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TRANSLATION

Key Cultural
Texts
in Translation

edited by

Kirsten Malmkjaer

Adriana Şerban

Fransiska Louwagie



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Key Cultural Texts in Translation

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Volume 140

Key Cultural Texts in Translation

Edited by Kirsten Malmkjær, Adriana Șerban and Fransiska Louwagie

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Gideon Toury,
who was a very great Translation Studies scholar

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Helen Rawlings is a university fellow in Spanish in the School of Arts at the University of Leicester. Her published work seeks to challenge some of the traditionally held views about the nature of Spain's religious and political identity in the early modern period, such as the controversial role of the Spanish Inquisition, the polemic surrounding the Black Legend and the contradictions that underpinned Spain's rise and decline as a nation. Her research, based on close analysis of original sources, contributes to the post-Franco reassessment of Spain's historical legacy.

Stella Sandford is Professor in the Centre for Research in Modern European Philosophy at Kingston University, London, UK. She is the author of *Plato and Sex* (Polity 2010), *How to Read Beauvoir* (Granta/Norton 2006) and *The Metaphysics of Love: Gender and Transcendence in Levinas* (Athlone/Continuum 2000). She is co-editor (with Mandy Merck) of *Further Adventures of the Dialectic of Sex: Critical Essays on Shulamith Firestone* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010) and (with Peter Osborne) *Philosophies of Race and Ethnicity* (Continuum 2002). She edited, with an Introduction, Étienne Balibar's *Identity and Difference: John Locke and the Invention of Consciousness* (Verso 2013).

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Karen Wilson-de Roze holds a PhD from the University of Leicester – the first practice based PhD thesis awarded there. Its practical component is a translation of two of Wagner's operas from the *Ring of the Nibelungen* cycle: *The Valkyrie* and *Twilight of the Gods*. Its critical and reflective component examines the nexus of foregrounding found in Wagner's alliterative verse and his use of tonal modulation and considers how her own translation and three others used in performance (Jameson c.1899, Porter 1977, and Sams 2006) respond to Wagner's synthesis of verse and music.

Myrte Wouterse is a research MA student at Leiden University. She completed her programmes in Literary Studies (research), History: Political Culture and National Identities (research), and Linguistics: Translation in Theory and Practice at the end of 2017. Combining her research interests in translation, history, and literature, she is currently writing her thesis on the translation of historical experience. Myrte's academic work can best be situated in the interdisciplinary field of history and literature, with a strong theoretical and philosophical focus.

Introduction

Key Cultural Texts in translation

In every literate culture, texts of many types, genres and forms (textual, audiovisual and visual) play central roles in presenting and representing the culture to itself and in defining its cultural others (people, places, and customs). We refer to these types of text as Key Cultural Texts. Paradigm cases tend to be religious, political, literary, historical and journalistic texts, and the key concepts that they help to define include for example, childhood, adulthood (and the relations between them), citizenship, freedom and personal identity (and the relations between them), nationhood, foreignness, democracy, dictatorship (and other political “states”), and the sacred. The concepts typically vary across languages and cultures, and their variance comes to light especially clearly in translations, both in the language of the translation, and in paratexts such as translators’ prefaces, post-scripts and notes. These can highlight perceived translation difficulties and the reasons for them, and the solutions adopted and the reasons for those. They can highlight the reasons for re-translations, revealing perceived miscommunication or felt needs for greater precision – perhaps because previous translations were kept deliberately vague at key points; and re-translations can also reveal approximations of the varying concepts to each other.

The articles in this volume identify what the contributors consider to be key cultural texts. The contributors focus on the key concepts embodied in the texts, and examine the treatment of these concepts in one or more translations. The overriding aim is to highlight the essentially contested nature of certain concepts across cultures, and the types of adjustment this may (or may not) engender.

This is important in at least two respects: as Chomsky (1979: 38–39) points out, liberal-democratic political states, which do not prohibit the expression of contentious views, may instead seek to “fix the limits of possible thought: supporters of the official doctrine at one end, and the critics ... at the other”. Translations can disturb these limits in ways that reward examination and from which significant learning can be derived. As Gallie (1956: 193) puts it:

Recognition of a given concept as essentially contested implies recognition of rival uses of it (such as oneself repudiates) as not only logically possible and humanly “likely”, but as of permanent potential critical value to one’s own use or interpretation of the concept in question; whereas to regard any rival use as anathema,

perverse, bestial or lunatic means, in many cases, to submit oneself to the chronic human peril of underestimating the value of one's opponents' positions. One very desirable consequence of the required recognition in any proper instance of essential contestedness might therefore be expected to be a marked raising of the level of quality of arguments in the disputes of the contestant parties.

By looking for patterns of similarities and difference in the treatment in translations of key cultural concepts, and recognising their essentially contested nature, we may learn what constitutes success and failure in people's attempts to adjust and accommodate mutually, enabling disturbances of perceived relations of periphery versus centrality among cultural groups and the concepts that are embodied in the texts that they consider central to their cultures. In the context of the movements of peoples across borders in the early 21st century, this is clearly a central concern.

This volume of articles derives in part from work undertaken by the AHRC funded network "Key Cultural Texts in Translation" running at the University of Leicester from 1 May 2012 till 30 April 2014. We thank the AHRC for its support. Other articles derive from presentations given to Panel 10 of the Meeting of the European Society for Translation Studies in Germersheim in 2013. We thank everyone who participated in these events, whether as presenters or audience, whether represented in this volume or not.

During discussions, the notion of a Key Cultural Text became clearer. Such a text became specified as one that was considered important in its source culture and had contributed to the shaping of that culture. In translation, it would have had influence on the target culture and changed that culture in some way. Exemplars of many text types might fall into this category, including texts sacred to religious groups; literary classics and contemporary literary texts; historical, philosophical, cultural and sociological texts; performance and visual texts; declarations of human rights; myths; scientific texts; texts pertaining to technology; and others. In practice, most participants focused on literary texts, although dance, music, film, names of cultural icons, philosophical and religious texts are also represented in this volume.

At our meetings, many more texts than are represented here were mentioned and/or discussed in detail. The concepts of interest, too, extended well beyond those that figure in this collection. We mentioned: The Barbarian; The self and The other; Creation; God; (leap of) Faith; Marriage; Women; Humanity; Harmony; Peaceful co-existence; War; Guilt; Culpability; The natural world; Landscape; Success; Panache; Death; Fate; Self defence; Behaviours; Childhood; Upbringing; Education; Adulthood; Masculinity; Femininity; Benevolence; Modesty; Humility; Justice; Right; Choice; Angst; Ethics; Genuineness; Pretence; Being true to (self ...); Conventionality; Sacrifice; The individual; The collective; Reason and the irrational; Reality; The sacred; The secular; The divine; The magical; The world; Evil; Sin; Relation to the Other;

Uses of and Reactions to religion; Power versus Cleverness; Wily servant; Respect v Fear; Good v Bad; Values; Virtues; Love; Heroism; The Journey; and Borders. These overlap, of course, in life as in writing. The texts collected here, however, can be classified under the headings which have been used to structure the volume.

The volume opens with two articles on “Gender and Identity”. Stella Sandford discusses how translators have dealt with grammatical and natural gender in Plato’s *Republic*, arguing that the terms translators have used in these contexts show us as much, or more about the concept of sex and gender in the culture being translated into than about the concept being referred to in the source text; and that translation and its analysis may become both the mode of expression of cultural assumptions, and simultaneously a focus for contesting such assumptions. The second article in this part, by Ourania Tsiakalou, discusses the work of two choreographer/dancers as examples of intersemiotic translation within the framework of feminist translation and queeriture.

These articles are followed by three articles on “Texts and Politics”. Helen Rawlings shows how a text intended to expose atrocities committed by Spanish conquistadors against the native Indian population of the New World, so that the former might be persuaded to set secular gain achieved immorally aside, was used in translation by Catholic Spain’s Protestant enemies to denigrate Spain as a colonial power, giving rise to the so-called ‘Black Legend’. In her contribution, Wilson-deRoze examines translations of Wagner’s *Ring* made before and after the two World Wars. She shows that, contrarily to what might be expected, nationalistic sentiment does not seem to have influenced post-war translators; this reminds us that a-political translating, or at least translating that eschews manipulation for political ends, may be possible. On the other hand, Marta Crickmar investigates English translations of two Polish novels that address Poland’s complex relationship with its communist past. In both novels, the tensions accompanying the social and political transitions between the old and new Poland are realised in large part through the language used, possibly hindering translating of the full force of the political problematics resented by the texts.

The part on “Texts and Places” features Lithuania, Yorkshire, Poland and Russia. Jurgita Vaičėnienė compares two translations of the Lithuanian short story “The Bread Eaters” (1975) written by Romualdas Granauskas, a short story that presents an image of Lithuanian history. She shows how a corpus-based analysis of the original and translated texts, along with a more literary critical examination, can identify specific features of Key Cultural Texts, helping translators to decide whether or not to retain the patterns found in the source texts in the translations. Myrthe Wouterse and Samantha Genegel discuss the translation into Dutch of dialect features in Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights*, addressing a difficult and rather under-researched area

of translation studies. What happens to literary characterisation when dialect is part of that phenomenon in a source text whose translations cannot by the nature of things ever truly match their original in this respect? Finally, in this part, Anna Ponomareva analyses five translations into English of Alexander Pushkin's verse novel *Eugene Onegin* in order to identify relationships between certain translation strategies and the retention in translations of culture specific concepts and terms.

The four articles in the section entitled "Occident and Orient" set the two "worlds" in mutual relief through the study of texts and their translations. Wenjie Li suggests that although the translated images of Andersen and his tales vary in different periods in China, the translated image shaped in the first period of translations of his works into Chinese, from 1909 to 1925, has been key to the Chinese understanding of Andersen and his work. Kelly Kar Yue Chan discusses the challenging task of translating classical Chinese poetry into English; not only do decisions have to be taken regarding whether to translate freely or literally, and about cadence, rhyme, couplets and stanza patterns; in addition, she argues, cultural mediation may be required by way of cultural shifts, borrowing, annotation, implicit expressions, and literal and semantic translation. Haning Pan's article, in which a three-dimensional critical discourse analytical framework is applied, illustrates how translations of church names in Macau reflect the social changes and social relationship within a society where two belief systems have met and devised ways to coexist. Finally, in this part, Jinsil Choi investigates how the pre-modern Korean cultural concepts, Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy are represented in *Kuunmong*, a Korean fiction published in around 1689, and in two English translations by translators with different religious backgrounds and writing in different periods.

Systems of thought are also in focus in the two articles which follow, on translating philosophy. Stefan Baumgarten discusses the extent to which Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno's oeuvre, which expresses, in German, a particular type of capitalist and imperialist critique can be represented in English in the context of free market liberalism, while David Charlston addresses two translations of Hegel's *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Hegel 1807/1970) arguing that each can be seen as a response to the text determined by the social and philosophical dynamics surrounding its translator.

The final part of the book is devoted to the translation of texts types, and contains three articles. In the first, Turo Rautaoja argues that translations from Swedish into Finnish made between 1916 and 1965 of biographies of the Finnish composer, Jean Sibelius, illustrate a variety of conceptualisations of their subject which reflect Finland's aspirations, at these times, to be both internationally recognised and markedly Finnish. In the second article, Muhammad J. H. Abdullatief explores the translation of satire, a genre closely related to social, cultural and national contexts.

He focuses on how Arabic cultural features are represented in *The Pessoptimist* by Habiby, a noted Palestinian writer and politician. Finally, Cynthia L. Miller Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé discuss Bible translation as performance with respect to two quintessentially oral genres in the Bible, psalms and proverbs. They point out that ancient Israel and the early church were predominantly oral cultures, so modern performances of the biblical text are oral translations of what were originally and essentially oral texts.

As almost always in volumes where contributions are presented thematically, alternative arrangements would have been possible; however, much more important than the ordering of the contributions in the present volume is its power to illustrate the great variety of ways in which texts can express cultural identity and in which this expression of identity can be maintained and developed in translation.

The Editors

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PART I

Gender and identity

Genos, sex, gender and genre

Stella Sandford

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This chapter discusses translators' efforts to render the grammatical gender of Plato's Greek in passages of the *Republic*, and to translate his terms noting differences between men and women with terms associated with the identity-defining concepts of sex and gender. It argues that the translation of *genos* as "sex" reveals less about the source text than about the role of the concept of sex in the translating culture. A discussion of a similar controversy in contemporary translation shows how debates over the French translation of "gender" as *genre* are embroiled in issues of national identity. The chapter demonstrates how translation and its analysis may simultaneously express and contest cultural assumptions about sex and gender.

Keywords: *genos*, sex, gender, *genre*, Plato

1.

This chapter is concerned, via discussions of specific translational instances, with the identity-defining (and contested) concepts of sex and gender. Or, rather, to the extent that the concept of sex, in particular, is commonly taken for granted and presumed to be uncontroversial, this chapter aims to demonstrate its contestable status by focussing on its use in the translation into English of certain passages in Plato's *Republic*. It argues that the translation of the classical Greek *genos* as "sex", which is generally presumed to be justified by the trans-linguistic universality of the concept of sex, in fact reveals less about the source text or the communication of a "universal" concept through the translation of key cultural texts and rather more about the role of the identity-defining concept of sex *in the translating culture*. The second, much shorter part of the chapter then concerns the communication, or failures of communication, of national and, in some sense, sexed, identities via the translation of, or failure to translate, the contested concepts of sex and gender in the reception, or rejection, of Anglophone gender theory in France. Throughout, the

principal aim is to demonstrate how translation and its analysis may become both the mode of expression of assumptions about sex and gender, and simultaneously the site of contestation of these assumptions.

2.

As indicated above, the main part of this chapter concerns a tendency in the English translations and interpretations of Plato's *Republic*. Drawing on previous work, it argues that there is, strictly speaking, no concept of sex in Plato's *Republic*, and yet almost all translators and commentators presume that there is.¹ But before this argument can be presented and justified through discussion of specific passages, it is necessary to lay out some claims about the concept of sex. This English term is linguistically specific even though its Latin origin suggests a strict equivalence between sex and, for example, the French *sexe*, the Italian *Sesso* and the Spanish *sexo*. (Claims that the English "sex" and the French *sexe* mean different things will be discussed later.)

At issue here is the concept of sex in the sense of sex difference – the difference between the sexes (male and female) – in distinction from the concept of gender. The term "gender" was first explicitly distinguished from that of "sex" in the 1960s, by Robert Stoller. Stoller (1968: ix) proposed the use of the term "gender" to refer to the primarily psychological aspects of everything that is related to sex division but is not itself biological, in the context of his concern with gender identity. By the early 1970s a specifically feminist, *critical* concept of gender was developing out of Stoller's work and on the basis of other disciplinary sources, many of which predated Stoller.² For a while (and arguably still today) "gender", rather than "sex", became the dominant analytic term in feminist theory, turning critical attention to the historically contingent, socially and culturally determined, forms of relations between men and women and to gender norms.³

Criticisms of the sex/gender distinction were quick to follow its introduction (for example, Gatens 1983), and its use today is mediated by these criticisms. But

1. This chapter draws on Sandford (2010), especially Chapter 1, "Sex and *Genos* (*Republic*)". It reprises the argument of that chapter, but with a new focus on, and benefitting from, the kinds of concerns germane to Translation Studies, rather than Philosophy.

2. For a longer discussion of the emergence of the sex/gender distinction and the development of a specifically feminist concept of gender see Sandford (2015).

3. Joan Scott's essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" was the first to make explicit the distinction between a critical (feminist) concept of gender and more "descriptive" uses of the term. See Scott (1986).

it remains important to specify the *conceptual* distinction between sex and gender, and to investigate the different functions of the two terms, even if, ultimately, we do not hold that they refer to discrete, empirically determined entities or phenomena, and even if it is obvious that they depend on each other conceptually. As I will explain, I take sex to be a problematic conceptual object, not a natural given. But I do not take this to mean, as some do, that sex can simply be subsumed under the category of gender.⁴ Rather, the conceptual distinction must be made in order to specify the peculiarity of the concept of sex.

How does invocation of the concept of sex actually function in discourses of many different kinds? What does “sex” actually *mean* when it is employed in everyday speech and in more formal contexts? This is, of course, a question concerning both its semantic and its ideological function, which I take to be effectively inseparable, for reasons that will become clear. I contend that we might speak very broadly of the “modern” concept of sex to characterize the popular, dominant view of sex that operates today. To call it “modern” is to acknowledge that the presumptions of, say, the past two hundred years may not have been shared by the ancient world. I refer to the modern, popular, concept of sex as the “natural-biological” concept of sex because of the presumptions that constitute it, not to commit it to a particular disciplinary-scientific origin or ontological status. That is, it may be called the “natural-biological” concept of sex *not* because it does have a natural referent, or *not* because it does come from biology; but because it is *taken to be* natural and biological. According to the presumptions that constitute the modern natural-biological concept of sex there simply *is* sex duality (the exclusive division between male and female) and that duality is naturally determined.

I contend (on the basis of much research by others in various fields, including biology⁵) that this concept has no purely descriptive function in relation to human beings, although the presumption in its use is, precisely, that it does.⁶ The modern natural-biological concept of sex functions in relation to human beings as a reference to a supposedly natural foundation for existence, in the philosophical sense of existence as the everyday worldly being of men and women – specifically human existence or the specifically human way of being. As a presumed natural

4. The subsumption of “sex” under the category of “gender” is one of the results of Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* (1990).

5. For an excellent overview of the research and her original contribution see Fausto-Sterling (2000).

6. The main reason for thinking that the natural-biological concept of sex has no purely descriptive function in relation to human beings is that the constitutive and exclusive duality of its terms – “male” and “female” – is empirically inadequate to the phenomena that it would allegedly encompass without remainder; thus its duality is in fact normative and prescriptive.

foundation for existence it is often the first recourse in naturalistic explanations for some aspects – and sometimes even *all* aspects – of human psycho-social existence and behaviour. Thus the modern natural-biological concept of sex functions as something both *naturally determined* and *naturally determining* and it is effectively impossible to separate these two aspects. This is its specificity in distinction from the concepts of gender and sexuality, for example, which are often conceived as determined by sex.

It is because sex is conceived in this way, as something given and natural, that it tends to appear as an unproblematised and untheorised referent in discourses of all types. This also means, as I will now discuss, that the presumption of “sex” in this sense finds its way into modern translations of ancient texts. It is possible to see, for example, the way in which this conception of sex often determines the English translations and interpretations of certain passages and arguments in Plato’s dialogues where the issue of sex seems, for the modern reader, to arise. Becoming aware of this, and attempting to unburden ourselves of the modern presumptions of sex, does make it possible to propose new interpretations of aspects of Plato’s dialogues. But, more importantly for the purposes of this chapter, it is only by becoming aware of this issue in translation that the broader presumptions of the translating culture are revealed.

3.

To make good on this claim requires us to look in detail at specific passages from Plato’s *Republic*. First, however, it is necessary to provide some of the context of the dialogue. I will focus mainly on Desmond Lee’s widely-used translation of the *Republic*, intended for “the general reader”. Lee aimed to produce something other than a strictly academic translation, but one that could nevertheless be used by students and scholars. Lee was concerned that his translation be readable and natural (Lee in Plato 2007: li). This may be compared with, for example, S. Halliwell’s “tolerably readable” translation of Book V of the *Republic*, “intended in the first instance as a reasonably close guide to the sense of the Greek” and not meant to be used independently of the accompanying commentary (Halliwell in Plato 1998: 39). C. J. Rowe’s translations of Plato in the same bilingual series published by Aris & Phillips are similarly “intended to be accurate rather than elegant” (Rowe in Plato 2007: 15) – they are very particularly produced for academic purposes. In this, in some respects, they replace the classic Loeb translations in bilingual editions – somewhat “free” translations that presuppose the readers’ facility with the classical Greek text (whereas Rowe’s translations are now used for the purposes of teaching classical Greek). However, as we will see, it is interesting that both “popular” and

scholarly translations seem to take the same approach when it comes to translating with “sex” and “gender”.

In the *Republic* the character Socrates,⁷ searching for a definition of justice, builds a picture of the ideal just *polis*, the inhabitants of which he divides into three classes: the ruling Guardian class, an auxiliary military class, and a productive “working” class. In Book V of the *Republic*, having already discussed how the ruling Guardian class will live and which qualities or virtues are necessary in members of that class, Socrates makes some highly contentious proposals concerning the equal education of men and women of the ruling Guardian class, and the participation of women of this class in all aspects of governance. These proposals describe a situation vastly different from the historical actuality of the place of women, even high-ranking women, in ancient Athens.

The standard feminist account of Socrates’ central argument is as follows: according to Socrates, the difference between the sexes (which is not, in itself, denied) is not such that men or women, *as* men or *as* women, are suited to any one kind of work or any distinct social or cultural existence. The difference between the sexes is reduced to the different roles of men and women in reproduction and is said to be irrelevant to their capacities for work. This argument seems to support the view that it is the different treatment, education, and cultural expectations of boys and girls and men and women that produce many of the differences in capacity and character that people tend to ascribe, erroneously, to the supposedly “natural” differences between the sexes.

Socrates having established that men and women of the Guardian class must be educated in the same way if they are to perform the same leadership functions, the crux of the argument concerns whether this is in fact possible. It has previously been agreed in the dialogue (before the discussion of men and women arises) that each person should do the one job for which they are most naturally suited. This “principle of specialization” (as the secondary literature sometimes calls it) is absolutely central to the whole dialogue. But it is also agreed that there is “a very great natural difference between men and women” (453b–c).⁸ Anticipating a possible objection to his argument, Socrates points out that when these two things (the principle of specialisation and the “very great natural difference between men and women”) are put together it suggests that men and women might, after all, be naturally suited for different jobs – the implication being that it is men, and not women, who are naturally suited for leadership.

7. Although Plato is the author of the text, the argument is put into the mouth of the character Socrates, and I will refer to Socrates, rather than Plato in the discussion of specific passages.

8. References in the text cite the Stephanus numbers, and use Lee’s translation (Plato 2007).

Socrates answers that this objection fails to consider what kind [*eidōs*] of sameness or difference of nature we mean, and what our intention was when we laid down the principle that different natures should have different jobs, similar natures similar jobs:

we never meant [Socrates says] that natures are the same or different in an unqualified sense [*ou pantōs tēn autēn kai tēn heteran phusin etithemetha*], but only with reference to the kind of sameness or difference which is relevant to various employments. For instance, we should regard a man and a woman with medical ability as having the same nature [*hoion iatrikon men kai iatrikēn tēn psuchēn ontas tēn autēn phusin echein elegomen*]. Do you agree? ‘Yes.’ ‘But a doctor and a carpenter [*iatrikon de kai tektonikon*] we should reckon as having different natures.’ ‘Yes, entirely.’ ‘Then if men or women as a sex [*to tōn andrōn kai to tōn gunaikōn genos*] appear to be qualified for different skills or occupations,’ I said, ‘we shall assign these to each accordingly; but if the only difference apparent between them is that the female [*thēlu*] bears and the male [*arren*] begets [*ocheuein*] we shall not admit that this is a difference relevant for our purpose, but shall still maintain that our male and female Guardians [*tous te phulakas hēmīn kai tas gunaikas*] ought to follow the same occupations. (454c–e)

We may note that the features of grammatical gender in classical Greek allow Socrates to imply with his words things that must be made explicit in a different way in the English translation. Socrates uses the masculine and feminine adjectival forms of the word “medical” (*iatrikos* [m] *iatrikē* [f]) which emphasises, linguistically, the primary importance of the being-medical of the soul, its masculine and feminine variants being, secondarily, merely different instances of this kind; whereas the English translation of that phrase seems forced to mention the difference between a man and woman (“a man and a woman with medical ability”) before the similarity of their medical ability.⁹ In contrast, in the second point – that “a doctor and a carpenter” [*iatrikon kai tektonikon*] have different natures – the two masculine forms of “doctor” and “carpenter” emphasise the difference of the kinds

9. Shorey (Plato 1930): “a man and a woman who have a physician’s mind have the same nature”; Waterfield (Plato 1993): “a man with a medical mind and a woman with a medical mind have the same nature”. George Leroux’s recent French translation (Platon 2004) favours a different interpretation: “un homme doué pour la médecine et un homme qui a l’esprit médical possèdent la même nature” – “a man with a gift for medicine and a man with a medical soul have the same nature”. The argument in favour of this interpretation claims that Socrates wishes to emphasise that “natures are defined in terms of aptitudes” (Halliwell, in Plato 1998: 149), and the point is to emphasise that a man with an aptitude for medicine (a potential physician) has the same nature as one who practices it (an actual physician). To the extent that this interpretation eliminates women from the point, it seems to me to be tendentious.

of soul despite the identity of gender. Gender is not marked in Lee's translation, though it is in others, albeit rather awkwardly. Thus Paul Shorey (Plato 1930): "a man physician and a man carpenter"; or Robin Waterfield (Plato 1993): "a male doctor and a male joiner". We may also note here the translation of *genos* as "sex", to which we will return.

As the dialogue continues Socrates affirms that the only difference in nature between the female and the male (using those terms rather than "woman" and "man") is that the one bears and the other begets and goes on to argue that

There is ... no administrative occupation which is peculiar to woman as woman or man as man; natural capacities are similarly distributed in each sex [*all' homoiōs diesparmenai hai phuseis en amphoin toin zōoin*], and it is natural for women to take part in all occupations as well as men, though in all women will be the weaker partners. (455d)

Here "sex" translates *zōoin*, which in other contexts would usually be translated as "animal", and which Shorey, for example, has as "creatures".¹⁰

Many commentators agree that the "crucial point" in Socrates' argument concerns the irrelevance of sex difference, the denial of the presumption that sex difference determines what men and women can or cannot and should or should not do. And critics too, see that this is the main point but argue that Socrates is wrong because sex differences do influence what men and women are naturally suited to do. Leaving that debate to one side, what I want to highlight is the assumption, shared by modern critics and positive and negative feminist readers alike, that a modern category of sex is somehow operative in, or can be read back into, the arguments in Book V of the *Republic*. This presumption is both partly determined and symptomatically expressed by the translation of *genos* as "sex" and by the use of the word "sex" to translate various other words or in various phrases where the linguistic gender of the classical Greek needs somehow to be rendered. In my view, this translation obscures what is most important in Socrates' argument. In this instance, I suggest, domestication in translation works against philosophical intelligibility, and this can be mitigated with a little foreignisation – which also serves, ironically, to allow us to get some distance in relation to the domestic concept of sex.

10. Waterfield has "sex"; Leroux: "les deux genres d'êtres vivants".

4.

Let us return to the first passage (454c–e), and in particular to the translation of *genos* as “sex”. In classical Greek there is no distinct word for sex. The word *genos*, which is sometimes, as here, translated as “sex”, means, primarily, “race”, “stock”, “kin”; also “offspring”, “tribe”, “generation”, and “kind”. In Plato’s dialogues one will find the word *genos* used most often to mean something like “kind” or “race” in a general and non-philosophical sense (as in phrases like “the human race”). For example, in the first five books of the *Republic*, Plato uses the word *genos* to speak of what Lee translates as the “race” of the sons of Ariston; of the “class” of the Guardians (429a and 460c); of the “breeds” of birds and dogs (*to te tōn ornithōn kai to tōn kunōn genos*; 459b); the Hellenic “race” (470c); “the human race” (473d); and the “class” of faculties or powers (477c). In the *Sophist* Plato uses *genos* as the word for the five major “kinds” of *being, rest, motion, same* and *other* in such a way that its meaning is virtually indistinguishable from that of *eidos*, familiarly translated as “form” or “idea”. In an essay concerned with the possibility of translating *genos* as “race”, Rachana Kamtekar notes the variety of kinds of *genē* across Plato’s dialogues:

Examples of *genē* include the elements or principles (*Timaeus*, 48e ff, *Philebus*, 23d ff), the branches of expertise (*Sophist*, 223c ff, *Statesman*, 263e), kinds of perception (*Theaetetus*, 156b) or capacities in general (*Republic*, 477c–d). ... A *genos* may also be a species (*Protagoras*, 321c), for example, there is the *genos* of the cicada (*Phaedrus*, 259c) ..., or a still more inclusive class, such as the winged *genos* (*Sophist*, 220b) or the *genos* of tame and herd-living creatures (*Statesman*, 266a). Finally, there is the *genos* of gods and that of humans (*Hippias Major*, 289a–c; *Charmides*, 173c).
(Kamtekar 2002: 4–5)

The *genē* of men and women and those of males and females are just more examples of kinds of kinds in amongst this diverse catalogue, and every time Plato’s use of *genos* is translated into English as “sex”, the more general “race” or (perhaps better) “kind” would make equally as much sense.¹¹ To translate *genos* as “sex” in the crucial passages in the *Republic* is therefore to *introduce into* the dialogue a specification of the *kind* of kind that males and females or men and women are, when this specification is not linguistically marked in the text itself. (Of course the same is true when *genos* is translated as “species” or “breed”, for example, but the focus here is sex.)

It is worth reiterating this point in a different way. If “sex” is a general term referring to the two categories of male and female, the category according to which

11. Andrea Tschemplik’s revision of John Llewelyn Davies and David James Vaughans’s translation does something like this (Plato 2005): “Then if the class [*genos*] of men and women appear to differ in reference to any art, or other occupation ...”

the “nature” of men and women is ultimately determined, there is, *strictly speaking*, no concept of sex in Plato’s *Republic*. Each time *genos* is used in the *Republic* in relation to men or women or male or female it is attached to one or the other in order to specify men or women or male or female as a class in distinction from this or that man or woman or male or female animal. The word is never used – indeed it *cannot* be used – as a singular term to refer to a distinction in kind covering both men and women or male and female (or any other distinction in kind, for that matter). That is, it is *never* used as the general term “sex” is used in English.

“Sex” is a superordinate term with two hyponyms: “male” and “female”. Classical Greek has “male” and “female”, of course (*arren* and *thēlu*), but no superordinate term for them specifically. *Genos* is a superordinate with an infinite number of hyponyms, most unlike the very narrow specificity of the concept of sex, which is identical with its limited content. “Sex” as a general term designates *what* kind of categories “male” and “female” are, not just *that* they are kinds; there is nothing strictly equivalent in classical Greek.¹² Ironically, the same is true when *genos* is translated as “gender”, as Waterfield, for example, translates in the passage discussed here. “Gender” in this context is the same kind of superordinate as “sex”; and indeed (and despite the theoretical distinction between sex and gender) in popular parlance it is a synonym for “sex”.

Leroux’s French translation (Platon 2004), which employs the French *genre*, is able to introduce an appropriate ambiguity between what in English we would call “genre” (“kind”) and “gender”:

Par conséquent, dis-je, pour le genre des hommes et pour celui des femmes, s’il apparaît différent pour l’exercice d’un art particulier ou encore pour une occupation particulière, nous affirmerons qu’il faut attribuer cet art ou cette occupation à l’un des deux. Mais si le genre n’apparaît différer que sur ce seul point, à savoir que le genre féminin enfante, alors que le genre masculin féconde, alors nous affirmerons qu’il n’a aucunement été démontré pour autant que la femme diffère de l’homme quant à l’objet de notre discussion ...

He loses, however, the Greek distinction between woman and man (*gunaikos*, *aner*) and female and male (*thēlu*, *arren*), though it may be marked in French (*femme/homme*, *femelle/mâle*). Similarly, Karl Vretska’s German translation (Platon 1982) uses the less specific *Geschlecht* (which, although it now primarily means “sex” or “gender”, also still means “race” or “species”):

12. To say that, strictly speaking, there is no concept of sex in the *Republic* is *not* to say that Plato and his contemporaries had no concept of what we now call “sex” at all, in the sense that they did not distinguish between male and female or understand that both played a role – however misunderstood or mysterious – in the reproduction of the species. Of course they did.

Wenn uns also ... das männliche und weibliche Geschlecht für eine Fertigkeit oder sonst eine Beschäftigung als unterschiedlich geeignet erscheint, muß es, sagen wir, dieser oder jener zugewiesen werden. Wenn sie sich aber bloß dadurch unterscheiden, daß die Frau gebiert, der Mann aber zeugt, dann ist dadurch noch keineswegs ein Unterschied zwischen Frau und Mann in der Berufseignung erwiesen...

In German, the distinction between “female” and “woman” and “male” and “man” is also less clear than it is in English. Halliwell’s translation of the passage (Plato 1998) distinguishes towards the end between male/female and man/woman but ironically elides it in his translation of *to tōn andrōn kai to tōn gunaikōn genos*: “So, with both the male and the female sex...”

That Socrates does intend to make a point in switching from *gunaikos* and *aner* to *thēlu* and *arren*, just at the point at which he admits in relation to the latter pair the “very great natural difference” raised earlier, is suggested by his unusual use of *ocheuein* for the male part in reproduction, a word usually only used of animals. Socrates (for reasons discussed below) separates the zoological aspect of human beings (male/female), in which they are like any other mammal, from all other aspects of social existence. To the extent that any aspect of one’s social existence is determined by innate capacities (for example, the having of a medical soul), it is definitively separated from the zoological difference. This suggests that for him the pairs male/female, man/woman are conceptually distinct, or that their conceptual distinction is a result of the dialogue, but translators (as seen above) tend to treat the pairs synonymously or distinguish between them only casually, as if this were an aspect of the dialogue bearing on common sense terms, not philosophical distinctions.

Although we may thus take issue with the translations, we are not, of course, saying that the domesticating translations of *genos* as “sex” or “gender”, or any of these various ways of translating the pairs *gunaikos/aner* and *thēlu/arren*, are “wrong”. On the contrary, it is a perfectly good way of rendering Plato’s Greek in a natural and readable way as both Lee and Waterfield, for example, intended. But I have suggested that in this instance domestication works against philosophical intelligibility, and it is perhaps not a perfectly good *academic* translation for the early twenty-first century. It is worth briefly explaining why this is the case, because it is ironically this that allows us to compare the two texts – Plato’s *Republic* and Lee’s translation of it – beyond the question of ideal equivalence.

Because modern readers of Plato share the presumption of the modern, natural-biological concept of sex they generally interpret Socrates as facing the same objection that feminists sometimes still face today: the objection that a woman’s sex – her being female – somehow naturally excludes her from ruling (amongst other things), because it determines relevant aspects of her psychological and social existence. What modern feminists have to oppose is the idea that sex is the basic *explanans* – the thing that explains or *causes* – a myriad of phenomena. But, to cut a long

argument short, what Socrates, in the context of ancient Athens, has to oppose is *not* the idea that what it is to be a woman is determined by one's being-female (by sex) but that the being of woman is determined by a unified multiplicity of behavioural and other characteristics, which *may* include being-male or being-female, and of social roles and political status, the *totality* of which bears the ontological weight. That is, Socrates has to oppose the presumption that this set of womanish characteristics, social role and political status are ontologically constitutive; that they – and not a modern concept of sex – define what it is to *be* a woman in the strong sense. What is contentious in Socrates' argument for his interlocutors is not that he says that reproductive function is irrelevant to what job one does. What is contentious for his interlocutors is that he reduces what they see as the very great natural differences between men and women in every aspect of their existences to the single factor of reproductive function, and then declares it irrelevant. (The use of terms referring to or normally reserved for animals – for example, *zōoin*, *ocheuein* – and the earlier comparison of male and female guard dogs with male and female Guardians (451c–e)¹³ tends to stress the reduction of the male/female distinction to the zoological level.)

This reduction is what allows Socrates to argue that there are a set of females who do not have the set of womanish characteristics, and who have, instead, the set of characteristics more usually associated with men and that fit them for membership of the ruling Guardian class. In effect, according to Socrates' argument, these females are men.¹⁴ It is also what allows him and others to say – as they repeatedly do – that a male who exhibits the set of womanish characteristics *is to all intents and purposes a woman* – their social existence is that of a woman – and must be treated as such. The possibility that “womanishness”, understood ontologically, as the being of woman, can commute across male and female is recognised in the *Republic* and the *Laws* in the prohibition of behaviours that would encourage it. This same commutability of womanishness and manliness is also the ultimate basis for the possibility of Socrates' proposals concerning women in the *Republic*. To reiterate: if being a man means having certain qualities and exhibiting certain

13. “[O]ur object, you remember, was to make them like watchdogs guarding a flock ... Let us then proceed to arrange for their birth and upbringing accordingly ... Ought female watchdogs to perform the same guard duties as male, and watch and hunt and so on with them? [*tas thēleias tōn phulakōn kunōn potera zumphulattein oiometha dein, aper an hoi arrenes phulattōsi, kai zunthēruēin kai tallā koinē prattein*] Or ought they to stay at home on the grounds that the bearing and rearing of their puppies incapacitates them from other duties, so that the whole burden of the care of the flocks falls on the males?” “They should share all duties, though we should treat the females as the weaker, the males as the stronger.” “And can you use any animal for the same purposes as another”, [Socrates] asked, “unless you bring it up and train it in the same way?” (451c–e)

14. For the full version of this interpretation of Socrates' position in the *Republic* see Sandford (2010), Chapter 1.

behaviours and inhabiting a certain social and political role then some females (those of the Guardian class) can be, or are, men. This conclusion seems very odd and contradictory in relation to the modern concept of sex, according to which being female would determine that one was a woman (see Figure 1). But in the absence of a concept of sex (as a superordinate term determining the kind and status of the differences of its only two hyponyms), and in the context of the ontological significance of the set of womanish and manly characteristics and attributes and roles in the definition of what it is to be a woman or a man (see Figure 2) the claim becomes intelligible. This argument is not only based on the difference between the terms *genos* and sex, but that difference is an important part of it.

Critical reflection on the translation of *genos* as “sex” in the *Republic* thus gives us a different interpretation of the dialogue, and suggests the possibility of alternative translations. But on the way what we learn is as much about the target language word (“sex”) as it is about the source text. For this analysis also reveals, in the comparison of the translation with the source text, the *historical specificity* of the modern, natural-biological concept of sex, and its general ideological tendency, which, in its association with the idea of a fixed, immutable “nature”, is to mark a universal, a-historical and unchallengeable difference as basal *explanans*. The ease with which sex is presumed and read back into the ancient text, and the difficulties we have in even *understanding* the idea of a female man or a male woman, demonstrate to us the extent to which sex is a key, modern, identity defining concept – many of us can scarcely even comprehend our being as men and women without it, although, of course, transgender lives are beginning to contest its traditional terms.

According to the modern presumption of sex:

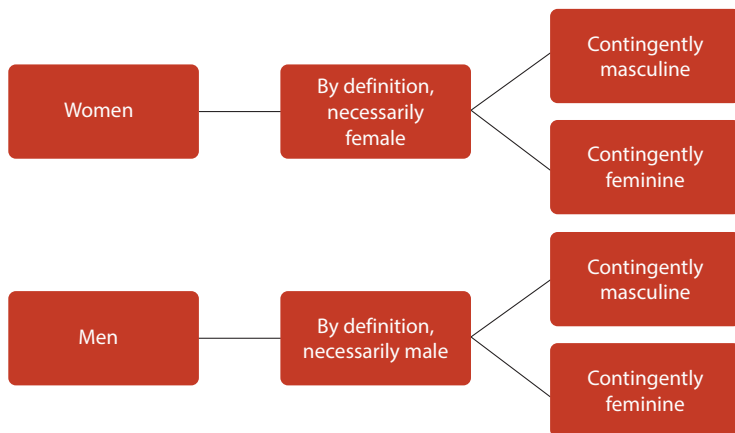


Figure 1. Female men and male women are *not* possible

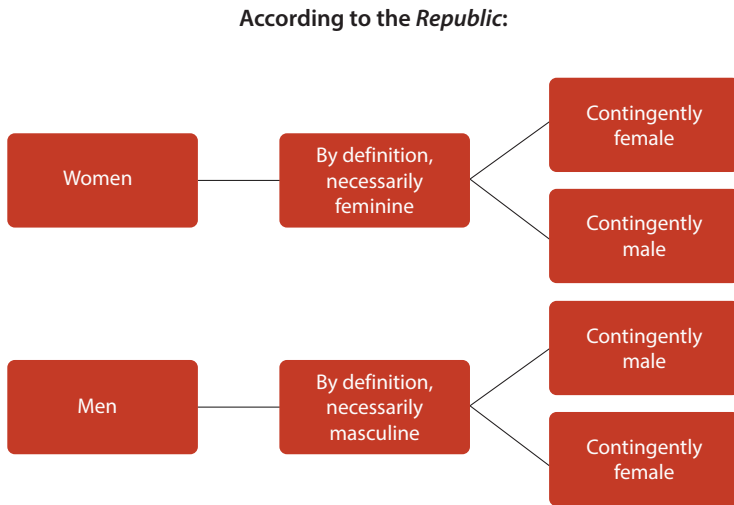


Figure 2. Female men and male women *are* possible

5.

As we have seen, analysis of modern translations of an ancient text may reveal, by contrast between the ancient and the modern, the identity-defining role of certain concepts in the translating culture. In this instance I have suggested that a concept that tends to be taken for granted – sex is in fact contestable, and that analysis of translations reveals both its assumption in the translating culture and textual reasons to dispute its alleged transhistorical significance. But we can also see something similar in contemporaneous translation, and specifically in attempts to translate the Anglophone sex/gender distinction into French. Here controversies over the concept of gender and the possibility of its translation into French – controversies into which the concept of sex is inevitably dragged – are, as Éric Fassin has shown, deeply embroiled in issues concerning presumed or claimed *national* and linguistic identities.

In *Le sexe politique: genre et sexualité au miroir transatlantique* (2009) Fassin explains that in France, up until the 1990s, the English “gender” tended not to be translated, but rather cited in the English. This, he says, had the effect of “nationalizing” the question of gender, as if “the English word was as untranslatable as American culture.” (Fassin 2009: 16). But by the opening decade of the new millennium, a crop of books appeared, mostly in the social sciences, with titles which included the word, *genre*, in the sense of “gender”, and from that point *genre*, as a

translation of “gender” seemed, as it were, to have been granted “citizen’s rights” in the academic disciplines in France (Fassin 2009: 27–28). At the same time, however, some still insisted on using “gender” in English so as not to cover over that *penser le genre* as an influential essay by Christine Delphy (1991) was entitled, was essentially foreign to the “national tradition” (Fassin 2009: 28). Fassin describes this as part of a barely concealed anti-Americanism in French public discourse. In brief, he argues, the very idea of politicising the relations between the sexes, was often seen as belonging to an American culture, or a culture of Americanisation, against which many wished to reassert *l’exception française*. This was part, Fassin suggests, of a much larger contestation of French national identity, played out in the public sphere rather than in the University. The politicisation of relations between the sexes, which was part of the introduction of the word “gender”, was associated with a multi-culturalism that was popularly imagined to be “American” and contrasted with the values of Republican France. In 2005 the French state committee in charge of terminology pronounced against the “abusive use of the word *genre*”. The committee wrote that “replacing sex by gender does not correspond to a linguistic need, nor is the extension of the meaning of the word *genre* justified.”¹⁵ The committee thus decided that the innovative use of *genre* as a noun and “*a fortiori*” *genré* as an adjective were “not advisable”, and the explicit justification was that French already had a perfectly good word for that: *sexe*. At the same time Vatican pronouncements on family matters and a Vatican-published *Lexicon of ambiguous and controversial terms* were also extremely hostile to the very idea of gender and its domestication with vernacular translation (Fassin 2009: 63).¹⁶ For the past couple of decades, then, gender has been perhaps one of *the* most contested concepts in Europe, precisely because of its inextricable associations with, or perceived threat to, an array of national, religious, and political identities.

We should also add to this list: *feminist* national identities. In the *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies*, subtitled *Dictionnaire des intraduisibles*, edited by Barbara Cassin and published in 2004, Geneviève Fraisse’s entry on “*Sexe*” demonstrates this. Fraisse claims that the apparent equivalence between the English “sex” and the French *sexe* is false, for *within* the French *sexe* there is a distinction between sexual difference/*différence sexuelle* and *la différence des sexes*, where the former refers concretely to the “material reality of the human condition”, the empirical domain of the biological and the physical, and the latter – a philosopheme – to an abstract

15. <http://www.culture.fr/Ressources/FranceTerme/Recommandations-d-usage/GENDER>, last access 5.06.2017.

16. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/family/documents/rc_pc_family_doc_20021208_lexicon-trujillo_it.html, last access 5.06.2017.

conceptual division. The “realism” of the English “sex”, according to Fraisse, refers only to the former. The sex/gender distinction is then the Anglophone answer to the felt need for the distinction between sexual difference/*différence sexuelle* and *la différence des sexes*. However, because the Anglophone response was to oppose cultural gender to natural sex, the failure to think sex as *la différence des sexes* in English remains (Fraisse 2004: 1155). Fraisse’s argument thus suggests an explanation for the subsequent state pronouncement against the need for a French translation of “gender”. There is a need for the English “gender” to oppose the realist Anglophone concept of “sex”; but with a different concept of *sexe* no corresponding need exists in French. Only if one’s concept of sex is merely empirical and biological, and not at all philosophical, does one need a concept of gender with which to oppose it, according to Fraisse.

In my view, Fraisse is wrong about the English concept of sex. As I have argued, reflection on its actual use in the vernacular reveals that it refers to the alleged natural-biological basis for aspects of human social and psychological existence; that is, contra Fraisse, its use is not restricted to the description of a material “content” (the mere “fact” of being either male or female). What is more, the French *sexe*, even if it does include a philosophical element, also functions ideologically in this way.¹⁷ Further, Fraisse’s position is not able to take into account the possibility that contestations over the meaning of “sex” and “gender” are not such as can be cleared up with conceptual clarification – the possibility that these may be (extending Gallie’s 1956 definition) essentially contested concepts. The decision of some French feminists to utilise the concept of gender/*genre* is a political choice, not a linguistic mistake, and it is in part a rejection of the kind of linguistic nationalism that seems to underlie Fraisse’s position.

To conclude: the issues raised here with the various translations speak to the deep historical, social and political contexts of the practice of translation (something more readily accepted by scholars in translation studies than those in philosophy). They also show, of course, the importance of the cultural context of analysis, as the specific issues discussed here (whether we think of them as part of translation studies or philosophy) are ones that could only become visible when the intellectual context of analysis included the feminist theory of the twentieth century.

17. For a more detailed account of Fraisse’s position see Sandford (2014), on which this section draws.

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Dancing through the waves of feminism

Martha Graham and Marie Chouinard as intersemiotic translators

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This article makes use of Roman Jakobson's articulation of *intersemiotic translation* (Jakobson 1959). Taking the work of two different choreographers and dancers – Martha Graham and Marie Chouinard – to be instances of intersemiotic translation, I explore the cultural discourses they have produced in terms of the ways gender and sexuality emerge in the translations in question. The analysis sets the dance performances in the framework of *feminist translation* as articulated by Luise von Flotow (1991) and queer translation or *queeriture*, which I have articulated elsewhere (Tsiakalou 2013). These frameworks arise from two different and successive movements in translation and translation studies, which follow the “passage” from second-wave feminism to third-wave feminism or queer theory.

Keywords: dance studies, intersemiotic translation, queer theory, feminism

Rather than dematerialize, dance rematerializes. Dance, like energy, never disappears; it is simply transformed. Queer dance, after the live act, does not just expire. The ephemeral does not equal unmateriality. It is more nearly about another understanding of what matters.
(Jose Esteban Munoz)

Is performance practice... ‘in danger of colonisation by the word’?
(Alexandra Carter)

1. Introduction

Alexandra Carter poses the question of whether dance is dominated by linguistic studies in view of the linguistic character of post-structuralism (Carter 2003). I would like to analyse two choreographic works in an intersectional way, inspired by translation studies, gender studies and dance studies. I will discuss one way in which an analysis can track queer imagings in certain modes of translation and translating processes by dancing queers.

In 1959, Roman Jakobson introduced the notion of intersemiotic translation in his essay “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation” (1959). According to his conceptualisation, translation can be intralingual, that is, an interpretation of a linguistic text with verbal signs of the same language; interlingual, that is, an interpretation of a linguistic text with verbal signs of another language; or intersemiotic, that is, an interpretation of a text with signs of a different semiotic code. An instance of intersemiotic translation is the choreographing of Igor Stravinsky’s musical composition *Le Sacre du printemps: Tableaux de la Russie païenne en deux parties (Rite of Spring)*. This piece was composed in 1913 and outlines a mythical plot about a girl who is chosen to be sacrificed for the advent of spring in a rural setting in Russia. It was initially choreographed by Vaslav Nijinsky, but there have been an abundance of different performances and choreographic interpretations through the years. The concept of sacrificing a young woman for the sake of the community, as well as the inherent connection between the female body and nature implied in this piece depict and affirm dominant patriarchal ideas concerning women’s position in society.

I am going to explore two different stagings of the piece, by two choreographers – Martha Graham and Marie Chouinard – as instances of intersemiotic translation of the myth, initially articulated in a musical piece, into dance. As translations, or representations of a myth, the two choreographies in question bear the marks of ideological intervention on the part of the choreographers who created them. At the same time, both of them are representations of a myth, in which gender and sexuality are intensely manifested, holding a central position. I will thus discuss the works in question taking into consideration the ways in which they might be embedded in, interact with, challenge and deconstruct the dominant discourses of gender identity construction and representation.

At this point I have to note that the art of dance is a corporeal art form, performed by bodies, with bodies and on bodies. Nonetheless, as works of art, dance performances constitute texts in that they are narrations which use the semiotic code of dance and they are read by their audiences. Being at once highly corporeal and discursive, dancing subjects “at once enact and resist their own representation”, as Ann Cooper Albright insightfully observes (Albright 1994: 12). Therefore, dance offers a space in which naturalised notions of gender and sexual

identities, among other phenomena, can be challenged and destabilised. Moreover, counter-discourses around gender and sexuality can be articulated in this intense intersection of bodies and discourses, and through the complex interplays of signification and representation that translation allows and induces.

From this point of view, I will discuss Graham's *Rite of Spring*, as performed in 1984 under her own choreography, as a piece of translation which fits the political predicaments and theoretical approaches of second-wave feminism, and thus of feminist translation or (*ré*)écriture au féminin, a movement which was developed in Canada during the 1980s and 1990s. Then, I will consider Chouinard's *Le Sacre du printemps* as a case of what I have elsewhere described as *queeriture*. In short, I will consider it as a case of translation which can be regarded as fitting third-wave feminism, recalling queer notions of the bodily self, gender identity and sexuality.

2. Martha Graham – *Rite of Spring*

Martha Graham (1894–1991) was one of the most influential dancers and choreographers of 20th century modernist expressionism, an artistic movement which was based on the aspiration of expressing the inner self, as experienced by humans. Her work spans almost the whole century, from the 1920s to the 1990s. Among much else, it includes choreographic works which could be described as representations or translations of powerful myths, usually featuring tragic and magnificent female protagonists, whose point of view often coincides with that of the choreography's narration. In other words, Graham's choreographies have sometimes worked as narrations of famous literary stories from the standpoint of female characters who have often been neglected or devalued, such as Medea and Clytemnestra.

Over the years, Graham invented, or rather discovered – as she would say herself – her own dance technique, which is still taught in very important professional dance schools, such as The Place (London Contemporary Dance School), The Juilliard School, The Greek National School of Dance and The Martha Graham School of Contemporary Dance. Her technique consists of a kinesiological vocabulary which is largely structured on the basis of a binary conception of genders, or on the notion of sexual difference. Her technique and the performances she has directed refer to and construct masculine male dancers and feminine female dancers who undertake radically different roles, which are predetermined in terms of gender. In what follows, I will explain how she can be seen as a feminist inter-semiotic translator.

2.1 Strategies

Luise von Flotow, in her essay “Feminist Translation: Contexts, Practices and Theories” (1991) summarises the main strategies applied in feminist translation, a movement which has also been named (*réécriture au féminin* [(re)writing in the feminine] after Héléne Cixous’s feminist post-structuralist idea of *écriture féminine*, or “women’s writing” (see Cixous 1976). The movement developed in Canada during the 1980s and 1990s, and it involved feminist translators who translated either feminist texts, helping their dissemination, or texts featuring patriarchal implications in order not only to reclaim an estimable position for the feminine in discourse, but also to critique them, reveal their misogynist structures and question the sexist nature of the English and the French language in general. The strategies employed in feminist translation include supplementing (overtranslating), writing prefaces and footnotes, and “hijacking”, that is appropriating and ideologically “correcting” the text (von Flotow 1991: 74–79).

2.2 *Rite of Spring* (1984)

In this section, I will discuss how Graham’s *Rite of Spring* (Fred’sChannelOne 2012) can be seen as a piece of intersemiotic feminist translation. In the myth that is translated by this choreography, the audience finds itself in an indefinite region of rural Russia, at a moment when one girl has to be selected to be sacrificed to celebrate the advent of spring. Traditionally, this sacrifice was considered an honour for the chosen girl, and it had strong sexual connotations. However, what is emphasised in Graham’s rendering of the story is the girl’s intense suffering and pain, both in anticipating and in experiencing the dreadful event. All the female dancers of the piece are clearly seen as grieving throughout their appearance, foreshadowing the sacrifice of the girl.

What is more, Graham’s Chosen One, instead of “dancing herself to death” (Kisselgoff 1984), agonises over and laments her impending death as the Shaman ties her up with a sacrificial rope. Graham overtranslates the aspect of the female stance towards and experience of the sacrifice, both on a collective and on a personal level, in order to highlight the Chosen One’s mournful reaction and thus the cruelty of a community which brutally sacrifices a woman.

In addition to focusing on the sacrificed girl, the main characteristics of Graham’s technique add significantly to her contribution to (*réécriture au féminin* or enacted feminist translation. Although an established stylisation of movement in general can be seen in Graham technique, it is evident that male and female dancers engage in distinct structures of motion. Men enact an archetypical form of

masculine virility in their movements, often engaging in projections of their strong limbs and jumps and occupying much space on the stage with their bodies. In this way, Graham's male dancers are represented as and represent primitive, raw bodies, echoing the essentialist notion of the male psyche as one of simplicity, strength and all those characteristics traditionally attributed to the "male sex".

On the other hand, Graham's female dancers feature a motion that is centered on the abdomen and the pelvis, which are seen as the bodily centres of the female psyche. They engage in movements which express mourning and highlight an emotional fragility, characteristics which are traditionally attributed to the "female sex". Susan Foster, a scholar of dance studies, has described the female body as portrayed by Graham's technique as "the body of the hysteric" (Dempster 2003: 225), a description which strongly alludes to essentialist conceptualizations of the female which were prominent during the 20th century. As Elizabeth Dempster mentions, Graham herself has claimed that her art expresses "the interior landscape" (Dempster 2003: 224), an idea which completes the argument about her representations of the male and the female body in an essentialist way. Her essentialism implies that there is such a thing as a female and a male psychic core inhabiting bodies which are socially inscribed as women and men respectively. Moreover, female bodies and the subject "Woman" are sacralised in Graham's kinesiological vocabulary in that their struggles, their pain, their lamentation are represented in an intense and powerful way. The centrality of the pelvis in the structure of her technique and of the female point of view in the structure of her narratives clearly add to this.

From this point of view, in translating the myth of the *Rite of Spring*, Graham hijacks the text, turning it into a site where she is able to make "the feminine seen and heard in her translation" as von Flotow describes it (1991: 79). Therefore, the theoretical core which accrues from Graham's appropriation of the myth echoes the predicaments of second-wave feminism, which has prioritised female identity and the struggle against patriarchy. This means that it celebrates the female body and critiques the violence of patriarchy and the silence which women have historically been destined to. Equally importantly, men and women emerge in her work as distinct psychic and bodily entities featuring their masculinity and femininity respectively in a naturalised and essentialist way. Gender appears thus to be an inner truth, a structural element of the internal self. This is an idea which has been manifested and used as a tool for deconstructing patriarchal discourses by second-wave feminists such as Helene Cixous, Luce Irigaray and of course by the Canadian feminist translators of *(re)écriture au féminin*, for example Suzanne de Lotbinière Harwood and Nicole Brossard.

3. Marie Chouinard – *Le Sacre du printemps*

Marie Chouinard, born in 1955, is a Canadian contemporary dancer and choreographer and director of the Marie Chouinard Company. She is considered an avant-garde performance artist and her work includes ground-breaking solos, as well as company performances choreographed by herself. Chouinard's dance incorporates extraordinary muscle control and she has developed a unique and recognisable style in terms of kinesiology. The kinesiological vocabulary which emerges from her choreographic work transfers the imaging of the human body beyond dominant humanistic conceptions, incorporating representations of bodies with disabilities – something which is nevertheless performed by able bodied dancers, which might bear ableist implications – and posthuman bodies which push the boundaries of the dominant notions of what is to be counted as human. Prosthetic body members, a denaturalised mode of moving, as well as inarticulate sounds made by performers, all add to the posthuman character of her work. Moreover, her dancing and her dancers repeatedly and in various ways challenge binary conceptions of gender and sexual difference, positing their bodies as fluid performances of masculinities and femininities with which they often engage in playful interplay. In the next section, I will present Chouinard as a subject of queer intersemiotic translation, or *queeriture*.

3.1 Strategies

The term *queeriture* (deriving from “queer” and *écriture*) was coined in my presentation of different modes of feminist translation, in an attempt to trace the sequence of feminist translation in the early twenty-first century (Tsiakalou 2013). With this term, I refer to an incoherent set of translation and translational practices which embrace queer theory or third-wave feminism. They seem to be both influenced by and critical of second-wave feminist translation or (*ré*)*écriture au féminin*, directing gender theory critique towards essentialist theories of sexual difference and second-wave feminism. One central theoretical argument which supports queer theory is indeed that gender, and sex for that matter, are not given and prediscursive essences, or biological truths, but are rather performative. As Judith Butler puts it in her canonical work *Gender Trouble* (1990), gender is constructed in an iterative (repetitive) process which is concealed by the veil of naturalisation and which regulates gender and sexual identities at the same time. In the same vein, sex is always gendered, through discursive processes which are concealed so that sex is presented as “biological”, “natural”, or prediscursive; in other words, as a given reality which is not mediated by social and political biases. These processes

are controlled and supervised by dominant discourses and institutions, which are governed by and perpetuate heteronormativity (Butler 1990). The term *queeriture* denotes a non-unitary attempt to infiltrate translation practice and theory with the idea that sex and gender are discursively constructed. The main translation strategies mentioned by translation scholars which could be considered part of what I called *queeriture* include the translation of queer texts, such as gay, lesbian or trans* literature, and the rendering of camp language into the camp language of the target language (Tsiakalou 2013), the inversion of the text, as William Burton (2011) puts it, which means queering the translated text by means of highlighting heterosexist ideas implied in it, thus making a parody of it. *Queeriture* also includes translation seen as transcultural drag (Weißegger 2011: 165), that is, as a practice which welcomes a joyful interplay with gender and sexuality, as well as the unquestioned dominance of the source text over the target text, making use of grammar, vocabulary, register and other linguistic and cultural attributes.

3.2 *Le Sacre du printemps/Rite of Spring* (1993)

Why or how is Chouinard's choreographic rendering of *Rite of Spring* to be considered as an instance of *queeriture*, or intersemiotic queering translation?

First of all, Chouinard herself declared that her rendering does not include a linear narrative, a beginning or an end, "cause and effect".¹ Hence the narrative structure of the performance already reveals a deconstructive stance towards the myth of the Rite. Chouinard tears the story apart and keeps the atmosphere and the elements that fit her inspiration, practicing a deconstructive infidelity to the "original" text. This structuring of the piece can be seen as making it into a "most appropriating translation, in a most appropriate way" (Derrida 2001: 79), which, in Jacques Derrida's view is related to what makes a "relevant" or a "good translation", and a subversive one.

Moreover, in applying what William Burton names "inversion" (Burton 2011), Chouinard inverts a myth which is originally heteronormative and phallogocentric. This is achieved by means of dissolving the narration, as mentioned above, and by multiplying the featuring bodies in a rhizomatic way as well. Chouinard's staging features multiple roles instead of distinct choruses of men and women, as in more canonical renditions of the myth. What is more, the performance does not end with the sacrifice of one single girl, the chosen one, but it dissolves into a collective dance of all seven dancers. The myth is further inverted in Chouinard's staging by the inclusion of scenes in which male bodies join one another in dances with

1. www.mariechouinard.com, last access 6.06.2017.

intense sexual connotations. The fact that male co-existence is depicted as sexually charged, contributes to the queering of the *Rite* which constitutes an otherwise heteronormative myth.

Another very interesting aspect of Chouinard's *queeriture* is the appearance of dildos on stage, a practice which is seen in other choreographies by Chouinard as well. Judith Butler, in her essay "The Lesbian Phallus" (Butler 1993) questions the fact that male-identified persons are designated by dominant discourses such as psychoanalysis as bodies which rightfully and naturally "carry the phallus". She thereby deconstructs the notion of "having the phallus" and reveals the phallus's plasticity and transferability, two attributes of the denial on which the phallogocentric system is built. Chouinard builds on these two characteristics of the phallus by presenting both male and female bodies who carry dildos on them. Dildos, which can be seen as phallic references, are transferred in this performance in multiple ways. On the one hand, from time to time they appear on male bodies and then on female bodies. In this way, the idea that the phallus naturally and legitimately belongs to male-identified subjects is strongly challenged, along with essentialist conceptions of gender and sexual identities. On the other hand, the same objects that are used as phalli on stage are also used as horns or other kinds of body protrusions, such as wings. Thus, the phallus as the privileged signifier, or the generator of signification, is once again deconstructed, falling apart in the chains of signification which destabilize and haunt the metaphysics of presence and the hegemonic stability of meaning. Considering this addition in the specific staging as a translation strategy, this kind of handling of phalli echoes Roland Weißegger's transcultural drag (Weißegger 2011: 172). The conceptualisation of translation as transcultural drag points to the fact that when a text enters the process of translation and thus of transgressing cultural and semiotic boundaries, it actually "drags" the processes of identity construction into the light, as Weißegger describes it (Weißegger 2011: 176). Chouinard's rendition of *Rite of Spring* is an instance of *queeriture*, in that it disseminates queerness in a spectral way into a canonical heteronormative narrative.

4. Conclusion

Both performances demonstrate a deconstructive stance towards the original text, which is informed by the feminisms of their time and reflect the respective developments in translation and translation theory. Martha Graham's staging seems to premise the female need for social empowerment by underscoring patriarchal oppression. Marie Chouinard, on the other hand, holds a more fluid view on gender and deconstructs gender embodiments and relations. Thereby, in comparing them, one can see that *queeriture* or queer translation is both influenced by feminist

translation and clashing with it, in a way which is reminiscent of the development of queer theory or third-wave feminism on the basis of second-wave feminism.

The parallel lines drawn above between gender studies, translation studies and dance studies carry an aspiration to open more complex interdisciplinary approaches within those fields and many others. More precisely, I hope to have shown that both the theory and the practice of translation are saturated in the political. This means that the available conceptualisations about translation can be used as a tool for various political purposes. *Queeriture*, for instance, can be used as a means of resistance against heterosexist ideas and cultural practices which render homosexual, trans*, and other non-dominant bodies disposable and fatally precarious. Moreover, translation accrues as an inevitably constant practice in which humans engage during their cultural practices.

Finally, a question which has been constantly present in my mind, writing this article, is how dance, with its intensively bodily discourses, can fuel the discussion on queer conceptualisations of gender, without falling either into the trap of reducing subjectivity to an immaterial, exclusively discursive self, or into the even more dangerous trap of taking bodies and their limits for granted. In other words, the art of dance could serve as a means of depicting a variety of ways for one to be a human, a man or a woman and so on. Hence, the notion of the human can be made more hospitable to subjects who do not fit the prevailing representations, which is one of the stakes of contemporary queer movements.

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PART II

Texts and politics

Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Breve Relación de la Destrucción de Las Indias* (*Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*) (1552) in translation

The politics of linguistic and cultural appropriation

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Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies (1542), written by a Spanish Dominican friar, was among the most controversial texts of the sixteenth century. It aimed to expose atrocities committed by Spanish conquistadors against the native population of the New World and prompt a review of the abuse of human rights. Spain's Protestant enemies adapted it in translation into the so-called "Black Legend" of Spain as a colonial power, through which future generations would view Spain for centuries. A close reading of English, French and Dutch editions demonstrates how it was further misappropriated by Protestant powers to validate their own, similar, ambitions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as inverse images of those of their common enemy, Catholic Spain.

Keywords: Las Casas, Indies, conquest, colonisation, Black Legend, textual appropriation, political mediation, anti-Catholicism

1. *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552)

The Spanish Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) was unique among his contemporaries. He was both a dedicated Catholic missionary and arguably the most outspoken critic of Spanish colonialism in the New World, whose endeavours would lead to the eventual abolition of slavery in Central American territories. Las Casas sailed to the island of Hispaniola on Columbus' third voyage in 1502 and was ordained as a priest eight years later. In August 1514, after personally witnessing the oppression to which fellow conquistadors subjected the indigenous population in pursuit of material gain, he publicly denounced their mistreatment and was rewarded with the title "Protector of the Indians" by the Spanish Crown. Las Casas was drawn to enter the Dominican Order in 1522, where he felt he could best

serve as an advocate of justice for native serfs. He spent the next forty-two years of his life combining his pastoral role as an evangelizing friar in the New World with that of a powerful politician at the Spanish court, passionately defending the rights of the Amerindian community to retain their own property and be governed by their own rulers, rights which he believed had been usurped by the early Spanish settlers. In 1542 he wrote *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*) addressed to the future Spanish king, Philip II, to seek his support in reviewing colonial policy to ensure it was conducted without coercion or exploitation, while at the same time acknowledging the Spanish Crown's rights of sovereignty and spiritual charge over its pagan subjects. *Brief Account*, which drew upon his longer treatise, *History of the Indies*, was published ten years later emblazoned with the royal crest and seal of approval (Pagden 1992: xiii–xli).

Las Casas constructed his *Brief Account* in the testimonial style typical of the chroniclers and adventurers who had gone before him including Columbus and Cortés, incorporating a powerful moralising message. He set out in his own words “to make known to all Spain the true account and truthful understanding of what I have seen take place in this Indian Ocean”. He wrote, as he claimed, from the first-hand perspective of a witness to events and from this privileged position he sought to reveal the facts, including accounts of massacres of innocent people that were often concealed or falsified in the reports which royal officers in the Indies sent back to Spain. Although he personally witnessed atrocities in Cuba and travelled to Venezuela, Las Casas did not venture into areas such as Central Mexico and Peru where the worst atrocities occurred. Instead he relied on second-hand and arguably unreliable evidence which was readily accepted as trustworthy and turned into testimony. But for all the author's honourable intentions and the reputation his work acquired for its authenticity, *Brief Account* was a flawed discourse.

The reference to “destruction of the Indies” in the title of the work recalls the “destruction” of Spain by Arab invaders in 711, leading to a 700-year War of “Reconquest” by the Christians, culminating in their victory in 1492 – the year in which Columbus set sail on his first voyage of discovery of the New World. The implication of this analogy is that in the context of the Indies a role reversal had occurred: the Spanish conquistadors assumed the tyrannical role of their former adversaries, the Arab conquerors, while their pagan victims took on the part of submissive lambs. Las Casas conveyed his argument via a series of antithetical constructions or “double discourse” in which the goodness and innocence of the Indians is juxtaposed with the cruelty and violence of the Spanish conquerors (see Table 1). By equating Spaniards' behaviour to that of “barbarians” (a term usually used to describe those of non-Christian faith, uncivilised and without reason) and Indians' behaviour to that of gentle, innocent, peace-loving people, symbols of apostolic purity, he reversed a common stereotype and challenged Spaniards' perception of themselves in relation to others. In so doing, he overturned the theories traditionally used by Spanish theologians, politicians and lawyers to justify their spiritual and temporal conquest of the Americas, in particular

those to be found in the political writings of the Greek philosopher Aristotle and his theory of natural slavery which affirmed the innate inferiority of primitive civilizations (Pagden 1982: 27–56; Elliott 1989: 54–59). Las Casas engaged in a vigorous debate with the Aristotelian scholar Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda over the ethics of imperial conquest at the University of Valladolid in 1550 in which he defended the notion that “all the races of the world are men and the definition of all men, and of each of them, is only one and that is [he is of] reason” (Pagden 1982: 140; Hanke 1994). Such a radical shift in reading the roles of oppressors and victims turned *Brief Account* into a “revolutionary” work and Las Casas into an advocate of liberal values and a defender of human rights against aggressive imperialism far ahead of his time. However, if Las Casas hoped he might be able to turn the tide on hostile colonialism and restore the messianic purpose of the overseas mission through his *Brief Account*, he was mistaken. When it appeared in print in 1552, the destruction was irreversible.

Table 1. Comparative excerpts from preface of *Brief Account*: Spaniards as barbarians and Indians as innocent victims

Spanish (1552): *Breve relación de la destrucción de las Indias*

La causa porque han muerto y destruido tantas y tales y tan infinito número de ánimas los cristianos, ha sido solamnte por tener por su fin último el oro, y henchirse de riquezas en muy breves días, y subir á estados muy altos y sin proporción de sus personas, conviene á saber, por la insaciable codicia y ambición que han tenido, que ha sido mayor que en el mundo ser pudo, por ser aquellas tierras tan felices y tan ricas, y las gentes tan humildes, tan pacientes y tan fáciles a sujetarlas; á las cuales no han tenido mas respeto, ni de estas han hecho mas cuenta ni estima (hablo con verdad, por lo que sé y he visto todo el dicho tiempo) no digo de bestias, porque pluguiera á Dios que como á bestias las hubieran tratado y estimado; pero como y menos que esteircol de las plazas. Así han curado de sus vidas y de sus ánimas; y por esto todos los numerous y cuentos dichos han muerto sin fé y sin sacramentos. Y esta es una muy notoria y averguada verdad, que todos aunque sean los tiranos y matadores lo saben y la confiesan, que nunca los Indios de todas las Indias hicieron mal alguno a Cristianos; antes los tuvieron por venidos del cielo, hasta que primero muchas veces hubieron recibido ellos ó sus vecinos muchos males, robos, muertes, violencias y vejaciones de ellos mismos.

French (1579): *Tyrannies et cruautés perpétrées aux Indes Occidentales*

La cause por quoi les Espagnols ont détruit une telle infinité d'âmes a été seulement qu'ils ont tenu pour leur dernière fin et but l'or, et de s'enrichir en peu de temps, et monter d'un saut à des états très grands, nuellement convenables à leurs personnes. Et pour dire en un mot, la cause de ce a été leur avarice et ambition qui les ont saisiés, plus grandes qu'elles purraient être au monde, pour être ces terres tant heureuses et riches et les gens tan humbles, tant patients et faciles à être subjugués. Lesquels ils n'ont jamais respectés et n'en ont tenu compte, non plus (je parle à la vérité de ce que j'ai vu tout ledit temps que se m'y suis trouvé), je ne dis point que des bêtes (car plût à Dieu qu'ils les eussent traités et estimés comes des bêtes) mais moins que de la fiente des rues. Et ainsi est-ce qu'ils soigné de leurs vies et de leurs âmes. Et son ainsi morts tant de millions susdits, sans foi et sans sacraments. C'est chose toute veritable, et que tous, même aussi les tyrans, savent bien et confessant, que jamais les Indiens, parte toutes les Indes, d'ont fait aucun déplaisir aux Espagnols, mais plutôt qu'ils les ont tenues comme s'ils fussent venus du ciel, jusques à ce qu'eux, ou leurs voisins, ont reçu les premiers beaucoup de torts, étant dérobés, tués, forcés et tourmentés par eux.

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

English (1656): *The Tears of the Indians*

That which led the Spaniards to these unsanctified impieties was the desire of Gold, to make themselves suddenly rich, for the obtaining of dignities and honours which were no way fit for them. In a word, their covetousness, their ambition, which could not be more in any people under heaven, the riches, of the Country, and the patience of the people gave occasion to this devilish barbarism. For the Spaniards so contemned them (I now speak what I have seen without the least untruth) that they used them not like beasts, for what would have been tolerable, but looked upon them as if they had been but the dung and filth of the earth, and so little they regarded the health of their souls, that they suffered this great multitude to die without the least light of Religion; neither is this lesse true then what I have said before, and that which those tyrants and hangmen themselves dare not deny, without speaking a notorious falsehood that the Indians never gave them the least cause to offer them violence, but received them as Angels sent from heaven, till their excessive cruelties, the torments and slaughters of their Countrymen mov'd them to take Armes against the Spaniards.

The fundamental purpose of the discourse – to denounce the assaults and iniquitous behaviour of conquistadors in the most forthright and categorical way – was designed by Las Casas to appeal to the moral conscience of his readers. At the same time he unwittingly provided Spain's political and ideological enemies with precisely the propagandistic evidence they sought to vilify it for its intransigent colonial policy and condemn its bigotry as a nation, fuelling the notorious "Black Legend" that would remain synonymous with Spanish identity until the early twentieth century (Julián Juderías 2007; Gibson 1971). Translations of *Brief Account* soon appeared in print in English, French and Dutch and quickly became best sellers, running to many editions over the sixteenth century and beyond. (Fifteen editions were published in the Low Countries between 1578 and 1664, ten in France between 1579 and 1701 and twelve in England in the period up to 1700). A stereotypical image of the barbarity and intolerance that underpinned Spanish imperialism thus became impressed upon the minds of future generations of Europeans, who associated Spain's treatment of pagan civilisations in the New World with its imperial policies in the Old. The misrepresentations and exaggerations that Las Casas incorporated into his narrative to achieve maximum effect, were further intensified, not so much in the foreign translations themselves (which largely replicated the original text word for word: see Table 1) but via the use of provocative titles and the incorporation of subsidiary materials, including editors' prefaces and shocking illustrations of the violence perpetrated by conquistadors. *Brief Account* was misappropriated in translation by Spain's Protestant enemies and presented as didactic anti-Catholic history.

A close examination of ancillary features of early editions of *Brief Account* in translation, set against the prevailing historical backdrop, allows us to trace how Spain's political and ideological enemies appropriated Las Casas' arguments and

made use of them to validate their own religious policies and differentiate their overseas ventures. A defence of English colonial policy overseas provided the sub-text of the first English translation of 1583, entitled *The Spanish Colonie*. The Dutch translation of 1596 (*The Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the West Indies*) was republished in both French and Dutch in 1620 as *The Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands* – the shifting of the geographical context coinciding with a renewal of Dutch-Spanish hostilities in the Low Countries. In 1656 Oliver Cromwell commissioned a translation of Brief Account to justify English military action against Catholics in Ireland and Scotland. The new abbreviated title given to the work, *Tears of the Indians*, carried powerful emotive significance. By association, it reached out in sympathy to all Protestant victims of Catholic oppression, including the English. Via a study of these three editions, this article examines the appropriation of Las Casas' text by its foremost Protestant enemies to promote the colonial policies of their nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the interventionist role of the translator in reconstructing national and cultural identities.

2. *The Spanish Colonie* (1583)

The first English edition of Las Casas' text appeared in 1583 under the title of *The Spanish Colonie* or *Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the New Worlde* and is attributed anonymously to M.S.S. It followed quickly on from the first Dutch (1578) and French (1579) translations upon which it was based, both authored by the Fleming Jacques de Miggrode. *The Spanish colonie* went beyond being a straight forward translation of *Brief Account*. It includes a lengthy address "To the Reader", subtitled "Spanish cruelties and tyrannies perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly termed the new found worlde". It continues by referring to the work as "faithfully translated by James Aliggrodo" (most likely to be an English rendering of Jacques de Miggrode), confirming the common authorship and transmission of early editions via retranslation. The address alludes to its cautionary function "to serve as a President and warning to the xij. Provinces of the Lowe Countries" – a reference to Dutch Calvinist rebels who had been at war with Catholics in the southern Spanish Netherlands since 1568. The connection is made between the Amerindians and the Dutch as victims of Spanish oppression, oppression that gave the English cause for concern. The mediation of the English translation through both the French and Dutch versions thus link Spain's foremost ideological enemies who were also political rivals in their own claims to the New World. The author issues a God-given prophesy, "Happie is hee whome other mens harmes doe make to beware" and then continues by setting out Spain's wrongdoings, inviting the reader to join him in condemnation of their common adversary:

Gods judgements are so profound as mans wisdom, no not the power of Angels is able to enter into their depth. Thou shalt (friendly Reader) in this discourse behold so many millions of me[n] put to death, as hardly have there been so many Spaniardes procreated in this worlde since their firste fathers the Gothes inhabited their Countries, either since their second progenitors the Sarazens expelled and murdered the most part of the Gothes, as it seemeth that the Spaniardes have murdered and put to death in the Western Indies by all such meanes as barbarousnesse it selfe coulde imagine or forge upon the anueld of crueltie. They have destroyed thrise so much lande as christendome doth comprehend; such torments have they invented, yea so great and excessive have their treacherie been, that the posterite shall hardly thinke that ever so barbarous or cruell nation have bin in the worlde, if as you woulde say we had not with our eyes seene it, and with our hands felt it. I confesse that I never loved that nation generally, by reason of their intolerable pride, notwithstanding I can not but com[m]end and love sundry excellent persons that are among the[m]. Howbeit, God is my witnes, hatred procureth me not to write these things, as the author of the booke is by nation a Spaniard, and besides writeth farre more bitterly than my selfe. (The Spanish Colonie, 2–3)

To the Reader.

*Spanish cruelties and tyrannies, perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly termed.
The newe found worlde.*

*Briefly described in the Castilian language, by the
Bishop Tryer Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, a
Spaniarde of the order of Saint Dominick, faithfully translated by James Aligrodo, to serue as a
President and warning, to the xij, Prouinces of
the lowe Countries,*

*Happie is hee whom other mens barres doe make to
beware.*

Figure 1. Subtitle to *The Spanish Colonie*

Aligrodo adopts a personal role in his address to the “friendly reader”, similar to that of Las Casas as a witness to events, appealing to their judgement as “at one” with his own. He refers to the bloodshed and atrocities committed by Spaniards in the New World as beyond comparison with that perpetrated by the Arabs when

they expelled the Goths from Spain. The author of *The Spanish Colonie* engages in a collective condemnation of all Spaniards who by virtue of their despotic behaviour cannot be deemed Christians but tyrants, assuming the attributes of their former enemies the Moors whom they defeated in the Reconquest. While these accusations are indeed supported by Las Casas' own eyewitness report, we should remember that the Dominican friar never engaged in a universal denunciation of Spain and its people. He focused his criticism on the early conquistadors who abused pagan communities and plundered their wealth for their own material gain and whose anonymity is preserved in the text. Las Casas believed fundamentally in the concept of civility for which Spaniards were renowned and that the outrages committed in the New World dishonoured the whole Spanish nation. Aligrodo, along with other translators, chose to overlook this important purpose of *Brief Account*, since it did not serve their anti-Catholic, anti-Hispanic objectives. Instead Aligrodo redeploys Las Casas' arguments as a means of taking repressive action against all that Spain represented. *The Spanish Colonie* was used as political propaganda to enlist the English in the naval campaign that five years after its publication would result in the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). The text was later exploited by Sir Walter Raleigh to reinforce opposition to Spain and help to secure financial support for his colonisation ventures in the Americas (Shaskan Bumás 2000: 113–115; Hart 2013: 48–50; Sauer 2006: 278).

3. *Le miroir de la tyrannie Espagnole perpetrée aux Indes Occidentales* (1620)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the conquest of the Indies and the years of oppression of the native population that followed were exploited by the Dutch as a point of comparison with their own armed struggle with Spain over the religious identity of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The tyranny and bloodshed perpetrated by the Duke of Alba, one of Philip II's most notorious military commanders in the Netherlands (1567–1573), to counteract the advance of Protestantism in the northern Low Countries, intensified Dutch hatred of Spain. William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch revolt against Spain from 1572, addressed an *Apology* to the States General of the Netherlands in 1580 in which he made ample use of Las Casas' *Brief Account*. By attributing the worst atrocities to Spanish conquistadors, he gave support to the notion that the Dutch would suffer a similar fate to that of native Indians, if forced to submit to Spanish rule:

I have seene (my Lordes) their doings, I have hearde their wordes, I have bin a witnes of their advise, by which they adiudged all you to death, making no more account of you, than of beastes, if they had had the power to have murdered you, as they do in the Indies, where they have miserablie put to death, more than twentie millions of people, and have made desolate and waste, thirtie tymes as much lande

in quantitie and greatnes, as the lowe countrie is, with such horrible excesses and ryottes, that all the barbarousnesses, cruelties, and tyrannies, whiche have ever bin committed, are but sport, in respect of that, which hath fallen out upon the poore Indians. (Wansink 1969: 58–59)

Two translations of *Brief Account* were published in French and Dutch in Amsterdam in 1620, edited by Jean Everhardts (Johannes) Cloppenburg (1592–1652). Cloppenburg was a Dutch Calvinist preacher who also published Bibles and religious tracts associated with the Dutch Reformed Church. Some versions of the text included two accounts with different titles. One referred to Spanish atrocities in the Low Countries (*Le miroir de la cruelle, et horrible tyrannie Espagnole perpetrée au Pays Bas, par le tyran Duc de Albe, et aultres cõmandeurs de par le Roy Philipppe le deuxième*), accompanied by a 90-page condemnatory commentary. The other referred to the devastation Spaniards had wrought upon the Indies (*Le miroir de la tyrannie Espagnole perpetrée aux Indes Occidentales*) and was followed by a translation of Las Casas' work. The inherent messages of the text are conveyed graphically on the title page in each case. Alongside the title (set in an mirror-edged opening), three figures are depicted: the king of Spain, Philip II, who presides over events from a central position above inside an oval mirror, with Don Jan (Cloppenburg) representing Dutch subjects to the left, set opposite the Duke of Alba representing Spanish military prowess to the right. Cloppenburg uses mirror images to take the place of words to reinforce the idea of Spaniards bringing war and oppression to Dutch Protestants under the same pretext they used to tyrannize the natives of the Indies a century earlier. Other Dutch, French and English translators used this identical strategy of reading Las Casas not just as a censorship of Spain's actions in the New World but as a foreshadow for what Spaniards might do in the Old World (Shaskan Bumás 2000: 116–117).

The two frontispieces also include adaptations of copper plate images by the Dutch engraver Theodore De Bry (1528–1598), showing the destruction inflicted by Spaniards on Dutch rebels rather than on their Indian subjects. The images originally appeared in 1565 as illustrations to the *History of the New World* (*Historia del Mondo Nuovo*) by the Italian traveller Girolamo Benzoni. In 1598 De Bry published an illustrated version of *Brief Account*, including a selection of horrific depictions of the maltreatment of the indigenous population by the conquistadors. The images were widely circulated and thereafter became a standard adjunct to the text. Spanish abuses (or exaggerated versions of them), added to the marketing value of the translation and the advancement of the Protestant agenda at the time of early English exploration and colonisation of the New World. When *Brief Account* was republished in later centuries with the same illustrations, the implication was that the Spanish reputation for brutality had remained unchanged since the time of the American conquests.



Figure 2. First title page to *Le miroir de la cruelle et horrible tyrannie Espagnole*

In the preface to the reader (“Au Lecteur Salut”), Cloppenburg draws upon Spain’s reputation as a conqueror of pagan, idolatrous nations extending beyond the New World into the context of Europe, rallying Spain’s enemies to be on their guard against their tyrannous behaviour, self-justified under the pretext of religion:

mon sujet sera la guerre, et les Tyrannies perpetrees au Pays bas par les Espagnols en peu d’anees, soubz la pretexte de changement de la Religions: Devant cert ans only ilz fait les mesmes aux Indes, comme vous verrez icy apres, disants que les inhabitants estoyent Payens, idololatres, invoquers de Diabls, gens inhonestes, et sans raison: tout le mesme ont ilz pratique en ces terres. (*Le miroir*, 1)

A recurring model of vindictive action taken by Spain against innocent individuals is identified and the pedagogical purpose of Cloppenburg's work – to warn of the consequences for his own countrymen – is confirmed: “à fin que chacun sache en quelle sorte ilz on maniez avec les gens innocents et benins ... et avertir le malheur lequell il voudrait envoier sur nous.” (*Le miroir*, 2–3). Until the circulation of Las Casas' *Brief Account*, the atrocities committed in the Indies had barely received attention outside the New World. When the bloodshed was transferred to the Low Countries it brought a new sense of urgency and responsibility to European nations to take up arms and respond. The reading of the two sides of the mirror was therefore a rallying call to action. Cloppenburg ends the introduction with a dramatic appeal to the reader to acknowledge the peril posed and defeat these tyrants in battle: “Je te prie Lecteur, de le lire, et relire, à fin que tu puisses fuir la Tyrannie et prendre des armes contre tels Tyrans, voulants tyranniser par tout” (*Le miroir*, 4). The mounting of resistance to Catholic Spain would serve a dual function: to liberate the Indians from their tormentor and allow Protestant nations to regain the political initiative. Cloppenburg's French and Dutch editions of *Brief Account* of 1620 mark an important juncture in the history of its translation as it appropriated one cause for the sake of another (Shaskan Bumás 2000: 117).

4. *The Tears of the Indians* (1656)

In 1656 an English translation of Las Casas' text was published under the inflammatory title, “*The Tears of the Indians Being an Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of Above Twenty Millions of Innocent People, Committed by the Spaniards in the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica to the Total Destruction of Those Countries.* [W]ritten in Spanish by Casaus, an eye-witness of those things; and made English by J. P.” The initials are those of John Phillips, nephew to Oliver Cromwell, then Protector of England, Ireland and Scotland (1653–1658). An immediate exaggeration is evident in the title: Las Casas refers to 12 to 15 million deaths of innocent Indians. Phillips refers to 20 million, raised to 50 million in the narrative. The text also had a subsidiary title that appears on the adjacent title page: *The Tears of the Indians or Inquisition of Bloud: being the Relation of the Spanish Massacre in those parts.* The reframing of the title draws an immediate association between the persecution of the natives and that inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition on racial and religious minorities, extending the argument of the narrative beyond its original ambit. In the same year as the text's publication, Cromwell delivered a speech to Parliament in which he attacked Spaniards for their imperialism, cruelty and intransigence, reasons which justified the English attack on Spanish colonies in the West Indies (Gibson 1971: 54–62). *Tears of the Indians* served as a pretext for Phillips (on

behalf of his uncle) to engage in a wholesale condemnation of Spain as a nation, with Indians symbolising all peoples oppressed by its foreign and domestic policies (Sauer 2006: 279–280).

Phillips' translation begins with a "Dedicatory" addressed to his uncle in which he praises Cromwell for his victories over Catholics. This takes the place of the address to Crown Prince Philip, with which Las Casas commences *Brief Account* (Valdeón 2012: 845–847). An 18–page appeal to "All true Englishmen" then follows which allows Phillips to set out his agenda: to depict Spaniards as idolaters who, under the guise of Christianising the native Amerindian population, in practice acted more brutally than the Moors who conquered Spain; by extension, to equate the Amerindians to English Puritans and so validate Cromwell's attacks on Catholics in both Ireland and Scotland. *Tears of the Indians* becomes a battle cry in which religious motivation is employed to subtly disguise political and economic intent. "All true Englishmen" are urged to examine their consciences and register their support for the war against SPANIARDS (emphatic capitalisation) – effectively a war against Catholicism and Spanish imperialism. Phillips employs persuasive rhetoric to promote English intervention in Europe (later extended to the Americas):

To all true English-men. Never had we so just cause to exclaim in the words of the Prophet Jeremiah; O that our heads were waters, and our eyes fountains of tears, that we might weep for the Effusion of so much Innocent Blood which provoked these sad Relations of devout Causus, by reason of the Slaughters and Butcheries of the Jesuitical Spaniards, perpetrated upon so many Millions of poor innocent Heathens, who having onely the light of Nature, not knowing their Saviour Jesus Christ, were sacrificed to the Politick Interest and Avarice of the wicked Spaniards. The blood of Ireland, spilt by the same Faction, in comparison of these Massacres, was but a drop in the Ocean. (a1–a2)

Consider this, moreover, That we are not now to fight against your Country-Men, but against your Old and Constant Enemies, the SPANIARDS, a Proud, Deceitful, Cruel and Treacherous Nation, whose chiefest Aim hath been the Conquest of this Land, and to enslave the People of this Nation; witness those Invasions in the days of Queen ELIZABETH. (b3–b4)

Neither need we to fear the Vaunts of the Spanish Monarch, whose Government stands not on those strong Foundations that you imagine; Blood and Tyrannie being the chief Pillars of his Greatness, or rather, his Arcana Imperii; his Empire one strong in this, That the Weakness thereof have not yet been well looked into. Should we chase him from his Indian Treasures, he would soon retire to his Shell like a Snail tapt up on the horns. And perhaps it would not a little avail to the General Peace of Europe, whereby we would be strengthened against the Common Enemy of Christianie. (b5–b6)

The text incorporates four horrific images (copies of those used by De Bry) that appear adjacent to the title page and at strategic points within the narrative. De Bry based the originals upon selective elements of Las Casas' commentary which, as we have seen, was itself partly drawn from unverified descriptions of atrocities, subsequently embellished by myth and propaganda. For Protestant observers, they served as visual confirmation of the worst form of depravity perpetrated by the conquistadors against innocent individuals and graphically confirm the tone and bias of the narrative.

In image 1 of Figure 3 (top left), an Indian is being grilled alive on a griddle raised on pitchforks above a fire which is being stoked up by Spaniards (*Short Account* 1992, Hispaniola, 15). In Figure 2 (top right), five natives (thirteen in the original image) can be seen strung up naked, while their bodies are set alight from below (*Short Account* 1992, Hispaniola, 15). Figure 3 (bottom left), depicts a human abattoir run by Spaniards in which children are being slaughtered, and dismembered body parts are being sold to Indians. In later versions, roles are reversed and the Spaniards become the cannibals, devouring their Indian victims (*Short Account* 1992, Guatemala, 65). In Image 4 (bottom right), a straw building is being set alight by Spaniards and those inside burned alive, with the exception of an Indian princess who has been hung from a tree out of respect and compassion (*Short Account* 1992, Hispaniola, 22; Shaskan Bumas 2000: 122–123). Recent research has brought to our attention the non-exclusivity of such acts of brutality committed by Spaniards, acknowledged by De Bry himself, who also incorporated images of the retribution exacted by native Amerindians on their oppressors in his *Great Voyages* – less well publicised since they did not serve the needs of Protestant propaganda (Gravatt 2007: 235–243; Valdeón 2014: 16–17).

Tears of the Indians soon became a symbolic reference point that served a multiplicity of purposes. From its starting point as indicative of the torment perpetrated by Spanish conquistadors on innocent Amerindians, it became a means of exacting retribution on Spain as a nation for the extension of its repressive religious policy to northern Europe, and beyond that an indictment of all Catholics as enemies of “all true Englishmen”. In the course of time, its argument was further recast to construct a positive image of England as a colonising nation in contrast to Spain's tyrannous rule as an imperial power.

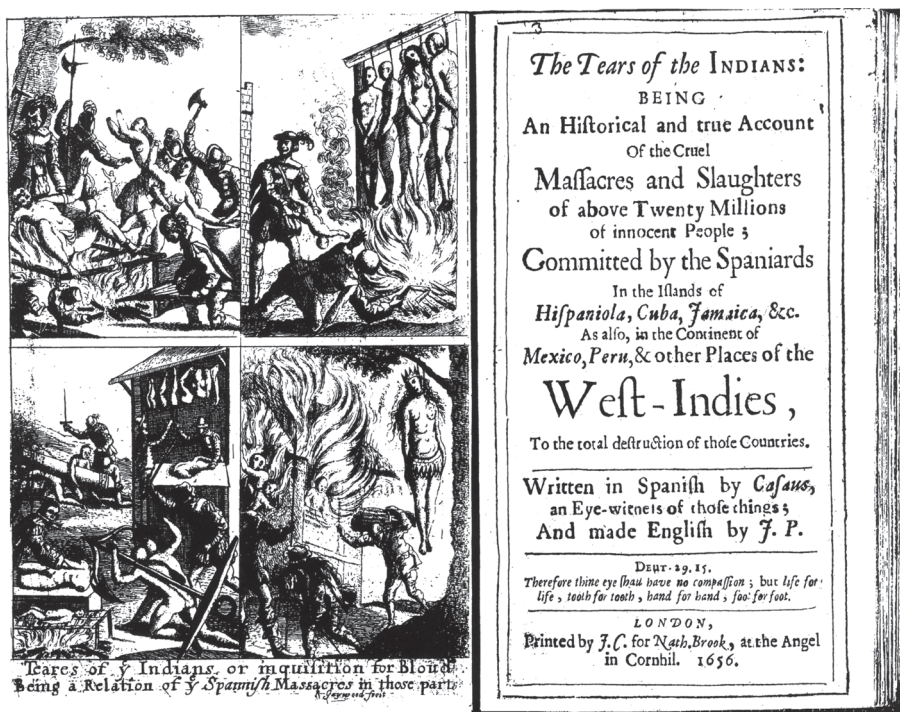


Figure 3. Title pages to *The Tears of the Indians*

5. Conclusion

Let us remind ourselves of Las Casas' objective: to bring the atrocities committed by early conquerors to the attention of the Spanish crown so as to effect a change in colonial policy, not to condemn the missionary enterprise per se. By distorting this purpose, Spain's English, French and Dutch Protestant enemies in their translations of *Brief Account* created a myth about its empire and identity, embodied in the Black Legend, that has endured to this day, while at the same time providing a justification for themselves to claim the moral high ground and build their own "superior" overseas empires, disguising their real political ambition. So successful was *The Tears of the Indians* in particular, that it still figures prominently in internet engine searches for English translations of Las Casas' text, its appropriation of the original narrative hidden to those with no knowledge of the Spanish language (Valdeón 2012: 857–858).

In this article, I have tried to show how the misappropriation of this key cultural text in translation by early Protestant writers in particular, beyond being simply a linguistic and inter-semiotic exercise, intersects with political mediation and cultural transfer to promote the making of their own empires and the unmaking of that of their common enemy.

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Have English translations of Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*, an icon of German culture, been affected by the changing relationship between Germany and Britain in the twentieth century?

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To some, the message of *The Ring of the Nibelung* is that love and sacrifice can redeem the world; for others, like G.B. Shaw¹, it is a capitalist drama. For many, the *Ring* is quintessentially German, for others, its mythic themes are universal. Its Germanness is examined in this article in terms of nationalism expressed as a dialectic between German and non-German, specifically Jews. I address the debate of whether or not Wagner's anti-Semitism is evident in the libretto and music of the *Ring* and discuss whether translators, working before and after the two World Wars, have censored or adjusted Wagner's language for present-day tastes. I conclude that any interpretation of the *Ring* as anti-Semitic does not appear to have influenced the translation choices of post-war translators.

Key words: Wagner, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, cultural and aesthetic nationalism

1. Performance and Translation History

The Ring of the Nibelung (hereafter the *Ring*) premiered² in Wagner's purpose-built theatre in Bayreuth in 1876. It was first performed in Britain in 1882 at Her Majesty's Theatre, London by the Richard Wagner Opera Company (Carnegy 2006: 127), where it was sung in German and received "without enthusiasm" ("The Nibelung's

1. *The perfect Wagnerite: a commentary on the Niblung's Ring* George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), London, Constable, 1913, 3rd edition.

2. Individual operas had premiered elsewhere and at an earlier date. This was the premiere of the opera as a tetralogy over four days.

Ring,” 1882) partly because of “the excessive labour required for its intelligent and complete appreciation” (“The Nibelung’s Ring’ at Her Majesty’s Theatre,” 1882). Another ten years passed before it was performed again, in German, by the Hamburg Opera Company under the baton of Gustav Mahler at what is now the Royal Opera House (ROH), Covent Garden (“Performance Database Götterdämmerung,” n.d.). It was part of its first German season and its popularity meant that supplementary performances were given at Drury Lane Theatre (“German Opera,” 1892).

The first English language performances of the *Ring* (*The Valkyrie* and *Siegfried*) were given at the ROH in 1895, 1902 and 1903 respectively. The translation was by Henrietta and Frederick Corder (1882). In 1908, Covent Garden staged the first English *Ring* cycle, repeated in 1909, which used a new translation by Frederick Jameson (1899–1904)³. For Covent Garden, a foreign opera in English was very unusual and English language performances of the *Ring* were restricted to the autumn and winter seasons when it was usual to stage productions at “popular prices” and when evening dress was not required (Rodmell, 2016: 21). The main season, called the “grand season”, ran from April to late July and featured opera in its original language (mainly Italian). Although plans were made for English language productions of the *Ring* to be given in the grand season (ibid.: 92), this never materialised (see Snelson, 2006, p164ff).

There is evidence to suggest that *Ring* cycles were also sung in English at the Old Vic in the early twentieth century (Rowell 1993: 107), but it is unknown which translations were used.

The advent of war in 1914 ended English and German performances of the *Ring* at Covent Garden until 1921. Despite the hostilities with Germany, Wagner’s appeal was not affected and the *Ring* was “looked forward to eagerly by everyone” (Newman, 1922), however, until the autumn of 1924, *Ring* operas were produced by indigenous companies and sung in English. The Carl Rosa Company performed in the 1921 season but the following seasons featured the newly formed British National Opera Company (BNO), which it was hoped would forge a national operatic culture (Rodmell 2016: 333) that had never before existed in Britain. There was, however, a more practical reason why English was sung; visa restrictions, in place until 1923, prohibited German companies and performers from coming to Britain. English language *Rings* at Covent Garden were abandoned by the autumn of 1924 and the BNO moved to His Majesty’s Theatre whilst what was referred to by

3. Now published by Schirmer (Jameson, Wagner, & Klindworth, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). Dates are not provided, only edition numbers. Originally published by Schott as bilingual German-English and trilingual German-English-French vocal scores between 1899 and 1904 (information from Catalogues of British Library holdings).

one critic as “the real thing” (Hussey, 1924), that is opera in a foreign language, with foreign performers and a foreign conductor (*ibid.*), returned to Covent Garden.

Performances of the *Ring* in German continued at Covent Garden with two or three cycles almost every year until the outbreak of war in 1939. When the *Ring* returned in 1948, it was again initially performed in English, however, the following year saw the return of German, which has been the language of performance ever since with the exception of the 1986 season when the Welsh National Opera performed it in English. English language productions since that time have only been given at the ENO, starting with *The Valkyrie* in January 1970 (Porter 1977: xix).

Two other metrical English translations⁴ exist from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but they have no documented evidence of being performed. The first was by Alfred Forman, published in 1877 (2012), which he claimed had been “approved” by Wagner (*ibid.*: 66). It verges on the incomprehensible in its attempt to reproduce the alliterative verse of the original (which, strictly speaking it does not do). Newman’s translation (1910–14), published by Breitkopf & Härtel as vocal scores (see e.g. Newman, 1914), was timed to coincide with the centenary celebrations of Wagner’s birth. There is no evidence, such as newspaper articles, to suggest it was performed in London, though it is possible it was used by touring and provincial companies. No doubt, the efforts made in the late Victorian and Edwardian period to establish opera sung in English had encouraged translations of the *Ring* and the only vocal scores with English text were published in this period (those by the Corders in 1882, Jameson in 1899–1904 and Newman in 1910–1914). However, with little public demand for English language opera after 1924, a new singing translation of the *Ring* was not produced again until the English National Opera’s first English *Ring* cycles in 1970–73⁵. The translation, by Porter (1977), was also sung at the Seattle Opera’s English *Ring* cycles between 1975 and 1983.

In the late 1990s a new metrical translation was published by Rudolf Sabor (e.g. 1997a, 1997b) but there is no evidence to suggest it has ever been performed. Indeed, a singer would find it difficult to sing since it follows the metre of the verse more closely than that of the music. The most recent translation of the *Ring*, by Jeremy Sams, was created for a new ENO production staged between 2001–2005.

4. It is only possible to speak of translations that have been published either as libretti or as vocal scores. There may be other translations in the archives of whichever opera house or company commissioned them.

5. A metrical translation was published by Stewart Robb in America (1960) but there is no evidence to suggest it has ever been performed. Its vocabulary ranges from colloquialisms that include Mime “fixing” soup for Siegfried and Waltraute asking Brünnhilde “Have you gone crazy?”, to elevated language like “Frolic, good fellows” and “He blows a rollicking horn” as well as archaisms like “Wish-maid”, “lot-chooser”, and “hest”.

It has not been published but the dramatic licensing agency, Josef Weinberger, will loan the vocal scores for a fee to groups and societies for performance.

Given the large gap between Newman's 1914 translation and that of Porter in 1970 (1977), it will be interesting to compare the latter with the most successful pre-First World War translations by Jameson and the Corders, and particularly to see whether Porter's translation may approach certain passages of the original in a different manner, being mindful of Wagner's anti-Semitism seen through the lens of the Holocaust. My analysis will therefore consider whether late twentieth century sensibilities have influenced Porter's treatment of certain passages that have been interpreted by some as veiled anti-Semitism.

2. Wagner's *Ring* and anti-Semitism

In the early 19th century, Germany was a Confederation of small states in search of national unity. Language in particular acquired special significance as a marker of nationality and came to symbolize a common northern heritage, a sense of historical continuity and through its expression in literature, gave credence to new cultural memories and national narratives (Benes 2008: 115–116). German philological research by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) and Jacob Grimm (1785–1865), among others, delved into the past of the German language and through the myths and literature of the German Middle Ages sought to establish a common cultural heritage. It was in this context that the *Nibelungenlied* (*NL*), written by an anonymous poet around 1200, and rediscovered in the eighteenth century, was hailed as a German *Iliad* and gained the status of an unofficial national epic (E. Magee 1990: 3).

Wagner found in the *NL* and other Germanic literature of the Middle Ages a so-called pure German past upon which to create a German cultural identity for a modern German unity. In the *Ring*, Wagner took this borrowed heritage and created a myth "that would serve German nationalism" (Bohlman 2004: 185). The importance of Wagner's contribution to a new awareness of national identity was recognised by contemporaries who admired how operas like *Die Meistersinger* and the *Ring* would bring the nation to "full consciousness of itself" and of its "inherent solidarity" (Nohl 1869: 459). According to Peter Cornelius, composer, musicologist and friend of Wagner, the "Wagner matter is inseparable from the German matter" (cited in Newman 1937: 145).

However, whilst the German *NL* might have initially inspired him and indeed the final opera, *Götterdämmerung*, is largely based on it, most of the material for the *Ring* comes from Old Norse sources (Björnsson 2003: 7). Wagner, like many Germanists and philologists, looked back to these much older versions of the *NL*,

which had been discussed widely in German scholarly circles when translated into German in the early nineteenth century. The language of the *Ring*, its verse form and ultimately its musical composition is largely a result of Wagner's fascination with these sources. Wagner believed that the alliterative verse (*Stabreim*) and archaic language of the Old Norse *Poetic Edda* evoked early Germanic man in such a way as to bring his audience face to face with their earliest selves (Lindenberger 1998: 141). He theorised at length in *Oper und Drama* (Wagner 1852/1914: 127ff) about how the sounds and rhythms of alliterative verse spoke most authentically of and for the *Volk*; it was a direct channel back to their origins as well as speaking most directly to their emotions.

The essence of Germanness, the unique national characteristics captured in the *Ring*, are idealizations of loyalty, honour, strength, courage and a contempt for or fearlessness of death. Most of these can also be found in the myths and legends of other cultures like that of King Arthur in England. What makes Wagner's myths different is the focus on blood, race and particularly racial purity. The hero Siegfried is racially pure, the progeny of incestuous love between the Völsung twins Siegmund and Sieglinde, whilst the anti-hero, Hagen, the catalyst to the final destruction of the world and Valhalla, is born of the unnatural coupling of Alberich, the Nibelung dwarf, and Grimhild, the queen of the Gibichungs either by force or for money. Wagner's definition of Germanness is expressed in dialectical terms like this throughout the *Ring* and especially through the relationship between Siegfried and Mime. The former ostensibly symbolising what is German and the latter what is not.

Nationalism often tends to operate in terms of an "other" and in mid-nineteenth century Germany, one might have expected the "other" to be French, especially in Wagner's case. Early in his career, he had hoped to find success in Paris, the "world capital of modern civilization" and "metropolis of thought" (B. Magee 2000: 72), but had failed to do so. According to Bryan Magee, his failures kindled a neurosis, in which a conspiracy between the predominantly Jewish publishers and journalists prevented his talent from succeeding (2000: 345) and forced him to abase himself to the highly successful Meyerbeer and Halevy to obtain menial copying work. Wagner's nascent anti-Semitism was shaped by a growing anti-Semitism across Europe in the nineteenth century which "crisscrossed social, political and intellectual lines" (Cohen 2011: 57) and by many strands of German revolutionary tradition, especially the Young Hegelians who saw the Jews as the embodiment of all that was wrong with the modern world (Rose 1992: 39). It is evident in Wagner's writings that he was less concerned about the Jewish religion than the modern urban Jew, the critic, businessman, lawyer and banker (Grey 2009: 179). Thus, it was not the French, but the Jews, who became Wagner's "other".

Wagner's first anti-Semitic outburst was in the essay, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*⁶ (hereafter *Judenthum*), published under the pseudonym K. Freigedank (K. Freethought) in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1850. He reprinted it in 1869, just before German unification, under his own name and with a postscript, and eventually included it in the fifth volume of *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (1850/1872). *Judenthum* repeats what for the time were unoriginal, anti-Semitic claims but it stood out in its directness and vehemence, to which Wagner himself alludes in the introduction (1850/1872: 85).

Its central thesis concerns race and creativity. In order to be creative an artist must have an historical relationship to his land, language, and culture. Jews, as outsiders, lack this relationship and can at best only imitate not create. Wagner declares that it is only with respect to art, especially music, that he seeks to explain the popular dislike (1850/1872: 85) of the Jewish nature⁷. Religious and political matters are of no concern to him (*ibid.*) yet the essay reveals itself as an attack against the Jewish control of capital and its "destructive effect ... on the affairs of art" (Grey 2008: 207) with envious reference to the financial success of Jewish composers in particular⁸. Wagner speaks of Meyerbeer as endangering German art through the commercialisation of culture and appealing to the bourgeois "masses" (1850/1872: 104) and of Mendelssohn's music as a clear example of Jewish music which despite the composer's immense talents is unable to speak to the heart (*ibid.*: 100). Some see this essay as essentially an expression of personal resentment and envy (Katz 1986: 29; Rose 1992: 36ff.).

The most alienating feature of Jews, even those assimilated over generations, Wagner writes, is their speech (1850/1872: 90ff). Jewish speech is described as foreign and unpleasant because when Jews speak, the sounds are shrill, hissing, droning and mumbled and the structure of phrases is twisted and jumbled (*ibid.*). He even berates Jewish singing as heard in the Synagogue (*ibid.*: 97) and attributes the peculiarities of Jewish speech and song to the Jew's physiology (*ibid.*: 95). Toward the end of the essay, Wagner speaks of the necessity of "Selbstvernichtung" (self-extinction) and "Untergang" (self-annihilation) (*ibid.*: 109) as the only means by which the Jew and "wir" (we) can become "einig und ununterschieden" (one and undifferentiated) (*ibid.*).

6. Jewishness or Judaism in Music

7. Throughout the essay, Wagner does not mention Germans but speaks of 'we' as if encompassing all non-Jews anywhere in the world.

8. His main target was Meyerbeer, whom he never mentions by name, calling him simply a famous opera composer (Wagner 1872: 103)

The evidence of *Judenthum* (1850), other essays such as *Was ist Deutsch?*⁹ (1878) and *Erkenne dich selbst*¹⁰ (1881), Wagner's personal correspondence (Millington & Spencer, 1987; R. Wagner, Uhlig, Fischer, & Heine, 1890), his biography (Wagner, 1911a, 1911b, 1911c, 1911d) and entries in the diary of Cosima Wagner (1978, 1980), makes Wagner's anti-Semitism undeniable. However, opinion is split as to whether or not it is evident in the operas. The "paradigms of aesthetic autonomy" that dominated the early post-World War II generation, discouraged Wagner scholars from paying "attention" to his "notorious anti-Semitism" (Grey 2008: 203), which led to the current widely shared opinion that Wagner's works are free from his anti-Semitism, thus justifying performances of the operas around the world (with the exception of Israel where an informal ban remains). However, this view has been challenged in recent decades.

Anti-Semitism in the *Ring*?

The first scholar to suggest that anti-Semitic references are evident in Wagner's operas, in particular, the *Ring*, was Theodor Adorno (1952/1981)¹¹. It took several more years before Adorno's claims were explored further, and in English, by Robert Gutman (1968). More recently Zelinsky (1976, 1978), Rose (1992), Weiner (1997), Nattiez (1993) and Millington (see for example 1991; 1996), among others, have made Wagner's anti-Semitism their central theme.

According to Adorno (1952/1981: 13), the "rejects" in Wagner's *Ring*, Alberich and Mime, are "caricatures" meant to "stir up ... the German hatred of the Jews" (ibid.: 13). He asserts that Wagner's anti-Semitism is operative in the way certain characters look, sing, and move. He particularly calls attention to the relationship between Wagner's description of Jewish speech (in terms of sounds) and the music which Alberich and Mime are given to sing in the operas (ibid.: 13).

In the post-war years, Gutman made similar claims that the "perverse Nibelungs" speak "a kind of Jewish-German" and "gesticulate in a manner" that Wagner "held to be characteristically Semitic" (1968: 235). Gutman was the first to claim that Wagner's anti-Semitism had a direct influence on Adolf Hitler, though recent scholarship has judged his comparison "perverse" (Brener 2006: 290) arguing that Wagner's cultural anti-Semitism, which saw the rise of Jewish culture and society as a corrupting

9. What is German?

10. Know thyself.

11. Written in 1937–8 but first published in 1952. Adorno lived in exile in Britain and the USA between 1934 and 1951.

influence on nineteenth century society (Lindemann 2014: 143), was of a “different stamp to Hitler’s” (B. Magee 2000: 362) racial-biological anti-semitism. However, in the year of the hundredth anniversary of the first *Ring* cycle at Bayreuth¹², Zelinsky supported Gutman’s argument (1976) in the first important German publication to suggest that the anti-Semitic content of Wagner’s works directly influenced Hitler and the National Socialists (Günther 2012: 45). Although many notable Wagner scholars have rejected Zelinsky’s thesis (ibid: 48) because it focusses primarily on *Parsifal*, offers no concrete examples from the operas, and relies solely on Wagner’s ideology as expressed in his prose writings (ibid.), Rose, like Gutman, is convinced that Wagner has some responsibility for the political uses made of his music by the Nazis. He describes the *Ring* as “profoundly antisemitic” because any “allegory of capitalism” in the context of nineteenth century revolutionary ideology “must imply an antagonism to Judaism”, which Rose declares “was evident to contemporary German audiences” (1992: 69). Rose argues that even if Wagner did not deliberately introduce his racist theories into the *Ring* it does not mean it is free of racist content (ibid.). Unfortunately, Rose does not produce any evidence of the German reception of the *Ring* to validate his claim, and his thesis relies on Wagner’s polemical works rather than evidence from the musical works themselves. According to Vaget, ninety per cent of Rose’s book is devoted to Wagner’s “political and meta-political utterances, only some 10% to the operas” (1993: 223).

Weiner (1997: 13) also finds that Wagner’s anti-Semitic prejudices are expressed through the way that the body is used to differentiate Mime and Alberich from others, especially Siegfried (ibid.: 22). This, he contends, is evident through the intonation and rhythm of speech (ibid.: 103ff.) and through the gestures and gait that impersonate known nineteenth century Jewish stereotypes (ibid.: 261ff). Weiner, like Rose, claims that most people in Wagner’s time understood, if not consciously then subliminally, that Wagner intended the Nibelung dwarves as anti-Semitic representations, (1997: 347), but this is in the face of a “striking absence of any significant public discourse on anti-Semitic elements in Wagner’s operas in his

12. Co-incidentally, the Boulez/Chereau anniversary production of the *Ring* was the first post-war production to bring Mime as a Jewish caricature to the stage, to demonstrate what Wagner really wanted, according to Boulez and to avoid sweeping Wagner’s anti-Semitism, as revealed in his works, under the carpet (stated in an interview by Chereau and cited in Günther 2012: 45). Chereau and Boulez, the conductor, claimed they wanted to create a centenary *Ring* that did not attempt to “clean up Wagner” (Nattiez 1992: 90). Chereau’s Jewish interpretation of Mime seems to have fallen short, however, as most reviewers hardly mention the Jewish caricature, seeing the characterisation as merely comic or slapstick (see e.g. Schonberg 1976). Chereau and Boulez, the conductor, claimed they wanted to create a centenary *Ring* that did not attempt to “clean up Wagner” (Nattiez 1992: 90).

own day” (Grey 1996: 186). Neither Weiner nor Rose produces “concrete examples of contemporary audiences reading anti-Semitic messages in Wagner’s works” (ibid.: 195). However, according to Millington, since Wagner relied on “subliminal suggestion”, it can hardly be expected that proof will emerge that audiences “picked up... these resonances” (1996: 8).

The views of Weiner, Rose and others have aroused vehement opposition from established Wagner scholars determined to defend, if not the man, then his works from any accusation that they communicate hateful anti-Semitic ideology, which directly influenced the development of National Socialism. According to Owen Lee it has “not yet been demonstrated that the operas are anti-Semitic” and he doubts it ever will or can be proven (1999: 46). Some are adamant that there is “not a single trace” of anti-Semitism in the operas (Borchmeyer 1992: 184), that the *Ring* is no mouthpiece for anti-Semitism because if Wagner had wanted to propagandise his beliefs they would not have remained sub-textual and subliminal (2000: 83). According to Borchmeyer, Wagner would have had no reason to “encode his anti-semitism”, which was not a taboo subject at the time and on which he had not hesitated to speak directly in *Judenthum* (2003: 210). Concludes Kramer neither presence nor absence is provable (2004: 72). These scholars defend Wagner’s works by arguing that the presence of anti-Semitism in the *Ring* relies on “the eye (or ear) of the beholder” and on “hermeneutic enterprise” (Tusa 2014: 114). One of the most outspoken defenders of Wagner’s works, Bryan Magee, maintains that even if there are anti-Semitic elements, just as there are in Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*, the whole work and its meaning cannot be reduced to this one element (2001: 371).

Evidence of anti-Semitism in the *Ring* - the Nibelung dwarves as Jewish caricatures

In the operas themselves, there are no openly Jewish characters; none even remotely approaches Shakespeare’s Shylock or Dickens’ Fagin. We therefore need to address the notion of the stereotypical anti-Jewish traits that Adorno and others maintain are displayed by the dwarf villains of the opera, Alberich and Mime.

There seems to be little or no literature before Wagner’s time that specifically equates Jews with dwarves, even if one might regard certain dwarves in the Grimm Brother’s tales as metaphorical Jews. However, in one of the essays in *Elementargeister* (elemental spirits) first published in Germany in 1837, Heine likens dwarves to Jews (1837/2017: 8) and given Wagner’s friendship with Heine, he may have been aware of and influenced by this. The more likely catalyst, however, to reading the Nibelung dwarves of the *Ring* as Jewish caricatures was probably Wagner’s use of the same imagery to describe both the Nibelung dwarves and Jewish composers.

In the first prose draft of the *Ring* written in 1848, Wagner describes the Nibelungs as “beings who moved through the bowels of the earth like vermin in a dead body” (1871a: 203). In *Judenthum*, Wagner had likened Jewish composers to worms that feed on the corpse of German art (1850/1872: 106) implying that Jewish musicians offer nothing of originality yet infect German cultural purity. However, it might also be argued that the imagery came straight from *Gylfaginning* (The Tricking of Gylfi), the first part the *Prose Edda*¹³, which recounts how dwarves originated as maggots in the flesh of Ymir, the giant, from whose body the gods had fashioned the world (Sturluson 1916: 26).

The Nibelungs as a dwarf race¹⁴ is derived primarily from the mediaeval German poem by an anonymous author, *Hürnen Seyfrid* (Horny Siegfried). Wagner knew the poem in a contemporary German translation by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1811: 3ff) but also as a play by Hans Sachs (1819). Both works were in Wagner’s personal library during his Dresden years when the *Ring* was first conceived (Westernhagen 1966: 21; 93). The poem tells of a king of the dwarves by the name of “Niblung” (von der Hagen 1811: 5) who lived with his three sons in a mountain. He was killed by a dragon who stole his treasure and enslaved all the Niblungs. Siegfried, on his quest to save a maiden from the dragon, is aided by one of the dwarf sons called Eugel, described as noble and gracious. After Siegfried has slain the dragon with the help of Eugel’s cap that makes him invisible, he takes the Niblung treasure (ibid.: 26).

Mime

Mime seems to be a conflation of human blacksmith and dwarf. In *Hürnen Seyfrid*, Siegfried is apprenticed to a nameless human blacksmith who has many of the hallmarks of Wagner’s Mime including encouraging Siegfried to kill a dragon. Mime’s dwarf status, however, comes from the *Poetic Edda* (*Reginsmol/Ballad of Regin*) in which the dwarf smith, Regin, is tasked with bringing up Siegfried whom he encourages to kill his brother Fafner, the dragon, in order to steal his treasure. In the first prose draft of the opera (*Der Nibelungen-Mythus*, 1848), Wagner was undecided between the names Regin, Eugel and Mime (1871a: 203; 206). Later that year when he wrote the first libretto, *Siegfrieds Tod* (which later became *Götterdämmerung*),

13. Also known as the *Younger Edda* and *Snorri’s Edda*, it was written or compiled in around 1220 by the Icelandic scholar and historian Snorri Sturluson. It is a Norse creation epic and its tales recount the battles of gods, giants, dwarves and elves as they struggle for survival.

14. The Nibelungs are not dwarves in all Wagner’s sources. Most notably, in the medieval German *Nibelungenlied* and the *Prose Edda* they are human princes, probably the royal family of the Burgundians (Björnsson 2003: 130).

he decided on Mime, possibly because this was the name of the character in the German sources. In the early version of the opera, Mime has the same plot functions as in the final opera but the animosity and loathing that Siegfried shows for him in the latter is absent. Wagner does not write about why he made this change; however, just before writing *Der Junge Siegfried* in 1851, which he initially planned as a prequel opera to *Siegfrieds Tod* and which focusses on the relationship between Siegfried and Mime, he wrote *Judenthum* (1850).

The various source texts do not describe Mime's physical characteristics other than as a dwarf. One must surmise, therefore, that the traits Wagner gives to Mime are based on the *Poetic Edda's* description of dwarves in general (see above) or come from other sources like Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* (1844), which was in his personal Dresden library (Westernhagen 1966: 91). Grimm summarises what is to be found in both the Old Norse myths (e.g. *Poetic Edda*) as well as the German legends (e.g. *Das Nibelungenlied*) and describes dwarves as ugly (1844: 418), with a repulsive hue, an ill-shaped body, a hump - back (ibid.) and feet like geese or ducks (ibid.: 419). These traits, devoid of any relationship with anti-Jewish sentiment in the source texts¹⁵, are claimed by Adorno (1981: 12–14), Rose (1992: 171), Weiner (1997: 13ff) and others to be instantly recognisable as anti-Semitic by nineteenth century audiences. According to Žižek, the traits Wagner took from the sources to characterise Mime contained “historical codes known to everyone in his [Wagner's] epoch” such that “‘everyone knew’ this is a Jew” (2004: 24). Žižek, like Weiner and Rose, does not provide any evidence¹⁶ to support this claim but like them relies on “general appeals to ‘Wagner’s time and culture’” and the notion of “universally understood iconographies of race and difference” (Grey 1996: 188) as well as on Wagner's own essays and articles. In other words, anti-Semitic readings of the *Ring* tend to rely on the general fact of nineteenth century anti-Semitic ideology and discourse and Wagner's polemical writings rather than specific evidence based on the contemporary reception or interpretation of the *Ring*. However, one piece

15. The Poetic and Prose Eddas originated in Iceland and were first written down in 1000–1300 A.D. Christianity arrived in Iceland around 1000 A.D., but the poems are believed to be pre-Christian in origin having been passed on through oral tradition for at least two hundred years, which would date them to between 800 and 1000 A.D.

16. There is little research available (in English or German) regarding audience reception of the *Ring*, which gives concrete examples from critical reviews, for example, of anti-Semitic readings. Grey suggests that such evidence does not exist because critics of all persuasions may have “been uncomfortable articulating such racist subtexts, had they been aware of them” (1996: 196). My own study of British newspaper and journal reviews of *Ring* productions in London between 1882 and 1948 revealed a complete absence of anti-Semitic readings.

of evidence does suggest that Wagner's contemporary audience might have read Mime as a caricature of a Jew. In 1898, when Mahler¹⁷ came to conduct the *Ring* in Vienna he commented (privately) that he was convinced that Mime "is the embodied persiflage of a Jew, as intended by Wagner" and he told the singer to avoid exaggerating the Jewish traits (Bauer-Lechner 1984: 122). Vienna had an openly anti-Semitic municipal government at the time and Mahler had suffered many anti-Semitic attacks in the press so his desire to play down Wagner's anti-Semitism may have arisen out of fear of arousing unwanted reactions to the opera. The fact that Mahler could expect a singer to avoid exaggerating the Jewish traits suggests that Wagner's words in themselves are not anti-Semitic. Presumably, Mahler did not think the music was either. Wagner's Jewish caricature, if it was one, relied upon the intersemiosis of words, music and staging, particularly the singer's comportment, gestures, movements and perhaps costume and make-up.

The purported codes, which made it possible for Mahler, his singer and the audience members in Vienna, like those in Germany, to interpret Mime as a Jewish caricature, were to be found in nineteenth century German literature, in which there was an "increasing typological expression of the unpleasant elements and bad character of Jewish figures in physical terms" (Bein 1990: 585).

The following passage from the *Siegfried* libretto, which is central to the interpretation of Mime as a Jewish caricature.

Siegfried Act I scene 1:	(My gloss)
seh' ich dich stehn,	when I see you standing,
gangeln und gehn,	stumbling and walking,
knicken und nicken,	bending and nodding,
mit den Augen zwicken:	squinting your eyes:
beim Genick möcht' ich den Nicker packen,	I long to seize the goblin's neck,
den Garaus geben dem garst'gen Zwicker!	and finish off the nasty twitching blinker!

The key to the caricature is physical movement and gesture derived from not only the words but also the music. The first reference of interest is Wagner's use of the unusual Middle High German word *gangeln* to describe the way Mime walks. The word suggests unsteadiness and resembles the word *gängel*, which refers to the way a baby walks (see Grimm & Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch*). Wagner's choice of this word may have been inspired by Germanic folklore, in which dwarves are described as having feet resembling those of geese or ducks (J. Grimm 1844: 149)

17. Mahler was himself a Jew who converted to Catholicism to secure the post of director of the Vienna Court Opera in 1897.

or by the lame dwarf smith Völund in the *Poetic Edda* (*Völundarkvitha/The Lay of Völund*¹⁸), but Wagner would also no doubt have been aware of the stereotypical images related to Jews and foot deformity, which had gained prominence in the early nineteenth century as anti-Jewish sentiment grew in response to Jewish emancipation when non-Jews were concerned about being able to identify the assimilated Jew (Mosse 1971: 15). The stereotype of the limping Jew can be traced to popular beliefs dating to medieval times when theological prejudice lay at the core of anti-Jewish sentiment and Jews were considered the incarnation of the devil who walked with an unnatural gait because of his cloven feet as typically portrayed in Christian art and churches.

Mime's nervous physical attributes could also be interpreted as strengthening "otherness" through anti-Semitic references (Weiner 1997: 85ff). Nodding and twitching may be Wagner's caricaturing of ritual swaying, or "Shokeling", from the Yiddish word meaning "to shake", that accompanies prayer (Heilman 1998: 218). Squinting, and by association blinking, may be yet another trait associated in popular superstition with the mark of the devil (Perraudin 2000: 94). According to Grey, music, even more than language, adds to Wagner's characterisation of Mime, and, by extension, the Jew whose "musical-gestural persona... embodies ... fidgety 'Jewish restlessness'" which Wagner said he disliked in the Jewish person (see the entry for 31 August 1872 in C. Wagner, 1978) and their music (Wagner 1850/1872: 100).

Alberich

Alberich, Mime's brother, is based partly on the dwarf of the same name in the *Nibelungenlied* though his nature seems more akin to Völund, the master smith of the *Poetic Edda* (*Völundarkvitha/The Lay of Völund*) who is referred to not as a dwarf but as an elf. The line between dwarf and elf is blurred in the Edda poems but dark elves appear to be similar to dwarves. Alberich shares Völund's vengefulness, his scheming ways and lascivious nature. Völund is crippled by a King who abducts him and forces him to work as his smith and this legend may have led Wagner to attribute lameness or stumbling and an awkward gait to Alberich and Mime.

Alberich's outward appearance is described by the Rhinemaidens as they taunt him in *Das Rheingold*. Their description is largely consistent with what can be gleaned from the *Eddas* and corroborated by Grimm's descriptions of dwarves in *Deutsche Mythologie* but some important features are Wagner's own creation.

18. Völund is sometimes translated Wayland

<i>Das Rheingold</i> * Scene 1 Wellgunde to Alberich	My gloss
Pfui, du haariger, höckriger Geck! Schwarzes, schwieliges Schwefelgezwerg!	Yuck! You hairy, hump-backed fool! Black, callused, sulphurous dwarf!

* *Das Rheingold* is a one act opera.

Wellgunde starts with “Pfui” which implies a bad smell (see *Duden*) and goes on to pinpoint it as the “sulphurous” odour coming from Alberich. There are no references in the Norse texts to the smell of the dwarves even though they are associated with living deep in the earth, being smiths and associated with the underworld (Hel) and the dead (*Skáldskaparmál*, *Prose Edda*). This specific feature seems to have been added by Wagner. According to Weiner, the association of Jewish figures with bad smells was a “topos firmly established in the German cultural consciousness by the 19th century” (1989: 68). In fact, in medieval times the Jew’s odour, *foetor judaicus* or the “Jew’s pitch”, had been a potent symbol of anti-Semitism, derived from associations with “the sulphurous smell of the devil” (Nicholls 1995: 241). The remaining four descriptors, hairy, hump-backed, black and callused, though used to stereotype Jews since the seventeenth century (Gubser 1998: 12ff), can also be traced back to the Norse texts or Grimm. Whilst the dwarves in the *Eddas* and other Old Norse sources are not described as hairy, many have long beards, and according to Grimm, southern German tales featured hairy dwarves (1844: 451). The Norse dwarves are not specifically described as hunchbacked or bent over but this may be implied to some degree as they live under ground and since they are often depicted as craftsmen, they can be imagined as hunched over their work. Another reason for assuming that the dwarf is hunched or has a bent spine is that the word from which *Zwerg* is derived means “twisted” (Grimm & Grimm 2003).

<i>Das Rheingold</i> Scene 1 Flosshilde to Alberich	My gloss
Deinen stehenden Blick, deinen struppigen Bart, o sah ich ihn, fasst’ ich ihn stets! Deines stachlichen Haares stammes Gelock, umflöss’ es Flosshilde ewig! Deine Krötengestalt, deiner Stimme Gekrächz o dürft’ ich, staunend und stumm, sie nur hören und seh’n!	Your piercing gaze, your bristling beard, o might I always see and hold! Your wiry hair’s tight curls flow around Flosshilde forever! Your toad like form, your croaking voice o might I, amazed and mute, hear and see them!

Wagner used the Rhinemaiden’s derision of Alberich as the dramatic impetus that turns him to malice (Hutcheon & Hutcheon 2000: 78) and validates the plot’s development. This part of Wagner’s *Ring* is his invention; there is no direct comparison

with the source texts. Whilst in the *Eddas*, the dwarf Andvari turns himself into a slippery fish, Wagner has Alberich turn into a toad, a symbol of evil that has a long literary history in Europe. For example, Shakespeare describes Richard III as a “poisonous hunch-back'd toad” and Milton describes Satan as “squat like a toad”. It is hard to imagine that Wagner chose the toad, unaware of its age-old anti-Semitic symbolism (Drüner 2008: 160).

3. The translations – pre WWI and post WW2: traces of anti-Semitism?

Anti-Semitism was commonplace in Britain in the late Victorian era (Panayi 1994: 115) with antipathy towards Jews conflating resentment of Jewish economic power, during a period of economic downturn (Brustein 2003: 228), with fear, in response to growing levels of immigration by Russian Jews that “threatened ... an ideal society” (Holmes 1979: 19). Yet newspaper reports and music journal articles regarding the British (mainly London) reception of Wagner's *Ring* in the late nineteenth century, do not suggest that audiences or critics read any anti-Semitic message in the opera¹⁹. Of course, it is possible that they did so but as in Germany did not comment on a feature which was, one might say, in some respect “unmarked”, especially when there was so much else to say about the opera; or perhaps in the arts, liberalism was such that mentioning any anti-Jewish sentiment was anathema²⁰.

There is no information about the Corders and Jameson with regard to anti-Semitism but it is fair to assume that at the very least they might have recognised the iconography of the malevolent Jew in the characters of Alberich and Mime. Both were zealous disciples and experts on Wagner; Corder popularised him at the Royal Academy of Music (Hughes & Stradling 2001: 57); Jameson had met the composer (“A Champion of Wagner” 1916), attended the Bayreuth Festival every year (“Obituary: Frederick Jameson” 1916) and was “involved” with Cosima Wagner (Sencourt 2012: 262), who was virulently anti-Semitic (Botstein 2009: 162). It is highly likely, therefore, that they were aware of the maggot/worm imagery that

19. Based on research in the *Times*, *Guardian*, *Observer*, *Musical Times*, *Athenaeum*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Orchestra* and others available through ProQuest and The Times Digital Archive/Gale News Vault.

20. Britain was more liberal and tolerant towards Jews than most other European countries because the history of the Jews in Britain (expulsion in the thirteenth century, readmission in 1656 under Cromwell) meant their number was low and assimilation was high. In late nineteenth century in Britain where, “liberalism was the political creed of bourgeois capitalism” and toleration, if not acceptance, was high because of the Jewish contribution to financial and commercial affairs (Holmes 1979: 106), “disapprobation” regarding anti-semitism was high (ibid.: 108).

linked Wagner's description of Jews in *Judenthum* with the Nibelung dwarves as described in the *Nibelungen-Mythus* and that they recognised Mime as a Jewish caricature. It is also possible to conclude that Jameson's translation, whose vocabulary is semantically close to Wagner's, could have evoked in the English-speaking audience responses and emotions akin to those aroused by the text of Wagner's German libretto.

Siegfried Act 1 sc. 1**	Corders, 1882	Jameson, 1899
seh' ich dich stehn, gangeln und gehn, knicken und nicken, mit den Augen zwicken: beim Genick möcht' ich den Nicker packen, den Garaus geben dem garst'gen Zwicker!	Seeing you stand, shambling and shak (ing), shrinking and slinking, with your eyelids blinking: by the neck I'd take and shake and wake you, your idiot antics to end forever!	I see thee stand, shamble and slink, crawling and nodding, with thine eyelids blinking: by the throat I long to catch the crawler, and crush thy life out, thou loathsome nodder!

** In all quotations from the *Ring*, either in the original German or in translation, the following key applies. Bold text indicates alliterative rhymes (in this case assonant rhymes). Bracketed text indicates additional syllables not in the original libretto (in this case the Corders make use of a grace note to fit two syllables where only one had been in the original). Brackets with no text indicates a change to note value e.g. two semi-quavers combined into a crochet.

The above lyrics contain the first description of Mime by Siegfried. The key word in the translations is “shambling”. This word has a long association in English literature with the “ambulatory disequilibrium” of the Jewish gait (Pinkus 2010: 191). Dickens, for example, describes Uriah Heep, the Jewish lawyer in *David Copperfield* as a “shambling figure”. Jameson's translation is coherent with the source text (ST) in relation to Mime's movement because “shambling” is reinforced by “slink”, “crawling” and “crawler” whereas the Corders reinforce the image only with “slinking”. Jameson was freer to do this because he was not trying to reproduce the alliterative rhymes. The Jameson translation has similarities for British ears with the following description of Fagin in *Oliver Twist*:

...a black mist hung over the streets...everything felt cold and clammy to the touch. It seemed just the night when it befitted such a being as the Jew to be abroad. As he glided stealthily along, creeping beneath the shelter of the walls and doorways, the hideous old man seemed like some loathsome reptile, engendered in the slime and darkness...crawling forth by night... ” (Dickens 1837/2008 chap. XIX, paragraph 3)

By the time Porter translated the *Ring* in the 1970s, anti-Semitism was in retreat, replaced by anti-Irish sentiment and racism directed towards Black and Asian immigrants. Although some negative Jewish stereotypes still survived (Holmes 1991: 59),

and were even featured in television comedy sitcoms of the time such as *Never Mind the Quality Feel the Width*,²¹ the nuances of nineteenth century anti-Semitism did not exist in the popular imagination. Porter's audience (singers, musical director, director and public) would probably not have been instantly aware of Jewish stereotyping in Mime and Alberich without extensive study of pre-Holocaust anti-Jewish sentiment and prejudice. It was probably only after the seminal centenary production of the *Ring* at Bayreuth that the "anti-Semitic undertow of Wagner's characterization [of Mime]... was generally recognized" (Millington 2014: 12). Porter, therefore, could translate as closely as he liked without fear of producing a subtext that risked offence.

Porter 1971/1977

I watch you stand, shuffle and nod,
 shrinking and slinking,
 with your eyelids blinking:
 by your nodding neck I'd like to catch you,
 and end your shrinking,
 and stop your blinking!

Interestingly, Porter does not use "shambling". Perhaps of all the words he could have used, this may still have had some anti-Jewish overtones thanks to Dickens. In fact, because Porter wanted to adhere to the assonant rhyme scheme in the ST he follows the Corders translation and in so doing omits the vocabulary that lent anti-Jewish overtones to the Jameson translation. In my own translation of these lines, I move further from any possible anti-Semitic reading with the use of "stumble", "shrinking" and "squinting", which nevertheless still summon up an unsavoury image of Mime:

My translation

see how you stand, **stumble** and **stall**
 shrinking and slinking,
 and your eyes both squinting:
 by the **throat** I'd like to **throttle** Mime
 and **end** forever
 your **evil** twitching.

According to Adorno (1955/1881: 49ff), Weiner (1997: 135ff) and Rose (1992: 71), the music that Wagner gave Mime (tenor) and Alberich (bass) to sing also marks them out as Jews. Their music is bleating and screeching (Weiner 1997: 140)

21. ITV, Thames Television and ABC Television – written by Vince Powell and Harry Driver ran from 1967 to 1971

as opposed to the deeper and more resonant sounds Wagner associated with his heroic tenors and bass-baritones (ibid.: 170–171). According to Weiner, nineteenth-century audiences would have been “sensitive and receptive to the racist implications” (1997: 140) of the music. Weiner offers as proof the fact that the music that characterizes Alberich and Mime is remarkably similar to the musical treatment of a Jewish subject in Mussorgsky’s sixth movement of *Pictures at an Exhibition* (1874) called *Two Jews, One Rich, One Poor: Samuel Goldenberg and Schmuyle*. In this work, specific characteristics are associated with figures identified as Jews: Samuel Goldberg is portrayed as a fat, rich Jew speaking with authority with sonorous bass sounds and Schmuyle as a poor, whining Jew, whose voice is characterised as quickly repeated yammering high notes, weak, high-pitched whining and triplet tremolos. The notion of the Jew having a high pitched or nasal voice was also a stereotypical feature that Dickens gave to one of his Jewish characters, Barney, in *Oliver Twist* (Dickens, 2008 [1837]: chapter XV).

According to Weiner, the best example of Wagner turning vocal idiosyncrasy to music can be heard at the beginning of Siegfried Act II, Scene 3 (“Wohin schleichst du eilig und Schlau”) when Alberich and Mime are arguing just after Siegfried has killed the dragon, Fafner. The tessitura²² is exceptionally high for tenor and bass, there are tritones²³ and wide and rapid intervallic leaps, which make the voice creak, shriek, croak, and buzz, as Wagner described in *Judenthum*. The format of the scene, where Mime and Alberich quarrel over who will rob Siegfried of the ring and Tarnhelm, is based on those found in the *Poetic Edda* (*Lokasenna*) but Wagner uses it as a parodist representation of bickering Jews (Grey 1996: 189). Even in the extract from Act 1 scene 1, above, one can hear in Siegfried’s voice a sarcastic imitation of Mime’s. Wide downward octave intervals (F_4/F_3) stress the assonant rhymes *nicken* (nodding)/*zwicken* (squinting) and the rare downward minor 7th (G_4/G_3) for *Garaus* (downfall) paired with another downward octave, starting on Ab_5 (one of the highest notes in the Tenor voice) to which the rhyming word *garst’gen* (villainous) is set, emphasise Siegfried’s venom. The translations show a remarkable consistency in that each captures the musical meaning as well as that of the words:

22. The range within most notes of a vocal part fall

23. A tritone is also commonly defined as an interval spanning six semitones. The tritone is a restless interval, classed as a dissonance. The term *diabolus in musica* (“the Devil in music”) has been applied to the interval from Medieval times (it is thought) because it was considered unpleasant and ugly.

Siegfried to Mime *un poco meno mosso*

Wagner seh' ich dich steh'n gan - geln und geh'n kni - cken und
 Corders see - ing you stand, sham - bling and shak - ing, shrink - ing and
 Jameson I see thee stand, sham - ble and slink, crawl - ing and
 Porter I watch you stand, shu - ffle and nod, shrink - ing and
 My translation see how you stand, stum - ble and stall, shrink - ing and

11 *Vivace*

ni - cken, mit den Au - gen zwi - cken, beim Ge - nick' mocht' ich den Ni - cker pa - cken
 slink - ing, with your eye - lids blink - ing, by the neck I'd take and shake and wake you,
 nodd - ing, withthine eye - lids blink - ing; by the throat I long to catch the crawl - ler,
 slink - ing, by your eye - lids blink - ing; by your nodd - ing neck I'd like to catch you,
 slink - ing, with your eyesboth squint - ing: by the throat I'd like to thrott - le Mi - me

17

den Gar - aus ge - ben dem garst' - gen Zwi - cker!
 your id - iot an - tics to end for ev - er!
 and crush thy life - out, thou loath - some nodd - er!
 and end your shrink - ing, and stop your blink - ing!
 and end for - ev - er your ev - il twitch - ing!

Siegfried Act I scene I

However Jameson's translation of the description of Alberich by Wellgunde in *Das Rheingold* appears to retain possible anti-Semitic references more so than the earlier translation by the Corders.

Das Rheingold Scene 1 Wellgunde to Alberich	Corders	Jameson
Pfui, du haariger, höckriger Geck!	Faugh! You hairy and horrible imp!	Fie! thou hairy and hideous imp!
Schwarzes, schwieliges Schwefelgezwerg!	Swarthy, stunted and shrivell'd up dwarf!	Swarthy, spotted and sulphury dwarf!

Whereas Jameson's choice of "spotted" suggests weltson the skin and is more coherent with "swarthy" in describing Alberich's ugly appearance. In the same way that the Corders did not maintain Wagner's coherent image of Mime (see above), with Alberich they create an image that is not as venomous as the German ST and lacks the vocabulary that it is thought would be understood as anti-Jewish: "sulphurous" (see above). Jameson, as before, seems to adhere more closely to Wagner's semantics and the combination of "sulphury" with "hairy/hideous/swarthy" can be read as both descriptive of dwarves and as anti-Semitic.

Porter's translation is almost identical to that of Jameson with the addition of "scaly" to translate *schwieliges* but omitting any translation of *Schwarzes*. In effect, he translates *schwieliges* twice with "scaly/spotted", possibly because of its coherence with the toad image that will be established a little later in Flosshilde's description:

Das Rheingold Scene 1 Wellgunde to Alberich

Porter 1977

Pfui! You hairy old
hideous imp!
Scaly, spotted and
sulphurous dwarf!

Although Porter's "sulphurous" is likely to communicate that Mime has a bad smell, it is unlikely that the 1970s audience would have immediately associated the word with hell and the devil and then seen the inference as anti-Semitic.

In a later description of Alberich by Flosshilde, Jameson's translation again suggests a reading that might be considered as anti-Semitic. His use of "sting" and "prick" suggest an awareness of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* in which Shylock says, "If you prick us, do we not bleed?" (Act 1, scene 3) and "What! Wouldst thou have a serpent sting thee twice?" (Act 4, scene 1).

Das Rheingold Scene 1 Flosshilde to Alberich	Corders	Jameson
Deinen stechenden Blick, deinen struppigen Bart, o sah ich ihn, fasst' ich ihn stets! Deines stacheligen Haares stammes Gelock, umflöss' es Flosshilde ewig! Deine Krötengestalt, deiner Stimme Gekrächz o dürfft' ich, staunend und stumm, sie nur hören und seh'n!	O! Thy staring eyed brow, and thy straggle-haired beard, to see them and handle them still! That thy stubbly grey hair in streaming elf locks might float round Flosshild' forever! And thy toad-allied stature, thy stridulous tones O might I 'stonished and still sate with these ev'ry sense!	O, the sting of thy glance and the prick of thy beard, for ever to see and to feel! Might the locks of thy hair, so shaggy and sharp, but float round Flosshilde ever! and thy shape like a toad, and the croak of thy voice, o might I, dazzled and dumb, see and (hear) nothing but these!

Whilst the Corders' description of Alberich's hair as "stubbly grey hair in streaming elf locks" is specific to dwarves, Jameson's "locks of thy hair, so shaggy and sharp" creates an image often found in nineteenth century illustrations of the fictional Fagin, Shylock and even the Jewish Prime Minister Disraeli (an internet search

will demonstrate this). Porter's translation again closely follows Jameson's. If he recognized anything anti-Semitic in it, he probably assumed the opera audience at the Colosseum would not.

Das Rheingold Scene 1 Flosshilde to Alberich

Porter 1977

Oh, the sting of your glance and the prick of your beard,

Oh how they have captured my heart!

And the locks of your hair, so shaggy and sharp,

must float round Flosshilde ever!

and your shape like a toad, oh, the croak of your voice,

oh how they ravish my soul: I want nothing but these!

There is sufficient information (Wagner's essay, *Judenthum*, and general knowledge regarding nineteenth century European stock anti-Semitic clichés) to suggest that Wagner's anti-Semitic views are reflected in the villains of the *Ring*, Alberich and Mime. However, Wagner did not write an opera about or against Jews. Most of what the Nibelung dwarves do and say can be found in the Old Norse source texts. Any anti-Semitic interpretation on the part of the nineteenth century audience relied on sub textual inference facilitated by the synthesis of words with music, stage action, costumes, make-up, and gestures as interpreted by the director and the performers. Given the growth of anti-Semitic feeling in Britain around the turn of the twentieth century, in response to the increased immigration of Eastern European Jews escaping persecution, it is possible that Jameson's close semantic translation, unhindered by the formal needs of Alliterative verse that shaped that of the Corders, provided an anti-Semitic subtext with similar implications to Wagner's original text. Critical responses to performances of Jameson's translation do not refer to any such subtext, but since anti-Semitism was not a matter of contention at the time, this is not surprising. The fact that Porter's 1970 translation could largely borrow the same text and not engender the portrayal or interpretation of Mime or Alberich as Jewish caricatures, or provoke any discussion of Wagner's anti-Semitism, supports the view commonly held across Translation Studies that the meaning of language relies on socio-cultural context. Therefore, Porter had no need to censor or adjust Wagner/Jameson's potentially anti-Semitic language for an audience that would not recognise its implications without extensive hermeneutic effort.

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Communicating change

Two contemporary Polish novels in translation into English

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This article investigates English translations of two contemporary Polish novels – Dorota Masłowska’s *Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* (*Snow White and Russian Red* or *White and Red*) and Michał Witkowski’s *Lubiewo* (*Lovetown*). Both can be regarded as key cultural texts as they describe Poland’s relationship with its communist past. In Masłowska’s novel, the post-1989 transition is seen from the perspective of a drug-addled thug, while Witkowski’s book reminisces about the lives of the Polish gay community of the communist era, which his characters prefer to democratic, modern Poland. Since the tensions accompanying the social and political transition are poignantly inscribed in the novels’ language, failure to transfer certain linguistic aspects in translation threatens these works’ status as key cultural texts.

Keywords: Polish novels, transition from communism to democracy, Dorota Masłowska, Michał Witkowski

1. Key Cultural Texts and the concept of change

My article examines two contemporary Polish novels in translation: Dorota Masłowska’s controversial debut novel *Wojna polsko-ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* (published in 2002), and the equally controversial *Lubiewo* by Michał Witkowski (published in 2005). Both can be described as key cultural texts, as each is an important voice in the discussion on contemporary Poland’s struggle with its identity. Both novels have been translated into English: the former by Benjamin Paloff as *Snow White and Russian Red* for the US market (published by Black Cat) and *White and Red* for the British market (Atlantic Books), while the English version of Witkowski’s novel, entitled *Lovetown*, was prepared by William Martin and published by a London-based publishing house, Portobello Books.

As suggested in the title, the article oscillates around the theme of change. In fact, the concept of change is relevant to the present discussion on several levels. For a start, change would appear to be an inherent characteristic of good literature or, rather, of our understanding of it, as Benjamin Paloff suggests with regards to Dorota Masłowska's book:

What makes [*White and Red*] a worthwhile book for me is that my understanding of its linguistic and rhetorical nuances changed a great deal the more I worked on it, the more I read (and wrote) it. This is what good literature does, I think: it changes as we read it, and it continues to change as we change. (Weaver 2005, online)

Incidentally, next to pleasure (*jouissance*) and chance, change is also one of the formative elements of a canon, as understood by Kermode according to whom "canons are replaced, condemned, or subjected to new commentary. In any case, they change" (2004: 38). And the texts themselves "must change, or rather, we must choose to grant them the blessing of change, for that alone will save them from their only other possible fate, namely, to be rubbish in the end" (2004: 32–33). It seems to me, Kermode's observations can be extended to other types of texts, not only canonical ones.

Thus texts are not stable entities. They are subject to change even in their source culture, both in the sense that one day their status as a cultural document may change, and in the sense that their interpretation is liable to change from person to person and with the passage of time. Translation, of course, involves further changes, some of which will be discussed below. Change also happens to be the theme of the two novels under discussion here, which invites the question what happens to change and transformation in translation, when the process of translation itself inexorably involves the said phenomena. The conclusions drawn from the present study are intended to contribute to the discussion on the translation of key cultural texts, especially with regards to cultural transfer from a (semi-) peripheral language to a (hyper-) central one (Sapiro 2010: 419).

2. Mapping the journey

In the spirit of Descriptive Translation Studies, the aim of my article is not to assess the quality of translations under discussion, but rather "to delve into translation as a cultural and historical phenomenon, to explore its context and its conditioning factors, to search for grounds that can explain why there is what there is" (Hermans 1999: 5). In other words, the shifts and changes that have taken place in the translating process will be discussed with a view of "mapping the journey texts undertake" (Bassnett 1997: 11) or, to use a more recent source, exploring each text as a translation "not primarily to judge it, but to understand where the text stands in

relation to its original” (Hewson 2011: 1). The overall orientation of my analysis is thus not evaluative, even though it references Antoine Berman’s “*analytic of translation*”. Berman admitted that his typology of “deforming forces” was “*negative*” and “should be extended by a *positive* counterpart” (1985/2004: 278). Although it is not my intention to introduce such an additional model, I would argue that some of the tendencies described by Berman can be used purely descriptively and without the negative and evaluative overtone that characterised them originally.

Above all (and on a positive note), it is important to acknowledge the amount of effort that must have gone into translating the two works under discussion. Benjamin Paloff, a poetry editor at *Boston Review*, a Harvard graduate and an assistant professor at the department of Slavic Literatures and Cultures at the University of Michigan, speaks about “many drafts, many revisions, and development over time” as well as consulting a large number of sources and talking to native speakers (Weaver 2005, online). As a poet, he was especially concerned with the rhythm of Masłowska’s prose, as well as the changes of tone and voice in her work accompanying the novel’s shifting points of view.

Similarly, William Martin, a translator from Polish and German, a former Fiction Editor of *Chicago Review*, and a 2008 recipient of the NEA Literature Fellowship for Translation, felt compelled to undertake extensive research before embarking on the translation of *Lovetown*. In his afterword to the English edition, he mentions various people he consulted, including other translators, native speakers, literary scholars, and the author. He also admits to a number of failures and explains the reasoning behind some of his lexical choices, especially when it comes to the key vocabulary of the communist-era Polish gay community (Witkowski 2010: 340–341).

3. Historical context: Poland after 1989

Before proceeding with the analysis, it might be helpful to sketch the wider, historical context in which the two Polish novels came into being. They both belong to the so-called “literature after 1989.” The year 1989 marks the collapse of the socialist system in Eastern Europe. As Halina Janaszek-Ivaničková notes, the scale of the post-communist transformation was enormous and unprecedented, with 300 million people from 12 Slavic countries affected by the profound political changes (2005: 7). In Poland, the significance of this symbolic date is reflected in the fact that in everyday discourse, “1989 is used as a metaphor for a whole variety of phenomena that have developed since the Communist Party lost power” (Kuhiwczak 2007: 149). Such a profound and far-reaching change can definitely be considered a “turning point,” defined by Itamar Even-Zohar in his seminal article on the position

of translated literature within the literary polysystem, as “historical moments where established models are no longer tenable for a younger generation” (Even-Zohar 1990/2004, p. 201). Kuhiwczak suggests that it is likely that “the 1989–1991 changes in Eastern Europe and Russia will also be perceived as a significant turning point for literature” (2007: 149) – one that affects the processes involved in translation of Polish fiction into English.

This is firstly because among the many transformations brought about by the political transition into democracy was the privatisation of the publishing market, which meant that Polish publishers were suddenly free of censorship but also subject to capitalist forces of supply and demand. Secondly, there emerged a new interest in Polish literature among readers and publishers in other countries, including the UK and the USA. Of course, Polish literature in English translation is still a peripheral or, at best, a semi-peripheral system, and within “the asymmetrical structure of the world system of translations”, where “translation flows move mainly from the core to the periphery” (Sapiro 2010: 420), it appears to have very little impact. Nonetheless, as Kuhiwczak observes, the political changes inspired a certain curiosity, “an expectation on the part of British and also American publishers that the change will either reveal something that was hidden from the public view by censorship, or generate a wave of new and exciting writing” (2007: 155). Kuhiwczak’s research into Polish literature in English translation led him to further specify these expectations as “a longing for what is essentially defined as ‘East European’ literature – a specific, personal account of the region’s troubled history” (2007: 158).

The question is, however, whether such expectations can ever be met. Baer warns against trying to find a key to the source culture in its translated literature. His remarks are especially valuable, as he addresses the Eastern European context. He writes:

The tendency to construct Russia and Eastern Europe as both the political and cultural other of the West – and of the Anglo-American West, in particular – makes it especially important to resist the temptation to teach its literature in translation as if it were an eyewitness account of the culture. Instead, as Rachel May argues, literature in translation should be understood not as being *about* the source culture – a simple and “true” reflection – but rather as being *of* that culture, or even configuration of cultures. (2010: 208)

In other words, even if a source text is regarded as a key cultural text in its original context, it does not follow that its status will be retained in translation.

4. Narratives of new Poland

Regardless of Baer's words of caution, both *Lovetown* and *White and Red* seem, at first sight, perfect guides to the complexities of life in contemporary Poland. In fact, both novels were marketed in the English speaking world as showing valuable insights into the new post-communist Polish reality, and offering a young, brave and uncompromising perspective on contemporary life in Poland.

The authors, Dorota Masłowska (b. 1983) and Michał Witkowski (b. 1975), represent a young generation of Poles who witnessed the fall of communism in their childhood and early teens and even though they can probably vaguely remember (Witkowski more so than Masłowska) the "lean years before 1989," they more rightly belong in the new, capitalist era, associated in their minds with "the rapid economic change, the influx of foreign goods and pop-kitschy images, the violent social stratification, and the all-too-obvious political corruption (...) and any suggestion that life is better than it used to be fails to resonate with their own life experience" (Paloff 2005, online). Thus, their attitude towards Poland's socialist past is ambiguous and complex – simultaneously critical and sentimental, mocking, but also integral to the formation of their worldview.

In thematic terms, each novel was hailed as the first of its kind in Poland. *White and Red* has been called "Poland's first novel about the dresiarz subculture" (Zarębski 2009, online); the word "dresiarz" describes a particular Polish subculture consisting of tracksuited, skinheaded individuals, often violent and uneducated and commonly associated with housing estates and football hooliganism. The narrator's voice in the novel is given to one such dresiarz – Andrzej Robakowski, known as Silny, a term which literally means 'strong', but which has been rendered in the English version as "Nails". In the very first paragraph of the book the protagonist learns that his provincial seaside town has become the site of a mysterious and absurd Polish-Russian war and that he has been left by his girlfriend, Magda. All the events that follow result from this disturbing news, but the reader cannot be sure what is really happening and what is just a figment of the narrator's crazy, drug-fuelled imagination.

Witkowski's novel also focuses on people on the margins of society, and, despite his own reservations, the work is often referred to as "the first Polish queer novel" (Canning 2010, online). Its title denotes a beach on the Polish coast, where many of the book's characters congregate. In *Lovetown* a journalist/narrator, Michaśka (representing the author himself), collects outrageous stories from a whole array of picturesque gay characters, starting with two elderly gentlemen who call themselves Patricia and Lucretia. What connects Patricia, Lucretia, Lucia la Douche, Jessie, Paula, Kangaroo and other queens described by Witkowski is that they were in their prime during the communist era, when it was easy to take advantage of, or rather be taken advantage of, by sex-starved Russian soldiers quartered in army

barracks. Today they cannot get to grips with life in modern Poland. Impoverished, middle-aged and politically incorrect, they feel increasingly marginalized in the rapidly westernizing society.

The common feature of the two books is their slangy, vulgar, rule-bending and highly creative language. *Lovetown* characters' campy banter is full of explicit descriptions, gender confusion, puns, word play and neologisms. The author is skilled in reproducing the way Polish elderly ladies (*emerytki*) talk to each other and combines this with an additional quality of naughtiness and sleaze. Similarly, Nails's idiolect is the main source of humour in Masłowska's novel. One could say that the language is both the medium and the message of the book, since the plot plays second fiddle to the linguistic experiments employed by the young author. In Robert Looby's words:

Masłowska's extraordinary use of language – frequently vulgar and obscene but sophisticated and inventive too – is the book's strongest point, and one which may unfortunately hold it back in the English-speaking world. Nails is a loquacious, rambling, repetitive speaker, whose narration, with its run-on sentences, is often close to stream of consciousness. Masłowska hints at Nails's poor linguistic skills with his use of malapropisms and bad or at any rate non-standard grammar but the language is poetic, often literary and always alive. Yet still Nails comes across as primitive and his use of language as close to the depressed housing estates and disaffected youth of modern Poland. (2011, online)

5. Words of the past

The uneasy relationship the characters of both novels have with the old system is also inscribed in their language. The queens from *Lovetown* openly reminisce about the old times and stubbornly refuse to catch up with the new idiom. Their way of speaking is juxtaposed with that of the new gay community. Politically aware, image- and health-conscious, the new generation of homosexual males represent "the emancipation phase." As long as "[t]hey agitate for their right to marry, to adopt" and "talk in the language of *Polityka* and *Wprost* [quality political magazines]" (Witkowski 2010: 146), they have no chance of communication with Patricia and Lucrecia, as the latter have no interest in propriety or gay rights.

The characters in Masłowska's book, on the other hand, belong, in the words of Carl Tighe, to "an exhausted, aimless, de-politicised generation, lacking in the moral certainty of Communism or resistance and desperately lacking in any kind of political perspective" (2010: 187). Even though they are young and should, in theory, be embracing the new opportunities that have opened to them, they seem utterly confused about the new reality. Although they do not dwell in the past like

Lovetown's shameless frequenters, they have still been deeply affected by growing up in an oppressive system.

The characters' connection to Poland's socialist past can be especially well observed on the level of lexis. Words belonging to the previous era permeate both narratives, sometimes in negative, sometimes in more sentimental contexts. These lexemes do not refer directly to politics, but are, rather, associated with everyday life and describe objects, buildings or food items that are instantly recognisable for the Polish reader as relics of the past. This connotative meaning, requiring no explanation in the source text, is difficult to signal in translation. Witkowski's translator often opts for, at times lengthy, clarification, for instance rendering "gomułkowego bloku" [a block of flats built in Gomułka's times, Gomułka being a Polish Communist Party leader] (2005: 9) as "a socialist apartment block, circa 1960" (2010: 3) or "butelką po mleku" [a milk bottle] (2005: 15) as "a communist-era milk bottle" (2010: 10). Benjamin Paloff neutralizes such items, offering no additional explanation, and so in his translation "wyrób czekoladopodobny" [a kind of sweet made from substandard chocolate] (Maślowska 2011: 6) becomes "a chocolatey product" (Maślowska 2005: 2), while "meblościance" [a rather ugly piece of furniture characteristic of socialist interior design] (61) is translated as "the wall cabinets" (81).

According to Antoine Berman, such recurring words, organized around one theme, form "underlying networks of signification." In his essay "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", he explains that:

The literary work contains a hidden dimension, an 'underlying' text, where certain signifiers correspond and link up, forming all sorts of networks beneath the 'surface' of the text itself – the manifest text, presented for reading. It is this subtext that carries the network of word-obsessions. (1985/2004: 284)

Berman expresses his concern that the failure to transmit such networks means that "a signifying process in the text is destroyed" (*op. cit.*: 285). In Berman's understanding, this failure results from the misreading of such networks. In some cases, however, like the ones mentioned above, the failure might not be a consequence of the translator's oversight but it may stem from the fact that the network of signification consists of culture-specific items for which there are no straightforward equivalents.

6. Dialogue with tradition

Another element which has proved challenging in the translation of the two books under discussion is their intertextuality. The experimental language of the novels is the authors' way of forming a dialogue with the Polish literary tradition, bringing to mind writers such as Witold Gombrowicz or Miron Białoszewski who were gay, and innovative in terms of the language they used in their works.

In the case of *Lovetown*, this dialogue comes about not only in the form of numerous intertextual references to other Polish writers and canonical works of fiction but also at the level of style, "the implicit argument being" – according to Martin – "that queerness is as much a stylistic as a biographical category" (Witkowski 2010: 339). Witkowski himself explains on his website that his inspiration came from the apolitical, personal and antiheroic *Memoir of the Warsaw Uprising* written by Miron Białoszewski (1970, English translation published in 1977), who did not aim at creating any grand narrative of heroic struggle but simply tried to describe what he saw and heard in exactly the way he saw and heard it.

Analogically to the communist-related vocabulary, the intertextual references (both stylistic and in the form of quotations) to Polish canonical works do not transfer easily. Even if most of the authors referred to by Masłowska and Witkowski have been translated into English and some, for example Gombrowicz, are even relatively well known, it is doubtful whether English-speaking readers would have any idea about their style or would be able to recognise it in translation. According to Kermode:

One consequence of canonicity is that whether the canon is formed by theological fiat or pedagogical authority or indeed chance, each member of it fully exists only in the company of others; one member nourishes or qualifies another, so that as well as benefiting from the life-preserving attentions of commentary, each thrives on the propinquity of all: in a sense all become part of one larger book and all are changed in the process. In this sense, we need to insist with Schleiermacher that acts of interpretation have regard to wholes, not parts. A book inside a canon is a different book from what it would have been outside that canon. (2004: 33)

Arguably, in translation *the book inside the canon* becomes *the book outside the canon*. Or it becomes a part of a different canon. And so, in English, Gombrowicz (although mentioned in reviews) and Białoszewski disappear, but instead Masłowska's book is likened to Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* and Bret Easton Ellis's *American Psycho* (Seymenliyska 2005), while Witkowski is positioned next to such writers as, for example, Edmund White (Canning 2010, online).

7. Educating Polish Queens

Entering the Anglo-American polysystem has other effects on the novels. One of the most interesting shifts in *Lovetown* can be illustrated with the following fragment from the source text and its translation:

- (1) „Przeginanie się” to udawanie kobiet – jakimi je sobie wyobrażają – wymachiwanie rękami, piszczenie, mówienie „ależ przestań” i „Boże, Bożenka”.

(Witkowski 2006: 12)

Being ‘dramatic,’ ‘camping it up,’ and ‘being swish’ mean acting like a woman, whatever they understand by that. Apparently it means flapping their hands and squealing, saying things like ‘Oh *stop!*’ and ‘Christ, Christina!’

(Witkowski 2010: 7)

Just a cursory glance at the two fragments is enough to observe that the English version is substantially longer, which is not only a matter of translation universals. For one Polish term “przeginanie się” three English ones are offered (“being ‘dramatic,’” “camping it up” and “being swish”). One could probably treat this as a case of clarification or explication – one of the twelve deforming tendencies proposed by Antoine Berman (1985/2004: 181) – but it could be argued that there is something much more complex at play here. As Martin himself notices:

Readers in countries that have had gay-and-lesbian sections in bookstores and on publishers’ lists, gays and lesbians openly and positively represented in the media, and officially licensed gay pride marches over the past three decades, may not grasp *Lovetown’s* watershed quality in its original context, nor the complexity of the position it represents.

(Witkowski 2010: 339)

This complexity is reflected in the language. Words such as ‘camp’ or ‘butch and femme’ (see the second part of the analysed fragment) have now been incorporated into the gender discourse and are perfectly understood and frequently used in Poland. Witkowski’s characters, however, do not know them. They are from a pre-emancipation era, from before a time when the word “gay” even appeared in the Polish language. They make do with what is available to them, use their imagination and creativity, reclaim the terms that already exist in the language and give them new, loaded meanings. For example the word *luj* (translated by Martin into “grunt”) is an old-fashioned word for ‘a thug,’ but Witkowski uses it to describe a particular category of macho, straight men, desired by the queens.

Some of the joy of *Lovetown* lies in the way it makes the old new. The translator, quite naturally, chooses terms with a well-established status within the Anglo-American gender discourse, thus taking the newness away and ‘educating’ the originally incorrigible queens. In the fragment quoted above he expands their

horizons by introducing three terms in the place of one. In other places he makes them sound better versed in gay discourse by putting in their mouths words such as “bi-curious” (36), when the original read “którzy właśnie mieli po raz pierwszy spróbować” [those who were to try it (gay sex) for the first time] (38), or “tranny” (45), when the characters in the source text talk about dressing up – “się przebi-erac” (46). In this way the unnamed becomes tamed, neatly categorised and familiar – or, in other words, compatible with the gender discourse well established in Anglo-American culture.

8. Thugs will be thugs

Conversely, Paloff has no desire to make the Polish thugs in Masłowska’s novel sound better educated than they are in the original. Instead he wanted to “invent a hybrid language that would be readable in English and faithful to Masłowska’s Polish” (Weaver 2005), thus setting himself an ambitious task. His translation is very close to the original, at times even literal. For the most part, especially as far as the sentence structure is concerned, it does not domesticate Masłowska’s highly individual, anarchic style nor does it, in the words of Looby, “make the book easily digestible for an English-speaking audience” (2011, online). The following translated fragment from the very beginning of the book illustrates the translator’s approach well:

- (2) First she told me she had good news and bad news. Leaning across the bar. Which do I want first. The good news, I say. So she told me that in town it looks like there’s a Polish-Ruski war under a white-and-red flag. I say, How do you know, she says she heard. So I say, Then I’ll take the bad. So she took out her lipstick and told me that Magda says it’s over between me and her. Then she winks at the Bartender like that if something happens, she wants him to come over. And that’s how I found out that she dumped me. Magda, that is. Even though we’d had it good, we’d had our share of nice times, a lot of nice words had been said, on my part as well as hers. For real. The Bartender says to me, Fuck it. Though it’s not so simple. The way I’d found out how it was, or rather, how it wasn’t, it wasn’t like she’d told me straight into my face, only it was just the other way round, she’d told me through Arleta. I chalk it up to her being a total asshole, to her disrespect. And I’m not going to hide it, even though she was my girlfriend, about whom I can say that a lot of different things had passed between us, good as well as bad. Anyway, she shouldn’t have said it through a friend like that, so I’d be the last to hear. (Masłowska 2005: 1–2).

Probably the first thing one notices when looking at the English version is its stream of consciousness-style spoken quality. The text is very informal, its syntax is fragmented and reported speech mingles with direct speech. Registers are mixed – colloquial phrases such as “dumped me” or “chalk it up” appear next to more formal ones such as “on my part as well as hers” or “whom.” There are repetitions characteristic of spoken language, for instance, the phrase “she[’s] told me” is repeated five times. Some structures are unnecessarily convoluted and difficult to follow (“The way I’d found out how it was, or rather, how it wasn’t, it wasn’t like (...) only it was just the other way round (...).”). One might also notice clichés (“we’ve had our share of nice times”), grammatically illogical sentences (“about whom I can say that a lot of different things had passed between us”), and incorrect idioms (“she’d told me straight into my face”). If one reads the excerpt aloud, however, one might discover there is a rhythm and poetry to be found in this banality and non-sense.

All of the above features have been successfully transferred from the Polish original, where, as noted previously, the content seems to be less important than form. Or rather, the form is the content, as the language employed by the author is a clear reflection of the state of confusion experienced by the characters in the novel. Masłowska has said in an interview that with *Snow White and Russian Red* she set out to destroy the Polish language (Masłowska 2009, online) and Paloff seems happy to let that be reflected in the translation.

One element of this systematic destruction that has mostly been lost in translation is the mixture of different jargons, known to the characters not only from the media, such as colourful magazines, reality TV or political shows, but also from school. Many phrases in the book look like they have been copied straight from a revision crib, which would not be surprising, considering the fact that the young author of *White and Red* had just passed her A-levels shortly before she published her novel. As a result, the narrator speaks in clichés which, again, just like other culture-specific items, are immediately recognisable for Poles but, if translated literally, would most likely be lost on the target reader. What is interesting to note is that in the few instances when these clichés are actually carried across they are considered a weakness of the book and a failure on the part of the translator, as becomes apparent from one of the reviews in the American press: “What will turn off North American readers will be its simplistic use of language that tries to translate Polish slang into American idiom and only ends up with an unending regiment of clichés” (Reyes 2005, online).

9. Conclusion

As established in the introduction, both novels discussed in this article can be described as key cultural texts in their source culture and their position as such has definitely played a role in their selection for translation into English. It is reasonable to assume that English-speaking readers would expect both novels to bring some insights into the post-1989 reality in Poland, and especially Poland's complex relationship with its communist past. And indeed, such a relation seems, at least in part, to be the theme of both books. But neither of the source texts in question owes its key cultural text status to the content alone. It is first and foremost the language employed by the authors that reflects the characters' difficulties in dealing with the profound social and political changes that have been taking place in Poland in the last few decades. At the level of lexis, this tension between the new and the old is especially visible when it comes to communist-related vocabulary and gender terminology. On the level of style, it comes to the surface with intertextual references to Polish canonical writers.

As the short comparative analysis conducted above has shown, the inevitable shifts involved in the process of translation have had an impact on the social changes which constitute the focus of the novels. The transition from communist to post-communist Poland inscribed in the novels' idiom is given a different force when the communist-related vocabulary is over-translated (by Martin) or neutralised (by Paloff). Similarly, the discrepancies between the language used by the members of the gay community in the communist era and the way they speak now is less jarring if the pre-1989 terminology is made modern and more aware. In turn, the disappearance of the intertextual references from both translations naturally takes them out of the source culture's literary canon and places them in the target literary canon. Finally, the humour resulting from clichés familiar to readers within the source culture is likely to be lost on the target readership whether they are translated literally or not.

Despite all these problems, both *Lovetown* and *White and Red* inspired positive reviews in the English press, even if, as Carl Tighe dutifully warns, "contemporary Polish writing is not an 'easy read'" (2010: 193). The target readers' expectations associated with learning something about the new Polish reality have partly been met, but *only* partly, because some elements of change, transition or tension present in the novels' language have been made more static in English translation. Based on the translation shifts and changes presented in the above analysis, I would argue that these works' status as key cultural texts has not (and could not have) been transferred. Perhaps it is to be expected that a key cultural text will sometimes translate into 'good literature' or an 'interesting read' but might lose the elements that made it a 'key' to understanding something about the source culture. Or it might become

a key cultural text for a different reason than within the source culture. Frank Kermode said canonical texts must be granted “the blessing of change”. I would say, the status of key cultural texts must be granted the same privilege in translation.

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PART III

Texts and places

Lithuanian literature in English

Two English translations of Romualdas Granauskas's short story "The Bread Eaters" (1975)

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The purpose of this article is to compare two translations into English of the Lithuanian short story "The Bread Eaters" (1975) written by Romualdas Granauskas. Corpus-based methods are used in order to detect the stylistically and culturally important lexical features of the source text and to evaluate their translations. Specifically, global statistics, keywords, and parallel concordances of the selected lexical items of the original and translations are compared. I argue that a corpus-based analysis of the original and translated texts, used alongside their manual assessment, may help to objectively identify specific features of the Key Cultural Texts, evaluate their retention in translations, and guarantee more accurate target representation of the encoded cultural concepts and ideas of the source text.

Keywords: Granauskas, Lithuanian literature, Key Cultural Texts, corpus-based translation studies

1. Introduction

The existence of several translations of the same work raises various questions: how the translations differ from each other, how they represent the source culture and the encoded meanings, and what their effect is on the target audience. The questions become especially topical if the authors whose texts are translated are acknowledged in the source culture as voices of the cultural and historical narratives of the nation. In this sense, their work can be seen as Key Cultural Texts that encode important aspects of national identity through topics discussed and meanings created, evoke similar associations in the minds of people in the same culture, are chosen for translation as being representative of the nation and its literature, and form a specific image of the country in the global community. It could

be argued that for little-translated languages such as Lithuanian, each literary text translated into English, a global language, may function as a Key Cultural Text, as it may happen to be the first and only acquaintance with a foreign culture for a specific target reader. However, the need to be heard by international audiences may overshadow the issue of the quality of translation and its adequacy to the original text. The value of the published translation is often taken for granted and is unquestioned. Criticism of Lithuanian literature in English or research on target audience feedback is rather minimal (see, for example, Jonikaitė 2004), which contrasts with established review traditions of Lithuanian translations of English works. It may be suggested that the existence of several English translations of the same text also evidences the lack of research in Lithuanian literature in foreign languages. The works are repeatedly translated without a clear reason: not because of the popularity or quality of translations, but due to ignorance of their existence. For example, there are two translations of Juozas Aputis's short story "Horizonte bėga šernai" (2005), Vanda Juknaitė's novella "Stiklo šalis" (1995), Romualdas Granauskas's short story "Duonos valgytojai" (1975), Dalia Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs "Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros" (1997), and Icchokas Meras's short story "Žemė visada gyva" (1963). Although the need for several translations of the same work may sometimes be questionable, they may serve as a useful source for researching theoretical and practical aspects topical for translation studies.

The focus of the present article is Romualdas Granauskas's short story "The Bread Eaters" which was translated into English first by Rita Dapkus, Gregory M. Grazevich and Violeta Kelertienė (1992), and subsequently by Laima Sruoginis (2002). The aim is to identify the stylistic features and keywords of the source text and to examine how they are rendered in the two translations. Corpus-based methods and tools, specifically the program WordSmith Tools (Scott 2010) and the multilingual concordancer ParaConc (Barlow 1995) are used to retrieve the global statistics, keywords, and parallel concordances of the selected lexical items of the original and translations. *The Lithuanian-English Corpus of Prose* (Vaičėnonienė 2011) encompassing works by 43 Lithuanian authors and 95 texts is used as a reference corpus for the generation of the keyword lists.

2. Romualdas Granauskas's "The Bread Eaters" and its two translations into English

According to Barker (2004: 31), cultural texts are embedded with ideologies. Continuing the idea, translation can be seen as a cultural experience transfer. Apart from the aesthetic and literary value, a translated cultural text acquires a new informative function and becomes a conceptual map of the history and values of the

source culture for the target audience. The short story, “The Bread Eaters”, can be seen as a Key Cultural Text for several reasons: the author is acknowledged in the Lithuanian literary canon; it archetypically represents and reinforces the image of Lithuanian pre-war and Soviet life in the narrative of Lithuanian history; and the short story has been included in two different anthologies of Lithuanian literature in English, which shows that Granauskas’s work is seen as representing the Lithuanian cultural and historical past.

Granauskas (1939–2014) was a Lithuanian prosaist, essayist and playwright, awarded the Lithuanian National Prize in 2000. Literary critics refer to him as one of the strongest Lithuanian village prose writers (*R. Granauskas: kūryba – mano pašaukimas*, 2009: 1). His works, some of which have been made into films, often represent the collapse of the old Lithuanian agrarian culture and worldview which is usually in opposition to the degraded and demoralized society of the Soviet village (Willeke 1982; Stadalnykaitė 2001; Juknaitė 2003). Translations of some of Granauskas’s major writings have been published in the following sources:

1. Kelertas V. (1992). *Come into My Time: Lithuania in Prose Fiction, 1970–90*. Chicago: University of Illinois. Translated short stories: “Duonos valgytojai (The Bread Eaters)”, “Raudoni miškai (The Red Forests)”.
2. Sruoginis L. (1997). *Lithuania: in Her Own Words. An Anthology of Contemporary Lithuanian Writing*. Vilnius: Tyto Alba. Translated short story: “Bružas (Bružas)”.
3. Sruoginis L. (2002). *The Earth Remains: An Anthology of Contemporary Lithuanian Prose*. Vilnius: Tyto Alba. Translated short story: “Duonos valgytojai (The Bread Eaters)”.
4. *Vilnius*, No 6. (1997). Translated short story: “Su peteliške ant lūpų (With a Butterfly on His Lips)”.

“The Bread Eaters” is especially representative of Granauskas’s writings as it depicts the tragedy of the post-war village: the nostalgically presented traditions, beliefs and rituals of the old generation are downgraded and rejected. The young generation does not have any ideals; their lives are chaotic and signal the moral degradation of the entire soviet society (Stadalnykaitė 2001: 5). The central event of the short story is the baking and eating of bread, which is a sacred ritual for old Rimkus and his wife, but a casual Sunday activity for their daughter and her husband, the representatives of the young generation.

A majority of the translations of Lithuanian literature have been carried out by the Lithuanian émigrés, as is the case with “The Bread Eaters”. Laima Vincė Sruoginis is a third generation Lithuanian émigré writer, poet and professional translator (*Lietuvis. Weekly Lithuanian Newspaper in Europe* 2013: 1). Laima Sruoginis edited and translated two anthologies of Lithuanian literature into English (*Lithuania: In Her Own Words*, 1997; *The Earth Remains*, 2002), which shows her importance for

the formation of an image of Lithuanian literature for foreign audiences. The second translation appeared in another anthology of Lithuanian literature *Come into My Time: Lithuania in Prose Fiction, 1970–90* (1992), prepared and edited by first generation American Lithuanian, Violeta Kelertienė, a literary scholar, critic and professional translator (*Rašytojai*, 1). Unlike the translation by Laima Sruoginis, the translation of “The Bread Eaters” in this anthology is presented as a collaborative work of three translators: Rita Dapkus, Gregory M. Grazevich, and Violeta Kelertienė. The fact that the two translations of the short story have been carried out by professional translators and represent both individual and collaborative work makes “The Bread Eaters” suitable material for this study.

3. A corpus-based evaluation of the two English translations of “The Bread Eaters”

The interdisciplinary nature of translation studies encourages the borrowing of different methods from various fields of research. The application of the methods of corpus linguistics has not only contributed to translation practice and theory, but also led to the development of a branch of translation studies that is now well established, Corpus Based Translation Studies (Zanettin 2012: 20–21). An especially popular research trend is the investigation of translation universals or features, suggested by Baker (1993 and 1995) and developed in the works of a number of other scholars (e.g., Laviosa 1997, 1999 and 2002; Kenny 2001; Pym 2010; Zanettin 2013). According to this approach, translations constitute a language variety with its own characteristic features. Initially, Baker distinguished four features observable in translated texts which could be investigated across different languages in order to show their common regularity: simplification, explicitation, normalisation and levelling out (Baker 1993 and 1995). Drawing on the results of subsequent research, Pym (2010: 79–81) provides a revised set of the features of translations:

- Lexical simplification: “translations tend to have a narrower range of lexical items than do non translations, and they tend to have a higher proportion of high-frequency lexical items.”
- Explicitation: “a particular kind of simplification found in the greater “redundancy” of translations.”
- Adaptation: “translations tend to adapt to the norms of the target language and culture.”
- Equalising: “simultaneous interpreting reduces both extremes of the oral-literate continuum.”
- Unique items: “linguistic elements found in the target culture but not in the source culture tend not to appear in translations”.

As this list shows, the originally broad notions of simplification and explicitation (Baker 1993) are narrowed down to lexical simplification and syntactic explicitation (Pym 2010); normalisation (Baker 1993) is synonymous with adaptation (Pym 2010); leveling out (Baker 1993) is mentioned as a feature of simultaneous interpreting called equalizing (Pym 2010). Also, the unique items feature proposed by Trikkonen-Condit (2002) and Eskola (2004) is added. A detailed survey of major studies of the features of translation, their linguistic evidence and research methods is given by Zanettin (2013: 22), who mentions simplification, explicitation, normalisation, transfer (synonymous with levelling out), translation of unique items and asymmetry (which can be seen as an aspect of explicitation) as features which support the theory of translation universals. Despite the terminological variation and discussions about the pervasiveness and dependency of the features on the norms of the cultural systems in which translations are produced, generally, scholars agree that translated language shares similar characteristics cross-culturally.

In translation studies, corpus based methods are common not only when researching the features of translations, but also when stylistic differences between an original and its translation(s) are analysed (Tomaszczyk 2012: 6). Similarly, as Kenning claims:

In addition to lending themselves to the study of translationese and the tendencies of translated text, parallel and comparable corpora can be used to investigate the style of individual translators (Baker 2000), or to gain insights into the strategies used by translators in relation to a specific issue [...], or how translators ensure linguistic and cultural mediation [...]. (Kenning 2010: 495)

The methodological approach of the present article combines a comparison of the stylistic patterning of original and translations with a search for the possible manifestation of simplification or explicitation in translations.

3.1 A comparison of global statistics

The global statistics function available in WordSmith Tools can help scholars decide which specific differences between originals and translations should be further examined. The numerical information (see Table 3.1) allows us to assess the lexical richness of the original and translations (type-token ratios), as well as to reveal certain syntactic changes occurring in target texts (sentence number and length).

The difference between the Lithuanian and English tokens is a result of the structural differences between the languages when, for example, declensional information encoded in one Lithuanian word has to be expressed by several English function words; the grammatical category of articles is not present in Lithuanian, etc. For example:

- (1) *Raudona* (ADJ) *danguis* (N, GEN) *šviesa* (N, NOM) (Granauskas 1975: 6)
 Red sky's light.
 The pink light of the sky. (Sruoginis 2002: 174)

Table 3.1 Global statistics for Granauskas's "The Bread Eaters" and its translations

Texts	Tokens*	Types**	Type-token ratio*** (whole texts)	Standardized type-token ratio (1000 words)
Granauskas (1975)	3918	1839	46.49	63.27
Dapkus et al. (1992)	6283	1246	19.83	40.00
Sruoginis (2002)	6707	1262	18.82	40.57

* The overall number of words in a text.

** The number of different words in a text.

*** Shows the lexical complexity of the text and is calculated by dividing the number of tokens by the number of types. To ensure comparability between texts of different lengths, a standardised type token ratio (e.g., per 1000 words) is calculated.

On the other hand, a visibly lower number of word types in the two translations suggests a possible lexical simplification and could be analysed in more detail. Dapkus *et al.*'s translation has a lower number of types and tokens in comparison to Sruoginis's text. The standardised type-token ratio for the source text is 63.27, while for Dapkus *et al.*'s translation it is 40.00 and for Sruoginis's text it is 40.57. It can be assumed that as the source text has the highest ratio, the author's vocabulary range is richer than that of the two translations, which demonstrate a surprising similarity in type-token ratios. However, the numbers might differ because of the structural differences in the languages, rather than the translations themselves; therefore, the type-token ratio of translated texts should be compared against the type-token ratio calculated for the reference corpora of original English prose texts (Zanettin 2008: 291). Zanettin (2008) shows that the standardised type-token ratio for the reference corpus of original English prose texts is 44.44;¹ which is slightly higher than the numbers found in the two translations in focus here.

The number of sentences in translations is of particular interest (Table 3.2). It is assumed that translators tend to split longer sentences into shorter ones and that a lower average sentence length can point to syntactic simplification (Laviosa 2002: 61–62).

Table 3.2 Sentence number in Granauskas's "The Bread Eaters" and its translations

Category	Granauskas (1975)	Dapkus et al. (1992)	Sruoginis (2002)
Sentences	330	339	380

1. Lithuanian-English Corpus of Prose: 690,164 tokens; 102,897 types, type-token ratio: 14.94; standardised type-token ratio: 63.69.

The numbers in the table show that, for the translations of the short story, Laviosa's (2002) claim that translators split longer sentences is valid, especially in Sruoginis's translation, which has 50 sentences more than the original text. Thus, although lexically Sruoginis's translation has shown higher type-token frequencies, Dapkus *et al.*'s translation retains the syntactic structuring of the text more accurately. A further manual analysis of the texts helps to illustrate syntactic changes in the translations:

- (2) *Kažkas ateina per didelį tuščią sapną, – senoji visuomet sapnuoja tokius sapnus: lyg bulviakasio laukus, lyg nušienautas pievas, tiktai niekur nė vieno žmogaus, jau labai daug išmirė, ir pačiam sapno pakrašty kūpso žolėtos kalvelės: tėvo, motinos, vaikų, kaimynų visų ir nebepresiminsi, jau kiek rudenių ten žolė pavysta, o žiemą – nė tų kalvelių, balta lyguma, ir brenda senoji į pakraštį, baksnoja lazda priešais: gal užbes vieną!* (Granauskas 1975)

Someone is coming through the big, empty dream; the old woman always has these dreams: something like the potato fields at harvest, something like mowed meadows, only there's no one anywhere, many have died, and at the very edge of her dream lie their grass-covered mounds. (2) Father, mother, the children, the neighbors, can't even remember them all, fall after fall the grass dies and in winter – no mounds, just a white plain, the old woman wades to its edge, poking her cane before her: maybe she'll find one? (Dapkus *et al.* 1992)

Someone was walking through a huge empty dream... (2) The old lady always has dreams like this: She is alone in a potato field, or a freshly harvested field, only no one is in sight, already so many are dead. (3) On the very edges of the dream stand the grassy mounds that are her father, her mother, her children, her neighbors – everyone, even those she can't remember anymore; how many autumns has the grass withered there, and in the winter even those mounds don't disappear, but remain beneath a white plain, and the old lady makes her way through the deep snow to the very edge, waving her cane in front of her: Maybe she'll hit one! (Sruoginis 2002)

The sentence introduces the awakening of a new character, the old village woman, Rimkienė. It is not clear whether she is already awake, still dreaming or seeing a vision. The vision seen by Rimkienė is presented as a stream of consciousness: the flow of thoughts is encoded without interruption and framed into one sentence. This rhythm is not retained in either of the translations. Dapkus *et al.* split the syntactically complex structure into two, while Sruoginis splits it into three separate sentences. Consequently, there are visible punctuation differences between the translations and the original. For example, a question mark at the end of the sentence in Dapkus *et al.*'s translation gives a shade of uncertainty not present in the exclamatory original. Sruoginis introduces suspension points which disrupt the vision of the old woman.

As well as global statistics, keyword analysis can provide ample material on the stylistic choices made by translators.

3.2 A comparison of the keyword lists

The notion of the keyword is understood differently in various branches of research. In corpus linguistics, keyness is “a quality words may have in a given text or set of texts, suggesting that they are important, they reflect what the text is really about, avoiding trivia and insignificant detail” (Scott and Tribble 2006: 55–56). WordSmith Tools (Scott 2010) classifies a word as “key” if it has an unusually high frequency in a text in comparison with some norm, e.g., a set of words for reference taken from a larger corpus. In literature, keywords may reflect the essence of the work, highlight the main topics and characters, or reveal the encoded symbols and images. It is, therefore, important that keywords be translated as such; otherwise, the target reader might form a different impression about the texture and meaning of the text than was intended by the author.

3.2.1 *An analysis of original keyword list*

To generate the keywords, the wordlists² of the short story and its translations were compared against the Lithuanian (690,164 tokens) and English (1,009,796 tokens) wordlists of *The Lithuanian-English Corpus of Prose* (Vaičėnėnienė 2011).

Table 3.3 Comparison of the keywords in original and translations

No	Granauskas (1975)	Freq.	Dapkus <i>et al.</i> (1992)	Freq.	Sruoginis (2002)	Freq.
1	<i>senoji</i> (old one; nominative*)	14	Bread	27	Bread	43
2	<i>galvoja</i> (think)	12	Pail	11	She	109
3	<i>Mineikis</i> (surname, nominative)	8	Mineikis	11	Oven	14
4	<i>jau</i> (already)	54	Oven	13	Cabin	11
5	<i>tėvas</i> (father; nominative)	16	Says	20	Mineikis	11
6	<i>šlept</i> (onomatopoeia)	6	She	97	Bucket	11
7	<i>žiūri</i> (look)	14	Son-in-law	11	Hallway	9
8	<i>eina</i> (go)	15	Goes	13	Vanda	8
9	<i>duona</i> (bread; nominative)	9	Thinks	10	Store	10

2. A list of all words of the corpus or text, which can be presented alphabetically or according to word frequency (Zanettin 2012: 117).

Table 3.3 (continued)

No	Granauskas (1975)	Freq.	Dapkus <i>et al.</i> (1992)	Freq.	Sruoginis (2002)	Freq.
10	<i>troba</i> (cottage; accusative)	7	Father	26	Up	58
11	<i>kibirą</i> (bucket; accusative)	6	Can	40	Shlep	6
12	<i>ant</i> (on)	38	Vanda	8	Milk	13
13	<i>mato</i> (see)	9	Porch	9	Maybe	21
14	<i>duonkepio</i> (bread-baking stove's; genitive)	4	Milk	13	Father	24
15	<i>Vandą</i> (name, accusative)	4	Looks	12	son-in-law	8
16	<i>stojasi</i> (is standing up)	4	Rimkus	6	gyvatė	5
17	<i>o</i> (whereas)	61	Store	8	baking	6
18	<i>tėvai</i> (parents; nominative)	7	Peel	5	pasture	7
19	<i>priemenėj</i> (in porch; locative)	4	Bake	5	potato	7
20	<i>buvo</i> (was)	4	Door	19	anymore	8
21			You	93	threshold	7
22			Hurries	5	Old	28
23			Sees	7	Her	81
24			Cow	8	Rimkus	5
25			Old	26	Marytė	6
26			Potato	6	freshly	5
27			Stands	8	Cow	8
28			White	17	Pants	7
29			Pants	7	skuodas	4
30			Build	7	rubles	5
31			Maple	6	Above	11
32			Shuffle	4	beyond	10
33			Skuodas	4	By	3
34			Rubles	5		
35			Opens	5		
36			Tank	4		
37			That	25		
38			Had	4		
39			Was	14		

* Words in bold have lexical equivalents in English, but the semantic, cultural and visual associations they evoke for the two cultures are different.

The Lithuanian keywords can be generally divided into those denoting characters (proper and common nouns, nominalised adjective) and actions (verbs). The key nouns show the major participants (e.g., *senoji* “the old one/woman/mother” (NOM); *tėvas* “father” (NOM); *duona* “bread” (NOM)) and setting (e.g., *trobą* “cottage” (ACC); *duonkepio* “bread-baking stove’s” (GEN); *priemenėj* “in porch” (LOC)) of the short story. They reflect and strengthen the theme of the idealized and romanticised Lithuanian village before the soviet occupation. According to Wierzbicka, keywords are words which are “particularly important and revealing in a given culture” (1997: 15). Even if they have lexical equivalents in other languages, their semantic and connotative values may differ as they “reflect and pass on ways of living and ways of thinking characteristic of a given society [...] and provide priceless clues to the understanding of culture” (Wierzbicka 1997: 4). Five of eight key nouns (*senoji*, *duona*, *troba*, *duonkepio*, *priemenėj*) can be treated as Lithuanian cultural keywords which allude to a particular historical époque, carry strong emotional and connotative value, and evoke similar associations for Lithuanian readers. Therefore, it may be supposed that their retention is especially important. Even though it is naïve to believe that translation will transfer the original with all its cultural connotations and associations, it can be expected that at least the lexical equivalents of the keywords will occur with the same frequency.

Action and mental verbs show that the story is told from the present tense perspective as if the events are happening at the time the story is narrated (*galvoja*, *žiūri*, *mato*, *stojasi*³). Biber and Conrad (2009: 138) claim that the more common style of fiction is to narrate past events; one of the typical “narrative” linguistic features is past tense verbs. When present tense verbs are used in such discourse, they help the author to create “a greater sense of immediacy or involvement” (Biber and Conrad 2009: 138). Thus Granauskas’s choice to use present instead of past tense verbs is a characteristic feature of the short story. There is also one case of an onomatopoeic expression which among other meanings may be used to imitate the sound of someone walking slowly, with difficulty and dragging their feet (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, 2005). According to Simpson (2008: 67), onomatopoeia holds an important position in the “stylistic texture” of a literary work, and the onomatopoeic word (*šlept* [ʃlept]) occurring in the Lithuanian keyword list can also be considered a conscious stylistic choice which should be adequately represented in the target text.

3. Translation: thinks, watches/looks, sees, stands up.

3.2.2 *An analysis of keyword lists of translations*

The keyword list of the translation by Dapkus *et al.*, displays both similarities to and differences from the original work. The English keyword list is more detailed; most nouns and verbs match the Lithuanian keywords. The frequency differences between the Lithuanian and English keywords may be explained by the fact that the same Lithuanian word is used in different grammatical cases. For example, the keyword *duona* has only nine occurrences, whereas its translation, “bread” has 27. However, the lemmatised frequency list of the Lithuanian text shows that the lemma *duona* includes such forms of the word as *duoną* (ACC, nine occurrences), *duonos* (GEN, seven occurrences), *duona* (NOM, five occurrences), and *duonelė* (NOM, diminutive, one occurrence).

As mentioned before, the Lithuanian keyword list includes several references to the major participants in the story who are representatives of the old generation: *senoji, tėvas, tėvai*. The English list includes reference to the male character, “father” (26 occurrences) and *Rimkus* (six occurrences), whereas his wife whose part in the story is equally important is not mentioned. On the other hand, the pronoun “she” (97 occurrences) and the adjective “old” (26 occurrences) which might be the first element of the adjective-noun compound may refer to the female character. Other cultural keywords are either translated by their lexical equivalents (*duonkepio*, “oven”; *priemenėj*, “porch”) or are not reflected in the keyword list (*troba*, “house”). The onomatopoeic word for a way of walking, *šlept*, is also not present in the English list, which could signal the translators’ choice to simplify and adhere to the norms of the target language. The situation is different with verbs, as all the Lithuanian key verbs have equivalent English counterparts (goes, thinks, looks, sees, stands). As the verbs are used in the present tense, the immediacy of action and relation to real life events are adequately transferred.

The keyword list for Sruoginis’s translation significantly differs from the one by Dapkus *et al.* Although the English list is nearly twice as long as the Lithuanian, half of the Lithuanian words do not have English counterparts. Like the keyword list of Dapkus *et al.*’s translation, apart from the pronouns “she” (109), “her” (81) and the adjective “old” (28), there is no explicit reference to the main female character of the short story. The cultural keyword *bread* (43 cases) is used with a higher frequency than the other two keyword lists. The rest of the cultural keywords are rendered by lexical equivalents: *duonkepio*, “oven”; *trobą*, “cabin”; *priemenėj*, “hallway”. The Lithuanian onomatopoeia *šlept* is translated as “shlep”. The translator’s choice is an orthographic adaptation (š – sh) and simplification of the word: although the English counterpart clearly stands out as a loan word, its pronunciation is adjusted to the English audience by leaving out the final letter “t”. The keyword list also reveals an inconsistency in the treatment of the loan words. For example, another

loan, *gyvatė*, “snake” (five cases) and the proper name *Marytė* (six cases) retain the Lithuanian orthography and are not adapted to the spelling conventions of the target language. The most visible incongruity of the keyword list is seen in the absence of verbs: the keyword list does not have any reference to action as it includes only nouns, adjectives, pronouns and adverbs.

Without contextual information it is not possible to understand the reasons for the mismatches. However, a parallel concordancing function (ParaConc 1995) used to extract all the Lithuanian-English occurrences of a specific word and its surrounding context may help to reveal how the specific word was translated.

3.3 A comparison of the translation of selected keywords

To see the reasons for the variations identified in the Lithuanian and English keyword lists, the following keywords and their translations are discussed:

1. nominalised adjective: the reference to the female character *senoji*;
2. onomatopoeic word: *šlept*;
3. the present tense verbs: *galvoja*, *žiūri*, *eina*, *mato*, *stojasi*.

3.3.1 *An analysis of the translation of the nominalised adjective*

The English keyword lists do not show any explicit equivalent of the nominalised adjective *senoji*. The *Lithuanian Language Dictionary (Lietuvių kalbos žodynas)* provides two possible meanings of the word: (1) one of the parents or grandparents; (2) the older one. Thus, Lithuanian attributes to the character not only the characteristics of old age, but also defines her as a parent and a wife. The concordance lines⁴ of the query *senoji* illustrate the different translation choices made in order to render the multiple meanings of the word:

Table 3.4 Translation of the keyword *senoji*

Granauskas (1975)	Dapkus et al. (1992)	Sruoginis (2002)
<i>Senoji</i> (13)	The old woman (13)	The old lady (4) The old woman (7) Rimkienė (1) She (1)

4. A list of all occurrences of the searched word in the text and its surrounding context (Zanettin 2012: 124).

In the translation by Dapkus *et al.*, “the old woman” denotes an aged person who may be someone’s wife or mother (*Longman’s Dictionary of Contemporary English*), thus it rather closely reflects the Lithuanian keyword. From the perspective of textual coherence, the translation of the keyword is consistent: the same reference to the character is retained throughout the text, as it is in the original. Semantically, Sruoginis’s translation also conveys the meaning of the original as both “the old lady” and “the old woman” may be used synonymously to refer to a woman of old age who may be someone’s mother or wife (*Longman’s Dictionary of Contemporary English*). However, the high frequency of the Lithuanian keyword shows its significance for the original text whereas the use of synonyms weakens the keyness of the word and disrupts the original cohesive patterning. To illustrate:

- (3) a. *Senoji prisnūdo pirmiau už jį.* (Granauskas 1975)
 b. **The old woman** drifted off before he did. (Dapkus *et al.* 1992)
 c. The old man fell asleep before **she** did. (Sruoginis 2002)

Dapkus *et al.*’s translation retains the same thematic structuring and meaning as the original: the old woman falls asleep sooner than her husband does. Both in the Lithuanian and English sentences, the female character is the main participant and actor of the sentence. However, in Sruoginis’s translation, the nominal reference to the woman is simplified to a pronominal (“she”) and transferred to the end of the sentence; the message is misinterpreted as it becomes the old man who falls asleep first.

3.3.2 *An analysis of the translation of onomatopoeia*

As has been mentioned, onomatopoeic words are used for stylistic purposes to give aesthetic or emotional value to the message. The Lithuanian onomatopoeia *šlept* is used to describe the heavy steps of an old man, which invade the dreams and awakening of his wife and son-in-law. This specific walking is an important characteristic of Rimkus: the family members do not need to see the old man; they recognise him from the way he walks. The translations are as follows:

Table 3.5 Translation of the keyword *šlept*

Granauskas (1975)	Dapkus et al. (1992)	Sruoginis (2002)
Šlept (6)	Padding (2) Shuffle (4)	Shlep (6)

Both translations can be treated as deviations from the original. Dapkus *et al.* do not transfer the implication of the monotonous, slow and repetitive walking of an old man which symbolises his weariness on the one hand and pervasive presence on the other. For example:

- (4) a. *Ir dar jis girdi: uošvis šlept šlept taku daržinės pusėn, mintyse mato ...*
 (Granauskas 1975)
- b. And what's more he hears his father-in-law, **padding** on his way to the barn.
 (Dapkus *et al.* 1992)
- c. He listened how – **shlep shlep** – his father-in-law **made his way** across the path towards the shed.
 (Sruoginis 2002)

In the original, the onomatopoeia is duplicated to strengthen its effect and imply the repeated action. In translation (b), the repetition is replaced with the present participle “padding”, which implies a soft and quiet type of walking (*Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English*). Although Sruoginis's translation is consistent and conveys the characteristics of the old man, simplification works at the grapho-phonological level of language: the English adaptation of onomatopoeia is easier to read and pronounce for the target readers. Moreover, in example (c), the foreign sounding word is explicated as *made his way* which is absent from the Lithuanian sentence.

3.3.3 An analysis of verb translation

It was mentioned above that fiction is characterised by “narrative” linguistic features such as past tense verbs (Biber and Conrad 2009: 138). Adaptation to conventional norms or simplification occurs when the present tense verbs of the Lithuanian short story are adapted to the traditional style of narration in the past tense (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Translation of the key verbs from the perspective of tense

Granauskas (1975)	Dapkus <i>et al.</i> (1992)		Sruoginis (2002)		
Present tense	Present tense	Past tense	Present tense	Past tense	Omission
Eina (15)	15	0	2	13	0
Žiūri (14)	14	0	3	11	0
Galvoja (12)	12	0	2	9	1
Mato (9)	8	1	0	8	1
Stojasi (4)	4	0	0	4	0
Total: 54	53	1	7	45	2
Percentage: 100%	98%	2%	13%	83%	4%

The narration of events in present tense and the resulting immediacy of the action are systematically transferred in Dapkus *et al.*'s translation. In nearly all cases, Lithuanian present tense verbs, although with some synonymic variation, retain the same grammatical form in the target text. The only case of tense change occurs in the translation of the verb *mato*:

- (5) a. ... *šlept šlept taku daržinės pusėn, mintyse mato jo basas kojas...*
In his head he **can see** the bare feet ...
- b. ... *apeina ją iš kitos pusės. Ji dabar mato, kad kibiras visai nepilnas,*
...Now she **sees** that it's not even a pailful, barely a half, ...
- c. ... *jo prasišviečia kitas kaimas, ir Rimkus mato išnykstantį po šakomis žentą.*
... and Rimkus **sees** his son-in-law disappearing under the branches.
- d. ... *žodžius, negalėjo galvoti apie tai, ką mato: ...*
... she **couldn't bear to think** about what she **was seeing**: ...
- e. ... *persmelkia širdį, ir atsigręžusi mato: ant vartų stulpo tupi didysis varnas,...*
... pierces her heart, and turning around she **sees** a large raven ...
- f. *Kvailys: tegu atseit visi mato, kad buvo kazilinės.*
The jerk – he does it so everybody **can see** there's been a roof-raising.
- g. ... *Ji irgi mato tą debesį.*
She also **sees** the cloud.
- h. ... *penki suprakaitavę rubliai, jis ir pats mato, kad suprakaitavę.*
... the five sweaty rubles, even he **can see** they're sweaty.
- i. ... *jis pasiima savo duoną, eina namo, mato akyse raudonus didelius ratilus.*
... he takes his bread and heads home, **seeing** large red circles before his eyes.

The examples are representative of the translation of key verbs by Dapkus *et al.* Largely, the present tense verbs are transferred (sentences b, c, e) or with minor changes to their grammatical form such as adding a modal verb (sentences a, f, h) or expressing the information in present participles (sentence i). Sentence (d) stands out as an exception to the general pattern and does not diminish the overall stylistic effect. The past continuous form of the verb “to see”, “was seeing”, is used to retain consistency in tense agreement within the sentence as the preceding verb is in past tense in both Lithuanian and English texts (*negalėjo galvoti*, “couldn't bear to think”). Apart from the changes mentioned, synonymic expressions also occur in the translations of other key verbs. For example, *žiūri*: looks, to see, is watching, glances; *eina*: goes, set out, goes out, comes back, walk, hurries, are taking their time, heads. However, synonymy in this case diminishes the value of the keyword and adds semantic connotations absent in the original.

In the translation by Sruoginis, the dominant pattern is to change the Lithuanian present tense verbs into English past tense verbs (83%), i.e., the adaptation of the text to the conventional and expected style of narration. The two cases of omission can also be seen as a divergence from the original stylistic patterning. To exemplify, let us compare the translations of the key verb discussed above, *mato*:

- (6) a. ... *šlept šlept taku daržinės pusėn, mintyse mato jo basas kojas...*
He **could just see** in his mind's eye his father-in-law's bare feet...

- b. ... *apeina ją iš kitos pusės. Ji dabar mato, kad kibiras visai nepilnas, ...*
She saw now that the bucket was barely full; maybe almost half full.
- c. ... *jo prasišviečia kitas kaimas, ir Rimkus mato išnykstantį po šakomis žentą.*
Rimkus saw his son-in-law disappear between the branches.
- d. ... *žodžius, negalėjo galvoti apie tai, ką mato: liesus pečius po kartūno suknele.*
... she could not think about what she had seen: Thin shoulders beneath a cotton dress.
- e. ... *persmelkia širdį, ir atsigręžusi mato: ant vartų stulpo tupi didysis varnas, ...*
... stabbed her through her very heart, and then turning around she'd see a huge crow perched on a post, ...
- f. *Kvaily: tegu atseit visi mato, kad buvo kazilinės.*
The fool.
- g. ... *Ji irgi mato tą debesį.*
She also saw that same cloud.
- h. ... *penki suprakaitavę rubliai, jis ir pats mato, kad suprakaitavę.*
... five sweaty rubles, even he could see that they were sweaty.
- i. ... *jis pasiima savo duoną, eina namo, mato akyse raudonus didelius ratilus.*
... he took his bread, went home, and saw huge red circles before his eyes.

In each instance except for sentence (f), the action is told from the past perspective. These changes affect the overall texture and stylistic impression of the text: the readers' involvement decreases as they are distanced from the events told in the story. Example (f) illustrates a case of omission: the original sentence is reduced to one noun, whereas the rest of the sentence with a culture-specific reference to the roof-raising celebration (*kazilinės*) is omitted. As in the case of Dapkus *et al.*, different synonymic expressions are used to translate the same verb: *žiūri* (looked, staring, gazes, watches), *eina* (walked, staggered over, went, passed, came back, moved). The prevalence of the past tense and synonymic variation answers the question of why the keyword list for Sruoginis's text does not include verbs: these translation decisions reduced their stylistic effect and keyness.

Summing up, the contextualised examples have shown stylistic changes in both translations such as inconsistency in the translation of the same word, the use of synonymy, the reduction of repetitions and omissions, and adaptations to the conventional style of narration. The changes mentioned result in diminished stylistic markedness compared to the original text.

4. Conclusions

In this work, a corpus-based analysis was used to examine the stylistic peculiarities of the source text and to analyse whether or to what extent they are retained in the two translations. The analysis has shown that changes to the stylistic patterning of the text occur at different levels of language in both translations, although to a different extent: the avoidance of complex syntactic structures, less elaborate vocabulary evidenced by lower type token ratios, omission or adaptation of stylistically marked lexical items and their repetitions, orthographic inconsistencies, grammatical changes, and synonymic variation which deviates semantically from the original. It can be assumed that the changes observed in translations provide evidence for simplification and explicitation as features of translations, implying that translated texts have a narrower lexical variety and are syntactically less complex (Laviosa 1998). Of course, further research covering a greater variety of genres, texts, authors, translators and languages is necessary to make stronger generalisations.

Although individual changes may be minor, as a whole, they affect the texture, coherence and implications the target reader may experience. As to the extent of stylistic deviations in the two translations, they are more prevalent in Sruoginis's text. It may be inferred that in group translations, stylistic patterning of the target text resembles the original more closely, or that it depends largely on the individual style of translator; however, more data and research are necessary to verify this assumption.

A corpus-based analysis of the original and translations, when used alongside their manual assessment, may help to objectively identify the specific features of the Key Cultural Texts, evaluate their retention in translations, or help translators to transfer the ideas and cultural concepts encoded in the source text.

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Woest of wild

Translating Yorkshire culture in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*

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In the Victorian Era interest in regional culture and dialect and their representation in literature increased. In Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, cultural identity is explored extensively through the representation of dialect and the manner in which the situatedness of the novel in Yorkshire largely determines the identity of the characters. This article compares six Dutch translations of Emily Brontë's novel, examining the manner in which the translators have preserved the specific Yorkshire elements in the target text. We look for patterns of similarity and difference in translation tactics between the early and late twentieth century in the Netherlands. The analysis is focused specifically on the topics of topology and dialect as representations of cultural identity in order to examine decisive elements in the attempt to translate culture.

Keywords: translation, cultural identity, domesticating, topology, dialect, Yorkshire, *Wuthering Heights*, Emily Brontë, Dutch

Introduction

The Victorian Era is renowned for increasing interest in regional culture and dialect features and their representation in literature. In Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, the novel's setting in the Yorkshire region largely determines the identity of the novel's characters. Brontë explored the cultural identity and the representation of dialect extensively. Not only has she placed her story in a very specific geographical location, the Yorkshire moors, but she has also let that geographical location determine the nature of her characters and their idiolect. Brontë's classic is so characteristic of Yorkshire culture, that the translation of that culture into a different cultural region is a challenging translation project. Nevertheless, Brontë's

Wuthering Heights is a novel that has been translated into a wide variety of languages and many times over.

Culture in translation often brings two important moments in the history of translation studies to mind: the Cultural Turn, inspired by André Lefevere, and Cultural Translation as used by Homi Bhabha. Lefevere's work has made translators aware of the "interaction between translation and culture" by stressing the ideological influence of not only the translator, but also other institutions involved (Munday 2008: 125). What interests us most in this article is the relationship between language and identity, an important topic in queer theory (Munday 2008). Even though queer theory mainly focuses on lesbian and gay texts, there are generalities that can be applied to *Wuthering Heights*. The idea that language can construct and change a person's identity will be a topic of analysis in the section on dialect. Additionally, we observe Homi Bhabha's notion of cultural translation. It might be said that Bhabha largely uses "translation" as a metaphor to represent "the struggle for new cultural identities" (Pym 2009: 146). However, as a metaphor it must also have something to do with the original reference. Translation is a struggle for new cultural identities, especially when faced with complex cultural references.

As Javier Franco Aixelá claims, cultural-specific items (CSIs) are "textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text" (1996: 58). Geographical location and language variety are two CSIs which are typical of Brontë's novel. Geographical location can be expressed through toponyms – linguistic elements that denote "a place name, a geographical name, a proper name of locality, region, or some other part of Earth's surface or its natural or artificial feature" (Espindola 2005: 31). Similarly, dialect is a way of expressing the cultural identity of a character. Dialect is user-related variation which indicates the speaker's social status, age, sex, and education (Espindola 2005: 32; Halliday 1978: 110–111).

We try to understand the translation of key cultural elements by analysing and comparing translations of geographical setting, such as 'Wuthering Heights' and 'moors', and dialect, specifically that of the character, Joseph. We have chosen these aspects because cultural identity is highlighted in both. An interesting aspect of *Wuthering Heights* is that the storyline and characters are driven by their geographical setting. The toponyms and the Yorkshire dialect form an important aspect of the novel's setting, and therefore provide interesting material for comparison.

To make a detailed analysis of how translators have approached the transference of cultural identity with respect to these CSIs, we have selected six Dutch translations: *Het Huis der Stormen*, published by Spaarnestad in 1939, translator

unknown; *De Woeste Hoogte*, published by Uitgeverij Contact in 1941 and translated by Elisabeth de Roos; *Wilde Hoogten*, published by De Geïllustreerde Pers in 1952 and translated by Clara Eggink; *Woeste Hoogte*, published by Het Spectrum in 1980 and translated by José van Vonderen; *De Woeste Hoogten*, published by Veen in 1989 and translated by Frans Kellendonk; *Woeste Hoogte*, first published 1991, translator unknown. Despite the political and cultural similarities the Dutch and the British share, especially historically, the dialect and geographical location make the source text (ST) distinctly foreign to a Dutch audience. We have compared these six Dutch translations of Brontë's novel to examine the manner in which the translators have preserved or adapted the specific Yorkshire elements of the ST into the target text (TT). Translations published by Flemish publishing houses have been excluded because of the inherent differences in language use.

Furthermore, we are interested to see whether a more globalised world has had any influence on the methods that the translators have used. For our analysis, we have chosen to focus on two separate timeframes to see whether the translation strategies used differ throughout the years. The first three translations date from the 1930s-50s and the last three from the 1980s-90s. Our aim is to look for patterns of similarity and difference in translation tactics between the first and the second half of the twentieth century in the Netherlands to identify decisive elements in the attempt to translate culture. Foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies receive particular attention.

In this article, we use Lawrence Venuti's concepts of 'domestication' and 'foreignization' and Federico M. Federici's definition of the term 'variety' to analyse the relationship between language and identity. Venuti's concepts offer insight into the process of cultural transfer. He argues that "[d]omestication and foreignization deal with 'the question of how much a translation assimilates a foreign text to the translating language and culture, and how much it rather signals the differences of that text'" (Venuti 1998: 102). In the translation of *Wuthering Heights*, foreignization allows the translator to retain many of the Yorkshire aspects, which to a large extent define the novel and which would be lost by domesticating.

Using Venuti's concepts, we can explore how the translator has interpreted the status of the text in relation to its cultural atmosphere. Has the translator preferred to see the text he is constructing as a contemporary text, in which the Dutch target audience is compared with a contemporary English audience who admires the charm of a foreign past? This view suits a foreignizing translation strategy. Or is the audience seen as connoisseurs who want the text to be as 'authentic' as possible, in which case, too, a foreignizing strategy might be used? Another option would be to see the audience as readers of a primary text, in which case a domesticating approach might be taken.

Federici uses the term ‘variety’ to distinguish between dialects. This term does not come without consequences, for “varieties are often defined in relation to or in opposition to a standard language, thus creating a hierarchical relationship even in the most accurate and careful of definitions” (Federici 2011: 3). In this specific case, however, this need not be a problem considering that “[...] regional dialect is used by the author to delineate social class and manners. Each principal character is given a distinctive form of speaking to denote his or her social standing. The outsider Lockwood speaks received English while the servant Joseph speaks the purest form of Yorkshire dialect” (Wiltshire 2005: 19). Federici’s terminology can be used to understand the translation of dialect.

Through the comparison of translation choices, we are able to describe the effect of certain translation strategies in determining the cultural identity of the work. In order to do this, we will answer the following sub-questions: To what extent does the perceived foreignness play a part in the selection of translation strategies? How do the translations compare temporally; have the translators working within the second timeframe felt the need to correct or approach differently the translation problems compared to the first group of translators? Are there patterns in the ways in which the topics of geographical location and language variety are treated? With this article, we want to contribute to the discussion of foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies in the translation of key cultural texts, particularly with regard to the effect and affect of these choices.

1. The Yorkshire setting in *Wuthering Heights*

The Brontë sisters lived in Haworth, a Yorkshire village in England, situated in the midst of the moors. This became the model for the isolated and wild setting of *Wuthering Heights*. As Brontë explains, “‘Wuthering’ [is] a significant provincial adjective, descriptive of the atmospheric tumult to which its station is exposed in stormy weather” (Brontë 2009: 2). *Wuthering Heights* is the name of the family estate on the Yorkshire moors where most events of the novel take place, as well as the area where the story is set. The term ‘Wuthering Heights’ thus establishes the atmosphere of the book and represent the wildness that the characters are subject to. The translations of ‘Wuthering Heights’ will be compared to those of the name of the neighbouring house, Thrushcross Grange. This house plays an important role as rival of *Wuthering Heights*, and these toponyms signify the battle between barbarism and civilization that characterizes the setting in Yorkshire.

The title of the 1939 translation is “*Het Huis der Stormen*”, but the name of the house in the story itself has been translated as “t Baldere Hoogt’ (the raging/thundering/tumultuous height). The atmospheric rage of the weather conditions on

the heights is captured in the name of the house. Though the word ‘baldere’ has no specific locality attached to it, it is sufficiently rare to stand out in a similar manner as ‘wuthering’ does. The title, however, loses many of the connotations that make up the cultural reference and creates a much more generic image for the book. For Thrushcross Grange, this translation has domesticated the name of the house with ‘Lijsterkruishoeve’. This choice captures the three components of the name, ‘thrush’, ‘cross’ and ‘grange’, in the order in which they occur in the ST, while at the same time keeping with Dutch conventions to create one compound that ends in ‘-hoeve’.

The version from 1941, *De Woeste Hoogte*, and the version from 1989, *De Woeste Hoogte*, illustrate that translators have not reached consensus on the meaning of ‘heights’ in the original title. Both titles refer to the house as well as the area. The difference between the two translations lies in the choice of singular or plural number for the noun ‘hoogte’. The translation of 1989 has remained faithful to the plural occurring in the original title, whereas the version from 1941 correctly refers to the house, which is one house, and therefore uses the singular of ‘heights’.

Whereas ‘Wuthering Heights’ is domesticated and loses its local quality, a foreignizing strategy is used for ‘Thrushcross Grange’ in the 1941 translation. De Roos has kept the English name in her Dutch translation. Four out of six Dutch translations (1941, 1980, 1989, and 1990) have used this foreignizing strategy of borrowing the English name.

The 1952 translation uses a domesticating approach for both Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange. The title of the novel is *Wilde Hoogten*, but in the text, the house is called “Stormenhorst”. Within the text, the reader gains an awareness of the connection between the house and the area. The locality is not conveyed in the rather common word ‘stormen’, but in ‘horst’. Denoting a (heather-)covered height in the midst of lowlands, ‘horst’ now carries the cultural reference to the Yorkshire moors. The translation of ‘Thrushcross Grange’ is somewhat less convincing. The translation choice, ‘Het huis De Lijsters’ (‘Thrush House’) suggests a rather simple and commonplace dwelling, and is unable to convey the connection to its surrounding area as well as ‘grange’ does.

The remaining two Dutch translations, those from 1980 and 1991, are similar in translating ‘Wuthering Heights’ in the title, though they differ in their approach to the term in the text. Both translate ‘Wuthering Heights’ with “Woeste Hoogte” in the title. In the 1980 translation, the English name for the house is maintained throughout the novel and so is ‘Thrushcross Grange’, so the translator prefers a foreignizing strategy of borrowing despite the domesticating strategy in the title. The 1991 translation uses the ST borrowing only the first time, when ‘wuthering’ is introduced as a local adjective. The Dutch translation, which is the same as the title, is used from that point onwards.

Compared to the translations from the 1930s–50s, the more recent versions are more foreignizing in their approach, meaning that they keep the source terms in the TT. These examples illustrate a divergence of practices in the translation of names and titles.

Another essential location in *Wuthering Heights* is the moorland. The term, “moor” originally denoted only marshland, though in modern usage the term can refer to any of the flat, low-lying areas of England which were formerly marshland. The moors are known for their wildness and untamed, vibrant beauty. These connotations of isolation and wilderness contribute to the story, and can be likened to the nature of the characters. In all but one instance, “moor” or “moors” is used to refer to the heathland that directly surrounds *Wuthering Heights*.

The 1989 translation is by far the most committed to a unity of place. In this translation, ‘moors’ is consistently translated with ‘hei’. Only when compounds are used does ‘heide’ occur. In Dutch, ‘hei’ and ‘heide’ can be used interchangeably, as two different spellings of one word. This interchangeability is reflected in most of the translations. The 1939 and 1941 edition both show a distinct preference for ‘hei’ as well, but are not entirely consistent: ‘heide’ is used four times in 1939, and six times in 1941. There is some semblance of a pattern in the 1939 edition that points to a conscious choice by the translator to distinguish the moors near *Wuthering Heights*, which are dangerous and swampy and where characters like Heathcliff lose themselves in their rambles, and those near *Thrushcross Grange*, where Cathy walks with her father. This adds an extra locality to the moors and emphasises the rivalry between the houses.

In the translations from 1941, 1980, and 1990, the alternation from one form to the other is random. There are even switches from ‘heide’ to ‘hei’ in the same paragraph. The choices bear no relationship to locality, nor to possible explanations such as idiolect of characters or the alternations between “moor” and “moors” in the ST. In the early translations, ‘heide’ sporadically appears. The word is used more frequently in the 1980 translation, which has nineteen instances of ‘hei’ and thirteen instances of ‘heide’. A similar alternation can be found in the 1990 translation, but with a slight preference for ‘heide’ (seventeen times, and thirteen instances of ‘hei’). Furthermore, ‘heide’ is invariably the basis of compounds such as ‘heidewandeling’, a walk on the moors, and ‘heideschaap’ for moor-sheep.

Dutch ‘hei’ and ‘heide’, however, do not have a single denotation (see Table 1). The words can refer to both moors as well as heather. This poses a problem when a reference to ‘heath’ and ‘moors’ occurs in the same sentence, as in: “It was dug on a green slope in a corner of the kirk-yard, where the wall is so low that heath and bilberry-plants have climbed over it from the moor; and peat-mould almost buries it.” (Brontë 2009, p. 149). Because ‘heath’ is translated with the Dutch ‘heide’,

the translator of the 1939 edition has decided to deviate from the translation, ‘hei’ and has chosen ‘het veen’. It is possible that the other translators struggled with the issue because this reference to the moors has been omitted in the 1941, 1980, 1989, and 1990 translations.

Table 1. Dutch terms for ‘moors’ with definitions from Koenen (2006)

Term	Dictionary definition	Translation definition
Moer	“veen(grond); moerassig land”	(‘turf; swampy/marshy land’)
Hei	“zie heide ”	(‘see heide ’)
Heide	“gewas dat op schrale zandgronden groeit” “daarmee begroeid terrein”	(‘plants that grow on dry sandy soils’) (‘therewith overgrown terrain’)

The only other translation where the homograph has not formed a problem is in the 1952 edition, where ‘moeren’ is almost singly used to refer to ‘moors’. ‘Moeren’, to the contemporary reader, has an old-fashioned flavour to it that creates a distance between the reader and the landscape. It is much more uncommon than English moors. In terms of connotation, ‘moeren’ is able to translate the wildness and isolation better than ‘hei/heide’, which is a cultivated landscape in the Netherlands. When compared to the translation of the names of the houses in this translation, it can be seen that this strategy may serve as an excellent compensation strategy to balance out the general with the typical. Clara Eggink clearly wants to find expression for the foreignness of the setting while also domesticating the language.

When Lockwood is invited to “devastate the moors of a friend in the north, and on my journey to his abode, I unexpectedly came within fifteen miles of Gimmerton”, he refers to moors elsewhere (Brontë 2009, p. 271). All translators seem to agree that the more general use of ‘moors’ as landscape must somehow be set apart from the specific setting of the moors directly surrounding Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange. The 1939 translation uses ‘heide’ here, and the word ‘heidevelden’ is used create a distinction in the 1941, 1980 and 1990 translations. In the 1952 translation, ‘de omgeving’ (the surroundings) is used with this same purpose, and in the 1989 translation, ‘heideland’ (moorland) is used.

One thing all translators agree on: when Catherine’s ghosts visits Lockwood’s dreams and cries that she has “lost [her] way on the moors!” (Brontë 2009, p. 20), the unanimous choice is ‘hei’.

2. Yorkshire character in Joseph's dialect in *Wuthering Heights*

Emily Brontë is renowned for giving her characters in *Wuthering Heights* a distinct manner of speaking, which corresponds to their individual social class and their professions. She wrote *Wuthering Heights* during her stay at Haworth, and this is the dialect that she selected for Joseph. Joseph is a very important character in *Wuthering Heights* because he sets the story in its context owing to his clear use of a Yorkshire dialect, which “contributes to the realism of the novel” (Wiltshire 2005: 27). In this section, we will discuss how the translators have dealt with one particular passage of Joseph's dialect. We will divide the translations according to their focus on either register shifts (1939, 1980, 1991) or regional shifts (1941, 1952, 1989). The first group of translations compensate for the loss of the Yorkshire dialect by emphasising the register-difference between Joseph and the other speakers, while the second group of translators try to mark this difference by means of a regional (Dutch) accent.

Newmark distinguishes three functions a dialect can have in fiction: “(a) to show a slang use of language; (b) to stress social class contrasts; and more rarely (c) to indicate local cultural features” (1988: 195). Because Joseph's dialect sets the novel in its regional atmosphere, it can be argued that this is one of Newmark's rare cases in which the dialect indicates local cultural features. Therefore, Wiltshire rightly argues, “the loss of the reader who skips Joseph's passages of dialogue is considerable” (2005: 27). It is important that this Yorkshire dialect is translated or transferred into Dutch, and the translators have made some very interesting translation choices to do so. Sonia Vandepitte describes six methods to tackle the untranslatability of non-standard language: employing a non-standard equivalent in the TL, employing a so-called scenic dialect in the TL, employing a different type of variety, employing an artificial alternative, partial dialectization, or alternatives employing the standard language such as additions or an explaining preface (2010: 106–7). The possibilities Vandepitte mentions all exclude “a source-text oriented approach and therefore the norm of adequacy can never be obtained: the impossibility of equivalence results in untranslatability” (2010: 103–4). It is, for instance, impossible to transfer Joseph's Yorkshire dialect to its Dutch translation; there is no such thing as a Dutch Yorkshire dialect.

To identify the different translation strategies that have been used, we have selected samples from the ST. The following sentences illustrate Joseph's dialect. The three direct speech acts show Joseph's language use when speaking to a fellow servant, Ellen Dean - and therefore someone from his own rank - and when he speaks to his superior, Edgar Linton, in the third example.

‘It's Maister Linton I mun spake to,’ [...] ‘Which is his rahm?’ [...] ‘Hathecliff has sent me for his lad, and I munn't goa back 'bout him.’ [...]

‘Noa!’ [...] ‘Noa! that means naught. Hathecliff maks noa ‘count o’ t’ mother, nor ye norther; but he’ll heu’ his lad; und I mun tak’ him - soa now ye knaw!’
 [...] ‘Varrah weell!’ [...] ‘To-morn, he’s come hisseln, and thrust HIM out, if ye darr!’
 (Brontë, Wuthering Heights 2009)

Aside from the deviant spelling which indicates the dialect in which he speaks, this passage clearly illustrates Joseph’s direct and aggressive form of address and threatening manner – even when speaking to his superior. The translators therefore do not only have to deal with regional and lexical aspects, but also the social hierarchy and Joseph’s breeching of it.

Table 2. Sample sentences containing translation of dialect – register

Translations by means of register		
I.	II.	III.
“Ik moet meneer Linton spreken,” ... “Waar is zijn kamer?” ... “Heathcliff stuurt me om zijn jongen te halen, en ik mag niet terugkomen zonder hem”.	“k Moet meneer Linton spreken,’ ... ‘Waar is z’n kamer?’ ... ‘Heathcliff heeft me om de jongen gestuurd, en ik mag niet zonder ‘m thuiskomen.’	“Ik mot meneer Linton spreke,” ... “Waar is z’n kamer?” ... “Heathcliff heb me om de jongen gestuurd, en ik mag niet zonder ‘ m thuiskomme .”
...
“Nee” zei Joseph ... “nee, dat betekent niemendal. Heathcliff heeft maling aan de moeder en aan u ook; maar hij wil zijn jongen hebben; en ik moet hem meebrengen – dus nu weet u ‘t!”	“Nee!” ... “Nee! Dat heb niks te betekenen – Heathcliff heeft niks te maken met z’n moeder – en met u ook niet; maar hij wil z’n zoon hebben; en ik moet ‘ m meenemen – dat u ‘t maar weet!	“Nee!” ... “Nee! Dat heb niks te betekene. Heathcliff heb niks te maken met z’n moeder – en met u ook niet, maar hij wil z’n zoon hebbe, en ik mot ‘ m meeneme – dattu ‘t maar weet!”
...
“Uitstekend!” ... “Morgen komt hij zelf, en gooi <i>h e m</i> er eens uit, als je durft!” (Unknown 1939 – emphasis added in bold)	‘Best hoor!’ ... ‘Dan komt- <i>ie</i> morgen zelf wel, en gooi <i>hem</i> d’r maar es uit als u durft!’ (van Vonderen 1980 – emphasis added in bold)	“Best hoor!” ... “Dan komt- <i>ie</i> morrege zelf wel, en gooi <i>hem</i> d’r maar ‘s uit als u durft!” (Unknown 1991/2011 – emphasis added in bold)

This passage seems strikingly formal and polite in the translations in contrast to the ST. Not only has any trace of a dialect disappeared, the grammatical oddities have also suffered. According to Newmark, “[i]f dialect appears metalingually, i.e. as an example of language, you normally transfer it, translate it into neutral language, and clarify the reasons why it is cited” (1988: 195), which seems to be what the translators have done. However, this translation strategy seems inappropriate because the dialect does not appear solely for metalinguistic reasons. By changing

the “standard” and the “geographical dialect” to a common, standardized variety (Hatim & Mason 1990, p. 40), the translator fails to “produce naturally slangy, possibly classless speech in moderation, hinting at the dialect, ‘processing’ only a small proportion of the SL dialect words” (Newmark 1988: 212). Using the standard language to translate a dialect without any hint at the dialect means that “[t]he semantic and especially pragmatic result of this choice is ‘neutralization’” (Vandepitte 2010: 107). The brutality and vehemence of the original’s message has been subdued due to the neutralization of its language in the translations. This effect needs to be compensated for in order to convey a sense of the source culture in the translation. In the translations, Joseph speaks rather formally, though still less formally than his superiors.

The 1980 translation, which is one of the later texts, shows an unexpected return towards a more neutralizing translation of Joseph’s dialect and manner of speaking. In fact, Joseph’s Haworth dialect is completely lost. He merely confuses some verb-forms, using ‘heb’ when ‘heeft’ would be the grammatically correct conjugation, though he does so inconsistently, and uses a few contractions which marks his speech as slightly less sophisticated than that of the other characters. But to distinguish his speech as uniquely different is impossible. Joseph’s use of ‘niks’ instead of the more formal ‘niets’ is neither dialect specific, nor is it uncommonly informal for spoken language. The translator thereby reduces the differences in the class system, to which the novel so often refers, and misses an important part of the cultural division between the characters. Only the use of ‘u’ rather than ‘jij’, a polite form of address, is indicative of a servant-master relationship (comparative to the distinction ‘thou’ and ‘you’, which Heathcliff uses). This is the only reference to a class-difference in the context of this passage in the translations, and this befits the Dutch class system, which is less rigorous than the English class system. This translation strategy can therefore be categorized as domesticating.

In the 1991 translation, an attempt has been made to more clearly distinguish Joseph’s speech as colloquial. Assimilations, n-dropping and schwa-insertion are used. Even though linguists conclude that schwa-insertion is not socio-linguistically marked in Dutch because “many speakers produce words both with and without the schwa quite frequently”, it can be attributed to an attempt to make Joseph’s speech stand out – after all, the reader will note the spelling as marked and will presumably be unaware of how common schwa-insertion is in day-to-day speech (Warner, Jongman, Cutler and Mücke 2001: 387). The use of schwa insertion as a means to translate the dialect indicates a register shift rather than a typical dialectal feature.

The next three translations show many similarities to the approaches used in the previous translations, though the focus is now turned towards regional shifts.

Table 3. Sample sentences containing translation of dialect – regional shift

Translations by means of regional shift		
IV. “Ik moet mijnheer Linton spreken,” ... “Wat is z’n kamer?”... “Heathcliff heb me gestuurd om zijn jongen en ik ga niet terug zonder hem.” ... “Nee,” ... “nou, dat heb niks te betekene . Heathcliff heb niks te make met zijn moeder en met u ook niet. Maar hij wil zijn zoon hebbe en ik mot ‘ m meebreng e,’ t is dat je ‘t maar weet.” ... “Best, best,” ... “ Morge komp ie zelf en gooi hem er dan maar es uit as je durft!” (Eggink 1952 – emphasis added in bold)	V. “Ik moet meneer Linton sprêken ,” ... “Waar is zien koamer ?” ... Hathecliff het me um den jong gestuurd, en ‘k mag niet terugkommen zonder ‘ m ’. ... “Nee!” ... “dat het niks te beduien . Hathecliff geeft niks um de moeder, en ook niet um ou ; moar de jong mot ie hebben, en ik moet ‘ m meenemen, dus nou weet ge ‘ t ’.” ... “Heel best!” ... “ Merge kumt ie zelf, en gooi hem der is uut as je durft!” (de Roos 1941 – emphasis added in bold)	VI. ‘Ik mot baos Linton spreken,’ ... ‘ Waar is zien kaomer ?’... ‘Heathcliff het me gestuurd um zien jong te haolen en zonder hum mag ik niet thuuskommen ’. ... ‘Nee!’ ... ‘Nee! dâ stelt niks veur – Heathcliff het mit zien moei niks te schaften en mit ou ok nie – maor dâ jong zal ie kriegen ; en ik mot hum haolen – ‘t maar dagge ‘t wit ’. ... ‘Mien best! ... ‘ Mergen kumt ie zellef en gooi hum d’r maar es uut , agge durft!’ (Kellendonk 1989 – emphasis added in bold)

The translator of the 1952 edition chose to translate the Yorkshire dialect with a Dutch regional dialect, but the question remains whether it can be classified as an equivalent. The translator has decided to use sub-standard elements, for instance the misconjugated verbs such as ‘heb’ for ‘heeft’, but also informal varieties such as ‘niks’ for ‘niets’, so as to indicate a difference in social class and education between Joseph and the other speakers. Here register seems to collide with dialect, a phenomenon also noted by Halliday who states that “dialect comes to be an aspect of register” when users switch between dialects “according to the context of situation” (1978: 34). If it were not for the inappropriate connotations of the dialectal situation, this would have been a very successful strategy. A simple quantitative analysis of the use of the words in different dialects (see Table 4) shows that the language use in the 1952 translation of the novel most closely resembles a Rotterdams dialect. Rotterdam is one of the largest cities in the Netherlands. The translator, Clara Eggink, came from Scheveningen and lived in the Randstad throughout her life. Rotterdam, as a city located in the province of Zuid-Holland as well, is therefore not an entirely strange choice. Unfortunately, it is in no way an equivalent to the rural Yorkshire dialect used by Joseph. Even though dialect is often regarded as more

informal in the Netherlands and is increasingly replaced by the standard variety (Mijnwoordenboek 2012), the urban dialect of Rotterdam stands in stark contrast with the rural dialect in the ST.

Table 4. Occurrence of the regional words in the 1952 translation (Source: Dialectenwoordenboek)

	wat (waar)	heb (heeft)	make	mot	morge	komp	es (eens)	as
Brabants				x	x		x	3
Slands		x		x			x	3
Westfries	x		x	x				3
Rotterdams		x	x	x		x	x	5
Venloos			x	x	x		x	4

A different, though related translation strategy can be seen in the 1941 translation. It is clear that the translator decided to find an equivalent dialect in Dutch, but the selected dialect resembles a Dutch rural dialect rather than an urban dialect. Once again, a quantitative analysis results in four possible dialects: Betuws, Gronings, Lunters, and Westerkwartiers (see Table 5). It might seem as if the translator is inconsistent given such a variety of possibilities. Of course, we are unable to gauge whether the translator even meant to represent an existing dialect. However, when looking at the dialects in terms of their respective geographical areas, it can be seen that all originate from the north-east of the Netherlands – and, typically, far removed from the urban areas of the country. From this particular choice, it can be concluded that in the 1940s, this area was regarded as a typically rural countryside where poorly-educated peasants such as Joseph might live.

Table 5. Occurrence of the regional words from the 1941 translation in Dutch dialects (Source: Dialectenwoordenboek)

	zien	mot	sprêken	woar	koamer	moar	um	het	terugkommen	as	is	uut
Betuws	x	x	x			x	x					
Gronings		x		x	x	x		x				
Lunters		x					x	x	x		x	x
Wester- kwartiers				x	x	x		x			x	x

In the 1989 translation, we can see that the rural location has once again become important, though its situation has shifted as compared to the 1941 translation. In a review by *Het Parool*, Kellendonk is praised for his use of Brabants dialect to

translate Joseph's Yorkshire dialect; a dialect Kellendonk used in his own debut novel *Bouwval* (Storm 2009). Brabant is located in the south of the Netherlands, and sufficiently removed from the main urban area to be convincingly provincial. However, because the typical southern pronunciation of the /x/ as /ɣ/ cannot be represented in writing, readers unfamiliar with Kellendonk's own work will presumably not recognise the dialect as Brabants. Using the same tactic as we have used for the earlier translations to determine where the regional-specific words are used, we found that the dialect Kellendonk uses is closer to Lunters-dialect or a Betuws dialect. Despite the fact that not all of the words could be found in one single dialect, Table 6 shows that the words are usually connected with the provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel rather than Noord-Brabant. This is even more interesting, because this area is known for its low population rates, its vast fields of heather and its dune-like landscape with crooked firs and the contrasting lush meadows and forests. Of all the possible Dutch settings, the geographical location of the Dutch dialect most closely resembles that of Yorkshire. Despite differences in culture, it is ideally suited to conveying a similar atmosphere to that of Brontë's Yorkshire.

Table 6. Occurrence of the regional words from the 1989 translation in Dutch dialects (Source: *Dialectenwoordenboek*)

	mit	ok	thuus	het	kriegen	veur	zien	um	waor	baos	kaomer	da	mergen
Lunters	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Betuws	x	x	x			x	x	x	x			x	
Wells	x	x	x		x		x		x				
Venrays	x	x	x	x									x
Riekevorst	x	x		x			x	x					
Gronings	x		x	x	x	x							

Conclusion

In our analysis of the translation of the CSIs of topology and dialect in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, we have been able to discern a general trend of domestication although the translations vary in their use of this device. In this concluding section, we will discuss the effects of certain translation strategies in shaping the cultural identity of the work. Finally, we will offer a more overall perspective with which we will add to the discussion of foreignizing and domesticating strategies in the translation of key cultural texts.

When analysing the geographical locations, it became clear that the domesticating approach is the one most used, despite the fact that this approach might neglect the cultural identity of the original novel. The translations of the 1930s–50s are domesticating in their translation of the Yorkshire elements, especially the names of the houses and the geographical references, into Dutch. Only the 1980 translation is truly foreignizing in its approach, as it retains the most English terms.

Despite these domesticating strategies, it can be concluded that the translations have tried to convey some cultural elements through domestication. The translations of 1939 and 1952 stand out in their translations of ‘Wuthering Heights’ with ‘t Baldere Hoogt’ and ‘Stormenhorst’. Their translations of ‘moors’ also showed successful strategies with which to retain locality: the first by creating a local distinction between ‘hei’ and ‘heide’, the latter by using an archaic word like ‘moreren’. The 1989 translation by Frans Kellendonk might use more generic terms like ‘Woeste Hoogten’ and ‘hei’, but the latter is used so consistently that the area retains its specificity. We can thus distinguish degrees of domestication that operate on different levels or areas of language.

As for dialect in translation, all six translations illustrate an endeavour to establish equivalence, and each translation has created a new identity entirely different from the original as well as from others. As mentioned, Emily Brontë is renowned for giving her characters in *Wuthering Heights* a distinct manner of speaking that corresponds to their individual social class and their profession. As it is impossible to directly copy Joseph’s Yorkshire dialect into Dutch, the translators had to be creative in their approaches to ensure that the dialect was either translated or transferred.

A comparison between the two temporal groups is impossible when it comes to the translators’ strategies of translating Joseph’s dialect. The strategies that have been used divide the six translations according to their focus on either register shifts (1939, 1980, 1991) or regional shifts (1941, 1952, 1989). The first group of translators compensates for the loss of the Yorkshire dialect by emphasising the register-difference between Joseph and the other speakers, while the second group of translators tries to mark this difference by means of a regional (Dutch) accent. As none of the translators has opted to add metacommentary stating that the character speaks in a Yorkshire dialect, all the strategies are in this sense domesticating. The cultural identity that breathes life into Joseph’s incomprehensible mumbling in the ST thus needs to find a different expression in the TT.

Within the two groups, there is a considerable difference in degree of domestication. The 1939 almost completely normalizes the speech-acts, therefore hardly expressing Joseph’s localness, whereas Frans Kellendonk’s 1989 translation chooses to distinguish the character by (re)creating the difference by positioning a Dutch local dialect (Tilburgs or otherwise) against standard Dutch. Considering the translation of dialect, we can conclude that the translation of culture is well-nigh impossible.

As predicted by the literature (Vandepitte 2010; Newmark 1988), the Yorkshireness of it has been lost in translation. Elements that can and have been conveyed are a vague sense of regional- and class-difference. Kellendonk's remarkable regional shift in the 1989 translation and the 1991 colloquial register shift might not convey Yorkshire culture, but these translations especially show that the identity-forming aspects of that culture can be matched in the TTs. So to come back to the difference in temporal perspective, we see that the two most recent translations are characterized by the most venturesome strategies.

We have selected geographical location and language variety as two identifiable features of (local) cultural identity. Yet there are clear differences between the translation of the geographical location and that of language variety when it comes to the conveyance of cultural identity. While for each aspect, translators seem to have had a clear (though sometimes inconsistent) strategy to tackle the translation problems involved, the strategies combined sometimes form an interesting mixture of degrees across the two features. Foreignization is only found in the 1980 translation when the name "Wuthering Heights" is borrowed. However, the translation is not overall foreignizing. In its title and translation of dialect, the strategies are domesticating. In this sense, it can be seen that each translation problem demands a separate deliberation. The six translations also show that domestication has various degrees and forms.

Contrary to Venuti's claim (1998: 102), not all forms of domestication completely erase the cultural values of the ST. Domestication can be a preserving measure of cultural identity, as an instance of these cultural values. Because identity is relational, it is especially dependent on an understanding of the underlying correspondences between characters, language, and place. In the translation of cultural identity in relation to language variety and geographical location we have seen that these correspondences can be translated through domesticating translation strategies. Finding cultural equivalences transports the interdependent structures of the construction of a cultural identity while maintaining associations of foreignness. This study has shown that different approaches on different language-levels, which we refer to as degrees of domestication, can result in the successful translation of key cultural items.

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Polish dance in *Eugene Onegin*

What can be found in translation

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This article focuses on Alexander Pushkin's verse novel, *Eugene Onegin* as a key cultural text. I examine five translations into English, by Douglas Hofstadter (1999), Olivia Emmet and Svetlana Makourenkova (1999), Tom Beck (2004), Henry Hoyt (2008), and Stanley Mitchell (2008), using both paratextual and textual data related to one peculiar episode, the dance scene, part of Tatiana's birthday party in Chapter 5, to exemplify the translators' vision and the techniques they use to preserve the specific concepts and terms of Russian culture in their work and for sharing them with their English-speaking readers. Since these five translations have not been analysed before, my article makes a contribution to the almost two centuries worth of scholarship on *Eugene Onegin* in English.

Keywords: translation theory, the translator's visibility, Russian literature, Alexander Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*

1. Introductory remarks

Eugene Onegin, a novel in verse, was written between 1823 and 1831 by Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), one of the greatest Russian poets. It was first published in several journal issues in the early 1830s. It is a romantic love story in which happiness, betrayal, death, sadness and boredom are essential components. The main heroine of the novel is called by her first name, Tatiana. The hero's name is Eugene Onegin, in many instances simply called by his surname, Onegin. Pushkin contributes to the development of the plot as author, narrator and, in some places, also as a character. His pro-active position creates a novel in verse that can be read as a multi-layered text incorporating light humour, bitter sarcasm, keen observation and intellect.

The novel occupies a special place in Russian literature and culture. It has been praised by both specialists and ordinary people. For example, Belinskii (1811–1848), a Russian literary critic and Pushkin's contemporary, describes *Eugene Onegin* as “an encyclopaedia of Russian life” (1955: 503). On the other hand, since the date of

its appearance, the novel has been widely read and studied in Russia: it has been part of the national curriculum for literature for a long time, and several generations of people can remember a number of passages from *Eugene Onegin* by heart. It is no exaggeration to say that *Eugene Onegin* is a key cultural text in Russian literature.

The fame of the novel started to spread across other cultures immediately after its publication in Russia. It has been translated into many languages, and there are currently more than twenty full verse English translations of *Eugene Onegin*.¹ This gives me an opportunity to suggest that Pushkin's novel might be treated as a key cultural text in English for Russian culture. Thus, my article aims to identify and explain several features of *Eugene Onegin* that contribute to this status. This will be examined from the translators' point of view and be based on the analysis of introductions or prefaces written by the following five translators of the novel: Douglas Hofstadter (1999), Olivia Emmet and Svetlana Makourenkova (1999), Tom Beck (2004), Henry Hoyt (2008), and Stanley Mitchell (2008).

My rationale for choosing these particular translations can be mainly expressed in terms of time. First of all, they were all published after 1995, the year in which Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* was published. That work arguably took Translation Studies in a new direction in which ethical issues of the profession were more central parts of discussion than had been the case previously. In this paradigm, it becomes possible to move from studying accuracy or equivalence between the source and the target texts to discussing what one's translation brings to its target text audiences. This is exactly the focus of my research: to show what each translation brings to the English-speaking reader in terms of Russian culture. As the five translations selected have not been analysed together before, my article will make a contribution to the existing scholarship on *Eugene Onegin* in English.

The structure of my article is as follows: firstly, a brief overview of the existing translations of the novel into English starting from the oldest will be given, in order to contextualise the five translations which are the subject of this article. The overview will also highlight discussions related to the identification of key cultural elements in translation. It will be followed by a closer look at the five translations, and in particular, their translators' introductory remarks; the focus of Section 3 will be on establishing what precise cultural elements the translators have tried to introduce to their audiences. In Section 4, I will discuss what can be gained in translation when a translator is determined to preserve the elements of the source text culture in the target text: my focus will be on the analysis of one dance scene in the novel. Finally concluding remarks will be made.

1. For the full bibliography of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* in English please see Lee, Peter M. (2010) *English Versions of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin*. Available online at <http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~pml1/onegin/welcome.htm> (accessed 19 July 2017).

2. The legacy of *Eugene Onegin* in English

This chapter will provide an overview of various publications related to translating Pushkin's novel into English. It will begin with a brief introductory comment which points to the first mentioning of *Eugene Onegin* in the 19th century British press. Then my focus will be on reviews, in which a cluster of translations of the novel, rather than a single work, is analysed.

2.1 The very beginning

The first time English-speaking audiences heard about Pushkin's novel was in 1830, when a short article was published in *The Foreign Literary Gazette, and Weekly Epitome of Continental Literature, Sciences, Arts &c.*, no. 5. Wednesday, February 3, 1830. The publication provides information on the first parts of the novel published in Russian periodicals. One phrase in the concluding paragraph of the review may explain a long love-affair between the English-speaking readers and the novel. Thus, in addition to the published six parts of the novel, the review promises a new part, *Onegin's Arrival at Moscow*, and describes it as "a lively and attractive sketch of the external face of that capital" (1830: 69). This liveliness, lightness and external cultural insights into Russian life initially spotted by the reviewers of *The Foreign Literary Gazette*, might be responsible for the longevity of *Eugene Onegin* in English.

2.2 Simmons' review of the first translations of *Eugene Onegin* in English

Simmons (1938) reviews the first four complete verse English translations of *Eugene Onegin*. They are Spalding's translation (1881) and the three translations published in 1936–1937, the year which marks the centenary of Pushkin's death, by Deutsch (1936), Radin and Patrick (1937), and Elton (1937) respectively. Simmons understands the translation of Pushkin's novel as a relentlessly challenging exercise. He highlights the examples of good practice in each work, and measures the quality of translation in terms of how closely it resembles the original.

For example, Simmons describes Spalding's work as remarkable and explains his translation errors in terms of Spalding's "determination to be as literal as possible" (1938: 201). Spalding's background, his military career and knowledge of Russian, are not discussed as such, but it is mentioned that he was not a poet.

Deutsch's translation, in contrast, is praised on the basis that it is the work of a poet. Simmons describes Deutsch's translation as "a tremendous improvement" and one that has "artistic sensibilities that her predecessor never possessed" (1938: 202). However, since faithfulness to the original has been considered paramount, Simmons

is obliged to point to a number of mistakes in Deutsch's translation, which he associates with her preoccupation with the form of the novel. Deutsch, an American poet, produced her translation in partnership with her husband, Avrahm Yarmolinsky, a native speaker of Russian, and the Head of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, a translator himself, and the author of the first bibliography of *Eugene Onegin* (1937). His name appears on the publication as its editor.

According to Simmons, only the translation by Radin and Patrick has been produced "directly from the original" (1938: 203). In this way, the issue of competence in Russian is brought to light for the first time. Simmons's review of Radin's and Patrick's work emphasises their devotion to copying the meaning of the original and the prioritisation of content in Radin's and Patrick's translation.

Elton, a professor of English literature, exemplifies another essential component in Simmons's recipe for a good translation, namely the quality of the English. Simmons states: "Professor Elton's knowledge of the Western European Literary language of the time has enabled him, in places, to impart his rendering a kind of verbal verisimilitude that definitely enhances its charm as well as authenticity" (1938: 204). Elton uses plenty of archaisms in his translation of *Onegin*, and, to a large extent, they belong to the vocabulary of Tennyson and even Milton, two primary foci of his academic research.

The Simmons review of the first four complete verse translations is important as it not only initiates a discussion on the topic of *Eugene Onegin* in English but also produces a number of arguments that would be developed in future reviews of other translations. Here, in their embryonic forms, the following issues are highlighted: the occupation of a translator, his or her knowledge of Russian culture and language, and abilities to maintain a balance between the preservation of form and the preservation of meaning of the original.

In spite of the fact that the issue of accuracy in translation is paramount to him, Simmons manages to point to the significance of what has been added by one or another translation to its receiving culture. This, in particular, makes his work essential to our discussions on added values in translation. For instance, he argues in the concluding section of his review: "And I regard Professor Elton's translation as a genuine and lasting addition to the series of great translations which have become part of the noble heritage of English literature" (1938: 207).

2.3 Nabokov and *Eugene Onegin*

Nabokov's contribution to the scholarship on *Eugene Onegin* in English is different from Simmons' review. Like Simmons, Nabokov was a Professor of Russian Literature, but unlike Simmons, he was a self-publicist.

Nabokov sees translating *Eugene Onegin* along with commentaries and reviews of previous translations as one big competitive project. He was working on his translation of the novel at the same time as his rival Arndt. Arndt's translation of the novel was published in 1963, a year before Nabokov's, and was awarded the Bollingen Prize for poetry translation in 1963. Nabokov's *Eugene Onegin* appeared one year later, in 1964.

Nabokov's work is a four-volume edition: Volume One is his introduction and translation, Volumes Two and Three are commentaries on Pushkin's text, and Volume Four is a facsimile of the 1837 edition of *Eugene Onegin*. It is a hybrid work that consists of self-publicism, analysis, information and translation materials. Moreover, Nabokov sees himself as the sole preserver of Pushkin's heritage and ideas. He states:

To my ideal of literalism I sacrificed everything (elegance, euphony, clarity, good taste, modern usage and even grammar) that the dainty mimic prizes higher than truth. [...] I have tried to explain many special matters in the Commentary. These notes are partly the echoes of my high-school studies in Russia half a century ago and partly the outcome of many pleasant afternoons spent in the splendid libraries of Cornell, Harvard, and the City of New York. (1964, I, p. x)

The adjectives that Nabokov uses to describe the previous translations of *Eugene Onegin* into English – those by Spalding, Deutsch, Radin and Patrick, Elton, and Arndt – look bitterly sarcastic (see 1964, II, p. 3–4). In the Russian version of Nabokov's work this effect is even stronger (1998: 84). It includes examples of brutally unpleasant epithets for other translators' work. Thus, evaluating the translation of lines 3 and 4 from Stanza XXIX, Chapter 4, Nabokov writes:

Spalding stresses the hygienic side of the event. [...] Miss Radin produces the dreadful. [...] Miss Deutsch [...] comes up with the incredibly coy. [...] and Professor Elton, who in such cases can always be depended upon for triteness and awkwardness, reverses the act and peroxides the concubine. (1964, II, p. 464)

Nabokov's commentaries have had a huge positive impact on later translations of *Eugene Onegin* and are valuable sources of information on Russian traditions, culture and language. Johnston, whose translation was published in 1977, was the first to use them in his own work.

Nabokov's work on *Eugene Onegin* is also relevant to contemporary discussion on translation methods. For example, Coates (1998), a contemporary reviewer of *Eugene Onegin*, interprets Nabokov within the framework of Venuti's ideas (1995): her article on Nabokov contributes to the current discussion on domesticating and foreignising translation. She classifies Nabokov's translation of *Eugene Onegin* as a foreignising one. Moreover, she provides several details on Nabokov's method

by exemplifying his “resistant” and “dissident” motives and putting them into the context of his entire work.

Coates believes that, in using a literalist approach to Pushkin, Nabokov attempts to educate his readers. For example, Nabokov explains Tatiana’s shock associated with her meeting with Agafon in Chapter 5 (Stanza IX, line 14):

Agafon: Agafon, pronounced something like ‘Ah-gah-fawn’, comes as a grotesque shock. This Russian version of Agatho or Agathonicus ... is elephantine and rustic to the Russian ear. Its counterpart may be found among the Biblical names in England. We should imagine an English young lady of 1820 slipping out of the manor to ask a passing labourer his name and discovering that her husband will be called not Allan but Noah. (Nabokov 1964, II, p. 499)

In support of her arguments, Coates looks at another work by Nabokov, *Sign and Symbols* (1947; reprinted in 1984), and finds that “Nabokov’s concept of language appeared gradually to move beyond conventional linguistic systems to enter the realms of semiotics” (1998: 100). Coates claims that Nabokov’s translation and commentary are “complement, not supplement to the original”. Praising his work, she describes his aims as the following: “to pull English readers over towards the foreign, to jolt them out of the comforts of cliché and equivalence and into the dangerous thickets of alien terrain, as if taking a journey abroad” (1998: 104).

Nabokov’s dedication to producing the most accurate version in English of the Russian original has not been praised by many readers of his translation due to the extreme awkwardness of his language. However, the impact of Nabokov’s work on the novel is difficult to estimate. According to Chukovsky (2001: 87, first published in 1968), since the publication of Simmons’s review of Nabokov’s translation in the literary supplement to *The New York Times* of 28 June 1964 there has been continuing discussion in the press about Nabokov’s *Onegin*. In addition, Venuti includes Nabokov’s earlier version of work on the novel (1955) in his *Translation Studies Reader* (2000) as an illustrative example of foreignising.

2.4 Leighton’s work on *Eugene Onegin*

Nabokov’s work on *Eugene Onegin* is responsible for creating a substantial break in scholarship on the novel in English. Thus, it was only in 1991, nearly thirty years after the controversial Nabokov four-volume edition, that another scholarly publication appeared, in the form of Leighton’s pioneering work on literary translation in Russia and America. The book includes a whole chapter on the analysis of Pushkin’s novel in English. Like Simmons’s publication (1938), it is a review of several translations. Leighton’s cluster consists of the three following translations: Arndt (1963), Nabokov

(1964) and Johnston (1977). Other translations of the novel into English are also mentioned, but discussion of them is peripheral.

Leighton praises Nabokov's work for its translation doctrine: "translation should sound like a translation" (1991: 180); there is no "mass production or even mass appeal" (1991: 181) in any translation work. Leighton also praises and compares Arndt's and Johnston's translations. He believes that, in spite of all their similarities in standards, "it would be difficult to find another example of two so different versions of the same work" (1991: 185). He emphasises the different forms of English the translators use. Leighton claims that Arndt's work is more appealing to Americans than to British readers (1991: 186) because of his English: there are a few Americanisms as well as German elements there. Johnston's variety of English is British; however, his language provides evidence of the diplomat's command of French (1991: 190). In contrast to Arndt and Johnston, Leighton describes Nabokov's style as "artificial, and peculiar to his trilingual – Russian, French, and English – consciousness" (1991: 184).

Leighton also points to the temporality of each translation. In his concluding paragraph of the chapter, Leighton writes: "As for the original *Eugene Onegin*, there it stands in all its daunting complexity, waiting like all great works to be translated again, and perhaps even better, by and for a new generation" (1991: 192).

A new translation of exceptional quality appeared in 1990. It was produced by Falen, a Professor of Russian at the University of Tennessee. Leighton also continued his work on *Onegin*. His article, *A New Onegin*, tells the story of translating Pushkin's novel into English describing its developments as "a continuous process of reaching" (Leighton 1997: 662).

Thirteen years earlier, in 1984, Bethea suggested an even more vivid description of the ongoing process of translating the Pushkin novel in verse into English:

Hence capturing *Eugene Onegin* in English has come to represent something like the "three minute mile" of translating skill. The question is not whether the barrier – that is, a precise English substitute, in *all* respects, of Pushkin's Russian – can be reached, but how close one can come, given the obstacles. (1984: 112)

Leighton sees the success of Falen's translation in his rigorous studies of the strengths and weaknesses of Arndt's and Johnston's translations and his abilities to use their examples to work out a better solution to this or that difficulty (1997: 665). So, again, the issue of correspondence – between the source text and the target text – is perceived to be crucial. Cultural elements of the text are not seriously considered.

2.5 From paper to online reviews: Murr's evaluation of *Eugene Onegin*

In the 21st century, the discussion of new English versions of *Eugene Onegin* often moves from paper to online publications and continues either in special blogs or on personal websites. This shows that the novel and its translations attract new audiences and provide opportunities for them to be involved in sharing their appreciation of *Eugene Onegin* using the facilities of Web 2.0. For instance, *The Lectern*, a blog dedicated to the discussion of literature, has an anonymous publication posted by Murr focused on the evaluation of five translations of *Eugene Onegin*: by Nabokov, Johnston, Falen, Hofstadter and Mitchell. In spite of classifying Falen's work using as paraphrastic, the publication praises it:

Falen's translation is how one might imagine the work to have been written in English if Pushkin had been an Englishman. It has the elegiac lyricism of Keats, the political anger of Shelley, the clarity of Wordsworth's metaphysical meditations, Blake's mysticism and prophetic power, the detailed (but highly derivative from the French) pastoralism of Grey and Thomson, spiced throughout with Byron's satirical élan and verbal wit. Moreover, it manages to echo these various intonations without ever succumbing to parody. Falen's version situates the work firmly within the English Romantic tradition, as is only right for a work composed in the 1820s, and turns Pushkin's Russian into a song of equal beauty in English.

(Murr 2010: online)

It is clear from the quotation above that Falen's use of various types of English signals challenging cultural interventions initiated by the Pushkin text. Thus, Falen's translation becomes exceptional as the translator takes extra responsibilities and tries to educate his audience by introducing several Russian cultural concepts.

2.6 Tarvi's research on *Eugene Onegin* in English

Doctoral dissertations also contribute to the discussion of *Eugene Onegin* in translation. For instance, Tarvi's PhD thesis (2004) is the first research project on *Eugene Onegin* in the 21st century. Her aim is ambitious: the development of a method for quantifying the quality of translations. Her research falls within the paradigm of Comparative Translation Assessment (CTA) using the Token Equivalence Method (TEM) as its formal approach (2004: 31–55). Tarvi's database is the 450-page Text Appendix comprising 700 stanzas in which 38,836 tokens and 6,800 lines are analysed (2004: 125). She examines extracts from the nineteen translations of *Eugene Onegin* into English, verse and non-verse: 1. Spalding (1881), 2. Deutsch (1936), 3. Radin/Patrick (1937), 4. Elton (1937), 5. Simmons (1950), 6. Arndt (1963), 7. Kayden (1964), 8. Nabokov (1964), 9. Johnston (1977), 10. Clough (1982), 11. Falen

(1990), 12. Kozlov (1994), 13. Briggs (1992, based on Elton's translation), 14. Sharer (1996), 15. Cahil (1999, based on Nabokov's translation), 16. Hofstadter (1999), 17. Emmet/Makourenkova (1999), 18. Clarke (2000), 19. Ledger (2001).

Tarvi borrows Nida's (1964) notion of the "isomorph" and also makes reference to Hofstadter's (1999) use of "isomorphism" as a category for mapping two complex structures. By trying to access the degree of isomorphism in the nineteen translations Tarvi comes back to the idea of equivalence in translation. To her, however, equivalence is not a word-for-word equivalence type or a dynamic one, but relies on the preservation of information (2004: 93–94).

3. The translators' vision of *Eugene Onegin*: What to bring to the reader

This section of my article aims to evaluate the contribution of paratextual materials, in particular in the form of the translators' introductions or prefaces, in order to identify the translators' reasons for introducing elements of Russian culture to their English-speaking audiences. The order in which I present my analysis of the paratextual data of the five translations is not alphabetical, but follows the dates of their publication.

3.1 Emmet and Makourenkova: Pushkin as a Russian Shakespeare

The teamwork between Emmet, an American translator, and Makourenkova, a Russian poet and scholar of World Literature, is remarkable in several respects. First of all, their translation of *Eugene Onegin* appeared in time to celebrate Pushkin's bicentenary in 1999 and was presented to Boris Yeltsin, then President of Russia. The edition is lavish: its cover is blue saffian with Pushkin's name embroidered on it in gold, and the title printed in Russian and English. Secondly, the publication is politically motivated, as it celebrates a co-operation between the former Cold War enemies, America and Russia. The word "Bilingual", which appears underneath the title and name of the author, looks like a symbol that stands for a new political era.

At the turn of the 21st century there was a strong belief that a true co-operation between the former enemies might be established. Emmet's and Makourenkova's work is the embodiment of this hope. Through this example of peaceful co-existence in culture the American translator and the Russian poet demonstrate that co-operation is possible. Each moves some way away from their cultures and they meet somewhere in the middle. Thus, the framework of their translation is neither American nor Russian, it is European. Both introductory chapters, in Russian and English, explain the choice. The original text is written in Russian by Makourenkova,

and its English version appears in Emmet's translation. Makourenkova presents *Eugene Onegin* as a masterpiece of world literature. She also explains the influence of Shakespeare on Pushkin's novel:

In this translation, Shakespeare was chosen as the measure of Pushkin's text. He reveals himself as a constituent of the novel from the opening lines, or, perhaps even earlier, as his encounter with the author took place not in the flat realities of earthly existence, but on the high peaks of poetry. The fate of historic journeys is capricious, but by the very fact of his existence Shakespeare, in a sense, forecast his future interlocutor. (2009: 40)

This abstract explanation of the Shakespeare-Pushkin relationship becomes more specific and clear when she discusses the importance of dreams in *Eugene Onegin*. To Makourenkova, the novel in verse is reminiscent of Shakespearean philosophical reflections on death in several of his plays, especially *Hamlet*. However, Pushkin as a poet is not interested in sleep or oblivion, but he does cherish "the light and shallow sleep of transformation and inspiration" (2009: 43). She uses the metaphor of sleep to interpret a number of scenes from *Eugene Onegin*.

It might be that the most interesting scene in the novel is the one which takes place between the two main characters in the Larins's garden, in Chapter 4, where Onegin meets Tatiana, after she has written her love letter to him. According to Makourenkova, Onegin's famous monologue sounds "not as a rebuke, but as an explanation of love" (2009: 46). Her crucial argument in the particular interpretation is the etiquette of English Romanticism, the meaning of touching hands. Makourenkova points out that Pushkin uses "leans" to indicate what Tatiana is doing. Moreover, it seems that Pushkin's Onegin is happy to support Tatiana: their arm contact provides evidence of Onegin's welcoming mood. Makourenkova states that this is their happy dream to which both characters return in their thoughts a number of times later in the novel. She also claims the importance of not permitting any deviations from Pushkin's text in translating, as the slightest deviation might ruin the complexity of Pushkin's verse (2009: 44). In spite of this, it is obvious from Makourenkova's own comments that she is determined to introduce to the reader her distinctively new version of Pushkin's novel, in which a Shakespearean dimension is emphasised.

3.2 Hofstadter's study of *Eugene Onegin*

Before translating *Eugene Onegin*, Hofstadter studied the existing versions of the Pushkin novel in English. The results of his thorough research are published in his comparative review of the four translations of the novel – by Arndt, Johnston, Falen, and Elton/Briggs – in *The New York Times* of 8 December 1996 and its

expanded version in Chapters 8 and 9 of his book *Le Ton beau de Marot* (1997). His perception of several translations of the novel as well as his personal experience in translating it appear in their polished form in his Translator's Preface which introduces Hofstadter's versification of *Eugene Onegin* published in 1999. The preface is described as "garrulous" by McMillin (2001), however, Hofstadter's introductory remarks are a valuable source of information about the translator's search for rhythm, rhyme, sense, and tone to express Pushkin's text in English and also to compare and contrast his work with the translations of his predecessors.

For instance, Hofstadter praises Arndt's astuteness in spotting the novel's symmetry and understands his erring on the side of 'too much classicism and formality' (1999: xxiii). Hofstadter's comments on other translations of *Eugene Onegin* such as Deutsch (1936), Johnston (1977), and Elton-Briggs (1995) are positive; he underlines their valuable contributions to the scholarship on Pushkin's novel in English and, according to Hofstadter, the greatness of Falen's translation (1990) inspired him to prepare his own translation of the novel (1999: xxix). In the translations which Hofstadter discusses, Nabokov's stands apart. To Hofstadter, Nabokov's translation is a "repellent wooden crib" (1999: xxvi) and he strongly disagrees with Nabokov's idea of "the dainty mimic" (1999: xxiv).

There is no evidence that Hofstadter has read Venuti (1995) but his comments on several previous translations of *Eugene Onegin* into English suggest that Hofstadter's view of the translating process is similar to Venuti's. They both question the importance of accuracy in translation. Hofstadter describes translators who focus on equivalence as "literature-loving mathematicians" (1999: xxv), and confesses that he applies "poetic lie-sense" in his work on *Eugene Onegin* (1999: xxxiii). Secondly, Hofstadter is in favour of translation in which the translator is visible; he calls his work on the Pushkin novel not a translation but a versification; this is his way of expressing the personal responsibility for the text. He also raises the issue of translating marginal languages. He claims (1999: xxvi) that Nabokov's translation of *Eugene Onegin* (1964) has been afforded too much attention because it has been produced by the famous author of *Lolita* (1955). Moreover, it is clear to Hofstadter that translation is more than the maintenance of the literal meaning of an original, it also includes the grasping and preservation of its author's style. Hofstadter wants his vocabulary to express "unconventional and startling Pushkin's language" (1999: xxx). His versification is not an attempt to copy the Pushkin novel but to express some of its greatness in English, in particular "its unprecedented manner of intermingling lightness and seriousness" (1999: xi).

One example from Hofstadter's preface provides evidence of his extreme sensitivity to culture specific terms. The translator discusses the difficulties he has faced in dealing with Pushkin's *нога* and *ножка* in Stanzas XXX-XXXIV in Chapter 1 of the novel:

It is in these stanzas that Pushkin seems to reveal that he is a foot fetishist – but I say ‘seems’ advisedly. To be precise, the word Pushkin uses – *нога* – is a notorious Russian word that means both ‘foot’ and ‘leg’ (and my Russian friends assure me that its diminutive form, *ножка*, which Pushkin also uses in the ‘pedal digression’, is no less ambiguous) – and therefore, in his sensual pæan to sleek pairs of feminine appendages, Pushkin is referring just as plausibly to *legs* as to *feet*. ... I presented Pushkin as a ‘leg man’ rather than a foot fetishist. In rendering *нога* and *ножка* in English, I have used not just one word over and over, but rather, a whole spectrum of words that run admiringly up and down milady’s limb, all the way from top ... to bottom. (1999: xxxiii)

Presenting Pushkin as a “leg man”, but not a foot fetishist, is an opportunity for Hofstadter to communicate to his audience the poet’s style in which lightness and seriousness are mixed. By proposing that his readers follow the movements of the translator-narrator’s eyes along a pair of women’s legs, Hofstadter introduces the English audience to a new idea emerging from Russian culture through the Pushkin text that celebrates physical beauty, especially in ballet or dance. Hofstadter’s spectrum of words for Pushkin’s *нога* and *ножка* is varied and includes a good deal more than feet: limbs, legs, feet, one special pair, thigh, her ankle (1999: 10–11).

In McMillin’s view, Hofstadter’s manner of writing looks like a “blow-by-blow” (2001: 313) account. However, these various blows provide much new information on the novel. In particular, Hofstadter raises the issue of the relatively low level of appreciation of *Eugene Onegin* met with abroad, in comparison with its status in Russia as a prototypical symbol of the country’s cultural greatness. Hofstadter is fully aware that his version will reflect something from the original. It might not be seen as ambitious in aiming to communicate a fraction of the Pushkin message. However, Hofstadter’s choice is to communicate Pushkin’s manner of telling the story and his text between the lines; the appropriate choice of words and expressions become paramount to re-creating the style. According to Hofstadter, the cultural greatness of *Eugene Onegin* can be represented by way of a particular use of English. He perceives his work as complementary, not superior or alternative, to other translations of the novel into English.

3.3 Beck’s *Eugene Onegin*: The importance of sounds in translating

Beck, a translator from German into English and a musician, had another view on what should be kept in his translation of *Eugene Onegin* in order to enrich the cultural experience of his readers. His ambition was to produce a version in English which would sound as if it actually had been written in that language (2004: 22). Beck sees Busch’s German version of *Eugene Onegin* (1981) as evidence of the possible realisation of his English project. In his introduction, Beck explains that an English-speaking

readership is able to understand Pushkin's story because there are "marked similarities" between Jane Austin's *Pride and Prejudice* and Byron's verse such as *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and *Don Juan* (2004: 12–13). Beck also highlights the operatic background of *Eugene Onegin*, placing it in the context of two famous Italian operas by Mozart, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutti* (2009: 9). It seems that, in Beck's view, the preservation of Pushkin's "sound track" in translating is paramount as this provides a unique opportunity for the translator to maintain the legacy of *Eugene Onegin* as a key Russian literary text in English translation.

3.4 Hoyt's *Eugene Onegin*: An improvement on Nabokov's translation

Hoyt, a former lawyer, published his translation of *Eugene Onegin* at the age of 93. This is another example of dedication, commitment and love. From his introductory remarks it is clear that he valued Nabokov and his work on Pushkin's novel highly. His intention was to revitalise Nabokov's text and move it forward into the 21st century. Like Nabokov, Hoyt retained the meter of Pushkin's verses, but not his rhymes. Also like Nabokov's, *Onegin* Hoyt's translation is also bilingual. Hoyt's target reader is an English-speaking person who admires Nabokov's work on *Eugene Onegin*. Moreover, Hoyt brought his professional knowledge to translating the novel and passionately argued in favour of the importance of verbal fidelity to the original; it almost seems that the lawyer he was decreed the sacredness of every letter in a document.

3.5 Mitchell's *Eugene Onegin*: In quest of Pushkin's style, vocabulary, rhyme and metre in English

Mitchell's work on *Eugene Onegin* was, to some extent, a team project. It was initiated in the 1960s, and in its early stages was supported by Isaiah Berlin and John Bailey. Mitchell's work on his translation was interrupted in the 1970s, and he returned to it only at the turn of the 21st century. It took him about seven years to complete the translation. Mitchell's work on the key Russian cultural text was supported by key figures in translation and Russian literature such as Professor Angela Livingstone and Robert Chandler.

Mitchell's translation of *Eugene Onegin* has several paratextual chapters. One of them is the Introduction, which includes subchapters on Chronology, Further Reading, A Note on Translation, and "A Note on the Map" followed by the map itself. They are informative texts in which Mitchell shared his knowledge of Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin* and Russian history with the reader. Meanwhile, Mitchell's Note on Translation is a very short text in comparison with other paratextual chapters in the

edition. A more detailed account of his experience of translating *Eugene Onegin* appeared several years later, in 2010, in the form of a journal article entitled “On Finishing My Translation of *Eugene Onegin*”. This publication also provided an opportunity for him to become more visible as a translator and a human being. For example, like Hofstadter, Mitchell points to therapeutic elements in translating *Eugene Onegin* and he also discusses his successful graduation from the Pushkin poetry school and strong intention to start writing his own poetry (Mitchell 2010).

Meanwhile, in the paratextual chapters, Mitchell follows academic conventions: he analyses several previous translations of *Eugene Onegin* into English. For instance, “A Note on Translation” touches on Johnston’s (1977), Elton’s (1937), Nabokov’s (1964) and Hofstadter’s (1999) works, and on Falen’s revised translation of 1995. Mitchell evaluates these translations from the point of quality and variety of language. The review style of Mitchell’s introductory materials, which includes notes on his own translation, helps to shape his vision of the translating. He identifies his aim as the reproduction of Pushkin’s language in English, in particular his “simplicity, tangibility and precision” (2008: xliv). He seeks “to get the translation as ‘right’ as possible in terms of style, vocabulary, rhyme and metre” (2008: xliv). It appears to Mitchell that encoding Pushkin’s language in *Eugene Onegin* precisely in English is the shortest path to deliver the various Russian cultural terms and concepts to his English-speaking reader.

According to reviewers of Mitchell’s work, he succeeded in his aim. For instance, Jacobs (2011: online) considers that Mitchell’s translation “was the finest”. Chandler (2011: online) is more cautious, describing it as “one of the finest of all verse translations into English”.

4. What can be gained in translation: The metaphor of the Polish dance in *Eugene Onegin*

This part of my article is dedicated to the analysis of textual features in translation. As has been underlined before, the cultural realia of everyday Russian life, in the forms of traditions, customs, and thinking, are an essential part of the novel’s romantic plot and also provide its colourful background. However, not all cultural data are explicit in the body of the text. In many cases, due to the strict censorship of his time, Pushkin uses hints, metaphors, and symbols to represent the behaviour and attitudes of his characters and the twists and turns of the story.

My sample consists of the work of various translators who are also curious and attentive readers. Mitchell (2010) supports this argument and points out that meanwhile “translation and reading are two distinct activities. ... Translation brings you unusually close to the original and enables you to see the text differently.” That

is why some grey areas of Pushkin's text become more transparent in translation. In this sense, the numerous translations of *Eugene Onegin* into English are a unique source of cultural information on the novel. Comparing them with the original, not in order to establish their equivalence with Pushkin's text, but having in mind an examination of the peculiarities of semantics and syntax through which Russian culture comes to its English-speaking audiences, provides interesting results.

For example, in addition to the Decembrist Revolt of 1825, something related to the Polish Uprising of 1830 is camouflaged in the text. Let us consider a dance scene at the end of Chapter 5 of *Eugene Onegin*, Stanzas 41–45, which has been discussed before by several Pushkin's scholars, one of them is Lotman, a commentator on the Pushkin novel. Lotman writes in detail about Polish dances and their importance in the development of the plot. He argues that they are the secret codes of time (2009: 521 and 523–528). For example, when Onegin arrives at Tatiana's party her guests are dancing a waltz. To Lotman, this clearly indicates Onegin's lateness because all Russian balls of that time started with a polonaise, a grand Polish dance. A mazurka, a Polish folk dance, is also part of Tatiana's ball. Lotman believes that the idea of killing Lensky takes shape between the singing of Triquet and dancing a mazurka, the third traditional dance of the ball. However, Polish dances in the novel have a stronger significance: they are symbols of pride and revolt. By encoding Pushkin's use of dance symbolism, it is possible to understand the novel on a deeper level.

Can Lensky's anger be justified because of Olga's flirtation with Onegin? Probably not. Let us take a closer look at the mazurka scene at Tatiana's ball (Chapter 5, Stanza XLIV, lines 1–5). Below is a quotation from the Russian original and its translations; each line of the stanza is followed by its five translations: the first belongs to Hofstadter (DH), the second is by Emmet and Makourenkova (EM), the third is done by Beck (B), the fourth is Hoyt's work (HH), and the final one is Mitchell's translation (M).

Буянов, братец мой задорный,
 (DH): Buyánov, kindly cousin-brother,
 (EM): Cousin Buyanov, ardent chap,
 (B): Buyánov, my intrepid cousin,
 (HH): McRuffian, my vivacious cousin,
 (M): My irrepressible Buyanov

К герою нашему подвел
 (DH): Led Tanya to our favorite son;
 (EM): To our hero has escorted
 (B): has taken both the sisters to
 (HH): Led Olga and Tatyana, both,
 (M): Took Olga and Tatiana then

Татьяну с Ольгою; проворно

(DH): Eugene, though, deftly picked the other,

(EM): Tatyana, Olga; led them up

(B): our hero; skilfully Onegin

(HH) To our protagonist. Onegin

(M): To meet Eugene, who promptly ran off

Онегин с Ольгою пошел;

(DH): As pick he must (revenge is fun).

(EM): To him; at once Onegin started

(B): has navigated Olga through

(HH): With Olga nimbly has gone off;

(M): With Olga to the ball again.

Ведет ее, скользя небрежно...

(DH): He led her, nonchalantly gliding,

(EM): To dance with Olga, nimble, free,

(B): the dances, gliding nonchalantly

(HH): He leads her, nonchalantly sliding,

(M): He guides her, nonchalantly gliding,

In the verses above, the most striking is Hofstadter's addition "revenge is fun" (between parentheses) when he describes the scene of choosing a partner for the mazurka. Lotman provides several details of mazurkas. According to him, before the mazurka starts one person introduces two men or two ladies to their prospective dance partner. The choice symbolises a personal interest and provides a hint on the possible existence of stronger romantic feelings rather than an interest only (2009: 527). In the novel, Buyanov offers Onegin a choice between two sisters when he introduces Olga and Tatiana to him as his prospective dance partners for a mazurka.

Reading the specialist literature on mazurka helps us understand better the quarrel between Lensky and Onegin, which results in their duel and consequently Lensky's death. For instance, Wang argues there were two types of mazurka in 19th century Russia, one popular among peasants, another danced by the aristocracy. The aristocratic mazurka is more formal and has strict rules, one of the the most important of which is that the partner for the dance had to be chosen well before the event. Wang stresses that, to choose a prospective partner, a formal letter had to be sent a few days in advance and the letter of invitation had to be addressed to a friend, relative, or a famous dancer (Wang: online).

Pushkin's numerous descriptions of Onegin indicate that the character is an experienced party-goer. Thus, there is no doubt that Onegin knows about Lensky's offer to Olga to be her mazurka partner. When Buyanov provides him with a choice between Olga and Tatiana as possible partners, Onegin intentionally chooses Olga. By doing this, he provokes Lensky. Pushkin tells the reader that Onegin has not

planned to attend Tatiana's birthday party. When Lensky visits him on the way to the Larins's ball Onegin decides to join Lensky to avoid the boredom of sitting at home doing nothing. It appears that Lensky is not strongly affected by Olga's coquettish behaviour; the reason for his anger is Onegin's dishonesty and the violation of the strict rules of mazurka.

5. Concluding remarks

The study of five English translations of Pushkin's novel *Eugene Onegin* provided in this article is a contribution to the contemporary discussion of key cultural texts in translation. It has been shown that, where translators are free from the constraints of a search for equivalence, they are free to provide cultural information. Seeing themselves as cultural mediators, translators maintain their professional ethics and produce works which are beneficial to the readers of literature in translation.

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PART IV

Occident and Orient

The image of H. C. Andersen's tales in China (1909–1925)

A case study of a set of Key Cultural Texts in translation

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Using early translations and interpretations (1909–1925) of H. C. Andersen's tales in China as an example of Key Cultural Texts in translation, this study will examine the major elements that influenced the Andersen translations and interpretations in the period from 1909, when Andersen's tales were introduced to the Chinese readership, to 1925, when the first surge of translation occurred on the occasion of H. C. Andersen's 150th birthday. I discuss the socio-historical environment, the purposes of introducing and translating this oeuvre, the human elements involved. I introduce and explain the concept of the “translated image” and discuss why certain translated images have been key to the Chinese understanding of Andersen's works and Andersen the writer until the present day.

Keywords: Key Cultural Text, translated images, H. C. Andersen's tales, Chinese translations

1. The concept of a “Key Cultural Text”

The term “Key Cultural Text” (henceforth KCT) has been widely used in the fields of anthropology, cultural studies, media studies, literary studies, etc. However, many scholars have taken the term for granted without defining it explicitly. Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban are among the few to have defined KCTs. They believe that

(...) not all texts are created equal. Some occupy special positions within a culture and become the focus of multiple realizations, each one taking them from seemingly fixed, decontextualized forms – especially where artifactualized – into living contextually specific, momentary phenomena; others fade away.

(Silverstein and Urban 1996: 12)

Therefore, according to Silverstein and Urban, KCTs possess two properties. They “occupy special positions within a culture and become the focus of multiple realizations.” In addition, the realizations usually relate KCTs to “contextually specific, momentary phenomena”. In this sense, textual interpretations, including translation, are among various kinds of realizations of a text for they often relate KCTs to “contextually specific, momentary phenomena” (Silverstein and Urban 1996: 12).

KCT as a new term in translation studies has not yet received the attention it might warrant either. Given that both the source culture and target culture are involved with the translation of a text, the definition of a KCT in translation must take both cultures into the consideration. If relating Silverstein and Urban’s definition to preliminary consensus arrived at during meetings of the Key Cultural Texts in Translation network meetings and the conference held between 2012 and 2014 in Leicester, there are several criteria for a text to be a KCT. First, a KCT should be the focus of multiple realizations in that it has been translated repeatedly into at least one target language; secondly, a KCT must occupy a special position within the target culture in the sense that it has helped shape the identity of the source culture in the target culture and has affected the target culture. Third, some scholars also argued that a KCT should be a text that has cultural importance in the source culture.

2. H. C. Andersen’s tales as KCTs

In view of the criteria mentioned above, I suggest that H. C. Andersen’s tales are KCTs for the following reasons. First of all, Andersen’s tales are highly valued in Denmark, his image and representations of his work are widely used on Danish stamps and coins, which reflects his reputation in Denmark. Secondly Andersen’s tales in Chinese translation have influenced Chinese literature and culture profoundly. Not only was Chinese children’s literature enriched by Andersen’s tales, but the traditional view of children as mini adults was also challenged and undermined. From the 1910s to the 1920s, Andersen’s tales were imported to China and became models as well as a source of inspirations for Chinese authors of children’s literature. It was largely through the translation and criticism of Andersen’s tales that the norms of fairy tale creation and translation were established in China. Thirdly, Andersen’s tales have been translated into more than one hundred languages. An incomplete survey carried out by *南方都市报* (Southern Metropolis Daily) in 2004 indicates that around 159 versions of Chinese translations of Andersen’s tales have been published from around 1918 to 2004. Therefore, Andersen’s tales have been the focus of multiple realizations both worldwide and in China, which also indicates their status as KCTs.

The following sections of this article will discuss the major elements that influenced the Andersen translations in the period from 1909, when Andersen and his tales were introduced for the first time to the Chinese readership, to 1925, when the first surge of translation occurred on the occasion of H. C. Andersen's 150th birthday. In addition, this article will suggest that although the translated images of Andersen and his tales vary in different periods, the translated image shaped in the first period from 1909 to 1925 has been key to the Chinese understanding of Andersen and his work.

3. The early translations and introductions of Andersen's tales

When Andersen was first introduced to China in 1909, he was already a well-known writer in Europe. His literary achievements were also recognized in Denmark. As Sun Yuxiu points out, "Anderson is a Dane, who was famous for his colloquial style of writing in his time. The fairy tales he wrote were told and read by everyone and are still popular nowadays" (1909: 157).¹ Therefore, when Andersen's tales were introduced and translated into Chinese, they were considered as famous and high quality fairy tales from the very beginning. Besides, the reasons for the early introduction of Andersen's tales in China were unique, and closely related to the Chinese literary tradition and the special social historical environment in China in the early 20th century.

3.1 Social historical environment

The period around the May Fourth Movement² was a transitional and unstable period in the history of China. During this period, Chinese society saw the collapse of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) and the establishment of the Republic of China. People started to live without the rule of an emperor, and democracy became a popular word loaned from Western democratic countries. It was a period when the old orders, values and institutions of the traditional system of monarchy had been overthrown, while the new ones of the modern republic had not been well

1. In this article, all quotations from Chinese authors are my English translations. Please refer to the list of reference for the original Chinese texts.

2. According to *The Encyclopaedia of Britannica Online* the May Fourth Movement is an "intellectual revolution and socio-political reform movement that occurred in China in 1917–21. The movement was directed toward national independence, emancipation of the individual, and rebuilding society and culture (<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/370739/May-Fourth-Movement>, accessed 1 November, 2013).

established. The political situation was unstable too. Shortly after the abdication of Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, the newly established, weak democratic government lost control of the situation, and China was ravaged by wars launched by local warlords, who were supported by different foreign powers. This was an age of changes and chaos in Chinese history, when China was confronted with a painful choice between thorough social reform and falling apart and being colonized.

These social crises evoked a series of cultural and ideological revolutions. China experienced the New Culture Movement³ as a literature revolution and the May Fourth Movement as an ideological revolution, which had far-reaching effects on Chinese society. Along with these movements, new ideologies from the west rushed into China and brought revolutions to nearly every social aspect. The Chinese literature system also inevitably experienced fierce changes during this period. The traditional high literature was criticized as cliché and lacking creativity. Intellectuals sought to promote an ideological revolution through literary reform and led a renaissance of Chinese society and literature. In this climate of “turning points, crises, or literary vacuum” (Even-Zohar 1978/2000: 193–194), the first surge of translations of foreign literature appeared in modern China.

3.2 Purposes of introduction and translation

In this social-historical environment, there were purposes of introducing and translating Andersen’s tales that were unique to China. Since foreign literatures were viewed by the new intellectuals of the time as prescriptions for curing China’s social problems, the reasons for translating foreign literary works could not be solely aesthetic or economic. Rather, “saving the children”, as Lu Xun cried at the end of his *狂人日记* [A Madman’s Dairy], was the reason why translating and introducing foreign children’s literature became fashionable in Chinese literary circles during this period. Via foreign children’s literature, intellectuals wanted to promote new views on children and childhood, such as considering children as independent individuals with their own thoughts and inner worlds, and letting children enjoy their childhoods as children rather than as mini adults.

3. The New Culture Movement of the early decades of the 20th century sprang from the disillusionment with traditional Chinese culture following the failure of the Chinese Republic, founded in 1912 to address China’s problems. Scholars like Chen Duxiu, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun, and Hu Shi, had classical educations but began to lead a revolt against Confucian culture. They called for the creation of a new Chinese culture based on global and western standards, especially democracy and science. On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing protested against the Paris Peace Conference giving German rights over Shandong to Imperial Japan, turning this cultural movement into a political one in what became known as the May Fourth Movement (Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Culture_Movement, accessed 1 November, 2013).

Another reason why translators were eager to translate Andersen's tales was closely related to the tradition of Chinese children's literature. Because children's literature was never considered high literature, hardly any authors wrote specifically for children in China before the 20th century, and the few books that were suitable for children's reading abilities tended to be concerned with the teachings of Confucius and did not offer children anything that could prepare them for the modern world. In addition, they focused on moral preaching but ignored the elements that could attract children. Therefore, offering children tales and books full of vivid imagination and fantastic plots was another aim of introducing foreign children's literature. Those new intellectuals of the time who had experienced overseas education or had received a western style education, held that the new children's literature should free children's souls from Confucian doctrines and enrich their imagination, and were translated for this purpose as well. Therefore, this period was just the right time for Andersen's tales as representatives of classic Children's literature to enter China.

3.3 Human elements involved in the translation and their influences

Anthony Pym advocates humanizing translation history, claiming that “we must also be able to portray active people in the picture, and some kind of human interaction at work, particularly the kind of interaction that can string the isolated data into meaningful progressions” (2008: 23). Actually, besides the social-historical environment which to a great extent decided the purposes of introducing and translating Andersen's tales in China, human factors, namely patrons, translators and readers, also had a crucial impact on the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales and very much determined the image of Andersen's tales in China. This section will explicate these factors and their influences on Andersen translation from 1909 to 1925.

3.3.1 *Patrons*

Andersen was fortunate enough to acquire authorized patronage in China. As mentioned above, many new intellectuals were devoted to introducing western Children's literature into China. They agreed that the vivid imaginations and the humane, poetic beauty of Andersen's tales would benefit Chinese readers and decided to introduce them to China. Intellectuals like the Zhou Brothers (Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren), Sun Yuxiu and Zheng Zhenduo, to name just a few, were among the most influential and prestigious intellectuals in the Chinese literary circle in this era. They promoted the translation of Andersen's tales by contributing introductory articles about Andersen's life and his tales to mainstream literary journals, planning translation project, and arranging publication of the translations of Andersen's tales.

Sun Yuxiu (1871–1923), who was a senior editor of 商务印书馆 (The Commercial Press), which was and still is a publishing house with a strong reputation for academic and literature publication in China, introduced Andersen and his tales for the first time in 1909. An article by Sun, entitled 读欧美名家小说札记 (A Short Note on Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers), contains a section on Andersen's life and his tales. Sun compares Andersen with a famous story teller 柳敬亭 (Liu Jingting, 1587–1676?) of the late Ming and early Qing dynasty and points out that Andersen's tales are popular in Denmark because he is good at telling a story using the language of speech. The vivid language in his tales makes people feel as if they were “listening to him telling stories face to face”. He further states that Andersen likes to use “humorous expressions” and mimic “children's way of speaking” in his stories, which makes his tales very touching and more effective than educators' teachings (1909: 175–176).⁴ Since the only foreign language Sun could read was English, and since he introduces Andersen's tales as “Fairy Tales” in this article, his view on Andersen's style must have been based on his experience of reading the English translations and was probably also influenced by the English critics. Anyhow, Sun was the first Chinese critic to introduce Andersen as a well-known fairy tale writer. His opinions were echoed by other intellectuals later and contributed to moulding Andersen's image in China. In addition, he translated ‘Andersen’ into ‘安徒生’, which is the name that has been used for Andersen in China ever since, although he miss-spelt Andersen as ‘Anderson’.

Zheng Zhenduo, one of the leading figures in the New Culture Movement, founder of Society for Literary Research and Society for Children's Literature Studies, as well as the editor-in-chief of several periodicals for new literature, also contributed to the translation and introduction of Andersen's tales as a patron and an advocate. As the editor-in-chief of 小说月报 (*The Short Story Magazine*) and 文学周报 (*Literature Weekly*),⁵ Zheng planned and edited three special issues devoted to H. C. Andersen and his works in 1925. They include two successive issues of *The Short Story Magazine* and one issue of *Literature Weekly*. He wrote two prefaces for the two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine*, expressing his appreciation of Andersen by stating that “Andersen is the greatest fairy tale writer in the world. His grandeur lies in the fact that he opened up a new world for fairy tale writing with his childlike innocence and poetic talent and brought a new genre,

4. The original text is mainly in classical Chinese, except that Andersen's name is spelled in alphabetical letters “Anderson” and the English term “Fairy Tales” is kept in English.

5. The Chinese titles and names of the Chinese journals and presses will only be offered the first time they appear in this article. The English translations will be used in subsequent mentions.

a new jewel to literature” (1925, 16: 8, 16: 9).⁶ Zheng also encouraged other translators and wrote postscripts to their translations, offering background information and guiding interpretation. Zhao Jingshen recalled his contact with Zheng when he was still a young translator like this:

From 1920 to 1922, when I studied in the Tianjin School of Cotton Textile Technology, I continued to translate his [Andersen's] tales after class and contribute to *The Ladies' Journal* (...) Zheng Zhenduo was the editor-in-chief of *Children's World* at that time. Having noticed my interest in translating fairy tales, he wrote me a letter and invited me to contribute to *Children's World* and to join the Society for Children's Literature Studies. Of course, I accepted his invitation (...) In 1925, when I left Changsha for Shanghai, Zheng introduced me to Xu Diaofu and Gu JunZheng, for both of them were interested in Andersen's fairy tales as well. After that, we translated a series of books for children for Kaiming Bookstore, which is called *Children's Literature Series*. As to the translations of Andersen's tales, the three of us translated eight volumes for this series. (Zhao 1961/2008: 141–143)

With his influence and reputation among the literati, Zheng encouraged many intellectuals to take part in the translation of Andersen's tales.

Zhou Zuoren was another early advocate of western children's literature in China and an admirer of Andersen's tales. According to Zheng Zhenduo, he “helped Chinese readers know clearly about Andersen and his tales” (cited in Li 2005: 32). Zhou despised the traditional utilitarian attitude towards children's literature and advocated “nonsense” literature for children. For him, children's literature should satisfy children's aspiration for beauty and imagination as the highest and the only objective and be free of moralism. Andersen's tales were considered by Zhou as examples that could support his thoughts and theories on children's literature (Li 2005: 38). He composed around a dozen articles to introduce and review Andersen's tales and their Chinese translations. Given Zhou's status as a leader among the new intellectuals, his recommendation of Andersen's tales would be strong encouragement for the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales during this period.

3.3.2 Translators

As “the promotion of Andersen's tales became a prominent event in the Chinese literary world in the 1920s” (Li 2006: 157), most of the influential intellectuals of the time tried their hands at the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales. Research into the background of these translators reveals that they were connected

6. In journals and newspapers like *Short Stories Magazine*, *Literature Weekly*, etc., articles are page numbered individually but not continuously. Therefore, it is meaningless to give the page number in the citation information. The number of the volume and/or the issue is given instead.

to each other in one way or another. For example, most were members of Society for Literary Research. Some of them were even related by kinship (such as Chen brothers, Mao Dun and Shen Zemin, etc.) or marriage (for instance, Zhao Jingshen is the brother-in-law of Li Xiaofeng, who used “Ms. Linlan” as a shared pen name with his wife; Gao Junzhen is Zheng Zhenduo’s wife, etc.). Since the Chinese Andersen translators in this period were closely related to each other, they were able to initiate a trend, like translating and promoting Andersen’s tales, in the Chinese literary system. Second, many of them, for example, Gu Junzhng and Zhao Jingshen, had dual roles as translator and writer, and some of them even had multiple roles as translator, writer, editor and literary critic. For example, Zhou Zuoren had triple roles as writer, translator, and critic, and Zheng Zenduo had multiple roles as writer, translator, editor and critic. Their professional background ensured the literary quality of their translations. Moreover, some of them were also patrons and advocates of the translation of children’s literature, including Andersen’s tales, while others were critics of translations of Andersen’s translations. Therefore, their view on children’s literature and Andersen’s tales must have guided their translation. Third, many of them were leading participants in the debates on the principles and methods of translation during this period, which meant that their thoughts on translation would be likely to influence their translation of Andersen’s tales.

3.3.3 *Readers*

As mentioned earlier, the translation of H. C. Andersen’s tales was considered serious work in China. The motivation behind this, as well as most other translation activities during this period was utilitarian. Adults were probably the major target readers of these early translations. In fact, most of the articles on Andersen and his tales, as well as more than 80% of the translations of his tales were published in literary periodicals with large circulation among Chinese intellectuals. Children could not be the potential readers of these literary journals. Therefore, the translations of Andersen’s tales during this period did not directly aim at children but at adults such as writers, intellectuals, and educated parents. The readers of the translated Andersen tales during this period were also special in the following ways.

First, most readers were intellectuals who I would categorise as “professional readers” in the sense that they read not only for entertainment but also for literary or translation criticism, which was related to their profession. Some of these professional readers, like Zhou Zuoren and Zheng Zhenduo, were patrons as well as translators of Andersen’s tales.

Second, as mentioned before, most of them got to know Andersen’s tales through the English translations. Therefore, the English translations must have had considerable impact on their impression of Andersen’s tales and on their expectations about what Andersen’s tales should be like in Chinese.

Third, the professional readership's understanding of Andersen's tales had influenced Andersen translation into Chinese. Andersen's tales were appreciated by readers like Zhou Zuoren and Zheng Zhenduo because of their colloquial style, the fantastic imaginations and the children's point of view. Therefore, these professional readers insisted that Andersen's tales should be translated into colloquial language that would be readable to children and free of moral preaching.

As indicated above, a translator might be a reader and a patron at the same time, and many translators were connected in one way or another. The results of the overlapping of their identities and close connections among them were: first, a joint power of promoting Andersen's tales in China; second, agreement on the general norms of Andersen translation; and third, consensus about Andersen's literary merits and status as classical fairy tales writer.

In addition, because none of the people involved in the introduction and translation of Andersen's tales during this period could read Danish, their interpretations and translations had to take a detour via mediating translations in other, major languages.

3.4 The indirectness in Andersen translation and introduction

3.4.1 *Indirectness in translation*

Although new intellectuals decided to introduce Andersen's tales to the Chinese readers, hardly any of them could read the source texts in Danish.⁷ Translating indirectly from mediating texts became the only way that Andersen's tales could be made available in China. The legitimacy of indirect translation then became pivotal for the translation of Andersen's tales. There were debates on whether indirectness was tolerable and necessary among Chinese translators and critics in the 1920s. Many intellectuals held that translating indirectly was dangerous and would

7. Communication between China and Denmark can be traced back to 1618 (Feldbæk et al. 1980: 31–78). There might have been a few Chinese who knew some Danish before the 1950s because of trade relations between China and Denmark. For example, the engineer C. C. Bojesen was married to a Chinese woman, who probably got to know some Danish because of her marriage. However, given the general educational level of Chinese women during that era, it is also very likely that she knew no foreign languages when she first married. Moreover, there is no existing literature about any Chinese translator who did any Danish–Chinese translation. Nor was there any governmental educational connection between Denmark and China in the late Qing and Republican China periods. Educational links, including language studies, between China and Denmark started only from 1964, when the first group of five Chinese high-school graduates was sent to Denmark. (Interview with Zhen Jianwen, one of the first five students who were sent to Denmark, November 10, 2015) Hence, it is very likely that there were few people who could read Danish at that time.

compromise the fidelity of translation (Zheng 1921/1998: 62–76). Lu Xun was one of the few critics who stressed that without relay translation Chinese readers could never enjoy Ibsen's works, Cervantes's works and H. C. Andersen's tales. For him, what was of importance was the quality of translation rather than directness, since he believed that a translator who had good command of the mediate language and text often produced better translation than those who knew little about the original language and text (Lu 1934/1984: 238).

Lu Xun has pointed out that because of the lack of translators that had good command of foreign languages other than Japanese, English, Russian, German, and French, translating indirectly was a common phenomenon in China before the 1950s, and the indirectness of Andersen translation during this period was never challenged by critics. Moreover, given that English was the only foreign language that most of the translators who were active during this period could read and that only English sources were mentioned in Zheng Zhenduo's seminal article on Andersen translation and studies published in 1925, it is safe to deduce that an overwhelming majority of these indirect Chinese translations were translated from English translations,⁸ and textual comparisons between the Chinese translations, English translations and the Danish texts support this assumption. As I will explain in the final part of this article, my research shows that the main source texts for the Chinese translations during this period are English translations by E. V. Lucas, H. B. Paull, Caroline Peachey, and W. A. & J. K. Craigie. These English translations became an importance influence on the Chinese translations and eventually the translated image of Andersen's tales in China.

8. In his article “叶君健与《安徒生童话》中译本” [Ye Junjian and The Chinese Translation Andersen's Fairy Tales], Li Jingduan mentions that the Chinese translations that appeared before Ye Junjian's direct translation *安徒生童话全集* [The Complete Andersen's Fairy Tales] published in 1958 were all indirect translations rendered from English or Japanese translations. However, he does not give any information about these indirect Chinese translations or about the mediate translations they were rendered from. Except for Liu Bannong's adaptive translation “洋迷小影” [A Sketch of A Fetishist of Western World], I have not found any indication that there exist other translations rendered from the Japanese translations. However, there is evidence that the German translations were used as mediating texts or supporting texts for some of the Chinese translations during this period. For example, it is very likely that “无画的画帖” (A Picture Book without Picture) translated by Yu Xiangsen and published in *Literature Weekly* in 1921 is translated from a German mediating text, for the German title ‘Bilderbuch ohne Bilder’ is offered along with the Chinese title. Moreover, since Zhou Zuoren (1918/2005: 13) mentions that Mannhardt's German translations are among the most faithful translations, he probably consulted this German version.

3.4.2 *Indirectness in interpretation*

Besides the indirectness in the translation of Andersen's tales during this period, the interpretation and criticism of Andersen's tales were also influenced by foreign criticism, mainly reviews in English. For instance, Zhou Zuoren's perception of Andersen's tales is evidently influenced by criticism in English. Not only does he quote western critics like Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Georg Brandes, and Sir Edmund William Gosse in his articles, his own comments on the merits of Andersen's tales are also evidently rooted in their criticism. In his article “诗人安克尔然传” (A Biography of Andersen, a Danish Poet) Zhou argues that “Andersen... observes the world through the eyes of children and writes it down with the words of a poet. His works are so natural and beautiful that they are unparalleled and will never be approached” (Zhou 1913/2005: 2). This is an opinion drawn from “Hans Christian Andersen” in Boyesen's book *Essays on Scandinavian literature*. In the same article Zhou also appeals to Gosse's comment (1900) in the ‘Introduction’ to *Fairy Tales and Stories by Hans Christian Andersen* translated by Hans Lein Brækstad. In this ‘Introduction’ Gosse states that “life to a child is a phantasmagoria, and thanklessness and rapine and murder are amusing shadows which the unsubstantial human figures throw as they dance in the flicker of the firelight” (1900 introduction: vi). Zhou refers to Gosse and claims that Andersen is unique because he observes life like children do and “children consider deeds like slaughter and robbery as things happening in a shadow play, which are illusions dancing in the light and for amusement” (Zhou 1913/2005: 3). Besides, the translations and articles published in the two special issues of *The Short Story Magazine* and the special issue of *Literature Weekly* are also translated from or refer to western sources, such as Edmund W. Gosse's *Studies in the literature of Northern Europe* (1879: 173–184), George Brandes' *Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century* translated by R. B. Andersen (1886: 61–75), Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen's *Essays on Scandinavia Literature* (1895: 155–180), the “Advertisement” in *Stories and Tales* published by Houghton Mifflin in 1870, and Andersen's *The Story of My Life* translated by Horace E. Scudder.

In addition, it is also probable that the high estimation of Andersen's tales and negative comments on Andersen's other works in these western references influenced Chinese professional readers' views. According to Gosse, “among all his multitudinous writings, it is of course his so-called Fairy Tales, his ‘Eventyr’, that show most distinctly his extraordinary genius. ... They are equally familiar to children all over the civilized world” (1879: 180). Similarly, Boyesen declares that “in reading Andersen's collected works one is particularly impressed with the fact that what he did outside of his chosen field is of inferior quality...” (1895: 159). To him, *Improvisatoren* is “merely a disguised autobiography which exhibits the author's morbid sensibility and what I should call the un-masculine character of his mind”

(1895: 159), which is quite in line with Brandes' view. These western scholars' opinions of Andersen and his works suggest the reason why Andersen's other works besides fairy tales have very rarely been translated into Chinese.

4. The translated image of H. C. Andersen: A classic fairytale writer

After the analyses of the human factors and the indirectness that affected the Chinese interpretation and translation of Andersen's tales during this period, this section will explicate the results of these influences, namely the translated images of Andersen's tales and the general norms of Andersen translation. The term "translated image(s)" in this article is used to indicate the image(s) transferred by, or forged in or through translational activities like text-selection, translation, introduction, interpretation, reception, etc.⁹ Zhou Zuoren's translation "卖火柴的女儿" (The Little Match Girl) will be referred to during the discussion. Zhou had this translation published in *新青年* (New Youth), a very influential journal among youths and new intellectuals, in 1919 as an illustration of the implementation of the principles he advocated for Andersen translation. As Zheng Zhenduo puts it, "after that we got to know and pay attention to Andersen's tales. His works were started to be translated" (1925, 16: 8). Given that there were already Chinese translations before Zhou's translation, Zheng's words actually manifest the significance of this translation as a template for later translations.

In "读安徒生的十之九" (On Andersen's Nine out of Ten) Zhou points to two merits of Andersen's tales. The first is that they are written in Children's language; the second is that they are imbued with barbarian thoughts (1918/2005: 8). Based on his appreciation of Andersen's tales, he strongly criticises *十之九* (Nine out of Ten), the first collection of Chinese translations of Andersen's tales published in 1918, for it is translated in classical Chinese and manipulated by the translators, Chen Jialin and Chen Dadeng. The classical Chinese is a formal written language mostly used by officials and traditionally for high literature. Therefore, it is quite different from the language people spoke in everyday life, not to say the language children could understand. For Zhou, by using the very formal classical Chinese, Chen's translations have been totally deprived of one of the most important Andersenian characteristics – the colloquial style. Zhou believes the vernacular Chinese, which is close to the spoken language, is the only appropriate language for reproducing

9. Van Doorslaer mentions that "translated images" indicate "images in and through translation" (Van Doorslaer 2016: 9). However, he does not give a comprehensive definition of "translated image" other than the abstract description quoted here. Based on Van Doorslaer's description, I offer a more specific definition that reflects my own understanding

the colloquial style of Andersen's tales. Thus, translating in vernacular Chinese is the first principle Zhou argues for. Moreover, Zhou also expresses his dissatisfaction with Chen's manipulation of the content whenever the plot is in conflict with traditional moral values. For Zhou, this manipulation has demolished the "no preaching" merit of Andersen's tales (Zhou 1918/2005: 11–13), and rendering Andersen's tales completely and faithfully is a second principle Zhou wants to advocate.

From the quotations in Zhou's article, it is evident that Zhou's interpretation is influenced by English criticism by Gosse, Brandes, and Boyesen as well as based on his own reading experience of the English translations. Therefore, the principles that he suggests for Andersen translations are heavily dependent on the indirect sources.

Zhou acts on the two principles he advocates in his translation of 'The Little Match Girl'. First, this translation is rendered in vernacular Chinese. Second, although some sentences in Zhou's translation may seem rigid or even odd to the modern Chinese reader, because as a text written in premature vernacular Chinese it still bears traces of classical Chinese, it is still fairly colloquial and readable to a modern reader. For instance, Zhou uses many onomatopoeic words like "蓬蓬" (pinyin: péngpéng), "霎" (shà), and "呼呼" (hūhū), which render his text conversational. Third, Zhou's translation follows the ST, the Craigies' English translation, very closely, and is thus textually influenced by this mediate translation.

To trace the influences of the mediate translation on Zhou's translation, it is necessary to determine the source text first. However, it is not always easy to confirm the source text, for the Chinese translators in this period seldom offered any information concerning the source text. Text comparison then becomes the most reliable way of defining the source texts. Paratexts like translator's memoirs, articles, prefaces etc. are used as side evidence to help determine the source text. Text comparison shows that Zhou's translation (TT2) is probably rendered from W. A. and J. K. Craigie's version (TT1/ST). The following example from his translation illustrates this:

OT: Ilden brændte saa velsignet, varmede saa godt! **nei, hvad var det!**
 G: the fire burned so blessedly, warmed so well! **No, what was that!**

OT: - **Den Lille** strakte allerede Fødderne ud for ogsaa at varme
 G: - **The little one** stretched already the feet out for also to warm

OT: disse, - da slukkedes Flammen, Kakkellovnen forsvandt, - hun sad
 G: them, - when went out the flame, the stove vanished - she sat

OT: med en lille Stump af den udbrændte Svovlstikke i Haanden.
 G: with a small piece of the burned matches in the hand.

(emphasis added)

TT1/ ST: How the fire burned! how comfortable it was! but the little flame went out, the stove vanished, and she had only the remains of the burned match in her hand.

TT2: 这火烧得何等好! 而且何等安适! 但小火光熄了,

G: How the fire burned! And how comfortable it was! But the little flame went out,

TT2: 火炉也不见了, 只有烧剩的火柴头留在手中。

G: the stove also disappeared, only the remains of the burned match in the hand.

The part of the original text presented in bold face in the example is not translated in either the Craigies' version or Zhou's translation. Although Pedersen has pointed out that most tales in the Craigies' version are taken from Dulcken's translation (2004: 266), Zhou's translation must be rendered from the Craigie version, as Zhou praises the Craigies' as "one of the most reliable versions" (1918: 290), whereas he never mentions Dulcken. The result of following the Craigies' version is that the immersive effect that is created by Andersen's style of story-telling has been lost in Zhou's translation.

Another example that shows the influence of the Craigies' translation (ST) on Zhou's Chinese translation (TT) is the following:

TT:, 因为 她的 祖母 -- 世上唯一爱她的人,

G: ..., because her grandmother - the only person who had loved her, in the world

ST ..., for her old grandmother, the only person who had loved her,

TT: 如今已经死了 -- 常常告诉她说, 凡是一颗星落下, 就有一个灵魂

G: now was dead, - often told her that, when a star fell down, a soul

ST: and who was now dead, had told her that when a star fell down a soul

TT: 升天去了。

G: mounted up to the heaven.

ST: mounted up to God.

It is apparent that Zhou has tried his best to reproduce the sentence structure in the ST in his translation. To keep the sequence of the clauses the same as that in the ST, which means attaching a long attributive modifier expressed by two clauses in the ST to the noun “祖母” in the Chinese translation, he adds two dashes to mark them out, although this violates the Chinese syntactic norm, which does not allow long and complex attributive modifiers. The result is that this Chinese sentence does not read very smoothly to Chinese readers.

Although Zhou's translation generally follows the Craigies' text quite closely, some parts of Zhou's translation have been colored by his personal interpretation of Andersen's tale:

OT: ... og hvor Skinnet faldt paa Muren, blev denne jennemsigtig,
 G: ... and where the light fell upon the wall, became it transparent,
 ST: ... and when the light fell upon the wall became it transparent
 som et flor;
 as a veil;
 like a thin veil,

TT: ... 火光 落在墙上, 墙便仿佛变了透明, 同薄幕一样,
 G: ... the light fell upon the wall, it seemed to become transparent, like a thin veil.

Here, Zhou has added “*仿佛*” (seemed) to his translation, which reminds readers that what the little girl sees is just an illusion. This choice reveals that Zhou was still not quite accustomed to the strategy of telling a story from the child's point of view and could not fully appreciate Andersen's style. It seems that his head has entered Andersen's wonderful world whereas his feet are still grounded in reality. There are still other parts of his translation that reveal the influence of his realistic view:

OT: sulten og forfrossen gik hun og saae saa forkuet ud, den
 G: hungry and frozen went she and looked so despairing, the
 OT: lille Stakkel! ... Ud fra alle Vinduer skinnede Lysene og
 G: little poor thing! ... Out from all windows shon the lights and
 OT: saa lugtede der i Gaden saa deiligt af Gaasesteg; det var
 G: then smelled there in the street so lovely of goose roast; it was
 OT: jo Nytaarsaften, ja det tænkte hun paa.
 G: indeed New Year's eve, yes that thought she of.

(Andersen, emphases added)

ST: **Shivering** with cold and hunger she **crept** along, a **picture of misery**, poor little girl! ... In all the windows lights were shining, and there was a glorious smell of Roast goose, for it was New Year's Eve. Yes, she thought of that!

(Craigies, emphases added)

TT: 冻饿的索索的抖着, 向前奔走; 可怜的女儿!
 G: **Shivering fiercely** with cold and hunger, **running** along; poor girl!
 TT: 正是一幅穷苦生活的图画。 街上窗棂里,
 G: It was *exactly* a **scene of indigent life**. ...In all the windows on the street,
 TT: 都明晃晃的点着灯火, 发出烧鹅的香味;
 G: brightly shining the lights, floating a glorious smell of roast goose;
 TT: 因为今日 正是 大年夜了。 噢, 他女所想的
 G: for today was *indeed* **the Chinese New Year's Eve**. Yeah, she thought
 TT: 正是 这个。
 G: *exactly* of this.

(Zhou, emphases added)

By adding “shivering” and describing the whole situation as “miserable”, the Craigies try to send a clear message of how miserable the little girl is in a more direct way than Andersen does, for there is no correspondence of “shivering” in Andersen’s text and “*saae saa forkuet ud*” means “looks scared or cowed” but not necessary “miserable”. Andersen is obviously describing the situation in a more neutral way than the Craigies. Zhou Zuoren has moved a step further to manipulate readers’ interpretation by stating that it is “正是一幅穷苦生活的画面” (exactly a scene of indigent life) and adding an adverb “索索的” to enhance the impression of how badly the little girl shivered. Moreover, the girl in Zhou’s text was running along the street instead of creeping along. All these deviations from the ST have made the little girl in Zhou’s text seem even poorer and more desperate than the one in the Craigies’ version. The reason for these changes could be that Zhou has related the little match girl’s fate to the reality of Chinese society around the “May Fourth Movement”, namely the suffering of the poor. Besides, Zhou uses the strategy of domestication in his text to translate “New Year’s Eve” into “Chinese New Year’s Eve” because, at the time when he translated this tale, Chinese people still only celebrated New Year’s Day according to the Chinese calendar.

What is even more interesting is that Zhou has compensated for the lost pragmatic effect in the ST, which is caused by the particle “*jo*” in Andersen’s text. Zhou uses “正是”, meaning “exactly” or “indeed”, which reflects the pragmatic meaning that “*jo*” bears but is lost in Craigie version. This coincidence suggests that sometimes the relay translation could be even closer to the original text than the mediate text. The second move is not necessarily away from the original. Moreover, Zhou uses “正是” twice more in the second and last sentence of his translation, which is a message neither contained in Andersen’s text nor in the Craigie version. The three occurrences of “正是” in Zhou’s translation gradually imprint a pitiable and helpless image in the reader’s mind.

Zhou’s effort to draw his readers’ attention to the illusions before the little girl’s death in Andersen’s tales and relate them with Andersen’s mastery of describing death scenes is also noticeable. He under-dots the parts where there is narration of illusions as the little girl nears death in his translation. Moreover, in the post-script following the translation, Zhou compares them with the illusions described in “Red-Nosed Frost” (1863) by the Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov and commends Andersen’s tale and Nekrasov’s poem as “two masterpieces of describing being frozen to death in contemporary world literature” (Zhou 1918: 33). Obviously, Zhou has ignored the religious implication embedded in the illusions in Andersen’s tales, possibly because he is not a Christian.

The analyses above show that Zhou’s translation has been influenced both by the indirectness in his translation – he used the Craigies’ English translation as his source text – and by the indirectness in his interpretation and impression of

Andersen's tales, which are not derived directly from Andersen's texts but from the mediate texts and the reviews written by other scholars who could read the original texts. At the same time, the cultural and socio-historical environment, as well as Zhou's own understanding of literature, have also influenced his translation. In addition, as a translator who also has other identities as a patron and reader of Andersen translation, Zhou's translation functioned as a model for other Andersen translators. Hence, the colloquial style and translating faithfully have become the general norms of translating Andersen's tales in China. Meanwhile, the miserable little girl has won the sympathy of numerous Chinese readers and become one of the classical images in Chinese children's literature. Moreover, because of Zhou's prestige and status among his contemporary Chinese intellectuals, his views expressed in his articles and critical writings have also affected the image of Andersen's tales in China, where Andersen's tales are still appreciated for their childlike language and fantastic plots and are still considered as representing Andersen's highest literary achievement.

The translation of Andersen's tales in China from 1909–1925 constitutes a clear example of the translation of Key Cultural Texts. Through the analyses, we can arrive at a better understanding of how H. C. Andersen and his tales have been represented and redefined in the receiving culture, early 20th century China. By looking for patterns and characteristics in this history of Andersen translation, we may learn more about what can affect the image of KCTs when they are translated and transplanted across times and space, and acquire insight into those interrelated elements that played a role in defining and re-defining the cultural concepts involved in those KCTs, which in this case study include fairy tales, childhood and children's literature.

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The cultural transformation of classical Chinese poetry in translation into English

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This article considers the role of culture in the translation of classical Chinese poetry into English. It investigates in particular the level of untranslatability embedded in cultural elements, in view of the significant cultural differences between the source and target contexts for the texts concerned. The article illustrates mediation realised in cultural shifts and borrowing, and discusses further strategies such as annotation, implicit expressions, and literal and semantic translation.

Keywords: Chinese poetry, translation, cultural transformation, untranslatability

1. Introduction

The translation of classical Chinese poetry into English is widely practised in Chinese literary circles. During a number of imperial dynasties in China an important corpus of classical poetry was written in different styles, including *shi*-poetry 詩 (poems with strict metre, rhyme, and limits on the number of characters per line), *ci*-poetry 詞 (poems with fewer restrictions on metre, rhyme and character limits, which can be sung to music), *qu* 曲 (ballads) and *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies), among others. Many of these contain allusions and figurative speech that are difficult to convey to readers without any background in the Chinese culture and language, because “the Chinese and English readers read poetry differently due to their different sense of beauty, [and] English translations have in general failed to reproduce the *yi jing* [意境, “the realm of meaning” translated by Tang] of Chinese poetry” (Owen, quoted in Tang 2014: 192). However, “[t]ranslations can modify, enrich and renew not only vocabulary, prosody and stylistics of the target culture but also its perceptiveness of the exotic world with its values and ideas” (Forasacco 2013: 112).

In order to convey their sense to such a readership various methods have to be applied to create a “cultural transformation” which can act as a bridge between the source text and the translated version. These may include poetic annotation,

strategies for dealing with implicit expressions, and mediation and borrowing between cultures. Each of these phenomena, as well as literal translation, will be discussed below with a view to showing the results of adopting different strategies.

2. The use of footnotes and annotations

Annotation is often employed by translators dealing with poetry translation in order to introduce the target readers to source cultural elements which would be difficult for the target receptors to comprehend without annotation, but which must be understood for the poem to make sense. Consider the following poem by Guo Pu 郭璞 (pp. 276–324):

遊仙詩二首 (其一) 郭璞

京華遊俠窟，山林隱遯棲。朱門何足榮，未若託蓬萊。臨源挹清波，陵岡掇丹黃。靈谿可潛盤，安事登雲梯？漆園有傲吏，萊氏有逸妻。進則保龍見，退為觸藩羝。高蹈風塵外，長揖謝夷齊。

(Minford and Lau 2001: 164)

Translated version: Minford and Lau (2000: 437)

First Poem of Wandering Immortals Guo Pu

The capital is a cave for wandering knights,
Mountains and forests are hiding-places for hermits.
What lustre lies in those vermilion gates?
They cannot compare with a dwelling on Mount Penglai.
The hermit drinks from the clear waves of the spring,
Then climbs the hills to gather cinnabar buds.¹
Hidden from the world, he can stroll by Magic Stream,²
So why should he care to climb the Ladder to the Clouds?
A haughty official once lived in Lacquer Garden,³
Master Lai's wife was fond of the hermit's life.⁴

1. [Qtd. original translated text] Young cinnabar mushrooms, believed to confer immortality on those who ate them.

2. [Qtd. original translated text] The name of a stream west of Dacheng in Jingzhou. The hermit can enjoy himself on earth and need not ascend to the Taoist heaven.

3. [Qtd. original translated text] Zhuangzi was once an official in Qiyan (Lacquer Garden), according to his pseudo-biography in the *Records of the Grand Historian*.

4. [Qtd. original translated text] The *Biographies of Famous Women* records that the wife of Lao Laizi, a hermit on Mount Meng, dissuaded him from taking office with the king of Chu by threatening to leave him.

Advancement will surely let you see the dragon,⁵
 But try to retire, you're a goat with horns in the hedge.⁶
 Let me flee to the mountains, out of the wind and dust,
 And bowing low, take farewell of Yi and Qi.⁷ (Translated by John Frodsham)

There are seven footnotes by the translator in his version of the Chinese poem. This suggests how densely packed a classical Chinese poem could be with culturally specific references that need to be unpacked for readers of the poem in translation. This has characterised classical Chinese poetry since the seventh century, especially in the case of the eight-lined *lǜshī* 律詩 poems which were prevalent in the Tang Dynasty (618–907). Apart from the elements that the translator has annotated, others include “Mount Penglai” 蓬萊, a relatively familiar allusion directly comparable to a fairyland in Western culture. Some readers may recognise it from translated versions of Tang poems: “[b]eyond my reach the far-off *fairy mountains* spread” (referring to “蓬山”, a poem by Li Shangyin, translated by Xu and Liu, in Xu, Loh and Wu 1987: 345)⁸ and “[t]o the three *fairy hills* it is not a long way” (referring to “蓬萊”, poem by Li Shangyin, translated by Xu, in Xu, Loh and Wu 1987: 347).⁹ These references are deeply embedded in classical Chinese poetry, which is typically rich in anecdotes, metaphors and circumlocutory borrowings. The indirect mode of expression arises from the traditional Chinese custom of conveying inherited meaning implicitly; as Hegel remarks, the individual can be “implicitly” presented through “conventional modes of expression in verse”, because literature “reveals the self as expressed by an individual self, whether consciously or inadvertently” (1985: 16). This practice can be seen in the metaphorical and abstract ways of writing by some Chinese poets such as Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858), the greatest poet of the Late Tang Dynasty. Especially in his “untitled” 無題 poems, many of the poetic expressions are “abstract” with “rhetorical figures of metaphors and symbols” (Zhou 1986: 32, my translation).

The poet under consideration, Guo Pu is “best known for his introduction of the terminology of neo-Taoist Dark Learning into verse” (Minford and Lau 2000: 437). Aspects of Taoist thoughts and essence also permeate this poem. The

5. [Qtd. original translated text] To “see the dragon” is to take office and appear before the emperor. See *Book of Changes*, Hexagram 1.

6. [Qtd. original translated text] *Book of Changes*, Hexagram 42: “A goat butts against a hedge. It cannot retreat, it cannot advance.”

7. [Qtd. original translated text] The hermits Bo Yi and Shu Qi.

8. A translated version of “更隔蓬山一萬重” (“To One Unnamed” 無題二首 by Li Shangyin)

9. A translated version of “蓬萊此去無多路” (“Poem Without a Title” 無題 by Li Shangyin)

philosophical or religious echoes of Taoism are well known to Chinese people, but although the notion of Taoism has become better known and gained a degree of popularity in the West, it is far less deeply rooted in Western culture than it is in Chinese culture. For instance, in the sixth line of the translated text, the idea of *danyi* 丹莢 (the young Chinese plant named *glossy ganoderma*, which can be used in medicine prescription), has been translated as “cinnabar buds.”¹⁰ This plant is thought to possess supernatural powers, and this belief is in the spirit of Taoist ideas about cultivating one’s body spirit: “[glossy ganoderma] can help cultivate one’s wisdom without losing one’s memories. Upon prolonged consumption, [it can also help] weight loss and promote longevity and immortality” [my translation].¹¹ The phrase is accurate enough, and the information provided in the annotation “believed to confer immortality on those who ate them” (see footnote number 1 above) does indeed strengthen the image of the plant. However if readers of the target text do not refer to the annotations, they may fail to sense the Taoist aura throughout the poem.

Similarly, in the fourth line from the end, “Advancement will surely let you see the dragon” is a very literal translation of the original, as “dragon” has long been the symbol of the emperor in imperial China. However, the annotation “to take office and appear before the emperor” in the original translated text fails to clarify for the readers that the “dragon” here refers to the emperor. A more detailed explanation may be necessary as a result. Similarly, the hermits “Yi” [伯夷 Bo Yi] and “Qi” [叔齊 Shu Qi] in the last line are also characters in classical Chinese anecdotes.¹² The translation does not clearly convey the subtext and the implied metaphor behind these figures, and even painstakingly locating the meanings and overtones of the original poem in the translation by studying the footnotes might still leave readers uncertain about some of the allusions because they do not possess background knowledge of subtle and figurative Chinese rhetoric.

3. Tackling implicit poetic expressions

As mentioned above, classical Chinese poems were usually expressed in subtle and implicit ways. According to Owen,

10. Adapted from *Ben cao jing* 本草經 [An Anthology of the Origin of Plants]: item *Chizhi* 赤芝 [red glossy ganoderma] [<http://www.zysj.com.cn/lilunshuji/bencaojingjizhu5325/222-5-1.html>]

11. The original reads, “[赤芝] 增智慧, 不忘。久食輕身, 不老延年, 神仙。” *Ibid.*

12. Bo Yi and Shu Qi were princes of the Shang Dynasty (ca. 1751–1111 B.C.). They were famous for having given up the throne for each other and gone to be hermits afterwards.

[t]hese hermetic poems employ the imagery of passion and the immortals. Such images were appropriate for three quite distinct kinds of “hidden message”: biting political satire, sincere petitions for political favour, and illicit love affairs.

(1996: 510)

Noticeably, Berman also comments that in terms of “clarity”, the “degree of explicitation” could be seen as “the manifestation of something that is not apparent, but concealed or repressed, in the original” (2004: 245). He quotes from Heidegger that the work is “transposed into the spirit of another language and so undergoes an inevitable transformation” (Berman 2004: 245). Thus poetry translators have to contemplate how the implicit subtexts of the original poem can be transformed into the translation, whether magnified or maintained at a level of consistent with the implicitness.

The following poem by Li Shangyin is a relevant example of the phenomenon Owen refers to:

無題二首 (其二) 李商隱

重帷深下莫愁堂，臥後清宵細細長。神女生涯原是夢，小姑居處本無郎。風波不信菱枝弱，月露誰教桂葉香。直道相思了無益，未妨惆悵是清狂。

(Zhou 1986: 195)

Translated version: Owen (1996: 511)

Left Untitled (Second of Two) Li Shangyin

Layers of draperies hang into depths
of the hall of Mourn-No-More;
once she lies down, the clear night
stretches on moment by moment.

The goddess's life as a mortal
was essentially but a dream;
where the Small Damsel is dwelling
no lover ever was.

To wind and waves one does not entrust
the water chestnut's frail stalks,
in moonlight and dew who was it caused
cinnamon leaf to smell so sweet?

Well you may say that love's passion
does us no good at all –

it does not keep us from despair
at this clarity in madness.

(Translated by Stephen Owen)

This poem is an indirect reflection and a metaphorical representation of the voice of the author, who was in danger of not being able to take office to undertake Imperial Study. It uses a figurative comparison between the author and a maid awaiting her prince. Such “subtext [...] forming all sorts of networks beneath the ‘surface’ of the

text itself – the manifest text” (Berman 2004: 248) perfectly reflects the real purpose of the poet. As the annotation by Zhou Zhenpu makes clear, “in the second poem [Li Shangyin] compares himself to a maid in her boudoir, in contemplation during a long sleepless night. His hopes are like “the dream of a goddess who has not found an appropriate mate [...]” (Zhou 1986: 196–197, my translation).¹³ But this annotation does not succeed in bringing the subtle message across to the Western perception, because the specific kind of restraint of womanly sensibility under the stringent Confucian stipulations concerning the feminine notion of love and sex are not familiar to most Western readers. Given such symbolic representations, it is difficult for Western readers to comprehend the subtext derived from both the implied metaphor and the Confucian ideas about women.

There are two parts of this poem that require more attention than the rest, because culturally significant anecdotes are embedded in them, so they may be helpful in “crossing the bridge” in the poem. The *shennü* 神女 (“goddess”, in the translation) mentioned in the poem is an imaginative figure from “Gaotang fu” 高唐賦 [“Rhapsody on Gaotang”] by Song Yu 宋玉 (290–223 B.C.), (quoted in Zhang 1999: 239)¹⁴ which is a metaphorical representation of a woman waiting for love. The translated line, “[t]he goddess’s life as a mortal/was essentially but a dream” does not accurately reflect the underlying cultural notion, as most of the cultural representations of the phrase belong to the realm of passion and love. However, regardless of the meaning, we can see that the translator has carefully dealt with this cultural difference with the addition of “as a mortal” so that the readers can associate with what “the goddess’s life” is. The goddess’s life is not in any way related to being “as a mortal” in this case, which symbolises a human’s wish to indulge in dreams of love and sex that could not possibly be achieved by normal mortals.

The term *xiaogu* 小姑 (a young maiden; “Small Damsel”, in the translation) in the next line provides an image of an innocent young lady in her boudoir, waiting

13. The original reads: “第二首把自己比作重幃深下的姑娘,長夜無眠在細細思量。自己的想想像神女一夢,還沒有找到合適的對象。”

14. The annotation for “Xiaye you zuo” 夏夜有作 [“A Poem on a Summer Night”]. The excerpt reads, “Once upon a time the late king [referring to King Xiang of the Chu 楚襄王] travelled to Gaotang. He felt tired and took a nap in the afternoon. He then dreamt of a woman... and he made love with her. Before [the woman] left she said, ‘I am from the southern side of the Wu Mountain and the northern side of the Gao Hill. In the daytime I am the morning clouds, and in the evening I am the falling rain. From morning to night, from dawn to dusk, I am under the *yangtai*’ [yang terrace].” People use the images of “Wu Mountain” and “clouds and rain” to symbolise sex and making love. “*Yangtai*” is another famous image for a place where men and women make love. The original reads “昔者先王嘗遊高唐,怠而晝寢,夢見一婦人..... 王因幸之。去而辭曰:妾在巫山之陽,高丘之岨,旦為朝雲,暮為行雨,朝朝暮暮,陽台之下。” This footnote also appears in Chan (2013: 79).

for the coming of true love. The term “Small Damsel” is a way of “Westernising” the literary image in order to let the poem “cross” the cultural gap. By using the two metaphors of the goddess and the young maiden in the poem, the poet metaphorises his yearning for appreciation by the authorities, which he needs in order to be given the opportunity to take up a post in the Imperial Office. This purpose of the metaphor has to be dealt with in the translation process, and the target readers need to be provided with the means to understand what the metaphor alludes to.

4. Literal vs free renderings

Some classical Chinese poems seem impossible to render literally, as the Chinese way of expressing emotions and sentiments is very different from English custom. A typical and popular example appears below:

聲聲慢 李清照

尋尋覓覓，冷冷清清，淒淒慘慘戚戚。乍暖還寒時候，最難將息。三杯兩盞淡酒，怎敵他晚來風急？雁過也，正傷心，卻是舊時相識。滿地黃花堆積，憔悴損，如今有誰堪摘？守著窗兒，獨自怎生得黑？梧桐更兼細雨，到黃昏點點滴滴。這次第，怎一個愁字了得？

Translated version 1: Lu and Xu (1999: 354–355)

Sorrow Li Qingzhao

I pine and peak

And questless seek

Groping and moping to linger and languish

Anon to wander and wonder, glare, stare and start

Flesh chill'd

Ghost thrilled

With grim dart

And keen canker of rankling anguish.

Sudden a gleam

Of fair weather felt

But fled as fast – and ice-cold season stays.

How hard to have these days

In rest or respite, peace or truce.

Sip upon sip of tasteless wine

Is of slight use

To counter or quell

The fierce lash of the evening blast.

The wild geese – see –
 Fly overhead
 Ah, there's the grief
 That's chief – grief beyond bearing,
 Wild fowl far faring
 In days of old you sped
 Bearing my true love's tender thoughts to me.
 Lo, how my lawn is rife with golden blooms
 Of bunched chrysanthemums –
 Weary their heads they bow.
 Who cares to pluck them now?
 While I the casement keep
 Lone, waiting, waiting for night
 And, as the shades fall
 Upon broad leaves, sparse rain-drops drip.
 Ah, such a plight
 Of grief – grief unbearable, unthinkable. (Translated by John Turner)

In the original, the first seven pairs (formed by fourteen characters) of repeated verbs and adjectives do not appear in complete sentences with predicates. The translator appeals to the attention of the native English speaking readers by alliterations, rhymes, cadences and metre, which are more characteristic of Western poetry, as “[t]ranslating poetry keeping the metrical scheme of the source text requests handling lexical and syntactic material in order to recreate the whole effect of the original on the foreign reader” (Forasacco 2013: 104). He has used not only verbs and adjectives as in the original, but also other parts of speech to make the translated version more alluring. This can be considered a cultural bridge built by the manipulation of style.

Other translators of the same poem have inclined more to rendering the exact wordings of the original:

Translated version 2 [Extract]: Idema and Grant (2004: 226)

To the Melody of “Reduplications, Extended” Li Qingzhao
 Seeking, seeking, searching, searching:
 Chilly, chilly, cheerless, cheerless,
 Dreary, dreary, dismal, dismal, wretched, wretched –
 [...] (Translated by Wilt Idema and Beata Grant)

In this translation, the form has been closely adhered to in the translation, yet the level of acceptance in the Western world may not be as high as in the case of Turner's translation, which makes use of an established Western poetic system, and prioritises meaning over form. The translation above might create a kind of “comic” effect and suggest a hyper-literal translation.

Arguments have generally been about whether to use *literal* or *free* translation, a distinction which can also be drawn in terms of *faithful* versus *unfaithful*, or *word-for-word* versus *sense-for-sense* translation: “[t]he distinction between *word for word* and *sense for sense* translation [...] has continued to be a point for debate in one way or another right up to the present” (Bassnett 1988: 39). Such a dichotomy has been discussed by numerous scholars; Dryden’s *metaphrase* (“word by word [...] which corresponds to literal translation”), *paraphrase* (“translation with latitude [...] which] corresponds to faithful or sense-for sense translation”) and *imitation* (“‘forsaking’ both words and sense; this corresponds to Cowley’s very free translation and is more or less adaptation”); Schleiermacher’s discussion of *paraphrase* and *imitation* advocated by Dryden, and his preference for “moving the reader towards the writer” and for the method of “alienating” as opposed to “naturalising”; Benjamin’s discussion of the usefulness of literal and free translations, in which he argues against a translation too far away from the original, and expresses a tendency to favour literal translation. This idea has also been manifested in a comment by Venuti, “[a]busive fidelity clearly entails a rejection of the fluency that dominates contemporary translation in favor of an opposing strategy that can aptly be called resistancy” (Venuti 1992: 12). The term “resistancy” used by Venuti can also be understood as

a non-fluent or estranging translation style designed to make visible the presence of the translator by highlighting the foreign identity of the ST and protecting it from the ideological dominance of the target culture

which can also be referred to as *foreignisation* (Munday 2001: 145). In general Venuti defends foreignisation, but the dichotomy might change over time and the terms are only “designed to promote thinking and research, rather than binary opposites” (Munday 2001: 146). When applying the concepts to poetry translation, *free* translation means that

the translator interprets the meaning of the cultural elements in the poem and tries to translate these elements based on his interpretation, which endows the translator with great freedom in translation while ensuring the smoothness of the translation.
(Liu 2010: 179)

As illustrated above, translators have worked painstakingly to remove the cultural barriers in classical Chinese poetry in translation into English. As shown in the example of Li Qingzhao’s poem, manipulation of the poetic form is frequently applied by translators to overcome cultural distances. In the case of applying either a literal or faithful translation it is essential that the patterns of rhythm, rhyme, couplets and stanzas be strictly adhered to. Literary works should be comprehended “on the literary-aesthetic level in as much as they are structured according to the rules

and standards of a literary tradition (*intertextual* information)” (Van den Broeck 1981: 79). It is doubtful whether the literal rendering of the poem “inspire[s] the same grief and sympathy from the bottom of English readers’ hearts by repeating verbs [“seeking” and “searching”, etc., in the example]” (Liu 2010: 176). In the above example, the relatively free form, as in John Turner’s rendering, is more idiomatic and more unrestrained in poetic tones and even overtones. This can be juxtaposed with a general tendency to “produce a text that is more ‘clear,’ more ‘elegant,’ more ‘fluent,’ more ‘pure’ than the original, they are the destruction of the letter in favor of meaning” (Berman 2004: 252). However, this also makes readers think of an earlier comment by Berman,

In any translation, as everyone will agree, the work is uprooted, as it were. Now, this movement of uprooting inherent in all translation, whatever its nature, is considered to be a loss, even a treason, [which would] fall short of the original because it is allegedly unable to restore the network of connivances and references that constitutes the life of the latter. (1992: 99)

Some translators may have gone further to transfer the text merely into parataxis and restructure the poem into prosaic style verse. We can see inspiring examples in Ezra Pound’s translations of classical Chinese poems.¹⁵

No matter how the regular patterns of a classical Chinese poem are rendered in the process of translating it into English, the segregation in cultural issues is worth discussing: how does culture travel in the realm of translation, and to what extent are these cultural elements untranslatable? Cultural elements travel through two different cultural settings; they cannot travel through completely by either of the popular methods of domestication and foreignisation:

A fluent strategy aims to efface the translator’s crucial intervention in the foreign text [...] At the same time, a fluent strategy effaces the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text [...] a fluent strategy performs a labor of acculturation which domesticates the foreign text. (Venuti 1992: 4–5)

Poetry is a genre that represents a polarised case in terms of cultural overtones because the rich cultural background and allusions specific to one culture itself cannot be made readily available and shared in another.

15. “[I]n *Cathay*, [...] Pound translates Li Bai’s [Rihaku’s 李白] paratactic 浮雲遊子意 / 落日故人情 with hypotaxis: “Mind like a floating white cloud./Sunset like the parting of old acquaintances” (Sieburth 2003: 258) – but the association of parataxis with the Chinese character created Pound’s “ideogrammic method” (Klein 2012: 41).

5. Mediation and borrowing between cultures

Cultural shifts and cultural borrowing are means of transferring culturally specific items. However these methods were seldom applied in past translations of Chinese poems as it might have led to them being considered “unfaithful to the original text”. In a poem titled “Spring” [English translation] by Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), for instance, the expressions “日華照趙瑟 / 風色動燕姬” (Minford and Lau 2001: 207)¹⁶ are there to serve as a kind of antithesis to compare with the rest of the lines in the poem, as the feminine poetic voice tries to manifest her melancholic feeling about her yearnings for love. The two lines have been translated into “Sunny florescence brightens *Zhao* lutes, / Breezy flickers ruffle *Yan* skirts” (Minford and Lau 2000: 547, emphases mine).¹⁷ “Zhao” and “Yan” were two of seven small nation states in ancient China during the period of the Warring States (476–221 B.C.). The lute mentioned, *Zhao se* 趙瑟, is a noble and representative musical instrument produced in the Zhao State, while *Yan ji* 燕姬 usually refers to beautiful ladies from the Yan State. The translator has tailored a cultural borrowing of the *ji* (literally, “ladies”) into “skirts”, a traditional figurative term in the Chinese language for *girls* or *ladies*, as in *chai qun* 釵裙 (literally, “hairpins” and “skirts”/“dresses”). On the other hand she has still kept the “Yan” intact, just as she has done for “Zhao” above. These are means of mixing cultural borrowing with faithfulness.

There are different interpretations of being “unfaithful to the original text”. Do translators aim for fidelity to the meaning, to the form, to the style, or any other elements? In the example provided above, the translator has chosen fidelity towards poetic effect, rather than sticking too much to the literal words, while keeping aloof from a too direct indication of how the symbolisations work in the poem. The target readers have to make assumptions about the antithetical use of the lute and the ladies, and a translator may consider adding elements to the translated text to make it more comprehensible and understandable in other parts. “Jade water brims in the Qi once more” (碧水復盈淇, see footnote numbers 16 and 17) in the sixth line is a good example. If the word “river” were added after “Qi,” then the expression

16. From Shen Yue’s 沈約 “Chun yun shi” 春詠詩. The original reads, “楊柳亂如絲, 綺羅不自持。春草青復綠, 客心傷此時。翠苔已結洧, 碧水復盈淇。日華照趙瑟, 風色動燕姬。襟前萬行淚, 故是一相思。”

17. From “Spring,” translated by Anne Birrell. The whole translated text reads, “Willows tangle like silk threads, / Sheer silk I cannot bear. / Spring grass green and emerald, / The wanderer’s heart aches at such an hour. / Kingfisher lichen binds Wei river now, / Jade water brims in the Qi once more. / Sunny florescence brightens Zhao lutes, / Breezy flickers ruffle Yan skirts. / On my collar ten thousand trickling tears / Are because I long only for him.”

would not only match the pattern of “Zhao lute” and “Yan skirts” in the following lines, but also enlighten the reader.

Dramatic elaboration could also be used. This would mean a large-scale re-phrasing and amplification of the content of the original Chinese poem in translating, as is sometimes done when poetry is translated into prose:

永遇樂 蘇軾

明月如霜，好風如水，清景無限。曲港跳魚，圓荷瀉露，寂寞無人見。統如三鼓，鏗然一葉，黯黯夢雲驚斷。夜茫茫，重尋無處，覺來小園行遍。
天涯倦客，山中歸路，望斷故園心眼。燕子樓空，佳人何在？空鎖樓中燕。古今如夢，何曾夢覺，但有舊歡新怨。異時對，黃樓夜景，為余浩歎！(Xu 1992: 397)

Translated version: (*ibid.*: 397–398)

Void It Is Su Shi

Moonlight, frost-white; a fair breeze blowing, cool as a mountain stream; what a vision, so vast, so serene!

The fish in their haven jump and splash about beneath lotus leaves that scatter pearls of dew. Here's solitude, life hidden from man's view.

Thrice sounds the drum for the midnight watch; a dead leaf, falling to earth, answers with a startling ring; and my dream, like a cloud somberly drifting, is of a sudden torn asunder.

Where in this dark immensity is it to be recaptured, this dream of mine? Awakened, I step into the little garden; round and round I tread.

I, a weary wanderer far from home, cannot but turn a wistful eye towards the path over the mountains and my native land beyond.

The Swallow Tower, now a void. Whither is the Beauty fled? Void it is – what though the swallows remain?

Past and present – it's only a dream. But has anyone ever awakened? In vain I fret about the present and pine for the past.

Some day, some visitor at my Yellow Tower, gazing into the night, would pay me the tribute of a sigh.
(Translated by Weng Xianliang)

The translation appears more like a piece of prose than a poem, and it resembles English free verse, in which form is not considered as important as content. This “open form [...] has neither a rime scheme nor a basic meter informing the whole of it” (Kennedy and Gioia 1998: 229). Perhaps the major problem of this rendering is that it is in fragments, or may seem intermediate between prose and poetry. However, prosaic style may be a helpful way of rendering classical Chinese poetry into English.

6. Conclusion

Poetry is an art form, and it “implies language only as its support, its inevitable and imperfect beginning” (Berman 1992: 89). Clearly, there are merits and demerits in all the above methods of translating from classical Chinese into English. A communicative bridge is difficult to build, but it is important to enable people from different cultures to share each other’s art forms, since through these they often express their innermost thoughts, beliefs and emotions. In addition, aspects of the cultural histories of peoples are less clearly recountable by other means. Yet, any

alleged untranslatability is dissolved in total translatability by simply having recourse to modes of relation that exist naturally and historically between languages, but adapted in this case to the demands of the translation of a *text*.

(Berman 1992: 189 emphasis in the original)

The contemporary growth in intercultural exchanges has brought with it greater openness to different cultural complexities and to cultural otherness, including in literary works in translation despite the unfamiliarity of adapting to “foreign” components. Poetry has not traditionally been a very popular subject; however, translation could help to globalise poetic works. It is literary translators’ ultimate hope to witness a growth in poetry presses, and that translations will be of such a high standard that they can promote harmony between the source and target cultures, so that more people from the Western world would be able to appreciate Chinese poetry.

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The immigration of key cultural icons

A case study of church name translation in Macao

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The Church is a key icon of Christianity. Journeying to disseminate Christianity eastward, many European missionaries chose Macao as their first stop in China, and built churches for religious practice. To have the new religion recognised by local people, the foreign church names were translated into Chinese. This article surveys church name translation in Macao from the 16th to the 20th century, identifying and comparing the linguistic patterns of original and translated names and the associated translation strategies. I argue that translation plays a crucial role in integrating the immigrated culture into the host culture. In addition, translations of church names reflect social changes and social relationships within the host society.

Keywords: cultural icons, Christianity, translation, church names, Macao

1. Introduction

In 1781, a Chinese scholar named Liang Di (梁迪) recorded his discovery of the organ when he heard the sound of music from a temple, the San Ba (三巴), during his travels in Macao. The organ is a Western musical instrument. How could it be used in a temple in a small village in China, especially in the early Qing Dynasty? The truth is that this San Ba Temple is not a Chinese temple; in fact, it is St Paul's Church.

The Church is a key icon of Christianity. Journeying through the dissemination of Christianity eastward, many European missionaries chose Macao as their first stop in China. The first major task the missionaries undertook upon their arrival was to build a church to function as their base for religious practice. The first church construction in Macao dates back to the 16th century. By the end of the 17th century a total of ten churches had been built in this tiny coastal city of the East. The establishment of churches in Macao during the 16th and 17th century faced a major issue, namely how to make Christianity appealing to the local residents. To solve this problem, not only the Christian classics and literature e.g., the Bible, but also the church names needed

to be translated into Chinese. The “San Ba Temple” mentioned in a Qing Dynasty poem was the earliest recorded translation of the name of St. Paul’s Cathedral built in 1640. Today, “St Paul’s Cathedral” is officially translated as “Sheng Bao Lu Jiao Tang (聖保祿教堂, in English: the St Paul’s Church)” and in tourist brochures and public notices as “Da San Ba (大三巴, in English: Three Arch Gates)”. The existence of different translations of the same church name raises a number of research questions, such as: (1) how do cultural icons, in this case church names, immigrate to the Chinese cultural system through translation, and how are they received by the host culture? and (2) what social changes and social relationships do the translations of church names reflect? Taking the naming of St Paul’s Cathedral as a starting point, this paper sets out to investigate church name translation in Macao.

Church name translation is not only a linguistic issue but also a cultural one. Cultural conflicts and conversions have been inescapable ever since Christianity left the European continent and spread to the Americas and Asia in particular, when Christianity met old China. When Christianity was first introduced to China, “the source language word” of church names expressed “a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture” (Baker 1992: 21). The translation of church names therefore is a form of “cultural translation”, a type of translation which functions “as a tool for cross-cultural or anthropological research, or ... is sensitive to cultural as well as linguistic factors” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 35). Previous studies on cultural translation have discussed the difficulties caused by different cultural perceptions in the translation of culture specific terms, particularly problems of cultural loss in translation (Baker 1992: 21–42; Yang 2010). There are also studies placing translation in a socio-cultural context (e.g., Sun 2007), and interpreting the reasons for the differences in translations on the basis of different groups of target readers and their cultural perceptions (e.g., Zhang 2012). However, so far not enough attention has been paid to the social effects of cultural translation, e.g., its influence on the host cultural evolution and social formation, and vice versa, the social changes and relationships reflected by the translations produced and used in different periods of time. Here, I borrow the three-dimensional critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework developed by Fairclough (1992) to include a socio-historical perspective in the investigation of cultural translation and chart the role of church name translation in Macao’s social history.

2. An overview of concepts relevant to the translation of church names in Macao

In this study, church names are regarded not only as culture specific terms, but also as a discourse. As culture specific terms, church names and their translations may be studied using insights from literature on strategies and methods in cultural translation. As a discourse, church names and their translations can be subject to critical analysis from a socio-historical perspective.

2.1 Strategies and methods in cultural translation

According to Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997: 35), cultural translation

might take the form either of presenting TL recipients with a transparent text which informs them about elements of the source culture, or of finding target items which may in some way be considered to be culturally ‘equivalent’ to the ST items they are translating.

This dichotomy is similar to the translation strategies Venuti (1995) proposes, which are associated with the import of or resistance to foreign culture, namely foreignisation and domestication. Venuti traces the origin of these concepts to Schleiermacher’s dictum that: “the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the readers towards him” or “leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him” (Schleiermacher 1838/1963: 47 and 1838/1977: 74; Venuti 1995: 19–20). Here, I use the terms, “target culture oriented translation” and “source culture oriented translation”, for the general categorisation of church name translation.

Although Western scholars have proposed different translation methods for translating culture specific terms (e.g., Nida 1964; Newmark 1981; Baker 1992; Hervey and Higgins 1992), in the context of the translation of church names in Macao, which concerns mostly English-Chinese translation, it is appropriate to use the Chinese scholar, Loh Dian-yang’s classification of five methods for translating English nouns or terms denoting entities belonging to English culture into Chinese (Loh 1958: 47–50). Zhang (2012: 208) illustrates the five methods with examples suggested by Loh:

1. Pure transliteration (e.g., “chocolate” into 巧克力; Chinese pinyin: *qiaokeli*);
2. Pure semantic translation (e.g., “airplane”, 飛機; back translation: “flying machine”);
3. Combination of transliteration and semantic translation (e.g., “utopia”, 烏托邦; Chinese pinyin: *wutuobang*; back-translation: “not real country”);
4. Transliteration with semantic translation at the beginning or at the end (e.g., “beer”, 啤酒; Chinese pinyin: *pījiu*; back translation: “beer wine”);
5. Symbolic translation with a semantic explanation at the end (e.g., “cross”, 十字架; back translation: “十shape frame”).

Loh's classification covers most of the circumstances that we might meet in translating culture specific terms into Chinese. Other circumstances include amplification and omission that are common in dealing with cultural loss, and cultural substitution that includes both intra-cultural and transcultural substitutions.

2.2 CDA: A socio-historical perspective

Discussion of strategies and methods of cultural translation focus on the textual dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis (1992). By "text" I mean the object of analysis, e.g., in this study church names and their translations. The other two dimensions are discourse and social practice. Discourse is the processes by means of which the object is produced and received. Social practices are the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes. In a word, text production is shaped by discourse practice and discourse practice is conditioned by sociocultural practice. In turn, text production and discourse practice may reflect social changes and social relationships at a certain period of time.

In Fairclough's view, "discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them" (1992: 3–4). Changes in language use are important parts of wider social and cultural changes (Fairclough 1992: 5). The former is the reflection of the latter and the latter is the impetus of the former. This study attempts to identify the changes in the translations of church names in Macao over the past five centuries (from the 16th century to the 20th century) and discuss the social and cultural changes as reflected by the linguistic changes. In what follows, I will first look at the linguistic features of the English church names and their Chinese translations before contextualising the discourse of church names in Macao society in order to be able to discuss possible social changes and relationships reflected in the variations of the translated church names.

3. Data and scope of the study

The church names and their translations were collected from the following two sources: the book *Macao Catholic Church* (Lu and Huang 2009), which presents a comprehensive history of Macao's Catholic churches, and Macao Government Tourist Office (MGTO) which has published a list of churches on its website: <http://en.macaotourism.gov.mo/sightseeing/sightseeing.php?c=3>. There is however no official record of the translators and the times when the translations of the church names were made. Some of the translations were passed from one generation to another and are still in use, e.g., Da San Ba, while others are no longer used by local

residents, e.g., San Ba Si. We can only infer the time of translation from the construction time of the churches, since the completion of a church might immediately require a Chinese name for use by the local Chinese.

There are eighteen churches in Macao, seventeen of which are Catholic churches. One Protestant church serves the small Protestant minority in Macao. The oldest church is St Anthony Church, built in 1560, and the youngest is Our Lady of Sorrows Church, built in 1966. Table 1 lists the eighteen churches according to the time when they were built, beginning with the oldest. Both English names and their Chinese translations are provided. Pinyin spelling and back-translation (BT) are added for the benefit of non-Chinese readers.

Table 1. Macao Church names and their Chinese translations

Construction completed in	Church name	Chinese translations	Pinyin/Back-translation
1560	St Anthony's Church	花王堂	<i>hua wang tang</i> flower king hall
		聖安多尼教堂	<i>sheng an duo ni jiaotang</i> St. Anthony's church
1560	St Lawrence's Church	海神廟	<i>hai shen miao</i> sea god temple
		風順堂	<i>feng shun tang</i> wind smooth hall
		聖老楞佐教堂	<i>sheng lao leng zuo jiaotang</i> St Lawrence's church
1567	St Lazarus Church	瘋堂廟	<i>feng tang miao</i> crazy hall temple
		望德聖母堂	<i>wang de shengmu tang</i> high virtue holy mother hall
		聖拉匝祿堂	<i>sheng la za lu tang</i> St. Lazarus Church
1587	St Dominic's Church	板樟廟	<i>ban zhang miao</i> wooden framework temple
		玫瑰堂	<i>meigui tang</i> rose hall
1591	St Augustine's Church	龍鬚廟	<i>long xu miao</i> dragon moustache temple
		聖奧斯定教堂	<i>sheng ao si ding jiaotang</i> St. Augustine's Church
1622	Cathedral	大廟	<i>da miao</i> big temple
		大堂	<i>da tang</i> big hall
		主教座堂	<i>zhu jiao zuo tang</i> bigshop's seat hall

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Construction completed in	Church name	Chinese translations	Pinyin/Back-translation
1622	Guia Chapel	松山小堂 聖母雪地殿教堂	<i>songshan xiaotang</i> Pine Mountain Chapel <i>shengmu xuedi dian jiaotang</i> holy mother snow ground hall church
1622	Chapel of Our Lady of Penha	主教山小堂 海崖聖母小堂 聖母堂	<i>zhujiashan xiaotang</i> bishop mountain chapel <i>haiya shengmu xiaotang</i> Penha holy mother chapel <i>shengmu tang</i> holy mother hall
1629	Chapel of St James	聖雅各伯小堂	<i>sheng ya ge bo xiaotang</i> St. James Chapel
1640	St Paul's Cathedral	三巴寺 大三巴 聖保祿教堂	<i>san ba si</i> Three Arch Temple <i>da san ba</i> Big Three Arch <i>sheng bao lu jiaotang</i> St. Paul's Cathedral
1746	St Joseph's Church	三巴仔 聖若瑟聖堂	<i>san ba zai</i> little three arch <i>sheng ruo se sheng tang</i> St. Joseph holy hall
1821	Protestant Chapel	馬禮遜教堂	<i>ma li xun jiaotang</i> Morrison Church
1875	Chapel of St Michael	聖彌額爾小堂	<i>sheng mi e er xiaotang</i> St. Michael Chapel
1885	Our Lady of Carmel Church	嘉模聖母堂 嘉模教堂 聖母聖衣堂	<i>jiamo shengmu tang</i> Carmel holy mother hall <i>jiamo jiaotang</i> Carmel church <i>shengmu shengyi tang</i> holy mother holy clothes church
1907	St Francis Xavier Church	望廈聖方濟各小堂	<i>wangxia sheng fang ji ge xiaotang</i> Mong Ha St. Francis Xavier Chapel
1928	Chapel of St Francis Xavier	路環聖方濟各聖堂	<i>luhuan sheng fang ji ge sheng tang</i> Coloane St. Francis Xavier holy hall
1929	Our Lady of Fátima Church	花地瑪聖母堂	<i>huadima shengmu tang</i> Fátima holy mother hall
1966	Our Lady of Sorrows Church	九澳七苦聖母小堂	<i>jiuao qi ku shengmu xiaotang</i> Ka-Ho seven bitterness holy mother chapel

It is interesting that the names of churches constructed before 1900 all have more than one Chinese translation, some translated as “temple” and some as “hall”, whereas the churches constructed after 1900 only have one Chinese translation, i.e., *jiaotang*, that refers to the church specifically. Nearly half of the churches constructed before 1900 were called “temples” in Chinese. For instance, St Lawrence Church was called “Sea God Temple”, St Lazarus Church was called “Crazy Hall Temple” and “Cathedral” was rendered as “Big Temple”. This suggests a diachronic change in church name translation in Macao. In the first two centuries of the encounter with Christianity, the local people perceived churches as temples and halls. Since the 18th century, churches have been commonly known as *jiaotang*, a unique expression created to render “church” in Chinese. In Section 4, I will analyse the linguistic differences of these names and translations in detail.

4. Analysis

This section presents the findings from my investigation of the linguistic features of the English church names and their Chinese translations. At this stage I treat the church names and their translations as texts in accordance with the first dimension of Fairclough’s three-dimensional CDA framework.

4.1 Church names in English

There are three key words in the English nomenclature of places of worship: “church”, “cathedral” and “chapel”. Among the names of the eighteen English churches in Macau, “church” is used most frequently, followed by “chapel” and “cathedral”. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), a church is “a building for public Christian worship or rites such as baptism, marriage, etc.”. A chapel is defined as “a sanctuary or place of Christian worship, not the church of a parish or the cathedral church of a diocese; an oratory”. In other words, it is “a small church” (Bacon 1626: 249). A cathedral, is “the principal church of a diocese, containing the bishop’s cathedra or throne; usually remarkable for size and architectural beauty”. In my database, only two instances contain the word “cathedral”, i.e., “Cathedral” and “St. Paul’s Cathedral”, suggesting their importance in the diocese of Macao.

The linguistic patterns of the English names of ecclesiastical buildings can be classified into the following three types:

1. Name of a Christian saint plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”
This is the principal pattern of naming churches in Macao, with about 72% of the church names falling into this category. Examples include St. Anthony’s Church, Chapel of St. James, and St. Paul’s Cathedral. As the names of the patron saints in question here do not exist in the local Chinese cultures, this type of pattern manifests the maximum degree of culture specificity.
2. Location plus patron saint plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”
This type is not very common. Only one example follows the pattern of naming the church by location, the Guia Chapel. Two examples include both location and the name of a patron saint, namely Chapel of Our Lady of Penha, and Our Lady of Carmel Church, in which *penha* is the Portuguese spelling of “cliff”, suggesting that the church is located on the cliff, while “Carmel” is a biblical place name and also the name of the street leading to the church.
3. Membership plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”
This type of naming pattern is even more unusual in Macao. By membership we mean different Christian groups, e.g., the Catholic and the Protestant. There is one place of worship in Macao to serve Macao’s Protestant minority, i.e., the Protestant Chapel. The name indicates the small size of the building, which is somewhat at odds with the fact that Catholics form the Christian majority in Macao.

I will compare these linguistic patterns to the linguistic patterns found in the Chinese translations, in order to identify the variation between the source text and the target text as well as the translation strategies involved.

4.2 Church names translated into Chinese

As the *OED* indicates (see Section 4.1) the expressions, “church”, “chapel” and “cathedral” are central to Christianity. Therefore, when Christianity was introduced to Macao in the 16th century, the church was a key cultural icon for the immigrants and missionaries to present to the host culture. The translation of the church names is therefore vital to the popularisation of the immigrants’ culture, in this case, Christianity.

Table 2 presents the Chinese translations of the three key words, namely “church”, “chapel” and “cathedral”. The Chinese translations are arranged from left to right according to the degree of orientation towards the source/target culture. For instance, “church” has five Chinese translational equivalents: *jiaotang*, *xiaotang*, *tang*, zero equivalent and *miao*. Among these equivalents, *jiaotang* is the most frequent source culture oriented translation for “church”. In the Chinese dictionary *Han Dian* (漢典), *jiaotang* is defined as a building for Christian worship (<http://www.zdic.net/c/9/13e/307903.htm>). The word was created to introduce this new cultural icon of

Christianity. In Chinese, *jiao* and *tang* can be separated and understood as “religion” and “hall” respectively, so *jiaotang* literally means a hall for practising religion. The word was created to differentiate a church from the existing buildings for religious practice in the Chinese culture such as *miao*, defined as a building for the worship of ancestors and folk religion, and *si*, defined as a building for Buddhist worship. The translation equivalent *xiaotang* cannot be found in Chinese dictionaries. In Chinese *xiao* means “small” and *tang* means “hall”. *xiaotang* can be literally translated as “small hall” and is used to refer to a small church, or a chapel. Likewise, *datang*, literally meaning “big hall”, refers to a big church, or a cathedral. So *xiaotang*, *datang* and even *shengtang* (literally meaning “holy hall”) are linguistic varieties of *jiaotang*, differentiating the size and function of a church and are therefore source culture oriented. The translation equivalent *tang* is more neutral compared to the terms discussed above. It simply means a hall or a big house in Chinese. For example a clan hall is called *citang* (祠堂), a dining hall is called *shitang* (食堂) and so on. A zero equivalent is oriented towards the target culture, because the source culture element is omitted. A higher degree of target culture orientation can be found in translations such as *miao* and *si*. As explained, *miao* and *si* are specific to Chinese culture. When “church” is translated into *miao* or *si*, a Chinese religious icon is substituted for the Christian icon, which was a very common practice in the 16th and 17th centuries. For example, of the five churches built in the 16th century, four were named *miao*.

Table 2. Chinese translations of “church”, “chapel” and “cathedral”

ST	TTs (with pinyin under the Chinese characters; Z = zero equivalent)				
church	教堂 <i>jiaotang</i>	小堂 <i>xiaotang</i>		堂 <i>tang</i>	Z 廟 <i>miao</i>
chapel	教堂 <i>jiaotang</i>	小堂 <i>xiaotang</i>	聖堂 <i>shengtang</i>	堂 <i>tang</i>	
cathedral	教堂 <i>jiaotang</i>	大堂 <i>datang</i>			Z 大廟 寺 <i>damiao si</i>
Orientation	Source culture			Target culture	

The linguistic patterns of the Chinese translations of church names can be classified into nine categories, as summarised in Table 3.

Compared to the linguistic patterns of English church names, the Chinese translations display more varieties. For example, there are eight different linguistic patterns of Chinese translations corresponding to the first type of English church names pattern, i.e., *Name of a Christian patron saint plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”*. The eight linguistic patterns include: Category A, B, C, E, F, G, H and I as listed in Table 3, among which Category A faithfully corresponds to Type 1, while

Table 3. Categories of linguistic patterns of Chinese translations of church names

Category of linguistic patterns	Translation methods	Examples	Orientation			
A. Name of the patron saint plus <i>jiaotang</i> , <i>xiaotang</i> or <i>tang</i>	Combination of transliteration and semantic translation	聖保祿教堂 聖雅各伯小堂 聖彌爾爾小堂 花地瑪聖母堂 聖安多尼教堂 聖若瑟聖堂 聖老楞佐教堂 聖拉匝祿堂	Source culture oriented			
	Semantic explanation	望德聖母堂 聖母雪地殿教堂				
	Semantic translation and omission	聖母堂				
B. Location (plus patron saint) plus <i>jiaotang</i> , <i>xiaotang</i> or <i>tang</i>	Combination of transliteration and semantic translation	嘉模聖母堂				
	Amplification and transliteration and semantic translation	望廈聖方濟各小堂 路環聖方濟各聖堂				
	Omission and transliteration and semantic translation	嘉模教堂				
	Pure semantic translation	海崖聖母小堂 松山小堂				
	Amplification and semantic translation	九澳七苦聖母小堂				
	Intra-cultural substitution and semantic translation	主教山小堂				
C. Specialisation of the church plus <i>tang</i>	Intra-cultural substitution and semantic translation	主教座堂 玫瑰堂 聖母聖衣堂 風順堂				
		D. Name of a famous priest plus <i>tang</i>		Intra-cultural substitution and semantic translation	馬禮遜教堂	
		E. Architectural feature plus <i>tang</i>		Transcultural substitution and semantic translation	大堂 花王堂	
F. Role of patron saint plus <i>miao</i>	Substitution	海神廟				
G. Location plus <i>miao</i>	Transcultural substitution	瘋堂廟				
H. Architectural feature	Transcultural substitution	大三巴 三巴仔				
		I. Architectural feature plus <i>si</i> or <i>miao</i>		Transcultural substitution	板樟廟 龍鬚廟 大廟 三巴寺	Target culture oriented

other categories orient to different degree of cultural substitution. The following outlines the details of translating Type 1 source text (ST) linguistic patterns into the eight target text (TT) linguistic patterns:

1. Translate into category A of TT

Category A is “name of the patron saint plus *jiaotang*, *xiaotang* or *tang*”. This is the most common way of translating English church name into Chinese. Similar to the common practice of translating Western names into Chinese by transliteration, most names of patron saints are also translated by transliteration, e.g., St Paul is translated into 聖保祿 (pinyin: *sheng bao lu*), and “St Anthony” is translated into 聖安多尼 (pinyin: *sheng an duo ni*). However, there are exceptional cases of translating the name of the building for other reasons. For example, “St. Lazarus Church” is translated into 望德聖母堂 (BT: high virtue holy mother hall), because although St Lazarus was worshiped in St Lazarus Church for saving lepers, later, the authorities built a hall to worship the Virgin Mary next to the hall of St Lazarus. There is also a case of semantic translation and omission, e.g., “Chapel of Our Lady of Penha” is translated into 聖母堂 (BT: holy mother hall), omitting the location of the chapel. In general, translations falling into Category A mostly use semantic translation and they are all source culture oriented.

2. Translate into category B of TT

Category B is “location (plus patron saint) plus *jiaotang*, *xiaotang* or *tang*”. Translating Type 1 of the English church names into Category B of TT mostly concerns the amplification of the location of the church, e.g., 路環 (Coloane) is added to the Chinese translation of “Chapel of St Francis Xavier” as in “Coloane St Francis Xavier holy hall” (BT: of the Chinese), and 望廈 (Mong Ha) is added to the Chinese translation of “St Francis Xavier Church”, to give “Mong Ha St Francis Xavier Chapel” (BT: of the Chinese) in order to differentiate their locations. This category is also source culture oriented.

3. Translate into category C of TT

Category C is “special character of the church plus *tang*”. By “special character” I mean the church’s unique characteristic, for example 主教座堂 (BT: bishop’s seat hall) is the Chinese name of the Cathedral where the bishop’s seat is placed. This translation emphasises the principal role the Cathedral plays in the diocese. Another example 玫瑰堂 (BT: rose hall) is the name for “St Dominic’s Church”, in which 玫瑰 (BT: rose) refers to the Rosary, a form of prayer used in St Dominic’s Church. Translation methods such as substitution and semantic translation are commonly used to translate church names into this category. Though substitution is the major translation method for this category, this category is still source culture oriented since the substitutions are based on aspects of the source culture, i.e., Christianity. I call this kind of substitution intra-cultural substitution, to distinguish it from transcultural substitution, which I will discuss below.

4. Translate into category E of TT

Category E is “architectural feature plus *tang*”. This category occupies the middle ground between source culture orientation and target culture orientation. The use of *tang* suggests that the users realise the difference between this building and a traditional temple. It is possible that the users also know it is a church. However, the users’ knowledge seems to end at this point. They might know nothing about Christianity. As a result, they cannot call the church by the name of the patron saint in the original; instead they name the church after an architectural feature. For example, local Chinese used 花王堂 (BT: flower king hall) to refer to “St Anthony’s Church”. This name reflects the popularity of the church as a wedding venue for citizens of Portuguese descent, who decorate the church with flowers on these occasions.

5. Translate into category F of TT

Category F is “role of patron saint plus *miao*”. By “role of patron saint” I mean the role a patron saint plays, e.g., St Lawrence is regarded as the protector of the sea in the Western tradition. In Chinese translation, “St Lawrence’s Church” is 海神廟 (BT: sea god temple), which suggests that local Chinese were aware of the role of the patron saint, but they did not necessarily know his name. They related the existing “god of the sea” in the Chinese culture to “St Lawrence” and interpreted the “church” as the temple for the God of the Sea. From this perspective, Category F is target culture orientated. The translation is strongly influenced by the target culture.

6. Translate into category G of TT

Category G is “location plus *miao*”. For example, 瘋堂廟 (BT: crazy hall temple) is a translation of “St Lazarus Church”. 瘋堂 (BT: crazy hall) in Chinese refers to a leprosarium. St Lazarus Church is located in a place next to a leprosarium on Macao Island, and local Chinese named the church after its location. In addition, the church was considered a temple. This is a case of transcultural substitution, different from the examples in Category C.

7. Translate into category H of TT

Category H uses architectural features of the church in the translation instead of all the original foreign elements. For example, “St Paul’s Cathedral” is translated into 大三巴 (BT: big three arch) because of the three arches in its façade (see Figure 1). Another example “三巴仔” (BT: little three arch) is a translation of “St Joseph’s Church”. There are also three arches in the building of St Joseph’s Church (see Figure 2), but compared to St Paul’s they are relatively small.

8. Translate into category I of TT

Category I is “architectural feature plus *si* or *miao*”. This category has the highest degree of target culture orientation. The foreign elements are not only substituted by the architectural features of the building but also converted to a host

culture icon. For example, “St Paul’s Cathedral” is translated into 三巴寺 (BT: three arch temple), and “Cathedral” is translated into 大廟 (BT: big temple). If reading these Chinese translations without visiting the actual sites one might presume that these are Chinese temples.



Figure 1. St Paul's cathedral (photo courtesy of MGTO)



Figure 2. St Joseph's Church (photo curtsey of MGTO)

Type 2 of English church names, i.e., *Location (plus patron saint) plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”* is by and large replaced with the same arrangement of linguistic pattern in the translations, i.e., Category B, for example, “Our Lady of Carmel Church” is translated into 嘉模聖母堂 (BT: Carmel holy mother hall) by transliteration of the name of the location and semantic translation of the name of the patron saint; and “Chapel of Our Lady of Penha” is translated into 海崖聖母小堂 (BT: Penha holy mother chapel) by semantic translation of the name of the location and the patron saint.

Type 3 of English church names, i.e., *Membership plus “church”, “chapel” or “cathedral”* is shifted to the pattern of Category D, i.e., *name of a famous priest plus “tang”*. An example of this shift is the translation of “Protestant Church” into 馬禮遜教堂 (BT: Morrison Church). Morrison was the first Protestant missionary to Macao. He devoted his life to the cultural exchange between the West and China and to the education of the Chinese community. He compiled the first dictionary of English and Chinese and became well known to the people in Macao, even to the Chinese who had no knowledge of Christianity. As a result, the local Chinese named the “Protestant church” after the missionary who had won people’s respect and was buried in that church.

In summary, the Chinese translations of church names in Macao are very diversified in terms of linguistic patterns, as a result of a variety of choices of translation methods with different cultural orientations. Among the nine categories of linguistic patterns of Chinese translations, Categories A, B, C, D, and E are source culture oriented, with examples of Category A the most source culture oriented and Category E intermediate between a source culture orientation and a target culture orientation. Categories F, G, H, and I are target culture oriented, with examples of Category I the most target culture oriented and Category F intermediate. An investigation into the translation methods used shows that transliteration and semantic translation are the translation methods that are most likely to result in a source culture oriented translation, while substitution, particularly transcultural substitution or in Hervey and Higgins’ word “cultural transplantation” (1992) is the method most likely to result in target culture oriented translations. The phenomenon that one source text is translated into different culture-oriented target texts provides an insight into the possible social factors underlying church name translation in Macao.

5. Discussion

The case analysis shows that the translations of church names in Macao display different degrees of cultural orientation. Distinctive contrast is also played out in the translations of the same source text. With reference to the timeline of the construction of churches in Table 1, we can see that most of the target culture oriented translations were used in the 16th and 17th centuries, while the source culture oriented translations were used in a more recent period. The changes of translation strategies used in different periods might reflect social changes in Macao. In addition, the fact that different culture oriented translations are used by different groups of people, e.g., the Christian community and the local Chinese community also provides some insights into the possibility that church name translation might reflect social relationships in Macao.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the arrival of missionaries contributed to the construction of the following ten Catholic churches in Macao: St Anthony's Church, St Lawrence's Church, St Dominic's Church, St Augustine's Church, Cathedral, Guia Chapel, Chapel of Our Lady of Penha, Chapel of St James, and St Paul's Cathedral. These church names have a common characteristic, i.e., at least one of their translations is target culture oriented. For example, the local Chinese community first knew St Anthony's Church by the translated name *Hua Wang Tang* (LT: Follower King Hall). In this example, the source culture is Christianity, a Western culture that was a guest in the context of the 16th century Macao, and the target culture is the local Chinese culture, the dominant cultural force in Macao for centuries. A church, as a Christian icon, was certainly a new thing to the local Chinese and therefore local people tried to understand it by relating it to existing phenomena in the host culture that were in some ways similar. As a result, host culture oriented translations came into being such as *feng tang miao* (BT: crazy hall temple), *hai shen miao* (BT: sea god temple), *ban zhang miao* (BT: wooden framework temple) and *san ba si* (BT: three arch gate temple), etc. These translations disguise the Western church in the clothes of Chinese temples (*si/miao*).

Temples (*si/miao*), icons of Daoism and Buddhism, the two major Chinese belief systems, had been present in Macao for centuries before the arrival of Christianity. The translations of "church" into *si* or *miao* reveal the willingness of local Chinese to absorb the foreign culture into the Chinese cultural system, and this has provided a very firm foundation for the development of a good relationship between the churches and the local Chinese in Macao, unlike the tense relationship between the church and the local Chinese in other Chinese regions (consider, for example, the burning of churches in northern China by the Boxers in the 1900s). Besides popularising Christianity, churches in Macao have been devoted to educating people, and sheltering the poor and the ill (Hao 2011). This social welfare provision was not

exclusive to Christians, but also offered to non-Christian Chinese, and this earned the churches the respect of the local Chinese at an early stage of immigration. They were called *si* or *miao* because they helped the poor and the ill like temples did.

Over the years the activities of generations of missionaries have spread knowledge of Christianity among the local Chinese. In a more recent period, approximately the beginning of 19th century, new expressions were created to refer to this different cultural icon, such as *jiaotang* and its variations including *xiaotang*, *datang* and *tang*, to distinguish them from the Chinese *miao* and *si*. As Table 1 shows, the names of the churches that were constructed during the 19th and the 20th centuries were consistently translated into the pattern, “name of the patron saint plus *jiaotang*, *xiaotang* or *tang*”, following the pattern of the English names. Today, in public documents, it is conventional to translate the names of patron saints using transliteration, a name translation method that is regarded as most faithful. This suggests that local Chinese has received this cultural icon by recognising its origin, value and foreignness. Over the centuries, the relationship between the church and the local Chinese has become closer and closer. Young Chinese are proud to go to church schools, to have Christian names on their ID cards, and to celebrate Christian holidays. Churches actively organise community events; for example, they set up societies for combating domestic violence, youth crime and gambling addiction, and hold free seminars and concerts regularly. When churches gained their own name, *jiaotang*, the immigrant culture had been successfully integrated in Macao and become part of the host culture. Nowadays, Macao is famous for the many churches on its land, and tourists from all over the world come to Macao to visit them and experience the Macao-flavoured Christian culture.

6. Conclusion

Church name translation in Macao tells us a story of the immigration of a Western key cultural icon to the East. The Western key cultural icon, in this case, the church, has gone through three main stages from being absorbed by the host culture, disguised as temples, through being recognised by the receivers of its foreignness and original cultural value, to ultimately becoming a co-host of a new blended culture.

Church name translation in Macao as a special discourse not only reflects social changes in Macao, but also reveals social relationships there. Studying church name translation in Macao deepens our understanding of how translation contributes to the assimilation of immigrated attention to the socio-historical context of cultural translation.

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Reproduction and reception of the concepts of Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy

Kuunmong in translation

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This article investigates how the pre-modern Korean cultural concepts “Confucianism”, “Buddhism” and “polygamy” as represented in *Kuunmong*, a Korean novel supposedly published in 1689, were reproduced by two English translators with different religious backgrounds and writing in different periods, Reverend James Scarth Gale (1922) and Bishop Richard Rutt (1974); it is also my aim to examine how the concepts were introduced, explained, and received in the target culture. While Gale’s translation reveals a favorable attitude toward Buddhism and polygamy prevailing in the text, Rutt tended to reinterpret and reconstruct those practices in a more critical way. I suggest that this difference may be related to the different social milieu at the times of translating, readers’ expectations, translators’ individual opinions, as well as factors relating to the publishers, reflective of the different agential network in translation.

Keywords: Buddhism, Confucianism, *Kuunmong*, polygamy, translation

1. Introduction

Kuunmong can be defined as one of the key cultural texts in Korea because of its popularity as well as its academic significance. When it was first published, reputedly in 1689,¹ the text created a great sensation, and hundreds of different editions

1. Scholars have reached a consensus that the text was written to console his mother when the author, Kim Manjung (1637–1692), was in exile (Kim 2001: 87 and 149). However, as Kim was exiled repeatedly in 1687 and 1689 until his death in 1692 (Rutt 1974: 5), the time of writing and publication is controversial. Some maintain that he would have written the text in 1687 when he was first parted from his mother (Rutt 1974: 6; Evon 2014: 198), while others estimate that the text may have been written in 1689, considering that “his mother died right after he was sent into exile in 1689 (translation mine)” (Kim 1939: 112 in Chang 2010: 187). The latter seems to be more

were reproduced both in Korean, the present-day national language and script, and classical Chinese (the pre-modern written language) (Chang 2010: 187). Even now, *Kuunmong* is a must-read classical Korean novel in secondary school curricula, and it is regularly included in textbooks (Eggert 2002: 1). According to *Naver*, one of the most frequently used search engines in South Korea, more than eighty different versions are available online and offline, including mangas and versions for children. Moreover, in Korean literary history, *Kuunmong* has been acclaimed as the most influential work (Chang 2010: 187) and “Korea’s finest pre-modern novel” (Eggert 2002: 1); its author, Kim Manjung, has been highly praised as “the only writer of national literature of pre-modern Korea” (Kim 1930 in Yu 2009: 190).

Despite its popularity and academic significance, scholars have not reached an agreement as to whether the original was written in Korean or classical Chinese (Kim 1939; Chung 1971; Yi 1983; Chang 2002 and 2010; Yu 2009). Among many others, Kim (1939) and Yi (1983) argue that the text was originally written in Korean considering that Kim Manjung wrote another text, *Sassinamjunggi* (Lady Sa’s Southward Journey), in Korean (Kim 1939: 111–112), while Chung (1971: 86) maintains that it was written in Chinese because the text clearly espouses the Buddhist nothingness ideology, and this may be of more interest to noblemen than to women. In Kim Manjung’s era, the Chosun period, the Chinese language was considered to be faultless, sophisticated and scholarly; consequently, it was perceived as fit to be used by the aristocracy, while vernacular Korean was considered to be vulgar, coarse and easy to learn, and thus the language of women and commoners.

Neither of the two English translations of *Kuunmong* corresponds to a single source text. The Reverend James Scarth Gale, the Canadian translator who produced the first translation into English, *The Cloud Dream of the Nine* (1922), does not mention the source text, but scholars have speculated that Gale’s source might be a Chinese text, on the basis of a note found by Rutt in Montreal, 1071, presumably among Gale’s Papers,² saying that Gale “had worked from a Chinese text and never seen a Korean text” (Rutt 1974: 7). However, Gale’s translation contains an important episode, the “awakening passage”, which elaborates Song-jin’s state of mind after he awakens from the dream at the end of the novel. This scene is not

plausible, because it would have been less likely for the author to complete the text within a year before he was recalled in 1688 and “embroiled in the troubles arising from the king’s dismissal of his queen” (Rutt 1974: 5).

2. Although Rutt does not mention which note he found, the note is, presumably, a part of what is now called *James Scarth Gale Papers*, given that he found the note in Montreal. A number of unmarked manuscripts, notes and diaries were in possession of Gale’s son, George Gale, who was living in Montreal then (Rutt 1972: 383). In 1987, George Gale donated *Papers* to the University of Toronto (Lee 2013: 353).

included in the 1803 Chinese edition, which is thought to be “the oldest and most authoritative extant version” and is “fuller than any of the Korean versions” (Rutt 1974: 6); therefore, Gale probably did not use the 1803 edition, but an unidentified Chinese text (Rutt 1974: 7). More recently, Chung (2006: 140–145) has suggested that Gale may have relied on both the Chinese (*Ulsabon*) and Korean (*Yi Ka-won*) texts, considering the appearance of content of *Yi Ka-won* in the translation, although he notes that the Chinese text is the main source text. Likewise, the second translation, *A Nine Cloud Dream* (1974), translated by Bishop Richard Rutt, does not match any single source text; Rutt himself claims (1974: 8) that he relied on three versions, two Korean texts (*Yi Ka-won* and the Seoul National University text) and one Chinese text (the 1803 Chinese edition).

Perhaps because of this lack of single sources for the translations, the characteristics of the English translations of *Kuunmong* have so far been underexplored (Lee 2014: 15). Although Chang (2002 and 2010) has compared the translations by Gale and Rutt, his analysis is limited to an investigation of translation errors and free translation cases with reference to two Chinese texts (*Nojon A* and *Nojon B*) and does not refer to the reactions of readers of the translations or to the way in which translators mediate their translations for the sake of readers. As Yu (2009: 190) notes, an analysis of readers’ responses to *Kuunmong* would shed important light on the production as well as the circulation and reception of the text, irrespective of which language the manuscript was written in, and this aspect has been neglected in Korean literary scholarship (Yu 2009: 199). Especially when translation is involved, it is necessary to discuss readership and surrounding situational factors of publication, circulation, and so on, because “reception becomes another form of production which provokes ‘resistance, irony, selectivity, and, in general, *agency*’” (Appadurai 1996: 7 in Marinetti and Rose 2013: 167, emphasis in the original). Moreover, the two English translators, James Scarth Gale and Richard Rutt, were also readers of *Kuunmong* and Christian missionaries living in Korea at different times, i.e. the early 1900s and the mid 1900s, respectively. Their perspectives on the religious and social setting of *Kuunmong* may have been differently reflected in the translations.

In light of this, the present study sets out to investigate how the pre-modern Korean cultural concepts found in *Kuunmong*, namely Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy, have been represented by these two translators in the different periods, and how the concepts have been introduced, explained, and received in the target culture. The analysis is based on textual and para-textual data including introductions and/or prefaces as well as readers’ reviews.

2. Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy: Key cultural concepts in pre-modern Korea

The concepts of Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy are often identified as key cultural concepts in *Kuunmong* by English readers. They were initially highlighted in Elspet Keith Robertson Scott's introduction to Gale's translation which, according to Lee (2007: 396), confirmed the status of the three concepts as "obviously common ideas for the study of *Kuunmong*" (translation mine). They are often explained in introductions, including in Susanna Fessler's introduction to the reprint of Gale's 1922 translation (Gale 1922/2003). However, the fact that the three concepts are explained in introductions also demonstrates the foreign or exotic character of these concepts for the English reader, who is more familiar with western epistemology based on Christian ontology (Bantly 1992: 85), in which the belief in the Creator and the created is maintained, reason is valued, and monogamy is expected, in sharp contrast to the concepts of *Kuunmong*.

Interestingly, these central concepts are also represented on the covers of the work not only in English translation but also in Korean. For instance, the cover of Rutt's translation (1974) published by the Royal Asiatic Society Korean Branch features a group of eight women with whom the main character, Song-jin, falls in love, representing the concept of polygamy, and a Buddhist monk, representing the concept of Buddhism. The Korean versions for children published by Hangyeoraeaidl (2007)³ and Houyhnhnm (2012)⁴ also feature the concepts: the book by Hangyeoraeaidl shows Song-jin's first meeting with the eight women on the bridge; Houyhnhnm's Korean version illustrates the eight women wearing Buddhist robes and kneeling before the Master, signifying the realisation of nothingness and emptiness and the submission to the doctrine, as also implied in a didactic message, "인생사 덧없다 (Life is vanity)" on its cover. This suggests that the concepts mentioned are central to the understanding of the text, not only for English readers but also for young Korean readers who may need to familiarise themselves with the story and its historical background. This may explain why Korean versions for children tend to feature the important conceptual components on the book covers, while versions for adults tend to have no illustrations.

Indeed, although *Kuunmong* contains many allusions to Chinese literary texts, its philosophical aspects reflect the Koreanness of the time. Fenkl (2014: 357) notes:

3. http://book.naver.com/bookdb/book_detail.nhn?bid=2965391, accessed 18 July 2017.

4. http://book.naver.com/bookdb/book_detail.nhn?bid=7000632, accessed 18 July 2017.

[...] the incredible degree to which the allusions are interwoven, and the way in which even casual descriptions of landscape are allusory suggests the underlying consciousness of an outsider mimicking a tradition, not an insider simply contributing to a tradition – once again suggesting that the author is a Korean. The complex interweaving of Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian themes and imagery also reads as uniquely Korean.

To situate these concepts for the purpose of the analysis, it is important to point out that they were constitutive of, and embedded in, the societal system of the Chosun period. Confucianism, as the state ideology of that time, was an ethical system which regulated behaviour; men respected the King and their parents, young people respected old people, and wives obeyed husbands; Buddhism as a predominant religion among the common people provided the underlying thought of other lives before and after the current one (Rutt 1974; Gale 1922/2003; Lee 2010). As Song-jin realises after his rebirth as a bureaucrat, Buddhism “holds that one’s life is but one of an almost infinite number of lives in a cycle of death and rebirth” (Gale 1922/2003: vi) and today’s concern is nothing but useless and meaningless thought in the context of the infinite cycle. Although the Chosun period was fundamentally monogamous, concubinage was popular amongst rich people (Lee 2007: 406).

The three notions provide the philosophical, moral, religious and social backgrounds of the story (Rutt 1972: 59 and 1974: 10; Gale 1922/2003: vi). The main character, Song-jin, represents the conflict between Confucianism and Buddhism: a Buddhist monk who longs for and finally becomes a successful bureaucrat in the ruling Confucian society in his dream (reincarnation) and realises the uselessness of wealth and honour after he awakens from the dream (samsara⁵) (Choe 1998: 324; Lee 2010: 18–19 and 36). Meanwhile, polygamy is embodied in So-yoo’s (Song-jin’s other name in his dream) relationships with eight women, which are built on the philosophical ground of Confucianism. Having more than one wife and several concubines is indeed possible because of the Confucian doctrine that men are superior to women and that only men can lead their family (Cho 1995: 184).

If we look at the English translations of the novel, it is interesting to note that the two versions offer different perspectives on the concepts. In the introductions to the two translations, the perspectives, especially that on polygamy, are in sharp contrast. The following introductions were written by Elspet Keith Robertson Scott and Gale for the 1922 translation by Gale, and Rutt for his own translation:

5. Samsara is the continual cycle of birth, life and death and presupposes reincarnation. In Buddhism, it is believed that all things, i.e. humans, animals, etc., are in the process of reincarnation: an emperor can be reborn as a monk, and the monk can be reborn as a minister, and the minister can be reborn as a dog, for instance.

[...] the reader must lay aside all Western notions of morality if he would thoroughly enjoy this book. The story unfolds with *fascinating* perplexity *the love drama of nine*. The maidens are all peerless in beauty, virtue, talent, goodness and charm. *So generous* is the flame of Master Yang's affection that he enshrines each love with apparently equal and unabated warmth. Of the eight maidens, seven openly declared their choice of Yang as their master and one was sought deliberately by him. *No shade of jealousy mars the perfect affinity of the nine*.

(Scott's introduction in Gale 1922/2003: 209, emphases mine)

It illustrates the world of *the Old Testament* in the matter of taking many wives, *regarding it in no sense as a sin* against society so to do, but *rather the right and proper thing*.

(Gale's unpublished introduction, University of Toronto, emphases mine)

The interest of the story centers in its women, three of whom are mothers, and the remaining eight eventually married to one man. This is a *reductio ad absurdum* of a major problem of Yi dynasty family life: secondary wives and concubines.

(Rutt 1974: ix, emphasis mine)

While Scott and Gale see polygamy as “love drama” and “the right and proper thing”, Rutt describes it as “a major problem” of Chosun period family life. Interestingly, Gale makes a direct reference to the Old Testament in the context of justifying polygamy. He further speaks highly of the family system: “Among unrighteous acts that the Asiatic conscience awakens to, and makes the sinner think of with tear-stained eyes, this is not one”. Also, Scott's more accepting, tolerant attitude is obvious in her description of polygamy, and she seemed to be fond of the translation and the translator (Gale 1922/2003: 209–210). In fact, it was Scott who first introduced the text to the London publisher Daniel O'Connor.⁶ During her visit to Korea from March to May in 1919, she met with Gale and seems to have been charmed by Korean culture. Later Scott published, together with her sister, Elizabeth Keith, *Old Korea: The Land of Morning Calm* in 1949, which is a collection of texts with water colors and etchings about Korean Culture (Rutt 1972: 59), in which episodes about and contributions by Gale are included (Keith and Scott 1949: 3, 11 and 18). Her positive attitude to Koreans and their culture is not only found in the introduction but also throughout her book, *Old Korea*. In elaborating her experience in Korea of the tumultuous time during the Japanese occupation, her compassionate mind is reflected and represented in the book, as in “[...] it has seemed as if *heaven and*

6. According to *James Scarth Gale and his history of Korean people* (Rutt 1974: 59), the book was originally scheduled to be published in Chicago, by the Open Court. However, the editor, Dr. Paul Carus, died during the war, and the text remained unpublished until Gale met Scott in Korea, in March 1919. Scott gave the typescript to O'Connor, who published the text in London, 1922, with the Westminster Press (see also Lee 2007: 393).

earth were deaf to the sorrows of Korea” (Keith and Scott 1949: 11, emphasis mine). This experience may have influenced her attitude to the country.

The second translation was commissioned by the director of the Royal Asiatic Society of New York, Bonnie Crown, together with *Ch'unhyang ka* (The Song of Ch'unhyang) and *Inhyon Wanghu chon* (The Story of Queen Inhyun), and published by the Korean branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a non-profit organisation, aiming at promoting Korean culture. According to Rutt (1974: x), Crown “noticed that the theme of woman’s life and ideals is common to all three tales and suggested they should be published in one book”. Given that the Society chose the translator and commissioned him, Rutt’s expertise and ability seem to have been well acknowledged, and this agential network may have influenced the translation (Tyulenev 2014; Qi 2016). Although, normally, “the creator of the network who coordinates the efforts of different agents seems to have more power over the others” (Qi 2016: 43), thus possibly intervening in the content and phrasing in translation for the eventual success, Rutt’s situation was different from many others, including Gale, in that he did not need to worry about the possibility of publication, and in that the purpose of translation was to “help people enhance their understanding of the arts, customs, history and landscape of Korea” as pronounced in the goal of the Society,⁷ rather than to acquire popular reception in pursuit of commercial success. Rutt’s critical interpretation and shaping of the conceptual craft of story can be construed in this context.

In the next section, I will analyse and discuss the two translations of *Kuunmong*, to ascertain how these differences in perspective are apparent in the translation of the text, suggesting more acceptance of love affairs with concubines in Gale’s translation than in Rutt’s.

3. Representation of Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy in translation

As discussed above, the introductions to the two English versions of *Kuunmong* adopt different perspectives on Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy in translation. In the context of Confucian propriety, Gale seems to elucidate dos and don’ts of different social classes more emphatically than Rutt does, giving serious consideration to the social precepts. When the empress and her daughter discuss whether So-yoo’s fiancé, Cheung See, can be So-yoo’s wife along with the princess, rules and duties of different social classes seem to be more clearly articulated in Gale’s translation:

7. See the Society’s website, <http://www.raskb.com/>, last accessed 18 July 2017.

- (1) a. The Princess replied: “[...] How would it do to have him take Justice Cheung’s daughter as his real wife as well as myself?”
 “It would never do,” said the Empress. “*When two women are of the same rank and station there need indeed be no harm or wrong done*, but you are the beloved daughter of his late Majesty and the sister of the present monarch. *You are therefore of specially high rank and removed from all others*. How could you possibly be the wife of the same man with a common woman of the city?” (Gale 1922/2003: 118, emphases mine)
- b. “Don’t you think that he could have the Cheng girl for a wife as well as me?”
 The empress said: “That would never do. You are the beloved daughter of the last emperor, and the present emperor, your brother, dotes on you. *You are a very important person*, and someone in your position cannot possibly be treated as the equal of a commoner”. (Rutt 1974: 109, emphasis mine)

The reason for the empress’s objection is described in more detail in (1a) than in (1b), and rules pertaining to given social classes are emphasised more in (1a) than in (1b). This may reflect Gale’s keen interest in Confucian manners and thoughts in Korea. In *Korean Sketches*, Gale recalls his first impressions of Koreans as follows:

Amongst my first impressions, I recall being quite overwhelmed by the wide pantaloons and white dress of a Korean, who came on board ship in Nagasaki harbor on my first arrival there. Why such a dress, and wherefore the topknot? Little did I dream that he valued his topknot so highly or that *in every seam of his wide pantaloons were stitched ancestral reverence, Confucian propriety, ancient traditions, and other tremendous considerations that certainly required all that width of garment, and more too, could piece goods as wide as the wearer’s aspirations be obtained*.

(Gale 1898/1975: 13, emphasis mine)

Although Gale seemed to have a highly positive and accepting attitude to Korean people and culture as evident in the descriptions of meritorious virtues and his statement that “by nature Koreans are quite as good as we – better, I think” (Gale 1898/1975: 242), he may have been “quite overwhelmed” (Gale 1898/1975: 13) by the people’s stubborn conformity to Confucian traditions which regulate even ways of dressing. His incessant inquiries about, and interest in, the traditions, including a conversation with a widow wearing a mantle during her entire life (Gale 1898/1975: 232), can be found throughout *Korean sketches*. His interests seem to derive largely from wonder and surprise at how Koreans bear discomfort in the name of Confucian traditions (see Gale 1898/1975: 232–233). He was presumably well aware of the Korean rules, customs and traditions which were rooted in Confucianism and which determined the relations between different social classes,

genders and ages. This might have led him to focus on the description of Confucian rules and hence to provide a more detailed translation of the relevant episodes.

As far as polygamy is concerned, however, Gale's version tends to highlight the protagonist's anguish about accepting a wife or a concubine regardless of his will; Rutt tends to describe the situation composedly and simply. In the following scene, Kay See, a singing girl, having made love to So-yoo, declares that she would like to spend her life with So-yoo. So-yoo's response is given below:

- (2) a. *Yang comforted her with many kind words and expressions of appreciation*: "I am drawn to you", said he, "as truly and as deeply as you are drawn to me, but I am only a poor scholar with an old mother depending on me. *I should like nothing better than to grow old with you as husband and wife*, but I am not yet sure of my mother's wishes, and *I am afraid you would be unwilling to have her choose you as my secondary wife, with some unknown stranger to take first place*. Even though you had no objection to it yourself, I am sure there is no one your superior or even your equal. This is my perplexity". (Gale 1922/2003: 31, emphases mine)
- b. *Shao-yu*⁸ *fondled her gently and spoke kindly*: "I love you very much, but I am only a poor scholar. And I have an old mother at home. *I should like to marry you*, but I do not know what she would think of it. *Supposing she made me take you as a second wife, what would you think then?* Even if you did not mind, I know I should never find anybody better than you. I don't know what to say". (Rutt 1974: 40, emphasis mine)

In (2a), the translation, "Yang comforted her with many kind words and expressions of appreciation", emphasises So-yoo's anguish and regret. Although both translations mention the "old mother", Gale's translation elaborates the protagonist's difficult situation more than Rutt's, by juxtaposing his concern about his mother ("old mother depending on me"), and his love for the girl ("nothing better than to grow old with you"). When bringing in the hypothetical idea of a secondary wife, So-yoo shows more concern and care about Kay See's feelings in (2a) (e.g. "I am afraid"), while in (2b) the situation is described with composure and brevity.

As a rule, Gale avoids the word "concubine" in his translation, while Rutt uses it freely. When Kay See describes to So-yoo how famous the dancing girl Chok Kyong-Hong is, Rutt's translation (1974: 41) reads: "High prices were offered for her as a concubine, and marriage brokers came around the house like bees at a hive",

8. Rutt transliterated the characters' names following the Chinese pronunciation, such as "Shao-yu" for the characters, 少游, while Gale transliterated the names in Korean, such as "So-yoo" or "Yang" (surname).

while Gale's does not mention her status as a concubine: "[...] thousands of golden *yang*⁹ were offered for her. Go-betweeners crowded her gateway like a swarm of bees". Similarly, in the different context where Kyong-pai, So-yoo's fiancé, recommends Ka Choon-oon, her maid, as a concubine for So-yoo, the term "concubine" does not appear in Gale's translation, which uses "secondary wife" instead, while in Rutt's translation, "concubine" appears twice, once as "servant-concubine" (Rutt 1974: 57). This may be of relevance to the social norms around the early 1900s, when Gale's translation was made, when having a sexual partner outside a marriage was not accepted in the target culture. Gale as a faithful Christian missionary may have found it difficult to represent the Asian concubine system as it was within the context of Western culture's emphasis on monogamy. This may have led to the use of "secondary wife" connoting marriage, instead of "concubine", even though no marriage took place between So-yoo and Ka Choon-oon. Gale's effort not to violate his readers' social, religious, and moral norms also manifests through his decision to change the marriageable age from sixteen to eighteen and to delete references to sexual intercourse (Lee 2007). According to Lee (2007: 407–409, translation mine):

The English translation shows two transformations, 'age for marriage' and 'deletion of sexual intercourse'. [...] according to the western standards, presumably, it was impossible for Gale to render to the western readers that So-yoo, a sixteen-year-old minor, has sexual intercourse with a singing girl at a bar. [...] It is evident that Gale attempted to 'render' *Kuunmong*'s love in accordance with the western readers' standards.

With regard to Buddhism, the two translations conveyed different views; hardships of being a Buddhist monk are more accentuated in Rutt's than Gale's. Example (3) shows Song-jin's monologue lamenting his being a monk, while Example (4) describes the Master's admonition to Song-jin:

- (3) a. [...] but we Buddhists have only our little dish of rice and flask of water. Many dry books are there for us to learn, and our beads to say over till we are old and grey. It may be high and praiseworthy from the point of view of religion, but *the vacant longings* that it never satisfies are too deep to mention. (Gale 1922/2003: 6, emphasis mine)
- b. We *poor* Buddhist monks have only a bowl of rice and a cup of water, volumes of scriptures and a hundred and eight beads to hang round our necks. All we do is expound doctrine. It may be holy and profound, but it is *appallingly lonely*. (Rutt 1974: 20, emphases mine)

9. A unit of currency in the Chosun period.

- (4) a. *He spoke with great care*, but with severe intonation. “Song-jin, do you know how you have sinned?” Song-jin, who was bowed low, kneeling before the dais, replied: “I have now been a disciple of the Master for ten years and more, and have never disobeyed any command or any order concerning acts of worship in which I have had a part. I am dark and ignorant I know, and so am not aware of how I have offended”
(Gale 1922/2003: 7, emphasis mine)
- b. *He rebuked Hsing-chen harshly*: “Hsing-chen! Do you understand your sin?” Hsing-chen, *very frightened*, knelt at the foot of the dais and answered: “I have served you for more than ten years and I have never willingly disobeyed you. *Now you are accusing me*, and I do not wish to hide anything from you, but truly I do not know what I have done wrong”
(Rutt 1974: 21, emphases mine)

Song-jin’s difficulties because of abstinence as a Buddhist monk are well expressed in both (3a) and (3b), as evident in juxtapositions of “rice”, “water”, “books” and “beads”, in contrast to the sumptuous, opulent life of a Confucian official in the preceding discourse; however, (3b) accentuates the character’s grief at being a Buddhist monk more than (3a) does, as indicated in the additions of pessimistic and negative expressions such as “poor” and “appalling”, maybe reflective of the translator’s own opinion about Buddhism. Similarly, in the scene of the Master’s harsh rebuke to Song-jin, (4b) highlights the Master’s anger, which is in sharp contrast to Song-jin’s fear, as evident in the juxtaposition of “Hsing-chien, very frightened” and “Now you are accusing me”. By contrast, in (4a), the Master is described as somebody who cares deeply for Song-jin: “He spoke with great care”.

In fact, Gale showed much interest in Buddhist thought, endorsing proponents’ opinions (Rutt 1972; Min 1999). For instance, in 1913, when his friend, MacGillivray, had a growing rift with a colleague, Timothy Richard, in Shanghai, because of the positive analysis of Buddhism contained in Richard’s book, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (1910), Gale sent MacGillivray a letter which convinced him of the meritorious aspects of Buddhism (Rutt 1972: 61–62). Rutt (1972: 62) notes that; after this event, “Gale became more and more appreciative of the good things in Buddhism”.

Meanwhile, the more negative perspective on Buddhism in Rutt’s translation than in Gale’s can be explained in terms of societal changes with respect to the acceptability of discussing religion. In the 1970s, Korean society may have been more accepting of discussions of religions, including criticism, than in the 1920s. Christianity was introduced to Korea in the beginning of the 18th century (Jin 2014) and became increasingly widespread towards the end of that century due to missionary work, while colliding with the long-standing practice, suffused with

Buddhist doctrines; Buddhism, however, remained the dominant religion. When Japan colonised Korea in 1910, nationalistic sentiments were prevalent amongst Korean people, and religion played a key role in promoting nationalism (Yang 2009; Mohan 2013). According to Mohan (2013: 93), “Buddhism played a significant role in forging and promoting cultural nationalism” in the face of the Japanese assimilation policy in the early 20th century. Considering the political context, Gale would have been more cautious when describing the Buddhism-related scenes, whilst Rutt may have felt much freer. In fact, Gale clearly addressed his firm belief in Koreans’ nationalistic attitudes toward religion during a discussion with the Japanese Government General of Korea on 9 March 1919:

When the Japanese Government General of Korea invited senior missionaries in Seoul to hear their opinions, Gale straightforwardly criticised two things. Firstly, to rule people with ‘fear which has not been seen since the Middle ages’ is reckless, although Japan contributed greatly to Korea materially. Secondly, Japan does not understand that the Japanese assimilation policy will never work in Korea because of the people’s culture, language and religion. (Min 1999: 162, translation mine)

It is evident that Gale was keenly aware of how sensitive Koreans were about their religion. Perhaps because of this, Gale avoided creating negative implications about Buddhism, “a conduit of nationalism” (Mohan 2013: 93) in his translation.

4. Reception of Confucianism, Buddhism and polygamy

Since the first English translation of *Kuunmong* was published in London 1922, not many reviews and comments on the translations have appeared, presumably because “like classical literature in other traditions, [...] it is not a bestseller” (Gale 1922/2003: ix). Nonetheless, an exploration of para-textual constructs of reception is important, because reception may be a trigger for the “further action on the translation” (Qi 2016: 43). My data consist of academic sources and on-line readers’ comments and include: (a) Susanna Fessler and Francisca Cho’s comments on Gale’s translation (1922/2003) in response to a request from a Japanese publishing company, the Kurodahan Press in 2003; (b) Marshall R. Pihl’s review of *Virtuous Women: Three Masterpieces of Traditional Korean Fiction* by Richard Rutt and Chong-un Kim, one of which is a translation of *Kuunmong*, published in *the Journal of Asian Studies*, 1976; and (c) customer reviews on amazon.com and goodreads.com.

The reviews regularly mention Buddhism, which is clearly considered a central feature of the novel. Alongside Buddhism, the philosophical aspects of the novel are emphasised in contrast to So-yoo’s relations with women (e.g. Pihl 1976; Fessler in Gale 1922/2003). Pihl (1976: 511) notes that although “Shao-yu’s two wives and

six concubines are unquestionably virtuous women, the message of the work lies in more philosophical realms". In the same vein, Fessler encourages English readers not to focus on "the entertaining flourishes" such as the protagonist's lavish life with eight women but to look at the values of the novel:

[...] one can easily suspend disbelief and indulge in the adventure, as one does when watching a contemporary Hollywood film. In other words, *the modern reader should not walk away from this novel in disbelief at the behavior of the characters, but rather should look beyond their surface behavior to the values that drive them.*

(Gale 1922/2003: vii, emphasis mine)

Nonetheless, the deliberate accentuations of philosophical aspects through a comparison with the protagonist's relations with women can be construed as an acknowledgement of the distinctiveness or maybe "shockingness" of polygamy. It seems that polygamy and its supporting belief system or ethics in 17th century Korea, for example male-dominant Confucian thought, are much harder to understand for many readers of English than purely religious philosophy such as the nothingness ideology. For instance, Fessler pays particular attention to four aspects of the novel and describes them as surprising to many contemporary readers of English: (a) polygamy, (b) heavy consumption of alcohol, (c) restricted fraternisation between unmarried people of both sexes, and (d) propriety. Although Buddhist and Confucian philosophy cannot be strictly separated from these four "shocking" aspects, the analysis in Fessler's review is predominantly concerned with So-yoo's relationships with women. Similarly, Cho claims that literary contexts in *Kuunmong*, which is predicated on the male-dominant Confucian model, pose a "cultural challenge" to both Western and Asian contemporary readers, also evident in reviews on goodreads.com; "still delightful (dreams!), still distant" by Ata in 2016, and "[...] some of the women in particular strike me as being very, very subversive and – for lack of a better word – 'modern' for their time" by Adam in 2016. Cho argues:

To begin, the characters of the novel exhibit nothing in the way of psychological depth or evolution. They are instead highly idealized, being more representative of social archetypes than of unique and individual personae. So-yoo, [...] is the archetypal scholar, handsome and gifted, who lives out the idealized path of success... His eight wives and concubines are all beautiful, accomplished, and remarkably generous in their willingness to share their paragon of a husband between them.

(Gale 1922/2003: xi)

Although Fessler and Cho's reviews were produced in the beginning of the 21st century, they convincingly explain how difficult it might have been for Gale to convey the philosophical and ethical underpinnings of the story to Christian believers in the early 1900s. This may explain Gale's avoidance of the word "concubine" and of detailed description of sexual intercourse in his translation.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has explored how differences in two translations of the same novel can be linked to aspects of the receiving society, readers' expectations, factors affecting publications, as well as translators' individual viewpoints. As demonstrated in translation research with a particular focus on agency and agents of translation (Kang 2014; Koskinen 2014; Walker 2014; Qi 2016), translation is never a neutral reproduction of the original, or a transparent act of delivering the source text, but a reinterpretation and reconstruction which reifies hierarchies, orders, and interests of different agents and stakeholders, undoubtedly reflective of, and indicative of, the power relations in the agential network and the societal milieu. This study offers a contribution to examining the facets of translating *Kuunmong*, neglected in Korean literary scholarship.

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PART V

Translating philosophy

Hegel's *Phenomenology*

A comparative analysis of translatorial *hexis*

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This article adapts Bourdieu's theory of *hexis* as a basis for arguing that the Baillie (Hegel/Baillie 1910/1931) and Pinkard (Hegel/Pinkard 2008) translations of Hegel's *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Hegel 1807/1970) can be seen as textual objectifications and/or embodiments of different translatorial responses to the text, determined by the social and philosophical dynamics surrounding each translator. The concept of a "translatorial *hexis*" is analogous to Bourdieu's *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 2012) but differs in that the translatorial *hexis* embodies a specifically dominant, honour-seeking stance of the philosopher-translator with regard to the micro-dynamics of the surrounding sub-fields. As the analysis shows, the translatorial *hexis* is objectified (Bourdieu 1986: 243) in the detail of the text and in the peritexts to the translations.

Keywords: Hegel's *Phenomenology*, translatorial *hexis*, Bourdieu, philosophy translation

1. Introduction: Political philosophy and the translation of cultural capital

Hegel's *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* [*Phenomenology of Mind* and/or *Spirit*] provides a powerful example of a key cultural text because of its central concern with the self-conscious experience of rational human consciousness [*Geist*] in a variety of historical and cultural manifestations (Houlgate 2013; Pinkard 1994; Stern 2002; Westphal 2009); because of its intrinsic ideological and "dialectical" ambiguity; and because of its fascinating translation history (Charlston 2012a; Charlston 2012b).

One approach to the translation of German philosophy and especially a canonical text such as Hegel's *Phenomenology* would be to interpret the various translations as an objectification of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986: 243) at the centre of an Anglo-European, hegemonic or global-imperial state. If Hegel's text is interpreted as rearticulating and reproducing a grand narrative of hierarchical cultural progress, linking classical Greek concepts of freedom and rationality with the emergence of

a universalised, superior, Protestant-European self and/or State, does not translating and publishing the book without a robust, contemporary, critical commentary merely perpetuate this narrative and the colonialist attitudes it enshrines and celebrates? If the book has an enduring, non-political, philosophical value which rescues it from such accusations or suspicions, do not translators (and possibly editors) have an ethical obligation to their readers to defend the book by explaining this value, or should they instead always aim for the appearance of neutrality? Is it ever justifiable to create the impression that a translation represents its original in a simple, direct, faithful, accurate or unmediated manner? How, in other words, do and/or should translators of philosophy participate in the ideological debate surrounding the (key cultural) texts they translate?

The philosophical study of translation has traditionally focused more on analysing the metaphor of translation or investigating theories of hermeneutics rather than considering translators or translated texts (Quine 1960; Benjamin 1968/1996; Derrida 1974). Translation theorists have also tended to start from cognitive-semantic or hermeneutic perspectives when discussing translation and philosophy (Pym 2007; Arrojo 2010; Malmkjær 2012). Such theoretical approaches have already prompted broader interdisciplinary discussion of translation and philosophy which this paper seeks to continue (Lianeri 2002; Foran 2012; Batchelor 2013). However, when philosophers themselves refer to translations of philosophical texts, it is often merely to criticise their lack of consistency, accuracy, rigour and/or fidelity to the source text or to praise their style or readability (Pinkard 1994: 19; Shannon 2001: vii). Contemporary editors of previously translated texts sometimes adapt the text of existing translations either to fit their own interpretation of the text cited or because they claim that the earlier translations are erroneous or inaccurate (Houlgate 2008: xxxvii–xxxviii). Perhaps unwittingly, such responses to translated philosophy promote an oversimplified understanding of the nature of translation and the role played by translators in mediating textually encoded ideas. By emphasising the idea of error and correction of error, they imply, unrealistically and contrary to the theoretical considerations of translation mentioned above, that good translations can offer neutral and unmediated access to the ideas of the originating author (Mason 2010) and that translators of philosophical texts should be governed by an attitude of (greater) subservience (Simeoni 1998) to the assumed intentions of the source-text author rather than openly acknowledging the fact that translators must necessarily participate critically in the communication and re-narration of their own understanding of that text and should be encouraged to do so more fully.

My argument in this article is that, in spite of the power of the post-colonial critique, which might seek to objectify or “other” Hegel’s philosophy especially in its several neoliberal Anglophone revivals, there have always been conceptual differences, semantic fault lines, dynamic, dialectical oppositions within and between

the languages of imperial power. I believe that such tensions are discernible in and around the text of the Hegel translations and in the social networks surrounding the translators of Hegel and that this research therefore represents a useful contribution to translation history (Pym 1998: 157–158).

2. The translator's *hexis* as a theoretical starting point

My starting point is to construe the Anglophone translators of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* as “structured and structuring” agents¹ in the mediation of Hegel's ideas across cultural and linguistic boundaries. The translators are both free and not free. To a certain extent, they have the power to choose which words to put into Hegel's mouth, but not without considerable internal and external constraints. I attempt to capture this dialectical tension in the concept of the translatorial *hexis*, which is intended to link the translators' subtle but inevitable re-structuring of Hegel's text, for example, at the lexical level, with the structured, social micro-dynamics of the highly-competitive academic sub-fields in which the translators worked.

In Charlston (2012a), I argued that the translation of German philosophy can be appropriately analysed with reference to Pierre Bourdieu's principal theoretical tools, *capital*, *field* and *habitus*. These terms are defined and discussed in many of Bourdieu's own works including those referenced in this article; they have also been neatly summarised specifically with regard to their subsequent use as theoretical tools in a number of disciplines (Grenfell 2012)². According to this approach, the translation of German philosophy into English can be seen to be associated with economic capital through book sales, often based upon the accumulated symbolic capital of the source-text author, but also with the cultural capital already possessed by the translator-philosopher and augmented through the practice of translation. The competitive sub-field of Anglophone Hegelian philosophy is structured through its history by a series of complex rivalries between opposing interpretations. I used bibliographical and archival methods to reconstruct the context of the translations as quasi-Bourdiesian sub-fields. The concept of *habitus* entered translation studies especially through the work of Simeoni (1998), Gouanic (2005) and Inghilleri (2005). It is usually thought of as an attribute of the translator but it always relates to an interactive (structured and structuring) relationship between the translator and the field with regard to different forms of capital.

1. Bourdieu speaks of the *habitus* as “a structured and structuring structure” (1994: 170).

2. Since this article was written, there have been significant publications on retranslation by Deane-Cox (2014) and on translation studies by Hanna (2016).

I employ the concept of translatorial *hexis* as an additional conceptual tool for relating details of the text to the wider social and historical context. Bourdieu's definition of the *hexis* overlaps with that of the *habitus*:

Bodily *hexis* is political mythology realised, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*. The oppositions which mythico-ritual logic makes between the male and female and which organise the whole system of values reappear, for example, in the gestures and movements of the body, in the form of the opposition between the straight and the bent, or between assurance and restraint.

(Bourdieu 1977: 93–94)

As used in this article, translatorial *hexis* is narrower in focus than the *habitus*: it denotes a (para)textual embodiment of the translator's *habitus* and even has a "graphemic" dimension (Derrida 1997: 9) with regard to the prosodic capitalisation of certain specifically Hegelian words. In the examples given below, the *hexis* is embodied and objectified in the translator's choice of terms and strategies for controlling the reader's experience of the text through, for example, textual cohesion, lexical priming (Hoey 2004 and 2005) and thus the coherence of the text for the reader (Baker 2011: 230–231). In particular, adherence to and deviation from terminological consistency are analysed here as potential indicators for the translator's more or less conscious re-shaping of the reader's experience. If the translator can be seen as deliberately intervening, for example, by adding nuances not present in the source text or by removing nuances actually present in the source text, this suggests a "structuring" stance. If the translator's choices are seen as unconscious, taken for granted or predetermined by the resources of the target language, this suggests a socially "structured" stance. In as much as it embodies a "structuring" stance, the translatorial *hexis* therefore also has ethical implications. This applies with reference to both Kantian ethics and consequentialism (Baker 2011: 274–283). In Kantian terms, the translator acts here less as a "means" to the "end" of the source text or the source text author and more as an end in her/himself or indeed as a means and an end combined. Now, if the translator is at least partially responsible for the content of the translated text, the translator is also responsible for the consequences of (reading) that text.

For example, if the text incites political violence or induces political torpor and a reader of the translated text adopts violence or torpor as a result of reading the text (i.e., cites the translated text as a reason), the translator is at least partially responsible for the violence or the torpor. In this sense therefore, the *hexis* contrasts with the subservient translator's *habitus* discussed by Simeoni (1998) who acts rather as a means to an end. The *hexis* refers to the translator's responsibility. This active and ethical sense of the translator controlling, for example, by actively re-priming lexical

items, counters the assumption that translators are able to adhere at will to ethically relatively neutral norms such as fidelity to the source-text author. A brief working definition of this sense of the translatorial *hexis* is therefore that it is the textual and paratextual embodiment of the philosopher-translator's complex, ethical participation in the dynamics of the sub-field surrounding the translation, in this case, the sub-field of Anglophone Hegelian philosophy, with all of its complex associations and redistributions of capital, especially with regard to the wider field of political philosophy, which relies on many of the terms and concepts derived from this sub-field.

By undertaking the task in the first place, translators of philosophy explicitly commit themselves not only to the relevance of the translated text but also to its truth or at least the possibility of articulating its truth; to translate Hegel into English is, in a sense, to identify with Hegel, to undertake to communicate Hegel's truth, for example, to an Anglophone readership. Philosophical texts differ from literary texts in that some of the concepts used have a claim to universality; they are supposed to apply or have a truth value outside the text as well as inside. The Gricean maxims of relevance and quality (truth) (Pym 2014: 35–36) thus apply in an intensified manner to philosophical texts because of their (at least partially) explicit claim to universality. It is in this sense that translators of philosophy are more heavily ethically implicated than literary translators. Although the texts they translate may have literary merit, they reach, *inter alia* through their claims to universality, beyond the boundaries of the text into the world of “real” physical and political consequences, in a similar manner and sometimes with similar consequences to medical texts or news media texts.

The historical translators of philosophy are “haunted” by the ethical implications of their own and their predecessors' work in the manner described by Berman in her discussion of questions raised by Benjamin, Levinas and Derrida.

Regardless of one's views, the very nature of such questions suggests that the “ex-orbitant” quality of language, that which remains mysteriously “other” within it, is never more salient – or perturbing – than in the culturally other-directed work of translation. It also suggests that the translator's task is inevitably an ethical one. In attempts to translate, we become most aware of linguistic and cultural differences, of the historical “hauntings”, and of experiential responsibilities that make our languages what they are and that directly affect our attitudes towards the world.

(Berman 2005: 6)

It is the putative universality of post-Kantian philosophy which makes its “other-directedness” particularly ethically relevant: its principles are supposed to be immanently derived and therefore binding on everyone, regardless of whether they understand them or not. To translate such texts is to engage in legislation not merely mediation.

Through notes and introductions, the translators of German philosophy (perhaps understandably in view of the above comments) sometimes articulate certain explicit commitments and/or reservations about the philosophical concepts used, thereby circumscribing their views about and responsibility for the work translated. However, the focus of the next part of this paper is on the comparatively implicit or text-internal domain of specific translatorial decisions (lexical and typographical choices) embodied in the text of the translation which can be identified empirically and described objectively but which also invite explanation, interpretation and contextualisation.

3. Baillie's translations of *Geist*: A textual embodiment of translatorial *hexis*

Hegel's *Phenomenology* was published in 1807. The book was first translated into English in 1910 by Sir James Black Baillie, as Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* (Hegel/Baillie 1910/1931). More recent versions³ and commentators prefer the title *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Hegel/Miller 1977). The *Phenomenology* is not just about the experience of human consciousness, as Baillie's title suggests. In addition to its central concerns with ontology and epistemology, it has significant implications for historiography, ethics and ideology, especially with reference to how different cultures have tried to understand the phenomena of consciousness, mind and spirit, and the historical and social development of rational mindedness. Hegel's most succinct and memorable definition of *Geist* in the *Phenomenology* has undeniably social implications: "I that is 'We' and 'We' that is 'I'" (Hegel 1807/1970; Hegel/Miller 1977: 110–111).⁴

In Charlston (2012a and 2013) I used Wordsmith 5.0 to analyse Baillie's text in comparison with the original. Initially, I entered the search string *Geist* to identify every occurrence of this term in the Hegel text. Focussing specifically on the noun in its various forms (case endings/plural/compound nouns), I then searched the

3. The most widely used translation of Hegel's *Phenomenology* (Hegel/Miller 1977) is by Arnold Vincent Miller (1899–1991) who translated six books by Hegel, mostly during his long, very productive retirement years after a career in the British Civil Service. By contrast with Baillie and Pinkard, who were/are respected professors of philosophy, Miller was a layman philosopher. I chose Baillie and Pinkard for the present research because the contrast between them amply illustrates my argument. The large body of archival material on Miller's life and work requires considerably more research but will support a broader discussion of translation as a "means" and an "end in itself".

4. The Miller translation cited here is more literal than Baillie's explanatory version, which reads: "Ego that is 'we', a plurality of Egos, and 'we' that is a single Ego" (Hegel/Baillie 1931: 104).

target texts (Baillie and Pinkard) to identify the corresponding translations, including non-translations and occurrences of target-text terms (*mind/spirit/Spirit*) which did not correspond with source-text occurrences of *Geist*. The analysis showed apparent inconsistencies in translating the word *Geist*. Figure 1 gives an overview of one of the key findings.

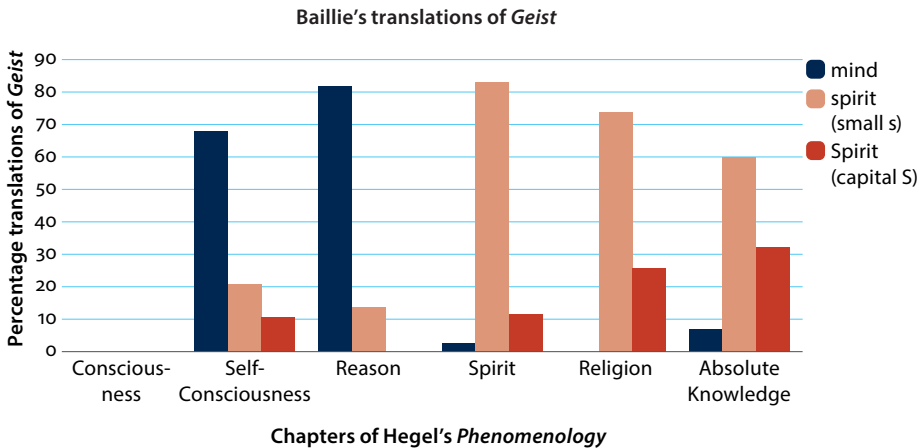


Figure 1. Relative proportions of *mind*, *spirit* and *Spirit* in each chapter of the translation

As is evident from Figure 1, the word *Geist* does not occur in the chapter entitled *Consciousness*. Baillie translated *Geist* predominantly as *mind* in the chapters on *Self-Consciousness* and *Reason* and switched to *spirit* in the last three chapters with an increasing occurrence of *Spirit* with a capital “S”. The percentage distributions across the six chapters in my corpus do not appear to be random. On the contrary, they exhibit a clear patterning in that *Geist* is translated predominantly by *mind* in the first three chapters and by *spirit/Spirit* in the last three chapters; they exhibit a less clear patterning in that occurrences of *Spirit* with a capital “S” increase noticeably in the later chapters. Far from being merely inconsistent, the translations of *Geist* seem to be structured and therefore to provide evidence of a structuring translatorial presence or *hexis*. Baillie does provide a partial explanation for his switch from *mind* to *spirit* in the following footnote: “The term ‘Spirit’ seems better to render the word ‘*Geist*’ used here, than the word ‘mind’ would do. Up to this stage of experience the word ‘mind’ is sufficient to convey the meaning. But spirit is mind at a much higher level of existence” (Hegel/Baillie 1910/1931: 250). My objective was to probe more deeply than this incomplete but nevertheless very revealing explanation, using a kind of Bourdieusian contextualisation.

I studied the historical context around the Baillie translation by looking for important oppositions between different interpretations of Hegel’s philosophy.

Baillie's translation is thus construed (as a whole and also in all of its parts) as an honour-seeking move or strategy in a dynamic field structured by two broadly opposing forces or sources of competitive capital. With reference to the secondary literature (Passmore 1968; Boucher 2000; Mander 2011; Boucher 2012), I found that British Absolute Idealism was developed on the basis of Hegel's concept in the 1870s–1880s as a form of 'Spirit monism' (e.g., by F. H. Bradley).

Spirit is the one, primary, metaphysical substance in the universe; matter is subordinate to Spirit. A subsequent generation of Personalist Idealists (including Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison – Baillie's teacher) reacted against this orthodoxy, rejecting Hegel and Absolutism. I therefore interpret Baillie's 1910 translation as a challenge to the Absolutist position (with which he could not identify) and argue that Baillie's challenging stance (*hexis*) is embodied not just in the paratexts, such as the translator's introduction for the first edition (1910) and the almost completely re-written introduction to the second edition (1931), but in the text itself. The lexical patterning I found in the second edition of Baillie's translation, which is still in print and available as an e-book (2010), embodies his defiant translatorial *hexis* and contributes to his identity as a translator.

Contrary to the assumptions expressed, for example, by more recent translators of Hegel's book (Pinkard 1994: 17), Baillie's translations of *Geist* are therefore not merely inconsistent: they reveal lexical patterning. My suggestion is that Baillie weakens Hegel's cohesive chain of *Geist*, using the translation to undermine the Absolutists' "monistic" understanding of *Geist* and win back Hegel for his own type of Personalism. For Baillie, *Geist* is not a single essence but rather a hierarchical, developmental progression articulated in English through the three terms *mind*, *spirit* and *Spirit*. In terms of lexical priming (Hoey 2004 and 2005), Baillie's translation weakens the Christian religious priming of *Spirit* based on collocations such as *Holy Spirit* and *Lords Spiritual* through his use of *mind* and *spirit* in the earlier chapters of the translation. Baillie thus also leaves traces of his own rather autocratic *hexis* in the text. He compels Anglophone readers to consider developmental stages of *Geist* from *mind* to *spirit* to *Spirit*. Baillie shapes the text for his own purposes, but this practice also reflects his honour-seeking negotiation with the changing values of his culture, for example, with regard to the views held by the editor for the series in which the translation was published, J. H. Muirhead (1915).

4. From Baillie to Pinkard: Terminological consistency as the new *hexis*

I now turn briefly to the translation of Hegel's text by Terry Pinkard (2008), *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*. A draft of Pinkard's translation has been available online since 2008, and a final version is planned for publication by Cambridge University Press. This new translation reflects a major revival of interest in Hegel's philosophy, especially in the United States, where, since the 1970s, John Rawls' neo-Kantian liberalism has been increasingly challenged by neo-Hegelian communitarianism according to which ethical principles evolve from within particular, peripheral, historical communities rather than from universal, centralised principles of reason. Less emphasis is placed on individual freedom (libertarianism), more on community (family) as the source of ethical principles. These developments in US political philosophy were widely associated with so-called non-metaphysical or post-Kantian interpretations of Hegel's philosophy associated with the names of Hartmann, Pippin, Brandom and Pinkard (Beiser 2008). In Charlston (2012a: 137–159), I provisionally characterised the very complex sub-field of Anglophone Hegelian studies at the time of Pinkard's translation with reference to the opposition between metaphysical and non-metaphysical readings of Hegel to achieve an enriched understanding of Pinkard's decision about *spirit*.⁵

In one of Pinkard's early books, *Democratic Liberalism* (1987), now out of print, he argued for the adoption of certain circumscribed concepts from Hegel, including "spirit" in contemporary US political and legal theory:

I am using "spirit" in what I take to be its basic Hegelian sense minus the metaphysical associations that Hegel gave it. I am not using it to denote any kind of metaphysical entity, as he did. For some, this might, of course, disqualify the usage as being "Hegelian". Not much hangs on that, so I shall not belabour the point.

(Pinkard 1987: 188)

Throughout his translation, Pinkard translates *Geist* as *spirit*. This preserves Hegel's cohesive chain with *Geist*, but by comparison with Baillie's translation and especially with regard to the more widely used A. Miller translation (Hegel/Miller 1977) in which *Geist* is translated as *Spirit* with a capital, the switch to *spirit* with a small "s" can be regarded as a minor but significant identifying feature of the new translation.

5. After reading a draft of my article (2014) on his translation, Pinkard pointed out, in a helpful e-mail, that I had not taken into account the fact that his philosophical ideas have changed over time. I understand this as an encouragement rather than a criticism: more research into the changing views and influence of translators of philosophy is required. A concise summary of the kind of changes which have taken place in Anglophone Hegelian philosophy since the 1980s has been published online by Redding (2010). However, this summary does not specifically mention the role of translators or translation.

Pinkard's choice reinforces the modern priming of the lower-case term: *community spirit* rather than *Holy Spirit* and thus secularises the text. Pinkard further reinforces this sense by adding the term "spirit" some 200 times to break up long sentences or replace pronouns, thereby also exerting a considerable translatorial influence on the cohesion of the text. However, *spirit* is also symbolically *less* than *Spirit* and denotes a more modest, non-metaphysical claim.

My suggestion then is that, perhaps at a subliminal level, Pinkard's decision to use *spirit* also reflects the broadly non-metaphysical position in the sub-field with which he identifies, as well as the potential usefulness of this term in political theory (Pinkard 1994). Hegel is thus domesticated (Pym 2014: 32; Venuti 1995/2008: 19) through this translation to allow easier assimilation of the useful (communitarian/democratic) ideas which can be gleaned from his philosophy.

5. Conclusions

The examples discussed above show that construing the minutiae of the translated text as an embodiment of the translatorial *hexis* acknowledges that the translators' personal identity or fingerprint is discernible in the text, but also suggests how this translatorial *hexis* is enmeshed with the dynamics of the philosophical sub-field in which the translator worked. The analysis thus reveals something surprisingly but perhaps reassuringly untidy about the translation of philosophical concepts like Hegel's *Geist*, even between languages and cultures close to the centre of world power.

The particular example of *Geist*⁶ suggests how lexical details of the translated text which are controlled by the translator can act, for example, through lexical priming, to re-shape a "haunting" philosophical concept associated with Hegel to suit the theoretical context in which it is to be used in the target culture. Further research⁷ based on the translatorial *hexis* could be used to trace the migration of Hegel's concept of *Geist*, through translations and secondary literature in English, for example, to President Obama's repeated use of the term "spirit" in his inauguration speeches

6. In Charlston (2012b), I also analyse Baillie's and Pinkard's translations of that elusive Hegelian term *aufheben* [cancel/preserve/sublate]. A similarly hierarchical lexical patterning was found in Baillie's translations of this term. This finding is also discussed in detail in Charlston (2013).

7. The approach developed in the present article and in Charlston (2012b) can also, of course, be extended to wider contexts. For example, I am planning a monograph on the translations and retranslations of works by Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Clausewitz and Nietzsche which will investigate the influence of translators and translation on the migration of a range of ethically significant terms between cultures.

(Obama 2009), and to one of its more recent appearances in David Cameron's reported response to the killing in Woolwich in 2013 (Sky-News 2013). Cameron explained that the way we (the British) should continue to beat back terrorists is by showing "an absolutely indomitable British spirit". The close proximity of "absolute" and "spirit" in this text perhaps suggests a residual translational priming of this term and a distant association with Hegel, if not Clausewitz.

Finally, by analogy with the slave figure in the famous master/slave passage from the *Phenomenology*, the translators could be seen as discovering or actualising their identity through the practice of translating. The many thousands of small decisions made during the course of translating a large philosophical work compel the translator to engage proactively, for example, in the relationship between cohesion and coherence, attempting to control the reader's access to Hegel's thought by reinforcing some associations and deflecting from others. This may be a subtle activity but it is not ethically neutral. The translators of philosophy participate actively, through their translatorial *hexis*, in re-shaping concepts such as *mind* and *spirit* which, I believe, have contributed to their readers' conceptualisation of individual and cultural identities at the centres and also at the peripheries of world power.

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Adorno refracted

German critical theory in the neoliberal world order

Stefan Baumgarten

Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno's oeuvre has been widely translated into English, and despite an uneven reception history in the Anglophone world, he can be regarded as a "fashionable", perhaps even a "celebrity" philosopher in English translation. Whilst it remains an open question to what extent a high intellectual pedigree can be distilled into cultural capital when refracted through the lens of translation, it appears reasonable to assume that key works of German critical theory in English are refracted through a positivist order of discourse, which is at odds with the ideological, or more precisely utopian, convictions of mainstream critical theorists. This article discusses the translational recontextualisation of Adorno's concept of the "non-identical" and some of its associated conceptual frames.

Keywords: translation and philosophy, critical theory, capitalism, power asymmetries, ideology, domination, hegemony, non-identitarian thinking, instrumental reason, translation and the market

1. Hope and suffering in the age of identity thinking

Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno (1903–1969) was one of the most important social philosophers of the 20th century. His oeuvre elucidates the human condition in late capitalist modernity, articulated through a style of writing that consciously rejects conceptual expression. It is a philosophical discourse that meanders along multi-layered discursive constellations without succumbing to the dictates of conventional scholarship that require the fixing of meaning within clearly defined conceptual boundaries. A recent essay collection fittingly summarises Adorno's aphoristic style as a "language without soil" (Richter 2010a), a language that evokes an almost mystical dream-like reading experience. Adorno's style is underpinned by the idea of *non-identity thinking*, a mode of thought which recognises that no concept can ever fully grasp the world in its entirety, and which stands in contrast with *identity thinking*, a cognitive mode that embodies the human tendency to

appropriate the world through attitudinal evaluations and conceptual classifications. The concept of identity itself constitutes for Adorno the *ur*-form of all ideology, whereas non-identity thinking strives to recognise the violent disruptions that human reason inflicts on the shifting permutations of historical becoming. In other words, in our attempts to shape and understand the world, we perpetuate the domination of nature and ourselves, whilst a sustained attention to the non-identical, an approach described by Adorno as a “negative dialectics”, might reconcile us with those “negative” elements of our existence that “positive” human reason sought to suppress. As this article endeavours to show, it is this tension between hegemonic identitarian predispositions and a gradual move towards enlightened self-reflexivity that characterises the representation of (elements of) German critical theory in English translation.

Adorno’s extremely self-conscious social philosophy enabled him to deconstruct discourse to such an extent that any attempt at summarising his thought alongside a couple of thematic principles feels like nailing jelly to the floor. A conceptual regimentation of discourse, after all, amounts to nothing less than perpetual domination, since for Adorno (1973: 11) “all concepts, even the philosophical ones, refer to nonconceptualities, because concepts on their part are moments of the reality that requires their formation, primarily for the control of nature”. Such meta-reflexive observations go hand in hand with a sustained attention to the *particular*, to the micro-politics of everyday experience, since the formation and imposition of any cognitive concept that seeks to fully understand reality entails a violent incursion into the natural order of things, the realm of which can never be identical to any primary origin or likeness (cf. Cronin’s 2012 idea of a “politics of microspecation”). Robert Hullot-Kentor (2006: 4) grasped this perhaps better than many others, arguing that “the concept of origin” denotes nothing less than nature “dominated in its own name”. Given that it is impossible to impose stable origins or meanings on the world, the concept of identity dissolves into a vast network of *quasi-universal* relations, a process of dissolution that simultaneously engages with the infinitude of *particular* human experience (Hullot-Kentor 2006: 161). The dialectical tension between identity and non-identity, between universality and particularity, lies in the existential gap between human suffering and hope, and as I will argue, this tension is played out in different English translations of Adorno’s critical theory.

Despite German critical theory’s complexity and its insistence on the omnipresence of human suffering, reading Adorno inspires hope, be it only in the sense of a utopian yearning that one day an emancipated human consciousness might eliminate unnecessary violence, oppression and exploitation. Unlike traditional social theory, critical theory perceives social domination to be located especially in the historical dynamics of capitalism. For Adorno, rigorous *immanent critique*

offers a faint hope of unmasking the existing oppressive forces and relations of production and consumption. Adorno's radical social theory, his unflinching and persistent criticism of the status quo, constitutes a form of philosophical rebellion that obstinately, indeed cunningly, provokes a utopian craving for a "reversal of domination" (Hullot-Kentor 2006: 39). Hope and despair, however, can be no more than paradoxical twins, since we may allow ourselves, in Adorno's view, "to hope only on the condition that all hope has disappeared" (Böckelmann 1969: 22, quoted in Bonefeld 2009: 143). Broadly in line with other critical commentators on capitalist history (e.g. Baudrillard 2010a and 2010b), Adorno envisages a hegemonic drive towards a totally administered society governed by the all-embracing principles of capital accumulation and commodity exchange. His immanent capitalist critique was enthusiastically picked up by sections of the 1960s student protest movement in Germany, a liberatory force that rebelled against increasingly anti-liberal tendencies of Western capitalist governments. Today, Adorno's social philosophy has found its place in the canon of the Anglophone social sciences, within a discourse world still dominated by the conceptual rigidities of scientific positivism. It is not unreasonable to suggest that a sensitive "microscopic" engagement with one of the most significant cornerstones of German critical theory only occurred from the 1990s onwards (e.g. Hohendahl 1992; Huhn 2004), an engagement that can be extended to the publication of Robert Hullot-Kentor's retranslation of *Aesthetic Theory* (1997), whilst also rekindling hope in the non-identitarian habitats dormant in Anglophone social science.

If critical theory engenders an illusory hope in a world free from social domination, the emphatic target of Adorno's social philosophy is the mitigation of human suffering under the banner of modern capitalism. His critique of identity thinking is closely interwoven with the need to articulate suffering in the face of total social control and recurring evil in modern capitalist societies. Such an articulation fundamentally "defies discursive treatment" whilst simultaneously requiring "conceptual comprehension" (Zuidervaart 2007: 61). It is within this paradox that his work has an ongoing resonance for the problem of social domination and capitalist hegemony, because it highlights society's notoriously invisible and mostly unequal relations of power. But how, in the end, is one to re-articulate in another language an intensely self-reflexive discourse that, on the one hand, defies conceptual composition and understanding, but on the other hand engages deeply with the suffering of a world alienated from nature and from itself, a utopian discourse that yearns for absolution from instrumental reason and commodity fetishism? As I would like to suggest, the answer to an "appropriate" recontextualisation lies in the translator's willingness to sacrifice an instinct that aims to grasp the irreducible complexity of reality; at stake is a willingness "to lend a voice to suffering" as "a condition of all truth," a voice that defies the totalising pretensions of identitarian

thought (Zuidervaart 1991: 304). Adorno's highly idiosyncratic discourse knows no conceptual bounds, it is a discourse that should only be moulded in the hands of those who would never think of language and translation in terms of ownership and territory. Seen from this vantage point, some of the first English translations appeared to have "suffered" under the reified regime of free market liberalism – in contradistinction to the philosopher's emancipatory ambitions.

2. Translation's suffering: Critical theory under the spell of advanced capitalism

The timeless quality of Adorno's thought cannot be assessed in relation to its position in the canon of philosophical discourse. The most fruitful line of enquiry, it seems to me, is to appreciate his written output as an inspiration to meditate on all *unnecessary* forms of suffering within advanced global capitalism. This view allows us to consider his critical theory as an ethical project that diagnoses economic exploitation and social oppression as systemic yet avoidable failures in our current predicament. A critique of *particular* social relations, however, that simultaneously strives to ground itself in the conceptual liquidation of *universal* truth claims is forced to find alternative ways to communicate its *raison d'être*. While any realistic promise of universal salvation would become superseded the very moment it is pronounced, since it is forced to obey the axiom that "[t]he only philosophy which can be responsibly practised in face of despair is the attempt to contemplate all things as they *would* present themselves from the standpoint of redemption" (Adorno 2005a: 247, emphasis added), it is, on the other hand, only possible to express in words the infinitude of particular human experience by adopting a style that does not commit itself to conventional conceptual expression. Hence, translators of Adorno's critical theory into English need to possess an accurate understanding of the non-identity principle and its ethical prerogatives, an advanced sociocultural self-reflexivity, and a very close familiarity with the historical traditions and conceptual landscapes of continental and Anglophone philosophy, rather than attempt to strive for easily identifiable conceptual arrangements and linear composition.

A first wave of English Adorno translations tended to violate the non-identity principle by relapsing into an identitarian habitus that sought to make him palatable to an Anglophone readership (e.g. Adorno and Horkheimer 1972; Adorno 1973 and 1984). It is essential to realise that reception patterns cannot simply be ascribed to censorship or manipulative mistranslation, rather, they are grounded within subliminal cultural and ideological dispositions that generate normative behaviour (cf. Toury 1995: 54). More significantly, however, reception patterns can be regarded as stemming from a dominant linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1992: 77) that directs itself

towards the more powerful partner within a cross-cultural configuration. Within this context it is most notable that Adorno, who lived as a Jewish émigré in the UK and the United States between 1935 and 1949, prematurely returned to his homeland precisely because he was, proverbially, lost in the power plays of translation! In one of many reflections on his working experiences as a scholar in the United States, upon having received the proofs of an article he had written in English, the editors, he discovered, “had not been content simply to correct the stylistic flaws of an emigrant writer. The entire text had been disfigured beyond recognition, the fundamental intentions could not be recovered” (Adorno 2005b: 211). Whilst inattentive editors and translators were prone to misjudge cultural dimensions and philosophical subtleties, Adorno’s initial misapprehension in the Anglophone world also rested on lingering ideological suspicions towards German intellectual life during and after World War II (Jay 1984: 158).

Adorno’s travails in translation demarcate an ideological chasm between two philosophical traditions that evolved along dissimilar intellectual paradigms. In his own estimation, he appeared to have “collided with the positivistic habits of thought that reign virtually unchallenged in American science” (2005b: 220) whereas in his home country the commercial spirit “had not flourished as widely as in the advanced capitalist countries” (2005b: 207). An intimate daily involvement with American life and culture made Adorno painfully aware of the totalitarian character of advanced consumer capitalism and the dominant positivistic spirit that reigned in the social sciences. In addition to this general feeling of alienation came nagging sensations of having been misunderstood as a strictly conservative European bourgeois with anti-American leanings (cf. Wagle 2011: 359). Ironically, his traumatic experiences in Nazi Germany became transmuted into a sentiment of intense alienation, which Adorno (2005a) himself famously recounts in his aphoristic “reflections on a damaged life”, which indicate his general attitude towards authorial identity and instrumental translation into English:

There is a song by Brahms, to a poem by Heyse, with the lines: *O Herzeleid, du Ewigkeit!/Selbender nur ist Seligkeit*. In the most widely used American edition this is rendered as: ‘O misery, eternity!/But two in one were ecstasy’. The archaic, passionate nouns of the original have been turned into catchwords for a hit song, designed to boost it. Illuminated in the neon-light switched on by these words, culture displays its character as advertising. (Adorno 2005a: 47)

Leaving aside the questionable terminology of a mishandled “original”, an identitarian concept that contrasts starkly with an otherwise rigorously constellatory approach to writing, Adorno’s perceptions of such English-language refractions – to evoke Lefevre’s (1992) influential notion of the rewriting of literature through translation – are rooted in the conviction of an almost whole-sale commodification

of US-American culture. The thesis that under advanced capitalism the products of the culture industry are increasingly exchanged as mere consumer commodities according to market demands was, of course, famously put forward in the best-selling study *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, co-authored by Adorno and his colleague Max Horkheimer (2002); and it is not unreasonable to suggest that translation practices themselves are bound to the steadily advancing reification of culture, since they may be seen as echoing the historical shift from mass producer to mass consumer capitalism within our rapidly globalising world. Sociocultural norms and the linguistic habitus that underpin translational behaviour, as evident in the application of domesticating, “fluent”, strategies in translations into English (Venuti 1995: 5), become ossified into unquestioned hegemonic patterns of behaviour that are subject to the vicissitudes of geopolitical power relations. The pendulum of power, after all, overwhelmingly swings in the direction of those who control access to commodities and knowledge, with English functioning not only as a lingua franca but also as an imperialist tool that serves the economic interests of the mega-selling English-language book industry (Schiffrin 2001). While the rigid demand to present translated discourse in flawless and transparent conceptual jargon only constitutes the epistemological side of this hegemonic process (cf. Bennett 2007), it is instructive to see how the first complete translation of *Ästhetische Theorie* was caught within the dynamics of economic power play and sociotextual practices that transformed a strictly non-identitarian ontology into an easily digestible market commodity.

The first English translation of *Ästhetische Theorie*, a work that primarily deals with the position of modern art in the capitalist market place, was published in 1984. If Adorno’s German text “deliberately resists easy consumption” because “the need for powerful expression weighs heavier than the desire for direct communication” (Zuidervaart 1991: 46), this translation by Christian Lenhardt destabilises the book’s fragmentary and speculative character through the imposition of a linear narrative and an easily digestible conceptual framework conforming to dominant norms of English-language writing that insist on unmediated access to cultural otherness. In accordance with his non-identitarian habitus, Adorno’s non-linear discourse unfolds through an excessive application of paratactical syntax and the virtual absence of cross-referencing, two rhetorical-stylistic devices which Lenhardt’s translation frequently ignores by introducing subordinating conjunctions such as “while” or “if” and cohesive markers like “as mentioned above”. Paradoxically, however, the additional tendency to clarify conceptual propositions, for instance when a conventional Marxist phrase such as “relations of production” is rendered as “capitalist society”, allows the reader to appreciate with more clarity the philosophical dictum that human suffering should have been considerably diminished in the wake of unprecedented technoscientific advances. Nevertheless,

the first English-language version constitutes an interesting case of instrumental reason in translation, because it is possible that the German text's non-identitarian habitus became erased by means of an economic and linguistic prefiguration towards its Anglophone market. Of course, my observations should not be mistaken for a conservative critique that laments the misrepresentation of an 'original' author on teleological grounds; rather I want to highlight that it is problematic that such a translation promotes an implicit belief in universal intelligibility. A refusal to engage with Adorno's principle of non-identity in translation surrenders to an epistemological vantage point that remains under the spell of the reified principles of advanced consumer capitalism.

Adorno did not live to see his *Ästhetische Theorie* in print, and an editorial afterword was appended to the German edition by Adorno's widow Gretel Adorno and his German editor Rolf Tiedemann. The afterword provides insight into the stringent structural and stylistic prescriptions to which Adorno subjected himself while working on his last book-length study. In order to embody a philosophical discourse that defied conventional canons of writing, he insisted that the book be composed "in equally weighted, paratactical parts that are arranged around a midpoint that they express through their constellation" (Adorno 1997: 364). The German editors had a partly fragmented manuscript and faced the daunting task of assembling a free-floating patchwork of aphoristic thought around its narrative nucleus, which involved some structural rearrangements; but they never lost sight of the necessity, as they put it, "to accentuate the book's paratactical principle of presentation" because it was inconceivable "to sacrifice the book to a deductive hierarchical structure of presentation" (Adorno 1997: 365). Interestingly, the translation of the editorial afterword in Lenhardt's version provides a further glimpse into the ideological capture of philosophical otherness. Here, an appropriative interpretation of Adorno's thought is echoed in a kind of misdirected reported speech, when Lenhardt overtranslates Adorno's editors as claiming that the book's non-linear requirements "will no doubt stand in the way of its appropriation [*Rezeption*]" (1984: 496), and that the irredeemable paradox of any committed philosophy that strives for universal salvation still "might be a good model for the appropriation of this work [*rezeptive Anstrengung*, i.e. efforts that need to be expended for the reception of Adorno's work; we could also speak here of an undertranslation given that the concept of 'effort' conveyed through the noun *Anstrengung* has been ignored]" (Adorno 1984: 497). Even though we should not assign too much strategic significance to such translational over- and under-determinations, it is tempting to evaluate them as forcible appropriations, not least owing to the linear and hypotactical straitjacket that this translation project imposes upon a strictly asymmetrical and paratactical discourse.

Against this background of a predominantly domesticating translation strategy, let us try to advance a tentative psychogeography of hegemonic translation by briefly dwelling on Adorno's (2005a: 49) meditations on the *particular* in American life, where "even the smallest of its segments is inscribed, as its expression, with the immensity of the whole country." For Adorno, the country's psychology was so obviously intertwined with its architectural infrastructure, everything appeared so visibly suffused with political meaning, that even the roads acquired a semblance of monstrosity, having been "inserted directly in the landscape, and the more impressively smooth and broad they are, the more unrelated and violent their gleaming track appears against its wild, overgrown surroundings" (Adorno 2005a: 48). If these meditations partly evoke the damage brought about by a nation born out of colonialism and ethnic violence, they also resemble Baudrillard's (2010a: 29) narrations of American space, where "any old street in a Midwestern town" may conjure up "the whole of the US". The Frenchman, however, writing around forty years after Adorno, was concerned with the dissolution of intellectual thought and political values in postmodernity, so in true Nietzschean spirit, he cheerfully diagnosed "a crisis of historical ideals facing up to the impossibility of their realization" in Europe, while across the pond we merely observe "the crisis of an achieved Utopia" (Baudrillard 2010a: 83). For Baudrillard, in the final analysis, Americans remain unencumbered by the historical weight of both idealist metaphysics and grand ideological narratives, whereas European conceptions of freedom "will never be able to rival their spatial, mobile conception, which derives from the fact that at a certain point they freed themselves from that historical centrality" (Baudrillard 2010a: 88). If we can glimpse a residual Marxism in Baudrillard's account, Adorno's earlier aphoristic imagery remains rooted in a conviction that the reigning market and exchange principle, having edged its way into every fibre of the social fabric, had found its most unadulterated expression in US-American society:

Every child of the European upper classes blushed at a monetary gift made by relations, and even if the greater force of bourgeois utility overcame and overcompensated such reactions, the doubt nevertheless remained whether man was made merely to exchange. The remnants of the old were, in the European consciousness, ferments of the new. In America, on the other hand, no child of even well-off parents has inhibitions about earning a few cents by newspaper rounds, and this nonchalance has found its way into the demeanour of adults. [...] It occurs to nobody that there might be services that are not expressible in terms of exchange value. This is the real pre-condition for the triumph of that subjective reason which is incapable of thinking a truth intrinsically binding, and perceives it solely as existing for others, as exchangeable. (Adorno 2005a: 195–196)

Adorno's thought reflects a melancholic yearning for a life that might never be experienced, given that the hegemonic order of capitalist exchange has penetrated

deeply into humanity's social consciousness. Where Adorno sees American society and culture as a faceless consumerist Moloch irredeemably disjointed by scientific calculability and instrumental rationality, Baudrillard's experiential account celebrates the absence of historical weight, dwelling instead on the American desert as an allegorical space for radical cultural critique that nonetheless renders superfluous the faintest hope of liberation from the commercial spirit. Where Adorno's melancholy dwells on unfreedom, alienation and difference, Baudrillard joyfully exaggerates the wild anarchic play of uncultivated virility, expressive withdrawal and frivolous indifference. Yet Adorno's (2005a: 15) "melancholy science" owes much less to joyful Nietzschean anarchism than to an unrelenting faith in the remote possibility that the universal spell cast by commodity fetishism could be overcome. I therefore argue that the hegemony, or, more precisely, the psychogeography of instrumental reason constitutes a form of naturalised power that overrides most translational decisions into English. Consequently, the cross-cultural negotiation of power differentials in translation, at least when English is involved, appears to rest on a quasi-universal obligation to trade almost every particularity according to its exchange value, a practically instinctive subjection to the gravitational pull of hegemonic power, a process widely discussed under the label of interpellation in post-colonial translation theory (Robinson 1997: 22), but rarely with explicit reference to the history of capitalism. In particular during the first wave of translations until the 1980s, many American editors and translators of Adorno's work would estimate that an Anglophone readership would struggle with the density of his discourse unless they were helped through this labyrinthian web of metaphysical profundities, semantic ambiguities and structural complexities.

3. Translation's hope: Non-identity rescued?

Adorno had become a truly public intellectual in the German-speaking world of the 1960s. In the English-speaking hemisphere, however, a deeper appreciation of his writing's potentially emancipatory after-effects only slowly began to emerge. A thorough engagement with Adorno's fierce critique of the commodification of human existence, specifically as underway in the Western world, gradually materialised in the publication and translation efforts by some left wing intellectual circles from the 1970s onwards (e.g. the efforts to publish translated articles in the influential journal *Telos*). Moreover, during the 1980s a comprehensive assessment of two "first generation" translations, inspired by the American scholar and critic Robert Hullot-Kentor (1985, 1989, the second essay was republished in his 2006 essay collection), paved the way for a more perceptive awareness of the vicissitudes of translating German critical theory. Whilst Hullot-Kentor himself published a new translation of *Aesthetic*

Theory in 1997, a problematic rendition of *Dialectic of Enlightenment* was superseded by a new translation by Edmund Jephcott in 2002. It is also pertinent to note that attempts to rescue Adorno from one-dimensional readings appear not to have occurred to the same extent with the Anglophone reception of most other theoreticians associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Herbert Marcuse's writings, especially his phenomenally successful *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* from 1964 achieved wide public recognition especially in the United States, and was swiftly translated and published in German in 1967. This commercial success, however, might have been due to the fact that Marcuse, who never relocated to Germany after his forced emigration in 1934, had written his academic bestseller in English. Besides, his scathing critique of the reifying logic of late capitalism was more in tune with the revolutionary *Zeitgeist* than the late Adorno's rather theory-heavy writings. After Adorno's death in 1969, German critical theory gradually moved closer to the epicentre of the Anglophone philosophical polysystem, evidenced by an increase in sympathetic and critical reviews and a growing number of translations in left-intellectual journals such as *Telos* or the *New Left Review*, which helped to establish "the basis for an increasingly sophisticated American reception of his work" (Jay 1984: 170).

Adorno's ever more refined reception in the Anglophone arts and social sciences was accompanied by increased translation activity, a development that eventually inspired an improved historical contextualisation of the diverging strands of European social theory by pinpointing Adorno's ideological position "in the general context of Western Marxism" (Jay 1984: 172; Hohendahl 1992). Yet the continuing circulation of some English translations which, to differing degrees, compromised Adorno's non-identitarian habitus is a fascinating reminder of the hegemonic strength of Anglophone discourse, an invisible power without precedence in the history of intellectual thought (cf. Bennett 2007). It became increasingly clear throughout the 1990s that there was an almost symbiotic proximity between Adorno and postmodernist thought, at a time when Peter Uwe Hohendahl (1995: 3–4; emphasis added) nonetheless stressed that

the textual basis of American Adorno criticism has been shaky. Some of the existing translations are inadequate and have to be replaced – particularly *Aesthetic Theory*, but even *Dialectic of Enlightenment* has room for improvement. [...] The most obvious explanation for the increasing interest in Adorno's work may be the poststructuralist connection: the supposed affinity between his project of negative dialectics and the antiessentialist and antimetaphysical turn in American criticism during the 1980s. [...] In fact, one could argue that the somewhat marginal position of the Frankfurt School in this country encouraged interaction between Adorno's theory and other oppositional forces and that the interpretation of Adorno is, implicitly or explicitly, determined by conflicting modes of *appropriation*.

Hohendahl (1995) aims to clear up misunderstandings surrounding the Anglophone reception. As a US-based scholar of German origin, and thus keenly aware of the pitfalls of some translations, Hohendahl was able to rely on Adorno's works in German. Like many scholars with foreign language skills writing on German critical theory through the medium of English, Hohendahl provided his own modified translations whenever he saw fit. His general dissatisfaction with the existing translations seems to have been particularly pronounced in the case of Lenhardt's version of *Ästhetische Theorie*, any quotes from which he translated anew for his own scholarly narrative (Hohendahl 1995: ix–x). In contrast to Hohendahl's critical awareness, the second edition of David Hawkes' (2003) influential work *Ideology*, which positions Adorno as a post-Marxist thinker, relies on first-generation translations of *Negative Dialectics* and *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, which were the object of fierce criticism (Rose 1976; Hullot-Kentor 1989), with *Aesthetic Theory* arguably the most widely noted case of an apparently botched translation (Hullot-Kentor 1985; also Jameson 1990: ix–x).

Any language is subject to the forces of power and ideology. And translation, in whichever constellation of power, threatens the identity and conceptual universe of the originating *and* receiving discourse. The translation of philosophy involving English as a hegemonic language, however, has a heightened tendency to be bent towards discursive and textual norms residing in the hegemonic culture. Venuti (1998: 108) talks in this context of “the virtual invisibility of translation in Anglo-American philosophy.” The English translations of the Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, for instance, remind us of the phenomenological existence of a “remainder” which proves the principle that “the philosophical project of concept formation is fundamentally determined by its linguistic and cultural conditions” (Venuti 1998: 115). Such sociohistorical contingencies nonetheless allow for innovative intrusions, since in any disciplinary context “a style of philosophical writing may insinuate itself among or violate the philosophies that currently hold sway” (Venuti 1998: 122). By extension, this argument highlights the underlying power struggles and ideological interests in Anglo-German translation, but, further, there is a fundamental ‘economic remainder’ in hegemonic translational relations that points towards a woefully overlooked aspect of contemporary translation theory. If Lenhardt's translation of *Ästhetische Theorie* neatly insinuated itself into mainstream Anglo-American philosophy, Hullot-Kentor's retranslation surely went against the norms of English-language philosophical discourse. And whilst Lenhardt's streamlined translation conforms, subconsciously or not, to the orthodoxy of academic fluency in English-language writing, in the final analysis it panders to the imperial dominance of a highly standardised idiom in the globalised English-language book industry.

Recent theories consider ideology as a phenomenological concept that reaches beyond limited definitions of a shared discursive system of thought amongst groups, or a distorted world view that masks purportedly ‘real’ class interests. Žižek (1994: 8), for instance, maintains that ideology serves not only as an invisible force that underpins capitalist production and consumption, rather, ideological thought enunciates discursive positions which are themselves situated within ever shifting constellations of power. Most crucially, however, ideology cannot simply be located on the level of discourse and epistemology (or knowledge), as it does not simply ‘reflect’ reality, but rather constitutes an integral part of our own individuality. For Žižek, ideology is primarily located on the level of ontology (or life itself) and practice (or lived reality), since ideological thought does not merely constitute “an illusion masking the real state of things but that of an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality” (1989: 33). Incidentally, then, Žižek’s position is closer to Adorno’s than he appears to admit, given that for Adorno the master-concept of identity itself tells the story of all ideology. In view of the misrepresentation of Adorno’s discourse in Lenhardt’s translation, it is thus important to realise that ideological thought itself does not have the power to ‘distort’ or ‘manipulate’ discourse, because power in the age of late capitalism tends to reside in a translation’s surrender to identitarian thought which, as so often in the case of translations into English, manifests itself in the imposition of a rigid structural logic and transparent conceptual landscapes. Power in the age of late capitalism resides so strongly in the realm of economics that this cannot but have critical implications for the theory and practice of translation, an observation, however, which seems to have gained little credence in translation studies.

In his fierce critique of Lenhardt’s translation, Hullot-Kentor (1985: 145–146) takes particular issue with structural readjustments, for “[t]he translator wants to provide an Adorno that would act as a tour guide to aesthetics; a long trip is planned, with occasional detours, clearly marked”, indeed, “[i]f the translation were an introduction to modern art it would want to make sense of abstract painting by connecting the lines.” Hullot-Kentor’s mocking critique rests on the conviction that identitarian thinking constitutes ideology in almost undiluted form, since for him “subjective reason has installed paragraphs to mark the work as a one-way street” (Hullot-Kentor 1985: 147). Eight years before his retranslation was published in 1997, Hullot-Kentor summarised the poor quality of English-language representations of Frankfurt School thinkers in terms of crosscultural philosophical disparities, the intellectual and political demise of Marxism, and the growing popularity of postmodern deconstructionism, whilst singling out “the damage done to his [Adorno’s] writings by their inadequate translation and the blunting of his thought” (1989: 5). In his own retranslation, Hullot-Kentor resisted a quasi-instinctual reflex to ‘tidy up’ a highly aphoristic narrative into bite-sized chunks. If Lenhardt strove

to fix deliberate narrative disruptions and their underlying conceptualities into a discursive straitjacket, Hullot-Kentor, in an attempt to echo the text's meandering paratactical flow, took care to virtually layer a second skin on each aphoristic riddle and chiasmic wordplay. The two divergent approaches are epitomised in the following extracts. In order to exemplify Adorno's spiral movement of thought and its internal conceptual density, the two sentences I focus on are presented within their surrounding linguistic context:

hieße ihr irrational. Leiden, auf den Begriff gebracht, bleibt stumm und konsequenzlos: das läßt in Deutschland nach Hitler sich beobachten. Dem Hegelschen Satz, den Brecht als Devise sich erkor: die Wahrheit sei konkret, genügt vielleicht im Zeitalter des unbegreifbaren Grauens nur noch Kunst. Das Hegelsche Motiv ...
(Adorno 1970: 35)

reason's own standards. Therefore, even when it is understood, suffering remains mute and inconsequential a truth, incidentally, that everybody can verify for himself by taking a look at Germany after Hitler. [paragraph indentation] What recommends itself, then, is the idea that art may be the only remaining medium of truth in an age of incomprehensible terror and suffering. As the real ...
(Lenhardt 1984: 27)

... rebuffs rational knowledge. Suffering conceptualized remains mute and inconsequential, as is obvious in post-Hitler Germany. In an age of incomprehensible horror, Hegel's principle, which Brecht adopted as his motto, that truth is concrete, can perhaps suffice only for art. Hegel's thesis that ... (Hullot-Kentor 1997: 18)

Adorno's aphoristic propositions are firmly lodged between the single full stops that communicate the end of a single thought. Each sentence achieves its conceptual density by communicating just a semblance of semantic closure. Its centre of gravity, therefore, lies as much in its concise form as in its expressiveness, whilst remaining in dynamic interaction with the surrounding discourse. Hullot-Kentor's observance of this compositional principle is evident in a correspondingly terse and self-contained yet wholly interdependent and outreaching discourse that aims to incite readers to dwell on their own *particular* experience in relation to the more *universal* tendencies integral to the social world. This incitement to think for oneself is severely compromised through any strategy of semantic recasting, which in Lenhardt's translation is evident in changes in paragraph structure, omissions, and addition of cohesive markers. It is ironic that in an early review, one of Adorno's best-known commentators, the otherwise socioculturally perceptive Lambert Zuidervaart (1985: 195), called Lenhardt's translation "excellent", adding that "Adorno's highly wrought, idiosyncratic prose has been turned into idiomatic English that captures the gist without missing nuances". Perhaps the times were not yet ripe for a more nuanced, indeed accurate reflection on a translation that was

pandering to the axiom of enforced readability, perhaps largely owing to economic and financial deliberations on the part of the publisher?

Be that as it may, Adorno requires his readers to relate to the fundamental human sentiments of suffering and hope, since his social philosophy – and here we may agree with Zuidervaarts (1991: 304) assessment – attempts “to lend a voice to unmet needs and unfulfilled desires”. The coordinates of life, however, can never be grasped in their totality, an unspeakable remainder is always present, a shrapnel of non-identity which, as Thyen (2007: 205) puts it, “is concerned with the particular, not as something against but as something mediated by the universal”. Hence, whilst the infinite meaning potential of words (or signifiers) can never be fully covered by the cognitive concepts (or signifieds) we impose on them, human experience paradoxically needs to rely on conceptual constructions which are largely socially mediated. But the sociohistorical contingency of concepts conceals the important fact that concepts, in our age of advanced consumer capitalism, are in the first instance economically determined. Bourdieu (1984) points out that the concept of taste positions people in social fields that are governed through the dynamics of economic exchange value. The significance of Bourdieu’s scholarship for the investigation of the phenomenon of translation has been widely acknowledged in translation studies (Inghilleri 2005), but it is curious that this fundamental insight into the economic determinations of discourse has not yet gained much currency in the discourse of our discipline, an insight that owes much to Baudrillard’s (1981: 163) work *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* in which he asserts that “[a]ll the repressive and reductive strategies of power systems are already present in the internal logic of the sign”. Signs themselves are commodities that are predominantly exchanged according to market principles. In the light of this, it is interesting to note that when Adorno and Horkheimer (1944, 1947 and 1969) worked on subsequent German versions of *Dialectic of Enlightenment* while in exile in the 1940s, and in order to pre-empt censorship of the fiercely anti-communist US federal authorities, they themselves transformed German Marxist terminology into more neutral terms. According to Hullot-Kentor (1989: 6), terms such as “proletariat” and “capitalist” were changed into “worker” and “employer” respectively, and, crucially, they changed the term “exploitation” into “suffering”! Such conceptual transformations responded to political and ideological constraints, but in the end they signify a conscious surrender to the ‘political economy of the sign’. Identitarian thought constitutes a clearly hegemonic mode of thinking, it fails to recognise its inextricable entanglement with economic imperatives, and its normative force is more strongly ingrained in discourse than many of us dare to admit.

4. The language of suffering refracted

The story of German critical theory in the English speaking world is worrisome. My worries are based on the premise that a sufficient understanding of the English-language reception needs to engage more thoroughly with the history of capitalism than with the histories of science or ideas. A capitalist critique would still provide only tentative conclusions, but translation studies could gain additional geo-economic and systemic-conceptual insights into the impact which hegemonic power and ideological interests have on the formation of disciplinary subjectivities and in turn geopolitical constellations. As Adorno maintains, the “intended comprehensibility of philosophical language today is to be uncovered in all aspects as a delusion”, for it harnesses “the pathos of words that appear to have been extrapolated from the dynamics of history in order to bestow upon these words non-historical validity and at once comprehensibility” (quoted and translated by Richter 2010b: 144 from Adorno 1997: 368). Enforced comprehensibility, as an imprint of identitarian thought, bears considerable traces of economic market relations, and constitutes a quasi-universal aspect of hegemonic translation. English-language recontextualisations, on the other hand, that try to do justice to the particular and emancipatory content of Adorno’s philosophy, have a stronger chance to couch their own, inevitably partial, discourse within a negative dialectics that deconstructs identitarian thought and its obsession with fixed conceptualities.

A geo-economic approach to translational phenomena not only renders visible the spatiotemporal and cultural positions of translated literature, but also provides insights into translation activity along a systemic continuum from direct relations of domination (e.g. censorship) to quasi-naturalised relations of hegemony (e.g. the economic foundation of translation strategies). Translation scholars and translators, especially those of a literary-systemic persuasion, tend to overlook the commodification of human experience under advanced capitalism. With the ontological principle of profitable exchange as its underlying dynamics, the epistemological principle of reification exerts a strong normative impulse on hegemonic translation activity. These phenomenological dimensions embody a historical situation that inverts social values into market values whereby people increasingly treat each other as exchangeable commodities in the market place of society. Advanced consumer capitalism constitutes a hegemonic system of power that appears to propel humanity into a future of techno-spiritual domination (Baudrillard 2010b). Capitalism provides an illusion of community yet steadfastly works for the destruction of the communal spirit. Adorno remains deeply entrenched in the capitalist world order, but more than most professional thinkers, he worked at exposing every fragment of thought that remained attached to capitalism’s ideological universe and discursive logic. His non-identitarian and concentric style of writing echoes modern

society's shifting constellations of power whilst simultaneously attempting to escape the cold rationality of market calculability and the conceptual stringencies of identity thinking. It is thus not unreasonable to suggest that under the regime of advanced consumer capitalism in the Anglophone world, poorly self-reflexive English-language representations of German critical theory tend to materialise as images without resemblance, as simulacra whose only trace of origin lies in reified cognition (cf. Baudrillard 1994). Conversely, a non-identitarian engagement with philosophical and cultural otherness would strive to lay bare its own ontological, discursive and ideological constrictions.

A systemic-conceptual approach to the study of translational phenomena recognises that the infinitude of human experience can never be imprisoned within clearly demarcated conceptual boundaries. The general difficulty of re-expressing concepts across languages is exacerbated when dealing with philosophical discourses that strive to deconstruct the very identity of the notion of a concept. It is thus problematic to speak of Adorno in translation in a rigorous and quasi-positivist academic jargon, given that the concepts discussed would dissolve in the hands of any translation scholar who ignores the history of capitalism and capitalism's objectifying force on human subjects caught in its historical trajectory. A convincing critical deconstruction of capitalist presuppositions remains a blind spot in thinking on translation. What might be needed could be a "psychogeography of translation under advanced capitalism" that acknowledges the veil which consumer capitalism casts over normative translation behaviour and by extension over the constitution of literatures in translation. Instrumental reason, most evidently in its positivistic persuasion, has a tendency to appropriate concepts that perceive the world from different ontological and epistemological vantage points. Adorno experienced this phenomenon close up when residing abroad, and his own psychogeography of American life and thought, especially as evident in his work *Minima Moralia* (2005a), forms a crucial component in understanding the conceptual recontextualisation of his critical theory. Identitarian thought assumes an illusory resemblance to otherness that it can never achieve, for it is geared, as Adorno (2005b: 211) himself puts it, towards "the highly rationalized commercial exploitation even of spiritual creations". Perhaps Hullot-Kentor's translation method can be taken as a strongly self-reflexive attempt at recreating a language that, according to Richter (2010b: 144), "registers, in a diction at once poetic and philosophical, the injury but also the hope that resides in the very world in which it unfolds", and that strives for "a certain melancholia of negativity, a careful and caring probing, a provisional yet steadfast searching, a non-anthropocentric yet deeply responsible engagement with what remains non-identical".

At times of global wars and permanent terrorist threats, economic deprivation in large parts of the world, and spiritual poverty in the so-called Western

hemisphere, Dennis Redmond, a present-day American (re)translator of some of Adorno's works, perhaps most succinctly captivates the spirit of a non-identitarian Adorno translator. Just as my own argument has a clear ideological drift, there is no translator of critical theory who can escape ideological bias, but perhaps translators could not do worse than deny their own partiality *and* disregard the ever more compelling conclusion that, somewhere along the lines of social evolution something has gone terribly wrong, even though redemption might never be too far around the corner:

Above all, I have tried to do some small amount of justice to the poetry, musicality and beauty of Adorno's language, which is inextricably interwoven with Adorno's theoretical innovations. In the midst of the most cataclysmic war of human history, Adorno's prose radiates the promise of a happiness beyond catastrophe, a happiness which the total system, to this day, denies its constituent members, simply because it is this catastrophe. (2005c, emphasis original)

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PART VI

Text types

Construction of a cultural narrative through translation

Texts on Sibelius and his works as Key Cultural Texts

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This article explores those Finnish-language translations published between 1916 and 1965 that attest to the various conceptualisations of Sibelius, i.e., the Sibelius narrative. The status of these texts as translations is placed under scrutiny. To explain how the translations reflected Finland's aspirations to be concurrently internationally recognised and markedly Finnish, the texts are categorised based on the relationship of the source text and the translation. Examination of the translations suggests differing motivations for translating the texts and contextualises the development of the Sibelius narrative. The texts and their translations, as historically representative depictions and shapers of the Sibelius narrative, are deemed culturally key for understanding the role of Sibelius for the Finnish cultural life, and music culture in particular.

Keywords: Sibelius, cultural construction, cultural figure, narrative, identity

1. Introduction

“There will yet come a man who will write a proper book on me”,¹ composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) had the habit of saying according to his son-in-law, conductor Jussi Jalas (1981: 72). The anecdote seems to suggest that there was a quality to the early Sibelius-related books that Sibelius found problematic. However, whether the composer sanctified the writings or not was irrelevant for the reception of texts: for the general public, the texts were representations of the truth and a means of sustaining an image of Sibelius as the father of Finnish music and embodiment of Finnish nationhood and patriotism, both being roles that had been bestowed upon

1. The translations in this article are mine. They are based either on the Finnish original or on the Finnish translation.

the composer in the throes of late 19th-century Finnish nationalism. Sibelius's music had had a prominent role in the nationalist aspirations of Finland, which had gained independence from Russia in 1917, and the texts written about the composer extended, reflected and sustained this heroic role. The narrative that surrounded Sibelius and his personage elevated the composer to a cult position (on the Sibelius cult, see Tarasti 1999: 227) and for a long time dominated the discourse of Finnish music culture.

It is precisely those texts that Sibelius deemed "not proper" which this article will bring into focus. I maintain that although many of these early texts may have been faulty in their often less than objective treatment of Sibelius, they were nonetheless significant in moulding and validating, especially through their translation into Finnish, a nationally significant narrative centred upon a key cultural figure. Despite being well-documented in Sibelius research and known to Sibelius scholars, the status of these texts as translations has previously attracted no scholarly attention.

This article is divided into three parts: the first provides information on the social and political situation in Finland leading up to the time when most of these "flawed" texts were written and translated. It will also briefly discuss some of the features of Finnish music culture in the early 20th century. Although the research is deeply embedded in the contextual features, the scope of this article does not allow for a lengthy discussion on the matter. Therefore, the first part of the article can be considered a summary of some of the issues considered relevant for understanding the significance of the early Sibelius-related literature.

The second part of the article will establish my theoretical premise, and the third will discuss the texts themselves. I shall aim to explain why these originally Swedish-, English- and German-language texts were translated into Finnish. I shall also propose a categorisation of the texts on the basis of their perceived cultural connections and illustrate some of my findings with examples from the translated Sibelius texts.

The early books on Sibelius, a collection comprising memoirs, biographies and works of an analytical nature, can be considered Key Cultural Texts through their relevance for the shaping of the Sibelius narrative through translations, which ensured the circulation of the texts not only among the Finnish-speaking public but internationally as well. However, despite their significance, the texts cannot be considered to be familiar to the wider general public. Neither do they, as a collection of texts, constitute a canonised corpus. In addition, as mentioned, they can be considered somewhat flawed in their often glorifying depictions of Sibelius, but it is precisely this view that was nationally relevant and culturally decisive in early 20th-century Finland. Whether many of the texts can be considered naïve or one-dimensional from today's perspective is beside the point, for they played an integral part in the development of Finnish culture, and its music culture in particular. In this article, I will connect some of the key features of these texts to the

established national narrative on Sibelius and hypothesise that the translations, by virtue of being the only book-length texts on Sibelius available at the time, were actively involved in the construction of Sibelius's image both as a Finnish and as an international composer and a means for the Finnish-speaking audience to approach their national icon. As the first Finnish-language books on Sibelius, they represent a culturally significant depiction of the composer and are able to capture some contemporary conceptions that help to contextualise the questions discussed in this article.

2. The socio-political context in early 20th-century Finland

Echoing Pym's tenet (1998: ix) on research on translation history, the social conditions from which translations emerge are key to studying the translations themselves. This principle features especially prominently in the study on early Sibelius-related translations in Finland, where certain translational phenomena can be linked to underlying changes in the social and cultural fabric of the late 19th and early 20th century. In this article, three viewpoints will be given special attention: Finland's identity as an independent state, Finland's international aspirations and the relationship between Swedish and Finnish-speaking Finns in early 20th-century Finland. These three aspects will also have a bearing on the later categorisation of the texts on Sibelius.

Finland gained its independence from Russia in 1917 and was in the process of defining itself – sociologically, politically, and culturally – in the early decades of the 20th century. Although Finland had stayed under Russian rule for over a century, it had never become Easternised. Instead, it had kept its roots deep in Western soil: as an autonomous state, Finland had retained its Protestant faith, its own laws and its language. Although Finland had been a pawn in what can be considered colonialist power struggles, it had had a nationalist programme of its own since the early 19th century. Its essence was expressed in a statement often ascribed to the early 19th-century political journalist Adolf Ivar Arwidsson: “Swedes we are not, Russians we do not want to become, let us therefore be Finns”. The statement became a mantra for the Fennoman movement dedicated to advancing the Finnish cause, and a guiding principle in the search for a Finnish national identity.

However, discovering this identity was not straightforward. The formative process through which Finland became a nation also manifested itself in the linguistic tension between Swedish and Finnish speakers. Swedish had traditionally been the language of the literati, dating back to Sweden's rule over Finland before 1809, but the nationalist agenda had gradually raised Finnish and the Finnish-speaking part of the population to a more prominent position in society. This was achieved, one must not forget, with significant support from the Swedish-speaking side, making

the endeavour of turning Finland into a Finnish-speaking country truly a common effort at the national level (Sevänen 1994).

The shifts in power structures effected movements on both sides of the linguistic divide. Growing numbers of young university-educated Finnish speakers expressed their dissatisfaction with the over-representation of Swedish-speakers in high places in society (Sevänen 1994: 119). In 1922, at the time of the passing of the Language Act, which gave Swedish the official status of a national language alongside Finnish, Finland had approximately 340,000 Swedish speakers, amounting to 11% of the population (Virrankoski 2009: 795). Yet the Finland Swedes comprised approximately one fourth of the entire student body and held the majority of important posts in society (Sevänen 1994: 119), which led to feelings of aggravation on the part of the Finnish-speaking side.

The hostile attitude of some Finnish nationalists towards the Finland-Swedes and the Swedish language also had ramifications for the literary scene. Grönstrand (2011: 86) describes the situation of the 1920s as volatile and maintains that linguistic practices formed a political issue which reflected ideologies of solidarity and unification. Grönstrand illustrates the point by discussing the works of Kersti Bergroth, who wrote novels in the 1920s in both Swedish and Finnish and adjusted the setting and word choices of her works to reflect the realities of the Swedish- and the Finnish-speaking sections of the population accordingly. Although the novels were published in two languages, Bergroth's novels included no mention that they had been translated. Instead, they were presented as original works in both languages in order to avoid causing tension between the Swedish-speakers and nationalists who thought linguistic plurality would hinder the formation of a unified national state (Grönstrand 2011: 87). This enabled Bergroth to give the impression that her works were monolingual and thus helped her avoid situations where linguistic sides had to be chosen.

Due to the heterogeneous, bilingual nature of cultural life in pre-Second World War Finland, the translational binaries of source and target are not always readily perceivable at the levels of language, culture and text. Although the cultural lives of the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking population were in the process of separating before the Second World War, they were still largely intertwined and, due to the small size of the Finnish-speaking cultural circles, shared many of the same cultural actors. Some of the early Sibelius-related texts were thus, in a manner of speaking, products of a dual culture, belonging to the culture of two language groups within the same cultural sphere, here understood geopolitically as the Finnish state. Some of the authors of Sibelius texts were also self-translators. For instance, the writer of the first notable Sibelius biography, Karl Ekman, must in the light of bibliographical records be considered the translator as well as the author of the two editions of his own book on Jean Sibelius in 1935 and 1956.

As in the literary field where the language disputes of the early 20th century had resulted in a split into Swedish- and Finnish-language literary circles, so, too, in music the ways of the Swedish- and Finnish-language groups were diverging. The culmination was the so-called War of Orchestras where two linguistically opposed orchestras, the Finnish-speaking orchestra of Kajanus and the Swedish-speaking one conducted by Schneevoigt, tried to establish their superiority over the other (Salmenhaara 1996: 266–276).

Having culturally belonged to Western Europe rather than Russia, gaining independence gave Finland a good excuse to distance itself from its former ruler for good and consolidate its European identity by seeking acceptance by Western powers. This was done through imitation and appropriation of European institutions and practices. In the case of music, what is conspicuous is the absence of Russian models in the construction of Finland's musical life; the models mostly came from the German heritage. The development of modern musical life also owes much to the pioneer of Finland's music cultural development, Martin Wegelius, a prolific musicologist and founder of the Helsinki Music Institute (today known as the Sibelius Academy).

Due to the development and expansion of the music cultural field, there was a new need for educational material. Wegelius, who was also Sibelius's composition teacher at the Music Institute, wrote several Swedish-language books, some of which are still in use in Finland. All of these books were also translated into Finnish, among them *Hufvuddragen af den västerländska musikens historia* or, in Finnish, *Länsimaisen musiikin historia pääpiirteissään* ("A summary of the history of Western music"; translated into Finnish in 1904 by Axel Törnudd), which has been considered the first important Finnish translation of a piece of music literature (Aho and Mänttari 2007: 310). These books reached the Finnish-speaking audience through translation, most likely because the Finnish-speaking educational system had yet to produce people who would have been able to write this type of texts directly in Finnish. Later, books and texts on Sibelius and his works were read by the Finnish-speaking audience in the same manner – in translation, mainly from Swedish but from English and German as well.

The traditional view and narrative concerning Finnish musical life, then, is that the foundations of Finnish music culture were laid in the late 19th and early 20th century:² what the narrative considers a genuinely Finnish idiom in music had emerged with Sibelius' *Kullervo Symphony* in 1892 (Salmenhaara 1996: 65), which

2. Facts challenging this nationalistic view were recently investigated by a research project led by Vesa Kurkela and funded by the Academy of Finland. Kurkela's group questioned the teleological approach adopted by traditional Finnish music history writing and called for a transnational approach; see the project website at <http://sites.siba.fi/en/web/remu/research-project/>.

set to music the story of Kullervo from the Finnish national epic *The Kalevala*. A university-level music institute, the Helsinki Music Institute, had been founded ten years earlier by Wegelius, and the city orchestra system was starting to develop at the beginning of the 20th century. Finnish Opera was founded in 1911, the Finnish Musicological Society in 1916. However, what was seen as the rise of a Finnish music scene was often based on German models: for instance, the Helsinki Music Institute was essentially a Central European conservatory, and the Finnish Musicological Society originally a section of Internationale Musikgesellschaft. There has been a certain reluctance in Finland to recognise the existence of such foreign influences in the development of Finnish music. Instead, the nationalistic view of Finnish music history has remained prevalent to the present day (Kurkela 2010: 25), although various institutions and practices were hardly

[...] formed indigenously or independent of international influence but rather in constant interaction with continental music life and new aesthetic ideas brought from Europe by Finnish music intellectuals and composers.

(<http://sites.siba.fi/en/web/remu/research-project>)

The Sibelius narrative, which became so dominant in Finnish history, was also constructed of various elements – domestic as well as foreign. Its distinctive features will be discussed in Section 3 below.

3. Sibelius as a Finnish narrative

The early Finnish translations of Sibelius-related books were, along with various other media such as newspaper and magazine articles as well as radio programmes, involved in constructing a distinct narrative about Sibelius. Here, the concept of narrative is understood in terms of Baker's narrative theory in Translation Studies, outlined in her 2006 book *Translation and Conflict – A Narrative Account*. According to Baker, narratives are public and private stories which not only reflect their surrounding reality but also produce it and give justification to the actions of people living in it (Baker 2006: 19; Harding 2012: 287). Drawing on sociological and communication theory views on narrativity, Baker maintains that narratives normalise the accounts they project, "so that they come to be perceived as self-evident, benign, uncontested and non-controversial" (2006: 11). This definition certainly applies to the Sibelius narrative, which became part of a shared national experience and a generally accepted truth. Importantly for this article, narrative theory also argues that stories do not have to be conveyed only through one text type or individual texts – instead, they can be constructed through multiple sources (Baker 2006: 4), enabling the narrative to be viewed as a broad social phenomenon. Furthermore,

the theory also sees translators, publishers, journalists and other agents as active and responsible spreaders of narratives (Baker 2006: 105), thus making it possible to discuss the role of translation in the construction of narratives on Sibelius.

With this framework in mind, it is possible to identify the means by which early Sibelius-related literature promoted and in part created a particular narrative about Sibelius, which was then largely adopted as the basis of Finnish music culture for several decades. The various manifestations of the narrative include the portrayal of Sibelius as the original Finnish genius (cf. <http://sites.siba.fi/en/web/remu/research-project/>), the symbiotic relationship between Sibelius and nature (cf. Mäkelä 2007: 15) as well as, on the one hand, the synonymy of Finnishness and Sibelius (cf. Mäkelä 2007: 28), and, on the other hand, Sibelius's dual role as national hero and herald of international Finland (cf. Tarasti 1999: 229). Justification for these statements can be traced to various factual sources, but the scale and rigidity of the narrative promote an ultimately simplistic nationalist view.

To nuance this standard vision, one characteristic that this article wishes to explore further is the contradiction between “domestic” and “international”, which has in recent years been discussed by several Sibelius scholars and musicologists. Tarasti's (1999) conceptualisation of Finland's position as a “spiritually colonialized” nation maintains that in an attempt to distance itself from the former centre of power, Finland needed to highlight its self-assigned distinctiveness as a nation. Yet, at the same time Finland strove to be recognised by its perceived Other, Europe, which had the power to determine prevailing values and legitimise Finland's existence as a self-sufficient nation (Tarasti 1999: 230). These contradicting aspirations and hopes materialised in Sibelius and his music, which were seen as both distinctly Finnish and belonging to the Central European tradition. In *Sibelius, me ja muut* (“Sibelius, us and the others” 2007), Mäkelä discusses the dual nature of Sibelius as both a distinctly Finnish composer and a cosmopolitan, who wrote many of his most well-known pieces in Central European cities. The desire to see Sibelius first and foremost as a Finnish composer meant that acknowledging Sibelius's connections to Europe was somewhat problematic in the discourse prevailing in the early 20th century, one which often seemed to have trouble separating Sibelius from his native environment and tended to emphasise the almost symbiotic relationship of his music and Finnish nature.

The need to assign Sibelius the role of a national hero and an international spokesperson sometimes appears to have tempted the authors of the early Sibelius texts to embellish the stories they were telling. In some cases, the texts surrounding Sibelius and his persona became sources of misconceptions and false impressions, creating narratives that blurred some of the lines between fact and fiction and began to live an existence of their own. Two of the most notable examples in literature translated into Finnish are the first edition of Karl Ekman's originally

Swedish-language Sibelius biography from 1935 and Bengt von Törne's *Sibelius – A Close-up* from 1937. The former, having gained the status of the first notable biography on Sibelius due to its reliance on actual interviews with the composer, was originally published in Swedish and Finnish³ and subsequently released in translation in several countries and reprinted until the 1970s even though it contained several inaccuracies and misquotations that famously vexed Sibelius; the latter book, on the other hand, originally written by the Finland-Swede von Törne in English and published by Faber and Faber in London, was “endlessly promoted” and “irksomely publicized” by its author and contained “observations that were supposedly the great man’s [i.e., Sibelius’s] own” (Goss 1998: 74). The book gave the German critic and philosopher Theodor Adorno the impetus to write his infamously disparaging remarks about Sibelius and his music in *Glosse über Sibelius* in 1938, which became an integral part of the overall Sibelius narrative both nationally and internationally (Mäkelä 2007: 21). Adorno’s critique was aimed at Sibelius’s perceived deprecating views regarding some contemporary German composers, most notably Mahler and Wagner, even though these views were not those of Sibelius: some of the discussions von Törne claimed to have had with Sibelius never took place and many of the comments in the book reflect von Törne’s rather than Sibelius’s thinking (Mäkelä 2007: 92), thus resulting in a particular narrative being born and affecting the reception of Sibelius in Germany.

Despite Ekman’s and Törne’s misrepresentations, the stance the authors writing on Sibelius assumed with regard to the composer was generally one of admiration and respect. As Martti Similä phrased the awe he felt in the booklet *Sibeliana* in 1945: “how can one speak about the Master, that magical concept”. During the rise of nationalist sentiments, Finnish people began to approach Sibelius’s persona with a heartfelt reverence that idealised the composer. Therefore, although Similä’s question can be interpreted as a rhetorical device, a more literal reading is also possible: in a time of fervent adulation, it may actually have been challenging for Finnish authors to write about Sibelius. As late as 1945, *Sibeliana* was still the first originally Finnish-language book that focused on Sibelius. One could go as far as to suggest that, in the end, translation became a means to approach the composer. Another such means appears to have been photography, as several iconographic books with Finnish captions were published about Sibelius during his lifetime.

3. Ekman is given as the author of both versions, yet the Swedish version is the original and the Finnish version appears to be a self-translation.

4. Sibelius-related translations into Finnish as Key Cultural Texts

From the perspective of Translation Studies, the early texts on Sibelius provide a fertile and previously uncharted ground for research. My research interest in the texts is two-fold and relates firstly to their being translations instead of original Finnish-language texts and secondly to their interplay with the socio-cultural change of a newly-formed independent nation.

The research material on which this article is based, consists of eleven pieces of text translated into Finnish (two of which are self-translations) between 1916 and 1960. In addition, I draw on von Törne's *Sibelius – A Close-Up*, which was revised and enlarged for the fourth Swedish-language edition of 1965. This time frame spanning some forty years contains texts from the first Sibelius biography to the publication of the first instalment of Erik Tawaststjerna's five-volume Sibelius biography (1965–1988), which is considered to mark the beginning of a new era in Sibelius studies due to its meticulous and objective approach and its reliance on archival material.

Except for the first biography written by Furuhjelm in 1916 and Göhler's article published in *Der Kunstwart* in 1908 and translated into Finnish in 1926, all the texts were produced and translated during what has been referred to as the Silence of Ainola or Silence of Järvenpää, that is, the last thirty years of Sibelius life during which time he was no longer productive as a composer (with a couple of minor exceptions) but withdrew to his home, Ainola, in Järvenpää and began receiving visitors from all over the world.

This article regards the early books on Sibelius up until Tawaststjerna's biography as having contributed to the cultural development and identity of the Finnish nation as a whole. They upheld and promoted as well as developed the established narrative on Sibelius, whose perceived contribution to the idea of "Finnishness" was a key cultural concept that not only raised Sibelius to the position of a national hero but also gave the Finnish nation a tool to define itself and its role both nationally and internationally. As the research thus inevitably deals with the relationship between Finland and other nations, the present study proposes a division of Sibelius-related translations into three categories based on the degree of foreignness of the source texts and the authors' relationship with Finland.

The first category includes translations that were created within the same cultural sphere as the original text. They were written in Swedish and then translated into Finnish and published almost simultaneously with the original, typically within the same year. The second category includes texts that represent a type of pseudo-crossculturality in translation, in which the crosscultural dimension, that is, the carrying over of foreign cultural influences during the text transfer, becomes suspect and raises the question of the extent to which the text is actually moving

from one culture to another. The category comprises works which were either produced outside of Finland but by Finns (as in the case of von Törne's *Sibelius – A Close-Up*) or which included so much explicit interference by the translator that it is not clear whether the text should really even be thought of as a pure translation (as in the case of Jussi Jalas' translation of Cecil Gray's *Sibelius – The Symphonies*). The third and last category involves crosscultural translation proper and consists of translations of texts which were created by people living outside of Finland who had no readily perceivable, inherent cultural ties to the country. Their Finnish translations reflect the outsider view of Sibelius and Finland for consumption by the Finns.

This division helps theoretically to place the texts on a continuum, with domestic portrayal at one end and international depiction at the other. The categories are porous, with cases fitting uneasily into one single category, but the classification provides three different viewpoints on the Sibelius narrative and the construction of his public image. As the scope of this article does not permit a detailed analysis of all the works, I will choose one book from each of the categories and refer to other works when necessary or otherwise illustrative. The works to be discussed below are Furuhjelm's Sibelius biography (1916/1916), Gray/Jalas' analytical *Sibelius – The Symphonies/Sibeliuksen sinfoniat* (1935/1945), and Harold E. Johnson's biography of Sibelius, published in Finland in 1960. Each of the examples has a distinctive approach to Sibelius, thus also providing three different angles on the narrative: for Furuhjelm, Sibelius represents a cultural icon, Gray and Jalas concentrate on Sibelius's significance as a composer, whereas Johnson strives to create a more balanced image and humanise his object of study. The books have also been selected with regard to their year of publication and represent the beginning, mid- and end point in my material and, concurrently, the development of the Sibelius narrative.

4.1 Between Furuhjelm and Jean

Composer and music scholar Erik Furuhjelm was responsible for writing the first biography on Sibelius entitled *Jean Sibelius: hans tondikning och drag ur hans liv* in Swedish in 1916, and it was translated into Finnish by the composer Leevi Madetoja in the same year.

Furuhjelm's biography establishes several elements which are repeated in early Sibelius-related texts, beginning with nature:

Love for nature seems to be the most original, the most deeply seated characteristic of Sibelius, and we will surely do no injustice to the master's other inclinations by emphasising this phenomenon or assuming it as the starting point of our scrutiny.

(Furuhjelm 1916: 15)

References to nature and its significance in Sibelius's life have been an integral part of the Sibelius narrative, not only in Finland but abroad as well. Anecdotes about Sibelius and some of his journal entries do support the view that the composer had a close relationship with many natural phenomena, but as Mäkelä points out, the relationship of an individual to their surroundings is always multifaceted and susceptible to interpretations (2008: 97). For instance, the fact that Sibelius composed many of his important works outside Finland in various European metropolises implies that the relationship the composer had with nature was not as symbiotic as the earliest pieces of Sibelius literature seem to suggest. Interpreting Sibelius's music as an extension of his 'nature experience', while grounding him firmly in Finnish soil, also effectively disregards any other sources of inspiration and the international dimension of his creativity.

The narrative about Sibelius and nature has also often been misinterpreted in international publications, testifying to the power of the narrative rather than the facts: foreign literature has depicted Sibelius's environs as *primaeval* forests (often located in places such as Enontekiö and Inari in Lapland) rather than as the lakeside field and pinewood landscape in the proximity of Helsinki that they actually were.

At the end of the book, Furuhjelm places Sibelius on a continuum among other Finnish national icons:

And Sibelius is the most powerful, most glorious personality in Finland today. Our cultural labourers group around him ...

Another sight emerges from the background of our imagined world, impressive, inspiring:

Men of an earlier era, gathered around the prophetic being of [Finland's national poet] Runeberg ...

And behind him, we can discern others: ["the Father of Finnish History", a notable 18th-century fennophile Henrik Gabriel] Porthan and his contemporaries – the most remarkable developments of Finnish cultural life pass before our eyes.

The gigantic figure of Sibelius stands at the front of the stage, making these historical outlines visible.

But as a great artist, Sibelius also has his universal significance. In his deeply personal, unique artistry he enriches the international language of music [...] and with his ingenious approach to his tasks he gives general importance to his national and individual topics. (Furuhjelm 1916: 250–251)

Furuhjelm's biography sets the tone for many Sibelius-related conceptions: national reverence, mythologisation and placement of the composer, who was 50 years old at the time, as *primus inter pares* among other Finnish cultural icons as well as in national and international contexts, of which the national context is considered primary. Furuhjelm's biography also became one of the sources for Karl Ekman's more internationally renowned and widely published biography in 1935 and was

thus the starting point for literature-based narratives on Sibelius. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the Finnish version of the book was met with disapproval. Toivo Haapanen, a prominent Finnish conductor and musicologist, criticised the work in the Finnish-language music journal *Säveletär* and accused Furuhielm of actually downplaying Sibelius's Finnishness (Haapanen 1918). At the same time, however, he was ready to accept other ideas that appeared in the biography and its translation, such as Sibelius's aforementioned empathy with nature. In other words, the translation served as a touchstone for further narrative construction, in which certain aspects of the narrative were discarded while other were chosen for further use.

Haapanen's reaction is an instance of how Madetoja's translation contributed to the Finnish-language discussion on who Sibelius was and what he represented. As the text, through being translated, entered a new set of relations of meanings in the target culture, parts of the narrative were adopted into the developing Finnish-speaking cultural system much in the same manner as the translation of world literature links a nation's literary system to a wider cultural entity. As has been discussed in studies on the history of translation (cf. Riikonen 2007: 21) and hypothesised, for instance, in the polysystem theory (cf. Even-Zohar 1990), translation can be considered a means of validating an emerging culture and introducing new repertoires. In the present case, the validation occurred not between geographically disparate cultures but within the confines of one nation.

4.2 Cecil Gray and Jussi Jalas: *Sibeliuksen sinfoniat*

The second example concerns an instance of pseudo-crossculturality in translation and features Cecil Gray's book *Sibelius – the Symphonies*. The book was originally published in English by Oxford University Press in 1935, and its Finnish translation by Jussi Jalas followed ten years later in 1945. In the translator's preface, Jalas laments the fact that similar music-theoretical works have so far been inaccessible to the general public in Finland and hidden behind demanding academic German-language publications. Jalas continues that the novelty of the book should therefore be of interest to Finnish people (1945: 8). Jalas also mentions that he will take the opportunity to highlight the latest developments in Finnish musicology in the translation, where appropriate (1945: 9).

All in all, Jalas' remarks, written in italics and placed in square brackets, take up approximately one tenth of the overall length of the book. However, as the book includes numerous examples from the scores of Sibelius's symphonies, Jalas' commentary is significantly longer than one tenth of the actual text. As it happens, Jalas is mentioned alongside Gray on the cover of the book, and in some bibliographies, such as the catalogue of Sibelius literature by Aarre Hemming from 1958, he is even mentioned as the second author of the Finnish version.

Jalas' decision to comment on Gray's analytical remarks turns the book into more than a translation. The Finnish version becomes a critique and review of the manner in which Sibelius's music is analysed outside Finland. It includes numerous corrections to Gray's misinterpretations (e.g., 1945: 47 and 53), and reformulations of Gray's word choices (e.g., 1945: 24 and 47). Jalas also takes the opportunity to correct factual errors concerning such matters as the origin of the Fifth Symphony (1945: 65) or the completion of the Seventh Symphony (1945: 101). Furthermore, Jalas presents the reader with references to Finnish Sibelius analysis and research (for example, 1945: 19, 25 and 71–75).

The end result is a curious mixture of Gray's analysis and Jalas' interruptive remarks. Jalas' input turns the book into a dialogue between what can be perceived as somewhat out-dated interpretation and cutting-edge Finnish music analysis. The impression one gets from the text is slightly disharmonious: although the translator's preface introduces Gray as a worldly scholar whose analysis is guided by admiration and deference (1945: 9) and whose non-professional style is considered a virtue, the latest findings of sometimes esoteric Finnish musicology are favoured over Gray's more easily digestible characterisations, and the primacy of the Finnish interpretation is implied. The text thus balances between an international and a domestic depiction of Sibelius's music: it gives room to Gray's hermeneutic and somewhat foreign interpretations of the symphonies (for instance, when Gray compares the Fourth Symphony to a passage in Thomas Hardy's *The Return of the Native* on page 59) but reserves the right to have the last say on matters of form and symphonic prowess.

The translation of Gray's book falls into the category of pseudo-crossculturality in translation by virtue of its dialogical nature: the translation is not merely about carrying across the message of the original but also about the contribution of the translator as a Finnish music expert. By contrast, the translation of the other book in the same category, von Törne's *Sibelius – A Close-Up*, takes a very different approach. Here, the personal, Finnish viewpoint of the author blurs the idea of cross-cultural translation despite the language and the place of publication of the original work. The book cannot be considered a properly Finnish work either, as it took almost ten years to have it translated into Swedish and Finnish, by which time it had already made its mark on music history in the form of Adorno's critique. At the same time, von Törne's book comes close to the category of translation within the same cultural sphere: The information given in *Fennica*, the national bibliography of Finland, states that the source language of the Finnish translation is Swedish, meaning that it was translated indirectly from von Törne's self-translation from 1945. However, this is not the impression left by the preface of the Finnish translation, which maintains that "it has been deemed most appropriate not to make any changes in the translation" in order to follow the English original "word for word" (von Törne 1945: 5). Comparison of the Swedish and Finnish translations reveals

that the translator's preface of the Finnish version is actually a direct translation of the preface of the self-translator von Törne. The fact that this is never explicitly stated not only makes the Finnish translation misleading but also further muddies the relationship between the different language versions of the book.

4.3 Harold E. Johnson: *Jean Sibelius*

The last example to be discussed presents an international view of Sibelius and represents "intercultural communication proper" in the categorisation of Sibelius-related texts used in this article. Only three examples of this kind can be found in the research material and they all differ greatly from one another, yet they can all be seen as projections of international views on to the Finnish readership.

The earliest exemplar of imported international views on Sibelius is an article by Georg Göhler, published in Finnish translation in *Kalelavaseuran vuosikirja* (Annals of the Kalevala Society) in 1926. The second instance is a collection of columns written by Olin Downes, a *New York Times* music critic and a fervent admirer of, as well as a tireless spokesperson for, Sibelius. The columns were translated, compiled into a book and published in Finland in 1945. The third example is Harold E. Johnson's book *Jean Sibelius*, which was published in 1960 and translated by the author, critic and translator Yrjö Kivimies.

Johnson's biography led the way for a new type of Sibelius discourse and caused outrage in Finland at the time of its publication (Goss 1998: xvi). The book aspired to a more neutral depiction of Sibelius: for instance, Johnson desisted from using the honorific "Master" and was able, as a "neutral foreigner" (Johnson 1960: 12), to "reduce the composer to a 'mortal stature'" (Goss 1998: 65), which went against the prevailing discourse on Sibelius. Nevertheless, Johnson's biography may have been a necessary shock, as the translation was able to question and reshape the established narrative that had placed Sibelius on a pedestal. Only five years later, Erik Tawaststjerna began the modern age of Sibelius studies with the first volume of his comprehensive five-part Sibelius biography.

Johnson's book illustrates how translation was able to challenge the prevailing discourse and give rise to new points of view. To draw upon Berman, the outsider view the work provided may be thought of as having presented a means of reflecting upon and questioning Finnish national myths "in the mirror of others" (Berman 1992: 64). However, the same cannot be said about the translations of Göhler's and Downes's work, which echoed rather than defied generally accepted ideas about the composer. The significance of the intercultural Sibelius translations is therefore not solely explained by their ability to renew the narrative in which they are embedded. Instead, the role of the translations can be understood with regard to broader questions of national identity.

It can be argued that the ability to communicate outsider views on Sibelius to the Finnish public helped Finland define its place in an international cultural network. By the time Johnson's book was published, that place was already sufficiently established to allow a translation that expressed ideas which challenged predominant views and that was able to assimilate those ideas into the overall public narrative. This can be seen as a cultural analogue to Berman's authentic translation, which is focussed on the dimension of language in translation (cf. Berman 1992: 147–149). The fact that Johnson's book was published attests to the capacity of the culture to withstand foreign perceptions in much the same manner as a linguistically authentic translation in Berman's writing is able to accommodate other languages in their difference. By showing how Finland's most important cultural representative was valued outside his homeland, the translation of Johnson's book provided the nation with a reflection of itself and raised Finland's awareness of its international identity.

5. Conclusion

Early Sibelius-related texts of the 20th century, although certainly familiar to people working in Sibelius studies, have not previously been studied as translations. In this article, the focus has been on translations that were published in Finland but, as has been shown in passing, the influence of the texts and their translations extended beyond the borders of Sibelius's homeland, making them Key Cultural Texts in the shaping of the Sibelius narrative not only in Finland but also elsewhere.

This article has considered the translations, their emergence and distribution as culturally key. The texts were instrumental in creating and sustaining myths about Sibelius, which then became part of the Sibelius narrative. The narrative was often reluctant to change, partly due to the manner in which the material in the books was uncritically recycled. As Goss (1998: xv) remarks: "Cecil Gray borrowed from Rosa Newmarch and Karl Ekman Jr., who, in turn, had borrowed from Erik Furuhielm and Karl Flodin, all of whom are used by Constant Lambert and Olin Downes". Only later literature written after Sibelius's death could begin to deconstruct the narrative and assume a more critical stance towards the composer. Still, some aspects of the narrative, such as the linking of Sibelius with nature or the nationally recognised respect for the composer, can be witnessed to this day.

In this article, I have presented a series of literary snapshots bound to a historical context in which texts from various source languages and cultures came together to construct and validate an image of a key cultural figure through translation. The translations from Swedish, that is, from source texts written by Finland-Swedish authors, can be understood as having reflected the growing need

for a Finnish-language cultural life, which Sibelius as a Fennoman sympathiser also represented. Translations from other cultures can be considered as having been appropriated for use, on the one hand, to develop and sustain the ideals that the nation perceived itself to possess or, on the other hand, to introduce new ideas that perhaps were still too controversial to be expressed unaided by the target culture. A group of translations between these two categories can be seen as having occupied the middle ground and as having engaged in direct discussion with prevailing values and conceptions. This group of translations negotiated the relationship between “us” and “them” with an emphasis on “us”, for while the translated texts carried over the foreign, the ties to the domestic were still undeniable and strong. In the latter two categories, one can detect a certain resemblance to Berman, to whom translation is a means to “open up in writing a certain relation with the Other, to fertilize what is one’s Own through mediation of what is Foreign” (1992: 4). In other words, the national can only be determined by that which is not national, by acknowledging the views and potential of what is not to be inherently found in a given culture.

Further study is needed in order to uncover a more comprehensive picture of the topic. An especially interesting question concerns the exact role the translators played in the creation of Sibelius’s national image. Many of the translators were connected to the composer in one way or another: Jussi Jalas, as mentioned, was Sibelius’s son-in-law through marriage to Margareta, who also translated several books on her father; Madetoja studied with Sibelius, and Karl Ekman knew Sibelius through his father, the pianist Karl Ekman Sr. This is hardly surprising considering the relatively small cultural circles of early 20th-century Finland, yet the connections warrant further critical investigation.

Early Sibelius-related translations were not mere descriptions of a notable artist but reflections on national and international concepts as well as the past, the present and a projected future. This is why they can be considered key: they confirmed Finland’s national conception of itself by moulding and restating national identity vicariously through the depiction of its key cultural figure who, as Mäkelä (2007: 10) remarks, is and will remain for years to come the single most important ambassador of Finnishness at the global level.

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Cultural satirical features in translation

The Pessoptimist as a case study

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Satire is closely related to its context, so translated satire may lack “satirical flavor”. This article investigates whether Arabic cultural features remain in Habiby’s *The Pessoptimist*, a translation of a major work in the modern Arabic literary canon written by a noted Palestinian writer and politician. Due to its theme, the Israeli-Arab conflict, and its unique satirical style, this novel has been translated into Hebrew and English. Analysing the English translation, I seek to identify culture-bound satirical features in the source text, investigate the translation strategies used to render them, and to emphasize the role of the translator in preserving the satirical flavour. I draw upon a modified version of Simpson’s (2003) model of satire, Translation Studies, and literary studies.

Keywords: satire, cultural features, *The Pessoptimist*, translation studies, stylistics

1. Introduction

Humour is known to challenge translators (Maher 2008: 141; Vandaele 2002: 150) and satire, as a particular type of humour, is especially challenging. Satirical meaning is related to cultural contexts and situations, for satire is primarily tied into social, cultural and even national contexts. When translated, a satirical work is at risk of losing its satirical style and, therefore, its characteristics as satire. Although satirical works are often very popular, there is little literature which deals specifically with its translation. There are hints in studies concerned with the translation of humour in general (see e.g. Raphaelson-West 1989; Maher 2011), but only a few studies deal specifically with satire (e.g. Rao 2004; Broeder 2007; Wnajala 2010; Al-Shaikhli and Hussain 2011; Yetkin 2011). Three of these are article-length studies, and most do not focus mainly on the translation of satire, but on the translation of specific text types such as drama (e.g. Rao 2004), other types of humour

such as puns (e.g. Broader 2007) and irony (e.g. Yetkin 2011), or on translation in general (e.g. Wanjala 2010). Such studies tend to focus on features of satire that are shared with other phenomena, neglecting features specific to satire. More light has to be shed on the organisational, discursive and stylistic features of satire and the role of the satiree (the reader of satire) in the translation process. This article takes an interdisciplinary approach drawing upon stylistics, translation studies, and literary studies. My aim is to foreground some of the specific characteristics of satire (Section 2), to show that *The Pessoptimist* is a key cultural text (Section 3), to identify the satirical features in the source text (ST) and investigate the translation strategies used in rendering these in the target text (TT) (Section 6), and to emphasise the role of the reader (Section 7) and of the translator (Section 8) in preserving the satire. Attempting to translate satire without focusing on what it is, how it works, and what distinguishes it from other phenomena affects the TT negatively.

2. Satire: Towards a better understanding

2.1 Satire as a universal practice

Satire is universal in existence, local in method. Every culture presents satire using its own stylistic features. In his discussion of the nature of satire, Test introduces satire as the aesthetic manifestation of a “universal urge” (1991: ix). Similarly, Broader argues that although there are various forms of satire, which vary in both conventions and tone, it is “something of all times” (2007: 35), and Table 1 shows how satire has been practiced in various cultures and historical periods.

Satire is not confined to a specific form or a specific culture, and manifestations of satire range from literary works to newspaper or magazine articles to visual arts, songs, oral storytelling, etc. This universality of satire as a practice suggests the existence of satirical devices, targets, and images shared by various cultures, and this, in turn, suggests that certain satirical devices may not be difficult to translate. The question now is: if satire is a universal practice, what is the nature of that practice?

Table 1. The Practices of satire in different historical periods

Culture or era	Form	Example
Ancient Egyptian literature	instructions	<i>The Satire of the Trades</i> (the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC) (Lichtheim 2006: 184–93)
Ancient Greece	plays	Works of Aristophanes (450–388 BC) (Aristophanes, 2013)
	prose	The Menippean satire (3rd century BC) (Frye 1957: 309)
Ancient Rome	poetry	Works of Horace (65–8 BC) and Juvenal (the late 1st and early 2nd century AD)
Medieval Arabic world	poetry	Works of Jarier and Al-Farazdaq (Test 1991: 89)
	prose	Works of Al-Jahiz (Bosworth 1976: 32)
Medieval Europe	poetry	Chaucer's <i>Contemporary Tales</i> (the 14th century) (Cuddon 1999: 782)
the 18th century	journalistic form	Jonathan Swift's <i>A Modest Proposal</i>
	novel	Swift's <i>Gulliver's Travels</i>
the Victorian era	journalistic form	(UK)
	novel	(USA), Mark Twain's <i>Huckleberry Finn</i>
the 20th century	novel	Works of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell
the 1950s	stand-up comedy	(USA) Works of Lenny Bruce and Mort Sahl

2.2 Satire as a discursive practice

Satire is a discursive practice that is not restricted by the rigidity of genre classification.¹ Satire “does things with and to genres” (Simpson 2003: 76) and can be conceptualised as a hybrid form of discourse; it works with discourse: imitates it and switches it, relying on complex forms of intertextuality and drawing on humour and contempt in equal measure.

The discursive practice of satire is represented by three principal subject positions: (A) the satirist, (B) the satiree, and (C) the satirised. Those subject positions are framed within orders of discourse, two of which (A and B) are ratified within the discursive context. Despite providing the impetus for satire, C does not normally participate in the discourse. This triadic structure represents an abstract set of subject positions which are placed within flexible and unstable boundaries. For example, when satire is successfully received by the satiree, the connection between positions A and B tends to be shortened, bringing these discursive positions closer

1. My discussion of satire as a discursive practice is mainly based on Simpson's model of satirical humour (2003), which constitutes a crucial part of the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of this study.

together. As a discursive practice, satire requires a *genus*, which is the discourse resources shared by a humour community (see further Simpson 2003: 59–62), and an *impetus*, which is a tension between positions A and C.

A potentially satirical reading of a text is invited by the interplay between two features of that text: its characteristic as an echo of the discourse genre and the discursive twist it exhibits within its text-internal organisation. Those two features of a satirical text correspond respectively to two elements proposed by Simpson: *prime* and *dialectic*. A prime is what activates a putative or real anterior discourse event (another text, genre, or even another discursive practice). The prime is an echoic discourse over which irony is placed through the repositioning of the assumed source of the text, and this is one of the three principal ironic phases in the creation of a satirical text. On the other hand, the dialectic functions as an antithesis that “induces a collision of ideas” (Simpson 2003: 9). It is this text-internal discursive twist which destabilises everything preceding it in order to draw a satirical image. It is the second ironic phase of satirical discourse that activates its dialectic element. The two elements, *prime* and *dialectic*, are created using certain satirical stylistic devices, which will be discussed in Section 6.

The use of satirical devices alone does not guarantee that the satirical work will be successfully received. The process of satirical uptake requires a special configuration of four validity claims, upon which both Section 4 and Section 7 shed more light. Finally, irony must be conferred upon a satirical text, and this constitutes the third ironic phase of satirical discourse. The relation between the satirist and the satiree reveals that satire is a social practice in which different parts of a community may cooperate against other parts or aspects of that community, even if only theoretically.

2.3 Satire as a social practice

In his discussion of the relation between social practice and discursive practice, Fairclough points out that discursive practice is a particular form of social practice “manifested in linguistic form” (1992: 71). Satire is a practice within the social order. Satire provides a distorted image of reality in which its targets are foregrounded, so that the satiree joins the satirist in his criticism. Much satire, Knight (2004: 43) argues, is based on a shared understanding between satirist and satirees regarding the purposes and properties of attack. The social solidarity consequence of a successful satirical event is that the satirist with his satirees constitutes a form of social pressure which may force the satirised to bring their behaviour back “in line with publicised values” (Harris 2004).

Satire can be viewed as a mode of communication through which a satirist attempts to convince satirees of the shortcomings of the satirized in a witty way. This communication may be found inside the satirical work as in some of the

verse satires of Horace, which, being cast in argumentative dialogic frames, can be considered models for poetic exchanges between speakers (Preminger and Brogan 1993: 291). On the other hand, this type of communication may be outside the text, between the satirist and the satiree.

John Dennis remarks that satire “can never exist where the Censures are not just” (Dennis 2007: xi), and as a social practice, a successful satirical event must be collective. On the presupposition that people do not willingly collaborate against their society, a successful satirist usually criticises a social norm which he or she believes harmful to their society, and as Fowler (1987: 167) points out “its [satire’s] attempt to juxtapose the actual with the ideal lifts it above mere invective”. However, from earliest times, satire has tended toward didacticism as in *The Satire of the Trades* included in Table 1. In “Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift”, Swift describes his satires, “As with a moral View design’d/ To cure the Vices of Mankind” (1739, ll. 313–14). In Pope’s phrase, satire “heals with morals what it hurts with wit” (2007).

The example of satire chosen for this study is an Arabic novel and its translation into English.

3. *The Pessoptimist* as a Key Cultural Text

Written in Arabic in 1974, Habiby’s *Al-Waqā’i’ Al-Ġarībah fī iḥtifā’ Sa’īd Abī An-Naḥs Al-Mutašā’il*² was translated into English by Salma Jayyusi and Trevor LeGassick in 1985 as *The Secret Life of Saeed, the Ill-Fated Pessoptimist (The Pessoptimist)*. The novel can be considered a key cultural text in terms of its author and its five fictional elements: theme, setting, character, plot and style.

Emile Habiby (1922–1996) was a Palestinian politician, writer, journalist, and literary critic, whose works, read throughout the Arab world, include a collection of short stories, *Stories of the Six Days* (1969), and the novels, *Wicked Son of Wicked* (1980), *Saraya, the Ogre’s Daughter* (1991), and *Towards a World without Cages* (1992). He is the only writer to win the highest awards for literature from both the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Israeli government (“Emile Habibi”).

The Pessoptimist addresses the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It depicts the hardships, struggle and the underprivileged status of Arabs in Israel. The setting is the Palestinian lands on which Israel was established in 1948 and the events narrated span over twenty years and two wars (1948 and 1967). The central character is Saeed, a Palestinian who becomes a citizen of Israel. The other characters are Palestinian and Israeli people who surround Saeed and reveal different aspects of the political and cultural conflict.

2. Transliteration in this study is based on Brill’s simple Arabic transliteration system (2010).

Habiby challenges the conventions of the novel, which is mainly a European genre. He presents a work inspired by Arabic and Palestinian cultural heritage, which includes forty-four letters in a manner reminiscent of *Maqāmah*, an old Arabic literary genre of rhymed prose with intervals of poetry. Every letter provides a certain tale with a specific title in such a way that every tale paves the way for the following one using the phenomenon of “embedded narrative”, a characteristic of *The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, a collection of folk tales compiled in Arabic in the early 9th century (Reynolds 2008: 270). Although the author is a Christian, the protagonist, Saeed, seems to be a Muslim who has an excellent awareness of Islamic texts. The style is influenced by the Holy Quran (pp. 38, 63, 82, 87), the prophetic sayings of Muhammad peace be upon him (pp. 49, 83, 94), and even sayings of the Prophet’s companions such as Alī son of Abī Tālib (p. 83). Stories of Islamic heritage (p. 17) and many Islamic expressions are also found in the text (pp. 13, 36, 73, 124, 125).

4. Methodology

Translating satire involves three main challenges, according to Gutt (1990: 157; additions mine):

What the translator has to do in order to communicate successfully is to arrive at the intended interpretation of the original [satirical recognition], and then determine in what respects his translation should interpretively resemble the original [satirical production] in order to be consistent with the principle of relevance for his target audience with its particular cognitive environment [satirical reception]. Nothing else is needed.

This article follows an analytic comparative approach. It compares the source text (ST) with the target text (TT) in terms of three points corresponding to the three challenges mentioned above: the discourse world of the text, the satirical method used, and the readers’ response.

The term “discourse world” is borrowed from Werth (1999). The discourse world contains the personal and cultural experience the writer and the reader use in the discourse process as well as the world context of a given discourse. Viewed as the set of premises used to interpret a text, context is “crucial to all utterance [or text] interpretation” (Black 2006: 150). In his interpretive approach to translation, Delisle (1988) emphasises the examination of the contextual parameters of a text in order to reach a correct interpretation. Supporting this idea, Leppihalme (1997: 15) states that “a message has its language component but it has many non-linguistic components as well, such as being linked to a time and place and requiring a certain degree of extra-linguistic knowledge”. Context can be anything that may affect the reader’s interpretation of a text (Sperber and Wilson 1995). While analysing the translation,

the translator's knowledge about the source culture (SC), the target culture (TC), the author's intention, and the text function is taken into consideration. Translation is viewed as a kind of cultural communication, in which a translator needs to be bi-cultural rather than merely bilingual in order to fully understand the ST's meaning, function and effect and be able to transmit them to the target receptors (TR) (Kerr 2011: 17; Leppihalme 1997: 4).

The notion of the satirical method derives from Simpson's model of satirical humour (2003) (see Section 6 below). Analysing the translation includes spotting the satirical methods used in the ST and establishing whether these satirical methods have been transferred to the TT and what translation strategies have been employed.

The reader's response, here, does not mean "the client's wishes" as it is used in *Skopostheorie* (Kerr 2011: 18); it rather means the text's effect on the readers. It echoes Nida's "dynamic equivalence" (1964), Newmark's (1988) "communicative translation", or Ghazala's (2011) "affective translation", each of which is based on producing the same effect on the target receptors as that produced by the source text on its receptors. I take into account the readers' expectations about the genre of a text, the author, and the topic being satirised. The SL receptor's response to the ST is considered and compared with the TL receptor's response to the TT. The response is analysed in terms of its ratification of four validity claims usually raised by satirists in their works: comprehensibility, untruth, insincerity, and appropriateness. (1) *Comprehensibility* indicates that the text is understood by the reader on the phonological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels and that, in the case of translated texts, cultural differences are considered. (2) *Untruth* indicates that the text has no direct relations to the world of objects about which one can make true or false statements. (3) *Insincerity* is concerned with the internal reality that a speaker would like to reveal to the public as his intentions, i.e. for a satire to be understood, a claim of insincerity should be made by the satirist. (4) *Appropriateness* indicates that the target of satire deserves to be satirised in accordance with the values and norms shared by the satirist and the satiree.

The readers' response, in this article, derives from an analysis of readers' comments about the novel on the *Goodreads* website. The responses are classified as *positive* if the novel is seen as satirical or *negative* if satire is not recognised.

5. Discourse world

The Pessoptimist has been translated into English by two collaborating translators: Salma Jayyusi, a Jordanian-Palestinian poet, writer, translator and anthologist; and Trevor LeGassick, a noted Western scholar and translator of Arabic literature. Both translators know Arabic and English, and each belongs to one of the two

corresponding cultures, which should ensure optimal conditions for satire recognition and production.

Both texts were written less than fifty years ago and share the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The readers of the ST are mostly Arab readers with good understanding of Arabic culture, history and heritage, who are likely to understand the satire of the ST easily. In contrast, the readers of the TT are mostly non-Arabs, but they are likely to be well educated, interested in reading Arabic literature and to have some knowledge about Arabic culture and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

6. Satirical method

Simpson divides the satirical method into two types, the metonymic and the metaphoric, each supplemented by the use of satirical hooks.

6.1 Metonymic satirical method

Certain discourse devices used in composing satirical images can be classified as metonymic because the operations they perform against the satirical target fall within the conceptual domain of metonymy. Such satirical devices include *saturation* (“inflating” the satirical target), *attenuated focalisation* (“deflating” the satirical target), *negation* (“negating” the satirical target), and *inversion* (“inverting” the satirical target). In the *Pessoptimist*, 37 cases of the satirical metonymic method have been found: 11 of saturation, 6 of attenuated focalization, 4 of negation, and 16 of inversion. The satirical cases fall into two groups (a) 25 satirically translated cases and (b) 12 unsatirically translated cases.

Due to the universality of satire as a practice, it sometimes presents no particular translation problems. It is possible to satirise across language barriers as there are transcultural satirical images shared by source and target cultures. They require no great change on the translator’s part and, being transcultural, help to convey the full range of meaning, including satirical elements. Twenty-two cases of the metonymic method are transcultural and therefore have been translated using the *Minimum Change* strategy. Translators use this strategy when linguistic and contextual elements are similar in both texts, and therefore no great change is required. In example (1), Saeed considers a visit to his old house an adventure:

- (1) a. وَلَمْ أَخْبِرْ أَحَدًا بِنِيَّتِي
wa lam ’uḥbir ’aḥadan bi-niyyat-y
 and did.not I.tell one of-intention-my
 “I told no one of my intention”

- b. على هذه المغامرة. (ص. 53)
‘alā haḍīh al-muḡāmarah
 about this the-adventure
 “to undertake this adventure.” (p. 46)

This image of the cowardice of Saeed, who represents some Palestinian citizens, is easily translated between Arabic and English. In other cases, translators may add footnotes or endnotes to provide the reader with background information. This is called the *External Guidance* (EG) strategy and is used in the 23rd case of group (a), where the translators add an endnote carrying historical information about an incident mentioned in the text to enable the reader to see the satirical image of attenuation in the ST (p. 8). The last two cases in the group are translated using the strategy of *Re-creation* (RC), reproducing the satirical technique in the TT, as in example (2). The second Yuaad narrates what happened between her people and the military governor:

- (2) a. ... فاستدعاهم الحاكم العسكري...
fā-stad‘ā-hum al-ḥakīm al-‘askary...
 so-assembled-them the-governor the-military...
 “The military governor assembled them all...”
- b. فتارت ثأرتة دفاعًا عن كرامة بني الإنسان
fa-tārt tā‘irat-uh difā‘an ‘an krāmat bany al-‘insān
 so-erupted fury-his in.defense of dignity sons the-man
 “This made him extremely angry and he defended with spirit the dignity of man,”
- c. ... الذين لا يصح تشبيهم بالدواب...
allaḍīn lā yasi tašbiha-hum bi-l-dawāb...
 who not should comparing-them to-the-beasts...
 “insisting that he should never be compared with a beast of burden...”
- d. وطردهم من حضرته. (ص. 62)
wa ṭarada-hum min ḥaḍrat-ih.
 and dismissed-them from presence-his
 “He then had them herded out of his sight.” (p. 56)

The Israeli governor’s way of dealing with the Palestinians contradicts his claims. This kind of satirical inversion is translated using the phrasal verb “herded out”, which reveals the contradiction and foregrounds the satirical image.

Group (b), which includes 12 cases, has not been satirically translated because its elements present translation problems that have not been solved by the translators. In eight cases, the translators use the translation strategy of *Reduction to Sense* (RS), i.e. reducing the satirical image to sense by making its meaning overt as in example (3). Satirising the status of the Palestinians, Habiby refers to them as “ghostly-figures” instead of “people”.

- (3) a. ... وأرى أشباحًا تتقدم نحونا...
wa 'arā 'ašbāḥan tataqadam naḥwa-nā...
 and I.see ghostly.figures approaching toward-us...
 "I watched as figures approached..."
- b. (31) فتحتلقنا، وتقرّص (ص).
fa-tataḥalaqu-na wa tuqarfis
 then-crowd.around-us and sit.crosslegged
 "People crowded all around us [...]sat cross-legged on the ground" (p. 20)

Habiby foregrounds the Israeli view of the Palestinians as ghostly figures who have no real existence and no real needs nor rights. However, this degradation of the Palestinians has not been translated. The translators' use of "people" which is not in the ST indicates their focus on the surface meaning rather than the satirical method, and this distorts the satirical image of the Palestinian "ghostly figures" and does not help in translating the satirical attenuation of the ST.

In two cases, the translators use the *Omission* (OM) strategy, ignoring the satirical method and meaning. In example (4), Saeed says about a border officer:

- (4) a. وسأل: أين السلاح أيها المجاهدون؟
wa sa'al: aina as-silāḥ 'ayyuha al-muḡahidūn?
 and (he)asked: where the-weapon, O the-warriors?
 "He asked, 'Where are your weapons, my gallant warriors?'"
- b. أجاب كبرنا: سلاحنا العلم.
'ajāb kabīru-na: Silāḥu-na al-'ilm,
 answered oldest-us: weapon-our the-knowledge,
 "The oldest of us replied, "Our weapon is knowledge"
- c. وما معنا شروى نقير.
Wa mā mā'a-na šarwā.naqīr.
 and not with-us nothing.
 and we're quite penniless." (p. 34)
- d. فلم يشأ الضابط أن يقتسمها. (ص. 42)
fa-lam yaša' al-ḍabit an yaqtasima-hā.
 so-did.not want the-officer to share-it

The border officers that normally share travelers' belongings do not want to share what Saeed and his companions have because it is "nothing". This satirical technique of presenting nothing as something that can be shared has not been translated. The clause "فلم يشأ الضابط أن يقتسمها" *the officer did not want to share it* is omitted by the translators, resulting in the loss of the satirical device of negation.

In the last two cases in this group, the translators have mistranslated the satirical images. In example (5), Saeed's boss says about the Arabs working at the Israeli Radio:

- (5) a. أما مذيعو القسم العربي في
'ammā muḏī'ū al-qism al-'araby fi
 as.for announcers the-section the-Arabic at
- b. محطة الإذاعة الإسرائيلية فكلهم عرب .
mihāṭat.al-idā'ah al-'isrā'īliyyah fakulu-hum Arab.
 the-radio the-Israeli all-them Arab
 “All Radio Israel’s announcers are Arabs;”
- c. ولذلك أسأؤوا صياغة النداء (ص. 121)
Wa li-dalik 'asa'-ū siyāḡat al-nidā'.
 And for-that mistook-they wording the- request.
 “they must have worded the request badly” (p. 121)

Although the ST specifies that the announcers of the Arabic section in Radio Israel are all Arabs, the TT generalises it to include all announcers. This causes loss of the satirical device of inversion used in the ST satirical image of the announcers in the Arabic section having worded the Arabic request badly because they are all Arabs.

Thus, about 32% of the metonymic satirical method is lost in the TT, as Figure 1 shows.

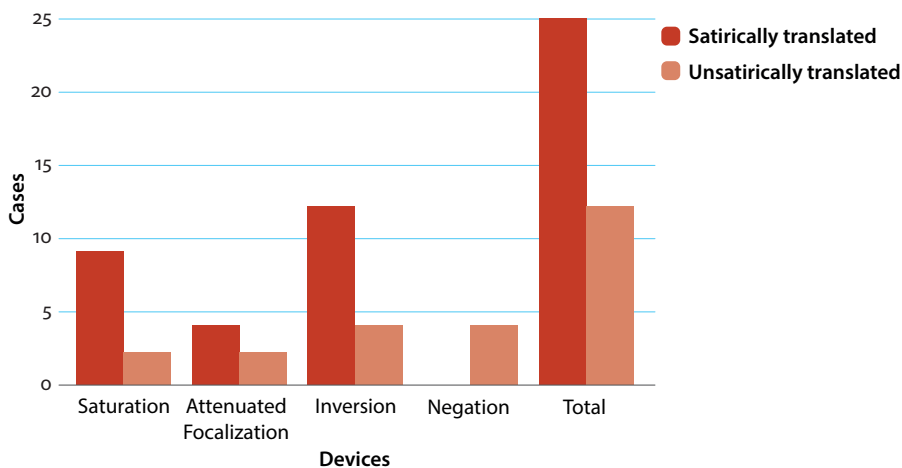


Figure 1. Translation of the metonymic satirical method

6.2 Metaphoric satirical method

The metaphoric method includes techniques that establish satirical relations between different conceptual domains. These techniques include *combination* (when elements of two or more different conceptual domains are combined to compose one satirical image), *merging* (when elements of two different conceptual domains are merged resulting in one satirical image), and *interdiscursivity* (when different discourses of different conceptual domains are related). In the ST, 33 cases of the metaphoric satirical method were found: 13 of combination, 11 of merging, and 9 of interdiscursivity. They are divided into (a) 22 satirically translated cases and (b) 11 unsatirically translated cases.

Seventeen cases of group (a) have transcultural satirical elements, and therefore, they have been translated using the MC strategy as in example (6). Saeed and his donkey seem to share one thing: their cowardice. About the military governor, Saeed says:

- (6) فزعق، فانتفضا، (ص. 26)
fa-za'āqa, fa-ntafaḍ-na,
 then-(he).shrieked, so-shook-we
 "He shrieked in fury, and my donkey and I so shook with fear" (p. 14)

This satirical image combining the feelings of both Saeed and his donkey is easily translated to the TT due to its transcultural nature.

Using the RC strategy, the translators recreate the satirical method in two cases, as in (7). About the people of Bartaa, Saeed says:

- (7) a. فجمع الفرسان الأهالي .
fa-ġama'a al-fursān al-'ahāly.
 so-assembled the-soldiers the-people
 b. وطرحوهم أرضا .
Wa ṭaraḥu-hum arḍ-an.
 and knocked-them ground-to
 "The soldiers knocked the villagers to the ground"
 c. وأشبعوهم ضربا ورفسا
wa 'ašba'-ū-hum ḍarban wa rafsan
 and sate-they-them beating and kicking
 "and beat and kicked them till they had had their fill."
 d. حتى قام الأهالي وأشبعوا الفرسان.
ḥattā qāma al-'ahāly wa 'ašba'-ū al-fursan,
 until got.up the-people and sate-they the-soldiers,
 "And then the villagers got up and fed the soldiers till they had had their fill,"

- e. كل فارس دجاجتين ، (ص. 79)
Kul fāris dağāğā-tain,
 each soldier chicken-two
 “providing a couple of chickens for each,” (p. 75)

In this case, the translators have recreated the parallelism in the ST between two contradictory images through the use of “till they had had their fill” to describe both images. Such a combination of two opposite images creates a satirical device in the TT comparable to that of the ST.

The translators use the EG strategy in two cases, an example of which is when Saeed quotes the words of one of the prophet Muhammad’s companions (p. 81). The endnote provides the TT reader with information that helps reveal this interdiscursivity. On the other hand, the strategy of *Internal Guidance* (IG), the in-text addition of information, is used in the last case of the group. About his journey to meet Adon Safsarsheck, Saeed says:

- (8) a. ثم أركبني أحدهم إلى قرب السائق
tumma ’arkaba-ny aḥadu-hum ’ilā.qurb as-sā’iq
 then put-me one-them beside the-driver
 “Then a soldier put me between himself and the driver”
- b. في سيارة جيش مغبرة وموحلة.
fī sayyārat ġaiš muğabbarah wa mūhilah
 in car army dusty and muddy
 “in a dusty, muddy army vehicle,”
- c. وركب إلى جانبي، صامتًا.
wa rakab ’ilā.ğānib-y sāmitan,
 and rode beside-me, silent,
 “and we rode in silence.”
- d. حتى أشرفنا على مدينتي حيفا عند السعادة.
ḥattā ’ašraf-na.alā madīnat-y Haifa ’inda assa’ādah
 till approached-we city-my Haifa by happiness
 “Soon we were approaching Haifa, the wild plain called ‘happiness’”
- e. فلم أبحث عن شقائق النعمان
fa-lam ’abḥaṭ ’an šaqā’iq annu’mān,
 so-did.not search for anemones,
 “It was useless to search out the anemones that once filled that plain”
- f. لأنني تيقنت من عدم وجود
li’anna-ny tayaqan-tu.min ’adam.wuğūd
 because-I realised-I nonexistence
 “because, I realised, there was no”

- g. مكان لذكريات الطفولة
makān li-ḍikrayāt aṭ-ṭufūlah
 place for-memories the-childhood
 ‘room for the memories of childhood’
- h. على هذا المقعد الذي
‘ala haḍā al-miq‘ad allady
 on this the-seat which
 “cramped in that narrow seat”
- i. لا يتسع لثلاثتنا. (ص. 49)
lā yatasi’ li-talāṭati-na
 does.not accommodate for-three-us.
 “scarcely large enough for the three of us.” (p. 42)

This satirical merging of the image of the country with an image of a car has been satirically translated with the help of the IG strategy to help readers view the image more clearly. To describe the place, the translators have chosen to add some new information such as “the wild plain called” and “that once filled that plain”.

Group (b) of the metaphoric satirical method includes eleven cases, nine of which have been translated using the RS strategy as in example (9). About the military governor, Saeed says:

- (9) فاعتلى سيارته واعتليت جحشي. (ص. 26)
fa-‘talā sayyārata-hu wa i’talai-tu ḡaḥṣ-y.
 Then-(he).mounted car-his and mounted-I donkey-my
 “He climbed into his jeep and I mounted my donkey.” (p. 14)

The parallelism in the ST created through the use of the same verb “اعتلى” *mount* in the two clauses has not been translated. This distorts the satirical image of the military governor’s short stature in the TT.

The other two cases include omissions that affect the satirical method negatively as in the following example. About the Israeli soldiers, Saeed says:

- (10) a. وكانوا يدخلون البيوت، من أبوابها،
wa kān-ū yadhūlūn al-buyūt, min ‘abwābi-ha
 and were-they entering the-houses through doors-their
 “They used to force their way into houses”
- b. في كل لحظة، (ص. 63)
fī kul laḥzah,
 at every moment
 “at all hours of the day and night” (p. 57)

The translators omit the phrase “من أبوابها” *through their proper doors*, resulting in the loss of satirical contradiction found in the ST.

Thus, about 33% of the metaphoric satirical method is lost in the TT, as Figure 2 shows.

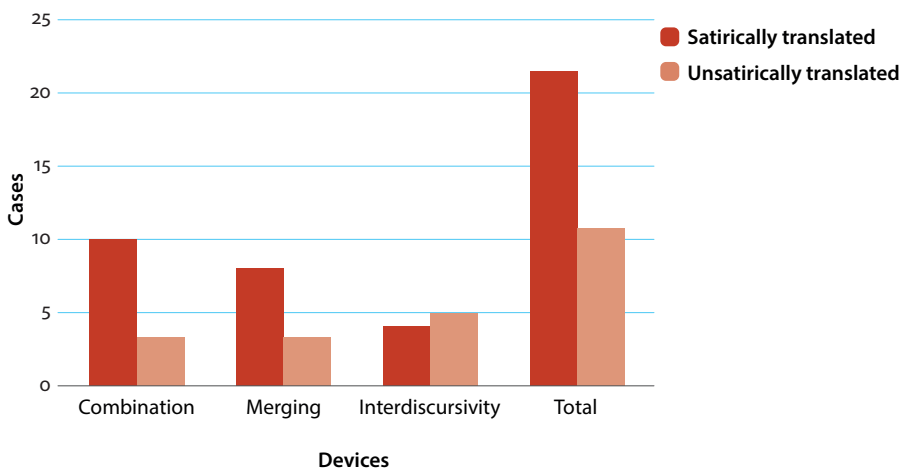


Figure 2. Translation of the metaphoric satirical method

6.3 Satirical hooks

Satirical hooks are lexico-grammatical devices that establish, embellish and sustain connections between the features of discourse that expound the prime, on the one hand, and the dialectic on the other (Simpson 2003: 9–10). In literary satirical works, they adorn and support the basic framework of satire. In the novel, the satirical hooks manifest themselves in terms of 10 satirical names of characters, 15 cases of wordplay and 39 puns. The satirical hooks are divided into (a) 14 satirically translated cases and (b) 50 unsatirically translated cases.

Only five cases in group (a) contain transcultural elements. Example (11) provides one of them. About the reaction of the big man, Saeed says:

- (11) a. ولو كنت أعلم بما وراء هذه الهمهمة *warāʿ hadīh al-hamhamah*
wa lau kun-tu aʿlam bi-mā
 and if was-I know with-what behind this the-humming
 “Had I known what this implied,”
- b. لحفظت شكسبير في قلبي
la-ḥafaz-tu Shakespeare fī qalb-y
 would.have-kept-I Shakespeare in heart-my
 “I’d have been better off keeping my knowledge of Shakespeare within
 my heart”

- c. (لا عن ظهر قلب. ص. 123).
lā ‘ an.zahr.qalb.
 rather.than by.heart.

“rather than quoting him by heart.”

(p. 124)

The relation between the word “قلب” *heart* and the idiom “يحفظ عن ظهر قلب” *keep/learn by heart* is found in both languages. Therefore, the wordplay is directly translated into the TT.

Six cases have been translated using the RC strategy. Example (12) presents a phonological pun in the title of Chapter 3 of Book 3:

- (12) حديث شطط في الطريق إلى سجن شطة (ص. 123)
ḥadīṭ šaṭaṭ fī aṭ-ṭariq ilā siġn Shatta
 conversation shattering on the-road to prison Shatta
 “A Shattering Conversation on the Road to Shatta Prison”

(p. 123)

The translators have succeeded in creating a phonological pun in the TT between *shattering* and *Shatta* which corresponds to the one in the ST between “شطط” and “شطة”.

Two other cases of group (a) are satirical names (فآثي *Fāṭhy* “Victor” and ولاء *Walā’* “Loyal”) that have been translated using the IG strategy by providing the meanings of the names in the text. Calque or loan translation has been used for the last satirical case (المتشائل *Al-Mutašā’il* “The Pessimist”). This blend has been successfully translated due to the contradiction it carries in both cultures.

On the other hand, because of cultural differences, forty-two cases of group (b) have been translated using the RS strategy as in the following example. About an Israeli officer, Saeed says:

- (13) فحملني بجيبه. (ص. 30)
fa-ḥamala-ny bi-ġaib-ih.
 then-(he)carried-me in-jeep/pocket-his
 “We set off in his Jeep.”

(p. 19)

The Arabic word “جيب” has two meanings (*jeep* and *pocket*), but the translators focus on one meaning ignoring the profound significance of the pun.

Four of the satirical hooks have been omitted in the TT. In one example, Saeed mentions how his old teacher saved him from the people’s anger in the courtyard of Al-Jazzar mosque:

- (14) a. وعاد معلمي يطمئنهم:
Wa ‘ād mu‘alim-y yuṭam’in-hum:
 and came teacher-my assure-them:
 “My teacher did his best to reassure them.”

- b. ... إن هو إلا صبي لم يبلغ الحلم...
in.huwa. 'illā sabiy lam yabluġ al-ḥulum...
 he.nothing.but boy did.not attain the-puberty...
 “‘He’s still only a boy,’ he insisted,”
- c. (31) وكنت في حلم حقًا. (ص. 31)
Wa kun-tu fī ḥulm ḥaqqan.
 and was-I in dream indeed

The pun between the word “حُلْم” *puberty* and the word “حُلْم” *dream* in the ST has not been translated, the second word having been omitted.

The last four satirical names (سعيد *Saeed* “happy”, ثريا *Thurayya* “Pleiades”, عبد القادر *Abdel Qadir* “Servant of The Omnipotent”, and مقبول *Maqboul* “Acceptable”) have been transliterated, ignoring their satirical meanings in Arabic.

Thus, about 78% of the satirical hooks are lost in the TT, as Figure 3 shows:

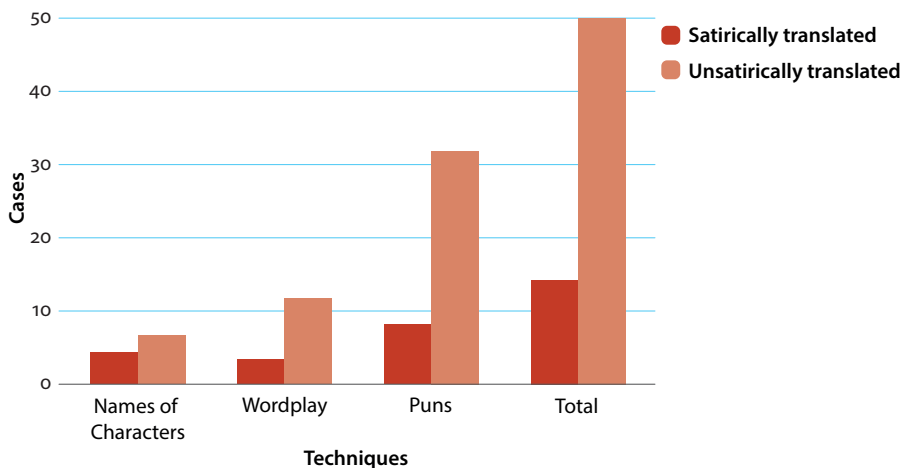


Figure 3. Translation of the satirical hooks

7. Satirical uptake

Satirical uptake is the process of understanding the satirical content of a piece of writing. The satirist raises the four validity claims discussed above and the satiree has to recognise that for the satire to be successfully received. Both the ST and the TT are literary works and therefore they raise the untruth claim, and their authors raise the insincerity claim. The readers’ response mainly appears in relation to the appropriateness and comprehensibility claims. For the ST, I have examined more

than 50 reader comments on the *Goodreads* website and found that most of them agree that Habiby uses a satirical style in his novel.

For the TT, 24 reader comments about the English version of *The Pessoptimist* were found on the *Goodreads* website. Eight of the 24 comments are positive as they consider the work as satiric, sardonic, comic, or even funny:

1. "It is pretty much *Candide* set in the Israel/Palestine conflict."
2. "Absolutely fascinating narrator/protagonist, very tragi-comic."
3. "Habiby's sardonic prose is sometimes side-splitting and always insightful."
4. "It's satirical, it's got elements of magic realism."
5. "Confusing satire reminiscent of *Catch-22*, though does have a grain of truth."
6. "Quite funny and enlightening."
7. "Painful and funny, it's a fantastic book, worth reading!"
8. "There is an element of comedy but it is more irony than carefree humour."

Seven comments are negative, referring to lack of cultural background information or problems in translation:

1. "Although something seems lost in this English translation, there are moments of absolute brilliance in Habiby's work that manage to break through."
2. "I definitely wasn't feeling the first third of this book – a lot of these setup chapters seemed to be reliant on lost-in-translation puns."
3. "I just couldn't get into it. After reading half of the book I still didn't quite know what it was all about."
4. "Maybe it's the cultural difference, but I just didn't understand this book at all."
5. "There were many geographical and historical references I was unfamiliar with, and I wasn't able to fully enjoy the book."
6. "This book contains a lot of symbolism and allusions to the first Israeli war for independence and then the war in 1967. I don't know much about their history, and it probably would have been more enjoyable if I did."
7. "It has to be said that this book is translated from Arabic, and I think a lot of the messages and the jokes conveyed could have been lost in translation."

Another nine comments describe the book as fascinating, one of the best, and even great, but they do not mention anything about its satirical characteristics:

1. "This book really conveys the everyday humiliations and absurdities of life in the new state."
2. "Definitely reminds me of many Western 'modern classics' that I've read, but it seems to be kind of a secret."
3. "This is one of the best books I can remember reading."
4. "This a great book."

5. "His greatest novel tells the story of a simple man who attempts to avoid politics, only to be sucked into terrorism and collaboration with Israel."
6. "We should all embrace the Saeed within us, to survive in this world."
7. "The book would complement different types of scholarly work on Palestine (history, literature, Politics, etc.)."
8. "Absurd. Surreal.... I think I will have to read this again before fully absorbing it."
9. "Fascinating literary work with speculative fiction elements focusing on the experience of Palestinians within the 48 borders of Israel."

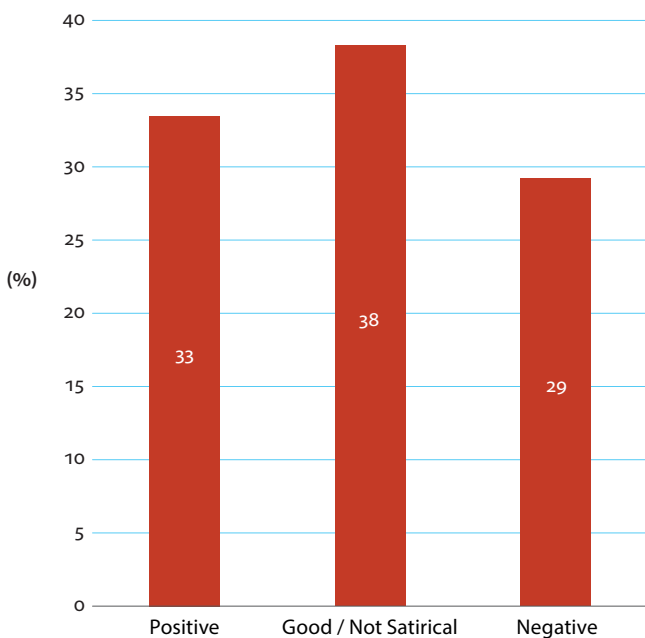


Figure 4. Readers' responses

The negative responses of readers seem to spring from the fact that parts of the text are not comprehensible to some readers because of either cultural differences or losses in translation.

8. Results

In total, 32% of the uses of the metonymic satirical method, 33% of the uses of the metaphoric method, and 78% of the uses of satirical hooks have not been satirically translated, which means that about 54% of uses of the satirical method in general have not been transferred to the TT. In its English translation, *The Pessoptimist* has lost a large part of its satirical character and style. This may explain that 29% of the above-examined readers' comments are negative and that 38% do not mention the novel's satirical quality.

When translating the novel, the translators had to decide which strategies to use. Some strategies helped them to translate the satirical meaning from the ST to the TT and others did not. The translation strategies that have caused the loss of about 54% of the satirical method are shown in Table 2:³

Table 2. Translation strategies that have caused loss of satire

Translation strategy	Cases	Usage
Reduction to Sense (RS)	58	43.6%
Omission (OM)	8	6%
Transliteration (TL)	4	3%

The RS strategy results in bare meaning stripped of satire. This strategy is much less used with the metonymic and metaphoric satirical methods than with the satirical hooks. This is probably because the SL satirical hooks deal with specific linguistic elements that have no direct equivalents in the TL while the ST metonymic and metaphoric methods use satirical images that mostly have equivalents in the target culture.

Arabic can be considered to display redundancy compared to English. This may explain why translators from Arabic into English often omit expressions that cause repetition. However, this may lead to loss of part of the meaning. In the case under study, omission caused the loss of approximately 6% of the satire in the TT. In addition, translators may have underestimated the receptors' background knowledge and avoided satirical ambiguities in the TT.

Transliteration has been used in translating character names. Through this strategy, some names, which are satirical in the ST, have been presented as merely names in the TT.

3. About 1.5% of the cases have been mistranslated producing meanings different from the original.

The translation strategies that have transferred about 46% of the satire to the TT are shown in Table 3:

Table 3. Strategies for transferring satire

Translation strategy	Cases	Usage
Minimum Change (MC)	44	34.3%
Re-creation (RC)	10	6.7%
Internal Guidance (IG)	3	2.2%
External Guidance (EG)	3	2.2%
Calque	1	0.7%

In contrast to the RS strategy, the MC strategy has enabled translation of the metaphoric and metonymic methods in cases where similar satirical images and targets exist in both cultures. Because of the linguistic specificity, it does much less work in translating the satirical hooks. This supports the idea, discussed above, that satire has a cross-cultural aspect.

Other translation strategies such as Re-creation are good solutions for serious problems in translating satire, particularly satirical hooks (puns and wordplay). I here adopt Levine's point of view, based on her experience of translating problematic Cuban Spanish puns into English: "we took the liberty of creating them in places where there weren't any, or in places where they did exist but where we couldn't find near equivalents" (1975: 270). Although they have not been much used here, both the IG and EG strategies can assist in overcoming obstacles to the translating of satire.

9. Conclusion

More than half (about 54%) of the satirical techniques used in the *The Pessoptimist* have not been translated. This affects negatively the quality of the TT as satire and its satirical effect on the target readers. This may explain why 29% of the readers' comments examined are negative toward the TT and why 38% of them do not mention its quality as satire. For the translation of satire to be successful, a TT should not only be written in a satirical style, but this satirical style has to be comprehensible as well. Tracing the readers' opinions about the translation gives the translator an idea of how successful their translation is. Problems of translating satire may be due to the translator's lack of knowledge of the satirical method.

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Alterity, orality and performance in Bible translation

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The Bible contains numerous features of alterity (aspects which reflect its “otherness” to modern readers) which are compounded by its cultural and generic diversity. Here, we examine alterity in Bible translation through the lens of Emmanuel Levinas’s concept of the Other, which he viewed as an equal rather than an inferior, and his insistence that oral, face-to-face encounters with the other are primary. Performance translation recreates the oral nature of the biblical text, providing a means both to encounter the alterity of the Bible in a meaningful way and to convey it to contemporary audiences. We use a liturgical psalm and a proverbial saying to illustrate the potential of performance translation in conveying the alterity of the Bible in translation.

Keywords: alterity, orality, performance translation, Bible translation, liturgical poem, Psalm 24, proverb, poetic parallelism, otherness

1. Introduction

1.1 Alterity, performance and Bible translation

The translation of alterity – aspects of the source text that seem strange or unusual to the target language and/or culture – is highly debated. As a first approximation, strategies of domestication may be utilised as a means to bring the translated text close to the target culture, whereas strategies of foreignisation require the target culture to approach the translated text (Schleiermacher 1813/2012; Venuti 1995/2008; Paloposki 2011; see also Pym 1996 and Strauss 2012). Alterity has been described by Sturge as the assertion of *distance* of culture as opposed to familiarity (Sturge 2007: 24–29), which is the assertion of *proximity* of culture (Sturge 2007: 29–33). Translation, then, involves the *dilemma of distance* (Sturge 2007: 33–34), the problem in bridging the cultural gap between alterity and familiarity.

The Bible as a key cultural text presents particularly acute problems for translation because of its cultural and textual diversity. On the one hand, the Bible was produced within a variety of cultural milieus, from ancient Israel with its deep connections to the civilisations of the ancient Near East, to Hellenised Roman Palestine of the first century with its connections to the classical world of the western Mediterranean. On the other hand, the diversity of genres within the Bible – myth, narrative, legal, liturgical, poetic, prophetic, proverbial, epistolary and apocalyptic, to name only the major types – means that translation must take into account the cultural conventions of each of those genres. As Nord (2001: 103) argues, a Bible translation must address the cultural gap by attention to two communicative functions. First, it must “present a strange culture in a way that allows readers from a culture distant in time and space to understand and respect its otherness” and, second, it must “show where these texts – in spite of their strangeness and ancientness – have something to say to people living in a modern culture”. The first communicative function relates to the referential function of language (Bühler 1934; Jakobson 1960); the second relates to the appellative function of language (Bühler 1934).

While, in previous decades, Bible translations tended to favour domestication strategies as championed especially by Nida (e.g. Nida and Taber 1969), in the past decade there has been a sharp move toward foreignising Bible translations. As representative of this trend, we can mention The Schocken Bible translated by Everett Fox, which intends to “draw the reader into the world of the Hebrew Bible through the power of its language” (Fox 1995: ix–xxxvi; Fox 2014; Naudé 1999).¹ This translation is guided by the principle that the Hebrew Bible was meant to be read aloud. The translation therefore tries to mimic the particular rhetoric of the Hebrew whenever possible, preserving such devices as repetition, allusion, alliteration, and wordplay. One way in which Fox accomplishes this kind of iconic rendering is through highlighting key words. In the story of the meeting between Jacob and Esau, for example, the motif of “face” (Hebrew *pānīm*) occurs at crucial points in the story.

For he said to himself:

*“I will wipe (the anger from) his face
with the gift that goes ahead of my face;
afterward, when I see his face,
perhaps he will lift up my face!”
The gift crossed over ahead of his face...*

(Fox 1995: 153–155, translation of Genesis 32: 21–22)

1. Another example is the new Afrikaans direct translation of the Bible [*Die Bybel in Afrikaans: 'n Direkte Vertaling*]; see Naudé (2005).

In this article, we wish to further the discussion concerning alterity and Bible translation by examining the issue of Bible translation as performance with respect to two quintessentially oral genres in the Bible: psalms and proverbs.² The new field of biblical performance criticism recognises ancient Israel and the early church as predominantly oral cultures and attempts to construct modern scenarios of ancient performances of the biblical text as a means to interpret anew the traditions of the Bible (Maxey 2012: 2–3; Makutoane, Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2015). Modern performances of the biblical text are thus oral translations of what were originally and essentially oral texts.

1.2 Levinas on alterity and oral performance

Our examination of the intersection of alterity with oral performance draws upon the work of Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1995), the French philosopher and Talmudic commentator who established the concept of “alterity” in a series of essays, collected under the title *Alterity and Transcendence* (1970/1999). Levinas developed an original philosophy of ethics which was influenced in part by the dialogical philosophies of Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber (Benjamin 2009). Levinas presented an anti-universalist, anti-foundationalist and non-prescriptive ethics derived from respect and responsibility for the Other.³ He went beyond the accepted and ethically neutral conception of ontology by investigating and analysing the “face-to-face” relation with the Other. For Levinas, the encounter with the Other, a discovery of alterity in itself, is an essential moment through which the self comes into being. The Other is not knowable or comprehended as such and cannot be made into an object of the self, but rather calls into question and challenges the complacency of the self through desire, language, and the concern for justice. The self discovers its own particularity when it is singled out by the gaze of the Other. In *Humanism of the Other* (1972/2006), Levinas argues that it is of the highest importance to understand one’s humanity through the humanity of others. We find our humanity, Levinas argues, not through mathematics, rational metaphysics, or introspection. Rather, it is found in the recognition that the suffering and mortality of others are the obligations and morality of the self. To summarise: the positive moment of Levinas’s thought lies in the moral transcendence of the other and in

2. For performance translations of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–11) in three African languages, see Naudé, Miller-Naudé and Makutoane (2017).

3. The French term *autrui* refers to the personal other, the other person, and *autre* refers to otherness in general, to alterity. Levinas often uses *autre* where he could very well have used *autrui*.

taking responsibility for the other. Transcendence and responsibility are inseparable moments of concrete ethical encounter, the face-to-face of the self and other. The alterity or otherness of the other person arises precisely as the moral imperative that pierces the self with moral obligation, with service to the other. Suffering and mortality are first and foremost the suffering of the other, from whom one's own suffering, otherwise useless, takes on meaning. The significance of embodiment is neither attachment to self nor attachment to being but rather vulnerability to the other, hence moral compassion.

For Levinas, meaning as expression, i.e. signification bound to sense and hence to cultural symbols, originates neither in being nor in culture. Significance originally emerges from the face-to-face encounter as an ethical event, i.e. from the other person as moral command and the self as moral response. Thus, significance is the more original and inter-human saying (*le Dire*) which is the ethical event and must be distinguished from the signification of expression, i.e. what is said (*le Dit*), the contents of discourse, which are certainly cultural expressions (Levinas 1974/1981). The saying "Thou shall not kill", for instance, is first an immediate command – the very face of the other – before it is a proposition, inscription, or sign. The spirit of the oral Torah (i.e. rabbinic interpretation of the Torah) paradoxically precedes and gives sense to the words of the written Torah, breathing life into it.

The importance of Levinas' view of alterity for our investigation of the translation of the Bible as a cultural text is twofold: first, Levinas views the Other not as inferior but as on a higher level than the self. Second, for Levinas, alterity relates to a face-to-face encounter, that is, the oral experience is primary.

The structure of the article is as follows: in the next section, we consider a performance translation of Psalm 24 as facilitating the translation of a liturgical poem which was performed in ancient Israel. We then examine the performance of biblical proverbs within African cultures as a means to overcome the alterity of their structure for contemporary African audiences. In the final section, we compare the two genres of performed texts – psalms and proverbs – and present our conclusions.

2. Psalm 24 as the performance of alterity

The performative origins of the Psalms and, indeed, of much of biblical literature were explored nearly one hundred years ago by Hermann Gunkel (1930/1967). He perceived that much of the "literature" of the Hebrew Bible was originally spoken and that its provenience was oral rather than written. He sought to do justice to the manner of speaking and oral style of each literary type and to release it from bondage to the printed page. He first identified the literary forms (*Gattungen*) of oral literature and then inquired into the situation in personal or communal life

in which the particular form or genre served its function, that is, its life situation (*Sitz im Leben*). What emerged from his research was an understanding of the oral texts behind the written texts of the Bible and their functions in the communal religious life of ancient Israel.

In all probability, Psalm 24 should be understood as a festival in which the ark (the covenant box) is returned to the sanctuary on Mount Zion (Sabourin 1974: 408) or as part of an autumn festival in which the climax is the appearance of Yahweh as King (Weiser 1962: 232). Because the ark was the symbol of *Yahweh Šəbā'ōt* ("Yahweh of armies"),⁴ it was carried out in battle at the head of the armies and then returned to the sanctuary following a battle.⁵ The Good News translation of the psalm is as follows:

Psalm 24 Good News Bible (Today's English Version)

- A. i. 1. The world and all that is in it belong to the LORD;
the earth and all who live on it are his.
- 2. He built it on the deep waters beneath the earth
and laid its foundations in the ocean depths.
- ii. 1. Who has the right to go up to the LORD's hill?
Who may enter his holy Temple?
- 2. Those who are pure in act and in thought,
who do not worship idols
or make false promises.
- 3. The LORD will bless them and save them;
God will declare them innocent.
- 4. Such are the people who come to God,
who come into the presence of the God of Jacob.
- B. iii. 1. Fling wide the gates,
open the ancient doors,
and the great king will come in.
- 2. Who is this great king?
He is the LORD, strong and mighty,
the LORD, victorious in battle.

4. This epithet for the ancient Israel's deity consists of the personal name of God, *Yahweh* (rendered in the Septuagint, the ancient Greek translation, as *kurios* "lord"), and the common noun "armies." It is translated in a variety of ways in English: "The LORD Almighty" (NIV, TNIV), "Lord of heavenly forces" (CEB), "The Eternal, God of hosts" (Moffat); "The triumphant LORD" (GNB); "Lord, the All-Powerful" (CEV); "God of the angel armies" (The Message); "The LORD of Heaven's Armies" (NLT); "Yahweh Sabaoth" (NJB).

5. 1 Samuel 4; 2 Samuel 6; 11:11; Psalm 132:8; See also Holladay 1993:39.

- iv. 1. Fling wide the gates,
Open the ancient doors,
and the great king will come in.
2. Who is this great king?
The triumphant LORD – he is the great king!

Psalm 24 consists of two stanzas (A, B), each with two strophes (i, ii, iii, iv). The theme of stanza A is the creative power of Yahweh (strophe i) and the qualifications needed to be able to meet him in the sanctuary (strophe ii). The theme of stanza B is the glory of Yahweh, expressed in terms of his military might (note the terms “strong,” “mighty,” mighty in battle, and “hosts”) (Kidner 1973: 115). The two strophes of this second stanza are constructed as a climatic parallel, as the sequence: “Who is this King of glory?” “Who is he, this King of glory?” and “He is the King of glory” serves to increase emphasis on the identity, glory and might of Yahweh.

The mention of creation in the first strophe must be understood from the ancient Near Eastern world view. John Walton (2011: 119–121) has demonstrated that in the cosmology of ancient Israel as depicted in Genesis, creation does not involve the creation of matter, but the creation of function, order, diversity and identity. The architecture of the cosmos focuses on separating heaven from earth (not manufacturing either of them) and on earth’s emergence from the cosmic waters. In a functional ontology, the earth is seen as being suspended over the cosmic waters below, parallel to the heavens that are stretched out over the upper cosmic waters (2011: 142).

Temples in the ancient Near East were designed to be models of the cosmos. The rule of the world originated in the temple, which was ordained as the “control room” of the cosmos. In the Genesis account of the seven days of creation, God rests on the seventh day. Similarly, when a temple was inaugurated in ancient Mesopotamia, the deity entered his prepared residence and rested there, assuming his role as ruler of the cosmos from his throne. In the ancient Near Eastern world-view, people and divinity work together to ensure the preservation of order and the smooth operation of the cosmos.

This cultural background is apparent in the second strophe of Psalm 24. First comes the question of who will be allowed to approach the holy place; then the answer by the priest, which enumerates the particular requirements (see Crenshaw 2001: 158–167); and, finally, the declaration of a blessing as the prerogative of the priest.

The third strophe seems very strange from a western perspective. The gates are addressed and told to lift up their “heads” (verse 7). The gates are personified by being addressed, but precisely how to understand the “heads” of the gates is debated – it may refer to the bar across the top which closes the gate securely or, because lifting the head in the Hebrew Bible is also a cultural gesture for rejoicing and

happiness, it may mean that the gates are commanded to rejoice because Yahweh is entering (Bratcher and Reyburn 1991: 241–242). The address to the gates is therefore a command to the gates to open themselves up and to rejoice so that the King of Glory (Yahweh himself) can enter:

Lift up, O gates, your heads
And be lifted up, O eternal/ancient doors
and the King of glory shall come in.

This verse was apparently sung by a choir which stood before the doors of the temple seeking entry. On the inside, another choir answers in the name of the doors “Who is this King of glory?” This question-answer response is repeated in strophe 4, with the culminating response “Yahweh *šabā’ōt* (Yahweh of armies), he is the King of Glory”.

Throughout this psalm, much prominence is given to conventional poetic word patterns, such as parallelism, chiasm and ellipsis of the verb in the second line of parallelism. Consider, for example, the parallel lines in verse 6:

Such is the generation of those who seek Him;
those who find Your face – Jacob.

The parallel lines have constituents in chiasmic order: “Him” and “Your face” are parallel terms, as are “generation” and “Jacob.” The chiasmic arrangement (i.e. the arrangement of items in the second line in the opposite order to those in the first line) thus necessitates the somewhat awkward construction in the second part, which numerous exegetes have felt must be emended one way or another (e.g. Craigie 1983: 210).

In the first strophe, extensive rhyming is used with *-āh* in the first stanza (*mālō’āh* “its fullness”, *bāh* “in it”, *yāsādāh* “he established it”) and *-ōt* or *-ōd* in the second (*hakkābōd* “glory” [five times], *šabā’ōt* “armies”). Rhyme is not a prevalent feature of ancient Hebrew poetry, but it serves in this strophe to provide internal cohesion to each stanza.

Certain keywords are also prominent: firstly, both stanzas of the poem are concerned with some or other aspect of entering or ascendance as a motif with three verbs of movement (*bō* “enter”, *qūm* “rise”, *ālāh* “go up”) (see Botha 1994: 365–366). The place that is to be entered is the temple. But the stanzas differ in that it is not the same subject that enters: in the first stanza it is people who enter, designated as “seekers” of Yahweh; in the second, it is Yahweh himself.

A second keyword occurring in both stanzas is the repetition of various forms of the verb *nāšā’* “to lift up, carry”: “who does not *lift up* a lie, My soul,” “Such a one *will lift up* continually a blessing from Yahweh”, “*Lift up*, O gates”, “*be lifted up*, O eternal/ancient doors” (twice).

A third correspondence between the two stanzas concerns repetition of the interrogative “Who”. Its purpose is to establish a link between the just, who seek Yahweh in the temple, and Yahweh himself who enters into this temple. Through the use of these words throughout the psalm, a feeling of vertical traffic is created. When geographical terms are considered in addition to this, words such as “earth” (*hā’āreš*), “world” (*tēbēl*), “seas” (*yammîm*), “rivers” (*nāhārôt*) and “mountain” (*har*), characterise the first stanza as reminiscent of the ancient world-view with an upwards striving of the faithful individual (ascending God’s mountain, standing in his holy place, not lifting the person of Yahweh up to what is deceitful) and a corresponding downward surge on the part of Yahweh (founding and establishing the earth, rewarding the faithful through the inverse of the verb “lift”). In the second stanza the coming of the king (*Yahweh Šabā’ôt*) is also perceived as a vertical movement: a link is fixed between the constructional terms in stanza A and the lintels of the gates and doors of the second stanza. The first stanza has metaphoric representation of the world as a building, while the second has personification of gates as having heads.

A fourth set of keywords is from the sphere of corporality. These include *kaf* “palm of hand”, *lēbab* “heart”, *pānîm* “face” and *rō’s* “head”. A link is established between the ritual and moral acceptability of the temple-goer and the spatial requirements of this same space to be able to accommodate Yahweh. Both aspects are thus focused upon the glory and might of Yahweh, but viewed from different angles in the two parts of the poem.

A fifth semantic category concerns the words related to time. The word for “generation” (*dōr*) and the description of the doors as “eternal” (*’olām*) implies the passage of time. The verbs used for “founded” (*yāsādāh*) and “firmly set” (*yākōnanehā*) have a certain eternal ring to them due to the reference to creation. The function of these terms is to promote a feeling of permanence, of stability, and of security. In this way the permanence of the earth, firmly set upon seas and nether streams, the reverence of Yahweh through generations of believers and the consequent age and firm standing of the temple are linked together.

The purpose of the psalm can be described as the establishing of a bond between Yahweh and those that seek him within the concentric cultic spheres of the firmly established earth, cultic mountain and temple. The performance of the psalm by cultic functionaries and worshippers in the temple achieves this goal through the embodiment and re-enactment of the entrance of the deity into the temple after his creation of the cosmos (see Mowinckel 1992: 115).

Our performance translation of the psalm in English is as follows:⁶

6. See also the “dramatised” translation in Perry (1989). For a performance translation of the psalm into Sesotho, a Bantu language of Southern Africa, see Makutoane, Miller-Naudé and Naudé (2015).

Pilgrim's liturgy as they arrive in procession at the Temple

A. Festive procession going up the mountain of Zion

- i. Hymn of praise to Yahweh, Creator of the universe

Chorus Leader To Yahweh belong the earth and all that fills it,
 Chorus the world and those who live in it;
 Chorus Leader for He is the one who founded it on the seas,
 Chorus and set it firmly on the nether-streams.
- ii. Request permission to enter the Temple ("entrance liturgy")

Enquirer Who may ascend into the mount of Yahweh;
 who may come/stand in His holy place?
 Yahweh One who has clean hands and a pure heart,
 who does not lift up to a lie My soul
 and swear by what is false.

Chorus Leader Such a one will carry continually a blessing from Yahweh
 Chorus and justice from the God of his salvation.
 Chorus Leader Such is the generation of those who seek Him;
 Chorus those who find Your face – Jacob.

B. Festive procession on entering the citadel of Zion

- iii. Director Lift up, O gates, your heads
 And be lifted up, O eternal doors
 Pilgrims and the King of glory shall come in.
 Gatekeeper/Priests Who is this King of glory?
 Pilgrims Yahweh, strong and mighty,
 Yahweh mighty in battle.
- iv. Director Lift up, O gates, your heads
 And be lifted up, O eternal doors
 Pilgrims and the King of glory shall come in.

Gatekeeper/Priests Who is he, this King of glory?
 Pilgrims Yahweh *Ṣəbā'ōt*
 HE is the King of glory.

We have seen that the alterity of this ancient, biblical psalm can be identified on multiple levels – in the cultural worldview of the ancient Near East, in general, and in the religious and cultic context in which the psalm was performed in ancient Israel, in particular; in the referential and metaphorical expressions in the psalm and their interconnected thematic and semantic networks; and in the conventions of poetic and hymnic compositions in ancient Hebrew. A performance translation of the psalm attempts to recreate the cultural and religious alterity of the psalm

for use within a contemporary liturgical setting. The performance of the psalm with contemporary participants explicates one of the most opaque features of the written psalm – the anonymous, disembodied speaking voices interacting with one another – and the movements of those anonymous individuals through ritual and metaphorical space. Furthermore, a contemporary performance of the psalm within a religious setting explicates the original function of the psalm as an entrance liturgy, which was used by worshippers as they entered the temple. A performance of the psalm provides the opportunity for contemporary hearers to enter into the religious life of ancient Israel in a new way and perhaps to sense the spirit which animated a worshipper in ancient Israel at the entrance into the divine presence. More importantly, a performance translation allows the various speaking voices of the psalm to be heard “directly”, thus embodying the ancient cultic features of the psalm in translation.

3. Proverbs and the performance of wisdom

Another genre in the Hebrew Bible which was originally oral is that of proverbs. The book of Proverbs contains multiple collections of oral proverbial sayings which were collected by royal scribes in ancient Israel and written down.

Proverbs are, in many ways, quintessentially cultural expressions – they typically address an issue or concern within the culture and they do so using culturally rich expressions, often involving word play, double entendre, and metaphor (Sumner-Paulin 1995). As oral expressions of wisdom within ancient Israel, they were used to encourage certain kinds of behaviour and discourage other kinds of behaviour. The translation of proverbs must therefore be attentive to the cultural concern being addressed, often implicitly, and to the culturally acceptable linguistic means for shaping the proverb. Furthermore, the performative aspect of the proverb, both within ancient Israel, and as recreated within a target culture must also be considered carefully. Only if the translated proverb can be meaningfully performed within the target culture has the appellative function of the proverb been achieved (Miller 2005; Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2010).

We can illustrate these competing concerns by considering the translation of one biblical proverb into three related dialects of Dinka in Southern Sudan.⁷ The proverb in Hebrew is as follows:

7. The initial translations of Proverbs in the Dinka dialects were produced during translation workshops sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Sudan, Uganda and Kenya in 1997–2000.

Proverbs 11:25

nepeš berākāh teduššān

soul.of fatness will.be.made.fat

ūmarweh gam-hú' yôre'

and.one.who.satisfies [thirst] also he will.be.satisfied

The New Revised Standard Version provides the following translation:

A generous person will be enriched;
and the one who gives water will get water.

Biblical proverbs are structured using poetic parallelism, the repetition of similar or antithetical statements (Thompson 1974: 59–68; see also Fox 2009). Parallelism is a critical aspect of alterity for the Dinka translators because indigenous Dinka proverbs do not employ parallelism – a formal translation of the biblical proverb into Dinka results in two statements and thus two proverbs rather than one. As a result, in the Dinka Cam dialect, the translators condensed the two parallel lines into one:

Proverbs 11:25 (Dinka Cam translation)

raan nɔŋ puʔu ye kɔc muɔɔc, aye muɔɔc aya

person have heart and people generously he.is generously given

The person who has a heart and gives to people generously is generously given to.

Here the only parallel expressions involve the expansion of the notion of generosity into “has a heart” and “gives generously”.

The Dinka Rek translators, however, found a way to keep the two parallel statements from the Hebrew. They translated: “It is the gift which is the wealth and if you are a giver, then you will be given”. The first sentence characterises “a gift” as “wealth”. The second part confirms that if someone is generous in giving, then they will be rewarded. However, because water is not usually given in Dinka society, the translators did not directly represent this aspect of alterity in their translation.

Another strategy for translating alterity involves substituting a traditional Dinka proverb that pragmatically encourages the same behaviour as the biblical proverb. One such traditional proverbs is the following:

abiny lɔ ku abiny bɔ

bowl goes and bowl comes

“The bowl goes, and the bowl comes.”

The proverb means: “The person who gives food (in a bowl), will in turn receive food when he is in need”. In translating Proverbs 11:25, the Dinka Padang translators were able to incorporate this traditional proverb in the second half of the biblical proverb:

Proverbs 11:25 (Dinka Padang translation)

The person who gives, prospers, for the bowl goes and the bowl comes (*në abiny lo ku abiny bö*)

Notice that the translators promoted alterity by representing the parallelism of the source text – they represented the first general statement of the biblical proverb directly, while combining it with a second specific statement that incorporated their traditional proverb. The Dinka who hear the biblical proverb are more likely to understand it as a proverb, since it approximates the shape of a traditional proverb and in fact incorporates a traditional proverb within it. The performance of the proverb within contemporary Dinka society alongside indigenous Dinka proverbs is thus made possible. The alterity of the biblical proverb has been represented while simultaneously promoting the performative recreation of the proverb within the target culture.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, the cultural richness of biblical texts means that their alterity must be made meaningful to contemporary readers and hearers while their appellative function is maintained. Performance translation provides one way to recreate the alterity of ancient oral texts in a meaningful way to modern readers and hearers. We have presented two examples of performative translations – one involving a liturgical psalm and one involving a proverb. We can contrast these two translations by considering the type of relation established between the original text and the translated text with reference to the typology of signs, as originally formulated by Peirce (1931–1958).

Peirce differentiated three kinds of signs: the *icon*, which is based on the resemblance of the sign to the thing signified; the *index*, which is based on the relation of causality (the index is affected by the object and has some features in common with it); and the *symbol*, whose relationship to the sign is that of convention. For many scholars it is a given that the relationship of similarity between the original text and the translated text predominates and that the iconic relation ordinarily describes the character of translation, especially in the representation of alterity. However, there is a paradox, which lies in the fact that the text must remain “the same” while becoming other, simply because it has been reorganised into the expressive modalities of another language: the translated text is simultaneously identical and different with respect to the original text (Arduini 2004). In other words, the translated text can only be weakly iconic (Naudé 2010).

In presenting a performative translation of Psalm 24, an entrance liturgy from ancient Israel’s temple, the relationship between the source text and the translated text is iconic, especially when the psalm is performed within a contemporary

religious setting as an entrance liturgy. A performative translation of a biblical proverb, by contrast, is largely symbolic – the cultural conventions for shaping proverbs within the target culture must take precedence over those of the source culture, if the proverb is to function as a proverb within the target culture. Both genres of religious literature have an oral background and both can be most meaningfully translated in an oral modality as a performance. But their modality as performance rather than written text means that those aspects of alterity that are recreated must serve the *skopos* of how the texts are intended to be used within the target culture.

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In the context of increased movement across borders, this book examines how key cultural texts and concepts are transferred between nations and languages as well as across different media. The texts examined in this book are considered fundamental to their source culture and can also take on a particular relevance to other (target) cultures. The chapters investigate cultural transfers and differences realised through translation and reflect critically upon the implications of these with regard to matters of cultural identity. The book offers an important contribution to cultural approaches in translation studies, with ramifications across different disciplines, including literary studies, history, philosophy, and gender studies. The chapters offer a range of cultural and methodological frameworks and are written by scholars from a variety of language and cultural backgrounds, Western and Eastern.

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