable of social criticism; it is only in the last three decades that such possibilities have been considered. The multiple narrators and their varied take on the plot allow the readers to choose their sides within the novel as it begins with an imperial siege. Yet, Collins manages to express guarded responsibility for the events of the siege and plunder. He does not read the theft as a romantic event far removed from the English soil but as a consequence of one's (Britain's) own doing. The public in the novel is deeply embedded in the private, the scandal in the family is the outcome of a scandal of the nation. "... the novel dismantles conventional distinctions between oriental and English" (Caren 240-241). India is perceived as a rare gem, an object to cherish, like the Moonstone. At the end of the novel, the return of the Moonstone to the deity's forehead is portrayed as a morally sound culmination of the stone's journey.

Collins and Doyle, through their characters in their respective novels, have managed to create space for speculation on the consequences of people's stint in empire. While opium abuse has been mentioned as, another common element is the presence of some deformity or disease in the self of characters. Herncastle's strange nature and Jonathan Small's wooden leg are examples of it. In Doyle's stories, *The Adventure of the Crooked Man* (1893) and *The Speckled Band* (1892), this feature is quite pronounced. In *The Speckled Band*, Dr. Grimsby Roylott, is the last survivor of an aristocratic family in Surrey and has practiced his profession in India. His behaviour is animalistic and he is given to strange fits of anger and violence; his greed provokes him to kill his own stepdaughter. While, in *The Adventure of the Crooked Man*, Henry Wood is a handsome sergeant in the British army in India who is transformed to a crooked hunchback post the events of the mutiny. The curse of imperialism comes forth as bodily deformation in these works.

Detective fiction is a vast genre. The mere fact that a novel like *The Moonstone*, which introduces itself as a 'romance' sets the platform for detective fiction somewhat explains its far-reaching effects and influences. This genre is an intrinsic part of popular fiction; Doyle and Collins manage to highlight crucial arguments through a very commonly read genre. Through a journey of thrill and suspense, detective fiction manages to address issues of precolonial and colonial pillaging, wealth and entitlement, colonial trade affairs, drug abuse, objectification of the East and the workings of a nation-state. When a genre manages to question the constraints of history and provide a new perception to one's surroundings, it can be deemed successful. Detective fiction has, for a long time, through suspense and thrill done just that. It has provoked us to think.

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British Educational Activities in Northern India: 1840 to 1841

Sumeet Tanwar

The emphasis on vernacular education was laid during the decade of 1840, when the General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) in Calcutta reviewed its policy of diffusing English education throughout the presidencies and territories under the control of British in India.¹ In Northern India, English seminary was first attached to Benares College (established in 1797) in 1830 to persuade native gentry and educated classes of Benares towards the study of English who otherwise preferred Persian. A class of Persian was attached to the English seminary in October 1832 as part of an experiment. George Nicholls, after taking charge of the English seminary in 1835, replaced the Persian class with vernacular classes of Hindi and Urdu. Nicholls's idea behind the introduction of vernacular classes to English Seminary was:

If attention to the vernacular dialects be encouraged it may be expected that at some future period those who are studying English will translate a portion of learning they acquire into the native language thus enriching them and exciting a desire amongst their countrymen for an acquaintance with a language which contains so much to enlarge the minds and to enlighten the views of those who study it.²

By 1840, under the directive of GCPI, the same model of attaching vernacular classes to the English seminary was extended to the schools stationed in North Western and Central Province. The school at the British station in Sagar (central provinces), headed by Rao Krishna Rao (son of the hereditary Diwan of the principality of Sagar) had three independent departments of Persian, Marathi, and Hindi before the establishment of English seminary in the year 1835. This English seminary established at Sagar School was without any teacher and in order to make English classes functional Rao Krishna Rao managed to take on board one English master, Mr. Derozio, who accompanied him from Calcutta to teach the rudiments of English literature at Sagar School. However, after few days of residence at the Sagar station, Mr. Derozio decided to move back to Calcutta, as he could not find a safe footing at the Sagar Station.³ His departure resulted in the appointment of an incompetent master, Ram Chunder, to teach English language and the rudiments of European scientific knowledge to the students of the school. In 1837, the number of pupils in English seminary was 28, while the Hindi department of the school had 122 pupils divided into six classes. The studies of the most advanced pupils in Hindi department

¹The decade of 1830 was marked by the zeal of the GCPI to promote English medium education amongst Indians. By 1840s the emphasis shifted to vernacular education and translating English texts into the vernacular languages of India. For further details on this shift of policy, see *Short Essays and Reviews on the Educational Policy of the Government of India, As Expounded by the Hon. Summer Maine, D.C.L, Sir Donald Friel Macleod, C.B, K.C and the Late Lord Macaulay*. (Calcutta: The Englishman Press, 1886,) 124; Appendix I, 1-7. For recent studies on British education policy of the given period, see, Zastoupil, Lynn. Moir, Martin. Ed. *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy 1781-1843*. (London: Routledge. 2013).

²Nicholls to Sutherland, WBSA 11th January 1834 to 23rd December 1837 Vol. 9 part 2. Sl.no 13/2. 277. LCPI at Benares was repeatedly making the observation that there were very few Hindustani pupils in the College who can write their own language with anything like orthographic or syntactical correctness.

³Not the Derozio of Hindoo College, Calcutta.

consisted of *Subha Bilas*,⁴ geography, arithmetic, and astronomy. The school was suffering from shortage of books hence some of the first books in Hindi were compiled by the initiative of Rao Krishna Rao. The list of Hindi books prepared at the schools was as follows:

Hindi Books at Sagar School	Copies
The Hindee Primer	400 copies
Mr. Rowe's Hindustani Spelling Book third edition first printed in 1833	300 copies
Fables in Hindustanee for the use of schools. Second edition	100 copies
Betal Pachessa	20 copies
Pearson's Geography and Astronomy	30 copies
Treatise on the Globe	50 copies
Arithmetic	50 copies

A globe for the use of the students of Hindi prepared by Rao Krishna Rao in 1836 has been listed below:

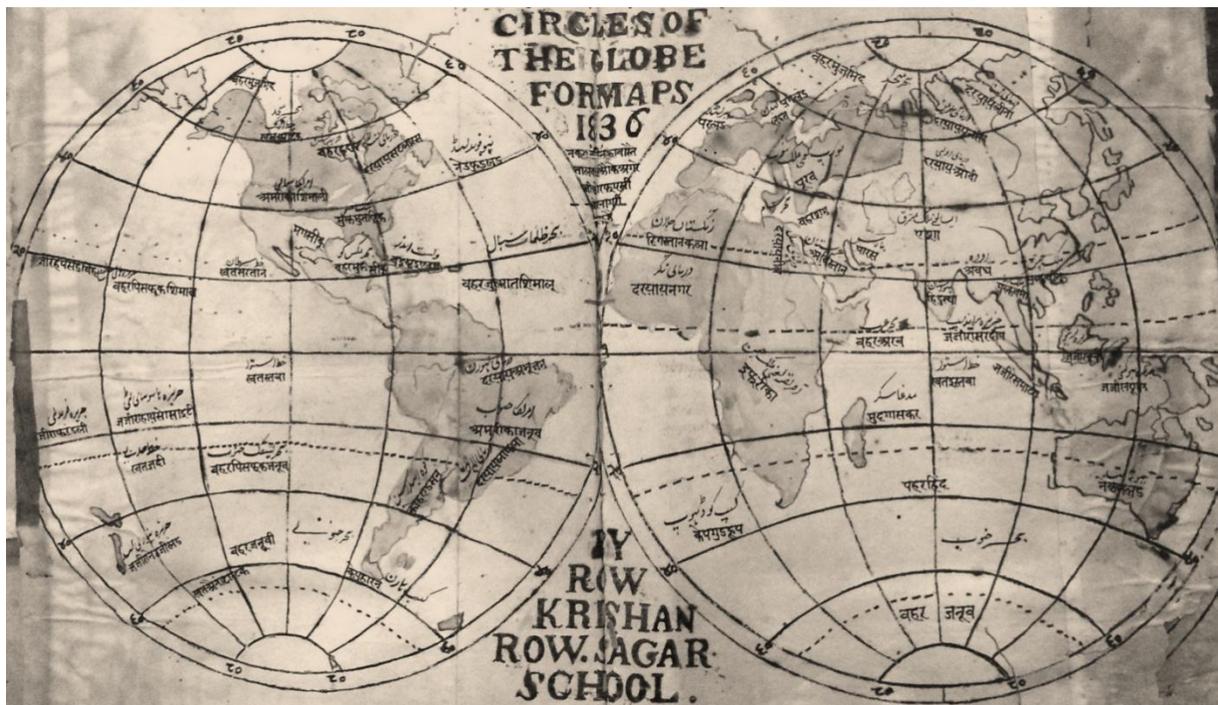


Fig.1

⁴Editor's Note (herein after called Ed. N.): A collection of stanzas on various subjects in Hindi.

In the same year some students of Hindi, under the instruction of Ram Chunder and Rao Krishna Rao, prepared texts in Hindi on astronomy, geography, and mathematics. The name of the students who compiled these texts were Omrao, Veju Marathe, Bharo Prasad. These Hindi texts were prepared both in verse (using *mataric*⁵ meter and of *chupae*,⁶ *saviya*,⁷ etc.) and prose were based on the knowledge of the European science as understood by the compilers. The whole exercise was intended to teach the students of Hindi that earth rotates around the sun and other such facts; contrary to the astronomical and geographical notions found in the Siddhanta⁸ texts popularly studied by the educated classes especially, the Pandits of this region.⁹ By 1840, these independent activities at the Hindi department of the Sagar School and defective translations of the knowledge contained in the English books began to alarm the GCPI. In consequence, the GCPI on September 1840 supplied to the school the following vernacular books printed at the Agra School Book Society for use instead:

Books in Persian Character	Books in Nagree Character
History Russell's Translated in Urdu First Geography of Natives in Urdu Urdu Spelling Book	Bhugol Darpan in Hindee Brief Account of Solar System Marshman's Brief Survey of the Ancient History English Irregular and Depart Verbs

The overtly cautious attitude of GCPI at Calcutta towards the faults of Siddhantic system of astronomy and geography were based on the feedback it received from two important authorities on the native education in North Western and Central Provinces, Lancelot Wilkinson and H.T Prinscep.¹⁰ The first class book of Hindi, *Bhugol Darpan: A Comparison of the Puranic and Siddhantic Systems of Astronomy With that of Copernicus* by Onkar Bhut of Sehore, published under the authority of Agra School Book Society, Agra Press, 1841, was a very carefully compiled book.¹¹ The book was in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and a

⁵*Ed. N.*: English vowel equivalent in Hindi.

⁶*Ed. N.*: a quatrain verse of Indian poetry, especially medieval Hindi poetry, that uses a metre of four syllables.

⁷*Ed. N.*: a Hindi quatrain of dactylic structure and each line include seven feet.

⁸A Sanskrit term denoting the established and accepted view of any particular school within Indian Philosophy.

⁹By the region I mean Maratha, Central Provinces, and Benares where Siddhanta texts were popularly studied till the first half of the Nineteenth century. However, the geographical imagination of the world contained in a set of Buddhist and Puranic texts was popular throughout Asia or Jambudvipa. Until the Nineteenth century, even the Japanese Buddhists envisioned a world system in which India was the centre, China was located at the periphery and Japan was an even more isolated territorial entity. In the Siddhantic model of the cosmos the earth is a fixed, non-rotating sphere at the centre of a series of interesting spheres around which the sun, moon, and the various planets and stars revolve around the earth. In this model the planets are ranged above the earth in this order: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and all the stars. In this model the diameter of the earth is calculated to be about 1600 *yojanas*. For further details, see Axel Michaels. *The Pandit Traditional Scholarship in India*. (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2001), 81.

¹⁰ See *The Best Means of Promoting Vernacular Education*. WBSA (50) General Committee of Public Instruction Vernacular Classes, 1840-1842. Vol. 6 (A), 141-191.

¹¹ Sehore was an important education centre located in the Central Province where the collusion between European scientific knowledge and Sanskrit sources occurred in the first half of the 19th century, under the supervision of Lancelot Wilkinson. For Wilkinson's intervention among the Pandits and his activities at Sehore Sanskrit Pathasala,

student, comparing the Copernican notions with the Siddhanta texts of Bhaskarcharya, where the author acknowledged the authority of European knowledge over the geography of the world. The central argument that established the superiority of European scientific knowledge over the Siddhantic texts was that of the brave European sailors, who had revolved around the earth in their ships, had consequently proved that earth is round.¹² The process of integrating western knowledge with Siddhantic texts was taken further by another *Pandit*¹³ of Sehore, Bapu Deva Shastri.¹⁴ He joined Benares Sanskrit College in 1842 as a professor of natural philosophy.¹⁵

In January 1841, an observer from GCPI, Calcutta, visited the school and was surprised by the advancement made in English and vernacular education at 'this distant station.' After his return to Calcutta, GCPI on 29th January, 1841 directed the LCPI,¹⁶ in charge of the Sagar School to make certain changes in the management of school, so as to place it in accordance with the larger plan for native education.¹⁷ The proposed changes for the school were sanctioned by the Governor General in Council. In consequence, to these changes, Hindi department of the school was discontinued as a separate department. Rao Krishna Rao was relieved from his position as the superintendent of the Sagar School, his salary was reduced to the scale proposed for a head vernacular teacher (Rs 80), and he was transferred to Jabalpur.¹⁸ The Hindi department of the school was placed in the same discipline as English under the superintendence of a European master whose salary was increased to Rs. 300. In the same year, scheme of scholarship was introduced according to which a junior scholar of the school was allowed to be sent to the Benares Central College. The students opting for scholarship were required to read with grammatical facility and correctness, a piece of English prose selected from Dryden, Swift, Addison, or Johnson; in history, a knowledge of the leading facts of the histories of Rome,

see Richard Fox Young. "Receding From Antiquity: Indian Responses to Science and Christianity On The Margins Of Empire". 1997, *Kokusaigaku-Kenkyu* 16 (Meji Gakuin Ronso 595), 241-74; Micheal S. Dodson. *Orientalism, Empire and National Culture India, 1770-1880*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007); Joydeep Sen. *Astronomy In India* (New York: Routledge, 2016). For his political activities see, Shaharyar M. Khan. *A Dynasty Of Women Rules In Raj India*. (London: I.B Tauris Publishers, 2000).

¹² The establishment of the superiority of European authorities in the 19th century was not a phenomenon restricted only to India. In Japan the accumulation of western geography, especially its notions of a spherical earth rotating around the sun, presented a powerful challenge to traditional Buddhist representation. Japanese authors, however, chose to integrate western elements and information within the old geographical framework as much as possible. See Tensen Sen. Ed. *Buddhism Across Asia*. New Delhi: Manohar Publisher and Distributors. 2014, 266-7.

¹³ *Ed. N.*: a Hindu scholar learned in Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy and religion, typically also a practising priest.

¹⁴ For life and works of Bapu Deva Sastri see Baldeva Upadhyaya. *Kasi Ki Panditya Parampara*. (Varanasi: Visvavidyalaya Prakasan, 1983), 187-199 (in Hindi).

¹⁵ In the words of German philosopher Hegel, the Newtonian physics was called natural philosophy in Great Britain. See, Norbert Waszek. *The Scottish Enlightenment and Hegel's Account of 'Civil Society'*. (London: Kluwer Academic Publisher. 1988), 135.

¹⁶ *Ed. N.*: Local Committee of Public Instruction (LCPI).

¹⁷ The larger plan as propagated by Lancelot Wilkinson for Central and Northern India, pitched for a very careful transmission of European knowledge amongst the Indian subjects by also teaching them what was good and useful in their own system. Hence, he suggested a rereading of the traditional India sources in accordance with the European scientific methodology. The publication of the book by Onkar Bhutt and the appointment of Bapu Deva Sastri as previously mentioned were in concurrence with this plan.

¹⁸ Jabalpur station school of the company was also established in 1840 at the cost of Rs. 3000. English department of the Jabalpur School contained 38 students and classes were divided into two (junior/ senior) under head master R. Stewart. The number of pupils recorded in the vernacular department attached with English department of the school was 124 with an increase of 2 out of which 9 were Muslims and 115 Hindus.

Greece, England, and India; in geography, an understanding of the general form of the Earth, its division into quarters, the division of quarters into countries, the name of the capital, principal cities of each country, the principle mountains and rivers; a grammatical knowledge of *Hindustanee* or *Bengali*¹⁹ with an ability to translate it correctly from English into the vernacular and from the vernacular into English. The scholarship entitled was Rs. 30 for the first two years and Rs. 40 for the next four years.

Unlike Sagar, Allahabad was more of an urban and important administrative centre for North-western Provinces with Suddar Ahaulat and Suddar Board of Revenue placed there. In 1841, English classes at the Allahabad School had 7 Christian, 15 Muslim, and 62 Hindu students. The English class was engaged in pursuing Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Poetical Reader no-4, Goldsmith's *History of England*, Cliff's *Political Economy*, Luchman's *Element's of Logic*, Euclid's *Elements*, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Geometry, and the use of globe along with the composition and translation into the vernacular. Nagari (Hindi) and Urdu classes were attached to the English department in 1841. On 18th February 1841, GCPI sanctioned to give scholarship to the pupils of Allahabad school for Benares Central College on the same criteria as for the students of the Sagar School mentioned above.

In October 1841, an examination was conducted at the Allahabad school on Indian history and the following set of questions and answers were placed before the students:

History

1. Is the Sanskrit language supposed to have sprung from the vernacular or the vernacular dialects from the Sanskrit? {Answer- The vernacular dialect from Sungscrit} (sic)
2. Is the religion which now prevails in India similar to that which was originally introduced by the Brahmuns? If not in what respect is it different? {The religion which the Brahmuns introduced did not teach the Hindus to worship idols.} (sic)
3. Where are the Great War take place and between whom? {In Cachutre between Pandwas and Koruas} (sic)
4. What is said to have induced Vyas to compose the Mahabharat? {Because Calidas the poet wrote Ramayain} (sic)
5. Are the Hindus of the present day essentially different from those of ancient times and give your authority for your answers? {Because the customs which pervaded in ancient time are at present in full length in India.} (sic)
6. Against what Mahometan General did Boppa defends Hilllore? {Inhumud bin Kasim} (sic)
7. What Mahometan conqueror established the Mohametan rule in the N.West? {Inhumud Gharey and chiefly his general Qutab.} (sic)
8. What dynasty subdued the Deccans? {Thilligy dynasty}(sic)
9. In whose time did the provinces of Malva-Goozerat, Khandesh, Jaunpore revolt? {In the reign of Muhummd Tagluek} (sic)
10. Which of the province of India submitted in the most dastardly manner to the Mohemetan yoke and who added it to their territory? {Bengal by Bukhtyar.} (sic)

¹⁹Ed. N.: Indian Vernacular languages.

11. What King gave encouragement to the Affghans and who was the first of that race to sit on the throne of Delhi? {Feroze Tugluk and Belol Lody was the first of that dynasty to sit on the throne of Delhi.} (sic)
12. Who was the last Hindu King of Delhi? {Prithviraj} (sic)
13. Who attempted to remove the Mahometan capital of India to Dergurh and what induced the futile attempt? {Julung as he went to conquer the deccan}.²⁰ (sic)

Another important question that was placed before the students of the Allahabad school for the prize giving essay competition was, “Whether the condition of the people of Hindustan was better at the time the country was under the *Mughal*²¹ dominion or whether it is better under the present time under the English rule”.²² This essay while criticising monarchical structure of state, manners, and customs of ruling elite, subjugated condition of women and fractured rule of law under the *Mughal* dominion, elucidated the form of government under British in following words:

All foreign governments are evils, consequently the people inhabiting the conquered country show a preference for those conquered who do not wish to govern their opinion that is who allows them to live and act in the same manner as if they were independent who do not prevent them from following anyone religion in preference to another but only interfere in such cases where the security of life and property is concerned.²³

The English medium instruction at Gazipur school and Azimgarh College was under Mr. Fowles and Mr. Fink, respectively. After the introduction of English Education at Gazipur in 1839, the English classes had 153 pupil divided into seven classes. The senior class consisted of twelve pupils who were taught passages from Pope's works, Homer's *Iliad*, Shakespeare's plays, Bacon's essay, Milton's first book of *Paradise Lost*, Goldsmith's essay and history of Greece. On 17th April, 1841 GCPI nominated Mr. Roberts to officiate as head master of Gazipur school during the absence of Mr. Fowles. Two months' salary of Rs. 300 was paid to Mr. Roberts in advance when he left Calcutta on 20th April through the Magna Streamer. Under Mr. Roberts, history of Greece, Rome, England, and India were translated from English to Urdu.

In Azimgarh College at the end of 1838 there were 70 scholars on the list of the school and at the close of 1839, the school had 223 scholars divided into three departments: the vernacular, Sanskrit, and English. These scholars were subdivided into 6 classes and these classes were further subdivided in two or more divisions each. The studies of these scholars included a greater emphasis on translation from English since 1840. The 1841 report of the school mentioned that the books for the use of school were already under print and Mr. Fink was preparing a work on physics in Urdu and he published every fortnight an Urdu Akhbar with a circulation of about 200 copies in Azimgarh and neighbouring districts ranging as far as Allahabad and Saharanpur.

²⁰WBSA, GCPI Correspondence Gazipur and Allahabad School 3rd January 1840 to 18th December 1841. Vol. no. 35. Sl. No. 32/99, 331 to 349.

²¹The Mughal or Mogul Empire was an empire in the Indian subcontinent (early Sixteenth century to mid Nineteenth century).

²²ibid, 71.

²³ibid, 71.

However, while outlining the attitude of the educated classes in Azimgarh towards Urdu, Fink observed that, all members of the educated classes in Azimgarh preferred Arabic and Persian as part of the liberal education and considered essential to the advancement in life (especially Persian). Urdu was looked upon as a newly formed imperfect dialect, a key to knowledge of no kind and so easy that it could be acquired only by use in writing and conversation. Though Urdu had adherence in poetry but that for Fink, was of very little use in schools. The general opinion towards English language, according to Fink, was similar to that on Urdu. "It was looked as the meagre language, the repository of no literature or science and the reason why anyone was studying it was to obtain a respectable employment in some court."²⁴

The scheme of studies carried out at Azimgarh in 1840 was as follows:

Classes	No. of boys	Studies
First Class Div. I	8	English Reader from page 54 to 84. History of India from page 16 to 51. The Azimgarh Reader from pages 1 to 31. Syntactical exercises and composition. Geography - a course on the quarters. Arithmetic - studied vulgar fractions. Algebra- to the case I in simple equations. Geometry - Thirty five practical problems and the menstruation of planes as will be seen from the accompanying diagrams and enunciations. Natural Philosophy- the whole of mechanics and parts of hydrostatics, optics and astronomy.
Div. II	7	Urdu Bagho Bahar - part of the Urdu translation of the Bahar Danish and Gilchrist's Rasalah. Arithmetic with the I division. Astronomy-the first chapter of a work on the Copernican system entitled the Muflah-al-aflak. Geography - Asia and Hindustan.
Second Class Div. I	12	English Reader no. I from pages 21 to 48. The Azimgarh Reader from pages 1 st to 31. Syntactical exercise and composition. Geography - with 1 st class. Arithmetic - div. 1 double rule of three, div. 2 single rule of three. Geometry and natural philosophy with 1 st class.
Div. II	4	The Mufid-ul-sibian or Urdu Reader the whole and the Urdu Bagobahar. Arithmetic - as far as the double rule of three. Geography - Asia and Hindustan.

²⁴See, WBSA, GCPI Correspondence Azimgarh and Gorakpur Schools 6 Jan 1840- 29 Dec 1841 Serial No. 34/101. p-505.

Third Class Div. I	10	Finished the English Instruction no. 1 and read 45 pages of the English reader no. 1. Syntactical exercise and composition. Geography - Asia and Hindustan. Arithmetic - section 1 compound division, section 2 simple division.
Div. II Div. III	17 18	Finished the Mufid-ul-sibian or Urdu Reader and half of Butler's Outline of Ancient Misery. Arithmetics - as far as the single rule of three. Geography-Asia and Hindustan. Finished the natural history of Lions in Hindi- exercises in grammar and composition. English Arithmetic as far as single division. Hindi Arithmetic as far as the Ghutta table. Geography - Hindustan.
Fourth Class Div. I	21	The English Instruction to 32 pages. Syntactical exercise and composition. Arithmetic - section 1 multiplication, section 2 numeration. Geography - Asia and Hindustan
Div. II	16	Finished Muatakhhab-ul-naswak and half of the Kholdsat-ul-nasdiah. Arithmetic - as far as simple division. Geography- Asia
Div. III	24	Read 3 passage of the natural history of the Bear - exercises and composition. Arithmetic - as far as Arhya table.
Fifth Class Div. I	29	Some have just commenced the Muntakhab-ul-nasdiak and others the alphabet. Arithmetic - numeration. Geography - Asia.
Div. II	36	Studying the Hindi alphabet. Arithmetic the Pahara table.
Sixth Class Sanskrit Class }	26 37	Studying the Hindi alphabet. Studying some the Joytish Shastra and Lilavati and some the Byakaran and Kavyas.

The activities of these schools were received with great amusement and excitement by native residents and school authorities were also eager to invite local elites to attend annual prize distribution ceremonies. For instance, on 4th January, 1840 *Zamindars*²⁵, *Mahajans*²⁶ of Gazipur and surrounding areas were invited to witness the performance of students at the annual prize distribution ceremony of Gazipur school and they arrived in great numbers, though the ceremony was conducted in English which made them disinterested in its proceedings, yet Rs 137 was distributed for the best specimen of writing and calligraphy in English. Similarly, Azimgrah station had a branch school at Atraulia affiliated to the Azimgarh College.²⁷ The branch school

²⁵*Ed. N.*: a landowner, especially one who leases his land to tenant farmers.

²⁶*Ed. N.*: a moneylender.

²⁷38.5 Km Northwest of Azimgarh.

was established at Atraulia located on the *Awadh*²⁸ border with about 60 pupils by Mr. G. Norton in 1840 and was largely attended by the boys of surrounding villages. The annual examination of this branch school was conducted on 19th January, 1841 in presence of Captain Thomason Engineer, principal Sudder Amen of Gazipur, 9 deputy collectors, 4 *Moonsiffs*, 9 *Zamindars*, and about 2000 landholders both European and natives of Azimgarh and neighbouring districts and of the adjoining *Awadh* territory along with numerous native spectators. On this day the school received a donation of Rs. 720 with an additional subscription of Rs. 71 from the present dignitaries. These donations enabled the school to procure a number of books and philosophical instruments for the use of students.

Conclusion

The growth of vernacular education under English departments at the educational institutions under British government began by 1840s and had a long lasting impact in the creation and shaping of native intelligentsia in later decades of the 19th century. Bapoo Deva Sastri's appointment as the professor of Natural Philosophy was a very important event in the history of education in Northern India because he challenged the modern European science after the mutiny of 1857 by claiming that differential calculus was known to the ancient Indian mathematicians much before Newton. At Benares College, Bapoo Deva was succeeded by Sudhakar Divedi (1860-1910) who wrote treatises on the differential and integral calculus in Hindi and made similar claims apart from being a stern advocate of Hindi and Nagari against Urdu.²⁹ Harish Chandra (1850-1885) was aware of this claim and has written jubilantly about ancient Indian wisdom. Moreover, the propagation and promotion of Hindi and Nagari script was championed by Harish Chandra and his *Mandali*³⁰ (famously known as Bharatendu *Mandali*), who produced the first corpus of modern Hindi literature 1870 onwards in connection with the schools and colleges established under GCPI as students and teachers. George Grierson in *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (1883) assessed the impact of GCPI's policy of imparting European scientific knowledge through vernacular languages on the native intellect in following words:

Other authors of a younger generation, of whom one of the greatest happily still alive, endowed with a wider and more catholic mental vision, no longer bounded by the horizon of Puranic cosmology, came to the front, and the benefit done to the intellect of Hindustan by such men as Raja Shiva Prasad and Harish Chandra cannot easily be calculated.³¹

²⁸*Ed. N.*: nown in British historical texts as Audh or Oude, is a region in the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (before Indian independence, it was known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh) and a small area of Nepal's Province No. 5.

²⁹See Mangal Deva Shasrtri. Ed. *The Chalarasikalana Part-I*. (Benares: Jananmandal Yantralaya, 1941), 2.

³⁰*Ed. N.*: Troupe.

³¹See George Grierson. *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 889), 108.

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The Rise of the Curry

Sayantani Sengupta

Mankind, like Tennyson's Ulysses, has always roamed with a "hungry heart" (12), unable to endure the dullness that accompanies the "pause" (12), but the life of a wayfarer is often strewn with moments of homesickness. Therefore, whenever man navigated through the antique, uncharted territories to expand the horizons of his knowledge and reach, he brought with him flavours, spices, and recipes as a little memorabilia of the home and the self he had left behind. Since the familiar flavour and aroma of his native cuisine, in a land of new flavours, was potent enough to unleash a plethora of memories that would cocoon him in the warmth and comfort reminiscent of home. Like a water bearer's cracked pot, whose dripping water leaves a wet trail along the path he travels, the food, a traveller brings with him, also leaves a similar trail—the drifting aroma of his recipes permeates all the indigenous cuisines and cultures it encounters. Simultaneously, the exotic cuisines impact his palate; an impact he carries all the way back to his homeland. The curry too underwent similarly exciting adventures and experiences of culinary exchanges before it finally took its present shape and form.

What is a Curry?

Being an Indian, it is difficult to be a stranger to curry, since at some point of our lives we have all enjoyed a good mutton, chicken, egg or even vegetable curry. But the home-made dish with a gravy that we refer to as a curry is distinctly different from what someone from the British Isles would consider to be a curry. The reasons behind the inconsistency being the divergent evolutionary trajectories taken by the curry in the two regions due to the disparity in flavour palates as well as the unavailability of various ingredients. However, it doesn't stop there; there is also a larger colonial machinery working silently behind this disparity.

Although "curry" sounds Indian, it is a British coinage. The etymology of the term "curry" is shrouded in controversies which make its etymological history problematic. There are two dominant theories regarding the origin of the eponymous term. According to some, "curry" became a part of the English language around the sixteenth century as a corrupted version of the Tamil *kari* ("a sauce or relish to be eaten with rice"), that the British travel writers stumbled across. While others staunchly believe that it was borrowed from the Portuguese *caree* or *caril* which, according to Pietro Della Valle, in *The Travels of Pietra Della Valle in India*, was a rich and fragrant broth or sauce eaten with rice (Collingham 115). Based on the contradictory accounts of the etymological origin of the curry it may be concluded that "curry" isn't simply a term; it is a concept constructed by the British and the European narratives—"Curry as a signifier of Indian food was invented in British colonial narratives and shaped by commercial interests and racial prejudices" (Varman). The British discourse on curry is significant because the moment they talk about curry, they are speaking for India and not of it. This allows the Brits to establish and reinforce stereotypes and racial prejudices regarding India; to control the perspective through which a colony, such as India, is to be perceived; and to impose their

preconceived notions of India's inferiority on not just their countrymen but also the rest of the world.

India is famous for its diverse cultures, and its culinary diversity is equally baffling. In such a confusing scenario the British coined the generic term "curry" in order to simplify the regionally diverse and variegated Indian cuisine into a coherent spread. The British "curry," therefore, refers to any kind of spiced stew of meat, fish or vegetable (Narayan 164). However, this monolithic concept of curry not only disregards India's rich culinary history, it also serves as a tool for homogenising a diverse country such as India; thereby creating a façade of a unified India whose signifier is curry. According to Sucharita Kanjilal, "It [curry] takes a country, obscures it and creates an imagined community on the coloniser's own terms."

Interestingly, 'curry' was not just a British attempt to linguistically simplify the regional heterogeneity of the Indian cuisine; it also sought to mellow down the complex flavours of the Indian cuisine in order to make them more suited for the British palate. In this process they were aided by their Indian cooks who diluted the gastronomically intricate Indian recipes to accommodate the English tastes. Curry, therefore, evolved from an umbrella term which was conceptualised to make the unfamiliar Indian stews and ragouts comprehensible, into a unique dish which was the perfect blend of the British concept of food, and the Indian recipes. For Susan Zlotnick this is comparable to the process of assimilating the Other into the self, but on the terms dictated by the self (55-56). Uma Narayan notes that, this homogenization of the Indian cuisine under "this "fabricated" entity" (164) called "curry," and the incorporation of the same into the British cuisine is "a pattern not too different from the way in which India itself was ingested into the Empire—for India as a modern political entity was "fabricated" through the intervention of British rule, which replaced the *masala*¹ of *Moghul* empire² and various kingdoms and princely states with the unitary signifier "India," much as British curry powder replaced local masalas" (165).

Foundation Years

Like its recipe, the story of the curry begins with spices—the same spices on whose quest Columbus accidentally discovered America, and which inspired Vasco Da Gama to brave the malevolent seas, and sail for years through an unknown route. Back in the days spice was a lucrative trade since spices were worth ship-full of gold, bronze, and silver in the West. In fact, the Roman Caesars treasured them so much that they were locked in the treasury with other precious gems and metals (Collingham 48). The same spices led the English to the Indian shores around seventeenth century, even though the Portuguese and the Dutch had the upper hand, having started earlier than the British.

As the British became evermore resolute to consolidate their position in India, the extent of their invasion into the Indian subcontinent increased; thereby intensifying the frequency of their interaction with the Indian culture. By the end of the seventeenth century they had established settlements in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; the foundation for the Raj was thus

¹*Editor's Note (herein after called Ed.N.):* combination of spices.

²*Ed. N.:* Mughal or Mogul empire was an empire in Indian subcontinent (early sixteenth century to mid nineteenth century).

laid. In the initial stages, therefore, since the British and the Indian cultures were compelled to share the same space, the British and the Indian culinary traditions clashed. Interestingly, instead of battling for supremacy they reached a state of compromise, thereby engendering a hybrid Anglo-Indian cuisine that was situated at the cross-roads of the movement towards recreating the British cuisine in India, and the movement towards adapting the Indian cuisine for the British palate. However, this simple trade assumed the monstrous form of a colonial endeavour, followed by the establishment of the British Raj, and the relations between the two nations were redefined. Therefore, what started out as a simple power-play to dominate the world trade, ended up laying the foundation of the British Raj in India.

The rise of curry is inextricably linked with the establishment of the British Raj in India because the culinary exchange that precipitated its rise wouldn't have happened without the extensive migration occasioned by the Raj. As their trading activities progressed, the company officials were getting increasingly involved in the Indian politics, and the desire for profit intertwined with the benefit of acquiring territory. Within a century, that is, from the beginning of the eighteenth century till the early nineteenth century, the East India Company had not only established their dominion over large tracts of Indian territories but had also become their *de facto* rulers. Ruling such a vast territory required huge manpower; as a result, hundreds of civil servants and thousands of soldiers from Britain were employed. Initially the British men who settled in India were usually single because of the absence of the Suez Canal which made the journey to India not only long and tedious, but also rife with diseases (Collingham 85-86), thereby, making it difficult for people, especially women, to travel. Scarcity of women in the new land drove the British men into the arms of Indian mistresses and wives (Monroe 51). These inter-marriages had two significant outcomes—because of these marriages the cultural differences between the two countries became more readily acceptable (Monroe 51), and these “sleeping dictionaries” (Sen 24), as the Indian wives were called, taught the British merchants the local languages, and the Indian way of dining.

Even though the East India Company had overthrown most of the Indian rulers, British traders could not compete with the majestic Indian emperors in wealth and grandeur. In fact, to their Indian subjects they appeared to be nothing more than lowly traders. The assertion of their status as the ruling elite, therefore, needed to be more symbolic than political. An important aspect of power-play in India was the establishment of the culinary and artistic superiority. To establish their status as the new ruling class the British traders, therefore, were required to behave like the aristocratic emperors, and an integral part of that was leading a sumptuous lifestyle. Perhaps the best way to display wealth was through extravagant *burra khanas* or big dinners. The idea was to cover the table cloth with so much food that even an inch of it should not be visible. Such a grand feast demanded a huge number of cooks, and even though some French and English cooks were available in India most of the cooks were of Indian heritage, and they were called *khansamans*. After vigorous training and ceaseless instructions these *khansamans* became skilled in British and French cooking techniques. But the employment of these *khansamans* yielded some interesting results. They were so used to the Indian flavour palate that even though they could master the Western cooking, plating, and serving techniques, they were all given an Indian twist. For example the French omelette was enlivened with a dash of curry powder and was fried in ghee, while the shepherd's pie was laced with cumin, sesame seeds, and ginger (Monroe 55–56). Since to these *khansamans* high-class dishes were usually the

ones enjoyed by the previous ruling class, the *Mughals*, they started recreating the *Mughlai*³ dishes with a European twist for the *burra khanas*. That is how the curry came to be featured along with other hybrids of *Mughlai* delicacies during this exercise of displaying wealth on the dining table. Out of all the dishes curry became a staple because of its ability to jazz up the insipid flavours of the roasted and boiled meat with minimal effort. The extent of the curry's invasion into the food culture of the British in India can be best exemplified through the observation made by Henry Edward Fane, in 1842, in *Five Years in India*: "the eternal curry and rice, which neither breakfast nor dinner in this country [India] is complete without" (29). It must be pointed out that, sixteen years before the official inauguration of the Raj in India, curry's dominance over the British palate was so strong that their everyday life seemed to be incomplete without it. Therefore, the same circumstances which led to the rise of the Raj were also responsible for the rise of the curry. However, Zlotnick contends that Indian food was never adopted by the colonial masters; they invented the curry and the curry powder in order to "ingest India into their system" (Varman), all the while maintaining the façade inter-country cultural and culinary exchange.

In the beginning of British Raj in the nineteenth century, when curry reached the British shores, the scenario got complicated—while the graph of curry's rise in Britain paralleled the rise of Raj in India, curry's importance in India declined. This difference in the British reaction towards curry in Britain and in India is the basis of the ambiguous relationship between British people and the curry.

Curry Reaches Britain

Curry landed in Britain a few decades before the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria. The earliest channel was the letters written by the company officials to quench the bubbling curiosity and fascination for the orient of their family members living in Britain. They not only described their lives in the antique land, but also gave detailed instructions on how to recreate some of the exotic recipes. This reinforced the idea of India as an exotic land because its "allure was necessary to provoke an imperial interest in incorporating this Jewel into the British crown" (Narayan 165).

The second route was through the British wives, who, while in India, dutifully recorded some of the recipes, and carried them back to Britain, either after their husbands' retirement or on a leave. They gave these recipes to their British cooks, and made them privy to the secret tips on making the best curry. Just the way Jos Sedley's mother, in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, instructs the cook to make some curry for her son as he is very fond of it (20). Even these housewives played a crucial role in the imperial project. As Zlotnick observes:

When utilitarians like Macaulay and James Mill were busily trying to assimilate India into the British Empire and Anglicizing it through educational and legal reforms, British women undertook an analogous task. They incorporated Indian food, which functioned metonymically for India, into the national diet and made it culturally British. (52)

³*Ed. N.*: pertaining to the Mogul era.

Sometimes, those who had returned from India were averse to the idea of employing British housemaids, having been too used to the easy subservience of the Indian servants, so they brought them along. These Indian servants were of course the masters of whipping up the perfect curry, and their presence in Britain enriched the British curry-scene.

The Reasons behind the Rise of the Curry in Britain

Since the initial aim of the East India Company officials was to amass as much wealth as they could for the company as well as themselves; they were able to retire very early, and return to their homeland. Their tendency to live like the Indian aristocracy earned them the epithet of “nabobs,” and like true Indian *nawabs*⁴ they brought their love for curry home in order to recreate their life in the Raj—they were plagued by what Tulasi Srinivas refers to as “gastro-nostalgia” (qtd. in Varman). Though some could afford to bring cooks from India, others had to be content with the coffee house curries. It was to cater to these “nabobs” that new restaurants sprung up, and the old ones modified their menus to include curry. Norris Street Coffee House located in Haymarket was the first one to serve curry in 1773, and the first exclusively Indian restaurant was Sake Dean Mohammad’s Hindoostanee Coffee House which was established in 1809. It must be pointed out that Sake Dean Mohammad’s endeavour was a failure even though curry was such a hot-favourite. It is possible that his Coffee-House faced a whole-hearted rejection because the British populace didn’t want a native to guide them on the path of the great Indian culinary journey as that would undermine their position of dominance. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century restaurants were fighting about the authenticity of their curries. This “widespread consumption of curry,” according to Varman, was “a reminder of Britain’s position as a master nation.”

Interestingly enough, these *nawabs* weren’t the reason behind the curry’s growing popularity in Britain, even though they were the ones to bring the legacy of the Raj to Britain. During the Victorian era different curry powder manufacturers began to compete among themselves to capture the market; a side effect of the Industrial revolution. In order to do that they employed several sales gimmick. Those who had returned from India were used to the flavour of the curry, but for the native British populace it was a Herculean task to enjoy its strong taste and overwhelming aroma. That is so because with the commencement of the neo-classical age Britain went back to the classical world, and along with its art and architecture it also adopted the combination of salt and acid of the classical cooking (Collingham 134). At the same time contemporary scientific theories regarding digestion created distrust for pungent smelling spices and vegetables, consequently the British food became bland (Collingham 135). Therefore, for the Victorian English the flavour of the curry must have been very shocking. As a result, the Victorian England had to be convinced to try the exotic spice mix called curry powder. In order to do that the manufacturers hailed the health and gastronomic benefits of the curry, and fed the Victorian England stories about the healing powers of the miraculous curry. In 1844, the enterprising Edmund White, the manufacturer of Selim’s Curry products, in the true Victorian fashion of advertising, wrote a pamphlet entitled “Curries: their Healthful and Medicinal Qualities; their Importance in a Domestic, Commercial, and National Point of View,” where he presented curry as a stimulant of digestion as well as that of a sluggish mind (Collingham 136). While Sorlie’s Perfumery and Warehouse advertised that curry “contributes most of any food to

⁴*Ed. N.*: a native governor during the time of the Mogul empire.

an increase in the Human Race” (qtd. in Sen 39). Some of the most preposterous claims made by the sellers were that curry could save lives, and is as potent as any medicine.

These tales about the curry powder incited people to include recipes of curry in their cookbooks. The earliest example would be that of Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery* published in 1747. The growing demand for recipes involving curry powder flooded the market with cookbooks—initially containing chapters on curry, and later completely dedicated to curry. Curry became ubiquitous since anything could be turned into a curry. As Lizzie Collingham remarks, “there was virtually nothing that the British would not stew in curry sauce, from ordinary cuts of meat to calf’s feet, ox palates, sheep’s heads, lobsters, and periwinkles” (138). Also, curry was an excellent way of re-using leftover meat. In fact, in *Mrs. Beeton’s Book of Household Management*, Mrs. Beeton notes that curries were suitable for “cold meat cookery” (qtd. in Collingham 138). While the commercial interest in curry and curry powder increased the consumption of curry, the cookbooks brought it into the domestic realm—“On the one hand, this allowed the tropes of plurality, openness, and hybridity to prevail to justify cultural exchanges that marked colonialism. On the other hand, domesticating Indian food through curry helped to incorporate the colonized as a natural part of the colonizer” (Varman). Despite such hue and cry it is interesting to note that even around 1815 curry hadn’t achieved the expected precedence. This becomes apparent in Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* where Becky Sharp, unaware of the nature of the curry, having never tasted it before, decides to taste it as “everything must be good that comes from there [India]” only to suffer “tortures with the cayenne pepper” (20). Her lack of knowledge is suggestive of the fact that even around 1815, the time period of the novel, curry was not very well known except amongst the British *nawabs*.

Queen Victoria

As it has been mentioned before, Britain’s tryst with curry began quite early. But the British love for curry simmered away till Queen Victoria declared her unflinching and undying loyalty and love towards the curry, and brought it to a rolling boil. Interestingly, her love for curry is so well known that no representation of her in modern and popular fiction is thought to be complete, if she is not shown to be an admirer and a connoisseur of curry.

Initially, the curry was rejected by the masses because it was rumoured to be a lower-class way of reusing cold meat. Even though the competition to sell the most authentic curry and curry powder had set the stage, the Victorians were still unable to overcome their racial prejudice towards the pungent curry. It was Queen Victoria’s patronage that made curry cool and brought it in vogue. Queen Victoria was fascinated by India and everything Indian; she not only tried to learn Hindi and Urdu but had also redecorated one of the wings at the Osborne house as the Durbar Room. This was a symbolic gesture—by incorporating India into her Osborne house, the Queen was symbolically making India a part of her Empire and re-asserting her dominion over it. Shrabani Basu in the Introduction to *Victoria and Abdul* reflects, “The [Durbar] room spoke to me of the Queen’s love for India, the country she knew she could never visit, but which fascinated and intrigued her. If the Queen could not travel to India, then she would bring India to Osborne. The marble ceilings, the intricate carvings, the balconies with their Indian-style *jali*⁵ work were the Queen’s Indian haven. Here she sat as the Empress of that faraway land to sense

⁵*Ed. N.*: intricate ornamental openwork in wood, metal, stone, etc.

its atmosphere” (21–22). Here, it must be noted that there is not only a desire to possess India, Britain’s quintessential other, but also to assimilate it—““imperialism is a form of cannibalism,” and always lurking behind the desire for incorporation is the fear of being incorporated, which can rightly be read as a response to the culture’s own “desire to assimilate and possess what is external to the self”” (Zlotnick 56). In fact, her dear Munshi, Abdul Karim, who was responsible for intensifying her fondness for India, was a jubilee present to satiate the same desire. Her love for curry was, therefore, an extension of her desire for India.

She, being a gourmet, was fond of beautiful and exquisite dishes, and the golden curries well complemented the colourful jellies and the elaborate French dishes. So she not only ordered her Indian staff make curry for her every day, it was also served at her dinner parties and banquets. This maniacal consumption of curry has, according to Narayan, a symbolic function—“eating curry was in a sense eating India” (qtd. in Varman). Be it the result of the desire to follow the raging food trend or to show their loyalty to the Queen Victoria, after Victoria’s ascension to the throne, the love for curry trickled down from the nobles to the lowest of the social classes in Britain. As the anonymous author of *Modern Domestic Cookery*, published in 1851, notes, “Curry, which was formerly a dish almost exclusively for the table of those who had made a long residence in India, is now so completely naturalized that few dinner parties are thought complete unless one is on the table” (qtd. in Sen 40). But this concept of curry as a naturalized dish is problematic, as “it ignores the origin of curry in Indian—not Anglo-Indian—culture” (Zlotnick 60). It was during this time that the markets were beginning to be flooded by cookbooks exclusively dedicated to curries. Even Queen Victoria’s personal chef, Charles Elmé Francatelli, included curry recipes in his cookbook *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* (Sen 42-43). Curry had become such an integral part of the British diet that Thackeray was inspired to commemorate the Victorians’ love for curry in his “Ode to Curry,” which appeared in *Punch’s Poetical Cookery-Book*:

Three pounds of veal my darling girl prepares
 And chops it nicely into little squares
 Five onions next prepares the little minx
 The biggest are the best her Samiwel thinks
 And Epping butter, nearly half a pound
 And stews them in a pan until there brown’d
 What’s next my dexterous little girl will do?
 She pops the meat into the savory stew
 With curry powder, tablespoons full three
 And milk a pint (the richest that may be)
 And when the dish has stewed for half an hour
 A lemon’s ready juice she’ll o’er it pour
 Then, bless her, then she gives the luscious pot
 A very gentle boil – and serves quite hot
 P.S. Beef, mutton rabbit, if you wish
 Lobsters, or prawns, or any kind of fish
 Are fit to make A CURRY.’Tis when done
 A dish for emperors to feed upon. (qtd. in Sen 43)

It must be highlighted here that the recipe described in this poem was the basic template used in Britain for the preparation of curry. There was a repeated attempt to domesticate the curry because the “desire for the Other, and the fear of hybridity it unleashes, could be deactivated only through the metaphors of domestication” (Zlotnick 54). Once “a hybrid like curry, the mongrelized offspring of England’s union with India” is brought into the realm of the home, it is possible “through the ideological effect of domesticating it, erase its foreign origins and represent it as purely English” (Zlotnick 54).

By the time Queen Victoria was declared the Empress of India, in 1876, the invasion of the Indian curry into the British foodscape was so completely thorough that the same Brits who abhorred the idea of their houses smelling like curry now took pride in the authenticity of their curries. Some even claimed to have learned the secret of making the perfect curry from the butler of Tipoo Sultan’s son. Even Richard Terry, the author of *Indian Cookery* and the chef at Oriental Club, felt the need to stress on the authenticity of his recipes, which he claims were “gathered, not only from my own knowledge of Cookery, but from Native Cooks” (qtd. in Collingham 139). However, this invasion is a fallacy because the Brits had not only erased its Indian heritage but also had assimilated it in their culture so thoroughly that it wasn’t an Indian dish anymore; it was a tool of domination and subordination—“Despite its iconic status, curry is a signifier of domination and global hierarchy” (Varman). At the same time, by emphasising the “Indian-ness” of a British “fabrication” it sought to strengthen the stereotypes associated with India because colonization relies on an asymmetric power relationship based on stereotypes.

The Complicated Relationship between Curry and India

Even though there was a raging passion for curry in Britain, the scenario in India during the Raj was completely different. Following the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, the East India Company was abolished, and the era of the British Raj in India commenced. Since the Brits were now the rulers of India they were required to distance themselves from the people they were governing. To reinforce this insulation between the ruler and the ruled, the Indianized company men were looked down upon and the new officials were banned from following Indian food and clothing habits. As Nupur Chaudhuri notes:

To protect their status as rulers and defend British culture in India, the Anglo-Indians during the nineteenth century chose racial exclusiveness and altogether rejected Indian goods and dishes....Thus even when the Victorians at home decorated their homes with Indian decorative objects and started to eat curry, nineteenth-century memsahibs, to create a British lifestyle in the Indian subcontinent, seem to have collectively rejected Indian objects in their colonial homes and refused Indian dishes in their diets. (231-232)

In 1869, after the opening of the Suez Canal, the journey from Britain to India became shorter and more comfortable, because of which the British women could finally accompany their husbands to India. These women knew little about the food and life in India, and they were helped in their process of acquaintance with the culture and customs of the new land by domestic handbooks written by British people with an imperial experience. An intriguing feature of these handbooks was their attitude towards Indian dishes—they all referred to the Indian dishes in

derogatory terms. For example, Flora Annie Steel, in one of her handbooks, grudgingly included only a handful of Indian recipes, noting that “most native recipes are inordinately greasy and sweet” (qtd. in Crane, and Johnston 174). Similarly, *The Indian Cookery Book* published in Calcutta, considers the Indian dishes to be “so entirely of an Asian character and taste that no European will ever be persuaded to partake of them”. In the same handbook korma is referred to as “one of the richest of Hindoostanee curries ... but quite unsuited to European taste” (qtd. in Sen 31). Even though a substantial portion of *The Englishwoman in India* was dedicated to the Indian cuisine it only consisted of English recipes modified according to the availability of Indian ingredients (Crane, and Johnston 174). At the same time, since shipping had become easier and faster, European staples became easily procurable, and the Brits in India could finally indulge in proper European fare with fancy French names, as the intake of Indian dishes was prohibited. Thus, curry in imperial India “lost-caste,” to quote Colonel Kenney-Herbert (qtd. in Sen 30).

It is, therefore, apparent that there was a huge gap between the treatment of curry in India and in Britain. The Victorian English were mesmerised by the delectable taste and the tantalising aroma of the spicy curry, but the British officials in India were perpetually haunted by the fear of losing race if they were to love it. As Narayan explains:

The culinary product of the colonies had different symbolic meaning at dinner tables in England than they did at English dinner tables in the colonies. Making curry part of native British cuisine in England did not expose British curry eaters to the risk of “going native.” Incorporating things Indian was an easier task for those resident in England, who did not have to work at distinguishing themselves from their colonial subjects. Their counterparts in India, however, confronted with the proximity of Indians, had to keep their distance, one that was necessary to maintain their belief in their “civilizing” mission. (165-166)

This love-hate relationship is perhaps best demonstrated by Joe Monroe in the *Star of India: Spicy Adventures of Curry* where highlighting “the almost pathological affection Brits have for curry” she says, “we love it, we are comforted and challenged by it and somehow, for some reason, we also feel a sense of ownership over it” (2). The phrase “comforted and challenged” underlines the ambiguous relationship between the British society and the Indian curry; while the indecisive “somehow, for some reason” unconsciously reveals the resultant dilemma the Brits suffer from. Nupur Chaudhuri attributes this dilemma to the Brits’ “antipodal view toward Indian material and gastronomic cultures” (232).

Modification and Globalisation of Curry

While the British Raj was busy being true to its English heritage, the Victorian English had already become curry-experts, to the extent that they were now able to experiment with it. Sometimes the curry was thickened with roux, sometimes lemon juice substituted tamarind pulp, or the sweetness of the apples was used to replace the sweetness from the mangoes, and sometimes European herbs such as thyme and marjoram were added to the curry to give it a layer of complexity. Once they were done experimenting with the flavours and textures of curry, they decided to carry it along to their other colonies. As a result, the food habits of these colonies

were incorporated into the curry recipe thereby making it a truly global dish. The reason being, as Joe Monroe observes, “Indian cooking has always been endlessly adaptable to available ingredients and local palates and this characteristic must go some way towards explaining its international success” (57). Coleen Taylor Sen lists some of the variants of curry found all over the world, “the elegant *gaengs* of Thailand; the exuberant curries of the Caribbean; *kariraisu*, Japan’s favourite comfort food; Indonesian *gulai*s; Malaysia’s delicious *Nonya* cuisine; South African bunny chow and bobotie; Mauritian *vindaille*; and Singapore’s fiery street foods” (8). So while we Indians were nationalizing our banks, mines, and industries, the British internationalized our cuisine. Curry, therefore, under the Raj became a tool of subjugation, as imperial domination begins with cultural and culinary domination. Curry was, therefore, “deployed in a variety of mutually constructing and conflicting ways to preserve and protect the always fragile, always fictional imperial state, and its even more vulnerable imperial subject,” to quote Zlotnick.

Curry Beyond the Victorian Era

The lasting impact of curry can be owed to its infinite ability to adapt itself to the changing palates as well as times. With the increasing pace of the human life, the demand for ready-made food increased, and curry evolved from the “archetypal” British dish to “the default take-away meal” (Sen 36). But to consider the curry as simply a part of the British cuisine would be wrong. It is also became a part of British lifestyle. Around 1970s it was almost a British tradition to have curry after a night of heavy drinking (Sen 47).

What is really intriguing about the evolution of curry was its transformation from a British staple to a measure of masculinity. As the British populace became more open to other Indian dishes, *balti*⁶ and *tandoori*⁷ cuisines became a part of their everyday life, and curry became hotter. Eating a hot curry, therefore, became a sign of manliness, and curry was endowed with macho connotations. Since *Vindaloo* was a particularly hot variety of curry, the ones who ate it were considered to be the epitome of masculinity. As a result, the unofficial anthem of England for the 1998 World Cup was titled “*Vindaloo*.” The basic idea of the song is that since all the English people love *Vindaloo* they will, therefore, “score one more.”

In 2001, the arc of curry’s indigenization was complete when the British foreign secretary proclaimed the *Chicken Tikka Masala*⁸, a variant of curry, ‘a true British national dish, not only because it is the most popular but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences’ (qtd. in Sen 36). The celebration of the rise of the curry in Britain is a manifestation of the post-colonial desire to displace the master. The rise of the curry is merely an illusion; a result of its ever increasing assimilation into the British culture. Thus, the Bangladeshi ambassador, A. H. Mohammad’s statement, “you [the Brits] conquered us with gunpowder, now we have conquered you with curry” (qtd. in Varman) is ironic because there is nothing Indian about a curry anymore.

⁶*Ed. N.:* a spicy dish cooked in a small two-handled pan known as a karahi.

⁷*Ed. N.:* denoting or relating to a style of Indian cooking based on the use of a tandoor.

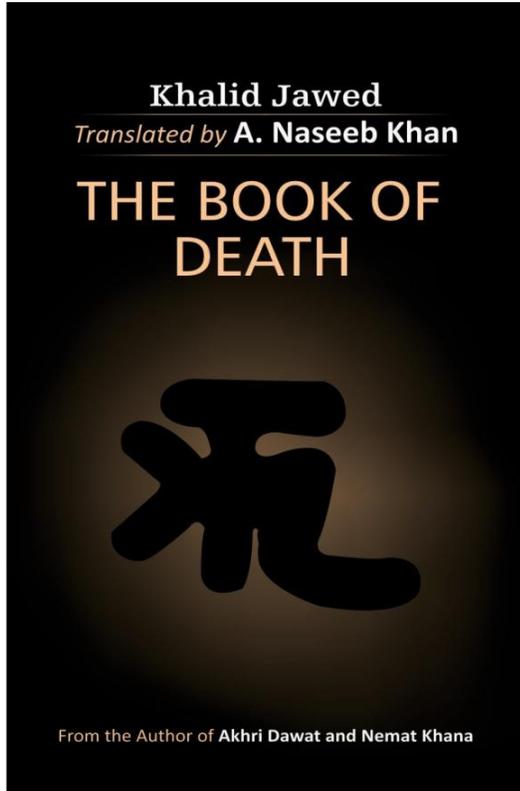
⁸*Ed. N.:* it is a dish of chunks of roasted marinated chicken in a spiced curry sauce.

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***The Book of Death* by Khalid Jawed, Translated by A. Naseeb Khan**

Reviewed by *Md. Faizan Moquim*



THE BOOK OF DEATH. By Khalid Jawed, Translated by A. Naseeb Khan. Ghaziabad: Anybook, 2016; pp.119. ISBN: 9788193251584

Khalid Jawed, apart from being a short story writer, poet, translator, and critic, is one of the leading Urdu fiction writers in India. His critically acclaimed short stories collections in English translation include *Burey Mausam Mein* (2000), *Akhri Dawat* (Penguin Book India, 2007), and *Tafreeh ki Ek Dopehr* (Scheherzade Karachi, 2008), from where his short story 'Burey Mausam Mein' won him the Katha Award in 1997. Jawed has written several academic books including *Gabriel Garcia Marquez: Fan aur Shakhsiyat* (Karnatka Urdu Academy, 2009), *Milan Kundera* (Arshia, 2011), and a collection of literary essays titled *Kahani, Maut aur Aakhiri Bidesi Zubaan* (2008). He has also translated stories of Satyajit Ray and his own interpretation of the history of Western Philosophy is under publication with the title *Maghribi Falsafe Ki Tareekh*.

The Book of Death (2016), his first novel in English translation after which he has also come out with another novel in Urdu called *Nemat Khana* (2014), was first published in Urdu as *Maut Ki Kitab* in 2011. It was later translated by Akbar Rizwi in Hindi in 2014. In Urdu literary quarters *Maut Ki Kitab* has been applauded for being a unique novel, not only for its narrative style, subject matter but also for its lyrical prose. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, a major Urdu critic, observes that Khalid Jawed has almost carved a new language to portray the experiences of the unnamed protagonist of the novel. A. Naseeb Khan's translation/transcreation of the Urdu source text into English attempts to introduce modern novel in Urdu language to English speaking public and critics alike.

The Urdu version of the novel begins in *media res* with a letter, dated 2211 A.D., from Walter Schiller, an archeologist, who narrates his experiences while surveying a ruined city submerged by a central government hydro-electric dam project some 200 years ago. As a consequence of that man-made flood all the inhabitants of the city were relocated to some other place. Now that the river has gone dry this city, Girgitya Til Maas, has resurfaced. Schiller finds a book here, in a surprisingly good condition, with a black cover without the author's name under the debris of what used to be an asylum. We are told that the language of the book is unfortunately extinct and that there are hardly any speakers of this language left. Schiller, with the help of his friend Jean Hugo who is an ancient language expert, succeeds in deciphering the text. What we read as *Maut ki Kitaab* is a machine translation of the book found in debris. In a

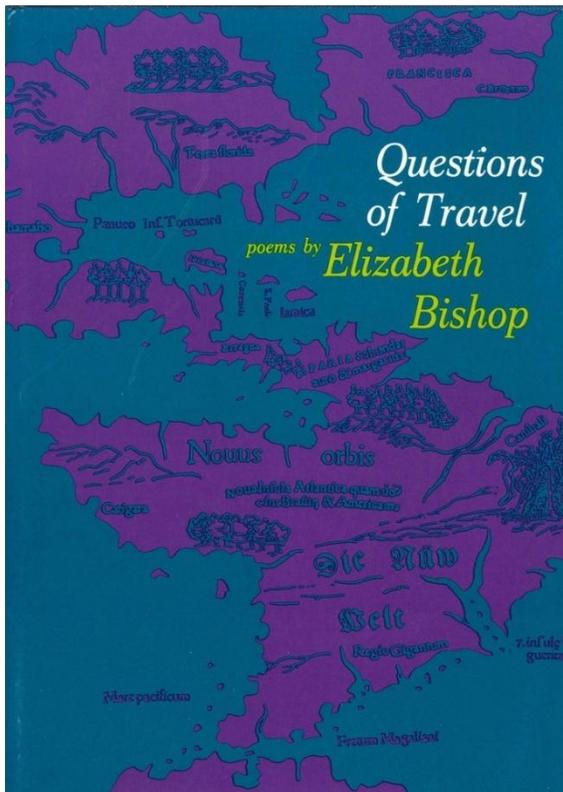
significant divergence from the original text Naseeb Khan's translation does not contain this letter with which source text begins. Rather the novel commences directly with the first chapter.

Gregory Rabbasa once said, "it is impossible for a translation ever to be final," thereby underlining the huge demand made of any literary translation which, if not fulfilled, leave scope for further retranlations. While the English translation of this book manages to bring out the essence of *The Book of Death* as a modern tale of human miseries, it at times falls short of doing a full justice to the source text. Chilling incidents like the protagonist's father's attempt to rape his eight-month pregnant wife resulting in injury on the unborn child's head even before he has entered this world or the graphic description of a girl, with whom his father had an illegitimate relationship, falling to her death come out well enough in this translation. But in other places the translation attempts to rationalize the narration by breaking and merging paragraphs. It does not take into cognizance that the entire novel is designed as an interior monologue of a fractured psyche interspersed with few dialogues here and there; and in order to create such a psyche the source text has employed narrative techniques where paragraph construction plays a significant role, for shifts in paragraph tell us about the moods of the narrator. Moreover, at some significant places which are important from narrative's point of view, the translation becomes too simplistic and direct. For example, *Ghabrahat* gets translated as "depression" rather than "anxiety," a better choice, as with the mood of "anxiety" many existential connotations of the protagonist's life are laid bare. Similarly, in chapter 1 the source text reads: "*Mai to is tarah duniya me undel diya gya tha jaise ek mitti ke badrang lote se paani;*" the English translation runs as, "I was tipped into it [world] like water poured into a discolored pot." This straightforward translation does not consider narrator's mood of existential reflection where the image becomes a realization of his sense of 'throwness' in this world. Another instance in chapter 7 reads: "*Use muung phaliyo se chhidh hai,*" which is translated as: "he was allergic to the peanuts," where once again, the word "allergic" fails to bring out the narrator's annoyance or vexation with every little thing in existence.

In a century old literary practice of Urdu novel writing *The Book of Death* is a remarkable milestone where Khalid Jawed weaves a pulsatingly make-believe world of palpable reality. Myths, anecdotes, proverbs, and other cultural significations create an aesthetic idiom never seen before in Urdu fiction. Breakdown of relationships are traced through his father's accusations of adultery against his mother, his suspicions about the narrator being his son, and the fractured marriage of the protagonist himself; this breakdown of relationships also translates into first a breakdown of the protagonist's psyche and then a disintegration of his body as he suffers from fits of epilepsy and later amnesia gets the better of him. It is in this condition that the protagonist ruminates on human existence. Providing perceptive insights into the realm of human existence *The Book of Death* ends with a picture of complete existential breakdown within the narrative where the last chapter is followed by a number of blank pages expressing the projected nothingness of human destiny.

Questions of Travel by Elizabeth Bishop

Reviewed by Pallavi Bhardwaj



QUESTIONS OF TRAVEL. By Elizabeth Bishop. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1965; pp. 95. ISBN: 9781466889453

Elizabeth Bishop (1911-1979), in an interview with Alexandra Johnson, explains *home* in the following terms, “I’ve never felt particularly homeless, but, then, I’ve never felt particularly at home. I guess that’s a pretty good description of a poet’s sense of home. He carries it within him...” This expression of home has a persisting presence in *Questions of Travel* (1965) – a collection of poetry written in and about her sojourn in Brazil where she oscillates between “home” and “not home,” between a foreigner’s insight and a native’s familiarity.

“*Questions of Travel*” comprises of twenty poems that follow the trajectory of Bishop’s travel to Brazil in 1951, the poet-speaker’s arrival in the new land, her exploration of interiority, and the

consequent assimilation of the familiar and unfamiliar in her poetry. The journey of the speaker begins in the first poem, “Arrival at Santos,” on a note of disappointment as the disillusioned tourist effuses, “oh, tourist, / is this how this country is going to answer you and your immodest demands for a different world...” The doubtful imposition of the tourist ends on a note of quest as she sets off for the “interiority” in the last line of the poem.

Bishop’s ambivalent attitude towards home arises out of her own life experiences. She had to move away from her native place, Nova Scotia, to Worcester (to live with her paternal grandparents) after her mother was institutionalized at a mental asylum. Her struggle to define herself in a new setting is reflected in her quest for “interiority.” This quest is interrogated in the subsequent poems in the book. In “Brazil, January 1, 1502,” she points out the error of the Portuguese explorers then, and the tourist explorers now, in imposing their biased viewpoints on the new landscape. They forcibly turn all the familiar aspects into exotic, describing leaves as “big,” “little,” “giant” or birds as “symbolic.”

This leads to the bigger question in the “*Questions of Travel*” when the poet-speaker asks, “Should we have stayed at home and thought of here? Where should we be today?” These questions had a persisting presence in the poet’s life as the many journeys taken by her after finishing her college were sometimes forced and at other times self-imposed, made her realize that the quest for belongingness cannot be fulfilled. Thus, the questions asked in her poetry are a culmination of her life experiences as a traveller and an outsider.

In the tussle between “home” and “not home” the poet makes the usual look unusual and sometimes even uncanny; for instance, she illustrates the trees along the road in the poem “Questions of Travel” as “noble pantomimists,” a bird singing above an ill-attended gas station as exotic and the clatter of “wooden clogs” as if they were creating music of their own. All these elements strangely distance the readers from the diurnal things. The ellipsis in the final stanza brings the readers to a melancholic note as she repeats the question, “Should we have stayed at home...” emphasizing her inscrutable dilemma of home and her self-imposed exile. She also revels into the degree of involvement of the traveller in a foreign place for he or she can “stain” the land both metaphorically and literally, making it appear like a “catacomb.”

A social conscience is apparent in her works and the act of talking about marginal “specklike girl and boy” and “half squatters” in her poems “Squatter’s Children” and “Manuelzinho” help her let go the inhibitions of class-consciousness and make her feel more at ease. These poems raise an altogether different issue of abandonment, capturing the isolation felt by the natives who are living on “unbreathing sides of hills.” The next few poems capture a deeper connection between the foreigner and the new land as the sense of “otherness” of the latter seems to be diluting bit by bit and she feels a singularity with the natives.

The traveller goes deeper into the cultural metaphors of the new land with “water spirits” and the floating “fire balloons.” An effort of blending comes into effect when the poems start getting closer to poet’s life as they reveal her own longing for a “home.” Her poetry seems to have outgrown her previous self as she becomes more fearless in representation of her inner struggles clearly steering away from confessional modes of poetry. One of the most self-revealing of her poems “First Death in Nova Scotia” talks about her mother and the anguish of a child on the first experience of death which reflects Bishop’s own pain of losing her father and later her mother.

She is also more involved in the political concerns of this new land as well as her native country America now, as is evident from her poems “From Trollope’s Journal” and “Visits to St. Elizabeths.” Her concerns range from the political conditions of her native country as she denounces President Eisenhower’s Washington D.C. in the former to the havoc of World War II that have reduced “honored” Ezra Pound to a wretched condition in a psychiatric hospital in the latter .

One thing that has a constant presence in her collection of poetry is nature in its various forms from “self-pitying mountains” and “frivolous greenery” to a more idyllic setting in “Brazil, January 1, 1502” where she describes landscape as “every square inch filling in with foliage.” In addition, the reader finds a way to a painter’s insight in her words when she describes dawn in a shade of “unsympathetic yellow” or foliage in various colours like “purple, yellow, two yellows, pink, rust red and greenish white,” “hell-green” reflecting the transformation of nature from “sad” and “feeble” to “unbidden.” The imagery of the nature gets vividly visual as “the red ground” and “one pink flash” replace the “suspension” felt in “Arrival at Santos.”

Brazil remained a home for Bishop for about fifteen years and the reader can experience her isolation and abandonment as well as her solitariness on a safe harbour. She reflects the hesitations of a foreigner who does not want to answer the question, “Are you supposed/ to be inside the fence or out?” just like the white horse in the poem, “Twelfth Morning; Or What You Will.” However, the question of belonging remains unanswered at large, as she leaves the answer

on the reader and does not subject them to her personal point of view. Just like her poetic interests, Bishop never stays with one particular style and moves from unrestricted stanzas to a classical form like ballad, from half-built rhythmic patterns to full-fledged parodies of nursery rhymes.

The poet confesses to have formed a double point of view comprising of her own and the native's. On the contrary, the traveller in the poems lacks this double point of view because of his biases and prejudices. The juxtaposition of the familiar and the unfamiliar within her poems gives the readers an insight into their own biases. A reflective reading of Bishop's works builds an affinity with the poet's emotions as with each passing poem the reader is able to internalize his/her own sense of difference and isolation through poet's experiences and ruminations.

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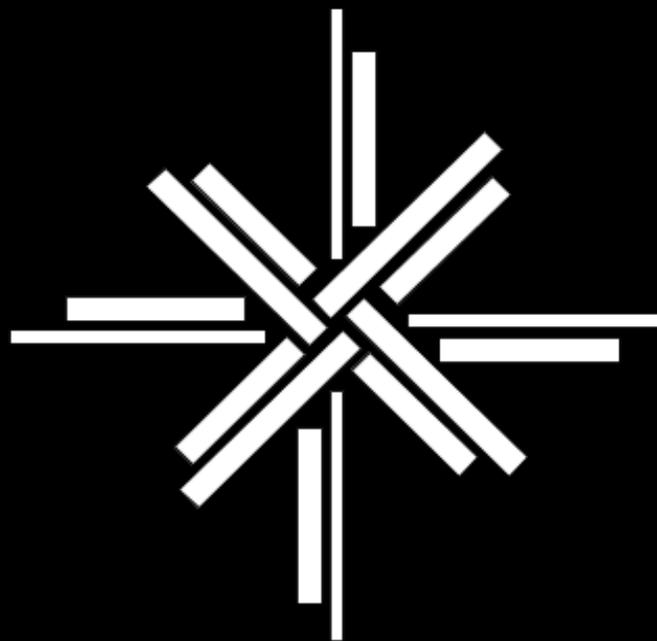
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