

# Literary Translation in Modern Iran

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### **Volume 114**

Literary Translation in Modern Iran. A sociological study  
by Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam

# Literary Translation in Modern Iran

A sociological study

Esmail Haddadian-Moghaddam

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E. H. M

*Leuven, August 2014*

## **A note on transliteration, Persian calendar, and translation**

Except for original quotes, the transliteration scheme used in this book for Persian is that of the journal *Iranian Studies*. In quoting from Persian resources, we refer to the original date of publication using the Iranian Solar Hejri calendar, followed by its equivalent Christian date. Records of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries use the Lunar Hejri calendar. With some slight variation, the year 2014 corresponds to 1393 in the Iranian Solar Hejri calendar, expressed as 1393/2014 in this book.

Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from Persian resources are also our own translations into English.



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## List of acronyms and abbreviations

the Book Bureau	Department General of Book Affairs of the Ministry
CIA	US Central Intelligence Agency
DDC	Dewey Decimal Classification
IABP	Iran Annual Book Prize
IBH	Iran Book House
IBNA	Iran Book News Agency
Iranica	Encyclopædia Iranica
the Ministry	Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance
NLA	National Library and Archives of I. R. of Iran
PBC	Pocket Books Company
SAVAK	Organization for Information And National Security
SCCR	Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution
TIBF	Tehran International Book Fair
TS	Translation Studies
UCC	Universal Copyright Convention
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
the Unit	Training Unit of the Center of Studies and Cultural Coordination of the High Council of Culture and Art
USIA	US Information Agency
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization



# Introduction

One way of talking about modern Iran in a less apocalyptic way is through translation. In this way, readers end their journey with an aspiration to return to it at some time in the future. One way or another, the path of translation in modern Iran goes through literary translation. By this, we mean the translation of mainly novels and short stories, poetry, and plays from foreign languages to Persian. Literary translation, as we will show throughout this book, has formed a major part of the translation discourse in modern Iran, and the production of literary translations has largely contributed to the development of the publishing field. This might seem surprising at first sight, given the fact that research in the field of Translation Studies (TS hereafter) has promoted our understanding of other forms of translation beyond literary translation. Although this knowledge has found its way to Iran, and other forms of translation practices exist, and we do not aim to downgrade their importance, literary translation still takes a central position in the discourse and practice of translation, and it remains largely unexplored.

The central position of literary translation in Iran raises a number of questions, as well as many more of similar historical importance. For example, moving closer to the present time, we may wonder what do the Cold War cultural diplomacy, an art connoisseur, a former merchant, and the development of the print culture in Iran have in common? Or, why should a nineteenth-century Persian translator adopt a novel for translation and the credit be given to others? Why should a British major be the editor and publisher of a still-in-print Persian book whose authorship, the identity of its translator, and its purpose have been vigorously contested? How should one look at an Iranian publisher who had no knowledge of foreign languages and went bankrupt for publishing Pierre Rousseau's *Histoire de la science* (1945), only to emerge gradually as one of the key publishers in the Middle East? Did he, by analogy, want to be the Louis Hachette of his time? These questions set the stage for the study of translation in modern Iran by looking at Iranian translators, publishers, and other individuals who have left their mark on the last two centuries of modern Iran. More specifically, the examination of their decision-making processes, their motivations in translation and publishing, and getting to know what factors have helped/limited their practice will be the underlying topic throughout this book. These three aspects will also form a theoretical model to talk of what we call agency in current debates in TS (see below).

Until very recently, the story of translation in modern Iran would generally end on page 522 of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1989, Baker and Saldanha 2009: 456). It seemed that translation ceased to exist suddenly, and Iranian translators and researchers drank some magical potion and vanished for good. Nobody seemed to show any particular interest in exploring the unexplored and under-researched field of translation in modern Iran, and, in particular, that of the post-Revolution era. Political Iran posed a problem in itself, and the problem of translation seemed too trivial to explore.

Various reasons may explain the above situation. First, there was lack of willing and qualified translation scholars who were capable of producing independent and quality research. Second, the previous research neither fully explained the facts of translation in Iran, nor explore sensitive issue such as censorship. The body of research that was produced in Iran, sometimes of acceptable quality, was mainly in Persian and therefore inaccessible to scholars who were not versed in Persian. The few English contributions also had limited distribution. Non-Persian-speaking scholars were perhaps familiar with Edward Fitzgerald's view about his English translation of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1852), where he enthusiastically accused the Persians of not being "poet enough" (cited in Lefevere 1992: 4). The passionate readership nevertheless was satisfied with the entry mentioned above. One could hope that further knowledge about translation in Iran would come from scholars of Iranian/Persian/Persianate Studies; however, they hardly approached translation independently and never reflected upon their position toward the increasing importance of translation, and, consequently, the growing interest in TS in Iran.<sup>1</sup>

Things started to change in the 2000s in Iran with the institutional recognition of TS as a field and the introduction of graduate programs in TS. It was now possible for TS postgraduates to apply for an academic position at Iranian universities. This trend is noticeably on the rise in Iran, and several doctoral students have now graduated from non-Iranian universities. 'Allameh Tabataba'i University in Tehran also offered its first PhD program in TS in 2010, and now with two more universities on the list. The body of quality research so far is little. However, it promises great potential, some of which calls into question much of our understanding of how translation and agents of translation are in one of the most misunderstood

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1. Persianate Studies aims to "promote the study of the Persianate world – the civilization encompassing an area ranging from Iran to the Caucasus, India and Central Asia, where Persian and related languages have historically been dominant" (Amir Arjomand 2008: 1). It remains unclear whether there are any differences between this and Persian/Iranian Studies that have defined themselves along the same lines.

context, that is, modern Iran. The story of translation in modern Iran does not end on any specific page, nor should it fall on deaf ears any longer.

It is with this understanding that this book is written. While the title of the book refers to sociology, we are neither sociologist nor historian. Sociological concepts, mainly those of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) due to their explanatory power, and a historical approach, have nonetheless inspired this work. We hope TS and Iranian Studies readership find this sociological study, which focuses on agency and agents of translation (translators, publishers, editors, and to some extent the state cultural policies in Iran), both engaging and, hopefully, useful. Equally, general readership should be able to understand the discourse and practice of literary translation in Iran.

Our interest in and the practice of literary translation have formed the basis of this book, giving it a certain kind of reflexivity. For our generation, those who were born in the mid-1970s towards the end of the Pahlavi period, growing up in post-Revolution Iran was both a matter of reconciliation and accommodation between Pahlavi's pro-Western government and the ideological post-Revolution era. Whereas the pre-Revolution culture espoused largely Western cultural planning, the post-1979 period embarked on a gradual elimination of whatever was considered to be pro-Western. This, for example, included music courses from public schools, the suspension and ban of video cassettes (for a brief history and a policy analysis of video in Iran, see Shahabi 2008), and collecting and banning certain books. In this context, our generation grew up with a weekly movie broadcast on Friday afternoons on national television. This generation also learned to live with the Iran–Iraq War in a society of families who were traumatized because of their lost loved ones in the front and long hours of waiting in lines to receive their subsidized foodstuff. Playing football, playing war games with other fellows, and reading books were some of the few forms of entertainment available.

Our interest in the practice of Iranian literary translators and publishers in post-Revolution era arose out of a simple but essential question, which nobody seemed to have asked before: Why were these translators and publishers practicing a profession that supposedly brought little or no money, but only recognition and oftentimes trouble with state censorship? We're not they, after all, concerned with "personal profit or the earning of a livelihood" (Weis 1967: 15). And, if they were, what then of the inaccurate impression that was in the air?

Why does this book focus on novels from English and on modern Iran? First, as we will show in Chapter 2, translation in general and, in particular, the translation of novels from foreign languages into Persian contributed to the modernization of Iran and its encounter with the West (cf. the importance of translation as "a place of honor" in Latin America in Bastin 2009). Second, the translation of literary works contributed to the development of Persian literature by introducing

new literary genres to Iranian authors; it also had a great impact on the Persian language.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the translation of novels from English has continued to increase both in pre- and post-Revolution Iran, even though during the latter period this kind of translation has been subjected to the highest degree of censorship. We also had two reasons to examine agency historically, from the late nineteenth century to the present (the first translations in the form of books, as we will show later, did not appear in Iran until the late nineteenth century). First, the historical analysis of agency can shed light on the decisive role of translators and publishers in the larger political, social, and cultural development of Iran. Second, through such analyses, we hoped also to contribute to the still unwritten historiography of Persian translation in the modern period.

The objective of *Literary Translation in Modern Iran: A Sociological Study* then is to describe and examine the agency of translators and publishers of novels from English in modern Iran, taking into account their decisions, motives, and factors that have constrained or increased their agency over a period of more than 200 years, starting from the late nineteenth century to modern-day Iran. We would like to know how they have conceived their agency, how they have practiced it, and what a historical exploration of Iranian agents of translation will reveal with regard to agency.

The primary questions in this book are then the following:

1. Who decides which novel to translate?
2. What motivates translators and publishers to translate and produce novels from English?
3. What constrains or increases their agency in translation and production of novels from English?

In this book, this topic is important for a number of reasons. Though the distinction between translation as an art (key to the Soviet school of translation, see Chapter 6) and as a profession does not, one hopes, amount any longer to the undermining of the latter, four decades on, “the situation of literary translators requires clarification” (Galantière 1970: 30), especially in modern Iran, as we will show later. This study is first a timely response to the growing interest in sociological approaches to the study of translation, agents of translation, and their agency. This overall theoretical framework then informs the study. Second, the body of

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2. It is equally necessary to study the impact of translation from foreign languages into the three most common languages of Azeri, Kurdish, and Baluchi, spoken in Iran in addition to Persian. Recent interest in the position of these languages has been from the point of view of language policy (Sheyholislami 2012) and translation policy (Haddadian-Moghaddam and Meylaerts 2014).



research that has been produced – at least since Daniel Simeoni (1998) published his study of the translator's *habitus* (Pierre Bourdieu's term to roughly describe the way social agents define their disposition in various fields; see also later) – with very few exceptions (e.g., Hockx 1999) has largely overlooked the non-Western context, and this research will bring evidence from such a context. Third, little is known about translation and its important role in Iran beyond the “cursory” mention of it, scattered across hard-to-obtain resources. Even though scholarship has very recently started to show interest in this area, the agency of Iranian translators and publishers has also been largely unexamined in modern Iran, despite their visibility, as we will demonstrate in the book.<sup>3</sup> Fourth, the focus of the study on the decision-making process, the motivation of agents of translation, and the context in which they work can enlarge our understanding of agency beyond the textual level.

We will suggest that because of the key role translators have played as title selectors for the most part, literary translation in Iran is not a secondary activity. Partly because of this, there is a high concentration of symbolic capital (e.g., prestige) in the field of publishing in Iran, with multiple players (agents), each claiming pieces of the cake of prestige. Inspired by what Bourdieu has called “disinterestedness,” we will also observe that some have rather systematically disavowed their interest in the cake, though pieces of the cake are still observable on the sides of their mouths. We also suggest that even though the field of power – the constraints imposed by various governments on agents in the game – has limited the choices available, the game of cultural production, and, in particular, literary translation, has remained a lively game to observe and watch, and often challenging to play. Building on this and in view of the fact that the game has never had an ultimate winner, we call for a reconsideration of value-judgements common in Iran (e.g., on the negative impact of censorship, and the so-called crisis of the book). The study of translation discourse, produced by a heterogeneous group of “men of letters,” also testifies that translation in Iran has acted as a site of resistance against the symbolic power of the state in setting rules for the game. By adopting the strategy of “hide-and-seek” and in light of the dynamic of the field of publishing, agents of translation have continued to play the game against all odds. It is in this view

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3. We borrow the word “cursory” from Meisami (1991) in her study of literary translation and its impact on the development of modern Persian literature in the early twentieth century. This word captures the sad reality that in modern Iran there is an absence of reputable sources and rigorous scholarship when it comes to this topic. Such cursory mentions are also visible in *Translators through History* (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995, and the revised edition of 2012), where the Persian translators are almost nonexistent.

that value-judgements on theory and practice of translation in Iran, in a sense, no longer hold water.

Following this introductory section, Chapter 1 provides the theoretical and methodological aspects adopted in this book. Chapter 2 presents first a historical and political overview of modern Iran from the time of the Qajars (1797–1925) to the post-Revolution period.<sup>4</sup> Then the public and academic discourse of translation in modern Iran is given. Both of these overviews help the reader better to understand the historical background and the development of translation in the period under study.

Chapter 3, “The Qajar period (1795–1925),” begins with an overview of translation during the period. Then we introduce the first case study of agency in the translation and production of the Persian translation of James Morier’s *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824). Through an analysis of the Persian translation, previous scholarship, and certain agents of translation, we show how the exilic agency of the translator shaped the translation, how the agents of translation contributed to the intercultural movements, and how various aspects of agency were complicated and misattributed.

Chapter 4, “The Pahlavi period (1925–1979),” starts with an overview of translation, the publishing field, and translation flow (i.e., the number and frequency of translations from one language/culture to another language/culture (EST Glossary 2014) during the period. Following these overviews, we examine the pedagogical agency of an Iranian woman translator in the translation of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* into Persian. By examining the translator’s social and cultural role in the larger context of Iran in the early twentieth century, and with the help of textual and paratextual analyses, the case study exemplifies how translation serves as a platform for simplification of the Persian prose style. In the second part of the chapter, we present a case study of three major publishing houses of the period. By drawing on two concepts of individual and institutional agency and the use of historical documents, we highlight the role of agents of translation in the formation and development of the publishing field in Iran. These publishers do not necessarily represent the under-researched publishing field of pre-Revolution era. Nevertheless, they help us better to understand the historical development of publishing in modern Iran.

Chapter 5, “The post-Revolution period (1979–present),” starts with an overview of translation, translation flows, and the publishing field, similar to the two previous chapters. Then four case studies are presented. The first is a survey study

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4. Although the historical overview starts with the late eighteenth century, the first translations in the form of books, as we will show later, did not appear in Iran until the late nineteenth century.

that presents the general perceptions of Iranian translators on various issues, such as their motivations and position in the publishing field of the period. The second case study is on agency in the translation and production of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* during that period. This case study is the second part of the longitudinal case study that started in Chapter 4. Through interviews with both the translator and the publisher of the translation and textual and paratextual analyses, the levels of agency are shown. The next case study in this chapter is on agency in the translation and production of Mario Vargas Llosa's *The War of the End of the World*, as an example of indirect translation. Here the examination of agency is made through interviews with both the translator and the publisher of the Persian translation in the larger context of the publishing field. The last case study is about women literary translators in the post-Revolution era. Through face-to-face interviews with three translators and drawing on archival materials, it explores the ways that they conceive and practice their agency in translation.

Chapter 6, "The assembly is finished and..." is the concluding chapter. It presents the findings of the study, the application of Bourdieu's sociological concepts to Iran, and the implications of this study for the field of TS, Iranian Studies, and the publishing industry. The final part of this chapter looks at the limitations of our study and possible areas for further research.

In writing this book, we have tried to balance between the requirements of the scholarly writing common in the field of TS and Iranian Studies, on the one hand, and writing for readership interested in Iran's literary history, on the other. This often meant a certain degree of expounding or simplification, which otherwise might seem unnecessary to either of the intended audiences. Because this is the first book of its kind on the topic, we could not cover everything about translation in the context under study; nevertheless, it should arouse further discussion about translation and publishing in modern Iran.



## Sociological perspectives

### Sociological approaches to translation

There is no way out of the game of culture.  
(Bourdieu 1984: 12)

More things than “the modern writer’s isolation from society” warrant sociological investigation in literary studies (Wellek and Warren 1949: 97). For example, TS scholars show a keen interest in translation as a social practice, and some term this approach yet another turn – that is, a certain direction for research – in TS. Focus on the “social” side was of course nothing new. In *Translation as Social Action: Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*, translation, with respect to its practice in the so-called Eastern bloc, was argued to be “a form of meaningful action, not the meaningless drudgery to be performed by underpaid intellectuals in the West” (Zlateva 1993: 2). Since 2006, the “sociological turn” has been one of the central themes of research in TS (e.g. Pym, Shlesinger, and Jettmarová 2006). Then, in 2007, TS researchers were busy constructing their sociological approaches to translation (Wolf and Fukari 2007). Later, the organizers of the fifth biennial conference of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association (April 22–24, 2010) called their conference “The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies.” Despite reservations by some scholars concerning the choice of terms (see e.g., Pym 2011), Michaela Wolf (2010a) wrote the entry “sociology of translation” for *Handbook of Translation Studies*, Volume 1 (Gambier and Doorslaer 2010) and tried to exemplify the “potential implication of a ‘sociological turn’” (Wolf 2010b: 34). The most recent entry, however, has appeared under the title of “sociology and translation studies” (Buzelin 2013), to which we will turn later.

What these approaches have in common is a consensus that research on translation should also involve research on those who do translation. In other words, we need to move beyond textual analysis and examine, say, the translators’ role, their motivation, and the larger social context of both production and reception of translation. This clearly follows previous interest in translation from “system theories” and “cultural and ideological turns” perspectives in TS. While the former saw translations as part of the target system, the latter called for the study of translation from “a cultural studies angle” (Munday 2008: 124). There has nevertheless been a call for a “consilience” for research in TS, by which both textual and cultural aspects are seen as complementary (Chesterman 2005).

## Typologies

In an attempt to classify the sociological approaches to translation, Wolf distinguishes “three sociologies of translation” that have been developed so far in TS. The first, the sociology of agents, “focuses on the agents active in translation production” or “the translation activity under the perspective of its protagonists as both individual and members of specific networks” (Wolf 2006: 11). In the second sociology – that is, the “sociology of the translation process” – the researcher “stresses the constraints conditioning the production of translation in its various stages, focusing also on the factors which shape the translator’s ‘invisibility’ (Venuti 1995)<sup>1</sup> and positioning them within a broader conceptual frame” (Wolf 2006: 11). Finally, the sociology of the cultural product “focuses on the flow of translation product in its multifaceted aspects and particularly stresses the implications of the inter- and transnational transfer mechanisms on the shape of translation” (ibid.: 11). Similarly, for Andrew Chesterman (2006: 12), “the sociology of translation” has three subareas: the sociology of translations as products, the sociology of translators (cf. “Translator Studies” in Chesterman 2009), and the sociology of translating – that is, the translation process. Arguing that the third subarea is under studied, Chesterman lists ten “statements” that characterize such a sociology (2006: 23). He also provides a critical overview of eight “theoretical models and approaches currently used in sociological studies of translation” (2006: 12). “The sociology of agents” in Wolf resembles “the sociology of translators” in Chesterman, as indeed both of them stress the need for more research on the process of translating. Chesterman’s study, however, does not specify to which subarea agency belongs.

The above-noted typology has, one scholar argues, produced two lines of thinking in research in the field of TS. One line embraces “the model of the literary field and tries to understand how (literary) translations and translation fit into it.” The second line “questions how (far) the concepts of *habitus* and field can be applied to the understanding of translation practices and translation norms, in general, beyond the literary field” (Buzelin 2013: 188). In both of these two lines of thinking, Bourdieu’s sociological concepts have been used extensively, so much so that some scholars have tried to look beyond his mode of analysis, getting insights from similar sociologists. Therefore, a third line of thinking could be what has come to be known as “non-Bourdiesian” approaches (e.g., Buzelin 2005, also our section below), of which we will talk later, but first we need to stay with Bourdieu for a minute or so.

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1. For Venuti, translators in the Anglo-American culture tend to be invisible in the sense of adopting a domesticating strategy, that is, translating fluently and producing a fluent translation (for more on this and responses to it, see for example, Emerich 2013).

## Concepts in Bourdieu's sociology of culture

Interest in Bourdieu's sociology and his critical approach to society, education, art, and culture, among others, has been on the rise since his death in 2002. Coming from a humble background in the French Pyrénées-Atlantiques, he trained first in philosophy. However, his life experience as a soldier in Algeria in the 1960s provided much of the material he needed for his later move to sociology. Over a career of fifty years, he challenged some of the established approaches in humanities and social sciences, for example, the long-debated opposition between structure and agency, and also questioned the popular existentialist philosophy of the postwar France (i.e., Sartre) and the structural anthropology of, say, Lévi-Strauss. By proposing a set of "thinking tools" such as field (*le champ*), capital, and *habitus* for the analysis of social facts, and drawing on extensive fieldworks (e.g., interviewing more than 9,000 art museum visitors in France for *The Love of Arts* (1991)), he broadened the horizon of sociological research.

The attraction of Bourdieu's sociology to translation scholars lies in his powerful conceptual tools that help us to "analyze critically [translators' and interpreters'] role as social and cultural agents actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices" (Inghilleri 2005: 126). Although Bourdieu did not specifically study translators, they were seen as members of the broader field of cultural production (see below), which had among its members authors, critics, publishers, artists, literary salon organizers, and the like. Perhaps the closest Bourdieu got to translators and publishers was in his piece "Une révolution conservatrice dans l'édition" (Bourdieu 1999a), which we will refer to later, as the base for our analysis of the publishing field in Iran.

Of the key concepts in Bourdieu's sociology, we will make use of the concept of field, capital, and *habitus*, though their usage will not be of equal size, and we may refer to other concepts as well. In using the term *habitus*, we also would like to stress literary translators' engagement in literary translation and related practices. Overall, these concepts will contribute to the model that will be developed later to study the translators' and publishers' agency in modern Iran. Before that, a description of these concepts and their relevance for our analysis is required.

### Field

The idea of "field" appears to be inspired by a football field for Bourdieu (Thomson 2008: 68). Similar to the football field, players in the field defined by Bourdieu have rather set positions; however, being in the game, they have the possibility of moving in the field, defending their positions ("position-taking" using various strategies), and scoring while competing with their peers in not only a physical

game but also a game of capital exchange (see below). The idea of the field as such for Bourdieu was more a methodological device to explain the social field in the form of a virtual space, “the locus of the accumulated social energy which the agents and institutions help to produce through the struggles” (1993a:78–79). Examples of such fields are literary field, educational field, and economic field, among others.

What are the major properties of the field? Reading through Bourdieu’s works (and those written on his works), several properties can be distinguished. First, as an arena of struggle, field is the space in which agents and institutions seek to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital (Wacquant 2008: 268). Second, to understand and trace the history of field we need to pay attention to competition between the established players (agents) and newly arrived players in the field. This competition points to the third property of the field in having a hierarchized structure in which agents with a varying degree of capitals are positioned. Last, a field is semiautonomous in the sense of being in a constant interaction with other neighboring fields that affect its function. For example, Bourdieu has shown that while literary field has a close connection with the field of power, it has certain degree of autonomy as well.

The closest field to our inquiry in this book is the field of cultural production, or what Bourdieu has figuratively termed “the Economic World Reversed” (1993a: 30). This field shares the common properties of the field mentioned above; however, with regard to its clear manifestation in the subfield of publishing, it has some distinctive features, which are informed by Bourdieu’s analysis of the French literary field in the second half of the twentieth century. By examining the position of drama, novels, and poetry in relation to the field of power, he illustrates their hierarchy in the field, adding that this was due to two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous and the autonomous principles (Bourdieu 1993a: 40). The former is “favorable to those who dominate the field economically and politically” (40) and the latter is the domain of those who subscribe to the idea of “art for art’s sake.” As an illustration, the popularity of Paulo Coelho’s books in Iran can be seen as an expression of heteronomous forces on the autonomous principle, the former being the economic capital (i.e., money earned from the sale of books) guaranteed, and the later the highbrow translators and publishers who distance themselves from what they discredit as cheap adaptations. At the heteronomous pole of the field of cultural production, Coelho guarantees economic return for publishers and translators, whereas at the autonomous pole a given translator or publisher chooses not to play the game. Of course, such a division cannot always be forced on the field. It is this display of disinterest in the financial returns (principle of “disinterestedness”) that “makes the field of cultural production an important site



of crafting meanings, social forms and social relations, and finding ways to make sense of them” (Webb, Schirato, and Danaher 2002: 150).

The field of cultural production as such has two subfields: in the field of restricted production (the autonomous principle of production), there is generally no predetermined market, whereas in the field of large-scale production (the heteronomous principle of production), the market of consumers is predetermined. As an illustration, there are eight retranslations of Coelho’s *The Alchemist* in Persian, none of which betrays the heteronomous principle. Table 1 below illustrates Bourdieu’s literary field.

**Table 1.** Bourdieu’s classification of literary field

Type	Producers	Examples	Principle of competition
<i>Field of restricted production</i>	Work for other producers	High art, classical music, serious literature	Symbolic: prestige, consecration, artistic celebrity
<i>Field of large-scale production</i>	Work for all	Mass or popular cultures	Economic capital

### *Habitus*

I said habitus as not to say habit.  
(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 122)

Bourdieu’s concepts need to be understood when interrelated and not in isolation. For example, *habitus*, a property that an agent has acquired in the form of various dispositions in a given field, is central to the concept of field and needs to be understood in relation to both field and capital (see below). *Habitus*, which has remained a contested and misused concept (Maton 2008: 49), was employed by Bourdieu as a conceptual tool to overcome the dichotomy between the subjective view of individuals and the objective social facts (see also our section on “Agency”). According to Bourdieu, a *habitus* is what one “has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions [...] so the term constantly reminds us that it refers to something historical, linked to individual history [...]” (Bourdieu 1993a: 86). For Bourdieu, *habitus* is durable in an agent during his or her lifetime; it is transposable, that is, it makes an agent embark on various social activities; and although it is structured, it can be structuring as well. In short, *habitus* is “socialized subjectivity” and “the social embodied” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127–128).

Within the field of TS, the concept of *habitus* has also remained a contested concept. As mentioned earlier, Simeoni saw the *habitus* of Western translators

as “subservient,” and argued that it was the “result of a personalized social and cultural history” (read *habitus*) (1998: 32).<sup>2</sup> Building on this, Meylaerts called for an “individual translator’s habitus” (2010: 15) that should be also “intercultural” (2008: 94). Pym saw *habitus* useful to those who draw on Bourdieu’s sociology. For the rest, he suggested using “a set of dispositions where appropriate” instead to avoid overlapping “the problem of agency” (2011: 82).

Though the study of the *habitus* of agents is not the major focus of the present study, we will be referring to it in relation to our various case studies as a way to illustrate what we think should be best described as “the effects of a habitus” (Maton 2008: 62) in the practice of literary translators and publishers, not necessarily the *habitus* itself per se. In so doing, we will be able to describe how agents of similar backgrounds connect, and explain agents’ multiple practices and the strategies by which they find their positions in the relevant fields.

## Capital

Bourdieu’s use of the term “capital,” as one scholar argues, “conjures up a Marxist appeal to the priority of the economic,” especially in relation to Marx’s surplus theory of profit (see Beasley-Murray 2000: 103, 105). Bourdieu nevertheless contended that in the economic theory informed by Marx, the universe of exchanges is reduced to “mercantile exchange” and other forms of capital transubstantiations are overlooked (see Bourdieu 1986: 241).

Capital, the third interrelated concept in Bourdieu’s sociology of culture, determines the position of an agent in a field. In fact, capital is of two major types: economic and symbolic. The symbolic capital is then further divided into cultural and social ones. As Moore (2008: 102) points out, the latter are indeed “transubstantiated” forms of the former. Economic capital refers to economic resources possessed by an agent (money and material resources), and in a sense, “provides the conditions for freedom from economic necessity” (Bourdieu 1993a: 68). Symbolic capital (fame and credibility) is “nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized” (Bourdieu 1989: 21). Cultural capital (education, knowledge, and certificates) refers to legitimate knowledge possessed by an agent, and it “is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications” (Bourdieu 1986: 243). Social capital (social relations, friendship, and contacts) is “the sum of the resources,

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2. “To become a translator in the West today is to agree to becoming nearly fully subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense” (Simeoni 1998: 12).

actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

Although measuring the exact amount of economic and symbolic capital of translators and publishers is not our aim in this book, we have tried to draw on them in the design of our research in order to gain insights on agency. Within Bourdieu’s sociology, these capitals are always convertible to each other depending on an agent’s *habitus* and the logic of the field. As such, these various forms of capital should be understood both dynamically and relatively.

### Publishing field and Bourdieu’s analysis of the publishing field in France

TS researchers using sociological approaches to translation have explored the under studied world of publishing in the field of TS. Such attempts have been to some extent inspired by Bourdieu’s earlier-mentioned article, “Une révolution conservatrice dans l’édition” (1999a, for the English version, see Bourdieu 1999b). This article provides a useful framework for the initial examination of the publishing field, and we will be discussing it and borrowing from it freely here. In 2008, Gisèle Sapiro made a commentary on Bourdieu’s article and provided three theoretical and methodological directions for enlarging Bourdieu’s model to a global sociological analysis of the circulation of books in translation. Sapiro (2008) also traces previous attempts at examining the global economy, with translations being part of the object of the study. This includes de Swaan (2001) and his model of a world language system, and Heilbron (1999) and his core-periphery system model. Research focusing on translations from inside the publishing world has inspired the works of Buzelin (2005, 2006) in the Canadian publishing industry and has sparked interest in anthropological fieldwork in publishing houses (see Buzelin 2007, Sturge 2007). However, all of these attempts have remained largely within Western perspectives, and alternative models for study of the publishing field in TS remain yet to be offered.

For Bourdieu, French publishers have a “selection process” for publication. To understand this process, we need to study their “institutional mechanism” (reading committees, readers, series editors, etc.). The structure of the publishing field determines the interaction of agents, pushing them toward either the “literary” side or the “commercial” side. By moving toward one of these sides, the publishers find a position for themselves “at a given moment” (Bourdieu 1999b: 3). This position depends on the distribution of the rare resources (economic, symbolic, technical, etc.) and the power these resources confer on the field. The position defines the system of constraints and objectives imposed on the agents, and thus their margin for maneuver (Bourdieu 1999b: *passim*).

In order to extract the structure of the literary publishing field, Bourdieu studies sixty-one publishers of French or translated literature between July 1995 and July 1996. He excludes publishers of social sciences, publishers specializing in paperbacks (re-editions), art books, practical books, dictionaries or encyclopedias, and textbooks, as well as book clubs, from his study.

Bourdieu's analysis reveals that the large publishers or first class publishers such as Seuil, Gallimard, and Albin Michel, which are public limited liability companies, "are able to accumulate financial and symbolic capital and dominate the market, as demonstrated by their position in the best-seller lists" (Bourdieu 1999b: 8). Next, there are the intermediate publishers such as Bourgois, Corti, and Losfeld, with "access to dominant positions like prize juries or national awards" (ibid.). Finally, there are small publishers such as Chambon, Climats, and Zoé, which have "limited economic resources and very little institutionally acknowledged symbolic capital" (ibid.).

This analysis shows a relatively close relationship between the amount of capital each publisher has and its position in the field. Large publishers are able to accumulate all kinds of capital and create what Bourdieu calls "confrontation." On the other hand, smaller publishers are usually the losers in the game; they can become "innovative" publishers, giving the game "its basic justification and spiritual point of honor" (Bourdieu 1999b: 9).

As Bourdieu argues, almost all the interaction between the agents in the publishing field depends on the structure of the publishing field. This structure forces translators and all other agents to lean toward either the "literary" or the "commercial" side of the game (cf. definition of field above). This forced inclination of the agents creates an antagonistic function for translation. For large publishers, translations are nothing more than a safe "financial investment" (Bourdieu 1999b: 19), while they enable small publishers to resist "the invasion of commercial literature" (ibid.).

Where does Bourdieu position translators? The translator at the commercial pole "is often reduced to a simple adaptor of a foreign product," while at the literary pole, they become an aid to help small publishers resist the commercial logic of the game, or what we may call catalysts for shaking "the literary order out of its immobility" (Bourdieu 1999b: *passim*).

Publishers as producers of cultural productions are to be located in relation to two poles identified by Bourdieu. On the commercial pole, the publisher adopts "pre-existent demands" and therefore aims at a short production cycle in order to "minimize risks [...] to ensure a rapid return of profits through rapid circulation of products." On the other hand, a publisher near the cultural pole adopts a long production cycle "based on acceptance of the risk inherent in cultural investment" (Bourdieu 1993a: 97). Bourdieu's classification is thus taken as a starting point for the analyses in this book.

## Beyond Bourdieu

Bourdieuian approaches have been criticized for their tendency to reduce the agent of translation to the translator and to consider agency from individualistic perspectives (Buzelin 2005; see also Buzelin and Folaron 2007).<sup>3</sup> For this reason, non-Bourdieuian approaches attempt to fill in the gap. Two sociologists and their theories – that is, Bruno Latour’s actor-network theory and Niklas Luhman’s systems theory – have received some attention in TS. For example, as stated above, Buzelin’s studies (2005, 2006) on the publishing field in Canada are primarily inspired by Latour’s actor-network theory (Latour 2007) in an attempt to complement Bourdieu. Similarly, Hekkanen’s study (2009) of the field of translation in Finland shows the advantages of combining Bourdieu’s field theory and Latour’s actor-network theory. In another study, Kung (2009) tries to use the earlier-mentioned theories in her study of the English translation of Taiwanese novels. She aims to explore how agents of translation and their agency can contribute to better visibility of lesser-known literature in the United States. Finally, Niklas Luhman’s systems theory has remained at mainly a theoretical rather than an empirical level (see Hermans 2007, cf. Chesterman 2010: 359–360; see also Tyulenev 2011).

## Agent(s) of translation

A recent trend in sociological approaches to translation comprises studies that focus on the agents of translation and their agency. The first work, as far as TS is concerned, is a collection of articles entitled *Agents of Translation* edited by Milton and Bandia (2009). The editors build on the definition of the agent in translation presented by Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997: 321), that is, a person who “is in [an] intermediary position between a translator and end user of a translation” (ibid.). Their definition covers a broad range of individuals and even cultural or political bodies as being agents of translation (cf. Buzelin 2010). In terms of the effects of the agents of translation, Milton and Bandia (2009: 2) distinguish between agents of translation whose translations bring about “stylistic innovations,” and those who also play cultural and political roles in their immediate environments. Overall, the editors of *Agents of Translation* argue that their book “does not necessarily see agency as whiggish, leading to a better world, with translation automatically promoting improved contact between nations” (Milton and Bandia 2009: 15).

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3. This critique is aimed at the researchers who reduce the agent to the translator alone, and not at Bourdieu. In his sociology of culture, the field is a space occupied by multiple players in a rather constant competition, and by extension and occasionally (though not stated by Bourdieu) in cooperation with each other.

The term “agent of translation” bears similarity to a number of terms that have been used so far in TS, such as intermediary, mediator, and agent in general. In using the term agent(s) of translation, we should not use it loosely. If we do, everything filling the gap between the producer (here the translator) and the end user (e.g., readership) may simply be called an agent of translation. For example, although the mail carrier who delivers a translated book bought online to our door can be an agent in light of sociologies of Latour and the like, he or she is not an agent of translation when the focus is on translators, editors and publishers proper. The same can be said about those individuals or institutions who act as gatekeepers or censors whose positive/negative impact on translation is by no means welcoming toward other agents of translation or conducive to the free exchange of ideas. As much as we would like to have desirable agents of translation, we also have the opposite scenario. One often finds agents of translation who combine “stylistic innovations” with broader cultural, social, and political roles in their environments.

Agents of translation in this book are then literary translators and their publishers, the Iranian state whose cultural policies are partially enforced by the *Vezerat-e Farhang va Ershad-e Eslami* (Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, the Ministry hereafter), editors and the like, who one way or another are involved in the translation and production of novels into Persian. As a further note, the Ministry, according to Article 20 of its basic responsibilities, is in charge of overseeing the activities of publishers and bookshops. In addition, it regulates a wide variety of cultural activities in Iran, such as the production of movies and music. The Ministry is one of the executive agencies responsible for “the proper execution of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s cultural policy” (SCCR 2014). The other agencies are the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and Medical Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Broadcasting (IRIB), and the Physical Education Organization.

As our mode of analysis in this book is informed by Bourdieu’s concepts, the term “agent of translation” is then to be understood as the player in the game of cultural production who, having a certain *habitus*, enters the field with or without capital. His or her interaction and game are both by the rules and sometimes against the rules. It should nevertheless be clear that our study of this game is by implication a game in the game.

## Agency

### Basic definitions

Is agency, or in simpler terms, a human's degree of choice and power, independent from the structure or the context within which a person lives? This question has invited various thinkers from different fields to propose multifarious definitions of the concept of agency. For example, our online search of the term "agency" in the Oxford Reference Online (premium version) produced 321 results. This includes definitions and applications across various fields of studies. Refined by subject, the highest number of hits comes from the field of Politics and Social Sciences (111), followed by Economics and Business (97), Law and Science (each 41), and History (40).

A review of different definitions of agency is relevant here. Agency is defined as "the capacity for autonomous social action" in the *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (Calhoun 2002:7). In *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*, agency, within the fields of sociology and philosophy, is understood to be "the degree to which a subject is able to determine the course of their actions" (Buchanan 2010: 10). The author adds that this concept "is generally used in the context of discussions about the factors that shape everyday life and place a limit on agency" (ibid.). This definition is enlightening as it takes stock of the limiting factors of agency that are generally concerned with the structure.

In a historical attempt to classify the different concepts of agency, Stephan Fuchs sees agency as "the faculty for action [...] located in the human mind" (2007: 60). As far as sociology is concerned, he distinguishes four notions or "traditions" in the study of agency. The first tradition sees agency as a "rational choice" property endowed with human beings, who are seen to be "rational actors." They "always act out of a well-defined interest in their own personal welfare" (Fuchs 2007: 61). In the second tradition, "symbolic interactionism," agency is "more contingent and open-ended," and "the faculty of agency is not ready-made, but emerges through a process of social formation and re-formation" (61). The third notion of agency is that of "ethnomethodology," in which "actors are not really in control of social life; rather, social life is in control of them" (61). Finally, in the "constructivist" concept, agency is a "property that may, or may not, be ascribed to" an actor (62). This final definition allows us to see agency as an "attribution, akin to the granting of a privilege that can be withdrawn and withheld" (ibid.).

## The problem of agency-structure

Within the field of sociology, the problem of agency-structure has remained a contested concept. Known as agency-structure dualism, it examines how reconciliation can be made between objective constraints and subjective agency. There have been a number of attempts to solve the dualist problem of agency-structure since the time of Émile Durkheim and his insistence on “conditions under which, and by means of which, [action] took place” (Rapport 2000: 14) and Max Weber and his nonpositivist sociology that aimed to interpret human action and choice. These attempts, according to Rapport, include Talcott Parsons and his theory of social action, Berger and Luckmann and the theory of the social construction of reality, Anthony Giddens and structuration theory, and Pierre Bourdieu and his theory of practice and the concept of *habitus*. While each of them has faced criticism (see Stones 2008), Bourdieu’s endeavor to overcome this dualist problem has led the way. He sought to reconcile this dichotomy basically with a series of key concepts such as *habitus*. In his own words, *habitus* is “a socialized subjectivity” and “the social embodied” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127, 128). Therefore, he views this dichotomy as “artificial and mutilating” (Wacquant 2008: 267). In Simeoni’s study of the translator’s *habitus* (1998) we trace an attempt to establish a relationship between norms of translation (read structure) and agency in translation.<sup>4</sup> The French scholar argued that although translators are governed by norms, they also “govern norms as much as their behavior is governed by them” (24). If there is an agency in the translator’s “subservient” *habitus*, it is still subject and limited to norm, and as such does not seem sufficient for a thorough study of the translator’s agency. Similarly, the “interplay” of norm and *habitus*, agency and structure is seen necessary for the study of translation as a social activity (Meylaerts 2010: 15).

## Principal-agent theory

Agency theory or principal-agent theory is built on three major elements, that is, the principal, the agent, and the contract. For Eisenhardt, the theory can empirically contribute to organizational theory as “it unravels the principal-agent relations” (1989: 58). The study of such relations is seen to be the study of agency. In this field, “one party (the principal) delegates work to another (the agent), who

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4. According to Toury (1995/2012), translation is a norm-governed activity, and norms are specific to each culture. They are in the form of “general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate” in translation (Toury 1995/2012: 63). For example, the fact that Iranian translators generally do not choose novels with erotic scenes for translation can be seen in terms of Toury’s initial norm.



performs that work” (Eisenhardt 1989: 58). Although various scholars have criticized the principal-agent theory, in particular, management scholars (see e.g., Eisenhardt 1989, Kivistö 2008), it can offer solutions with respect to problems associated with “cooperative effort.”

While this theory is not adopted in this research, nor is it being used widely in TS (except for Abdallah 2010, see below), certain concepts of the theory, such as “risk-averse principals” and “outcome uncertainty,” might help us to say one or two things about some of the underlying principles of the publishing field. For example, the concept of “risk-averse principals” may explain situations where newly founded publishers prefer to be risk averse by selecting and publishing books whose possible sales are guaranteed. However, some “innovative publishers” become risk-pro publishers when they introduce less-known authors, or choose to publish young translators with an eye on “outcome uncertainty.” The same applies to risk-pro translators who introduce unknown authors into their home culture (cf. our use of the term in Chapter 3).

## Research on agency in TS

A number of TS researchers have applied some concepts of agency theory. Andy L. J. Chan (2008) draws on the concept of “symmetric/asymmetric information” and “adverse selection,” borrowed from the field of Information Economics, to explain why “bad” translators can work for the translation industry. Kristina Abdallah draws on agency theory to find out how Finnish translators construct their agency and the relevant factors affecting their agency (2010: 18). In her proposed model of four principal-agent dyads, the reader is seen as the end user of the translation and the translator as the agent for two principals, the reader and the translation company (Abdallah 2010: 16–17).

Abdallah’s views on agency theory have their faults. To assume readers as the principal does not account for those translators or publishers who take the initiative to translate or publish translations. In addition, her argument that the very goal of agency theory should be to strive “towards complete and true information by eliminating asymmetric information and the occurrence of agency problems in principal-agent relationships” (17) sounds problematic when we realize that the interplay of symmetric versus asymmetric information can give agents a sense of competition that forms various cultural fields, in particular, the publishing field illustrated by Bourdieu (see below).

For Abdallah, the limited motive rationale of principal-agent theory can be complemented by Jack Barbalet’s thesis of the emotional nature of agency (1996), consisting of the concepts of confidence, trust, and loyalty (Abdallah 2010: 29).

Informed by this theoretical framework, Abdallah distinguishes four kinds of “coping strategies” used by Finnish translators to retain their agency: to give tit for tat (repayment in kind), to bite the bullet (the translator accepts the inevitable), to rationalize unethical behavior (the translator does not wish to work half-heartedly), and to exit or voice (the translator leaves the company or air their voices; *ibid.*: 33–37). Although such strategies imply an aura of revenge rather than the aforementioned thesis of the emotional nature of agency, they can still be useful in describing aspects of agency in modern Iran. For example, by using the strategy of “biting the bullet,” we may describe why certain literary translators can maintain their agency in certain contexts, become professional translators, and live with censorship.

Other studies of agency in TS include Poupaud (2005), Paloposki (2007, 2009), and, to some extent, Jones (2009). Poupaud uses a three-level model to study the agency of the translators and publishers of Hispanic literatures in France from 1980 to 2000. With no clear-cut definition of agency adopted, her model looks at agency by retaining three dimensions: resources (the type and amount of capital at the disposal of the agents), performance (the successful deployment of resources by agents to reach a particular object), and discourse (the way agents conceive and represent their and others’ agency). Her study indicated that there was a correlation between an agent’s resources and performance, though the discourses showed inconsistencies among agents. In another study, Olohan (2011) tries to apply Andrew Pickering’s model of human and nonhuman agency to the study of translators and translation technology. This, however, concerns a specific sense of agency in and through technology, which is not relevant to our study.

### Paloposki’s model of agency

Agency, for Paloposki, implies “an idea of translators as powerful and influential agents” (2007: 337). Therefore, translators’ agency in nineteenth-century Finland is studied at the level of choices and decisions by drawing on Toury’s concepts of norms (1995). She shows how preliminary norms “constrain the translator’s agency in the choice of works to be translated” and how operational norms affect their textual agency (2007: 343). Her analysis also highlights the multiple positionality of translators, their multiprofessionalism, and their multiple motives: translating “for the love of the works,” and “for the money” (344).

In her second study of the translator’s agency, Paloposki uses a model inspired by Kaisa Koskinen’s three-level distinctions of visibility in *Beyond Ambivalence* (2000: 99) – that is, textual, paratextual, and extratextual visibility. Paloposki suggests three kinds of agency, which we have illustrated in Table 2 below.

**Table 2.** Translator's agency as perceived by Paloposki (2009: 191)

Type	Descriptions
<i>Textual</i>	Translator's voice in the text Translator's footprints (deliberate manipulation, stylistic preferences or habits) Functionalist-oriented adaptations or anything in between
<i>Paratextual</i>	Translator's role in inserting and adding notes and prefaces
<i>Extratextual</i>	Selection of books for translation Use of different editions Intermediary translations Explaining their methods and strategies

This categorization is useful in that it provides a framework for an initial analysis of a translator's agency using texts they work with. However, the translator's voice is a rather ambiguous term. For Hermans, the translator's voice is "an index of the translator's discursive presence" in the translated text (1996: 27). In other words, Hermans sees the translator's voice or presence as empowering in the recipient culture, and, at the same time, disturbing the "ideology of transparency" (ibid.: 44). While the translator's voice, in whatever senses it is perceived, appears to interface with the emerging issue of "translation as intervention" (see Munday 2007), Paloposki's use of the term possibly covers whatever the translator decides to do with the text. It remains unclear whether traces of the translator's intervention visible in the translation (e.g., using blanks to show censorship) are also part of his or her voice. Moreover, though the existence of voice amounts to some sort of agency, it does not necessarily amount to effective agency. In other words, one can speak but others choose not to listen. Although there has been a growing interest in voice in translation (for a recent study, see Taivalkoski-Shilov and Suchet 2013), the relationship between voice and agency, however, remains to be explored. Of interest in this line of research, as far as the case of Iran is concerned, is to find out whether the voice of published translations, and hence the agency of their translators and publishers, has been more effective than that of those which have not received publication permission. We tend to see the latter as silent translations.<sup>5</sup>

Second, paratextual agency can have a broader scope, and it can be part of the translator's textual agency. The word "role" also needs clarification. We assume that translators can, may, or choose to write prefaces for their translations, or add footnotes (missing in paratextual agency above) to their translations. If a translator

5. Cf. Bourdieu's view about censorship: "More profoundly, one of the most effective ways a group has of reducing people to silence is by excluding them from the positions from which one can speak" (1993b:92).

does not follow others, or chooses to do otherwise, this may be due to economic reasons, contextual conventions, or publishing traditions. Here the role becomes a function of the constraints. The third kind of agency, extratextual agency, provides richer determinants to look for the translator's agency. Another shortcoming of the model is that it does not attempt to find out either the translator's motive – a key factor in agency theory – nor does it take account of the constraints or non-constraints that can have the opposite effect on the translator's agency. The model may also need a wider level of determinants to be useful for researchers working within nondemocratic contexts.

Finally, Francis R. Jones combines three theoretical models, that is, actor-network theory, activity and social game theory (see Axel 1997, Goffman 1970 respectively), to map “embassy networks” by looking at “the main agents involved in producing published English translations of work by Bosnian poets” and their interaction (Jones 2009: 303). Jones argues that the translators are not as powerful as their editors; rather, the former's power “tends to be subservient to that of the editor and the source poet respectively” (319). For him, agency is “not so much in individual actors as in the network as a whole” (320), which can be mapped in a “distributed space.”

### Translator's agency: the way forward

The study of agency in TS took a new momentum with the online publication of the book *Translators' Agency* in 2010. The editors discuss the interplay of agency and structure in a more optimistic view. For them, the “translators' agency only becomes a meaningful concept when employed in relation to a particular material context and community” (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010: 8). Structure here is an effect of the actors rather than *a priori* characteristic: “what we may initially perceive as structure can be interpreted as a durable effort of ‘holding together’ by a number of actors” (9). They also present their definition of agency as the “willingness and ability to act” (6). This definition reflects three key features: willingness, ability, and acting. For editors of the book, willingness reflects “a particular internal state and disposition”; ability “relates the concept of agency to constraints and issues of power(lessness), highlighting the intrinsic relation between agency and power”; and acting, exerts “an influence in the life-world” (6–7). They further state that their aim is to move beyond Bourdieu and to look for “other approaches that might help us enlarge our view on the issue of agency” (5).

Although Pym (2011: 76) recommends using the above definition of agency, he argues that the concept of agency evokes the debate, without solving it. He rather suggests that we should look at “the contradictory social determinations of

the translatorial subject” (ibid.: 76). In other words, we should examine the ways agents of translation exercise their agency in the loose and contradictory social structures within which they live. In the same vein, to conceive agency as a form of resistance against structures points to translators’ creation of a whole array of circumventing methods in exercising their hidden agency. At least theoretically, we see translators as relatively powerful.

## Methodological issues

### Three-tier model for the study of agency

Paloposki’s model of agency (2009) falls short of taking account of the agents’ decision-making process, their motivations, and the context within which they live and exercise their agency. The model we propose here comprises three levels for both translators and publishers of novels: decision, motivation, and context. A description of the model is given in Table 3. In this table, under each agent, that is, translator or publisher, we have listed a nonexclusive number of determinants which answer the relevant question and indicate the range of the agent’s agency. This does not mean that all of them necessarily show up in our analyses. Therefore, this model will organize the data that has been collected in the study. The examination of the answers to this three-tier model will enable us to say something about agency in the translation and production of novels in modern Iran.

On the first level, the level of decision, we will answer the first research question: who (the translator or the publisher) decides what (novels from English) to translate? This level has two sublevels. The first is the title sublevel, which answers questions about the identity of the person (translator or publisher) who chooses the titles for translation. The second is, for want of a better word, the meta-title sublevel; it permits us to explore further decisions concerning the translation and publication of the novels into Persian, such as the acceptance or rejection of the translations for publication, determining the technical format, distribution and promotion of the translation, and royalty preference. These are important in that the degree of decision making is far more important than the selection of novels. This, however, does not rule out yet the fundamental question of who decides what to translate.

On the second level, the level of motivation, we answer the question of what motivates the translators and publishers to translate and publish novels from English. This level specifically examines the respondents in relation to their level of professionalism, that is, whether translation is for earning a living (economic capital) or factors beyond that (to invest or raise symbolic capital, etc.).

On the third level, the level of context, we aim to ascertain what constrains or increases the agency of the translators and publishers. This level also has two sub-levels: textual and extratextual. The translator's agency can vary on the textual sub-level and the extratextual sublevel, while the publisher's agency is perceived to vary in relation to the translation as a product-in-process-of-publication, and within the specific context of modern Iran. Translator's agency on the textual level can be constrained or increased by some determinants, as outlined in Table 3 below. For example, the translator's attempt to find proper equivalents for location markers, that is, "the linguistic elements that situate a scene in a specific historical period and/or geographical place: names of people, streets, currency, food, dress, etc." (Pym 2011:85), can either increase or decrease their agency. If translators spend too much time on each item, they may miss the deadline, hence their agency in terms of the economic capital they expect to receive. On the other hand, they can enhance the quality of the translation. Time pressure can have a similar function. On the extratextual sublevel, various social problems or censorship can decrease the agency, whereas translation prizes, the existence or lack of subsidies, and competition from other agents can increase it. Obviously, these determinants should be contextualized, and they can prove to have contradictory effects in different contexts.

Similarly, the publisher's agency can vary on the extratextual sublevel. For example, as it is shown in Table 3, a lack of capital, censorship, and low readership may have a decreasing effect on their agency, whereas translation prizes, market demand, and the existence or lack of subsidies can increase their agency.

Finally, this model has the potential to be applied to other contexts with different kinds of research questions. Paloposki's model of agency highlights agency at the level of text, which is a necessary step in the study of agency. However, this model extends it to examine agents' decisions, motivations, and contexts, all having observable effects on their agency.

### Collection and analysis of data

In this research, multiple data-collection methods – including historical and archival research, quantitative data on translation flows, and qualitative data based on interviews – have been used. Different methods are used because the research questions require different types of data that cannot be obtained by using one method alone. Moreover, owing to the particularities of the objective of the study, not all the materials needed for research could be collected.

In the preliminary phase of the research, we used bibliographical data to identify the main individuals and entities active in the translation and production of novels from English in post-Revolution Iran. The collection of this data was a result

Table 3. The three-tier model for the study of agency

Research questions LEVEL	WHO DECIDES WHAT TO TRANSLATE?		WHAT MOTIVATES THEM?	WHAT CONSTRAINS OR INCREASES THEIR AGENCY?		
	DECISION		MOTIVATION	CONTEXT		
	<i>Title</i>	<i>Meta-title</i>		<i>Textual</i>	<i>Extratextual</i>	
AGENTS	Translator	Stylistic preferences (translation strategies, multiple revisions)	Accumulation of economic versus symbolic capital	Location markers	Social problems	
		Selection of novels	Prefaces	Time pressure	Translation prizes	
			Footnotes	Competition	Quality	Censorship
			Royalty preference	Social and cultural motives		Competition
				Other motives		Subsidies
	Publisher	Acceptance or rejection for publishing	Accumulation of economic versus symbolic capital	Lack of capital		
		Selection of novels	Technical format	Competition	Market demand	
			Distribution and promotion	Social and cultural motives	Waiting time for permission	
			Royalty preference	Other motives	Censorship	
					Competition	
			Translation prizes			
			Subsidies			
			Low readership			

of our connection to *Motarjem* [the translator], an Iranian journal of translation. Working as an assistant editor, we developed a list of nearly all active literary translators and publishers from the period mentioned. However, in the absence of any association of literary translators in Iran, we carried out further documentary research, a bibliography data analysis, and had conversations with several literary translators and publishers in order to refine the list. In the first stage, a primary list of 150 translators was produced. The compilation of the list was the result of an extensive bibliographical search in the form of citation analysis, and establishing contact with other translators, publishers, and literary critics. An important controlling variable was to elicit a representative sample of all literary translators for the questionnaire. In order to do this, we selected fifty literary translators who have published at least five novels in post-Revolution era, checking with the translators and publishers themselves. This list set the stage for sending out a questionnaire to the translators as a survey method to find out more about the translators' backgrounds (*habitus*), and their practice and perception of their position in the publishing field. The translators that appear in Chapter 5 of the present study were selected from those who participated in the survey and agreed to cooperate for further research (for a description of the survey and its findings, see Chapter 5).

One major source of data for obtaining different information on published books and publishers in Iran is *Khaneh-ye Ketab*, Iran Book House (IBH), which provides information about the publication of books in Iran on a daily basis (hence the slight variation from one date to another) and permits advanced search options on its homepage. In addition to the direct use of the IBH homepage, we also visited the institute in Tehran, Iran personally in January 2009 and made an official request (according to the procedure) to acquire more specified and refined data based on our needs.

Along the same lines, the study of translation flows is also helpful in building a picture of translation activity in pre- and post-Revolution eras, showing the importance of translation, and particularly literary translation, in shaping part of the modernization projects in Iran. It should be noted that these data must be interpreted cautiously as there is disagreement in Iran about what counts as a single title. For example, if one title has three volumes, the IBH counts it as three titles and not one. Despite this shortcoming and the general inadequacies of statistics in Iran, these data can reveal general trends, directions, and the translation flows. That said, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 start with an overview of translation during the period and an analysis of translation flows. The translation flows of post-Revolution era are also presented early in Chapter 5.



## Historical and archival study

A considerable amount of the material used in this study is historical and archival. It has been accessed through archival study in the Iranian libraries and online access to various databases. Throughout this research, the criteria for evaluating the quality of documents, following Scott (1990: 6, quoted in Bryman 2008: 516), have been the authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning of the evidence. It is impossible to name all of the sources here due to the lack of space. However, full reference will follow when they are referred to.

Various online resources have been consulted when collecting the historical data. Among the Persian databases are *noormags*, a Persian website offering digital access to more than 750 Persian journals, affiliated with the Computer Research Center of Islamic Sciences, Qum, Iran. This database proved to be extremely important as it facilitated our access to many Persian resources that are very difficult to access in Iran, in particular, due to the date of publication and the technical problems of duplicating them for research. Another resource is the online private database of *magiran*, which provides diverse information and access to more than 1,500 Persian newspapers and journals. This website proved to be helpful in providing recent material on the current translation discourse in Iran. Another database that has been consulted throughout this research is the IBH, the official authority for statistics on books in Iran.

Other resources include Iran's National Library and Archives Catalogue for accessing bibliographical data about books, translators, and publishers; the Organization of Libraries, Museums, and Center of Deeds of Astan Quds Razavi for the early stages of the research in obtaining archival documents on translation discourse; and the Iran Book News Agency (IBNA), which provides news, interviews, and updates on the publishing field in Iran. We also have consulted numerous Persian websites and weblogs throughout the research process. Due to a lack of space, full references are given only when we quote from them.

## Case studies

Given the historical framework adopted in this book, and in light of the fact that we had to stay focused on a few cases for analysis, we decided that our main research approach would be that of the case study. By engaging in an in-depth study of each case, we hoped to come closer to the social phenomena under study. Beyond the issue of convenience, the choice of a case study approach was also justified by the various research collection methods we have used in this book.

The use of case studies in TS is discussed in the special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* in 2009 on “Training for doctoral research.” In her article, Susam-Sarajeva (2009) highlights the popularity of case studies in research in TS, and offers a “course of action” to increase the validity of generalization in case studies. Yin sees case study as a “comprehensive research strategy,” that is, one that encompasses design, collection, and the analysis of data within its scope (2003: 14). For us, it is “a main method” in this study (Gillham 2000: 11) in that the research interviews conducted with respondents in Chapter 5 are seen as part of the case studies under research.

There are seven case studies in this book. The order is chronological, starting from the late Qajar period in the nineteenth century to modern-day Iran. A brief description of these case studies was given in the introduction to the book.

The collection of data for the purpose of this research has not been easy. Apart from various logistic problems and a lack of previous research in the area mentioned in the previous chapter, we had to employ various contacts, that is, influential friends and colleagues, to be able to secure appointments with respondents. Some of them were also hesitant to communicate information about their practice for various reasons, including political ones, some of which are reported by other researchers (e.g., see Zeydabadi-Nejad 2010, Borijan 2013). In addition, we ran into trouble obtaining official statistics on books in Iran from the IBH, and this often required various contacts, networking, communication, and personal visits. Still, we had to deal with a general understanding that statistics coming from official authorities in Iran should be treated with caution, especially in case of books (e.g., Amirfaryar 1379/2000: 58).

Apart from preexisting images, various contacts and attempts were made to acquire some of the images that appear here for the first time. For instance, in an attempt to find Douglas Craven Phillott’s photo (Figure 4), first the school he attended from 1874 to 1878 was found. Having established contact with the school archivist, it was revealed that a portrait of the man was hanging in the “bury” of the school. Arrangements were made to have a photo taken by a professional photographer. Likewise, contacts were made through post, fax, e-mails, and follow-ups with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, India, not only for a possible image, but for additional historical documents that might have proved helpful. Following relentless attempts to establish contacts, considerable money was requested for reproducing Phillott’s photos from a 1905 publication. This is only one example to illustrate the problems common in historical research. Our insistence on using various images in this book is because we believe that images can complement and visualize our understanding of the development of translation in a given context.

## CHAPTER 2

# History

### Overview

The history of modern Iran is generally of interest to the students and scholars of Iranian Studies, and those who study Iran as their research field. We note here that this overview is not for the historians of Iran, who are better qualified to do so. It is, rather, out of methodological necessity and the need to have a clear historical framework for the analyses presented in the book. The overview should help the readers who are not experts on Iran to better understand the historical background of the study, with relevant references for further consultation, as needed. This will be followed with a critical analysis of both public and academic discourse of translation in the period under study.

### The Qajar period (1795–1925)

Near the end of the eighteenth century, when Aqa Mohammad Khan established the Qajar dynasty, “Iran was a weak state. Its borders were ill-defined [...], a poor economy, deteriorating infrastructure, and political malaise undermined confidence” (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 30). Iran’s weakness and its geopolitical situation put it at the crossroads of colonial competition and interference, as stressed by a number of historians (Avery, Hambly, and Melville 1991, Katouzian 2003, Azimi 2008, among others). It has been argued that one such concession, the Regie Concession (1872), which granted Britain a monopoly over the production, sale, and export of Iranian tobacco for fifty years, was one of the grassroots factors behind the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911 in Iran (see Keddie 1966). For the first time in Iranian history, this revolution brought together the people, the intellectuals, and part of the religious sector against the Qajar’s tyranny. The establishment of a parliament and a constitutional monarchy were two of its immediate results (see Browne 1910/1995, Azimi 2008). The Russians, on the other hand, were working to expand further into the Caucasus and to neutralize the British influence on Iranian territory.

Apart from the national sense of loss, many of the later cultural, social, and political movements have their roots in the Qajar period. Amir Kabir (1807–1852), the chief minister to Nasir al-Din Shah, established *Dar al-Fonun* (see Chapter 3), the first modern school in Iran, seen by many as the beginning of cultural and

social reform in Iran (Lorentz 1971). The use of modern technologies, such as the telegraph, facilitated the state's control over Iran and boosted the opposition's contacts. During the Qajar period, Iran's historical attempts to acquire printing machines, dating back as early as the Safavid dynasty in the sixteenth century, were finally fulfilled at Tabriz in about 1232/1816–1817, under the patronage of the crown prince Abbas Mirza (Azarang 1387/2008a:241; for a historical overview of printing in Iran, see Floor 1990). Following that, the first official Persian newspaper, the weekly *Vaqaye'-e Ettefaqieh*, was also published in 1851 in Persian (see Nabavi 2009).

Despite the country's thirst for modernization, the political system remained despotic, and the king was the "pivot of the universe," to borrow an expression from Amanat (1997). The history of Iran's struggle for democracy is rooted in Qajar Iran, a movement that intensified the events leading up to the Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911).

#### The Pahlavi period (1925–1979)

The Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911 was a collective uprising against the Qajar ruling in Iran. It raised hopes for a better life and the rule of law, as stressed by many scholars (Keddie 1999, Ghani 2000, among others). However, the civil war that followed throughout those years and World War I dampened these hopes. Although Iran was officially neutral during the war, British, Russian, and Ottoman troops occupied Iran and divided the territory into areas of influence (see Atabaki 2006). These ordeals have recently attracted academic attention. For example, Majd (2003), who conducted an in-depth study of the 1917–1919 famine in Iran, argues that between eight and ten million Iranians had lost their lives during the war years (cf. Clawson and Rubin 2005: 67). Majd argues that this was due to famine and the fact that British troops were buying wheat and food while imposing an embargo on the import of food from the United States and elsewhere, and also because Britain did not pay for its oil imports from Iran (Majd 2003; see also Amanat 2014). In the absence of a powerful central government, Reza Khan, who was then an officer in the Cossack Brigade, an elite cavalry unit modeled on its Russian counterpart, staged a successful coup d'état in 1921. He first became Minister for War and later deposed Ahmad Shah Qajar (1898–1930), the last Qajar king. Finally, he was officially crowned as Reza Shah on April 25, 1926 (he had already taken his imperial oath on December 15, 1925). According to Ansari, Reza Shah projected an image to his compatriots of a simple countryman with solid values, an attractive archetype given the years of corruption and chaos from which Iranians sought to emerge (Ansari 2003: 25).

With Reza Shah as the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, Iran entered the twentieth century in what has been generally termed an age of modernization. The country had an “insatiable appetite for translation brought about by a deep thirst for restructuring its state, society, and culture along European lines” (Karimi-Hakkak 1998: 519). Reza Shah’s reforms included the modernization of education (Tehran University was founded in 1935), transportation, and healthcare. He also instigated two much disputed laws: Uniformity of Dress for men and the Western Dress code for women, both in 1936. The former mandated European-style dress for men, the latter was inspired by Atatürk’s reforms in Turkey (for a comparison of Reza Shah with Atatürk, see Atabaki and Zürcher 2004). According to this code, women could no longer wear the traditional veil that covered their hair and body.

With the outbreak of World War II, Iran faced another turn of events despite its neutrality (see Stewart 1988). After Reza Shah delayed his answer to the British and Soviet ultimatum requesting the expulsion of the Germans, Iran was occupied in 1941. Soon Reza Shah went into exile in South Africa, where he died in 1944. Mohammad Reza Shah succeeded his father at the age of twenty-two. Iran suffered from famine again, and the cost of living in Iran increased by more than 700 percent (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 58).

The Mohammad Reza Shah period (1941–1979) is one of the most eventful in Iranian modern history. Apart from a number of ethnic clashes, such as the independence movement of Azerbaijan in 1946 – under the influence of the Soviets and the *Tudeh* party that represented the left-wing intellectuals affiliated with Soviet ideology (see Fawcett 1992) – Iran experienced the conspicuous presence of Americans, both in its politics and society. Following the nationalization of the oil industry in 1951 by Prime Minister Mosaddeq (see Gasiorowski and Byrne 2004, Nejati 1364/1985) and the subsequent strict financial policies, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) staged a coup d’état and returned the Shah to power. The Shah had left Iran in 1953 because of his confrontation with Mosaddeq (among many sources on the role of the CIA in the coup, see Abrahamian 2001, Mokhtari 2008). Mohammad Reza Shah’s return to power did not uproot political and religious groups such as the *Tudeh* party, the *Fada’iyan-e Islam* [devotees of Islam], or the *Jebheh-ye Mellî* [the national front], many of whom converged their forces around the events leading up to the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Like his father, Mohammad Reza Shah introduced numerous reforms after 1953, with mixed responses. The most debated reform package was the White Revolution or “the Shah-People Revolution” of 1962. It aimed at land reform, the nationalization of forests, the sale of government-owned factories to finance the land reform, and women’s suffrage among other measures (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 72). The land reform received the harshest critique by the clergy, who had

traditionally supervised the religious endowments of land, buildings, and other properties. In the absence of an outspoken religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, the first religious leader of post-Revolution Iran, led the anti-Shah protests. In 1964, the Shah exiled Khomeini to Turkey and then to Iraq. Finally, Khomeini chose to stay in France, from where he led the opposition movements until 1979.

The Shah's reforms, raising oil income and promoting economic development, changed the face of Iran, but "at the expense of the disruption of traditional social patterns, exacerbated by the uneven distribution of the economic benefits" (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 74). By founding the secret police organization SAVAK (Organization for Information and National Security) in the 1950s, the Shah showed very little tolerance of political activists, many of whom represented Third World and Islamist causes. While the former attracted the secular, leftist Iranian intellectuals (see Boroujerdi 1996, Nabavi 2003), the latter espoused Islamic anti-imperialism. Despite all the Pahlavis' reforms and the economic boom, Iranian society, as noted by Clawson and Rubin, was headed towards a clash: "the social impact [of] modernization was making the population chafe at authoritarianism" (2005: 85). The Islamic Revolution of 1979 was an expression of this.

#### Post-Revolution Iran (1979–present)

This period is divided into four subsections: the beginnings and the war period (1980–1988), the postwar period (1989–1996), the reform period of President Khatami (1997–2005), and the return of the conservatives (2005–2012).

##### *The beginnings of post-Revolution Iran and the war period (1980–1988)*

The first year of post-Revolution era is marked by power struggles between various parties and revolutionaries. Following a referendum in 1979, the Islamic Republic was proclaimed, and the clerics gradually seized power, especially with the establishment of *Velayat-e Faqih* [the guardianship of religious jurisprudence] as the basis of political leadership in Iran. One significant event that enhanced the power of the clerics was the seizure of the US embassy in 1979 by some Iranian students (see Ebtekar 2001).

Another significant event was a gradual cultural change. On April 30, 1980, Ayatollah Khomeini gave a speech that set the stage for the so-called Cultural Revolution: "We fear neither economic boycott nor military intervention. What we fear is cultural dependence and imperialist universities that propel our young people into the service of communism [and westernization]" (Khomeini 1981: 298). An important aspect of this Cultural Revolution was, nonetheless, the expulsion of many professors from Iranian universities. Many of them were, according to

the new system, royalists or dependent on Western culture, and therefore, there was a need to “purify” the Iranian universities (see the discussion in Chapter 5).

On September 22, 1980, Iraq invaded Iran, starting one of the “longest conventional wars of the twentieth century” (Johnson 2011:5) (for a full account of the war and its causes, see Adib-Moghaddam 2008). The war ended in July 1988. However, it brought the loss of 204,795 Iranian lives<sup>1</sup> (ibid.: 252) and shaped many of the later political and social events. For instance, it politicized all aspects of life in Iran and introduced a long-lasting rationing economy.

### *The postwar period (1989–1996)*

Following a religious *fatva* [edict] issued by Ayatollah Khomeini in February 1989 for the death of Salman Rushdi, the British author of *The Satanic Verses*, Ayatollah Khomeini died on June 3, 1989. After Khomeini’s death, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei was elected by the Assembly of Experts for the Leadership as the supreme leader of the Islamic Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Ayatollah Khomeini’s death and the end of the war marked the second Islamic Revolution in what has been seen as an “effort to restore popular support for the Islamic Revolution” (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 115).

During the eight years of the presidency of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Iran experienced some social and economic recovery. His so-called reconstruction and liberalization programs, however, did not change the inflation rate of 30 percent per annum (Keddie 2003: 267), and revolutionary principles and factional struggles still prevailed throughout the country (see Moslem 2002, Amir Arjomand 2009). This period is also marked by the beginning of US sanctions on Iran for its proclaimed support of “international terrorism,” which has remained in force up to the present time (for more on the US sanctions on Iran, see Alikhani 2000).

### *The reform period of President Mohammad Khatami (1997–2005)*

The Iranians’ selection of a former culture minister and National Library head, Mohammad Khatami, as the President in 1997, “signaled from the outset a period of immense change in Iranian politics” (Tazmini 2009: 1). This choice was also a social and cultural reaction by the growing number of young people and members of the middle class who were increasingly uncomfortable with the strict cultural

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1. There is hardly any agreement on the war’s death tolls: see note 1, page 177, in Clawson and Rubin 2005.

2. The Assembly of Experts is “a body of 86 scholars of Islamic law [...] tasked with selecting and dismissing the supreme leader in case of the inability to perform constitutional duties or determination that from the beginning certain qualifications were not met” (Farahi 2008: 48).



policies of post-Revolution Iran. They were “in favor of reforms that seemed to have much in common with Western liberal ideas” (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 127).

During the Khatami period, the number of newspapers increased, Iran’s international image was improved, “the intellectual debate about reform took off,” and some “relaxation of social restrictions” were introduced (*ibid.*: 128). Iranians embraced the Internet and especially weblogs as a modern instrument to air their voices (see Doostdar 2004).

Despite Khatami’s advocacy of so-called “civil society” and religious modernity (see Vahdat 2005), he faced strong opposition from the hardliners, many of whom were supported by “the unelected revolutionary parallel structure” (Clawson and Rubin 2005: 129). For instance, the “serial killings” of dissidents in 1998 and attacks on Tehran University students in 1999 were two of the most serious attempts at thwarting Khatami’s reforms. The increased crackdown on reformist press and political activists, the poor economic situation, and Khatami’s lack of power gave way to the return of the conservatives.

### The return of the conservatives (2005–2012)

The rise of Mahmud Ahmadinezhad, Tehran’s former conservative mayor, to the presidency once again surprised Western observers as well as Iranians, especially the intelligentsia. Ahmadinezhad’s populist rhetoric of “bringing the oil money to the people’s dinner spread” was nonetheless enhanced by his constant resort to Shiite “convictions about the imminent advent of the Hidden Imam to rid the world of injustice and corruption” (Katouzian 2009: 386). Under his presidency, Iran gradually started a backward movement to what some consider as “the forgotten values of the Islamic Revolution.”

Iran under Ahmadinezhad experienced some of its most critical moments at both domestic and international levels, and the prospect of both remains yet to be seen. On the domestic level, the president embarked on an alms-giving approach to the economy, obliging banks to give more loans to people, and carried out the much-debated policy of cutting state subsidies. Considerable evidence shows that his policies have hardly saved Iran from the economic recession. The protest movement in the aftermath of the 2009 presidential election also challenged the authority of the Iranian state (see Morady 2011). At the international level, Iran’s confrontation with the United States and the West over its nuclear program has increased, and the improved image of Iran during the Khatami period has been damaged severely.

As this book goes to press, Iran has entered a new political phase with the selection of the moderate president, Hassan Rouhani, in 2013. Although he argues



to pursue a “prudent moderation” in Iran’s foreign policy, as stated in Davos in 2014, the prospect of any major change in Iran’s internal policies, hence the field of publishing and translation, remains to be seen.

## Discourse

Translation in Iran has a long history, dating back to as early as the sixth-century BC (Zakeri 2007: 1194). However, research on translation in Iran is a new phenomenon. The research, mainly within master’s and doctoral programs carried out at Iranian higher education institutions, has recently tried to move beyond the linguistics-based tradition. Many key issues, such as the role of agents of translation, the impact of post-Revolution cultural policies on translation, the differences and similarities of translation in the pre- and post-Revolution eras, and the motivations of agents of translation, have generally remained outside academic investigation. The reason is the shortage of qualified TS scholars in Iranian universities and the lack of sufficient resources (i.e., books and journals in the field). Besides, research on sensitive issues like censorship and the cultural policies of the post-Revolution era has been, on the one hand, generally discouraged at Iranian universities, and/or graduate students choose the beaten path of linguistic-oriented research, which will get them a pass in studies and entry into the job market, on the other. Few ongoing research projects on the issue, mainly by doctoral students studying abroad, have yet to be completed.

Classifying the current literature on translation in Iran is not easy. For the sake of convenience, we broadly make a distinction between academic and nonacademic resources. In our study, academic resources are research oriented; whereas nonacademic resources are not generally research oriented and aim at a more general readership. The latter, which may be called public discourse, forms a substantial volume of materials that cannot be discounted in that they, on the one hand, inform the general understanding of translation “discourse” in Iran as a whole, and say one or two things about those who create this discourse, on the other. Therefore, in what follows, we will provide a chronological overview of the state of the art of translation in Iran, showing the general trends, introducing research resources necessary for undertaking sociological and historical research on translation in modern Iran, and pointing the missing areas for further research. We will also try to examine their relationship with the issue of agency.

## Academic resources

Academic research aimed at describing the history of translation and practices in ancient Persia and modern Iran is scarce. As far as English is concerned, Mohsen Zakeri's study (2007) remains one of the few attempts to provide a historical account of translation from the sixth century to the tenth century in Iran. His study shows, among other things, how the early translators of Middle Persian texts into Arabic of the eighth and ninth centuries were "conscious to eliminate any statement that had to do with the religious motivation of its compilers" (Zakeri 2007: 1200). Zakeri also provides a better picture of Ibn-al Muqaffa, the Persian translator of Aristotle's *Categories* and the translator of a Middle Persian collection of animal fables known as *Kelileh o Demneh* (for more on the translator and *Kelileh o Demneh*, see Latham 1997). He argues that Ibn-al Muqaffa "became the founder of a new style, the exquisite Arabic prose" (ibid.: 1202). The next attempt and perhaps the study best known to TS scholars is the "Persian tradition" entry in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, written by Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak (1998). Though this entry is not updated in the second edition (2008), nor does it cover much of the translation activities of post-Revolution era, it remains essential in providing insight into translation theory and practice in Iran (for the Persian translation, see Keyvani 1378/1999). Karimi-Hakkak relates how the Persian translators of the eighth and ninth centuries were motivated to "preserve an ancient civilization" (1998: 515) under the domination of Arabs. His study also refers to various translation strategies employed by translators and the approaches adopted (ibid.). Julie Meisami (1991) examines the role of literary translation and its impact on the development of modern Persian literature in the early twentieth century. She highlights the need for a "history of literary translation in Iran" (1991: 45) while showing the problems associated with composing such a history (ibid.; for the Persian version, see Malekan 1371–1372/1992).

Because printing in the modern sense appeared only in the late nineteenth century in Iran (see the discussion in Chapter 3), historical records of early writings in Persian on translation are rare and scattered. These records, including translators' introductions to their translations, require critical analysis. What emerges from the present materials amounts to translators talking about their motivations, their dissatisfaction with previous translations, and their methods of translation. Moshtaqmehr (1379/2000) has examined some of these materials. Arguing that the present Persian readership welcomes literal translation (an argument open to debate), Moshtaqmehr shows how the earlier Persian translators enjoyed much leeway in ornamenting and explicating their translations, and often deleting part of the source text. For example, Sâdoddin Varavini, the translator of *Marzban*

*Nameh* – a fable book from the Tabari, an old Persian dialect, translated into Persian Dari, the Persian court language of the Sassanids, in the seventh century – relates how he was looking for a text that would give him an opportunity to exercise his authorial skills (Moshtaqmehr 1379/2000: 108).

While the history of translation into Persian from English remains to be written systematically, the history of Persian translation from French has been the subject of two books. Davood Navabi's study (1363/1984) covers the history of translation in Iran from the time of the Moguls' occupation in the thirteenth century to 1982. He presents a list of 166 French-to-Persian translators in the twentieth century and provides in-depth biographies of twenty-two translators. The second work, Kambiz Qeshmi's study (1380/2001), overlooks the previous study. Qeshmi argues that none of the celebrated translators had any formal translation training (*ibid.*: 92), nor is their selection of works for translation indicative of any "logical, orderly approach" (1380/2001: 93).

#### *Records of the Pahlavi period (1925–1979)*

More contemporary research on translation in Iran concerns the Pahlavi period (1925–1979). In 1355/1976, a special issue of the journal *Farhang va Zendege* was dedicated to translation, which has hardly been consulted by Iranian scholars (with the exception of Azarang 1387/2008b). The journal includes an article by Khosrow Farshidvard, a Persian literary scholar, entitled "The impact of translation on the Persian language." The author argues that his article is based on "10,000 notes" (Farshidvard 1355/1976: 6), a claim difficult to verify, and that his main argument is that translation is "the most important question in the Persian language and other issues such as editing the classic works and pre-Islamic languages are secondary to it" (*ibid.*: 5). The author presents a historical analysis of the impact of translation from Arabic, French, and English on the Persian language. Although such a position might be challenged from the point of view of language policy researchers, his analysis is informed by his position as a Persian scholar who is concerned with the Persian language being weakened as the result of new foreign words and expressions. Many contemporary Persian authors and translators have shared his concern in their articles and talks (see the discussion below). Farshidvard (1355/1976) calls for the revival and development of translation programs in higher education institutions in order to improve the quality of translation in Iran. In the same journal, the first systematic attempt at providing a quantitative analysis of translation flows was presented, showing the central position taken by literary translations (see our discussion in Chapter 6).

*Research at the postgraduate level*

For more systematic research on translation in Iran, we should turn to Iranians who have written their doctoral theses on translation, either in Iranian universities or abroad. Hossein Mollanazar (2001) examines naturalness in the translation of novels from English into Persian. Chapters 5 to 8 of his study provide the historical development of translation in Iran. Apart from a number of errors in reporting dates and facts – for example, on page 118, he calls the Persian translation of Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824a) the first novel translated into Persian; see the discussion in Chapter 3 – his study overlooks the translation flows of pre-Revolution Iran, the censorship of books in post-Revolution era, and he erroneously generalizes the post-Revolution readership as being “predominantly Islamic” (Mollanazar 2001: 122). Abbas Horri (2003), in his doctoral thesis, examines Shakespeare's reception in Iran through an analysis of three translations of *Hamlet* into Persian, one of which was adopted for the stage. His first chapter presents a historical overview of the development of translation in Iran over almost fifteen centuries, from the sixth century to the year 2000. Ideology in literary translation becomes the key focus in Mohammad Ghazanfari's study (2004). In his doctoral thesis, he investigates the role of ideology in the English translation of Sadeq Hedayat's novella *Buf-e Kour* [*The Blind Owl*] and the Persian translation of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) by Saleh Hoseini (1361/1982).

Many master's theses written on translation within postgraduate programs at Iranian universities show traces of poor supervision, methodological problems, and poor coverage of the literature. Sa'ideh Vajihch (1380/2001), in her Persian master's thesis, provides a historical study of translation in Iran from the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911 (see Chapter 3) to the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Her study attempts to examine the impact of translation on contemporary Persian literature. In a similar vein, Maryam Shad-Mohammadi (1383/2004), in her master's thesis, written in Persian, examines the role of translation in the creation of the modern Persian novel.

Within postgraduate translation programs at Iranian universities, research has remained predominantly linguistic in nature. In the framework of Holmes's map of TS, which has defined what the field covers, research under the sub-branch of product-oriented descriptive translation studies has been very popular.<sup>3</sup> Researchers often make use of contrastive analyses of source and target texts in order to test hypotheses in different contexts. For example, several master's theses defended at the department of TS at 'Allameh Tabataba'i University in Tehran are

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3. According to Holmes's map of TS, research within TS can be done within two broad branches of “pure” and “applied.” Each of these branches is further subdivided into further areas (see Holmes 2004, Toury 1995: 10, 2012: 4).

representative of this strong approach. Within this approach, certain translation theories, like Venuti's "domestication" and "foreignization" (1995) and the examination of translation strategies, have been exposed to more analytical analyses (for a list of MA theses at this university, see Parham 2008; for a list of MA and PhD theses on translation at other Iranian universities, see Naseh 1381/2002).

There is, however, some evidence that researchers have started to examine some of the under-studied issues. For example, in an article about a much-needed issue of translation during the Iran–Iraq War, the author argues that between 1980 and 1988, voluminous novels, the Classics, and Romantic novels were popular with 43.39 percent from English. In the same vein, translation is argued to have served both as a defensive tool against the Western values (in this case through novels) and as a passage (here short stories) through which the same values could be entered (see Farahzad 1390/2011). Although the topic is important and several issues have been raised, the main argument is not elaborated, and the researcher fails to provide her data for inspection.

### *Bibliographies of translation*

In post-Revolution era, few bibliographies of translations have appeared. Under the aegis of the Foundation for Islamic Research, located in Mashhad, Iran, a comprehensive bibliography of translations was published in four volumes in 1380/2001 and 1382/2003 (vol. 4). The bibliography, entitled *Catalogue of Books Translated into Persian, Printed from the Beginning to 1379 (1991)* (Bashtani, Faza'li-Javan, and Keyhanfar 1380/2001), has approximately 25,000 entries, divided into five indexes: the names of the original authors in English, the titles in Persian, the names of the translators, the original titles, and the names of publishing houses. In the introduction to the book, the editors provide a historical account of translation from ancient Iran to the present time, emphasizing the role of Persian translators after the introduction of Islam in Iran in the seventh century and their contribution to the spread of sciences (ibid.). The lack of a subject index is a major shortcoming of the book. The authors report on three ongoing sub-projects: the dictionary of Persian translators from the introduction of Islam in Iran to the beginning of the Qajar period in the late eighteenth century, a subject-historical index of translated books into Persian from 1370/1991 to 1380/2001, and a biographical account of the translators of Safavid's Iran in the sixteenth century. On a personal visit to the center in 2009, it was discovered that these ongoing projects all face various organizational problems, and none of them have been published.

Similar projects include Fatemeh Kenarsari's *Ketab-Shenasi-ye Roman va Majmu'eha-ye Dastani pish az Mashrutiyat ta 1374* [Bibliography of translated novels and short stories collection from the pre-Constitutional Revolution to 1374/1995], published in two volumes in 1377/1998. This bibliography has eight

indexes: the names of the authors in Persian, the original names of the authors, the titles in Persian, the original titles, the names of the translators, the names of the publishing houses, an index for the representative countries from which the works originate, and an index of the nationalities of the original authors. Other bibliographies of translated works into Persian with specific periods include Badreh-i (1350/1971), covering 1345/1966 to 1349/1970; Rezaei (1355/1976), covering 1350/1971 to 1354/1975; and Mowlavi (1371/1992). The latter focuses exclusively on short stories translated from foreign languages into Persian. All the above bibliographies have rarely been consulted in research on translation in Iran and have general methodological problems, and their data should be treated cautiously (for a review of Kenarsari's *Ketab-Shenasi*, see Amirfaryar 1379/2000: 58, Naji-Nasrabadi 1379/2000).

### *Literary translators on their profession*

Literary translators and editors also have published works relating to aspects of their profession. Hoseini, a university professor of English and a celebrated literary translator of Faulkner, has published a number of articles on translation in a volume called *Nazari beh Tarjomeh* [a look at translation] (1375/1996). He attempts to analyze what he calls "popular problems in translating from non-Persian languages into Persian" (5). He calls for a return to the roots of the Persian language, arguing to offer a rich source of words and expressions for the "badly" translated words and expressions. Ali Solhjo, a professional editor with work experience at the Franklin Book Programs in Iran (see Chapter 4), draws on general discourse studies of translation. In his *Gofteman va Tarjomeh* [discourse and translation] (1377/1998a), he advances a theoretical rationale in defense of "readable" Persian translations versus "precise" translations. Ahmad Okhovvat, a literary translator and Persian author, has published some of his articles on translation in a volume called *Mostà'ar-nevisi va Shebheh Tarjomeh* [pen names and pseudotranslating] (1385/2006). He examines pseudotranslations in Persian literatures and misidentifies the Persian translation of Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* as a pseudotranslation (see the discussion in Chapter 3).

### *Translation conferences*

Translation conferences in Iran have occasionally been held. The First Conference on Literary Translation in Iran was organized by the editor of the journal *Motarjem* in 2000 in Mashhad, with the financial support of Ferdowsi University of Mashhad and the Ministry. The conference was the first of its kind to bring together professional translators and translation scholars. Peter Bush, the then head of the British Center for Literary Translation, gave the opening speech entitled "The Art of Literary Translation" (see Khazaefar 1379/2000a). The conference was a

turning point in the history of literary translation in Iran as it called for a more engaging dialogue between theorists and practitioners. In his opening speech, Khazaeefar argued that there is no “practical relation between the government, the publisher, the researcher, and the translators as the main four pillars of literary translation in Iran” (1379/2000b: 5–6). He also argued that the dominant method of translation in Iran is a type of literalism which he calls *lafz-gerayi*. This term is chosen instead of the English term “literalism” to avoid its negative connotations. However, the scholar argues that it can be the best method in translating literary texts provided that translators choose it consciously and show their awareness of the target language’s current and potential capabilities. Khazaeefar’s argument has been discussed in Iran. However, it has not been exposed to empirical analysis (see Solhjoo 1379/2000a, Khazaeefar 1381/2002). The second conference on literary translation in Iran, entitled “Language and Translated Literature and the Persian Language” was held in 1384/2005 in Mashhad, and some articles from it have appeared in the journal *Motarjem*.

Recent development of TS in Iran has led to more conferences about translation; however, their academic impact is hard to assess. Researchers tend to reinvent the wheel of linguistic-oriented research, whereas many key issues such as the role of ideology, cultural policies of the post-Revolution era and agency in translation remain unexplored, or hardly find their way into the programs.

### *Motarjem*

The role of the Persian journal *Motarjem* in the development of TS in Iran is essential. Started in 1370/1991, the journal aims to bridge the gap between the theory and practice of translation in Iran by publishing articles that have practical use for translators, translation researchers, and translation trainers alike (for a review of the first ten years of the journal, see Keyvani 1380/2001). The journal has published fifty-one issues over the last twenty years, covering more than 250 articles on translations, 64 interviews with translators and editors, and around 200 samples of translations and their originals. Parts of the articles are translations from English into Persian, mainly in the field of TS. The review of literary translations has remained one of the key features of the journal. The journal has also carried interviews with a number of international translation scholars, including Lawrence Venuti and Peter Newmark. An interview with Dick Davis (1376/1997) provided an account of Persian to English translations of the classic Persian literatures (see also Lewis 2000; for translation of modern Persian literatures into English, see Newman 2000).

In many of the interviews with literary translators, mostly celebrated ones, published in *Motarjem* over the last twenty years, a few common points can be distinguished. Many of the translators see sharing the pleasure of reading with



their prospective readers as their prime motive for translation; they emphasize their role in the selection of the novels for translation; and they highlight the role of their family background and larger sociocultural environment in shaping their *habitus*. Many of them also express a nostalgic view of pre-Revolution era as being culturally motivating and shaping their translation practice. Many of these translators also conceive their practice as being socially and culturally informed by their “enthusiasm” (Khorramshahi 1370/1992: 12), “love and exercise” (Mir’alayi 1370/1991a: 81), and “a way to better know man” (Kowsari 1380/2002: 21). Although *Motarjem* has kept a growing interest in literary translators and contributed to their visibility, it has hardly examined the role of the younger generation of translators. In addition, interpretation in Iran has remained outside its interest, as indeed it has remained academically marginalized. Since 2012 *Motarjem* has ceased publication.

In 1385/2006, another translation journal appeared in Iran. By refusing to publish interviews with translators or to discuss the practical aspects of translation, *Motale’at-e Tarjomeh* [translation studies] has remained predominantly theoretical. The articles appearing in the journal, forty-one issues to date, cover a wide range of topics. However, with few exceptions, a common problem that remains is the quality of the articles, that is, the poor coverage of the literature, the use of outdated resources, and methodological problems, all of which should improve in years to come. Some aspects of the sociological approaches to translation, cultural-oriented issues, and some studies in relation to the use of technologies in translation have nevertheless found their way into the recent issues.

### *Translation of the Quran into Persian*

Translation of the Quran into Persian has been examined extensively in post-Revolution era. In 1372/1993, the journal *Motarjem* published a special issue on the translation of the Quran (1372/1993b). Following this, a number of journals appeared which focused on Quran translations. In addition, a special center, The Center for the Translation of the Quran into Foreign Languages, was established in 1373/1994 with the financial support of the Iranian Ministry of *Hajj* and Endowments, and the Ministry. The center has since published the biannual *Tarjoman-e Vahy* [the translation of the divine revelation], of which thirty-three issues have appeared to date. The journal has been persistent in introducing the living translators of the Quran to its readers (for more on various activities of the center, see the *Tarjoman-e Vahy* website).



## Nonacademic resources

Numerous articles, reports, book reviews, and interviews with translators have appeared in the Persian press, from the early twentieth century to the present time. This increased in the late pre-Revolution period and throughout the post-Revolution period. The reasons can be population growth (Iran's population had more than doubled from 33 million in 1975 to 80,840,713 million (July 2014 estimates), according to the World Fact Book 2014), the need for reading materials, and the increased number of publishing houses. Translation has always been essential for the Persian press in providing materials for publication. A great portion of nonacademic works tend to be prescriptive in nature, that is, some comments on translation methods or a textual analysis of translators' errors in their translations with those offered by the reviewer, and quite often the discussion of issues irrelevant to translation and the translator. The impact of these materials on the development of the discourse on translation in Iran remains unclear. However, they appear to have contributed to some extent both to the professionalization of translation and to the shaping of the publishing field in both pre- and post-Revolution Iran. Due to the voluminous size of these materials, only an overview of them is provided in order to isolate the major trends.

### *Concern for Persian*

With the introduction of translation from foreign languages into Persian, scholars of Persian literature, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, have contributed to translation discourse. The common point shared by many of them is their concern about the Persian language being undermined by what they see as the assault of foreign words and expressions. They condemn some of the translators for their lack of skills in finding the right equivalent and expressions, their fascination for other cultures at the price of their own culture, and occasionally their priority of economic motives over fidelity to "acceptable" Persian in their practice of translation. For example, Mohit Tabataba'i, writing as early as 1346/1967, was deeply concerned about Persian. He hoped that *Farhangestan*, the Academy of Persian Language and Literature, would help translators save Persian from "unfamiliar expressions and alterations" entering its literary domain because of translation (Mohit Tabataba'i 1346/1967:237). *Farhangestan* was founded in 1313/1934 for the promotion of Persian culture and was attempting to find proper Persian equivalents for foreign words and expressions. This line of interest has since been followed nonstop. Gholam Hosein Yousefi's article (1362/1983), "Fayedehe-ye ons ba zaban-e Farsi" [the advantage of familiarity with the Persian language] remains a much-quoted reference for how certain translators wrongly associate their literal translations with the Persian language. That is, they argue that the Persian language

fails to provide suitable equivalents and expressions for the translators (see in particular Hoseini 1369/1990; cf. Fowrughhi 1315/1936, Jazayeri 1342/1963, Minovi 1354/1975). *Farhangestan* has also been an agent in the discourse of language purism and in the development of official monolingualism in Iran, despite the fact that the country is multilingual (see Karimi-Hakkak 1989, Haddadian-Moghaddam and Meylaerts 2014).

### *Translations versus authorial works*

Apart from textual issues in translation and concerns about Persian, some scholars have examined translations versus original works or nontranslations. For example, Ma'sumi-Hamadani (1366/1987) shows his concern about the popularity of translation and points to the urgent need for quality, original writing (1366/1987: 14). He criticizes Iranian authors who have used "deficient, limp translations" or even their "relatively good translations" in the name of authorial works. Once the status of translators has been enhanced, the number of the so-called "pseudoauthorial translators," that is, translators who hide the identity of the original author and adapt their work under their own name, will be reduced (*ibid.*). This view reflects the author's concern that original works such as M. A. Fowrughhi's *Seyr-e Hekmat dar Orupa* [the course of philosophy in Europe] (1318/1939), which is an introduction to the Western philosophy, could serve as an example of how original works can be written. The success of such original works is seen in their power to establish relation with readership, a property that is said to be missing in deficient translations. He also welcomes the translators' domestication strategies in translating scientific works and calls on Iranian publishers to modify their concept of "faithfulness" to the original works, especially in writing textbooks (Ma'sumi-Hamadani 1366/1987: 21). In terms of economy, he argues that publishers treat authors of original works and translators equally. In this view, a translator who feels responsible for understanding an author's words has the chance to move towards authorship on the condition of mastering the subject under translation.

### *Persian scholars on translation*

Persian scholars who translate have reflected on their practice often in a prescriptive nature. Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh (1895–1997), the Iranian author famous for introducing modern short stories into Persian, welcomes the practice of domesticating translations (1333/1953: 415). He argues that translation depends on what he calls the four "basic conditions": mastery of the two languages, possession of good taste, familiarity with the subject, and familiarity with similar issues in the target culture as discussed in the source culture (*ibid.*). Along these same lines, S. Mossahebi, the Persian translator of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, argues that the full translation of great literary works such as Ferdowsi's *Shahnaemh* [the

book of the kings] into foreign languages is neither possible nor an easy task. For her, the translator of literary works should meet three “conditions”: mastering two languages, acquiring a thorough knowledge of the work to be translated, and being familiar with the author of the work (Mossaheb 1349/1970: 558).

### *On translators*

An emerging trend in the publishing field in post-Revolution era is the publication of books on individual translators. Naser Hariri (1376/1997), a Persian journalist, conducted an in-depth interview with the celebrated literary translator Najaf Daryabandari in *Yek Goftegu ba Najaf Daryabandari* [an interview with Najaf Daryabandari]. The book provides insight into various issues, including the history and practice of translation in the publishing field for both pre- and post-Revolution Iran. Twelve years later, Mehdi Mozaffari-Savowji (1388/2009), an Iranian journalist, published another book on Daryabandari’s life and translations. Mehdi Afshar (1377/1998), also a literary translator, has collected four interviews with celebrated translators, providing biographical information on how they entered the publishing field (for a review of the book, see Solhjoo 1377/1998b). Similar projects include Ali Mirzayi (1389/2010), covering previous published interviews with a number of literary translators and scholars on translation, development, and culture in Iran, and Sirius Alinejad (1388/2009), who presents seven interviews with celebrated literary translators. Erfan Ghaneifard (1376/1997, 1379/2000), an Iranian lexicographer and translator, has published two books on the life and translations of Mohammad Qazi, one of the most celebrated Persian translators, in particular, for his translation of *Don Quixote* by Cervantes from French into Persian (for more on this translation, see *Motarjem* 1372/1993a). Interestingly enough, Qazi remains one of the very few literary translator who has penned two books on his translations: *Khaterat-e Yek Motarjem* [the memoirs of a translator] (1371/1992), and *Sargozasht-e Tarjomeha-ye Man* [the story of my translations] (1373/1994). An interesting biography is *Didar ba Zabihollah Mansuri* [meeting with Zabihollah Mansuri] (Jamshidi 1367/1988). Mansuri’s prolific career as a journalist and pseudotranslator is of particular interest since his use of self-effacement, that is, introducing himself as a translator rather than an author, has been interpreted differently by Iranian scholars (see Chapter 4; Ettehad 1384/2005: 134–178, Haddadian-Moghaddam 1387/2008, Milani 2008: 873–875). A recent addition to works by Iranian translators on their translations and the social and cultural conditions surrounding them is Hassan Kamshad’s two-volume biography, *Hadis-e Nafs* [soliloquy] (1388/2009).

### *Special issues*

A number of Persian journals have also published special issues on translation. Apart from the journal *Farhang va Zendegi* (1355/1976) mentioned above, the journal *Payam-e Ketab-Khaneh* (1370/1991) has presented seven interviews with literary translators such as Karim Emami, Daryabandari, and Abdollah Tavakkol. In addition, it has published a number of articles on translations. In *Pol-e Firuzeh* (1384/2005), another Persian journal, less-explored issues of translation in Iran were covered. In the same volume, Morad Farhadpur, an Iranian translator and philosopher, argues that translation, in its broadest sense, is “the only real form of thinking for us [Iranians]” (1384/2005: 8). In his article “Tafakkor/tarjomeh” [thinking/translation], he draws on the philosophical aspects of translation and Hans-Georg Gadamer’s hermeneutics to argue that, not only is it through translation that Iran’s contact with Western modernity is made possible, but also our understanding of our being (Farhadpoor 1384/2005: 14). In the same volume, an interview with Kamran Fani, an Iranian translator and editor, dealt with the much-discussed issue of “translation movement” and the under-researched role of the Persian translators in it. This movement refers to the mass translation from Greek into Arabic from the middle of the eighth century to the tenth century (see Gutas 1998). Moreover, the journal included a short bibliography of books and articles on translation, written in Persian or translated into Persian, though it is not clear how the selection was made (see *Pol-e Firuzeh* 1384/2005). Similar attempts include the journal *Azma* (1384/2005), which included a short article by Kowsari, a literary translator, on his “criteria for the selection of works for translation” (for more on this translator, see Chapter 5) and *Zendeh Rud* (1382/2003), another Persian journal, carrying an article by Mohammad Kalbasi on Mirza Habib Esfahani’s translation of Morier’s *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (see Chapter 3). In the last few years, a number of Persian dailies such as *Shargh* and *E’temad* have also pursued an interest in some aspects of translation in Iran, in particular, literary translation and the translation of philosophical works.

### *Exchange*

Many aspects of translation overlooked by translation scholars in Iran have been dealt with in nonacademic sources. Surprisingly, some of these works have found their way into the so-called academic journals. In many of these cases, the publishing field plays an important role. Through interviews with publishers, literary translators, and other relevant agents, including state authorities, editors, and literary journalists, the authors of these works try to describe, and sometimes analyze, a number of issues: retranslations (e.g., on the retranslation of Salinger’s *Franny and Zooey*, see Yazdani-Khorram 1381/2002), copyright (Bizhani 1384/2005), censorship of books (Mohammadi 1376/1997), the fragmented market for literary

translations (Sartipi 1370/1991), the book crisis in Iran (Purpirar 1370/1991), and literary translation as an art (*Donya-ye Sokhan* 1374/1995).

As an illustration of many unexplored issues, we can refer to the role of prison in the professionalization of translators. Three celebrated translators – Daryabandari, Ahmad Sami'i, and Ebrahim Younesi – all spent some time in prison in pre-Revolution Iran for their membership in the leftist party *Tudeh*. They found translation as one way to exercise agency: they spent their time doing full-length translations. For example, Daryabandari translated Russel's *The History of Western Philosophy* (1945) into Persian (see Mozaffari-Savowji 1388/2009). The same is true about the role of the Iranian Left and, in particular, the *Tudeh* party in shaping translation practices in pre-Revolution period. Although research on the cultural impact of the Iranian Left is still lacking, one might hope that the growing research on the political impact of the Iranian left (see, e.g., Cronin 2004) might also look into the role of translation (see also Chapter 6).

By dividing the literature into academic and nonacademic works, our survey reveals that the discourse of translation in Iran is equally produced by both academics and nonacademics, each pursuing their own agenda. We noted that the strong linguistic approach to translation in modern Iran, the absence of sufficient TS scholarship, and the possible risks associated with research on certain issues such as censorship have contributed to the lack of research on matters such as the agency of translators, the motivations of agents of translation, and the impact of post-Revolution cultural policies on translation. Although the above studies do not specifically examine the concept of agency as such, nor do they aim to move beyond the stereotyped image of agents of translation as “the transporters of delight,” to borrow from Trüby (1991), they have addressed it indirectly. In other words, concern for language, be it from the academics or from the censor, is partly a resistance against the dominated Western languages from which books are translated, on the one hand, and the dominant Islamic culture presented here through Persian, on the other. Various agents of translation are at work to create this culture in translation, whereby the academics guard it linguistically (cf. language purism) and the state does it ideologically, to which we will turn in the following chapters. The public discourse of translation is then where the virtual battle of these two adversaries is manifested.

This interplay and serious concern about the quality of translation, unexplored cases of pseudotranslations, and the direction of translation (mainly from English) have certain effects on agency that remain, to a large extent, unexplored. Finally, the professionalization of agents of translation, likewise, is being eclipsed by the complimentary doxa of “love for literature” discourse in an apparently unstructured field of publishing with unwritten rules.



## The Qajar period (1795–1925)

Following the Persian translation and publication of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (Esfahani 1905), which we will cover shortly, a Constitutional Revolution happened in Persia and with it a resolute call for reform and modernization was raised in Persia, whose population at the time, according to some estimates, hardly exceeded 10 million (since 1935, Persia has been called Iran).<sup>1</sup> The opposition to the despotic kings of Qajar was shared by parts of the religious and intellectual segments of Persian society. The latter benefited from the differentiated patronage (Lefevre 1992) of the court in their quest for modern sciences in the West or, having provoked royal rage, sought political refuge in exile and engaged in various practices, one of which was translation and language instruction. The case of Mirza Yusef Mostashar al-Dawleh, Persia's chargé d'affaires in Paris, the translator of a summary of the first French Constitution in 1869, is exemplary. Although the translation *Yek Kalameh*, "One Word Treatise," was softened in its tone by some Islamic verses and narratives, the translator was arrested and tortured (for a new translation of this work into English, see Seyed-Gohrab and McGlinn 2010). The king was intolerant because he did not want to "think of a constitution as having the same value for the King, the beggar, the serfs and the war lords; otherwise he favored the idea of reconciling the Western civilizations with that of Islam" (Hashemi n.d.; see also Fashahi 1352/1973: 55).

There are two reasons to start the study of agency from the Qajar period. First, translation from European languages, as far as historical documents are concerned, dates back to this period. We do not wish to downplay the importance of previous translation activities. However, our interest here is the circulation of translation, even in the form of manuscripts. In other words, there is no historical document to testify that pre-Qajar translations were accessible to the public because printing, in a more modern sense, did not exist in Persia until the Qajar period. Secondly, some historical account of the development of translation in Iran helps us to better understand agents of translation, the way they exercised their agency, and the historical development of their agency. In doing so, we will focus on one text, Mirza

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1. Because the first national census of Iran was held in 1956, all previous statistics are only estimates, based on the works of historians, travelers and the like. Bharier (1968), from whom this estimate is quoted, presents an overview of the issue.

Habib Esfahani's Persian translation (1905) of James Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824a) as a case in point. This novel has proved historically to be a key text in the development of the Persian translation tradition, and it sets the stage for exploring various aspects of agency in relation to both exile and risk in intercultural transfers.

## Overview

Despite Persia's contact with Europeans before the Qajar period (1795–1925), the portrayal of which is generally exotic in European travelogues and official documents (see Lockhart 1964), translation from European languages into Persian truly began during the Qajar period. The reason was the relatively central political stability in Persia and the increasing contact with European countries (for the earliest translation periods in Persia, see Sayyar 1368/1989–1990; Karimi-Hakkak 1998, Zakeri 2007). One key factor enhancing translation activity was Persia's defeats in its first round of wars with Russia (1804–1813). These defeats encouraged Crown Prince Abbas Mirza (1789–1833) to look for ways to “reform the [Persian] troops by translation of French texts on military engineering and artillery, paving the first steps toward Western modernization” (Kiyanfar 1368/1989, Hashemi n.d.). Kiyanfar argues that a considerable number of early translations into Persian were carried out by the Europeans, believed to be very accurate, many of which were translated into Turkish and then Persian (1368/1989: 23). Similarly, Emami relates that “during the early decades of the nineteenth century very few Persians were capable of undertaking such translations, and most of those few who had lived in India and worked for the East India Company [acted as translators]” (Emami 1998: 450).

Crown Prince Abbas Mirza's role as an early translation patron is highlighted in a number of studies (Busse 1982, Kiyanfar 1368/1989), mainly because of his role in sending a number of Persian students to Western countries to study (for a historical and biographical analysis of early Persian students outside Persia, see Sarmad 1372/1993). Upon their return, many, such as Mirza Reza Mohandes, started translating historical works at the request of the prince and other courtiers. In addition to his order to establish the first printing press in Tabriz in 1817 (Azarang 1388/2009: 187), Balaý and Cuypers credit Crown Prince Abbas Mirza's efforts in this way: “For translation from European works, one had to wait until the nineteenth century, and in particular the efforts of Abbas Mirza” (1983: 28). Abbas Mirza's motivation in commissioning Persian translations of two historical works by Voltaire and Edward Gibbon in nineteenth-century Persia is argued to be the awakening of the drowsy courtiers and the planting of the seeds of reform, hoping to revive Persia's historical majesty (Fashahi 1352/1973: 20).



Individual translation initiatives were sporadic. The institutionalization of translation did not take place until the establishment of the *Dar al-Fonun* [house of techniques] in 1851, the first modern school of higher education in Iran, thanks to the efforts of the reformist Amir Kabir (1807–1852), chief minister to Nasir al-Din Shah (see Adamiyat 1354/1975). Some scholars argue that the *Dar al-Fonun* “began to play a crucial part in the evolution of pedagogical processes in Iran” (Karimi-Hakkak 1998: 518; see also Balaý and Cuypers 1983). In her study of the role of *Dar al-Fonun* on the translation process in Iran, Vâez-Shahrestani reveals a “translation board” consisting of translators with multicultural backgrounds working side by side, showing a keen interest in translation methods and, interestingly enough, adopting a domestication strategy in translating and staging Molière’s *Le Malade imaginaire* by modifying the characters’ names and clothes (1378/1999: 95). This strategy appears to be common for plays as a way to make the story familiar for the Persian audience. For example, Mr. Diafoirus in the original play becomes Musa in the Persian version (see Figure 1). Apart from *Dar al-Fonun*’s role in enhancing early translation activities, some of the translators working for *Dar al-Fonun* have been criticized for their translation method of borrowing to such an extent that they have been called, with some reservations, “the first Western fanatics” (Vâez-Shahrestani 1378/1999: 98). It should nevertheless be understood that translators working for *Dar al-Fonun* were pioneers in translating into Persian and often had no choice but to borrow in their work. Years later,

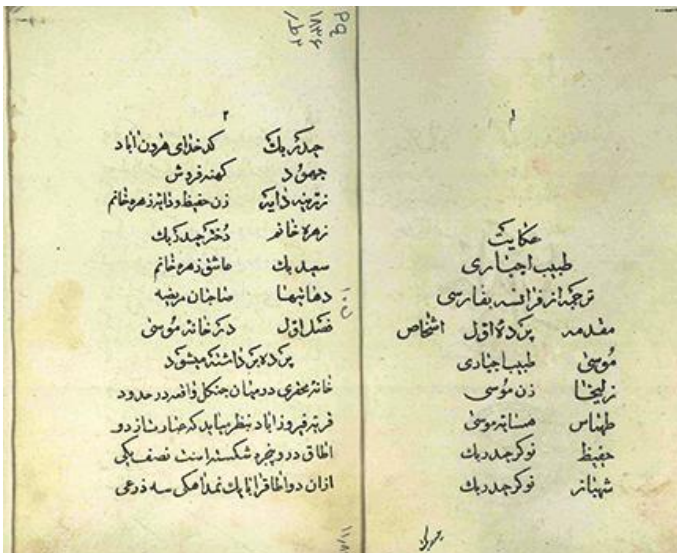


Figure 1. A lithographic adaptation of Molière’s *Le Malade imaginaire* by E’temad al-Saltaneh (NLA 2014)

when borrowing reached an excessive level and Persian, which could offer proper equivalents, became secondary, the critique of bad translations and translators was formed and advanced mainly by the guardians of the Persian language (see our section “Discourse” in Chapter 2).

Who were the translators and publishers? We know little about early literary translators and publishers and the nature of their interaction with others. We learn that E'temad al-Saltaneh, the director of the Government Printing and Translation House, used to “present the translators and their work to the king to win his favor” (Hashemi n.d.; for a list of the books published by the House, see Danesh-Pazhuh 1360/1981). However, he is quoted in 1893 as “spending 10,000 rials over a period of 10 years from his own capital for the costs of the translation house and that his translators have produced more than 1,000 books and booklets” (Hashemi n.d.). Balaÿ and Cuypers give an interesting account of his notorious life as a courtier, author, and translator and how he competed with Mohammad Taher Mirza, the translator of Alexandre Dumas's *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* and *Les Trois Mousquetaires* into Persian. These translations were received with great favor by the courtiers and reaffirmed his position as the top translator. He even wrote a novel, *Khalse* [ecstasy], which can be seen as an attempt to reestablish his position. Balaÿ and Cuypers' account is very telling:

What persuaded E'temad al-Saltaneh to write this “novel” [...] was Taher Mirza's translations that had just been published ([...] in 1892). There is no doubt that the publishing in Tabriz of *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* by Alexander Dumas was a blow to the minister's self-esteem as he prided himself on being the best translator of the country (at least from the French language), and looked down on Prince Taher, who himself made a similar claim. (Balaÿ and Cuypers 1983: 27)

With regard to the economic capital of the translator, we can again refer to Balaÿ and Cuypers quoting from E'temad al-Saltaneh's memoirs that, “Prince Taher Mirza receives a monthly amount of 100 tomans from the Queen Mother (mother of Shah Mozaffaroddin)” (ibid.: 32; see also E'temad al-Saltaneh 1350/1372). These two interesting accounts show to some extent the position of the distinguished translators who were under the patronage of the court.

Publishing during the early period of the Qajar era was mainly a state-run domain. Until then, translations and books were in the form of manuscripts, and copying them was a popular profession. The printing houses used lithography or, in some cases, lead print (see, e.g., Figures 1 and 2; for more on this, see Shcheglova 1999a, Marzolf 2001). Azarang argues that there is no evidence to show that publishing in this period had been merely “a financial endeavor or carried out with financial motives” (1386/2007: 248). Be that as it may, translations do not seem to be provided to the public for free. For example, as the title page of *Le Fils de*



**Figure 2.** The title page and frontispiece of Jules Lermina's *Le Fils de Monte-Cristo*, published in 1322/1904 in Tehran. Photos: (top) Alexander Dumas (L), Lermina (R); (down) M. Taher Mirza (L, translator of Dumas); Khalil Khan (R, translator of Lermina) (NLA 2014)

*Monte-Cristo* (Figure 2) demonstrates, the illustrated one-volume Persian translation was available at a drugstore for five toman (about £1).

During the late Qajar period, publishing showed signs of progress and the role of print culture became more evident. In a study of the moderate newspaper *Tarbiyat* on late Qajar Persia, Ma'sumi-Hamadani (1363/1984) found that books, chiefly lithographed books, made use of advertisements to promote their sale. His study shows that there is a relationship between translators and the advertisements: the printing houses made use of translators' symbolic capital to promote their books. We also learn that there was a simple network of book exchanges between printing houses, both within Persia and between Persia and other countries, mainly the nations which formed part of the Ottoman Empire. Concerning Ma'sumi-Hamadani's study, we can infer that translators' symbolic capital (e.g., their reputations) significantly affected their agency in securing their position in early translation practices during the Qajar period. Of interest here is Khalil Khan, the translator of *Le Fils de Monte-Cristo*, who encourages the readership to read first *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, naming its translator and publishing his image next to himself, and then continue by reading his translation (see Figure 2). Khalil

Khan's approach in promoting other translations is interesting, not to mention that this is a historical illustration of cooperation between agents of translation. No less interesting is the fact that he appears to be an early translator who is securing his copyright for both the translation and the book as stated in the title page above.

Azarang has recently reported on a private publishing house that was probably founded around 1900 in Tehran. At the initiative of Ehtesham al-Doleh, a graduate of the *Dar al-Fonun*, a reformist, and a diplomat, more than 50 people – intellectuals and influential people – gathered and established *Anjoman-e Ma'aref* [the society of knowledge]. One of the initiatives of the society was the establishment of a public company called *Sherkat-e Tab'-e Ketab* [book printing company]. The purpose of the company was to publish beneficial books, aimed at “illuminating ideas” (Azarang 1389/2010: 407). *Sherkat-e Tab'-e Ketab* was active for eleven years and employed a number of people for the purposes of translation, editing, and preparation of the books. The company appears to have been innovative in many aspects. For example, Azarang relates that the capital earned from the plays – those that were staged based on their Persian translations from French – contributed to the educational purposes of the company. The publishing house also drew on a consignment method by lending books to schools for certain periods (Azarang 1389/2010: 386). It could not fulfill many of its modern aims because of a lack of capital, the king's fear of its progressive approach, internal disagreement, mismanagement, competition from other publishers, and the lack of a distribution system in Persia.

A review of the translated titles suggests little evidence of possible systematic norms for the selection of works for translation and shows little evidence of how they were received by the readers. As Balaý and Cuyper point out, “To tell the truth, the selection of the translations is the most puzzling aspect of this phenomenon: it seems to have been done at random according to individual tastes and experiments, and journeys to Europe, and it was partly linked to literary trends of 19th century France” (1983: 30). Although it is not clear how non-courtiers received the translations, Balaý and Cuyper base their view on the available manuscripts and argue that they should have been “very appealing to the Qajar courtiers” (1983: 30).

Research on the motivations of Qajar translators is still largely nonexistent. However, some Persian scholars have made cursory references. For example, Azarang assumes that very few translators had “personal motives, either political, anti-system, enlightening, and so on” (1390/2011: 330). The researcher observes a close relationship between the translators' motives and the political system. For example, he argues that the post-Constitutional Revolution translators lost their motivation due to the despotic period of Mohammad Ali Shah (1808–1848), the third ruler of the Qajar dynasty, and as a result the translation flows dropped sharply (*ibid.*: 331).

In addition to Prince Abbas Mirza as possibly the first translation patron in modern Persia, the Qajar kings, especially Nasir al-Din Shah, and the royal family, were both the patrons and sometimes the suppressers of translations (see above). As an example, Kiyanfar names five translations by Mirza Reza Mohandes, among which Walter Scott's *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (1827) is argued to be the oldest translation from French on Napoleon, not yet published in Iran (Kiyanfar 1368/1989: 25). He quotes from the translator's preface that the translation has been carried out at the request of Mohammad Shah Qajar (ibid.). Some accounts of Nasir al-Din Shah's role as a patron of translation are also reported by Iraj Afshar (1381/2002) from *The Diary of E'temad al-Saltaneh* (see below) in which the king is shown to praise or even reward the translators. In one interesting report, we even learn of a uniform designed for translators: "the translators all dressed in their new broadcloths were presented to the King whom received them most favorably" (Afshar 1381/2002: 107). The repressive role of the Qajar kings was nonetheless mentioned in the beginning of this chapter in relation to the Persian translation of a book by Mirza Yousef Mostashar al-Doleh, Persia's chargé d'affaires in Paris.

At this point of the overview, it is necessary to look at censorship. Censorship in Iran is probably rooted in the Qajar period. Karimi-Hakkak believes that the beginning of censorship occurred simultaneously with the publication of the second Persian newspaper, *Vaqaye'-e Ettefaqieh* in 1267/1851 (1992: 135). Historians of the Persian press argue that E'temad al-Saltaneh, the then minister of publications, suggested that Nasir al-Din Shah establish "an office of domestic censorship" in 1302/1885. This office was responsible for checking "all newspapers, pamphlet, tracts, and so forth, before they were printed" (Karimi-Hakkak 1992: 135). With the intensified censorship and little tolerance for an opposition voice, the Persian press and intelligentsia went initially underground and then abroad. Various Persian presses were located in Calcutta, Constantinople, and Berlin (see Shcheglova 1999b). Although Article 20 of the Supplement to the Constitution stated that "all publications, except misleading (*zalat*) books and materials injurious to the glorious religion are free, and censorship (*momayyezi*) in them is forbidden" (ibid.), both "punitive" and "prior" censorship was in force during the Qajar period (for more on censorship, see Karimi-Hakkak 1992).

For half a century dating from the end of the nineteenth century, French was the dominant language from which European works were translated into Persian. It lost its dominance because of "[t]he outbreak of World War II and the subsequent occupation of Persia by Allied forces in 1941" (Emami 1998: 451). Many of the early historical and geographical works translated from French into Persian during the Naser al-Din Shah period (1848–1896) were aimed at "informing people of the political events in the rest of the world" (ibid.). One such work is Yousef

Mortazavi's translation of a book from French that can be back translated as *History of the Great French Revolution*. The author of the book was unknown in 1913. This is considered to be one of the good early translations into Persian.

In terms of translation flows, there are hardly any statistics for translation during the Qajar dynasty. Afshar (1381/2002) assumes that around 500 titles were translated into Persian and roughly 130 translators were active during that time. Afshar has listed their names and introduced their translation manuscripts.

Among the novels translated during the Qajar period, Emami (1379/2000: 45) names four works as "the greatest literary achievements of the time." These works are translations of *One Thousand and One Nights*, translated from Arabic by Mollah Abdol Latif Tasuji; Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* and Alain-René Lesage's *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, both translated from French by Esfahani; and William Shakespeare's *Othello*, translated by Abolqasem Khan Qaraguzlow Naser-al Molk (Naser-al Molk is his title) from the English original. Except for the first translator, who lived to see his illustrated, gilded, and bound translation, the other three translators passed away before their works were published. We will shortly cover Esfahani's story. However, his other translation witnessed a similarly interesting story. Having been plagiarized under another name, an edited copy of Esfahani's translation of *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* was finally published 102 years later in Iran, to the surprise of Iranian literary critics, because the translation shows considerable skill (Emami 1378/2000). The Persian translation of *Othello* was published 34 years after the death of its translator by his son in Paris.

In a general overview, Kiyangar points to five characteristics of translation from the early Qajar period (1795) until the beginning of Nasir al-Din Shah's rule (1848): translation manuscripts were checked by a "literary historian" in what could be described nowadays as editing; most books were of a historical, military, and scientific nature; free translation was the method; most translations were carried out by Europeans or Armenians, and more rarely by Jews familiar with Persian; and despite their free style, they were generally "accurate, fluent and usable" (1368/1989: 27–28). We can build on these features and add that the later translation practices following Nasir al-Din Shah's rule were influenced by the establishment of *Dar al-Fonun*; the number of translators and the variety of titles increased; and the translation of historical novels from European languages became popular. A common feature of the nascent publishing field in the Qajar period appears to be the accumulation of symbolic capital accorded to foreign literature, hence to the agents of translation who were exercising their agency under the despotic Qajars.



## *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*

As to how the translator has accomplished his difficult task, let the Persians decide.  
(Phillott 1905:v)

### Introduction

Mirza Habib Esfahani, a Persian poet and translator, was forced to leave Iran or what was then Persia in 1866 for Constantinople on charges of satirizing the prime minister of the time.<sup>2</sup> He never returned to Persia. However, his Persian translation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (hereafter *The Adventures*), still in print, found its way not only to Calcutta and Persia, but also to the heated debates surrounding both the translation and the translator. The novel was written by a curious British diplomat, James Morier, and published in 1824 in London, appearing in the same year in French in Paris (see Morier 1824a, Morier 1824c, respectively). The Persian version was published in 1905 in Calcutta (for the Persian, see Morier 1824b, Phillott 1905). Neither the English nor the French publishers mentioned the name of the author or the translator. The Persian version, however, misidentified the translator. Why so much confusion?

In this case study, we will rewrite the history of the Persian translation of Morier's *The Adventures* from the point of view of agency and agents of translation. Particular attention will be given to the agents of translation involved in the production of the Persian version. In the analysis of the Persian translation, it will be argued that for Esfahani, the Persian translator, the ethics of political progress were higher than the ethics of fidelity to foreign text as one way to exercise his agency in exile. We will also examine the movement of the English and Persian texts and the agents of translation between the discourse of "colonialist-orientalist" and "anticolonialist imaginaries" that have formed much of the critical discourse surrounding both texts. The analysis of the agents of translation will also allow us to propose the concepts of "pro-risk agents of translation" and "traveling agency" in an attempt to enlarge our view of agency.

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2. Little is known about the assumed poem in which Mohammad Khan Sepahsalar, the prime minister of Nasir al-Din Shah, was arguably satirized (for an account of the latter, see Sa'adat-Nuri 1345/1966). Esfahani has written some notes about himself in his still unpublished "Divan," that is, the collection of his poems, which is said to be in Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi [the state library of Beyazit] in Istanbul. In part of it, we read: "In there [Tehran], they [the Persian authorities] decided to arrest and harass [me] on the false accusation of satirizing Sepahsalar Mohammad Khan, the prime Minister" (see Afshar 1339/1960: 492–493).

## Once upon a time in Britain, Persia, and India

The four people we will study here were born in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although they never actually met each other, their interests and practices did. Two of them were British and two were Persian. Below, we will tell the story of one British author and three agents of translation.

### *James Justinian Morier*

James Justinian Morier (Figure 3) was born in 1782 of Swiss and Dutch parents in Smyrna, on the Turkish side of the Aegean Sea. Forty-two years later in 1824, after his two diplomatic missions to Persia, he published the picaresque novel *The Adventures*, which secured his fame.



Figure 3. James Justinian Morier (L) and Mirza Habib Esfahani (R)

Morier's missions to Persia in the early nineteenth century (1808 and 1811, amounting to a total stay of six years) formed part of Britain's policy of securing its imperial power in a country which was historically a zone of conflict between the Russians, the Ottoman Empire, and Napoleonic France (see Johnston 1998). Before publishing his three-volume best seller *The Adventures* (1824a), Morier published two books on his journeys to Persia and Asia Minor (1812, 1818) providing ethnographic accounts of the early Qajar period.<sup>3</sup> Before *The Adventures* was published, the British readership had been exposed to Alain-René Lesage's *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* (1715–1735, four volumes, Paris; English version, 1749)

3. 1812. *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; 1818. *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, between the Years 1810 and 1816*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown.



and Thomas Hope's novel *Anastasius* (1819), two popular picaresque novels, the former of which is argued to be the model for Morier's *The Adventures* (Amanat 2003, Rastegar 2007).

*The Adventures* narrates the peculiar story of Hajji Baba, a barber's son from Isfahan, Persia, and his picaresque adventures through hardships and misfortunes, and the way he succeeds, mainly because of his resourcefulness, in attaining a position as secretary to a Persian diplomat (for a detailed account of the story, see Amanat 2003).

### *Mirza Habib Esfahani*

Moving on to Persia: Mirza Habib Esfahani (hereafter Esfahani; Figure 3) was born in 1251/1836 in a village called Ben, near the modern-day city of Shahr-e Kord in Iran. As an outspoken writer and poet accused of "slandering the prime minister of the time" (Sanjabi 1998: 252), he escaped in 1866 to Constantinople. Apparently, around 1886 (Yazici 2003: 426), Esfahani translated *The Adventures* into Persian. He died in 1893 (Afshar 1339/1960: 494). He had never seen his translation published, nor was he recognized as the translator for more than half of a century.

Long before the Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911), Esfahani, having completed his studies in theology, literature, and Islamic methodology in both Persia and Baghdad, Iraq, and having established contacts with Persian dissidents abroad, was forced to leave Persia as mentioned earlier (see Sanjabi 1998: 252, Balaj and Cuypers 1983: 41). Esfahani was also accused of being a member of the *Faramush-khaneh*, a secret society modeled on European Masonic lodges, and an atheist, though there is little or no evidence for these accusations (see Azarang 1381/2002: 35). Esfahani made Constantinople his home in 1866 (Afshar 1339/1960: 493). He worked there as a Persian instructor and translator, at a time when the Ottomans' sociocultural environment was changing due to the political movement of the Young Ottomans (see Paker 1998: 577–578). Constantinople was also becoming one of the centers of the Persian intelligentsia and dissidents, providing a forum for publishing the Persian press.

Various Iranian scholars talk of Esfahani learning French and other languages while in exile. However, only one non-Iranian scholar provides reliable evidence. In his study of the nineteenth-century calligraphers, Stanley (2006: 96) examines Esfahani's role and his book, *Hat ve Hâttân* (1887–1888) [calligraphy and calligraphers]. He quotes from Inal, "a successor" of Esfahani, that Habib (Esfahani was known in Constantinople as Habib Efendi) "for 21 years taught Persian and Arabic at the Galatasaray Lycée [high school] and Persian and French at the Darüşşafaka [a secondary school]" (Stanley 2006: 96). Esfahani also published *Dastur-e Sokhan*, the first systematic Persian grammar in 1872 in Constantinople (see *Armaghan*

1308/1929, Afshar 1339/1960), and several publications in Persian and Turkish, including his Persian translations of Molière's *Le Misanthrope* in 1869–1870 and Lesage's *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Haji Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi Kermani*

Haji Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi Kermani (hereafter Kermani, Figure 4) was born in about 1272/1855 in Persia. Kermani was an associate of Esfahani in Constantinople, and while crossing the Ottoman-Persian border in 1897, he was arrested by the Ottomans, being suspected of having played a part in the murder of Nasir al-Din Shah (1831–1896), the then king of Persia. Kermani was butchered in Tabriz, Persia, by the Persian authorities, and a manuscript copy of Esfahani's translation of *The Adventures* was found among his belongings.



Figure 4. Haji Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi Kermani (L) and Major D. C. Phillott (R)

The role of Kermani has become less prominent in the discourse surrounding *The Adventures*, mainly because he was misidentified as the translator of the book. He arrived in Constantinople possibly in 1886 and worked as a Persian and Arabic instructor and a copyist of manuscripts. Kermani soon took an active role in the political movement of the time, led by Jamal al-Din Afghani, a political activist who was aiming to unify the Islamic world against the Qajars' despotism. Kermani is reported to have cooperated with Esfahani as an editor and copyist (Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a: 14). His political correspondence with the Muslim theologians

4. For a list of Esfahani's works, see Afshar 1339/1960: 495, 1342/1963; Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a; for his translation of *Le Misanthrope*, see Sanjabi 1998; for various versions of *Gil Blas* in Persian, see Azarang 1381/2002: 38–39. For a review of Esfahani's translation of *Gil Blas* into Persian, see Emami 1378/2000.

(*ulema*) of Qum, Najaf, and Mashhad was seized by the Persian authorities, who demanded his extradition from the Ottoman Empire. Pressure was intensified after the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah, the Qajar king, in 1896 by an associate of Kermani and his circle. Kermani and two other associates were extradited to Persia where they met their tragic end (see Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a: 16; and Phillott's introduction to the 1905 edition of the Persian translation).<sup>5</sup>

The misidentification of Kermani as the Persian translator of *The Adventures* remains an interesting case of the myriad ways agency can be misattributed in intercultural transfers. In his introduction to *The Adventures*, Edward Browne, who described Kermani as “a man of much learning and imposing appearance” (1910: 93), tells of a letter he received from Kermani in 1892, in which Esfahani is introduced as the translator of *The Adventures* from French. Kermani asks Browne for his cooperation in publishing the book, because, despite Esfahani's willingness to publish the translation in Constantinople, the “Censor of the Press” (Browne 1895: xxi) would not permit it. It is not exactly clear what censor Kermani is talking about here. However, we can assume it should be the censor of the press which was prevalent during the period of Abdüllhamit II (1876–1908) in the Ottoman territory (see Demircioğlu 2009: 138). Having identified Esfahani as the Persian translator in 1895, Browne committed a similar mistake in his fourth volume of *The Literary History of Persia* in 1924 by misidentifying Kermani as the translator. Kamshad, who has published a facsimile of Kermani's letter to Browne and is credited with being one of the Iranian scholars who identify Esfahani as the first Persian translator of *The Adventures*, attributes Browne's mistake to his age and “poor health” (1966: 23). In the same vein, Rastegar suspects that Browne's “deliberate misidentification” might have been due to his support for Persian constitutionalists, with whom Kermani was covertly affiliated (2007: 258).

Of particular interest is how Phillott (see below) remained totally unaware of Browne's introduction to *The Adventures* (1895), and even more surprising is his erroneous identification of Kermani as the translator in his introduction to the second edition (1924) from Cambridge where he, as Kamshad (1966: 23) argues, must have met Browne.

Similar attempts have been made to save Esfahani from oblivion. The Persian scholar Mojtaba Minovi is known to have found a manuscript of Esfahani's translation in the University of Istanbul Library in 1961 (see Modarres-Sadeghi

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5. The account of the execution as reported by Phillott runs as follows: “A wire from Tehran to Tabriz and the two suspects were secretly butchered in a kitchen, in the presence of the Governor, who – so it is said – while superintending the execution was moved to tears. The butchery was carried out on the 4th of Safar (A.D. 1896 about), A.H. 1314. The bodies were afterwards thrown into a well.” (1905: v)

1379/2000a: 12), while Jamalzadeh, another Persian author, makes a similar claim (see Afshar 1339/1960, Kamshad 2010). Let us see who is who here. Writing an introduction for an edition of Morier's in 1895, Brown referred to Kermani's letter and translated it into English. In it, Esfahani was recognized as the Persian translator of *The Adventures* from French. This remained unknown until Kamshad in his study (1966:23) reproduced a facsimile of Kermani's letter to Browne. Disagreement exists among Iranian scholars who claim to identify Esfahani as the translator. While Kamshad's claim is based on Kermani's letter, others look at Esfahani's manuscript. Minovi is probably the only Iranian who has actually seen Esfahani's manuscript in 1961 in the library of the University of Istanbul, with the record number of F. 266 (despite some attempts, we have not been able to examine it closely). Minovi is said to have given a microfilm of the manuscript to the library of the University of Tehran, numbered 3603. Jamalzadeh (1362/1983:673) covers Minovi's discovery in 1961 of Esfahani's manuscript, quoting from Minovi's letters. However, it is not clear why Jamalzadeh claims the credit (1348/1969 and 1362/1983). Kamshad (2010) has argued that he informed Jamalzadeh about his discovery and did not think of the credit as he was "young, inattentive and these things did not matter" to him at the time. Interestingly enough, Afshar (1339/1960) does not mention Minovi's discovery and gives the credit to Jamalzadeh (Afshar 1342/1963).

### *Douglas Craven Phillott*

The last agent of translation in our story is Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Douglas Craven Phillott (Figure 4). Phillott was born in 1860 in India, and although his name is hardly remembered in Britain, he is remembered, at least by the Iranians, for his role as the editor and the main publishing agent of the first Persian translation of *The Adventures* in Calcutta, India in 1905 (Figure 5).

As mentioned above, the manuscript copy of Esfahani's translation of *The Adventures* was found among Kermani's belongings. However, until very recently it was not clear how the manuscript was handed over to Kermani's family in Kerman, more than 1,500 kilometers from Tabriz. Phillott in his introduction to the 1905 edition states that "[T]he present edition is printed from a MS. copied from, and again collated with, the original MS. that the translator sent to his native town." We have recently found some letters written by Kermani while in Constantinople to her family in Kerman that are revealing (see Kermani, n.d.). In one undated letter, Kermani informs that: «و من هم یک نسخه حاجی بابا نوشته با یک قطعه عکس خودم برایش هدیه فرستادم [and I have made a copy of Hajji Baba and have sent it to him (the governor of Kerman) with my photo]». This discovery now sheds light on how Phillott came into the possession of Hajji Baba's manuscript and the photo that appeared in

the frontispiece of the book. This copy can be also the base of the manuscript in circulation in the pre-print form in Persia at the time.<sup>6</sup>

Kalbasi (1382/2003: 44) assumes that Kermani's family, having feared the government's brutality, sought Phillott's support for the publication of the manuscript. Phillott, who was the British consul in Kerman at the time, appreciated the manuscript immediately. Phillott went to India, edited and annotated the manuscript, and published the translation in 1905 at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. Although he is viewed as the savior of the book (Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a), he committed a substantial error by introducing Kermani as the translator.

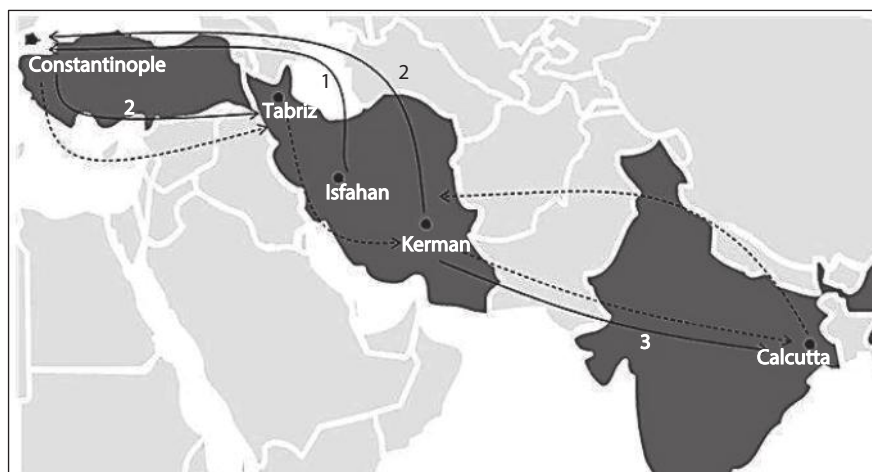


Figure 5. The title page of *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Isfahan*, edited by Phillott and published in 1905 in Calcutta

Phillott's work on the Persian manuscript had a pedagogical purpose. On each page of the Persian copy, he provides footnotes explaining Persian words and expressions, proverbs, idioms, and, in some cases, noting mistakes in the translation (e.g., on page 1, footnote 6). He sometimes misinterprets Esfahani's translation (e.g., on page xiv, for Persian باربر [porter] he suggests متحمل [bearing/suffering], which does not carry the ironic meaning in Esfahani's translation; cf. Modarres-Sadeghi's analysis of Phillott's work on the 1905 edition, 1379/2000a: 43–44).

6. Since no trace of either of these two manuscripts has been found (we found no trace of them in our visit to Felsted (UK) in 2013 where Phillott lived in his later years), we cannot ascertain Kermani's textual agency nor the exact weight of Phillott's editorial agency.

Figure 6 provides a simple illustration of the movement of our agents of translation and the texts, and Table 4 provides the timeline for the key events in the translation and production of *The Adventures* into Persian.



**Figure 6.** The movement of the agents of translation and the texts of *The Adventures*

1, Esfahani; 2, Kermani; 3, Phillott; → Movement of agents of translation; - - → Movement of texts

**Table 4.** Timeline of the key events in the translation and production of *The Adventures* in English and Persian

Year	Event
1824	Publication of Morier's <i>The Adventures</i> in England and France
1866	Esfahani leaves Persia for Constantinople
1886	Esfahani translates <i>The Adventures</i> into Persian
1886	Kermani arrives in Constantinople
1896	Kermani is butchered in Tabriz, Persia
1905	Phillott edits and publishes <i>The Adventures</i> in Persian in Calcutta, India. He mistakenly names Kermani as the Persian translator
1961–1966	Esfahani is recognized as the Persian translator
1379/2000	Publication of Modarres-Sadeghi's critical edition of <i>The Adventures</i> in Tehran, based on the microfilm of Esfahani's manuscript

## Previous scholarship on *The Adventures*

Scholarly work on *The Adventures* and its Persian translation can be divided into two groups of views expressed by Iranian and non-Iranian scholars, respectively.

### *Iranian scholarship*

Iranian scholars have exposed both the original and the translation to critical analyses. Views range from speculations about the originality of the book (Minovi 1367/1988), possibly due to Morier's introduction to *The Adventures*, where he relates a story in which he bases his novel on a Persian manuscript (see below), to regarding the original as a "one-sided, prejudiced, and exaggerated picture of Persians" (Kamshad 1966, see also Nateq 1353/1974, Amanat 2003). While the majority of critics praise the translation and even consider it to be superior to the original (Emami 1372/1993, Ghanoonparvar 1996, Azarang 1381/2002), arguing that it is an example of a "translation method in the classic Persian [prose]" (Kalbasi 1382/2003: 49), others criticize Morier and Esfahani, the Persian translator. For some, Morier's book is "an Orientalist project *par excellence*" that serves the "reassurance of Europe's cultural and moral superiority and the civilizing mission of the imperial powers" (Amanat 2003: 561, original emphasis). In the same vein, the translation is seen as "the beginning of the colonial literatures" (Nateq 1353/1974: 32). Still, some see the sociopolitical context as a key factor for the translation in the events surrounding and leading up to the Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911). However, they criticize the translator's strategies as being affected by his political background and his exile in Turkey (Kamshad 1966, Hoseini 2006).

Against this background, the second editor of the Persian translation (Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a), takes a different line. In the introduction to his critical edition, he draws on Morier's argumentative "ploy" to maintain that Morier used a manuscript that he had received from a certain Hajji Baba in Tucat, Turkey on his way home and that he had it either as the basis for his novel or his English translation. Modarres-Sadeghi argues that no one except Esfahani, the Persian translator, gave credit to Morier's "ploy" and that Esfahani's purpose has been "the reconstruction and the revival of the work Morier claims his novel is based on" (1379/2000a: 21).

One scholar has moved the critical discourse surrounding the original and the translation away from the dominant discourse outlined above. Rastegar (2007: 251) argues that the "inter-cultural power dynamics and the construction of literary value in the social contexts of both their origin and their destination" have been largely missing in the critique of literary translations such as *The Adventures*. The critic shows how a text like Morier's novel has been appropriated for "both colonialist-orientalist as well as anticolonialist revolutionary imaginaries" (Rastegar 2007: 251).



### *Non-Iranian scholarship*

A group of so-called “orientalists” and British critics have collectively viewed the work within the framework of an orientalist novel. They point to the book’s entertaining qualities as a picaresque novel (Scott and Williams 1968), its ethnographic value (Jennings 1949, Altick 1895/1954), and its educational significance for “every cultivated Englishman” (Browne 1895:ix). For Balaÿ and Cuypers, the translation is part of Iran’s Constitutional literature that “reinforces the original text” (1983:41). Attempts have also been made to identify the fictional characters and their real counterparts (Grabar 1969, Moussa-Mahmoud 1961/62, Weitzman 1970) or otherwise to connect the incidents in the novel to the real world (Curzon 1895). Two other interesting and yet less-known studies include Polonsky (2005), on the Russian translation of Morier’s works in the 1830s, and Krotkoff (1987), who identifies the real “the Reverend Doctor Fungruben,” introduced in the introduction of *The Adventures* as being Joseph von Hammer, later Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall.

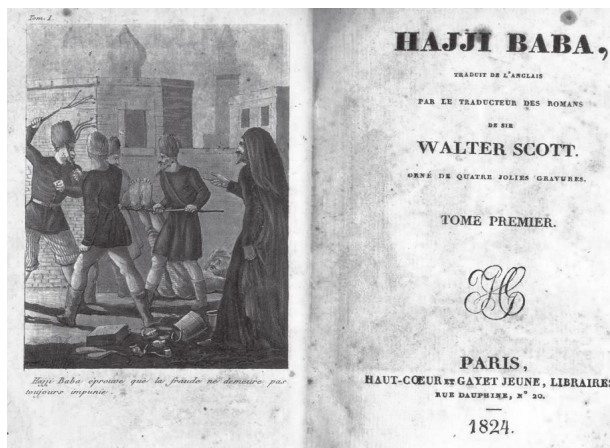
### Textual analyses

Textual comparison of the English and Persian versions of *The Adventures* is limited to four cases, to the best of our knowledge. Kamshad praises Esfahani’s writing style and its impact on “the awakening of the people and on bringing forth the Revolution” (1966:26). However, he criticizes the translator for allowing his attitude to “Iran’s religious and political establishments” (ibid.: 24) to lead to a series of alterations, additions, and omissions. Kamshad’s critique is supported by one textual example in his analysis. His critique of the translator’s methods and political ideology reflects a traditional, equivalence-based approach to translation. This was the dominant approach in translation during the 1960s and afterwards in Iran.

The second textual comparison, by Emami (1372/1993), is based on criteria of accuracy, faithfulness, and fluency, of which the translator is argued to be accomplished in only the latter. Emami’s analysis is based on four texts: the English version, the French version (Defauconpret’s translation of 1824), and two Persian editions – Phillott (1924) and Jamalzadeh (1348/1969), whose edited translation has been severely attacked (see Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a: 28, 1379/2000b: 71). Emami argues that Esfahani’s translation is not “accurate.” However, it remains a “successful” translation for being faithful to the “spirit of the original” (1372/1993: 48). In addition, Emami finds that the French translator mistranslates the English “courier” to “courtesan,” while Esfahani’s translation follows the English version. Emami once again shows the strong prevalence of the equivalence-based approach to translation in Iran. Emami’s fascination with the translator’s method



urges him to resurrect the original text instead of the translation.<sup>7</sup> For Emami, Esfahani’s translation remains as successful as Edward Fitzgerald’s adaptation of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1852), both of which “are not conforming to underlying translation principles” (Emami 1372/1993:49).



**Figure 7.** The title page of Defauconpret’s translation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* in 1824, plus an engraving of the story. The caption reads: “Hajji Baba finds that fraud does not remain unpunished”

Although Rastegar (2007:267) overlooks Emami’s study, he points out that the role of the intermediary French text remains largely unexamined (Figure 7). While the English version did not name the author and the Persian version misidentified the translator, the publisher of the French version, Haut-Coeur et Gayet Jeune, had to find another way. In the absence of the original author, the publisher gave the credit to Walter Scott (1771–1832), whose works had already been translated by the “invisible” translator Auguste Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret. The book was translated as *Hajji Baba, traduit de l’anglais par le traducteur des romans de Sir Walter Scott* and was published in 1824 in Paris in four volumes. In addition to Emami’s study (1372/1993), Gianoroberto Scarcia makes use of the French text and points to some “general comments on the innovation of Mirza Habib’s prose” (in Rastegar 2007:267).

7. Emami suspects that Esfahani’s correct translation might be due to his knowledge of the Persian setting of the story. Emami (1372/1993:40) assumes that it is possible to conceive of Esfahani translating from English or even Turkish, however, he advises us not to disregard other “evidences.”

The comparative analysis of the English and Persian versions with the intermediary French shows that the French translation is very close to the English version. In the partial analysis of the “introductory epistle” and “chapter one,” we found one case in which the translator appears to have consulted the English version. For example, “sixteen years ago” (xxii) in the English version becomes شانزده سال پیش (i) [sixteen years ago] in the Persian, while the French version is “soixante ans” [sixty years] (iii). Interestingly enough, in Esfahani’s manuscript, Esfahani follows the French and not the English. This shows that the copy that formed Phillott’s 1905 edition might have had minor differences with Esfahani’s manuscript. We know that Phillott’s edition is based on Kermani’s copy of Esfahani’s manuscript, and Kermani might have taken liberty of partial intervention in the translation. We also found that Esfahani does not follow the English or the French in a number of places as follows (sources as noted earlier) (Table 5).

Table 5. Esfahani’s examples of following neither the English nor the French

English	French	Persian
<i>Twenty years’ industry</i> (13)	vingt années (39)	سی سال کاسبی [thirty years of business] (1)
<i>Peregrine Persic, London, 1st December, 1823</i> (12)	Peregrine Persie, Londres, le 1er décembre 1823 (xxxviii)	سیاح انگلیسی سنه ۱۸۲۸ [The English traveler, the year of 1828] (xviii)
<i>Rev. Dr. Fundgruben</i> (1)	Au révérend docteur Fundgruben (v)	سیاحی انگلیسی [an English traveler] (i)
<i>Our sacred history</i> (3)	notre histoire sacrée (xiii)	عبارت انجیل [an expression from Bible] (19)

A thorough analysis of the three translations of the novel will shed light on the role of the intermediary French and will provide strong evidence for whether Esfahani worked from French or English.

In the third textual analysis, Kalbasi compares the English and Esfahani’s versions, and provides some stylistic features of Esfahani’s other translation, *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, concluding that his translation method reminds us of “the classic Persian [prose],” which is understood to be contrary to the highly ornamented style of the Qajars (1382/2003: 49). By classic Persian prose, Kalbasi means the works of Abolfazl Beyhaqi, the Persian historian and author of the eleventh century, and Sādi, the Persian poet of the thirteenth century whose works are representatives of a more colloquial, accessible prose. The critic names Nasrollah Monshi’s Persian translation of *Kelile o Demneh* in the twelfth century, from the Indian fables of *Pañcatantra*, as an example of the above-mentioned translation method (Kalbasi 1382/2003: 49). Kalbasi shows awareness of target-oriented

approaches to translation, denouncing, on the one hand, the “ornamented” prose style of the Qajar period, of which Esfahani showed his strong dislike, and, on the other, implicitly calling on Iranian literary translators to be aware of what he calls “their historical role.” In other words, he invites them to welcome a more target-oriented approach as opposed to a more literal, source-oriented one, arguably more observable in today’s practice of literary translation in Iran.

Finally, Hoseini (2006) compares Esfahani’s translation of *The Adventures* with that of Afshar published in 1376/1997 (Morier 1824b) in an attempt to argue that the former is an example of “colonial translation.” Hoseini sees the translator’s strategies as being influenced by his colonial position, amounting to advocacy of Western culture. The second translation, on the other hand, is argued to be an example of “postcolonial” translation. His critique sidelines the fact that Iran has never been a colonial state, nor do Afshar’s “faithful” translation strategies have much to do with his position in post-Revolution Iran.

With the exception of Rastegar (2007), the studies discussed show little interest in the movement and displacement of the agents, and they do not attempt to move beyond the constraints of narrow, nationalistic genre categories, such as oriental, colonial, or postcolonial. As mentioned above, with the growing interest in the sociology of translation and with respect to Pym’s call for attention to the “material movement of people” (2009: 152), we have approached *The Adventures* by examining the movement of both the English and Persian texts and the agents of translation beyond physical borders.

### Analysis of the translation

With no attempt to present the full analysis of the Persian translation, the aim is to examine the translator’s main interventions by arguing that, for Esfahani, the ethics of political progress were higher than the ethics of fidelity to the foreign text as one way of exercising his agency in exile. For the ease of study, Kamshad’s categories (1966) in his review of *The Adventures* are borrowed in order to proceed with the analysis. These categories are divided into two groups: additions and amplification of the meaning; and flamboyant descriptions and omissions. To save space, only a few examples for each category are provided. The Persian translation is from Phillott (1905), and the English from Morier (1902).<sup>8</sup>

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8. Following the first publication of this case study (Haddadian-Moghaddam 2011), Modarres-Sadeghi reminded us of some spelling errors, misreadings, and mistakes in Phillott’s 1905 edition. Although we are not concerned here with a microlevel analysis of the translation, these spelling errors are now corrected, in addition to adopting a more contemporary style in use.

*Additions and the amplification of meaning*

For better visibility, the additional texts appear in bold in the Persian version followed by a gloss in English.

- (1) Hajji's first impression of Constantinople:

And when I saw the riches displayed in the shops, the magnificence of dress of almost every inhabitant, and the constant succession of great lords and agas, riding about on the finest and most richly caparisoned horses, I could not help exclaiming, in a secret whisper to myself, "Where is Constantinople and her splendours, and where is Persia and her poverty?" (391)

چون امتعه و اقمشه دكانها و مغازه ها و دبدبه و طنطنه پاشايان و افنديان استانبول را، با آن خدم و حشم و اسب و عرّابه و زيب و زينت ديدم، باد غرور ايرانيم فروکش کرده، آهسته با خودم گفتم: «ما کجا و اينان کجا؟ اگر اينجا جاست، پس ايران کجا است؟ اينجا دارالنعيم است، آنجا دارالجحيم: اينجا دارالصفاء، آنجا دارالعزا: اينجا عزت است و گنج، آنجا ذلت و رنج: اينجا سلطنت است و نظافت، آنجا درویشی و کثافت: اينجا تماشا خانه، آنجا تکیه خانه: اينجا بازی، آنجا شبیه: اينجا عیش، آنجا تعزیه: اينجا آوازه، آنجا روضه.» خوش گذرانی و عیش و نوش ترکان با آن عزاداری شبانه روز ايرانيان را به خاطر آورده، بر بخت بد گريستم. (397)

If this is a place, then what is Persia? This is heaven, Persia is hell. This is a pleasant house, that is a mourning house, here I find honor and treasure, there degradation and suffering; here governance and cleanliness, there dervishes and dirt; here the theater, there *takiyeh* [a place for public mourning]; here a game, there *shabih* [one type of *ta'ziyeh*, a religious drama]; here the life of pleasure, there *ta'ziyeh*; here song, there *rowzeh* [a sermon recalling the tragedies of Karbala]. Remembering the Ottomans' life of pleasure and Persians' round-the-clock life of mourning, I decried my bad luck [at having been born in Persia].

In this first example, the translator adds a lengthy description of Iran's political, social, and cultural situation in comparison with that of Constantinople. While the former is pictured void of any order and happiness, seen in the original as one of the basic characteristics of Persia in the eighteenth century in which the story is happening, the description of the latter invokes a world without poverty.<sup>9</sup>

9. A similar comparison between Persia and Europe can be found in, for example, the nineteenth-century Persian merchant Amin al-Zarb's letters sent from Europe to Persia: "In Europe everyone [ranging] from children, to men, to women, even animals and dogs are busy [...] cooperating with each other to construct boats, *chemin-de-fer* [railways] and factories [...]. In Iran everyone is unemployed, preoccupied with watching everyone else [to see] what they buy or eat" (see Mahdavi 1999: 112).

## (2) Hajji Baba is changing his profession:

Still I might have followed my own profession, and have taken a shop; but I could not bear the thoughts of settling, particularly in so remote a town like Meshed. (47)

خواستم روضه خوان و تعزیه گردان شوم، دیدم در این کار بی حیایی بیشتر لازم است. خواستم واعظ شوم، دیدم که احادیث و اخبار باید جعل کنم و عربی نمی دانستم. خواستم فالگیر شوم، فالگیر و رمال در مشهد از سیگ بیشتر است و همان می خورند که مرغ خانگی می خورد. خواستم باز دلاک شوم، دیدم که پابند می شوم و مشهد جای ماندن نیست. (65–66)

I wanted to recite incidents and to direct the passion play of Imam Hosein, but I noticed it required more shamefulness. I wanted to become a preacher, but I noticed it required the fabrication of *hadiths* (sayings) and news and I did not know Arabic. I wanted to become a fortune-teller but I found out there were more fortune-tellers in Mashhad than dogs, and they ate what the hen ate.

In this second example, the translator's addition presents Hajji Baba's contempt of certain fraudulent professions of the time, which misused people's religious beliefs. Among these groups, the professions of the reciter, the religious dramatist, and the preacher have religious roots, hence the translator's criticism of their hypocrisy. Mashhad, a religious city in Iran, has historically attracted pilgrims, making it a popular destination for fortune-tellers to extract money from simple-hearted pilgrims. Esfahani's addition makes it possible to read the translation as being politically oriented.

## (3) Hajji Baba on his profession as an executioner:

I made use of my stick so freely upon the heads and backs of the crowd that my brother executioners quite stared, and wondered what demon they had got amongst them. (168)

چنان بی محابا و بی تحاشی چماق به سر و مغز مردم می نواختم که نسقچیان می گفتند: «عجب ولد الزنایی به زمره ما داخل شده.» (194)

In the last example, the English word, “demon” is translated as *ولد الزنا*, originally an Arabic adjective meaning “bastard.” While the English “demon” could have been translated literally, one might assume that the translator has amplified the meaning to evoke unpleasant associations with the officials in the reader's mind. The translator has also modified “executioners” to *نسقچیان*, roughly the equivalent of “police,” but at the time, it would have meant any of the king's servants. Instead of “backs” in the original, we have *مغز* (brain) in Persian, because the use of “stick” (*چماق*) as a corporal tool in Persian is usually associated with the head (*سر*) and the brain (*مغز*).

*Flamboyant descriptions and omissions*

In the following example, Hajji has decided to be a “true Musslmun” seeking advice from Molla Nadan, a clergyman. The additions are printed in bold in Persian:

In short, I may be called a living Koran. None pray more regularly than I. No one goes to the bath more scrupulously, nor abstains more rigidly from everything that is counted unclean. You will find neither silk in my dress, nor gold on my fingers. My ablutions are esteemed the most complete of any man's in the capital, and the mode of my abstension the most in use. I neither smoke nor drink wine before men; neither do I play at chess, at *gengifeh* (cards), or any game which, as the law ordains, abstracts the mind from holy meditation. I am esteemed the model of fasters; and during the Ramazan give no quarter to the many hungry fellows who come to me under various pretexts, to beg a remission of the strictness of the law. “No,” do I say to them, “die rather than eat, or drink, or smoke. Do like me, who, rather than abate one title of the sacred ordinance, would manage to exist from *Jumah* to *Jumah* (Friday) without polluting my lips with unlawful food.” (321)

اولاً بدان که من عمادُ الإسلام و قدوة الانام، نخبه ملت حنیف و شرع شریف، انمودج دین احمدی و ملت محمدیم. اجتهادم به همه جاری، و فتاوی و احکامم به همه ساری است. شاربین خمر را حد می زنم: زانیان محصنه را رجم می کنم. در امر معروف و نهی از منکر و تالیف قلوب، و موعظه و خطابت، وحید و فریدم. حامی بیضه اسلام و راهنمای خواص و عوامم؛ آیت صائم النهار؛ معنی قائم اللیل. غسل و وضویم عبرة للناظرین؛ و صوم و صلواتم اسوه للسایرین است. به حکم اجتهاد خود، از استعمال آلات و آوانی مفضض و مطلا محترزم، و از اکتسای کسوة اقمشه و حریر مجتنب: مواظب تعقیب و ملتزم تجهدم. از قلیان و انقیه متفرم، و بازی نرد و گنجیفه و شطرنج و سایر ملاعب و ملاهی را منکر؛ چه این گونه مناهی و مکاره مضر آداب دیانت و مشتغل اوقات طاعت و عبادت است. پاره ای اجامره و اوباش و رنود در باب تخفیف تکالیف روزه از قبیل تجویز قلیان کشیدن و مصطکی خائیدن از من استفتا نمودند؛ اما از من به جز جواب «لا» چیزی نشنودند. سرشان را با عصای «لا» شکستم که روزه خوردن (دور از جناب) گه خوردن است؛ و باید روزه را گرفت و نماز را کرد تا چشمتان کور شود. اگر شارع مقدس حکم فرموده بود که مدت افطار یک هفته باید باشد، هر آئینه اولین روزه گیر و آخرین روزه گشا من می بودم؛ و حاشا و کلا اگر دهان به لا و لعل می گشودم. (330)

The Persian translation is typical of the language of the clergymen of the Safavid and Qajar period, and also of the Persian ornamental prose style, laden with numerous Arabic terms and concepts. Table 6 provides a comparison of the English and Persian segments. The italics in the English version have been omitted in the Persian version, while the bold in the Persian has been added to provide a flamboyant description of mainly Islamic rules. For example, the adjectives used to describe Molla Nadan in Persian in the first line are as follows: *عمادُ الإسلام* (the pillar of Islam); *قدوة الانام* (the leader of people); *نخبه ملت حنیف و شرع شریف* (the chosen of the nation of Ibrahim and the *Shariah*); *انمودج دین احمدی و ملت محمدی* (an example of Mohammad's religion and nation). Molla Nadan's responsibility is

also extended to include the prescribed punishment for those who have committed adultery with married women, or for those who have drunk wine. Segment 1 is not translated; segment 4 is partially understood to be implicitly present in segment 3 in Persian. The omissions include “on my fingers” (6), “nor drink wine before men” (8), and “many hungry fellows” (11). In the original, the author talks of using gold on fingers, but the translator extends it to the general use of golden and silver utensils. “Wine” is omitted and substituted with *انفیه* (snuff) and the verb is changed to *متنفرم* (I dislike). In segment 11, the translator has substituted “many hungry fellows” with *پاره ای اجامره و اوباش و رنود* (a group of hooligans, thugs, and the sly). In segment 3, the English phrase talks of going to the bath, while the translator’s explicitation *غسل و وضویم عبرة للناظرین* can be back translated as “my ritual immersion of the body in the water and ablution are lessons for observers.”

Table 6. The English and the Persian segments described in the study

English	Persian
1. In short, I may be called a living Koran	-
2. None pray more regularly than I	قائم الليل
3. No one goes to the bath more scrupulously	غسل و وضویم عبرة للناظرین
4. nor abstains more rigidly from everything that is counted unclean	-
5. You will find neither silk in my dress	از اکتسای کسوه اقمشه و حریر مجتنب
6. nor gold <i>on my fingers</i>	از استعمال آلات و آوانی مفضض و مطلا محترزم
7. My ablutions are esteemed the most complete of <i>any man’s in the capital</i>	غسل و وضویم عبرة للناظرین
8. I neither smoke <i>nor drink wine before men</i>	از قلیان و انفیه متنفرم
9. neither do I play at chess, at <i>gengifeh</i> (cards), or any game which, as the law ordains, abstracts the mind from holy meditation [original emphasis]	و بازی نرد و گنجیفه و شطرنج و سایر ملاعب و ملاحی را منکر چه این گونه مناهی و مکاره مضر آداب دیانت و مشغول اوقات طاعت و عبادت است
10. I am esteemed the model of fasters	غسل و وضویم عبرة للناظرین
11. and during the Ramazan give no quarter to the <i>many hungry fellows</i> who come to me under various pretexts, to beg a remission of the strictness of the law	پاره ای اجامره و اوباش و رنود در باب تخفیف تکالیف روزه از قبیل تجویز قلیان کشیدن و مصطکی خائیدن از من استفتا نمودند؛
12. “No,” do say to them,” die rather than eat, or drink, or smoke. Do like me, who, rather than abate one title of the sacred ordinance, would manage to exist from <i>Jumah to Jumah</i> (Friday) without polluting my lips with unlawful food.” [original emphasis]	اما از من به جز جواب لا چیزی نشنودند. سرشان را با عصای لا شکستم که روزه خوردن (دور از جناب) گه خوردن است؛ و باید روزه را گرفت و نماز را کرد تا چشمشان کور شود. اگر شارع مقدس حکم فرموده بود که مدت افطار یک هفته باید باشد، هر آینه اولین روزه گیر و آخرین روزه گشا من می بودم؛ و حاشا و کلا اگر دهان به لا و لعل می گشودم.



## Discussion

Based on the above examples, we can draw some inferences about Esfahani and his translation of *The Adventures*. Although the paratext of the Persian translation (1905) implies, in a couplet, that the translator has attempted to remain faithful to the source text (see Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a: 15), the various translation strategies suggest otherwise. In his much-quoted introduction to the translation, Esfahani, being a poet, explicitly argues that he has reproduced the original in Persian. We reproduce the Persian couplet and its literal back translation into English here: *من نه این از جیب و انبان گفته ام آنچه را گوینده گفت، آن گفته ام* [I have not said this (translation) out of my pocket or leather bag, rather, I have said what the author has said].<sup>10</sup> This should not necessarily be taken to imply that Esfahani has been a “colonial” translator (Hoseini 2006) or an “inaccurate” translator (Emami 1372/1993). The fact remains that he uses accurate translation to such an extent that the translation arguably surpasses the original with regard to prose style, as testified by a number of studies (Modarres-Sadeghi 1379/2000a, Azarang 1381/2002, Kalbasi 1382/2003). For example, when the king’s physician is describing the Europeans to Hajji Baba (page 93 in the original and page 120 in the Persian translation; see further pages 167/144 and 177/203). These critics collectively praise the translator’s stylistic skills and his mastery in reproducing the right tone for different characters.

Given Esfahani’s exile, the function of the foreign text took precedence over equivalence, that is, he opted for a translation method that allowed him to amplify the meaning, intensify the corruption of the ruling class, and the rampant poverty and religious demagoguery of the time in Persia (for an illustration of Persia’s society of the time, see Mahdavi 1999). In other words, he had a translation method and then used additions and deletions for political purposes. It is assumed that he hoped to arouse Persian readers against the Qajars, a purpose which was arguably fulfilled: “Esfahani uses Hajji Baba’s text for polemical purposes against the Qajars’ dynasty and Persian society, frozen in its traditions and stiff conservatism” (Balaÿ and Cuypers 1983: 41).

Some of the studies listed above (Kalbasi 1382/2003; see also Razavi 1389/2010) welcome the translator’s empowering strategies and see it as being consistent with classical Persian translation tradition, while others (Kamshad 1966, Nateq 1353/1974, Emami 1372/1993) argue otherwise, failing to see the larger context or the translatory action at work. For Esfahani, a translator in exile, adopting a

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10. Apart from fragmentary poems published in Persian, a sample of Esfahani’s poetry in French entitled “Remerciment pour la repas” was published in 1889, on the occasion of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm (see *Ayandeh* 1359/1980: 299–303).



political *skopos* (purpose) was the only way he could exercise his agency, which was already threatened by Persia's ruling system. This does not rule out the ethical issues at a time when he was practicing his agency in exile; when the despotic Qajars would not expect his agency to be anything but total subservience to their ruling. His agency was exilic, liberating, and, at the same time, traveling. Although he never saw his published translation, nor was he credited for a long time as the translator, his work and agency never ceased to exist across physical and academic borders. It is here that the role of Kermani as a cross-border agent of translation becomes essential. His risky cross-bordering agency facilitated the exilic agency of Esfahani to reach another cross-border agent of translation, namely Phillott. From the execution of Kermani in 1896 to the publication of the 1905 version of *The Adventures*, from the death of Esfahani in 1893 to his translatorial resurrection of 1961–1966, the agency under study has been traveling and multifaceted.

The ongoing debates about this Persian translation show that it has been successful in providing a translation model for later Persian translators. Though the translation is not a very faithful translation in its general sense, it is instructive in liberating the Persian language from the ornamental prose of the Qajar period, and it shows how Esfahani conceived of a more general readership for the translation beyond the limited readership of the Qajar court and the literate. When Modarres-Sadeghi called Esfahani's translation "the first attempt of writing an Iranian novel" (1379/2000a: 40), he probably wanted to highlight the translator's role in exercising his agency in challenging the ornamental prose (see also Modarres-Sadeghi's interviews (1379/2000b, 1384/2005) about his work on Esfahani's manuscript).

Esfahani's so-called "inaccurate translation" has also challenged a retranslation, wrongly called a "post-colonial" translation (Hoseini 2006), which has hardly received any critical study.<sup>11</sup> The retranslation of *The Adventures* by Afshar (Morier 1824b) is an example of a strongly literal approach, which has been heavily criticized over the past decade (see, e.g., Khazaefar 1379/2000b). There have been recent calls in Iran for a return to a more accessible, fluent Persian prose, of which Esfahani remains a unique case. This line of interest, which has frequently been

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11. Recently an earlier, incomplete (eleven chapters) Persian translation of Morier's novel has appeared in Tehran (see Al-e Davud 1392/2013). The translator is E'temad al-Saltaneh, mentioned above. From the editor's introduction, we learn that E'temad al-Saltaneh translated the book before Esfahani from French to present it to the chief minister, but failed to complete it. The translator has written a short introduction in which the author is identified as "Mr. Morier, an established English author [...] whose book [1824] has been translated into all the languages except Persian [...]" Although this requires another study, we could ask, if the translation was from French, how did E'temad al-Saltaneh know Morier's name, which was absent in the first French version? As to translation, our comparison of the Persian with both the English and the French indicated that E'temad al-Saltaneh probably worked from French.

discussed without being substantially investigated or problematized using the real translations, is generally called a “translation movement” or “translation tradition” in Iran. If “tradition” in its literal meaning refers to an “inherited, established, or customary pattern of thought, action, or behavior” (Webster’s Online Dictionary), Esfahani’s translation remains one “action” or key text among others for analysis. Awaiting a comprehensive history of contemporary Persian translation, case studies of early translations and their agents, their interculturality, and attention to the larger networks at work during the Qajar period may help us to better understand the so-called “Persian [translation] tradition” (see Karimi-Hakkak 1998).

The above case study focused on the translation and production of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* into Persian. It set out to explore the agency of the Persian translator and two other agents of translation, hoping to move away from the dominant discourse of “colonialist-orientalist” and “anticolonialist revolutionary imaginaries” surrounding both texts.

On the level of decisions in our three-tier model of agency, our historical data point to Esfahani as the title selector, although further historical research is needed to confirm this. On the level of motivation, the case study shows that Esfahani had both political and linguistic motives to translate the novel. The analyses exemplify the way Esfahani exercised his exilic agency and conceived higher political progress than the ethics of fidelity to foreign text. Linguistically, he was motivated to bring about stylistic innovation to the dominant ornamental Persian prose style by conceiving a more general readership beyond the Persian elite (the last textual example should exemplify the ornamental prose and hence the translator’s motive to work against it).<sup>12</sup> On the level of context, in spite of the illusory, disempowering nature of exile, agents of translation were shown to be capable of exercising, transferring, and risking their agency within intercultural transfers (cf. Berk Albachten 2010). At least one factor, that is, the Ottoman’s censorship, constrained the publication of the translation. However, two other agents of translation each played key roles in transferring the translator’s agency to the next level.

The case study also shows that the concept of agency far exceeds the boundaries of textual, paratextual, and extratextual borders and that it can be misattributed and contested for multiple reasons. In spite of the illusory, disempowering nature of exile, agents of translation are capable of exercising, transferring, and

12. Another extract from the Persian and the English should be illustrative here:

«آنکه حکام دور و نزدیک و تبعه تُرک و تاجیک ذات اقدس ملوکانه ما بدانند که در این اوقات روس منحوس خورشید کلاه معکوس چون ادبار طالع ناسازگار و برگشتگی بخت نامیمون بی هنجار به مخاصمت ذات [...]» (240)

I have written (reading from his paper) that the infidel dogs of Muscovites (whom may Allah in his mercy impale on stakes of living fire!) dared to appear in arms to [...] (236)

risking their agency within intercultural transfers. The analysis also allowed us to propose the concept of pro-risk agents of translation (both Esfahani and Kermani) and traveling agency as two fresh ways of looking at agency and charting the historical movements of agents of translation in TS. The metaphor of traveling agency also helps us conceive of agency as a property that can be symbolically activated beyond an agent's lifetime. Finally, Esfahani's translation remains essential for the historiography of the Persian tradition of translation in the early twentieth century.

The historical overview presented early in this chapter shows that the earlier translation activities in Persia were context oriented, and the high-ranking authorities, statesmen, and the like were acting as title selectors. Motivations were different, ranging from military motives of enhancing the defensive machinery to more politically and socially oriented ones, aiming at awakening the courtiers, planting the seeds of reform, and increasing the literacy rate. Various factors, including the lack of capital, insufficient infrastructure, and low literacy, constrained the agency of translators and publishers. Nonetheless, the growing population of literates, the need for books, the introduction of new literary genres such as novels, and the improved distribution network increased the agency of translators and publishers.



## The Pahlavi period (1925–1979)

تنها نه نرخ آب فزون گشت و نرخ نان  
شد نرخ بوسه نیز گران این چه ماجراست؟  
افزود ناز و گشت حقوقش فزون به حق  
در هر اداره شاهدکی شوخ و دلرباست.  
جز اسم نیست کسر مزایا و خذف پست  
داند خدا چه خاصه خرجی ها به کارهاست.  
گفتی تبهکاری از حد فزون شدست  
گفتی گذشته همه پر لکه و سیاست،  
هشیار باش ز آنکه اگر غفلتی رود  
بعد از تو بر تو نیز همین بحث و ماجراست.

Not only has the price of water and bread increased

So has the price of a kiss. What is the story?

Increased coquetry rightly increased the salary,

Every department has a flirtatious, charming little beauty.

The benefit cuts and the elimination of positions are only nominal

What preferential treatments are at work, God only knows.

You are telling me, crime is now beyond excesses,

You are telling me, the past is tainted and dark.

Beware of negligence,

The same shall be said of you, after you.

(Mossaheb 1351/1972)

The above Persian poem and its literal back translation into English are from a longer critical ode composed by an Iranian woman translator, Shamsol Molouk Mossaheb, in the 1960s (see Appendix 1). Being a member of the Senate, the upper legislative chamber at the time, she remained critical of the state's policies and practice, in particular, the policies of Prime Minister Jafar Sharif Emami, in his first office from 1960 to 1961. In an ode entitled "the gift of grievance and tear," she blames the prime minister and Iranian statesmen for overlooking the basic problems of Iran at the time: corruption, misconduct, and treachery, to name a few (Mossaheb 1351/1972). Although the ode has problems with meter in some lines, it is rich in its figurative language and critical tone. Whereas the translator's critique in the previous chapter was in prose and through traveling agency, here the translator works through poetry, employing her literary and political agency to voice a social and political critique of the state's policies and practice. The critical voice of agents of translation is not limited to exile, and as the case studies in this chapter will reveal, it can be projected from within the system.

Following a brief overview of translation in the period, we will focus on the Persian translation of Jane Austin's *Pride and Prejudice*, published in Tehran in 1336/1957, looking at the translator's agency through the analysis of paratext and a textual analysis of the translation. In the last subsection, we present a case study of individual and institutional agency in three major publishing institutions that played key roles in the development of the translation and publishing field in Iran.

## Overview

We divide translation during the Pahlavi period into two general periods corresponding to the reign of Reza Shah (1925–1940) and his son Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979).

Translation had progressed during the period of Reza Shah due to his general policy of modernization in Iran. During this period, the number of translations increased, lithograph printing gradually was substituted with modern printing methods, and the first private publishing houses were founded. Some of these publishers, such as Ebn-e Sina and Elmi, were active for many years, although the former was bought by the Amir Kabir Publishing house (see the next section).

This period was a “period of flourishing feuilletonism” (Emami 1379/2000: 48), because readers wanted stories full of suspense and drama. By feuilletonism, Emami refers to the style of publishing a series of popular stories in newspapers and magazines. For example, Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862), was first serialized in the daily *Iran* before appearing in book format. Emami also points out that authors and translators who were working for the press received royalties, and he suspects that the role of newspapers might have been greater than that of the publishers in coordinating translations during the period (1379/2000: 48).

An interesting case is Zabihollah Mansuri (1897–1986), whose work as a translator, an adapter, and a journalist have instigated opposing views (see in particular Emami 1372/1993, Baraheni 1368/1989:98; see also Ettehad 1384/2005, Milani 2008: 873–877). Mansuri was a prolific translator of historical novels, romances, and thrillers, which were mainly in the form of serialized novels (the *roman feuilleton*) and published first in various newspapers and magazines, and later in book format. His translations were part of a growing body of leisure reading material of the time. One example is his adaptation of *Sinuhe egyptiläinen* by Finnish author Mika Waltari (1945). Mansuri apparently worked from French and published his adaptation in Persian in two volumes as *Sinuhe: The Pharaoh's Special Physician*. To this date, apart from other retranslations of the novel, Mansuri's adaptation has been reprinted 62 times, according to Iran's National Library and Archives Catalogue (visited November 2011).

Mansuri's translations, often downgraded by the intellectuals of the time, have remained nevertheless best sellers, so much so that a resolved literalist translator and editor praises their entertaining qualities for Iranian readers "during the horrible nights of war and missile attacks [of the Iran–Iraq war years]" (Emami 1379/2000: 48; cf. the wartime demand for reading matter in the United Kingdom during World War II in Steinberg 1955/1974: 304). Emami, while critical of the degree of Mansuri's deviance from the source text, applauds him rather tacitly. He looks at a number of variables he calls "norms" – print runs, reprints, and the many years of the existence of his books – and invites us to "take our hats off to him" (ibid.). We have elsewhere argued that many of Mansuri's translations are, in fact, pseudotranslations, and for further study, there is a need to explore his use of self-effacement (Haddadian-Moghaddam 1387/2008). Mansuri's activity as a translator and adapter continued during the period of Mohammad Reza Shah (see below) until he died in poverty, partly because he did not hold the rights to his many translations. As translation was his main source of income, he generally transferred his rights to his publishers at a flat fee. Even the rights were the issue of a quarrel among different publishers (see Jamshidi 1367/1988).

As for some of the notable translations during this period, Emami (1379/2000) names Anatole France's *La Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque* (1892), translated from French by Qasem Qani, and published by Bank Melli in 1323/1944; W. Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), translated from French by Nasrollah Falsafi probably in 1317/1938; and finally, Eugene Sue's *Le Juif errant* (1844), translated by Qasem Qani from French, the publication date and the name of the publisher are not yet clear. All these translations, except where otherwise specified, were from French, since English had not yet become a dominant source-text language for Persian translations. Some of the most translated authors also included Stephen Zweig (sixteen titles), Maxim Gorki (ten titles), and Anatole France (eight titles) (Amirfaryar 1379/2000: 63).

Many of the formative events shaping contemporary translation activities can be attributed to the period of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979). It was during this period that the first Iranian publishers, in the modern sense of the word, were established, translations of novels from both English and non-English flourished, and translation came to be known as a political strategy for the active political parties of the time (see Karimi-Hakkak 1998). Emami refers to the activities of the formerly mentioned *Tudeh* party in Iran and its influence on "creating the so-called left literature and its cultural effects" (1379/2000: 49). Among the major publishers that were established during this period, Emami names the Amir Kabir Publishing house, *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab* [the institute for translation and publication], and the Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs, to which we will return later in this chapter.

Concern about the importance and position of translations in relation to the Persian literary polysystem (following Even-Zohar 2004) has sometimes moved beyond quality and language, as it was shown in Chapter 2. Karimi-Hakkak argues that translation in Iran sometimes “has certainly thwarted efforts to explore possibilities of political, social, or cultural development which do not fit into the Western pattern” (1998:519). Another critic, Baraheni, argues that the production of translations during the period of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979) was “tenfold the national production, with no standards, direction, and purpose that could meet society’s true need” (1368/1989: 94). While the critic does not specify these needs, nor does he provide the source of his statistics, his critique in part concerns the low quality translations and adaptations that were circulating among the readership and profiteer publishers who contributed to such a phenomenon. Baraheni, on the one hand, fails to analyze the translations within the larger publishing field where competition and position-taking are at work, and, on the other, overlooks the view of the Iranian readership, which often cast a nostalgic eye on the cultural productions of the period.

Professionalization of translators during this period remains largely under-researched. Current views seem to indicate that translation was both an instrument of fame and arguably of accumulation of various kinds of capital. For Baraheni, translation in this period provided security for translators in two ways: “translation faced no censor and the publisher could better invest in them than non-translations, and it had more income” (1368/1989: 163). At least one source, that is, Khosravi’s study (1999), contradicts Baraheni’s claim about censorship. However, the second claim needs to be empirically tested. Nonetheless, many critics subscribe to the idea that translation has worked as an instrument of fame (i.e., symbolic capital) in Iran. For example, Karimi-Hakkak maintains that translation in Iran “has at times been viewed as an easy road to fame, particularly in the social sciences and literature” (1998: 519).

With regard to the motivations of translators in translating novels, many translators subscribe to altruistic motives. For example, Qazi, a prolific translator with more than sixty-five literary translations, described his motivation in this way: “My activity as a translator from the very beginning was socially oriented. Most of the books I have translated have a social and mental mission and a few of my translations have artistic and cultural missions” (Qazi 1370/1991:73). Daryabandari, another veteran translator with the same work experience, recognized for his translations of Ernest Hemingway and Mark Twain, argued that he has never imagined himself as “a professional translator.” He tells us that translation was “just a hobby” for him, and he “did not expect others to think in the same way,” and he maintains that the facts are against him (Daryabandari 1370/1991: 145). This suggests



that those who read his translations do not think that he has translated them as a “hobby”; rather, they see him as a professional and recognized translator with a good selection of works for translation. Ahmad Mir’alayi, another translator chiefly recognized for his translations of Jorge Luis Borges, Joseph Conrad, and Graham Greene, maintained that translation was never a “profession” for him (1370/1991b: 77). All of these translators, nonetheless, had other sources of income enabling them to verbally undermine the importance of economic capital as their possible motivation.

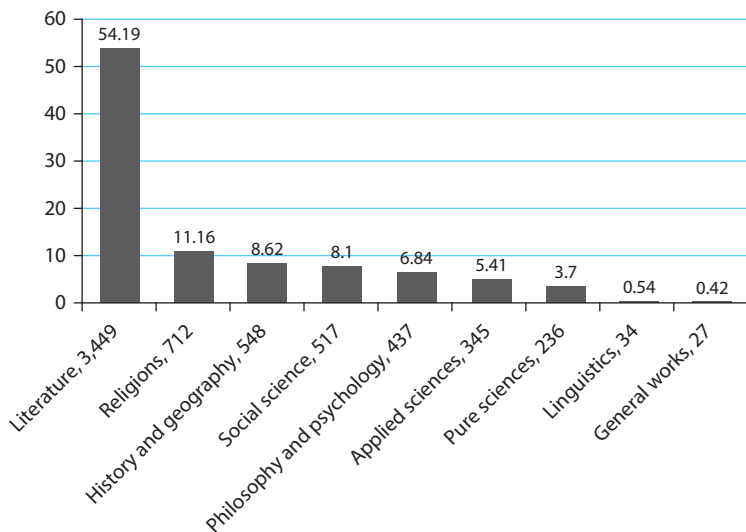
Publishers’ motivations also varied. Some of the publishers who started their activity in pre-Revolution Iran have stressed the social and cultural motives more than other motives. For example, ‘Abdolrahim Ja’fari, the founder of the Amir Kabir Publishing house, wanted to be the largest publisher in Iran by publishing high-quality books. It was publishing, he argued, that transformed him from “poverty and obscurity to the height of fame and great honors” (Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003: 22–23; see also the discussion in the next section). Still, some earlier publishers started their professions as booksellers and then tried their hands at publishing. Such is the case with the Elmi Publishing house, whose earlier founder imported printed Persian books from India. Many of Elmi’s family turned to publishing over the following years. For some of them, including Ali Asghar Elmi, competition with other publishers and making innovations in the publishing field in Iran worked as motivation (see Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003: 149).

### Translation flows

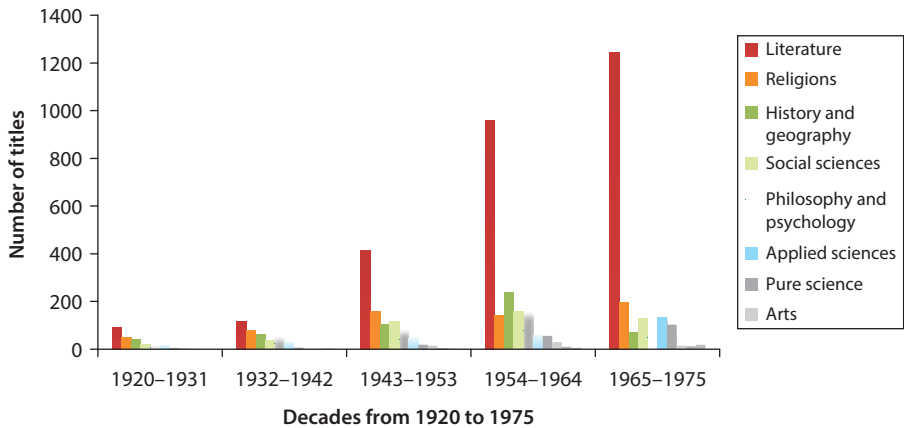
In 1975, a systematic study was made of the translations published from 1925 to 1975 in Iran. The study was based on three bibliographies (Iraj Afshar’s Indexes, Khan Baba Moshar’s bibliographies, and the Iran National Library Catalogue, formerly Iran’s National Library and Archives Catalogue). The Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) was used to categorize all the books into ten major subcategories (Figure 8). The study was done by the Training Unit of the Center of Studies and Cultural Coordination of the High Council of Culture and Art (hereafter the Unit), and was published in the same year in the journal *Farhang va Zendegi* (1975, vol. 23). As shown in Figure 8, in the fifty-five years from 1920 to 1975, 6,375 titles in translation were published. Books in the general category of literature come first, followed by religious books, and books about history and geography. At first sight, these figures show the importance of literary translation in pre-Revolution era in comparison with translations in other fields. “Literature” includes novels, short stories, poetry, and drama.

In the absence of any other reliable statistics on translation in pre-Revolution Iran, the statistics of the Unit in this research show broad tendencies, and they might contain some flaws as indicated by the Unit researchers in the journal itself. Comparing the Unit statistics with the Index Translationum – an international bibliography of translations – is relevant here. While Iran is thirty-eighth in the world’s “top 50” countries in terms of translation in the whole Index database (a rank higher than Austria, Mexico, and Egypt), the numbers of novels translated from English for pre-Revolution era are as follows: 1956 (2), 1959 (1), 1962 (2), 1974 (1), 1977 (2), 1978 (4) (visited November 2011). The Index does not provide the data for the missing years. This comparison further confirms the general problems of the Index Translationum noted by many scholars. Moreover, the details of how such data were obtained from Iran and how the category of books is defined are also open to question. Therefore, compared with Figure 8, Figure 9 gives a step-by-step picture of the development of literary translation in pre-Revolution Iran.

Combined together, these two figures show the evolution of translation in different categories over a stretch of five decades. Of particular interest is the sharp increase in the number of literary publications from the 1940s to the 1970s. We can assume that a considerable number of these translations in the category of “literature” were novels from English.



**Figure 8.** Number of translated books (from a total of 6,375) and the percentage of each subject from 1920 to 1975 in pre-Revolution Iran, subdivided by subject (adapted from *Farhang va Zendegi* 1975: 48–71)



**Figure 9.** Number of translated books in five decades from 1920 to 1975 in pre-Revolution Iran (adapted from *Farhang va Zendegi* 1975)

## Censorship

Reza Shah’s gradual seizure of power from 1921 as the minister of war to his coronation in 1926 is marked by press censorship. According to Karimi-Hakkak, because Reza Shah was a military man, he “was inclined to rely primarily on physical force in his encounters with the press” (1992: 137). As a result, by the end of Reza Shah’s period, “the Persian press was reduced to a dozen periodicals [...], all parroting the policies articulated by the state” (ibid.: 138).

Censorship during the period of Mohammad Reza Shah took on a new direction. While reliable sources on censorship during this period are rare, Khosravi’s (1999) study remains closer to our inquiry. The researcher has carried out an extensive study of censorship during this period based on 20,313 censorship files available at *Sazman-e Madarek-e Farhangi-ye Enqelab-e Eslami* [the Islamic Revolution’s Cultural Documentation Organization]. Using the content analysis method and dividing the period into more than three subperiods, Khosravi argues that, “more than 40% of the censorship items were political, 23% literary and 15% religious.” The average of days publishers had to wait to receive permission from the relevant Ministry was “47 days.” Asking for permission came into force in 1344/1965, and “the publisher was ‘required’ to submit two copies of the ‘unpublished manuscript’ to the ‘Ministry of Information’” (Karimi-Hakkak 1992: 139).

Khosravi provides some revealing examples that amount to a lack of clear policy on censorship. Dividing the views of censors into three groups, “positive,” “negative,” and “conditional,” he argues that “there is no significant relationship

between the negative point of view of censors and the actual censorship done” (Khosravi 1999: 229). In other words, the number of submissions with “negative” views of censors does not correspond with the number of submissions that had not received permission. For instance, while three censors expressed “negative” views about the Persian translation of Igor Diakonov’s *The History of the Medes*, the translation was published with an introduction. Nonetheless, our examination of the introduction did not show what the censors might have questioned (Keshavarz 1357/1979).

Despite censorship in the later period of the Pahlavis, translators and publishers found ways to exercise their agency. Examples of such coping strategies included the use of figurative language, especially in the work of Persian poets, the publishing of unauthorized publications, and the increasing number of *Chap-e sefid* books (cf. *samizdat* books appearing after Stalin’s death in the Soviet Union). The latter were generally political books with blank covers that had a mass market in Iran, in particular, around the events leading up to the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and some few years after (for more on *Chap-e sefid* books, see *Ayandeh* 1358/1979, Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003: 86).

## Copyright

We will look at copyright and its impact on literary translation in Chapter 5. However, the issue has some historical background in Iran dating back to the Pahlavi period.

Iran is a member of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), which is a “specialized agency of the United Nations [...] dedicated to developing a balanced and accessible international intellectual property (IP) system” (homepage of WIPO 2011), and has its own national copyright laws. However, Iran has not yet signed the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC) (1952) or the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886). This means that Iranian publishers have been able to publish all foreign works without the permission of the original publishers, and thus they have had no obligation to pay for the rights. In both pre- and post-Revolution Iran, there have been numerous arguments for and against the accession of Iran to any international copyright convention. Iran has been willing to join one of the international copyright conventions. According to Emami (1994: 265),

in the early 1970s the government had been seriously considering accession to one of the international copyright conventions [...]. Western ambassadors had been repeatedly complaining about piracy to the [S]hah, who had come to consider the unauthorized reprints of textbooks and recordings as a stain on the international image of Persia.

Despite the government's implicit agreement and ensuing debates in Iran about joining one of the international copyright conventions, the decision was cancelled. Emami refers to the lack of public information about the “story of the behind-the-scenes developments” and quotes from Changiz Pahlavan, who has been closely associated with the then Ministry of Culture and Art, where the debate about Iran's possible accession was taking place. We learn that the issue was pursued in this ministry at the expert level and “the upshot of the whole thing was that those in favor of accession did not have their way, or the matter was left up in the air” (Emami 1993:265).

Emami mentions the main arguments of the opponents to accession that mostly reflect the publishers' economic concerns. According to the author, Iranian publishers claimed that they “were not adequately prepared to deal with their counterparts abroad and could ill afford to pay royalties in addition to their production costs” (Emami 1993:265). The concern was also raised by smaller publishers who argued that any concession “would benefit the larger publishers and those with better access to Western publishers, at the expense of those less well situated” (ibid.). Against this background, the proponents of Iran's accession to one of the international copyright conventions highlight the negative impact of nonaccession and associate many of the problems facing publishing in Iran to it.

Although Iran is not yet a signatory to the aforementioned copyrights, some publishers, both in pre- and post-Revolution Iran, have asked for permission from the original publishers, either as a courtesy to the foreign publisher or to secure the rights in the event of Iran's accession. For example, as we will show in the next section, the Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs secured permission for all its publication. Some of the publishers in the post-Revolution period have also received a copyright by paying symbolic fees (see the discussion in the next section), or have reached some kind of agreement with foreign publishers or authors to be the exclusive publisher of their books in Iran. For example, Ofoq publishing has reached an agreement with the American author Paul Auster to release the Persian version of *Sunset Park* (2010) and *Invisible* (2009) simultaneous with their first appearance in English (for more on the latter, see Puramini 1388/2009). As the terms of the agreement have not been made public, it is not clear how binding the agreement is, and whether it can prevent other publishers from publishing retranslations of those titles. We note here that the rights of works first published in Iran are protected by the national copyright, that is, the Law for the Protection of Rights of the Authors, the Compilers and the Artists in Iran (see Law 2014).

The debate on Iran's possible accession to an international copyright convention is still going on in Iran, though Emami sees no “prospect” of future accession. That said, in Chapter 5, some of the translators and publishers in this study

reflect on whether the absence of international copyright in Iran has constrained or increased their agency.

The overview has shown that translation has advanced in comparison with the Qajar era both in terms of quantity and quality. Modern publishers were founded, the professionalization of translation became more conceivable (one could partially rely on the economic capital earned from working as a translator), and translation often was an easy road to fame (symbolic capital), and an active rival to national cultural productions. It also played a role for the political forces “to advance their agendas” (Karimi-Hakkak 1998:520), though further research is needed to find out, say, how many of the translators of novels translated books with leftist themes, or at the suggestion of the leftist intellectuals. Both translators and publishers selected books for translation – although famous translators prioritized their role and publishers generally consulted influential authors and translators in their decisions. Translators’ and publishers’ motivations were also shown to vary from social and literary motives to altruistic, ambitious, and professional motives, albeit all tended to verbally undermine the economic motives. Censorship, especially of a political nature, is also shown to play a role in constraining the agency of translators and publishers. Nonetheless, various factors have increased the agency of translators and publishers: the increasing readership (in line with the growing middle class) and the need for more translations due to general modernization projects and the absence of copyright.

### *Pride and Prejudice* (1)

The Persian translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was translated by Shamsol Molouk Mossaheb (hereafter Mossaheb) and published in 1336/1957 by *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab* [the institute for translation and publication], one of the key publishing houses of the period. This novel was selected for three main reasons. First, we would like to exemplify the multiple roles of a woman translator in larger modernization projects through her multiple social and cultural roles. The second reason is that we will later examine the role of the publisher in this chapter in the larger context of the publishing field in pre-Revolution Iran. The third reason is that Mossaheb’s translation of Austen, still in print, is one of the early attempts to translate classic English novels for a general readership using a more accessible prose, broadening the range of translations available (Milton and Bandia 2009:2).

## Profile of the translator

Mossaheb was born in 1300/1921, according to Iran's National Library and Archives Catalogue, into a family whose various members were engaged in literary professions in Tehran. Our knowledge of her early life is very scant. A picture taken in 1314/1933 or 1315/1934 at the Society of Iranian Women in Tehran shows her sitting in the front row of a group of young women, apparently students, all dressed in Western style clothing (Figure 10). The few available documents tell us that she started her career as a school principal and, after a few years, was promoted to Assistant Secretary of the Iranian Education Ministry, the first woman to reach such a position in Iran. Some scholars, including the editor of the Persian journal *Vahid*, argue that she was the first Iranian woman to obtain a doctorate in Persian literature and the first woman to enter the Senate, the upper legislative chamber during the Pahlavi period (*Vahid* 1352/1973: 804). Mossaheb continued her studies in Education in Canada and the United States and was actively engaged in the mass literacy movement in Iran, publishing a number of books in this field. *Vahid* argues that two of her coedited books, *Hameh ba Savad Shavim* [let's all be literate] and *Hameh Behtar Zendegi Konim* [let's all live better] (date of publications unavailable), have sold nearly eight million copies (*Vahid* 1352/1973: 805). Although it is difficult to check this number, it is indicative of the active campaign for literacy in Iran during the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> In addition to her books on literacy and education, Mossaheb also translated into Persian a selection of fairy tales by the brothers Grimm (1335/1956), a prize winning translation of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*<sup>2</sup> (1340/1961), and Dorothy Loder's *The Land and People of Spain* (1346/1967) (for a full list of her publications, medals, and diplomas, see *Vahid* 1352/1973).

Mossaheb was an active poet, journalist, and literary critic aiming to promote the cultural and social knowledge of Iranians. In her article, "Zan nokhostin morabbi-ye bashar ast" [woman is man's first teacher], published in 1323/1944 in the social and cultural journal *Ayandeh*, she argues that the two main reasons for the general misfortune of Iranian women are "cultural devastation" and "women's negligence" (1323/1944: 299). After Reza Shah's mandatory dress code for women in 1936, Iranian women were forced to abandon their *Hejab* [veil], a movement that faced resistance from the clergy and the Islamists. Taking a position on this

1. Her other book, *Bâid az Basavadi* [after literacy], 1337/1958, presents a summary of the literacy movement in Iran and includes a thirty-four-page summary in English. See *Rahnama-ye Ketab* 1(3): 347.

2. The top translation prize of the Iranian Society of Books in the category of children's books for the students of primary and secondary levels (*Rahnama-ye Ketab* 1(3)).





**Figure 10.** The Society of Iranian Women in Tehran possibly in about 1314/1315, or 1933/1934 (Hakimi 2004)

issue, Mossaheb denounced certain Iranian men for restricting women from exercising their freedom both at home and in society (for an analysis of the dress code and its impact on Iranian society, see Chehabi 1993). Mossaheb also criticized the Iranian education system for failing to teach women students basic life skills such as “child care, housekeeping, and cleanliness” (1323/1944:300). She argues that school has not taught them anything except “a bunch of incoherent, impractical knowledge that has rather misguided them” (300). She calls on the Ministry of Education to revolutionize its methods and curriculum.

In addition to Mossaheb’s critical ode that appeared in the beginning of this chapter, another example can shed light on the translator’s pedagogical agency. In many of the traditional houses in Iran, there used to be a *howz* [small pond]. The function of the pond was to provide water for the household and sometimes to enhance the beauty of the house. Because of the depth of these ponds, many children lost their lives falling into them. Mossaheb, in an article entitled “The child of nature and the child of education,” refers to a poem in use in Persian textbooks for children in Iran: “به علی گفت مادرش روزی که بترس و کنار حوض نرو” [one day mother told Ali, be aware and do not get close to the pond].” Mossaheb builds on this poem to advance her critique: “[the state] spends million [of rials] for Iran’s culture in order to teach primary school students – these dear, innocent, and unfortunate children – to be afraid and not get close to the ponds” (Mossaheb 1329/1950:443). She calls this punitive approach a type of “idiotic advice and



bear-like friendship” (ibid.). Her recommendation for Ali’s mother is to accompany her child, teach her how to swim, get into the water with her, and tell her that swimming is both necessary, useful, and can save one’s life. This example shows the extent to which Mossaheb was concerned with educational problems in Iran and how she drew on her own educational background to offer solutions to a sociocultural problem.

### Translation history

Iran’s National Library and Archives Catalogue shows that the first translation of Austen’s works into Persian was done by Mossaheb in 1336/1957, and was 681 pages in length, published by *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*. Mossaheb, in her introduction to the translation, states clearly that hers is the first Persian translation of Austen’s works (1336/1957:5). The second edition appeared in 1346/1967, and both editions were the same in terms of technical format. The second edition was not published in paperback, but as hardback, as was the case of the first edition (Table 7). Iran’s National Library and Archives Catalogue does not show any retranslation up to the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

**Table 7.** Mossaheb’s Persian translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. The first price is for the written copy paper version, and the second one is for the newsprint copy. Both editions were published by *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*

Edition	Year	Total pages	Hardback (H), paperback (P)	Price in rials	Print run
1	1336/1957	681	H	230/150	3,000
2	1346/1967	681	H	*	*

\* not available

### Analysis of the translation

Before presenting the analysis of the translation, some comments on Persian prose and its development in the early twentieth century are relevant. Persian prose and verse from the Qajars in the early twentieth century to the time of Mossaheb had gone through certain transformations. For example, before Mossaheb, some thirty-five years ago, Jamalzadeh reflected on novels and short stories as an instrument of simplification of the language. Jamalzadeh, who completed his studies in Lausanne and Dijon, argued that novels and short stories, as they were common in the West,

were channels through which the public could hear their own voice. In his known manifesto to his short story collection, *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud* [once upon a time], first published in 1922 in Iran, he said:

Commonly the very substance of the Iranian political despotism, which is well known the world over, dominates the matter of literature as well; that is to say when a writer holds his pen in his hand, his attention is directed solely to the group of the learned and the scholars, and takes no interest whatsoever in the others.

(Jamalzadeh in Daragahi 1974: 24)

Jamalzadeh's call on Iranian writers and by extension translators was to employ an accessible Persian prose that could be comprehensible by the increasing number of literates (cf. Talattof's concept of Persianism 2000:4). Many members of this growing population, which was due in part to the modernization projects of the Pahlavis, were still at the early stages of literacy and were demanding accessible reading materials. As an illustration of ornamental prose, the language of Mulla Nadan in the previous chapter was shown as an example of an incomprehensible or very hard to understand type of prose for the Persian readership of the early twentieth century. Therefore, from Esfahani's deliberate employment of ornamental prose to more accessible language throughout his translation, Persian prose had undergone a gradual transformation, and Mossaheb has clearly shown that she is aware of this.

Having outlined the historical development of Persian prose, we may now continue with the textual analysis. We will only look at the first two chapters of the Persian translation. The English text here is the Everyman's Library edition (1991), which is not the exact source text the translator was working from. For the analysis of footnotes, we have also looked at Chapter 5 of the Persian translation.

As regards the translation strategy, Mossaheb's description of her method amounts to literal translation. Nonetheless, she claims to be faithful to the style and expression of the sentences in Persian. She also argues that her literal approach necessitates the adoption of what she calls different "language usage," including the language suitable for "a jolly, intelligent, and witty, and at the same time sincere girl" (20), language for a "flattener fool, self-admirer, pseudo-scholar," and language for "an arrogant nobleman" (20).

The translator's attempt to distance herself from the ornamental prose and the archaic Persian of the late Qajar era is in part successful. However, the translation often shows traces of ornamental prose. We provide two examples here. The translator renders Mr. Bennet's "You want to tell me" (1) as *حالا که تو میل به گفتن داری*, which can be back translated into English as "now that you are willing to tell me." While the original is a simple English expression and has no adverb, the Persian translation is formal, has an adverb, and is amplified. In the second example, Mossaheb translates "uncertain temper" (3), an adjective Austen uses to describe

Mrs. Bennet, as *ملون المزاج* [in a colorful mood]. This is an Arabic name and an equivalent for the English “temper.” Though the Persian equivalent is familiar to educated Persian readers, it is not comprehensible for less educated readers. The translator also has been affected by various Arabic words and expressions that are used in Persian, though Persian scholars do not generally recommend their usage. Such examples are *عجالنا* (10) [for the time being], and *سنا* (11) [in terms of age], both of which do not exist in the original, and the translator has added them to the translation, most likely for emphasis.

Although the translation shows some traces of ornamental prose, Mossaheb has generally tried to use more accessible Persian prose. For example, in the first example, she translates *قرار و مدار لازم را گذاشته* for “[...] that he agreed with [...]” (1). Here the translator uses the Persian noun *قرار و مدار* for the English verb “agreed.” *قرار و مدار*, which can be back translated as “an agreement for some course of action,” is more colloquial than the Persian equivalent of *موافقت کرد* [agreed with]. In another example, she translates “five grown-up daughters” (2) as *پنج دختر دم بخت*. The Persian *دم بخت* [a girl of marriageable age] is added to *پنج دختر* [five daughters] to produce the same effect. This explicitation by the translator is likely done to appeal to her readership, mostly Iranian women. Finally, Mossaheb translates “how can you talk so” (2) as *این حرفها را تو از کجا در آوردی؟* Although this is not an exact translation of the English sentence, it is close to the more colloquial Persian. The back translation of the Persian can be something like “from where did you bring these words?”

### *Analysis of footnotes*

The use of footnotes in translation has received some scholarly attention (Varney 2008, Paloposki 2010). Paloposki uses the metaphor of the footprint in her study of footnotes in books published in Finland from 1870 to 1929. She sees footnotes as “assets for research” (ibid.: 89) in that they can reveal many under-studied areas of translators’ agency. In our case study, the translator’s footnotes have a pedagogical purpose, and we will illustrate some of them below.

Mossaheb provides the equivalent of all the English names in the footnotes. For example, on the first page, there are three footnotes: for “Bennet,” “Netherfield Park,” and “Long.” The translator also defines cultural terms like “Michaelmas” (1) in her translation. That is, she transliterates the English term in Persian, and in the footnotes she mentions that “Michaelmas” is “one of the feast days of Christians, the birthday of Michael” (Mossaheb 1336/1957: 24). On page 5, she uses explicitations for the abbreviated names: she explains that “Lizzy” is the abbreviated name of Elizabeth, the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bennet. In addition to the full name, she also mentions her relation to Mr. and Mrs. Bennet. Other examples include the translator’s definition of the name “mile” in terms of meters,

and providing an explication for “St. James’s” in the beginning of Chapter 5. For the latter, she adds کاخ سلطنتی [royal palace] in the text (25) and a fuller account in the footnote saying that the palace was the residence of British Kings from 1698 to 1837.

### Analysis of paratext

This part includes three subsections: an analysis of the translator’s introduction, an analysis of the title and copyright page, and an analysis of the publisher’s promotional materials. The promotional materials, produced by the publisher, are considered to be part of the paratext, which “enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public” (Genette 1997: 1).<sup>3</sup> Paratext is of two types: the epitext (things outside a book such as the book cover, the author/the translator’s interviews, and the publisher’s promotion, and reviews), and the peritext (things inside the bound volume such as the table of contents, copyright page, the format, fonts, etc.). By examining paratextual materials, the aim in this section is to find out about the translator’s and publisher’s agency in the Persian translation of *Pride and Prejudice* (1336/1957).

#### *Translator’s introduction*

As an element in the peritext of the book, Mossaheb adds a fifteen-page introduction to her translation. On the first page, she relates that she is not following the style of the Iranian authors and translators of the time in providing a detailed account of the book, in the case of an original, and the style of the authors, in the case of translations. She also refrains from providing a summary of the book by “throwing cold water on one’s ardent desire and curiosity” (Mossaheb 1336/1957: 5). Neither is she willing to claim that the work being adopted for translation is “unique and second to none” (5). Instead, she favors an approach by which readers will feel free to interpret the work themselves and enjoy it accordingly.

Her introduction is divided into three parts: “the beautiful Jane Austen; Jane Austen’s life; and the literary life of Jane Austen, consisting of an account of the stories, the art and her literary fame” (5). In the footnote on the same page, she names the references she has consulted: *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (no data on the edition); *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*; *Jane Austen*

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3. Genette in a footnote also refers to paratext as “palimpsest” (1997: 1). This, at least for the fans of Arthur Conan Doyle, might be familiar, when in a “tempestuous” night of November, in the beginning of “The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez,” Holmes is said to be “engaged with a powerful lens deciphering the remains of the original inscription upon a palimpsest.” This detective analogy should be illustrative of the paratextual inquiry.

by Silvia Townsend Warner; and *Encyclopedia Britannica* (the date on the edition is given on page 15 as being 1956); and “some prefaces and reviews on different editions of *Pride and Prejudice*” (5).

In her section on Austen’s works, she agrees with the general readership that *Pride and Prejudice* is Austen’s masterpiece, arguing that the “extraordinary importance of the book lies in its description of the half-witted, the clowns, and the unpleasant ones” (16). Only one and a half pages of the introduction are on her translation. She maintains and shows her awareness of the difficulties associated with the translation of a late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century English novel. As prerequisites for her practice of translation, she lists knowledge of the source and target languages, the translator’s ability, familiarity with the social life of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and knowledge of archaic words – argued to be missing from the English to Persian dictionaries. She also points to her difficulty in finding the right equivalents for certain English words and idioms.

As regards the title of the Persian translation, غرور و تعصب, *Ghorur va Ta’assob*, the translator expresses her difficulty in finding the proper Persian equivalent for “prejudice.” In the last page of the introduction, she refers to the difficulty of finding a “simple word either in English, Persian, or Arabic dictionaries, or in common use capable of transferring the meaning of ‘prejudice’ into Persian properly” (Mossaheb 1336/1957: 20). The equivalents provided by the translator, presumably the ones in the dictionaries of that time are as follows:

- (1) تمایل بی جهت [illogical inclination]
- (2) تنفر بی جهت [illogical dislike]
- (3) زعم باطل [false view]
- (4) محکوم کردن قبل از بحث [to convict someone in advance]
- (5) قضاوت از روی غرض [judgment based on animosity]
- (6) تعصب [prejudice]

She argues that the given definitions were “incomplete and some were of no practical use” for her purpose (Mossaheb 1336/1957: 20). Her use of the word تعصب as an equivalent, originally an Arabic infinitive, seems to be out of necessity. She refers to the first title Austen used for the text, that is, “First Impressions,” hoping her choice and the general meaning of the work would help readers grasp the meaning of the story. That said, the current English-to-Persian dictionaries count تعصب as an acceptable equivalent of “prejudice,” among others (e.g., Haghshenas, Samei, and Entekhabi 2008: 1086). One possible reason for the selection of definition 6 above is its brevity compared with other definitions, even though she has preferred an Arabic equivalent. The translator’s problem of finding the right equivalents for religious terms, dress parts, certain games, and daily conversations is also mentioned in the introduction, without elaboration.

### *Analysis of the cover page and title page*

The cover page of the Persian translation (an element of the epitext) uses a special design that was adopted as a unified design for all the publisher's books (Figure 11). Apparently, it was the first attempt at using a unified design and blurbs for books in Iran (see the discussion in the next section). The title of the Persian is in *nasta'liq*, one of the main script styles in Persian traditional calligraphy. The name of the translator comes under the Persian title, using her academic title, that is, PhD, followed by the name and hallmark of the publisher. The book jacket uses two colors: khaki is used as the base, and red is used for the rest.

The copyright page does not specify the original version, nor does it specify whether there is a copyright for the translation. The copyright only applies to a national copyright. On the top of the page is written "first edition, Esfand [March] 1336/1957." Further down the page, it reads: "This book was printed in 2,000 copies using writing paper with a weight of 70 grams, and 1,000 copies in newsprint at Taban printing house in Tehran. Copyright, *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*." This explains the fact that the price for the writing paper copy was higher than the price for the newsprint copy (see Table 7).

The title page indicated the general name of the series, that is, foreign literature series, the name of the general editor, "under the supervision of Ehsan Yarshater," the title in Persian, *Ghorur va Ta'assob*, followed by the name of the author and the translator: Dr. Shamsol Molouk Mossaheb. The name and hallmark of the publisher appears at the bottom of the page, the year and the place of publication being Tehran 1336/1957.



Figure 11. The cover page of *Pride and Prejudice*

### Analysis of the publisher's promotional materials

The publisher of the Persian translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*, published the full-page advertisement shown in Figure 12 in the Persian *Rahnama-ye Ketab*, a book review journal in its first issue. The journal was established in 1337/1958, one year after the publication of the Persian translation. Although the journal was still in its founding year, it enjoyed the editorship of well-known Persian scholars, and it adopted a modern approach to book reviews.

To better understand the publisher's strategy of promoting the translation, we have provided below a line-by-line, back translation of the entire advertisement to see what factors are emphasized and how the image of the translator is constructed.

There are several points of interest here. The symbolic (social and cultural) capital of both the author and the translator are emphasized: “the famous British story writer” and the title of “PhD” for the translator. The use of evocative language of the text is also important. The publisher draws on social and cultural values using words like “pleasant,” “instructive,” “closeness of the members of society,” and “the happiness of families,” to attract families and women, in particular, to purchase the book. The publisher also draws on the political position of Benjamin Disraeli, the British prime minister of the nineteenth century, to encourage readership to buy the book.

با ادبیات جهان آشنا شوید

**غرور و تعصب**

داستان شیرین و آموزنده ای از زندگی عادی روزمره چند خانواده و مناسبات افراد آنها، که هیچ خواننده‌ای نمیتواند پیش از پایان رساندن کتاب آنرا بر زمین گذارد و دیرزادگی سیاستمدار و نویسنده معروف انگلستان هفده بار آنرا خواند...

اثر: جین اوستن، داستان‌سرای نامی انگلستان

ترجمه: خانم دکتر شمس‌الهلوك مصاحب

در این کتاب، غرور و تعصب خانانهای اشرافی، امتیازات طبقاتی و عاداتی که مانع از نزدیکی افراد اجتماع و مسادت خانواده‌ها میشود، با دقت و موثکالی شرح داده شده است.

مراکز فروش: فروشگاه‌های امیرکبیر و تمام کتاب‌فروشی‌های معتبر تهران و شهرستانها

Get familiar with the World's literature

The device of the publisher

*Ghorur va Ta'assob* [Pride and Prejudice]

A pleasant and instructive story of the normal and daily lives of some families and the relation between their members, no reader can put it down before finishing the book, and [Benjamin] Disraeli, well-known British politician and writer read it *seventeen times* ...

Written by Jane Austen, famous British story writer

Translation by Mrs. Shamsol Molouk Mossaheb, PhD.

In this book, the pride and prejudice of royal families, class distinctions, and customs that hinder the closeness of the members of society and the happiness of families have been closely analyzed and condemned.

Sale centers: the Amir Kabir bookshops and all the better bookshops in Tehran and other cities (emphases added)

Figure 12. Advertisement for the Persian *Pride and Prejudice* (1). A one-page advertisement (the epitext) for the Persian translation with a back translation into English (*Rahnama-ye Ketab* 1337/1958)



As the circulation number of the journal is not clear, nor the number of its subscribers, it is not possible to estimate the exact effect of the advertisement on Persian readership. However, the publisher has continued to promote all its publications in subsequent editions of the journal. For example, in 1338/1959, a ten-page advertisement was published in the same journal introducing the whole publisher's series (*Rahnama-ye Ketab* 1338/1959). In this list, the Persian translation is number 27 in the foreign literature series, preceded by four works by Honoré de Balzac, including *Le Père Goriot*, Homer's *Iliad* from French and Oscar Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, among others.

### *Translation review*

Masoud Rajabniya, a Persian translator, reviewed the Persian translation of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which appeared in *Rahnama-ye Ketab* (1337/1958), the same journal in which the abovementioned advertisement appeared. Although the review is just three pages long, a brief look at this review is useful in that it tells us how the Persian critics perceived the translation. By extension, this can tell us a few things about the translator's agency from the view of critics and the Persian readership. The latter can be conceivable if we accept the critic's voice on behalf of the readership.

The review starts with the full details of the translation, including the author's name, the publisher's name, the number of pages, and the price. The critic presents the historical background of Austen's work and touches upon the characters and the themes. On the second page, he first praises the translator by saying that "the respected translator has made every effort to translate Austen's simple and unadorned prose and has observed faithfulness in her translation" (Rajabniya 1337/1958:285). The critic views the translator's introduction as being effective in enhancing the value of the translation. However, he goes on to criticize the translator on two main levels: the level of transliteration of English names into Persian and the level of Persian prose.

On the first level, he argues that the name of Jane Austen and a few other English names should be spelled differently in Persian. The transliteration of foreign names into Persian is still debated, and there is little agreement among scholars about a common accepted style. Depending on different pronunciation, translators come up with different spellings. Nonetheless, some recent dictionaries attempt to solve the problem (e.g., Majidi 1381/2002).

On the second level, Rajabniya looks at the translation from the perspective of the Persian language. His critique reflects the dominant concern for Persian in translations. For example, he argues that the translation is sometimes "verbose due to the translator's emphasis" (1337/1958:285). The impact of administrative prose style is also shown to have at times influenced the translator. The critic then goes on



to criticize the translator's language usage. If you recall, the translator maintained in her introduction that she has attempted "different language" usage for different characters. Rajabniya reacts to this by showing contradictory examples. Such is the use of Persian مشارالیها [the aforesaid woman] (page 269 in Persian) for Mrs. Bennet, who according to the translator is "an illiterate and slow-witted woman" (285). The critic also detects "the smell of translation" (286) in some expressions. The review ends with a general comment that Mossaheb's translation is one of the "praiseworthy translations that has been published over the recent years" (286).

## Discussion

On the level of decision, the translator does not appear to be the title selector. It looks as if the publisher has selected the title. Yarshater, the director of the publishing house and the editor of foreign literature at the time, argues "the decision about what book should be translated and who should be invited to translate it was made by me as long as I was the Director of this Institute" (personal contact, November 16, 2011). He could not provide more details about the case study, and it is difficult to verify his claim. However, the decision-making process was all but personal:

Naturally I would consult, if necessary, some colleagues or the people who I thought were knowledgeable about the book or knew a suitable translator. In my decisions I was guided by the significance of the book, the existing French or English translation of a book, if it were in languages like Greek, Norwegian or Dutch, for which it was almost impossible to find translators for them at the time.

(Personal contact, November 16, 2011)

Therefore, as long as there is no further evidence, it is likely that the publisher selected both the novel and the translator. We can add that both selections were based on the historical importance of the novel and the position of the translator as a recognized literary, social, and cultural figure in Iran.

On the second level, the level of motivation, evidence amounts to the pedagogical, social, and cultural motives of the translator. Based on our analyses, the translator's motive for translating *Pride and Prejudice* had much to do with her position as an educated woman in Iran's move towards modernization. Armed with her long-lasting zeal for literacy campaigns and enhancing the positions of women, she was motivated to translate a novel that could contribute to her overall reformative approach.

Her motives, given the little evidence we have, can be viewed from two perspectives. From a social and cultural viewpoint, adoption of a classic English novel in which the role of women is emphasized was one way to emphasize the role of Iranian women in their struggle towards modernization. From the point of view

of the Persian language, first she had to distance herself from the longwinded, unnecessary preambles of the time towards an informative introduction, of the kind that became a model adopted by later Iranian translators. Second, she had to find a translation style in which the ornamental prose style of the late Qajar could give way to a more accessible prose for a wider readership.

As her translation is still in print in Iran despite other retranslations, we can say that her translation style is still current in some aspects. Her general literal approach to the foreign text, in the sense of remaining faithful to the text, is observable in later translations. In Chapter 2, we talked about Persian scholars' deep concern about the Persian language being undermined by "literal" translations and foreign words entering its domain. Much of this concern is the result of the practice of literal translators who prioritize the structure of the original over the fluency and accessibility of the translation. Although Mossaheb's translation is literal in terms of the strategy, it is generally accessible and fluent due to the pedagogical agency she advanced.

On the last level, the level of context, a number of factors have affected her agency. Her textual agency was constrained by the shadow of the late Qajar prose style, of which traces were shown in the translation, and by the reviewer. Likewise, her preface and footnotes in the translation have enhanced her paratextual agency (Paloposki 2009: 191). Nonetheless, the publisher's role in promoting the translation and its position as a leading publisher have increased her agency by raising her symbolic capital.

### **Individual and institutional agency in three publishing houses**

As stated earlier, three major publishers that were established during the Pahlavi period (1925–1979) are the Amir Kabir Publishing house, *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*, and the Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs. Taken together, these publishers have made a significant contribution to the development of the publishing field in modern Iran. These three publishing houses are certainly not representative of the whole field. However, they exemplify the role of individual and institutional agency in the publishing of the period under study, and can be read as a contextualized reading on research and writing about the publishing of the time and its development into the present time. We use the concepts of "individual" and "institutional" agency to explain how agents of translation practiced their agency in the publishing field. Individual agency refers to the collective efforts of a single agent of translation in exercising his or her agency to overcome constraints, whereas institutional agency, by nature, lends itself to the institutions that employ certain agents of translation. These agents might draw on the

institution's various resources in order to exercise and optimize their agency (cf. Toury's concept of agents of change (2002: 151), individual agents of translation, and Paloposki's use of the term "individual agency" in Milton and Bandia 2009). In the following section, we will introduce these publishing houses.

### The Amir Kabir Publishing house

Pierre Rousseau, the author of the best seller *Histoire de la science* (1945), may not have been aware of how an Iranian publisher which did not know any foreign languages went bankrupt after publishing the Persian translation of his book in 1329/1950 (1,000 copies, 797 pages). The publisher, Abdolrahim Ja'fari (b. 1298/1919), having worked for eighteen years as an apprentice in a number of printing houses and bookshops in Tehran (*Goftegu* 1374/1995:65), had just started his own publishing house in 1328/1949. His goal was to be "Iran's largest publisher" (Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003:22), the Louis Hachette of his time, so to speak.<sup>4</sup> A close look at the publisher's device and its description by the publisher is informative. In it, "the Archimedes soldier is the symbol of Iran as an esteemed and ancient nation; the circle is the symbol of the victorious pace on the road of development and prosperity. By publishing excellent and useful books, the publisher aim[ed] to enhance Iran's cultural level, helping it on its path to development and prosperity" (Azarang and Dehbashi 1377/1998:244). In the first year, the publisher produced thirty titles, a number argued to be unique at that time (Amirfaryar 1383/2004: 16).

Ja'fari, the founder of the Amir Kabir Publishing house (Amir Kabir hereafter), relates how he was fascinated by the appearance of *Histoire de la Science*, in particular, the photo of a painting about Galileo's Inquisition (Robert-Fleury's nineteenth-century *Galileo Before the Holy Office*). Once informed about its content, the publisher asked Hasan Saffari to translate the work into Persian. Saffari was the translator who owned the physical copy of the book and was translating other books for the publisher. With no contract made between the two parties, the translator went to Amir Kabir every day and translated twenty to thirty pages (*Goftegu* 1374/1995:67), to be given to the typist on the same day. The Persian translation was finally published at the printing house of Tehran University in 1329/1950.

Ja'fari was keen to add some photos to the Persian translation. These were photos of the scholars whose names were mentioned in the French version. Ja'fari

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4. Louis C. François Hachette (1800–1864) was a successful French publisher who managed to advance the public's interest in reading through station bookstalls.

approached the translator, who took great pains to provide the photos. Reproducing the photo of Galileo's Inquisition proved to be problematic as offset printing was not yet common in Iran (apart from the offset machines at the Bank Melli Iran, the first offset printing machines in the private sector were introduced at the Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs). Jafari sought the help of a photo engraver, who, with the help of a young artist, managed to reproduce the photo. The book was priced at 300 rials. However, as the publisher puts it, it was not well received initially, and he went bankrupt due to the "lack of proper capital" (Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003: 17).

Jafari started up again, and Amir Kabir became "the largest private publishing house in Iran at the beginning of the 1970s [...] publishing at least 2,000 titles, both translations and non-translations" (Emami 1379/2000: 49). According to the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Amir Kabir's output over three decades since its foundation in 1949 includes Persian literature and poetry (432 titles), world literature and poetry (388), books for children and adolescents (326), history and geography (214), sociology and economics (167), basic and applied science (164), philosophy, psychology, and religion (117), and language and lexicography (103) (Iranica 2011). Apart from being the first private publisher to hold a book exhibition in Iran, Amir Kabir had three subsidiaries in order to publish paperback editions of fiction (*Parastu* series), science (*Simorgh* series), and children's books (*Ketabha-ye Tala'i*) (Figure 13).

As regards translators, Emami observes that the publisher had such a high economic status that it could offer considerable royalty payments to both authors and translators, without being "tight-fisted." He also emphasizes the publisher's positive role in "promoting good literary translations" (1379/2000: 49).

Amir Kabir's other projects included the establishment of a book club in 1957 and the adoption of an editorial department as the second private publisher in Iran (Iranica 2011). The publisher's financial success also enabled it to invest in related enterprises, including the Sepehr and Offset printing houses.

The ultimate success of the publisher came after it acquired three successful private publishing houses: Ebn-e-Sina, Kharazmi, and *Ketabha-ye Jibi*, a subsidiary of the Tehran branch of Franklin Book Programs. The publisher's attempt to dominate the publishing field in Iran has been criticized by those who saw Amir Kabir's output appalling. In other words, they were worried about Amir Kabir replacing the "small, but innovative publishers" by buying them (Amirfaryar 1383/2004: 15). Others saw the publisher's general practice as being consistent with the Pahlavi policy of keeping censorship in the hands of a few large publishers like Amir Kabir (see Goruh-ye Azadi-ye Ketab va Andisheh 1357/1979, Saghari 1384/2005, Dowran 2011).



**Figure 13.** Sample publications by Amir Kabir Publishing. L: Hemingway’s *The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber* (trans. E. Golestan 1328/1949), the first work by Hemingway in Persian; M: Silone’s *A Handful of Blackberries* (trans. B. Farzaneh 1352/1973); R: Furber’s *Giant* (trans. Ershadi, no date available)

Amir Kabir was shut down after the Islamic Revolution. The publisher spent eight months in prison, and his property was confiscated (Iranica 2011). The publishing house was transferred to *Sazeman-e Tablighat-e Eslami* [organization for the promotion of Islam]. Today, Amir Kabir operates under the same name, with no mention of its founder. In 1383/2004, Ja’fari published his two-volume memoir *Dar Josto-ju-ye Sobh* [in search of the morning], to mixed reception (see Amirfaryar 1383/2004: 15, Dowran 2011, Allahyari 1387/2008).

The success story of Amir Kabir is mainly due to its founder’s individual agency. Setting a lofty aim at the beginning of his career, as well as persistence, experience, and extensive networking, helped him exercise his agency. His professional trajectory is also one of the interesting cases of the rise and fall of an agent of translation in contemporary Iran. It also reveals how agents and their agency can be appropriated for different ideological purposes. Many see him as a “cultural” agent, in the sense of someone who is engaged in various cultural productions (see in particular a report by Nabavi-Nezhad 1383/2004: 271–277), a “living legend” (Dowlatabadi 1383/2004: 394, cf. Azarang 1386/2007: 257), and who is engaged in various practices aimed at enhancing the cultural life of Iranians. However, some see him as a censoring agent, “private giant of a strangulation system” (Goruh-ye Azadi-ye Ketab va Andisheh [the group for the freedom of books and ideas] 1357/1979: 109, Saghari 1384/2005).

### *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*

*Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab* [the institute for translation and publication] (*Bongah* hereafter) (Figure 14) was founded as a nonprofit company in 1953 at the initiative of Yarshater, the current editor of the *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Although *Bongah*, as Joseph maintains, had to support itself through the sale of its publications, it “received several donations from the National Oil Company, and the Pahlavi Foundation, as well as loans from the latter” (Joseph 1989: 352). *Bongah*’s purpose was to “follow a publishing plan, and it tried to translate and publish the European classics in a systematic way” (Emami 1379/2000: 50). This appears to be the first organized attempt to translate European classics in Iran, whereas previous similar attempts were neither systematic nor continuous. Three years after its foundation, *Bongah* published books in the form of series, of which seven major series appeared (see Table 8).



**Figure 14.** The device of *Bongah-ye Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketab*. It uses a painted stag which decorated a ceramic vase found in Susa, Iran, fourth-millennium BC (Joseph 1989)

With secure financial support, *Bongah*’s directors established high standards for the translation and publication of books. This might have been the reason why Emami calls *Bongah* the first Iranian publisher that did not rely solely on the translators’ discretion for translation and suggestions of titles for publication. These standards included careful editing of the translations, producing “sound translations” (Joseph 1989: 352), and, for the first time, introducing a systematic approach to book designs (Figure 15). In this approach, the publisher used a special design for each series, used blurbs, employed an emblem as a hallmark, and provided details on the copyright page about the printer and the number of copies printed. In addition, sometimes the jacket also displayed photos of the translators plus biographical data on their lives and works (e.g., the translators of Maeterlinck’s *Monna Anna*, published in Persian in 1345/1966). Many publishers adopted this approach (Emami 1379/2000: 50). Bourdieu sees such an approach as the formation of an “institutional mechanism” (1999b: 2), which emerges out of the strategic employment of secure financial capital with a high concentration of symbolic



**Table 8.** An overview of Bongah’s publications in Persian (adapted from Joseph 1989)

Series name	Volumes	Sample title/notes
<i>Foreign literature</i>	71	Homer’s <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Children’s and young adults’ literature</i>	173	These were further subdivided both in terms of age and topics
<i>Iranology</i>	68	Procopius’ <i>Persian Wars</i>
<i>Persian texts</i>	48	Anwari’s <i>Divan</i>
<i>General knowledge</i>	138	Primarily works of popular science
<i>Bibliographies</i>	3	Moshar’s <i>Bibliography of Persian Printed Books</i>
<i>Encyclopedia of Iran and Islam</i>	x	Primarily translation of the second edition of the <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , to be expanded with supplementary articles on Iran

capital. Another innovation of the publisher was to avoid translators’ “dedications or dedicatory prefaces and even discouraged introductions beyond short notices as a reaction against long-winded, unnecessary preambles” (Joseph 1989, cf. Mossaheb’s introduction to Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*, above).

Bongah’s achievements, nonetheless, are due to a number of well-known Persian scholars, including A. H. Zarrinkoob, Iraj Afshar, Jafar She’ar, and Abdollah Sayyar, who directed Bongah over the years. Translators also helped Bongah’s image, since their reputations were one of the key factors that contributed to the institute’s “considerable impact on Persian publishers and readers alike” (Emami 1379/2000: 23).



**Figure 15.** Sample publications by Bongah. L: the cover page of *Macbeth*, translated by F. Shademan in 1351/1972; R: an adaption of Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights*, translated by F. Qarajeh-Daghi in 1355/1976, part of the “Young people” series

The interaction between these agents of translation and Bongah was probably mutual. Bongah benefited from the agents' symbolic capital (mainly cultural and often social), on the one hand, and the agents secured future proposals and publications from the publisher, on the other. For example, the first five volumes published in the "Foreign literature" series in 1955 had among its translators the formerly mentioned author Jamalzadeh, known for his innovative prose fiction, and P.N. Khanlari, a historian of the Persian language, literary editor, and later Minister of Culture, who translated Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, and Bédier's version of *Tristan et Iseult*. This cooperation increased the agents' symbolic capital and their agency in turn. Naturally, translators were encouraged to work for the publishing house, which was financially secure and open to innovation.

Bongah's agreement with translators and editors of texts, as Joseph informs us, was "formalized by a contract which entitled the Institute to the copyright and the other party to a designated sum payable in two installments, three-fourths upon delivering a publishable manuscript and the balance upon publication" (1990: 352). This might have looked more appealing to translators compared with other publishing houses, which did not have the same financial or reputation as Bongah.

Bongah also published six series, with a total of fifty-six titles, in other languages, including English, French, German, Italian, and Japanese. Many of these titles are included in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO's) Representative Collection (Joseph 1989). The *Encyclopædia Iranica*, an ongoing project both in print and available online, remains one of the living legacies of Bongah, though its major sponsor in post-Revolution Iran remains the National Endowment for the Humanities in the United States.

Even after its closure in the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the market has shown great interest in its publications, because the demand for its publications never ceased (see Joseph 1989). The present *Sherkat-e Entesharat-e Elmi va Farhangi* [scientific and cultural publication company], continues the legacy of Bongah, with a new device. Although the new publishing house claims to inherit its history, it has never acquired the same reputation as Bongah (see Bayat 1374/1995: 63).

As this brief analysis shows, Bongah was a publishing institution that enjoyed financial independence, drew on the symbolic capital of its members (in particular their social and cultural prestige), and made considerable innovations in the publishing field during the Pahlavi period. By cooperation, Bongah's directors and editors exercised their institutional agency in terms of the selection of works for translations, introducing modern editorial processes, and calling on Iranian publishers to enter a new competition to enhance quality.



## The Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs

The Tehran branch of the Franklin Book Programs (Franklin/Tehran hereafter) is of interest here because it illustrates not only both the institutional and individual agency but also the effects of the Cold War “cultural diplomacy” (Nye 2004, Barnhisel 2010: 188) on publishing in Iran, which has remained marginal in the study of the Cold War in Iran (see in particular the special issue of *Iranian Studies*, entitled “Iran and the Cold War” in 2014, vol. 47, no. 3).

For the US government, the idea behind the Cold War cultural diplomacy was to use books, among other things, as a cheap and peaceful instrument to counter the growing threat of communism in the world. It had a number of programs to this end, some of which originated from the experience of World War II (e.g., the Council on Books in Wartime, see Travis 1999), but the rest such as “Oversea Editions” were planned for specific purposes of the postwar years.

Franklin Publications, Inc., was established in 1952 as “an American non-profit corporation seeking to aid the development of indigenous book publishing in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America” (Smith 2000: 187), changing its name from 1964 to the Franklin Book Programs, Inc. The head office was in New York, and although it had several sponsors, it obtained its sole financial support from the US Information Agency (USIA) (Smith 1954a), an independent foreign affairs agency within the executive branch of the US government whose mission was to “understand, inform, and influence foreign publics in promotion of the US national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans, their institutions, and their counterparts abroad” (Public diplomacy 2002).

Our primary analyses of the correspondence files of the Franklin Book Programs head office with Franklin/Tehran, in October 2011, available at the Harry Ransom Center, Austin, Texas, reveal that the Franklin Book Programs had also political motives. At the time of the Cold War between the Western and Eastern blocs, the US government increased its presence in Iran in multiple areas. Two areas were the economy and culture. For example, both the Point Four Program (part of President Truman’s program of technical support for developing countries), and the USIA had offices in Tehran. The opening of Franklin/Tehran (see below) was also politically motivated. A letter from Datus C. Smith, Jr., the president of the Franklin Book Programs, to the visa section of the American Embassy in Tehran, dated August 12, 1954, is informative. The letter was written in support of the visa for Tehran/Franklin manager in Iran (see below) whose application for a trip to the United States was delayed due to his past association with the communist *Tudeh* party. The letter reveals, among others, that Smith praised the applicant. However, he could not help revealing the program’s overall orientation: “I might write pages about this remarkable young man and his effectiveness as an

*anti-communist instrument* for us” (Smith 1954a, emphasis added). The aim here is not to explore this aspect, but to exemplify how this “remarkable young man” made optimum use of institutional agency to move beyond the implicit political motives of a foreign institution toward greater cultural achievements.

An anecdote would be appropriate here. In the fall of 1953, one year after the opening of the first Franklin Book office in Cairo, Smith, the president, Charles E. Griffith, a board member of the Franklin Book Programs, and another American arrived in Tehran with letters of introduction. According to Filstrup, Smith and his colleagues discovered that the people they were looking for, including Persian scholars, businessmen, and statesmen, were all “absent, deceased, or in jail” (Filstrup 1976: 433). While the names of these people are not clear, the American representatives met an “influential [person] who made the trip worthwhile” (*ibid.*). Over tea and Persian rosewater sweets in the sitting room of the Park hotel, these men decided to approach an Iranian who turned it into “the largest and most prolific Franklin program in the world” (Filstrup 1976: 448; cf. Smith 2000). The man was Homayun Sanati (1924–2009).

The decision to choose Sanati was, nonetheless, based on a previous study, and other research on Sanati and his work has not touched on this issue. According to the abovementioned letter, the Franklin Book Programs directors consulted the USIA in Tehran and New York several times and received confirmation from the US cultural officer in Tehran before they finalized their decision.

Born into a well-known family in Tehran in September 1924, Sanati completed his education in Kerman, Tehran, and Isfahan, Iran. Instead of pursuing university studies (although he later obtained his bachelor’s degree in Economics from Tehran University), he chose to be an apprentice in the bazaar in Tehran. The profits made from the sale of posters led him to sell photos and to organize photography and painting exhibitions in Tehran. This, in turn, attracted foreign diplomats (Filstrup 1976: 433).

It was during one of these exhibitions that the meeting between the American representatives and Sanati took place. Sanati rejected the offer initially because he had no publishing experience (Jafari 1388/2009: 454). Sanati relates that he received a letter (see Appendix 2), some English books (Bertha Morris Parker’s Basic Science Education series, popular in 1940–1950s in the United States), and a bank draft for US\$2,000 (*ibid.*). As the general approach of the Franklin Book Programs is not direct publication, rather to provide translations and editing, and then to promote them (for more on the Franklin book approach, see Filstrup 1976), Sanati sought the help of Ramazani, the director of the Ebn-e Sina Publishing house, and a certain Iranparast. To ensure Ramazani would publish the translations of the Basic Science Education series, Sanati asked for a 5,000 rials advance. They agreed and Franklin/Tehran became operational.

In less than three decades, Franklin/Tehran became independent of the New York office. In its first fiscal year, Franklin/Tehran employed seven people and received \$31,291 from operations. In the fiscal year 1969/70, it employed 151 people and received \$5,920,612 (Mohajer 1971). In addition to the publication of around 1,000 titles in Iran, Franklin/Tehran edited the *Mosaheb Persian Encyclopedia*, the first of its type in Iran (for more on the Encyclopedia, see Alinejad 1378/2008). In all these undertakings, Sanati played a key role.

The account of how Sanati secured funds for the above work is exemplary. Publishing an encyclopedia in Iran at that time seemed unimaginable. Sanati needed \$300,000 for the project. To obtain the capital, he met Dr. Egger, the Ford Foundation's representative in Beirut over lunch at a Lebanese hotel and received his conditional promise to allocate half of the capital (it seems nevertheless that the Ford Foundation might have paid only \$7,000, see Smith 1960). For the rest, he had to find an Iranian.

Sanati relates that Franklin/Tehran was preparing at that time the Persian translation of Benjamin Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946). In order to promote the book, he looked for women associated with charity activities, hoping they would help him with the promotion. Sanati has argued that Ashraf Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah's sister, agreed to help, provided that her name appeared on the title page of the Persian translation of Spock's as the translator (Iran's National Library and Archives Catalogue shows a few other records of her name). Spock's book was published with Pahlavi's name as the translator, and Sanati secured the Ford fund to proceed with the publication of the encyclopedia (for more, see Alinejad 1387/2008).<sup>5</sup>

Sanati was still to achieve much more. In 1339/1960, he established *Sherkat-e Ketabha-ye Jibi* [pocket books company] (PBC), as a division of Franklin/Tehran. The PBC's aim was to acquire "paperback rights from other publishers and to issue inexpensive, pocket book size editions" (Alinejad 2011). Under the direction of Majid Roshangar, the current editor of the *Persian Book Review*, the PBC challenged the Iranian publishing field by publishing more than 500 titles, some with more than four or five reprints. The books had a circulation of 10,000 copies at a very cheap

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5. Sanati's (1954a) letter of June 13, 1954 to Smith does not support this claim: "This morning I was received by Her Highness Princess Ashraf [...] and very kindly Her highness express [*sic*] her wish to translate Dr. Spock's book [...]. Tomorrow I will sign the contract." Whether Sanati had someone to translate on behalf of Her Highness to secure the fund or whether she was indeed the translator is unclear. We also do not know why he did not communicate the facts to Smith. However, one thing is clear: the present documents testify that she remained a constant sponsor of Franklin/Tehran (e.g. she agreed to pay \$25,000 for the noted encyclopedia, see Smith 1956, Sanati 1956).



**Figure 16.** Sample publication with Franklin/Tehran assistance. L: *You as a Machine*, an early publication in 1333/1954, winning the literary artistic prize of the literary journal, *Donya-ye Sokhan*, for the best children's book; R: Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, trans. Emami in 1344/1965

price, using 1,000 newsstands all over Iran and mobile bookrack sellers in Tehran as their distribution network (Figure 17, see further Roshangar 1386/2007:6–11; for a short history of pocket books in Iran, see Emami 1374/1984:78–79; cf. popular series in the United Kingdom as early as the nineteenth century, e.g., John Murray's Family Library and George Routledge's Railway Library). Sanati's other achievements include the establishment of *Sherkat-e Sahami-ye Offset* [offset printing company] in 1957; Pars Paper Industrial Group in 1970; and the publication of Afghanistan school textbooks in 1959 and Iranian school textbooks in the years afterwards (for an account of the printing of textbooks in Afghanistan, see Alinejad 1388/2009; in Iran, see Mo'tamedi 1382/2003). Within the framework of the Franklin Book Programs, Franklin/Tehran was also the first Iranian publisher who paid for copyrights, and Sanati was consistent with the rule throughout.

Of the English novels that were published by the help of Franklin/Tehran, we can name F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (Figure 16), translated by Emami and published as *Tala va Khakestar* [gold and ash] in 1344/1965; Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, translated by Parviz Daryuosh; and Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, translated by Bahman Sho'levar in 1338/1959. Of these, Emami's translation remains the only Persian translation available, while the other two have seen retranslations in both pre- and post-Revolution Iran. A new edition with an enlarged introduction of *The Great Gatsby* appeared in 1379/2000.

Various aspects of the development of Franklin/Tehran and Sanati's individual and institutional agency need further research. However, two examples can be



**Figure 17.** The mass distribution network of *Sherkat-e Ketabha-ye Jibi*, using a mobile bookrack in the streets of Tehran (Franklin Publications Annual Report 1962)

illustrative, because they shed light on the publishing field of the period and the issue of agency.

The first example is a letter dated February 7, 1954 from Sanati to Smith about the selection of books, translators, and publishers. Sanati reports of his presence in a literary society in Tehran, which happened to have a meeting on “what books should be translated and published in Iran.” The general agreement of the meeting, as Sanati reports, is that there is no need for the translation and publication of “high [level] technical books” as Iranian experts read the originals. Books also should not be published “only for the sake of having them translated and published,” rather they “should be published for serving a definite object,” and “particular attention must be paid to those books which will improve the morals, consciousness, personality and character of our people” (Sanati 1954b). Sanati then presents a list of desirable books that Franklin/Tehran should publish in Iran. The list includes books for young people under twenty years of age; books written by foreigners about Iran; scientific and technical books for the layman; books for children; biographies of great scientists, artists, thinkers, explorers; and fiction, historical, and geographical books. A close look at Franklin/Tehran’s list of publications testifies that Franklin/Tehran followed this guideline throughout its history. It is also safe to add that such an approach shaped the publishing field in Iran in providing models to be followed by other publishers. Smith, in his letter, agreed with Sanati saying “it gives fine scope to your work” (Smith 1954b, letter no.2, February 26, 1954).

The second example is from one of the earliest projects undertaken by Franklin/Tehran. This example is important in two aspects. First, it shows that Sanati’s institutional agency was in part subordinate to the overall Franklin Book Programs. Second, it reveals the agency of consecrated translators who had power

over publishers. Third, it points to sets of criteria publishers used to select translators. Sanati had to look for suitable translators to cooperate with Franklin/Tehran. To proceed with the translation of the Basic Science Education series, as previously mentioned, Ebn-e Sina Publishing house agreed to undertake the project. From Sanati's letter, it is clear that the publisher suggested the translator A. M. 'Ameri to Franklin/Tehran and that Sanati had a talk with the translator, who initially agreed to work with the publisher, but asked for some time to reflect on the proposal (for more on the translator, see Afshar 1357/1979). In a follow-up letter (see Appendix 3), Sanati informs Smith that the translator,

asks for Rls. 50,000 for the translation of six books in [the] Basic Science Series. Would you please inform me by cable if you agree to this price. It is a little expensive but he is the most suitable person for doing this job. He is an authority in these [sic] kind of literature and has a perfect knowledge of English. He is also a good Persian prose writer. If he translates the books, no revision is needed.

(Sanati 1954c, letter F-6, March 13, 1954)

Smith's answer to Sanati is also of interest. In his letter, he argues that the price set by the translator "is a little higher than I had expected but if it does not trouble you as establishing a 'precedent' that might make you trouble in some other connection it is quite all right with me" (Smith 1954c, letter no. 11, March 13, 1954).<sup>6</sup> As this example shows, Sanati's institutional agency was subject to Franklin's overall policy. However, in the following years, correspondence between Sanati and Smith led to a greater degree of independence for Sanati. The above example also shows the degree of power agents of translation could exert on publishers, depending on their various symbolic capital and positions in the publishing field.

After the Islamic Revolution, Sanati was arrested for "having close ties with the Pahlavi court, for printing American books and for disseminating Western culture in Iran" (Alinejad 2011; for more on the translator, see Afshar 1357/1979). He spent five years in the notorious Evin prison in Tehran. Before his death in 2009, he lived in Kerman in the south of Iran. He completed his unfinished translations, many in the field of Iranian Studies, and authored a number of books (for a list of his books, see Alinejad 2011). In addition, he was engaged in various financial, agricultural, social, and cultural enterprises. With the help of his wife, he established the Zahra Rosewater Company, which revolutionized the social life of the Lalehsar villagers, 120 kilometers from Kerman, by changing the opium farms into farms for Damask

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6. Examples of translation fees paid to some other translators are as follows: \$1,000 to Mohammad Hejazi for *The Mind Alive* (Overstreet 1954); 20,000 rials to Simin Daneshvar for *The Scarlet Letter* (Hawthorne 1850) and 350,000 rials to Abdollah Faryar for *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (Dimand 1930).



roses (see Griffin 2006). Many of the users of Dr. Hauschka skin care today would never guess that their favorite products originate from Iran. *Bukhara*, the Persian journal, dedicated a special issue to the life and legacy of Sanati (see *Bukhara* 1388/2010). *The Lady of the Roses*, a documentary film by Mojtaba Mirtahmasb, depicts Sanati and his life experience establishing the Zahra Rosewater Company in Kerman, Iran.

The impact of Franklin/Tehran on the development of translation and the publishing field has not been subject to academic investigation using primary resources. However, many Iranian scholars and publishers agree that Franklin/Tehran was one of the institutions that increased the translation of Western classics into Persian. Emami, who worked as both a translator and the chief editor for Franklin/Tehran in pre-Revolution Iran, summarizes the role of Franklin/Tehran in promoting the translation of literary works: “[Franklin/Tehran] paid a fixed royalty to the translator and holds all other rights to itself forever; this was not that bad for the first print-run, but for the best sellers that could find a lasting place in the book market, it was disappointing” (Emami 1379/2000: 52). Ahmad Allahyari, a former member of Iran’s Writers Association in pre-Revolution era, who was involved with the conservative *Keyhan* newspaper, downgrades Sanati’s role in developing the indigenous publishing field in Iran, associating Sanati with the Pahlavi censor. By overlooking his agency at Franklin/Tehran, the critic calls him “the executor of Washington’s [the US state] orders” (1387/2008: 147). Interestingly enough, this view comes close to what the leftist intellectuals of the pre-Revolution period thought about Franklin/Tehran. According to Solhjoo, they saw the latter as “the house of the American spies” (1379/2000b: 23).

Our consideration of agency in this chapter has highlighted the increasing importance of translation in modernization projects of the time: translation started to become an instrument of fame and political agency. Translation flows also revealed the growing significance of literary translation during the period. We also said that the issue of copyright has remained contested among Iranian translators and publishers with no clear prospect of Iran acceding to copyright laws. The various analyses of Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* exemplified the way the Iranian translator exercised her pedagogical agency, not only in the translation, but also in the larger cultural and political fields in Iran. Finally, the analyses of three major publishing houses have shown that individual agency played a key part in the formation, continuation, and development of Amir Kabir, on the one hand, and institutional agency was employed by both directors of Bongah and Franklin/Tehran to achieve both institutional objectives and to enhance the nascent publishing field in Iran, on the other.





## The post-Revolution period (1979–present)

در این میان کمتر مترجمی بوده یا هست که توانسته باشد نان از ترجمه بخورد، پس میز نشین این یا آن موسسه بودند و به وقت و بی وقت دیگ خود را هم بار می گذاشتند. (گلشیری ۱۳۷۷: ۷۴)

In the meantime there have been and are few translators who could make a living merely by translating. Hence, they have opted for desk jobs at one institution or another, while every now and then doing their own work on the side. (Golshiri 1377/1998: 74)

In post-Revolution Iran, there is no “official” room for Gabriel García Márquez’s *Memories of My Melancholy Whores* (2005) to reside at, though the indirect translation of his other works has remained popular. “Whores,” be they melancholic or buoyant, be they real or fictional, do not score well there. Fearing, and being confident based on experience, that the direct translation of the above title would threaten the chances of the translation being published in Iran, the publisher of the book published the novel under the title of *Khaterat-e Delbarakan-e Ghamgin-e Man* [memories of my melancholy sweethearts]. After publication, the Ministry banned the book on grounds of “immorality.” According to Tait, “the campaign against his latest book was led by the right-wing Tabnak website, which argued that the decision to approve it had been influenced by friendly relations with left-wing Latin American leaders initiated by Ahmadinejad” (2007).<sup>1</sup> A rather similar pattern can be seen for yet another popular author: Mario Vargas Llosa’s *Travesuras de la niña mala* (2006), translated from the French *Tours et détours de la vilaine fille* (2008), becomes *Dokhtari az Peru* [a girl from Peru] in Persian, being self-censored by the translator (see our section on “Women translators” in this chapter).

The second quotation above from the Iranian novelist Hushang Golshiri (1938–2000) reflects a common belief that translating literary works as a fulltime vocation is rare and should be combined with other professions to make a living. In the original quotation, there is a metaphorical reference to translation as cooking in the Persian style, one in which patience is the basic ingredient. Though the English translation above lacks that level of comparison, translating a literary work

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1. An electronic version of the Persian translation, done from Spanish, was published in the same year and, to date, it has been downloaded 16,745 times from the Persian website *Ketabnak* (visited March 2013).

is seen as one of the ingredients we need to put in the cooking pot (*dizi*) and wait for the result (e.g. royalty and symbolic capital). As a good *abgusht* needs good ingredients (mutton, onion, spices, and split peas, among others), to be cooked over low heat, so does the translation, if it ever sees the light of the day.<sup>2</sup> It is this patience, the argument goes, which defines literary translation in post-Revolution era. Be it as it may, do all the agents of translation share in the virtue of patience? These are only some examples that illustrate the politics of translation in the era under study, to which we will turn now with four case studies after an overview.

## Overview

Following a brief sketch of “Cultural Revolution,” this overview focuses on three main characteristics: the selection of titles, the motivations of agents of translation, and censorship. It also includes a section on the publishing field in the period and a section on translation flows.

### “Cultural Revolution” and translation

Following the Islamic Revolution of 1979, another revolution occurred in the cultural field. The so-called “Cultural Revolution” of 1980 resulted in a temporary closure of Iranian universities, former cultural centers, and the expulsion of their staff. As we mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, for Ayatollah Khomeini, who ordered the reform in the Iranian universities, the aim of “cultural revolution” was to clean the universities from those professors who were “infatuated with the West” (Khomeini 1981:295). As such, a special committee was formed with the task of reforming the Iranian universities and preparing suitable textbooks. Prior to this second revolution, and as a result of the temporary freedom of press at the start of the Islamic Revolution, the publishing field experienced a sudden boom with respect to the publication of banned books of the previous period. But as time went on, growing readership, market demand, and the aftermath of the “Cultural Revolution” contributed to the idea that translation could be a viable profession (see Azarang 1386/2007:267–268). In other words, because many intellectuals could not teach at universities, which were closed following the “cultural revolution,” they turned to translation, as the last resort. This new situation created three groups of translators: (1) those who were not concerned with economic capital and who translated well-known works; (2) those who gave up translation and looked for other ways to make a living; and (3) a group who, as Emami observes, “were

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2. To a certain extent, the *cocido madrileño*, a dish in Madrid, comes close to *abgusht*.

mostly concerned with the economic factors [and] thus resorted to those kinds of translation that secured an easier income” (1379/2000: 54; cf. an interesting analysis of the “Revisionist intellectuals” in the years following World War II in Ben-Ari 2012). That boom period did not last, for various reasons, including the Iran–Iraq War, economic stagnation and social problems, and, in particular, many people gradually lost interest in reading.

Much of what has happened to translation in the following years reflects how the semiautonomous field of publishing has been affected by the larger field of cultural production and above all by the field of power in the post-Revolution era. Nonetheless, with respect to the translation of novels from English, it has remained a vibrant segment of the publishing field by attracting many young translators and an observable increase in titles. For example, although the above division no longer holds, there are still many academics who combine teaching at universities and doing translations. In fact, the publishing field in Iran (as far as nonliterary works are concerned) is dependent on the work of the academics for their survival no less than the academics for their promotions at universities.

## Selections

What emerges from a close analysis of the various resources we have introduced in Chapter 2, in particular, from the Iranian translators’ interviews, is that the selection of novels for translation has in general been made by the translators themselves. This does not fully rule out the role of the publishers at the sublevel of title selection in the three-tier level of agency. The historical role of Iranian publishers as title selectors has changed along with the structural development of the publishing field. Large publishers with an institutional mechanism or smaller publishers with educated managers started to play a part in the selection of works for translation, especially in the post-Revolution era. In both cases, however, certain agents of translation acted as consulting editors for publishers (e.g., Khashayar Deyhimi’s role in our case study of Austen in this chapter). This emerging role of the translators can be explained in terms of their transposable *habitus* that enables them to engage in various practices close to their main profession.

Although there is little empirical study to determine who has the dominant role in decision making, scholarship continues to highlight the role of the translators and to provide some room for the publishers. For example, in an overall evaluation of the contemporary history of publishing in Iran, Emami (1379/2000) stresses the role of translators in making decisions about literary translations and excludes the role of Iranian publishers (except for the previously mentioned Bongah and Franklin/Tehran, see Chapter 4). From another perspective, Deyhimi looks at the selection of novels from the point of view of quality. He argues that the

selections generally amount to what he calls “second hand literatures,” conceived to be contrary to “first class literature or the classics of each field of study” (Deyhimi 1376/1997:72). Deyhimi’s emerging role as a series editor and consultant for a number of Iranian publishers of post-Revolution Iran points to two facts. On the one hand, it is an attempt to increase the quality of selection of books and to employ more skillful translators, and, on the other hand, to provide a publishing model that does not rely solely on the discretion of translators.

## Motivations

Although agents of translation point to various social and cultural motives, generally of an altruistic nature, they also tend to prioritize noneconomic motives over economic ones based on the abovementioned evidence. Part of this is because translation has worked as an instrument of fame in Iran, and translators have enjoyed social recognition, that is, symbolic capital (e.g., see Rahimzadeh 1379/2000: 38). Emami has summarized the perspectives of the translators in this way:

In the first place, these translators did not aim to accumulate wealth; rather, their purpose has been to perform a cultural service. They wanted to familiarize their fellow countrymen with the literary and cultural achievements of other countries and make them accessible through translation. (Emami 1379/2000:55)

In addition to sociocultural motives, some translators have found translation to be an instrument of tranquility. For Hoseini, the translator of Faulkner, translation occasionally worked as an “opium to escape from the extreme anxiety of the Iran–Iraq War” (1370/1990: 22), while for Manucher Badiee, the translator of Joyce, it helped him survive Iraq’s missile attacks by escaping from one city to another doing translations (1381/2002: 26).

With regard to economic capital as the possible motivation of the agents of translation, there is hardly any clear evidence or mention of it. Various reasons can be conceivable. One is a historically verbal agreement among various segments of Iranian society that Iranians do not read enough and that Iran suffers from a “publishing crisis.” This crisis, in addition to the drop in readership, involves various factors, including the state’s cultural policies in constraining the agency of publishers. While this might be partially true, the translation flows in general and the increasing number of new titles speak otherwise. Another reason might be what the Iranian translator, Reza Rezaei, refers to as “a clever strategy advanced by certain publishers to hide their practices” (personal interview, March 2009; see also *Shargh* 1391/2012). That is, they pretend that they are running a poor business and are making no profit at all.

## Censorship

The issue of censorship during this period has remained a controversial issue, defining the way agents of translation find their position in the field of publishing, and how they exercise their agency. Naturally, censorship has also manifested itself in other parts of the field of cultural production such as films and music, giving rise to a particular way of expression and figurative language. Research on censorship in this period (as regards translation from English) is extremely rare, because the censorship files (if any) are not publicly available, and researchers have every right not to risk their status, given the political complications. As for the researchers, authors, and journalists outside Iran, with very few exceptions, the image that has emerged from their works is one that is often far from the realities of the publishing practices in Iran. What usually amounts from their works give the impression that no book ever gets published in Iran, whereas we have shown throughout this book that despite censorship, agents of translation continue publishing their work, negotiating with the relevant authorities of the Ministry, and talking about their problems with the censor publicly insofar as the logic of the field requires them to do so. Conformity with censorship and learning how to live with it characterizes translation in the period, something that hardly finds a place in the pertaining literature.

How does censorship come into the game of publishing in Iran? With Article 24 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which states “publication and the press are free to publish their ideas unless they are injurious to the fundamentals of Islam or public rights,” the Department General of Book Affairs of the Ministry (better known as the Book Bureau, hereafter) is the body that has carried out censorship at various levels relating to books. It should be noted that the Iranian state does not acknowledge state censorship (cf. the official position in the Socialist states on censorship, e.g., Pokorn 2012: 141–142). What they accept, however, is *momayyezi*, that is, examining and distinguishing between good and bad for publication or production, be they books or other cultural productions such as films, music, and dramas.<sup>3</sup>

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3. At the request of the Ministry, the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution (SCCR) has ratified a regulation called “*Ahdaf, siyasatha va zavabet-e nashr-e ketab*” [the objectives, policies and rules for publishing books], first in 1367/1988 and revised in sixteen Articles in 1389/2010. According to Article 4, any book which is seen to be offensive in three areas – “religion and ethics,” “politics and society,” and “rights and public rights” – should not be published. The Ministry is accordingly tasked with forming a board of control to carry out the regulation (see Ershad 2014).

While censorship in pre-Revolution era was aimed chiefly at political books, it has affected the field of publishing and above all literary translations. Depending on the political approach of the state, the publishing field has experienced both lenient and harsh periods. The most observable harsh phase came after the beginning of the presidency of Ahmadinezhad in 2005, in which not only waiting times for publication permission increased, but, as various resources report, a considerable number of previously permitted publications were cancelled on the ground of immorality (see e.g., Nikfarjam 2010). This was also an attack on the previous reformative government of President Khatami, in office from 1997 to 2005, which facilitated the publication of books and downsized censorship.

In the same vein, what distinguished censorship in this period in comparison with the Pahlavi period (1925–1979) is “the shift in emphasis from prohibitive to prescriptive censorship [...] In this, at least, it has added a new dimension to the moral, social, and political constraints on the public expression of ideas in Persian society” (Karimi-Hakkak 1992: 141).

In the absence of primary sources and the translators’ and publishers’ refusal to communicate any evidence of censorship, Rajabzadeh’s study (1380/2001) remains one of the rare studies on censorship in post-Revolution era that draws on primary sources. He examined 1,373 censorship files of the Book Bureau in 1996. His study shows that the literary works (translations and nontranslations) have received the highest degree of censorship, with 51.03 percent of the total censored books. As regards the translations of novels, 234 titles were recognized as being “conditional and unauthorized.” “Conditional” titles require the translator to censor certain parts, and “unauthorized” titles are those that fail to receive publication permission. This, as Rajabzadeh argues, is more than the number of novels that were published in the same year.

In his detailed and documented analysis, Rajabzadeh finds that the censors have been most sensitive to love, affection, and any association thereto; wine, drunkenness, and bars; descriptions of women’s beauty; descriptions of sexual organs; gambling; unconventional words and expressions; suicide; and music. The latter is very general, but it largely concerns nonclassical music. The researcher provides a list of all 234 English novels, the number of instances of censorship in each novel, and whether or not the translation was the first print or a reprint. Rajabzadeh argues that the censors “changed the structure and the setting of novels, resulting in a change in the nature of the stories, if they were applied to the novels” (1380/2001: 149). He also refers to the censors’ religious sensitivity and traces their examples in the translated works to such a degree that he calls their practice “a cultural deformation not cultural translation” (ibid.: 181).

Views of the translators and publishers on censorship vary. For some, like Daryabandari, self-censorship is an ethical issue and an instrument of defending

Iran's culture and common law against improper "scenes," that is, the description of certain aspects of foreign culture that do not fit into Iranian culture (1379/2000: 111; cf. Badiée 1381/2002: 41). For the Persian translator, Farzaneh, who lived and worked most of his life in Rome until very recently, Iranian translators should not try hard to "find fault with censors, rather, they should sometimes agree with what the censors say" (1384/2005). In contrast, many like Abdollah Kowsari and Hosein Hoseinkhani, the translator and publisher of Mario Vargas Llosa's *The War of the end of the World* into Persian, argue that censorship has affected the whole cultural milieu in post-Revolution Iran (see more in the next section). In the same vein, Shahla Lahiji, an Iranian publisher, reacted to an official's statement in defense of censorship. The official, Mohsen Parviz, a former deputy minister of the Ministry argued that anyone who took issue with the general principle of censoring books had a "problem with the government itself." Lahiji's reaction, nevertheless, drew on her three decades of publishing experience, finding faults with "unwritten and unclear" codes and "illicit measurements" of the Ministry and not with her stance of the regime (for the full text of the letter, see Lahiji 1387/2008: 12; see also Nabavi 1380/2001).

The effect of censorship on agency can be complex. It affects the agency of translators and publishers from the moment they adopt novels for translation (not everything can be selected for translation; that is, selection based on the sense of weather), to the act of translation (deletion, self-censorship, etc.), and it even affects the process of obtaining permission for publication from the Ministry. Yet, in all of this, there is some kind of agency and even hope at work between the translators and their publishers that aim at avoiding any possible risk that might bring the project to a halt (see e.g., our case study of *Pride and Prejudice 2*). Quite often, translators and publishers find that being patient and publicly talking about their translation and manuscripts waiting for permission from the Ministry are the only two strategies they can hold on to. An extreme example would be that of Badiée and his translation of Joyce's *Ulysses*, which, to date, has been waiting for publication permission for more than twenty years. This, however, has not stopped the translator and the publisher talking publicly about their work, and even publishing a chapter of the translation as a book (for more on this translation, see *Motarjem* 1381/2002).

## The publishing field

According to official statistics from the Cultural Under-Secretariat of the Ministry, Iran had 8,900 authorized publishers in 2008: 4,000 publishers are classified as "semiaactive," that is, publishing only four titles a year to keep the authorization.



Only 600 publishers are classified as “active” (*Hamshahri* 1387/2008). This number, however, should be interpreted cautiously.

First of all, there is a problem between the number of publishers and active readership. According to the editor of *Jahan-e Ketab*, a Persian book review, “Iranian society is not a reading society. The demand for books is low, and there is no correspondence between supply and demand” (Rahbani 1383/2004: 13). He quotes a publisher as saying that “the number of official publishers is more than real readers. We have around 5,000 publishers [at the time of the interview], but we do not have 5,000 readers [...]; we as publishers produce a merchandise that has no customer” (1383/2004: 13).

Second, the government’s different “supportive policies” of the publishing field, including subsidies for paper, loans, discounts, and the direct purchase of books from publishers, have created confusion and often corruption (e.g., see our interview with the publisher of *The War of the End of the World* in the next section). For example, Rahbani states that these policies “that were supposed to support the creation of powerful, independent publishers who can rely on their own capabilities, over a certain time, have produced the opposite results” (1383/2004: 14). The critic’s argument refers to the practice of receiving state-subsidized paper for publication and selling it at a higher price on the black market. With a recent cut in subsidies for paper to publishing houses in Iran and the government’s plan to gradually phase out subsidies starting from 2011, the publishing field has undergone a gradual transformation, whose exact consequences are hard to predict.

Third, some Iranian publishers still tend to view or pretend to view their profession from a purely cultural perspective. According to Rahbani, part of the publishing profession in Iran has been suffering from a “pseudointellectual” disease. He explains his point as follows:

In fact, a number of our publishers have suffered from two diseases: the disease of “imagination” and the disease of “shame.” They were imaginative because being solely a publisher was beneath their dignity, since they conceived of themselves as being in a higher position and mission. And they were shameful because they had no option but to look for economic capital [...]. (Rahbani 1383/2004: 12)

What Rahbani suggests can be related to what Bourdieu distinguishes as the “double character” of publishers: “Publishers are thus double characters who should know how to reconcile art and money, the love of literature and the quest for profit” (Bourdieu 1999b: 12). Rahbani later argues that this view, or pretending to hold such a view, is disappearing, since publishing “has a double cultural–economic nature. The latter is not less important than the first, and it is nothing but imagination to conceive of subliminal and irrelevant purposes for publishing” (1383/2004: 12).



Within the specific context of post-Revolution era, theorization about the publishing field and its mechanism has been challenging. For Azarang (1378/1999), six possible hypotheses can be conceived: the need hypothesis in which books are to meet society's needs; the state hypothesis in which the state determines the growth or decline of books; the structure hypothesis stating that the publishing industry in Iran has not entered the modern phase; the infrastructure hypothesis that highlights the absence of solid infrastructure in the publishing field in Iran; the struggle hypothesis that highlights the individual efforts of publishers toward growth of the publishing field; and, finally, the comprehensive hypothesis that sees none of the previous hypotheses individually powerful enough to explain the particularities of the Iranian context. Each of these hypotheses can explain aspects of the complex relationship between agents of translation and the readership. In the absence of independent empirical research on the publishing field in Iran, it is hard to accept or refute these hypotheses, and is it not clear to what extent they are informed by the business model of western European print production. Arguing that explaining any phenomenon in Iran is a complex matter, Homaei, the manager of Ney Publishing, favors a publishing model that originates from the "current status of the field and its practice" (personal interview, March 2009).

That said, we have elsewhere shown some of the characteristics of the publishing field in the period. Drawing on both Bourdieu and Latour's actor-network theory, two kinds of networks were shown between agents of translation in Iran, in addition to an under-studied network between the academics and a religious-oriented publisher. This study also highlighted the need for a new model to study the publishing field beyond Bourdieu's binary classification of publishers and their productions (see Haddadian-Moghaddam 2012).

In the last eight years, that is, during the presidency of Ahmadinezhad (2005–2013), some major events occurred which have affected the publishing field. As mentioned earlier, the major change was the subsidy cut for paper, which received a mixed response from Iranian translators, publishers, and readers. In the beginning, some showed concern that the books would be too expensive to produce and sell, while some translators expected to earn higher royalties. For example, Rezaei, the translator of Jane Austen (see later in this chapter), remarked in a personal interview that the publishing field was just starting to redefine itself, getting rid of fake publishers, that is, those who were receiving state-subsidized paper and selling it at a higher price on the black market. While professional translators saw in the subsidy cut an opportunity to increase their economic capital, the growing economic pressure on the public, and increasing inflation, have forced publishers to publish less, often with a print run of 1,000 copies and at higher prices (e.g., see Table 9 and Figure 18).

It should be also noted that in Iran many of the state-run organizations and ministries have publishing machinery or budgets for publishing books. For example, *Sazman-e Tablighat-e Eslami* [organization for the promotion of Islam] and its affiliated *Howzeh-ye Honari* [the center of arts] and the Ministry itself are actively producing books in various genres. The latter established a center in 1370/1991 called *Daftar-e Adabiyat-e Dastani* [the bureau of fiction], to select “suitable” novels from World Literature, introducing them to Iranian translators and publishers. The bureau published a number of translations of critical studies about fictions and some bibliographies, and commissioned a number of translators. The bureau ceased its activities some years later, and its impact on the publishing field has remained unclear (for more on this, see *Kelk* 1373/1994; *Adabiyat-e Dastani* 1373/1994).

These state-run publishers thus have an advantage over private publishing houses in that they generally have little problem paying for paper (not to mention that they have their own quota of paper), their books are less expensive to produce, and have little problem in receiving permission from the Ministry for publishing their books. These publishers have also secured their share of market by producing certain books (large-scale production of often religious books), and have had guaranteed purchase from the Ministry’s yearly purchase of books for public libraries. However, these publishers have not been able to attract independent readership, especially readers of novels from foreign languages.

### Translation flows

As mentioned in previous chapters, the statistics of books in Iran have various problems, especially in post-Revolution era. First of all, the IBH is affiliated with the Ministry and its data should be interpreted with caution. One key problem of the data remains the way it defines “book”: if one single title has three volumes, each single volume is counted as one “book.” Azarang (1386/2007: 268) has criticized the IBH’s approach by saying that such data should not be produced by a policymaking institution that carries out those policies itself. Another problem is that novels from English are part of the larger category of “literature” in the data, and no distinction is made between the source languages. Despite such problems and inconsistencies between data from various sources, the IBH’s data can show the position of translations in the whole publishing field.

Two tables are presented here. Table 9 shows the annual publication of books (translations and nontranslations) in post-Revolution era in terms of the titles. In this table, translations include all languages other than Persian.

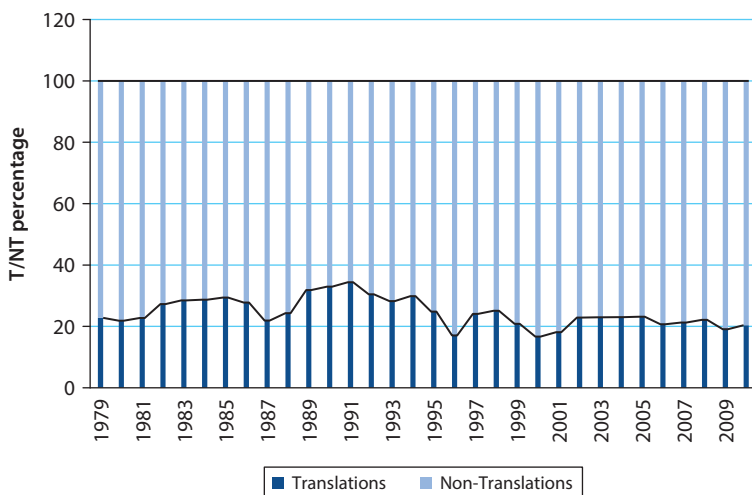
Data for the years after 1997 in Table 9 have been updated using the online database of the IBH (this is subject to change as the database gets updated). As this

**Table 9.** The number of books published in post-Revolution Iran in terms of titles (Azarang 1386/2007: 269, IBH 2014)

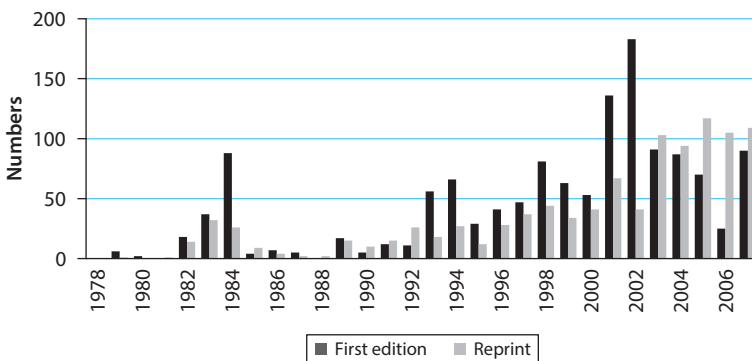
Year	Translations	Nontrans- lations	Total	Year	Translations	Nontrans- lations	Total
1979	427	1,446	1,873	1997	3,731	11,778	15,509
1980	401	1,433	1,834	1998	4,368	13,050	17,418
1981	339	1,152	1,491	1999	4,455	16,938	21,132
1982	1,005	2,683	3,688	2000	4,139	20,655	24,794
1983	1,550	3,897	5,447	2001	5,865	26,495	32,360
1984	1,873	4,657	6,530	2002	8,268	27,844	36,112
1985	1,692	4,062	5,754	2003	8,632	28,932	37,564
1986	1,164	3,024	4,188	2004	9,553	31,944	41,497
1987	1,208	4,311	5,519	2005	11,915	39,595	51,510
1988	939	2,927	3,866	2006	11,078	42,374	53,452
1989	2,483	5,315	7,798	2007	11,874	43,974	55,848
1990	2,476	5,040	7,516	2008	12,305	43,294	55,599
1991	2,355	4,494	6,849	2009	11,586	49,060	60,646
1992	2,165	4,939	7,104	2010	13,175	51,431	64,606
1993	2,230	5,670	7,900	2011	14,225	54,508	68,733
1994	3,069	7,203	10,272	2012	12,967	50,947	63,914
1995	2,974	9,000	11,974	2013	12,986	53,023	66,009
1996	2,450	11,936	14,386				

table shows, the number of translations in the first three years of the revolution was less than 500 titles. However, it has been increasing since 1982. Except for 1988, the year the Iran–Iraq War came to an end, in which only 939 titles were translations, the following years show a rising trend in the number of translations. From 2002 to 2010, the translation flows have remained rather stable. Figure 18 shows the percentage of translations to nontranslations during the same period. This table shows that translation flows have hardly dropped under 20 percent during the period and have often reached 40 percent of the total output.

While Table 9 and Figure 18 point to the importance of translations in post-Revolution Iran, Figure 19 presents more refined data on the number of novels translated from English in post-Revolution era. The data covers the period from 1978 to 2007. The raw data were obtained by personal request from the IBH. Although it is hard to verify the data, and is it not possible to triangulate the data with nonexistent, independent resources, the figures show a gradual rise in the number of titles in the early 1980s, a considerable fall in the following years, and a gradual recovery in the next two decades. In the last two decades, reprints of translations have been higher than first editions. The reason for these



**Figure 18.** The percentage of translations (T) to nontranslations (NT) in post-Revolution Iran



**Figure 19.** The number of novels translated from English in post-Revolution Iran (IBH 2009)

fluctuations might be explained in terms of the state's cultural policies. For example, the late 1990s to 2005 is the reformative period of President Khatami in which agents of translation experienced some degree of freedom and many titles received permission, whereas the post-2005 period tends to show a reverse trend starting in 2006.

## General perception

### Introduction

The purpose of this survey, which formed the pilot study of this research, was to find out about Iranian translators' general perceptions of a number of issues, such as their positions in the publishing field, their professional trajectory, and motivations, censorship, and copyright. Although this survey had its shortcomings, it pointed to important aspects of literary translation in Iran, and it helped us to identify subjects for further research.

Fifty translators were selected from a primary list of 150 Iranian literary translators, based on an extensive bibliographical search in the form of a citation analysis, establishing contact with other translators, publishers, and literary critics. These translators have each published at least five novels from English. The translators were asked to answer a multiple-choice questionnaire with twenty-five closed questions (see Appendix 4). The questionnaire was in Persian, and it was sent by both post and e-mail. The survey was carried out between March and May 2008.

Out of the fifty translators selected for this questionnaire, eighteen translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 31, 33, 41, 43, 44, and 47) returned their responses to the questionnaire, making the response rate 34 percent (eleven men and seven women) (see Table 10). With respect to the men, one has a PhD (31), three have master's degrees (24, 33, and 41), one has a high school diploma (19), and one (16) did not mention his level of education. Of the women, six have master's degrees (7, 8, 18, 22, 23, and 43), and one (14) did not mention her education. The age ranges of the translators, regardless of their sex, is four between the ages of thirty and forty; one between forty and fifty; ten older than fifty; and three (14, 16, and 18) did not mention their age. Translation is the main source of income for six translators (2, 8, 14, 31, 33, and 41), and translation is combined with other means of income for twelve translators (6, 7, 10, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 33, 43, 44, and 46).

### The position of translators in the field of literary translation

Ten translators (8, 14, 18, 19, 22, 24, 31, 43, 44, and 47) carry out literary translation based on their personal interests. Three of them (10, 33, and 41) regard translation as a way to earn both symbolic and economic capital. For two of them (6 and 7), translation is to earn symbolic capital. One respondent (23) prefers to suggest her own options: for her, translation is a personal interest and a way to earn economic and symbolic capital. For one of the translators (2), translation is just for earning economic capital, and one (16) did not answer.

Table 10. Profile of translators

Number	Male (M), Female (F)	Degree	Date of birth	Translation: main source of income (I) or combined with other sources (C)
2	M	BA	1945	I
6	M	BA	1956	C
7	F	MA	1958	C
8	F	MA	1956	I
10	M	BA	1960	C
14	F	–	–	I
16	M	–	–	C
18	F	MA	–	C
19	M	High school diploma	1926	C
22	F	MA	1976	I
23	F	MA	1975	C
24	M	MA	1925	C
31	M	MA	1933	C
33	M	PhD	1944	I
41	M	Two MAs	1972	I
43	F	MA	1947	C
47	M	BA	1975	C
44	M	BA	1935	C

Most translators turned to literary translation based on a plan and personal interest. The decision to become literary translators was the intention and personal interest for sixteen of the translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 31, 33, 41, 43, and 47), while it was only by chance for one (14). One of the translators (3) mentioned that it was both her intention and her field of study.

For twelve of the translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 14, 18, 22, 23, 31, 33, 43, and 47), literary translators in Iran only enjoy a recognized cultural and/or social status; three translators (10, 24, and 19) suggest a recognized cultural, social, and economic status for literary translators; for one respondent (18), the economic status of translators is subject to their cultural and/or social status; and two of them (16 and 44) did not answer.

### Literary translation and translators in pre- and post-Revolution Iran

The publishing of literary translations appears to demonstrate an “unstable” situation and improvement simultaneously. For six translators (7, 8, 18, 22, 23, and 43), the situation is unstable, while another six (2, 18, 22, 23, 24, and 41) argue that it

is improving. Two translators (16 and 44) did not express their opinion; one (19) thinks that the situation is appropriate, and one (8) thinks it is both unstable and improving.

How is the situation of literary translation and translators in post-Revolution era compared with the pre-Revolution period in terms of the quantity and quality of the works and the number of practicing literary translators? The results show an increase in the quantity, quality, and diversity of the titles plus an increase in the number of translators for six translators (8, 10, 19, 22, 24, and 41). Along the same lines, five translators (6, 14, 18, 23, and 31) exclude the qualitative increase in their evaluation while accepting the diversity of works and an increase in the number of translators. For four translators (2, 7, 43, and 47), there is only a quantitative increase in the works and an increase in the number of translators versus a qualitative decrease in the works. One respondent (33) argues that pre- and post-Revolution Iran cannot be compared in terms of the quality of translations. He did not provide any further explanation for his claim. One respondent (16) also claims that these two periods are historically different, thus no comparison is possible. And one translator (44) who lives outside Iran argues that he has no access to the works, thus he cannot make a comparison.

### Priority of capital for literary translators

In their answers relating to the importance of the different types of capital and in which order they have tried to increase them in practice, the majority of the translators value various forms of symbolic capital over economic capital. For seven translators (7, 10, 19, 22, 24, 31, and 43), the order is cultural, social, and symbolic followed by economic capital. For three (2, 14, and 33), the order is symbolic, social, economic, and cultural. For three other translators (6, 8, and 47), while symbolic capital comes first, it is followed by cultural, social, and then economic capital. Only one respondent (41) considers economic capital to be more important than symbolic, cultural, and social capital. Finally, one respondent (23) suggested her own order: social, symbolic, cultural, and economic. One respondent did not provide an answer.

### Copyright

The translators were asked if they agreed with Iran's accession to one of the international copyright conventions and how they would like to see it happen. Out of the eighteen translators, twelve (2, 7, 8, 10, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 33, 41, and 47) agree

with accession provided it would increase the quality of translations and provide stability. Four translators (6, 14, 31, and 43) disagree with accession on the grounds that it would cause a decline in the publishing of translations and impose economic pressure on publishers. One respondent (44) claims to have arguments for and against it, and one respondent (16) did not answer.

## Censorship

Eleven translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 31, 33, 41, 43, and 47) mention that between one and five of their translations have been censored by the Ministry. Two translators (24 and 44) did not have any works censored. One respondent (10) has between five and ten censored translations, and one (14) has more than ten. Three translators (16, 18, and 19) did not provide answers. Asked whether or not they had translations that did not get permission from the Ministry for publication, eleven translators (6, 8, 10, 14, 18, 19, 23, 24, 33, 44, and 47) said no, and six (2, 7, 8, 22, 31, and 41) have had translations rejected. One respondent (16) did not answer. Sixteen translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 31, 33, 41, 43, and 47) also state that they were asked by the Ministry to censor parts of their translation to receive permission for publication. One respondent (16) did not answer, and one (44) says he has never been asked to censor his translations by the Ministry.

Regarding the translators' strategies for coping with censorship, eleven (2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 22, 24, 31, 41, 44, and 47) argue that they prefer not to adopt a work that is likely to receive substantial censorship. Two translators (14 and 33) self-censor their translations, and one (16) did not provide answers. One respondent (43) says that she continues translating and keeps them for a suitable time for publication ("translation for the drawer," Baer 2010: 154). She is probably hoping for a political change in Iran where there are no restrictions, censorship, or control by the government. One respondent (19) says that he translates according to the political situation. Two translators (18 and 23) use adaptation, an "intralinguistic process of accommodation to new [culture], to the requirements of official censorship" (Merino and Rabadán 2002: 132) to escape censorship.

## The Iran Annual Book Prize for literary translators

The Iran Annual Book Prize (IABP) was first established in 1955 under the name of the Royal Book Prize at the instruction of Mohammad Reza Shah to encourage authors and translators. The prize was suspended from 1977, at the start of the Islamic Revolution, until 1983 when it was reestablished as the Iran Book Prize in order to,



introduce distinguished cultural figures; to keep a cultural record of cultural society and to compare it with the research activities of the preceding years in order to determine the pros and cons; and to support the policymakers and staff members of different cultural fields in their own practical planning; and directing the authors [translators] and the creators of artistic works. (IABP 2010: Homepage)

In order to examine the effects of literary prizes on translators and the sale of translations, and how the translators view the translations awarded the prize in past years, nine translators (2, 6, 7, 8, 18, 22, 24, 41, and 47) share the idea that the prize does not have any noticeable effect on the quality or sales of translations. While five translators (10, 15, 23, 31, and 43) admit that the selections have not been unbiased; they say the prizes have encouraged translators and increased their symbolic capital. One respondent (33) argues that the prize has encouraged translators and increased their symbolic capital and the selections have been unbiased. Three translators (16, 19, and 44) did not provide answers.

This survey has shown that for the majority of the translators literary translation has been a conscious decision and has brought cultural and social recognition (capital). The translators, however, showed little agreement on economic capital both as a motive for translation and as a means of income. The translators' views on the differences between literary translation in pre- and post-Revolution Iran differ in terms of the quality and diversity of titles. The majority of translators also prioritized various forms of symbolic capital over economic capital. Iran's copyright accession is also shown to be a quality matter and an economic concern. Various translators had experienced censorship at various levels in their practice, and they drew on multiple strategies, including the conscious selection of titles, self-censorship, and often patience in maintaining their profession as a translator. The IABP is also shown to be another indicator of how translators' views differed from the views of the sponsor of the prize, that is, the state. The majority of the translators did not see any noticeable effect on the sale of translations or on the quality, whereas some saw it effective in increasing their noneconomic capital.

### *Pride and Prejudice* (2)

This case study aims to explore the agency of the translator and the publisher in the larger publishing field, shedding light on various factors affecting the practice of post-Revolution Iranian translators and publishers. It has five subsections: profile of the translator; translation history of Rezaei's Persian version and other retranlations of the novel; analysis of the translation; analysis of the paratext; and a review of the translation and discussion. Unlike the previous study, the analysis draws on our interviews with both the translator and the publisher of the book.

## Profile of the translator

Reza Rezaei, the Persian translator of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, was born in 1335/1956 in Sari, Iran, and has a bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering. Rezaei has lived in Tehran since 1357/1979.

With no official training in translation, he started translating in 1356/1978 out of interest, and two years later, he was working as a full-time translator. In the beginning, he translated scientific and technical texts from English into Persian, and then he turned to political and economic texts. He has also translated various texts in the field of visual arts and architecture.

His first literary translation into Persian was Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Raw Youth* (1875), rendered from English and published in 1368/1989. To date, he has translated more than 60 books and 200 articles from English into Persian, including Vladimir Nabokov's *The Defense* (1930) and *Pnin* (1957), Marguerite Yourcenar's *Fires* (1936), Isaiah Berlin's *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment* (1939), and John Burrows' *Classical Music* (2005). He has served as secretary of Iran's Chess Association and was a member of Iran's national chess team. In addition to being the current editor of Iran's *Chess Journal*, his work experience includes advising publishing houses, editing for different publishers and cultural press agencies, and working for an architectural company in Iran.

He was awarded the prize entitled the Best Translation of Mahtab Mirzayi in 1385/2006 for his Persian translation of Orhan Pamuk's Nobel Prize lecture entitled "My father's suitcase" in 2006. This prize is organized by the Persian journal *Negah-e Nou*, which selects the best published articles of the journal by consulting its readers (see Mahtab-e Ma 2011). In 1386/2007, the journal *Motarjem* published an interview with Rezaei on his translations of Austen and dedicated the cover page to the translator's photo.

## Translation history

### *Rezaei's translation*

To date, Rezaei's translation has been published twelve times by the publisher. The data provided in Table 11 show that the print run started with 2,200 copies in the first and second editions, and was increased to 3,300 in its third and subsequent editions. The circulation of the most recent editions, however, has decreased to 3,000 copies, with the most recent being 1,000 copies. While the price of the book was 55,000 rials in its first and second editions, subsequent editions saw an increase in the price. The total number of pages has also been changing, and this might be due to the translator's additions to the text, or additions to the introduction.

Furthermore, the translator informs us that he had the liberty to revise his translations in subsequent editions. In the fourth edition, which is the text for this analysis, the translator has added a short note to his introduction: “Now that the book has been reprinted due to readership’s warm reception, it is necessary to thank all those who have enhanced the [quality] of the translation with their reminders, expressing opinions, encouragements, and denials, directly or indirectly” (8).

**Table 11.** Translation history of Rezaei’s version of *Pride and Prejudice* in Persian

Edition	Year	Print run	Cover price in Iranian rials	Hardback (H), paperback (P)	Total pages
1	1385/2006	2,200	55,000	H	446
2	1386/2007	2,200	55,000	H	452
3	1386/2007	3,300	60,000	H	452
4	1387/2008	3,300	75,000	H	454
5	1388/2009	3,300	75,000	H	450
6	1388/2009	3,300	75,000	H	506
7	1389/2010	3,300	86,000	H	452
9	1390/2011	3,000	90,000	H	454
10	1391/2012	3,000	110,000	H	456
11	1391/2012	2,000	160,000	H	452
12	1392/2013	1,000	160,000	H	452

### Retranslations

Iran’s National Library and Archives Catalogue shows three translations of *Pride and Prejudice* into Persian prior to Rezaei’s translation. The first translation, done by Mossaheb in 1336/1957, was discussed in the previous chapter. The second and last edition of Mossaheb’s translation during the Pahlavi period appeared in 1346/1967. The first edition of the translation in post-Revolution era is apparently published by two publishers: *Sherkat-e Entesharat-e Elmi va Farhangi* (see Chapter 4) and Jami Publishing in 1376/1997. The following editions, six to date, were all published by the latter. This publisher has not modified Mossaheb’s translation, although it has used different typesetting and a new cover page.

According to the above catalogue, the IBH’s database of Iranian publishers, and our various online searches, the data for post-Revolution era from 1357/1979 to 1385/2006 (the year of Rezaei’s translation of *Pride and Prejudice*) are given in Table 12. Following Rezaei’s translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, three more re-translations have appeared. The first is a cotranslation of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Pemberley* by Shahrokh Puranfar and Hadi Adelpur in one volume, published

in 1386/2007. The Persian title can be back translated into English as “pride and prejudice and its sequel,” with a total of 640 pages. The second translation is by Susan Ardekani. It has 715 pages and was published in 1388/2009. Last, there was an adaptation by K. Abidi Ashtiyani, published in 1389/2010. It has 360 pages and was aimed at young adult readers. Since the last two titles are not single translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, they are not shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Retranslations of Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*

Year	Translator	Gender	Publisher	Print run	Hardback (H), paperback (P)	Pages
1336/1957	Mossaheb	F	Bongah	3,000	H	661
1346/1967	Mossaheb	F	Bongah	?*	H	661
1362/1983	Puranfar	M	Zarrin	?	P	536
1372/1993	Jame’i	F	Nahal [N]avidan	?	P	552

\* not available

### Analysis of the translation

In this section, we will briefly look at the first two chapters of Rezaei’s translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. The English text is from the Everyman’s Library edition (1991), which is not the exact copy the translator worked from, and the Persian is from the fourth edition of the translation (1387/2008). The aim here is to find out about the translator’s agency. In doing so, we will make use of our own interview with the translator, as well as the interview done by Alireza Akbari (1386/2007), published in *Motarjem*, and the interview by Ali Behpazhuh, published in *Dastan-e Hamshahri* (1389/2010).

Unlike Mossaheb’s translation, Rezaei’s has only nine footnotes in total, and they are mainly geographical names and sometimes British cultural terms. While footnotes had a pedagogical purpose in Mossaheb’s translation of *Pride and Prejudice* (1336/1957) (see Chapter 4), for Rezaei, footnotes “distract the reader from the story.”<sup>4</sup> For example, his translation of “Michaelmas” (1) is پاییز, which can be back translated as “autumn.” Mossaheb, however, defines the term in a footnote (see the discussion in Chapter 4).

The general approach in the translation of Austen’s works is informed by one key principle, as stressed by the translator. In his interview with *Motarjem*, he argues that it is wrong and impossible to use 200-year-old Persian to translate

4. Unless stated otherwise, all quotations from Rezaei and Eslami are from our own interviews.

Austen. As a result, he has decided to use the “contemporary Persian language” (in Akbari 1386/2007: 52). To apply the principle, he had to find a middle way between colloquial Persian and more formal language: “I neither tried to use colloquial Persian so as to avoid giving the impression that readers are reading a simple Persian story, nor did I use very formal Persian that could frighten them by feeling alienated from the language” (ibid.). In another interview, Rezaei argues that his translation strategy is to avoid conveying the wrong impression to Persian readers that they are reading an “Iranian novel” (in Behpazhuh 1389/2010: 150). By this, he means novels written originally in Persian, which have increased in terms of both numbers and quality over the last decade (see Mir’abedini 1380/2001). When asked why Austen’s works are placed next to Persian popular novels in Iran, Rezaei argues that “they have general readers in addition to specific readers, whereas it is unlikely to find Austen’s works next to Danielle Steel’s in bookshops outside Iran” (in Behpazhuh 1389/2010: 144).

According to the translator, the first few sentences of each translation are “the most sensitive parts. It is here that the translator’s strategy is unveiled. The translator decides what kind of tone and atmosphere should be transferred to readers so that they can enter the world of the novel” (in Akbari 1386/2007: 58). The translation of the first sentence by Rezaei is given below (1), followed by Mossaheb’s translation (2), (1336/1957). Back translations into English are also provided.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife. (1)

(1) Rezaei:

صغیر و کبیر فرض شان این است که مرد مجرد پول و پله دار قاعدتاً زن می خواهد.  
(۱۱)

The minor and the major assume that a wealthy, single man normally wants a woman.

(2) Mossaheb:

این حقیقت مورد قبول عموم است که هر مرد مجرد ثروتمندی ناگزیر باید نیازمند به ازدواج باشد.  
(۲۳)

This fact is accepted by all that every rich, single man should inevitably be in need of marriage.

Rezaei’s translation shows some degree of freedom from the source text. The clause “[i]t is a truth universally acknowledged” has been translated as *صغیر و کبیر فرض شان این است* [the minor and the major assume]. Although this is not an exact translation of the original, it makes use of *صغیر و کبیر* [the minor and the major] for “universally accepted,” which is in line with the translator’s strategy of using the language of today’s middle-class Iranians. *صغیر و کبیر* [the minor and the major] can have the same meaning as the original. For Rezaei, his translation

of the first sentence can create “an atmosphere that was in the mind of the author” while writing the novel. Mossaheb, on the other hand, tries to remain faithful to the structure of the original clause by translating it as *این حقیقت مورد قبول عموم است* [this fact is accepted by all].

As for the rest of the translation, we have provided below a comparison between Rezaei’s translation and Mossaheb’s to better understand the former’s strategy. The first Persian translation is from Mossaheb (1336/1957), the second from Rezaei’s (1387/2008), followed by their gloss in English:

- (1) You want to tell me, and I have no objection to hear it.

حالا که تو میل به گفتن داری، من هم مانعی در شنیدن نمی بینم.  
تو می خواهی به من بگویی. باشد، گوش می کنم.

Now that you want to tell me, and I see no obstacle in hearing.

You want to tell me. Fine, I will listen.

- (2) Uncertain temper

ملون المزاج  
خلق و خوی متغیر

In a colorful mood  
Changeable temper

- (3) Five grown-up daughters

پنج دختر دم بخت  
پنج تا دختر گنده

Five daughters of marriageable age  
Five grown-up daughters

Segments 1–3 are taken from the previous analysis in Chapter 4, and we have added segment 4 (below). We said in Chapter 4 that Mossaheb’s translation, which was published more than fifty years ago, shows some traces of Persian ornamental style. For example, she has chosen *ملون المزاج* for the English “uncertain temper.” It was mentioned that her translation is a borrowed equivalent from Arabic, and that less-educated Persian readers might have trouble understanding it. Rezaei’s translation, done in 1385/2006, almost half a century later, is very accurate and comprehensive for today’s Persian readership. The same can be said for segment 1. As regards segment 3, it can be argued that both translations are similar as they both convey the fact that marriage is associated with the physical and emotional growth of the girls.

- (4) I desire you will do no such thing. (2)

هفتاد سال سیاه هم که شده چنین کاری نکن.  
اصلا دلم نمی خواهد این کار را بکنی.

Do not do it even in a thousand years.  
I do not want you to do it at all.

In segment 4, Mossaheb's translation uses a Persian composite adverb and expression, هفتاد سال سیاه, which literally means "seventy black years." This is used by Persians to mean "never" with some degree of dislike. Rezaei's translation, however, is very close and lacks the emphasis found in Mossaheb's.

## Reviews

In this section we will draw on two reviews, one by Khazaefar (1386/2007a), published in *Motarjem*, and another one by Majid Eslami (1387/2008), an Iranian translator and critic, published on his weblog *Hafto-Nim*.

For Khazaefar, there are three reasons why Rezaei's translations are outstanding. First of all, the critic views the translations as "very accurate and readable to the extent that it is unlikely to imagine any publisher or translator wishing to translate and publish them within 50–100 years" (Khazaefar 1386/2007a: 64). Of course, not everyone agrees with the critic on this matter, since a retranslation is not always a response to a previous "accurate and readable" or deficient translation (see Berman 1995, Chesterman 2004). Second, the author denounces many Iranian critics for their "minimalistic" approach, that is, analyzing the translations in the light of their originals. The author argues that reviewers should look at a literary translation "as an independent text, in the framework of the Persian language and as a literary text" (ibid.: 65). This view reflects the fact that translation reviewers in Iran hardly move beyond the textual comparison, and fail to situate the translation within the broader field of publishing. Third, in a broader context that takes into account the publishing field, Khazaefar refers to years of debate about the necessity of translating classical literature into Persian, and he praises the translator for his "single-handed translation of one of the classical giants of literature [Austen]" (ibid.).

Interestingly enough, this first sentence received the harshest criticism in the second review. In his review of the translation, Eslami states:

Rezaei's recent translation of *Pride and Prejudice* could provide cheerful moments. Recently, we have read his excellent translations (Nabokov's *Prin* and *The Defense*, both published by Karnameh [Publishing]). However, my reading of the first sentences of the translation was so shocking that I gave up reading and did not wish to continue reading it even after the publication of the rest of the series.

(Eslami 1387/2008)

In our interview with Eslami, he argued that Rezaei's translations fail to convey Austen's "language." For Eslami, Austen's language is "rich like the language of the British Parliament," whereas Rezaei has simplified the language. The critic adds that "Austen's art lies in the fact that she has combined the language of women tattlers'

with that of the rich.” Both the critic and the translator approach the novel from the point of view of language. When the translator was asked about the reception of his translations of Austen, he said that, although he was satisfied with the general reception of the series, he realized that there was some “prejudice” against Austen’s language: “One of the strongest prejudices is that Austen writes in a lofty language. I can prove otherwise.” This might be due to what he did in the pre-translation phase, when he spent considerable time learning about the author, reading various reviews, and consulting a number of critical editions of Austen (see Akbari 1386/2007: 49).

The above reviews shed light on the reception of a translation from the point of view of reviewers. While Khazaeefar’s review is grounded in his position as a TS scholar, and his review is informed by the position of the translation within the Persian literary polysystem (the translation is well positioned), Eslami’s review is grounded in his position as a critic and a translator (he is also known for his reviews of films). However, because his point of departure is language, his horizon of expectation has been disappointed. This is in line with what we have covered in “Discourse” in Chapter 2, where we showed that concern for the Persian language has informed the reception of translations, though in a reductionist way.

### Analysis of the paratext

The study of the paratext of Rezaei’s translation comprises four subsections: an introduction; the translator’s introduction; an analysis of the cover page; and an analysis of the publisher’s promotional materials (Figure 21). We will also draw on our interviews with both the translator and the publisher.

#### *Introduction*

The translation of Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* was part of the translator’s plan to render a series of classics, written originally in English, preferably by a single author, as he told us in the face-to-face interview. After his consultation with Deyhimi, a prolific Iranian translator and editor, Rezaei decided to translate all of Austen’s novels into Persian. In their conversation, they both emphasized the importance of translating from English.

They approached Ney Publishing, one of the major publishing houses in Tehran. They received the publisher’s agreement despite the publisher’s initial “hesitation.” The publisher was concerned about the length of the project. Rezaei assumed the project would take three years. However, the translating itself “took four years” and the publication process of the whole series took “five years.”

The initial agreement included certain articles on payments to the translator and the translator’s deadline for submitting each title. The publisher agreed to pay



the monthly amount of three million rials to the translator (roughly equivalent to US\$518 in 1380/2001). The final settlement of the translator's royalty was set after the publication of the sixth volume, *Persuasion*. There was one major contract for the whole project, and each volume had a separate contract. In each contract, the translator extended the deadline for each volume by a period of two months to avoid the possibility of breaching the contract.

Austen's six novels were translated into Persian in the order of their original year of publication – *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Mansfield Park* (1814), *Emma* (1815), *Northanger Abbey* (1818), and *Persuasion* (1818). The publication dates for the Persian translations are as follows: *Sense and Sensibility* (1385/2006), *Pride and Prejudice* (1385/2006), *Mansfield Park* (1386/2007), *Emma* (1386/2007), *Northanger Abbey* (1388/2009), and *Persuasion* (1388/2009). As shown earlier in Table 11, Rezaei's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* has been published twelve times. As of May 2014, the publication frequency for the remaining novels is as follows: *Sense and Sensibility* (ten), *Mansfield Park* (eight), *Emma* (ten), *Northanger Abbey* (five), and *Persuasion* (seven).

According to the translator, the details of the project were not given to the Persian press (an example of the strategy of "hide and seek"); rather, the translator and publisher decided to disclose only general information that they were translating "Jane Austen" when they were asked by the press. This can be seen as an attempt to prevent anyone from carrying out similar projects at the same time.

### *Translator's introduction*

Rezaei's translation of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* has a table of contents, including an introduction and an index of names. In the introduction, the translator states that he has "based his translation" on the first edition of the book, published in 1813, and he has consulted the second edition that was published the same year with the "utmost care" (8). The text that the translator worked from, as introduced in the copyright page of the book, is an edition by W. W. Norton and Company, published in 2001.

The first page of the translator's introduction provides a short biography of Austen's life and works. On the second page, the translator highlights the popularity of Austen's novels and argues that her novels have entertained the readership with "increasing power and interest" (8). The translation of the title into Persian is also discussed by the translator. He argues that the correct Persian translation of "prejudice" is پیش داوری [prejudgment/prejudice]. However, he has decided to retain the previous title, غرور و تعصب [pride and prejudice], suggested by Mossaheb, the first translator of the novel into Persian, owing to the fact that the title has been adopted in Persian books, articles, reviews and films, and TV serials. The translator also shows his respect for the previous translator by adopting

her translation of the title, which might be also due to commercial reasons. Rezaei hopes the translation will be “of use to the devotees of literatures” in providing “encouragement to the translator and the publisher in translating and publishing of the rest of Austen’s novels” (8).

### *Analysis of the cover design*

The cover designs of translations can be an equally valid object of research as part of the paratextual materials. After all, they are the most observable feature of books where the name of the translator appears somewhere next to the name of the author and publisher. They can reveal the location, nationality, and international level of visibility of translators. They can also point to potential preferences of the readership, or show publishers’ strategies in marketing new authors and translators.

From the standpoint of the publishing industry, the cover designs of books are also significant. Smith, in his *A Guide to Book Publishing*, argued that “no matter how fine a cover design may be as a work of art all by itself, it is not proper for a book unless it tells right away what kind of book it is and *makes you want to pick up* when you see it in a bookshop or displayed on a rack” (1989:78, original emphasis). Although it is not yet clear whether there is any relation between the cover designs, type of books (original or translation), and sales of the books, they still remain valuable sources of data. Despite the general trend in the West, where the translator’s name is quite often missing from the cover design, in Iran the name has safely secured its place.<sup>5</sup>

The cover design shown in Figure 20 is, in fact, the dust jacket that goes over the cloth binding of the translation. The front cover of the design has five parts in a top-down order: the name of the author, apparently a picture of Jude Law, the title, the name of the translator, and the name and logo of the publisher. The back cover has three parts: the name of the book, a six-line introduction to the book taken from the translator’s introduction, and the publisher’s note about the rest of the Austen series. The main colors used for the dust jacket are amber for the base, light brown for the framework of the picture, and white for the name of author. The name of the author and the title make use of the *nasta’liq*, one of the main script styles in traditional Persian calligraphy.

The cover design of the Persian translation is in line with the rest of the publisher’s Austen series (see Figure 21). The choice of Persian *nasta’liq* for the title and the name of author are to give the book a classic look. It is likely that the publisher

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5. The visibility of celebrated literary translators in Europe is improving. For example, listen to one of The Guardian Book Podcast series between Aleksandar Hemon and Anthea Bell (*Guardian* 2010).

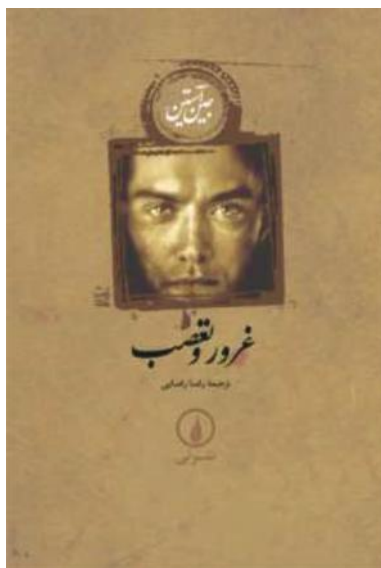


Figure 20. The cover page of Rezaei’s translation of *Pride and Prejudice*

<p><b>غرور و تعصب</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>غرور و تعصب محبوبترین رمان چین آستین و یکی از محبوبترین رمان‌های تاریخ ادبیات جهان است. همین رمان است که تاکنون بارها در چندین فیلم و سریال تلویزیونی اقتباس شده است. این رمان یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	<p><b>غرور و تعصب</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>غرور و تعصب محبوبترین رمان چین آستین و یکی از محبوبترین رمان‌های تاریخ ادبیات جهان است. همین رمان است که تاکنون بارها در چندین فیلم و سریال تلویزیونی اقتباس شده است. این رمان یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	<p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>این کتاب یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	
<p><b>نورنگار آبی</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>نورنگار آبی یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	<p><b>عقل و احساس</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>عقل و احساس یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	<p><b>مشیت‌بازارگ</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>مشیت‌بازارگ یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>	<p><b>ایا</b> چین آستین دفا زاتانی ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p>  <p>چین آستین ۱۳۸۴ هجری قمری - ۲۰۰۵ میلادی</p> <p>ایا یکی از بهترین و فصاحت‌آمیزترین و خودمانی‌ترین و آشنای‌ترین رمان‌های ادبیات جهان است. داستان این رمان در مورد یک دختر جوان به نام ایزابل است که با یک مرد ثروتمند و جاهل به نام فیرتز آشنا می‌شود. این دو نفر در طول رمان با هم درگیر می‌شوند و در نهایت با هم ازدواج می‌کنند.</p>

Figure 21. Austen’s novels as introduced in the catalogue of Ney Publishing

has consulted Mossaheb's translation that also used *nasta'liq* (see Figure 11). The Persian readership generally appreciates the "regularity, firmness, and graceful flourishes of nastaligh" that make it very pleasing to the eye (Yousefi 1990). The amber color, its coordination with light brown, and the selection of a familiar face with distinctive features are used to attract potential buyers, possibly Iranian women.

### *Analysis of the publisher's promotional materials*

The last section of the paratextual analysis looks at the publisher's catalogue to find out how the publisher has promoted the series.

The color catalogue, forty-seven pages in length, is entitled *Chap-e Avvaliha-ye Nashr-e Ney: Az Namayesh-gah-ye 86 ta Namayeshgah-ye 87* [first editions of Ney Publishing: from the book fair of 1386/2007 to 1387/2008].<sup>6</sup> On the top right, a short introduction is given about the author's life and her place in English literature. Under each title, a short summary of the novel is given. The names of the author and the translator are printed under each title using the same font size, followed by the total number of pages, the book format, and the price. These summaries have all appeared on the back covers of the book jackets. The whole series is published in hardback, unlike elsewhere, where generally all subsequent editions are in paperback. The publisher has used a unified design for the cover of the series, using different colors. While the cover page of *Pride and Prejudice* apparently bears the picture of Jude Law, a British actor, the rest of the titles all have pictures of women. Although we have not yet been able to find out why the publisher chose these pictures, in this case, it might be that the publication of the translation and the release of *Pride and Prejudice* (2005), a film by Joe Wright, were simultaneous, and someone at the publishing house thought Jude Law was in the film.

Given the above analysis of the cover design, it is clear that the publisher has paid meticulous attention to the epitext of the translation and the whole series (eye-catching dust jackets) to maximize the sale of the series. One of the points that both the translator and the publisher referred to in their interview was the fact they wanted the whole series to be "translated consistently and with a good, high quality." This, as they argued, could encourage readers to invest in the whole series.

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6. Tehran International Book Fair (TIBF) is the largest venue for Iranian publishers to present and sell their books. To date, the TIBF has been held twenty-seven times with more than 5.5 million visitors in 2011 (TIBF 2014).

## Discussion

On the level of decision, the translator is the title selector. The decision was not taken in isolation; rather he consulted a well-known agent of translation (with high symbolic capital) to reaffirm it. His agency is not limited to the selection, but as the above analyses showed, it was extended to negotiating the contract, preparing for the translation process, planning the daily routine of translating, working on different drafts of the translation to enhance the quality of the translation, publicizing the translation in the form of interviews with the press, and creating opportunities for theoretical reflection on literary translation.

The translator's stylistic preference in deciding to avoid the extensive use of footnotes and a long preface are also part of his agency on the level of decision. For Paloposki (2009: 191), this is part of the translator's paratextual agency. Compared with Mossaheb's fifteen-page introduction to her translation and her frequent use of footnotes (see Chapter 4), Rezaei's approach to minimizing his paratextual agency in the text might be revealing in two aspects. First, it is an answer to the growing middle class readership, which has called for accessible translations without textual distractions (a subject for another study). Second, it is a reaction to the so-called intellectual translations that have saturated the market, often of low quality and inaccessible to a wider audience. That said, it appears that the translator has compensated for that low-key profile with a more observable presence on the extratextual sublevel of context.

On the level of motivation, the second level in the three-tier model of agency, the translator was both culturally and linguistically motivated to produce new translations of English classic novels. This motive is in part a reaction to previous translations and a move toward the systematic translation of classics into Persian. While the former is a critique of quality, the latter is a realistic investment based on experience, consultation, and cooperation between all of the agents of translation involved.

On the level of context, various factors have increased the translator's agency. First is the range of interviews he has given on his translations. As mentioned above, he and the publisher did not disclose the details of the project to the press at the beginning. However, in the postproduction phase of the project, the translator was open to promoting the translations. The interviews he has given shows his selective criteria. Based on our research in the database of *magiran*, a Persian database of the Persian press, the first interview was conducted with the journal *Motarjem* (vol. 17, no. 46), in which the translator's photo appeared on the cover page.

The second interview was with the popular reformist daily *E'temad* [trust] and was published on May 30, 2009, in the "culture: literature" section. The interview

was carried out by the translator Ali Reza Keyvaninezhad, and it was conducted when the last title, *Persuasion*, was published. The interviewer informed us that he approached the translator because of his “neat and refined” translations of Austen. Arguing that translation in Iran is in a “chaotic state,” he found Rezaei’s translation to be of “good quality” (personal contact, June 26, 2011).

The third interview appeared in the monthly cultural magazine *Dastan-e Hamshahri*, which specializes in fiction, both translations from other languages into Persian and original Persian fiction. In all of these interviews, the translator spent a considerable time explaining his translation strategy, responded to the criticism, and demonstrated an awareness of theoretical issues in TS. In his response to Eslami’s critique, in which the translations were argued to have simplified Austen’s language, the translator called for attention to “tone and the general atmosphere of the translations, i.e. the critique of the translator’s strategy” (in Akbari 1386/2007: 59).

In addition to these interviews, in 1386/2007, a meeting at *Shahr-e Ketab*, a cultural center in Tehran, was held which brought together the translator, the editor of journal *Motarjem*, and Hooshang Rahnama, the translator of Leski’s *Jane Austen and her World* (1997). The meeting was entitled “The world of Jane Austen,” and Rezaei introduced Austen, the editor of *Motarjem* talked about “style in literary translations,” and Rahnama talked on the biography and translation (see *Khabgard* 1386/2007). Rezaei went on to give interviews on his new translation project relating to the works of the Brontës, which are also being published by Ney Publishing (see Akbari 1389/2011).

Several factors have constrained some aspects of his agency. The waiting time to receive permission by the publisher from the Ministry delayed the production of the translation, hence the execution of the contract. The translator could not secure his payment until the translation was published. On the textual sublevel, it is also conceivable to argue that the translator’s attempt to produce a readable, accessible translation with minimum textual distractions, the use of different editions, and intermediary translations have constrained his speed in meeting the deadline. However, they have arguably enhanced the quality of the translation.

Certain factors have also increased the translator’s agency in the pre- and post-translation phases. In the pre-translation process, given the general understanding that classic works face minimal or no censorship, the translator’s clever decision has increased his agency. In the post-translation phase, various interviews given by the translator and his contribution to the promotion of the translations, his role in speaking out, and publicizing his translations and explaining his methods and strategies, what Paloposki terms extratextual agency (2009: 191), have also increased his post-translation agency in terms of economic and symbolic capital.

The paratextual agency of the translator allowed him to demonstrate what we may call the conscious invisibility in the text. Conscious invisibility is the translator's preference for minimizing the use of footnotes and avoiding enthusiasm in translation. By the latter, we mean the translator's ability to control one's fascination of finding the equivalent that does not fit the context. For Rezaei, the text is the main factor in his textual agency. However, he sees himself in "the service of the original author" by preferring to be invisible to the readership: "I [the translator] should not be present in the translation."

Rezaei has continued to translate English classics for the publisher since our interview. For instance, he has translated two of Charlotte Brontë's novels, *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, and Anne Brontë's *Agnes Grey*, and a number of other books (for more on these translations, see *Shargh* 1391/2012). A recent development is that all of these translations are now available for purchase from the publisher's website and in the e-book format from Amazon.

### On the publisher's agency

Ja'far Homaei, the manager of Ney Publishing, grew up in a family that was no stranger to books. As a university student, he ran a small bookshop next to the university restaurant. Because of his involvement in political activities at the time, he was expelled from the university. He spent some time in the United States, but returned to Iran at the time of the Islamic Revolution. After trying his hands at journalism and working as the production manager of Amir Kabir (see Chapter 4), he obtained his undergraduate degree in Economics. In 1364/1985, he established Ney Publishing (Ney is the Persian word for "reed"; for more on the publisher, see Azarang and Dehbashi 1382/2003: 393–394).

Ney Publishing is generally known as a prestigious publisher in the Iranian publishing field because of its almost three decades of existence and the publication of more than 1,000 titles (including re-editions) at the time of the interview (March 2009). Moreover, Ney Publishing has secured its position as one of the five major private publishing houses by producing quality works in various fields, including sociology, economics, and anthropology.

Moreover, Homaei has been a member of the Board for the Purchase of Books of the Ministry. The committee, among others, selects books for purchase for Iranian public libraries. Homaei has criticized this method, arguing that it is fraught with corruption and nepotism. In 1386/2007, the publisher refused to sell his books that were selected for purchase (worth more than one hundred million rials, about US\$ 100,000). In his open letter to the Assistant Secretary for Cultural Affairs of the Ministry, he called the procedure "unjustified and suspicious because



of the preference it gives to state publishers and religious books versus private and non-religious books” (IBNA 1386/2007a). In his reply to Homaei, the assistant secretary argued that the selection process aims to “purchase suitable books regardless of the publisher” (for the full texts of both letters, see IBNA1386/2007a, IBNA 1386/2007b).

Translations make up more than 80 percent of Ney Publishing’s output. When we asked the publisher to what extent its recognition is due to translators, he answered, after a long pause, that some translators owe their “reputation” to the publisher, and some have “good taste” or “a brilliant mind” in suggesting proper titles for publication. By and large, he saw it as a “mutual relationship.”<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the Persian translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, the publication of Austen was “the most serious literary project” in its history. The publisher does not consider itself a “literary publisher” because it is not possible to develop this line of publishing “due to the problem of censorship.”

On the level of decision, the publisher’s agency was at the sublevel of meta-title. That is, it started from the acceptance of the project and continued through to the production and promotion of the translations. The manager of Ney Publishing has the highest level of agency in decision making over the acceptance or rejection of the projects. That is, although there is an institutional mechanism for evaluating submissions for possible publication, the final decision is left to the manager. Moreover, this publisher has been able to initiate many projects, inviting translators to work for the publisher. The publisher is also able to guarantee a monthly payment to a translator and the continuous flow of the project. Few publishers in Iran adopt such practices, due to their lack of sufficient funds.

On the level of motivation, the publisher provides two main reasons for publishing Austen. First, the project was recommended by Deyhimi, a key agent of translation in the publishing field in Iran. Deyhimi has translated many books, initiated a number of translation series, and, through networking, has introduced many translators to publishers. He has also edited translations, advised established and newly founded publishing houses, and has been approached by the Persian press as an Iranian intellectual. One such example is Mahi Publishing. Despite being a fledgling publisher, Mahi Publishing has secured relatively high credit among readers and publishers for its selections and high-quality publications. This, as the managing director informed us, was due to Deyhimi’s “free and valuable consultation” (personal interview with Vashu’i 1388/2009).

The second reason for Ney Publishing’s interest in the Austen project was because the publisher was confident that Austen, as a classic author, would not face

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7. All quotations from Homaei, unless stated otherwise, are from our interview.



ensorship. In a larger context, Homaei added that the censorship mechanism in Iran is imposed by delaying the permission for the books, heavy censorship, or deletion with no justification. As we mentioned above, permission for the translation of *Persuasion* was granted after nine months. The publisher wrote a letter to the Book Bureau saying that “there is nothing to be censored in the translation.” The publisher received permission after nine months, with no way of knowing whether his letter was ever read or had any weight on the decision.

On the level of context, censorship proved to constrain the agency of the publisher by forcing the publisher to wait for the permission. Although censorship is a key variable constraining the publisher’s agency, the publisher can make use of certain coping strategies. One strategy is to avoid books such as novels, which may face censorship. Classic novels are believed to be subject to the lowest or no degree of censorship in Iran. However, the publisher argues that there is a serious lack of “good” translators to translate the classics. Another strategy is to put pressure on the Book Bureau through continuous contacts or networking. An example of this is the case of the Persian translation of *The New Testament* by Piruz Sayyar (see *Motarjem* 1388/2009). Faced with a long delay, the publisher contacted a former Parliament speaker in order to receive the permission. It was granted one and a half years after the submission of the translation.

By providing an account of the translator’s and publisher’s profiles, the background of translation, and textual and paratextual analyses, our case study has revealed several points about the translator’s and publisher’s agency. First, on the level of decision, the translator was the title selector, though the decision was made through consultation with a recognized agent of translation. The translator also exercised his agency on the meta-title level, that is, stylistic preferences for the translation, avoiding extensive footnotes, and discussing his royalty preferences. The publisher’s agency on this level was on the meta-title sublevel: acceptance of the project, negotiating the royalties, and designing the physical format and promotional materials. The translator’s motivation is shown to be both linguistically and culturally oriented, that is, retranslation of an English classic novel using the current Persian language. The publisher’s motivation was nonetheless twofold: confiding in the discretion of a recognized agent of translation and the low risk of censorship for classic works. On the level of context, censorship in the form of waiting for permission constrained the agency of both the translator and the publisher, whereas the translator’s stylistic preferences for conscious invisibility arguably constrained his textual agency in terms of time. However, as the analyses point out, he compensated for it with increased visibility in the postproduction phase.

### *The War of the End of the World*

This case study looks at agency in the translation and production of Mario Vargas Llosa's *The War of the End of the World* (1984), translated by Abdollah Kowsari and published by Agah Publishing in 1379/2000 in Tehran, Iran. This book is selected for three reasons. First, Latin American literature has been popular in Iran because, among others, the readership can identify the social themes of the novels with those of modern Iranian society (see Purshang 1385/2006). This is despite the fact that these translations, for the most part, have been made indirectly, that is, from English rather than from the original Spanish. Second, the translator was awarded the IABP, and he is known as one of the key literary translators in Iran. Third, the author knew the translator during his years at the journal *Motarjem*, and this helped our research. Both the translator and the publisher of the Persian translation were interviewed. In this case study, we will not analyze the text of the translation; rather, we are more concerned about their agency not only in their work on this particular translation but in the larger context of the publishing field. We had two meetings with the translator, in January 2008 and March 2009, in Mashhad, Iran (for the list of questions, see Appendix 5). The interview with the publisher was also conducted in two periods: by e-mail and telephone in May 2008 (Appendix 6) and a second face-to-face interview in April 2009 in his office in Tehran.

#### Profile of the translator

Abdollah Kowsari (b. 1946), at the time of the interview, had translated twenty-four literary works from English into Persian, mostly novels and plays, as well as nonfiction works in the fields of politics and economics at the start of his career as a translator. As a literary translator, he published many works by well-known Latin American authors: *Conversation in the Cathedral*, *Death in the Andes*, *The Feast of the Goat*, and *Who Killed Palomino Molero?*, all by Mario Vargas Llosa; *The Old Gringo*, *Aura*, and *Change of Skin* by Carlos Fuentes; *Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas* by Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis; and *Konfidenz* by Ariel Dorfman, as well as a few other titles. It should be noted here that Latin American literature is generally translated from English rather than Spanish or Portuguese. The reason is the lack of professional, Spanish-to-Persian or Portuguese-to-Persian translators in Iran. Kowsari received his BA in Economics in 1969 from Melli University in Tehran and spent one year in England to improve his English. He had worked in a number of cultural institutions as a translator and editor in pre-Revolution Iran when he published his first nonliterary translation in 1973. Two years after the 1978 Islamic Revolution, he resigned from his official job and devoted himself to translation. After his marriage in 1985, he moved to Mashhad, the second largest city

in Iran, published his first literary translation, Carlos Fuentes's *Aura* in the same year, and has lived and translated there since. He has no children, and translation is his only source of income.

Kowsari has received the IABP for his translations three times: in 2000 for his translation of Vargas Llosa's *The War of the End of the World*, in 2004 for his translation of Machado de Assis's *Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas*, and in 2007 for his translation of Isaiah Berlin's *The Roots of Romanticism*. In 2007, he also received the Iranian literary prize, *Ruzi Ruzegari*, for his collection of literary translations. Kowsari himself has been a committee member for other Iranian literary prizes, notably the IABP. He has no official training in translation or editing. However, he has given lectures on Latin American literature in Iran.

As Kowsari stated in his interviews with us (January 2008, March 2009), his *habitus* played an important role in directing him toward translation. From the early stages of his life, he became familiar with Persian literature through the works of such great poets as Sa'di, Ferdowsi, and Hafiz. He came from a literary family – his father knew poems by heart and never stopped reading books, and his sister studied English at university – and this helped him to develop an interest in Persian literature. He enjoyed reading the translated literary works of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and many other European novelists popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Iran. Kowsari highlights the effect of a literary magazine of the time, *Ketab-e Mah* [the book of the month], in directing him and many others towards literature. He then developed an interest in poetry. He published his poems in literary journals, and in 1994, his favorite publisher, Agah Publishing, published his collection of poems. For Kowsari, reading the Persian translations of distinguished literary translators of the time, such as Reza Seyyed Hoseini, Daryabandari, Shahrokh Meskoob, and Abolhasan Najafi, translators of some of the classic texts from English and French into Persian, was very helpful, and he learned a lot from them. Kowsari, like many other Iranian intellectuals, has a nostalgic feeling for the 1960s in Iran. This was a time when many literary figures were at the peak of their careers, and literary translation flourished (see Boroujerdi 1996: 42–51, Gheissari 1998).

Kowsari sees translation as “indispensable” for all cultures, without which they are condemned to obliteration. The selection of works for translation is based on his own discretion. However, he benefits from interaction with his friends through the Internet. When asked about how he selects novels from English for translation, he maintains that he “should first approve the book and find its translation necessary and pleasurable, and in addition to its novelty, it is important to know whether it is publishable, and if there is a need for a translation that can benefit our literature.” Kowsari obtains his books for translation through his relatives who live outside Iran. He maintains that, except for some of his translations in the field of economics and politics, he has never accepted publishers' suggestions for

translations. He also admits that the popularity of some novels in the West has encouraged some Iranian literary translators to adopt those novels for translation. However, he stresses that he follows his own interest when translating.

Given the fact that literary agents as they are known in the West do not exist in Iran, Kowsari argues that his interaction with his publishers is “direct,” and translators usually offer their translations to their favorite publishers. He tells us that he has not thought about the role of literary agents, but, based on his experience, he believes that “generally mediators in Iran, this not being their main job, have never had a positive effect and have just been claimants and over-chargers.” He has “occasional” contacts with some of the authors he has translated into Persian, like Vargas Llosa and Dorfman, and he has sent copies of his translations to Vargas Llosa’s address. Many Iranian translators send copies of their Persian translations to the original authors, apparently as a symbolic attempt to show their respect, and showing their lack of power with regard to copyright. As stated earlier, Iran is not yet a signatory to the UCC (1952) nor to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886).

There is a meaningful relationship between Bourdieu’s classification of different kinds of capital (economic and symbolic) and the priority Kowsari gives to each of them. He shares the common idea of Iranian authors and translators that their work is mainly a reflection of their love of literature. However, he believes that “if Iranian translators produce quality work, they normally earn a reputation, credibility and money.” He feels that translation is “a cultural activity whose main capital is aptitude and knowledge” and maintains that without these two types of capital, a translator is not able to present a good translation. However, if translators combine their “aptitude and knowledge” with a good selection of titles for translation, Kowsari argues that they are most likely to obtain credit, or symbolic capital. And if the book turns out to be a best seller, there is a natural increase in economic capital. He stresses the fact that maintaining one’s position in the literary field needs both “perseverance and at least ten to fifteen years of work.” He extends this to other fields as well and sees no difference between its mechanism in pre- and post-Revolution Iran.

In terms of the characteristics of translation in pre-Revolution era, Kowsari refers to the smaller number of translators in pre-Revolution Iran and argues that a number of translators in pre-Revolution era were following certain political ideologies, “whose translations did not have a considerable impact on Persian literature.” One of the main features of translation in this period, he argues, is that there were very few translators who made a living from their translations, not even prolific translators like Qazi, and most of them combined translation with other professions. For example, Qazi, the translator of Cervantes, worked for the Ministry of Finance. Kowsari is of the opinion that, in post-Revolution era, the number of

“professional translators” like him is greater than before, since most of them have left cultural centers such as universities and state cultural institutions, or were expelled (see “Cultural Revolution” early in this chapter), and they, therefore, turned seriously to translation: “We had to compensate for lots of deficiencies in translation which needed more time. And I should add that some translators like me are more persistent in our work.” By “deficiencies” here he refers to both the quality of translations, which are seen as unsatisfactory, and the lack of Persian translations of many of the world’s great philosophical and classical works.

But what characterizes literary translation, according to Kowsari, is that the translation situation cannot be separated from the overall situation of culture endorsed by the cultural policy of the Islamic Revolution. As regards the role of the government, Kowsari argues that,

[w]e have witnessed the multilateral interference of government in culture, and it is not just limited to censorship. Problems such as establishing state publishers in every ministry and department, importing paper and securing the monopoly of importing paper are the burden on publishing in general. (Cf. Milton 2001, on the problem of importing paper in Brazil, and Milton 2008, on the role of economic factors in translation publication)

According to Kowsari, censorship in post-Revolution era is not only enforced by the government; rather “the whole cultural milieu is affected by censorship, thus restricting translators.” He refers to the fact that, in Iran, culture can be controlled by more hands than the Ministry. As a result, there have been cases where certain titles that had already obtained publication permission from the Ministry could not be reprinted due to some other kind of intervention, usually due to opposition by the so-called conservatives, who consider some translations to be opposed to their Islamic ideology. This has created problems for their authors and/or translators.

Kowsari distinguishes three groups of literary translators working side by side in the post-Revolution era: the older generation or the masters, such as Daryabandari and Seyyed Hoseini; his own generation; and the younger generation, some of whom are not aware of the intricacies of Persian and have not had an adequate education.<sup>8</sup> In other words, according to Kowsari, these translators subscribe to literal translation, and their lack of linguistic skills in Persian results in nonaccessible translations (see Chapter 2). He generalizes the latter point to

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8. Seyyed Hoseini (1926–2009) is best known for his translations from French of André Malraux’s *Antimémoires* and Albert Camus’s *La peste*. Kowsari’s generation of translators may include Mir’alayī (1942–1995) and Mehdi Ghabraee (b. 1945), the prolific translator of such works as V. S. Naipaul’s *A House for Mr. Biswas* and H. Murakami’s *Kafka on the Shore*. Among the younger generation of Iranian translators, the translations of Rezaei and Mozhdeh Daqiqi have proved to be successful, both of whom we cover in this book.

many other translators and accuses them of being copyists: “they are waiting for a translator to choose a writer, and then they promptly select his other books to translate.” For Kowsari, many post-Revolution Iranian publishers lack competence and are not acquainted with books, therefore “worthless books are published, while many invaluable ones are ignored since their authors are not known.”

What is more important than copyright for Kowsari is that translators should develop “professional ethics in translation.” He is not hopeful that Iran’s accession to one of the international copyright conventions would solve the translation problems in Iran, such as the simultaneous publication of a single title by both unskilled and skilled translators. Approving Iran’s need for accession, he calls for educated publishers who will not publish based only on what they are offered by translators. This call reflects a growing trend among Iranian literary translators and publishers towards professionalism, not only in the selection, translation, and production of literary translations, but also in securing a readership (i.e., readers who buy books), which as our overview earlier in this chapter has shown, and growing evidence testifies, is arguably decreasing these days.

### Translating *The War of the End of the World*

The reason for translating Vargas Llosa’s novel *The War of the End of the World* (Figure 22), according to Kowsari, beyond his personal interest in Vargas Llosa’s works and the fact that he had already translated his *Conversation in the Cathedral*, is that *The War of the End of the World* has “high literary value and it touches upon the encounter of modernism and tradition and the misunderstanding of its effects on a scattered and poor society.” He thinks this is of interest to Iranians as well, an assertion that can be based on the positive reception of the translation, as he states (see e.g., Farhadpur 1378/1999).

The translation and its rereading took one year, during which he did not do anything else “except some editing.” As regards his royalty payments for the translation, Kowsari received sixteen million rials for the first print of the book in 1998, roughly corresponding to US\$1,700 (see the translation contract and its back translation in Appendix 7). The translation has been reprinted nine times so far, and he has received 15 percent of the cover price for each reprint (see Table 13). It should be noted here that the translator receives his royalty whenever the translation is reprinted by the publisher, depending on the print run.

A look at the translation flow in Table 13 shows that the print run of the translation started with 3,300 copies in its first edition, dropped to 2,000 in its second edition, and stayed at 1,100 copies afterwards. This implies that although average readership has dropped to 1,100, the book has secured a fixed readership because there is a continuous demand for new print runs. The second edition, after the



Figure 22. The cover page of Kowsari’s translation of *The War of the End of the World*

translator won the IABP, did not change either. This is despite the fact that the price of the book increased from 37,000 rials in 1379/2000 to 180,000 rials in 1390/2011, a 386 percent increase in the cover price. Nonetheless, inflation during the period from 2000 to 2010 had dropped from 16 percent to 11.8 percent in 2010 (indexmundi 2011). The last edition of the translation shows that the price doubled in just one year.

Kowsari did not have any specific contact with Vargas Llosa during his translation, or with Helen R. Lane, the translator of the novel from Spanish to English. As stated above, with very few exceptions, Latin American books in Iran are translated from their English translations into Persian and not from Spanish. Nonetheless, on the back cover of the subsequent editions, the original title appeared in English

Table 13. Translation history of the Persian translation of *The War of the End of the World* (IBH 2014, and personal contact with the translator)

Edition	Year of publication	Print run	Cover price (Iranian rials)	Total pages
1	1379/2000	3,300	37,000	919
2	1382/2003	2,000	69,000	919
3	1383/2004	1,100	69,000	922
4	1386/2007	1,100	85,000	922
5	1387/2008	1,100	120,000	920
6	1389/2010	1,100	150,000	922
7	1390/2011	1,100	180,000	922
8	1391/2012	1,100	220,000	924
9	1392/2013	1,100	420,000	922



and not in Spanish. Kowsari maintains that he already had some familiarity with the history of Brazil, where the novel is set, and he did not have any particular problem translating the novel, although some book reviews were of great help to him in getting close to the story. Kowsari consulted the *Encyclopedia Americana* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* when faced with historical problems.

With respect to his interaction with Agah Publishing, Kowsari stresses that he has been a friend of the managing director for the past twenty years. The publisher consults him about the publication of books in general, and Kowsari has total confidence in him. Kowsari argues that he usually does not accept offers to translate literary works. He also tells us that the publisher did not give him any instruction about the translation of *The War of the End of the World*.

As regards any possible censorship of the novel on his part, Kowsari argues that he “had to adapt the text sometimes, but generally these cases were not many, because the novel in general does not need censorship, so to speak.” Because the translation was published in 1379/2000, he could not remember whether the translation faced any state censorship by the Ministry. He was not able to provide examples of the adaptations, but it can be assumed that they are the common cases of adaptations in Iran, which were previously mentioned in the “Overview” at the beginning of this chapter.

Kowsari states that none of his translations have been linguistically edited; rather, he himself reads the translation once or twice, and sometimes consults his friends. He also points out that, while he gives the first handwritten manuscript to the publisher, he believes that rereading the proof of his translation is “necessary” before submitting it to the publishers. As usual, he checks the proofs before the translation is published.

Kowsari argues that the translation of Vargas Llosa’s *The War of the End of the World* was well received, as is clear from the number of reprints, the e-mails he has received from readers, and the personal talks he has had with his readers. A number of reviews of his translation have also been published. Kowsari thinks that good reviews can encourage the translator. Finally, he states that many Iranian publishers ask him to translate for them, especially Latin American novels.

## Discussion

Kowsari is a literary translator, a consecrated member of the field of cultural production, who has translated “quality” novels (not necessarily best sellers, though many of them have turned out to be so) in post-Revolution era. His translations of Latin American authors have mostly sociological themes, thus he reflects on translation as a medium for expressing his sociocultural concerns as a translator who has struggled to reach a compromise between the literary and commercial logic



of the publishing field. While he admits that his agency as a translator of novels in post-Revolution era is primarily concerned with and maintained by symbolic capital, he, as a full-time literary translator, confirms the importance of economic capital, though he argues that the accumulation of symbolic capital is a prerequisite for the accumulation of economic capital. This is in line with what is at stake in the field: social agents are in competition with each other and, as such, they need to accumulate various kinds of capital in order to find a position for themselves in the field.

His translations indicate a translation policy highly informed by the clever or coping strategies that he has adopted to translate certain novels, and this has, in turn, brought him both symbolic and economic capital. Some of his strategies include the careful selection and translation of novels that face little or almost no state censorship, and the limitation of his selection to Latin American literature, which is popular in Iran. He has been doing this in a country where there is a general understanding that reading levels are low and books do not sell, and the cultural policy of the post-Revolution era, reflected in the practice of the Ministry, normally tends to inhibit the translation of novels.

The interview with Kowsari shows that the *habitus* of the translator is important in shaping one's career as a literary translator. The milieu he grew up in and an early familiarity with Persian literature and English novels formed his *habitus*, the effects of which are reflected in his long-term occupation as a literary translator. His *habitus* has been both durable in terms of his long-term occupation as a literary translator and transposable through his practice as a literary editor and his emerging role as an expert on Latin American literature in Iran.

In the absence of literary agents in Iran, Kowsari highlights the fact that literary translators function as "tastemakers" for publishers and readers. This seems to be a general tendency in Iran. However, in the case of Kowsari's translation of *The War of the End of the World*, a contradiction exists between what the translator and the publisher say. The publisher tells us that he asked Kowsari to translate the novel, while Kowsari argues that he usually does not accept any offers to translate literary works. He also confirms that his selection of works for translation is very personal. He informed us that he did not have any contact with Vargas Llosa or with Helen R. Lane, the translator of the novel from Spanish into English.

Kowsari confirms that the cultural policy of the post-Revolution era endorsed by the Ministry is one of the key variables that have constrained the publication of novels in translation. This is reflected in his generalization of censorship to society as a whole and the fact that the publication of books can be controlled by more agents than the Ministry, which may not find the books in line with its political or religious interests. As regards literary prizes, Kowsari confirms that the IABP, as one of the reflections of cultural policies in the post-Revolution era, has

increased his symbolic capital (from this follows that his economic capital has also increased). Therefore, it seems that the cultural policy of the post-Revolution era can have a contradictory nature in both increasing and constraining the agency of literary translators. In the interview, Kowsari indicated that he has received good royalty payments for his translation: 15 percent of the cover price for each sale is generally considered to be an appropriate price for translation in Iran. However, not all Iranian literary translators enjoy the same loyalty or have the same symbolic capital as Kowsari.

### Portrait of the publisher

Hosein Hoseinkhani was born in 1937 in Tehran and has a BA in Management from Tehran University, an MA in International Management from Columbia University in the United States, and a degree in International Banking from the American Banking Institute. He worked for the previously mentioned Franklin/Tehran for a period in pre-Revolution era and considers that period to have been his training in publishing.

Hoseinkhani worked in a bank before his return to Iran from the United States in 1971, and he continued to work in a bank in Iran. At the same time, he co-founded Agah Publishing in 1971, with the help of his brother, who became the production manager (and was later killed in 1980 during political unrest in Iran) and Bakhshi, who was a bookseller for Nil Publishing in Tehran. Hoseinkhani served as the managing director of three banks in the first two years after the Islamic Revolution, and worked part time for his publishing house. In 1980, he resigned from his position in the bank because, as he puts it, he “was weary of working in a bank.” In addition, the new publishing house had a good financial status and could offer him a monthly salary. From then on, he has devoted himself to publishing, as he “had been interested in publishing from his youth.” His motivation in becoming a publisher was also an attempt to enrich the general cultural level of Iranian society, which he considered to be “poor” at the time.

Agah Publishing, at the time of the interview, had published around 2,000 titles, two-thirds of which are translations. It has published more than 300 literary works from English, French, and German, and a few titles from Italian and Spanish. The publishing house has thirty-four salaried staff (twenty-two in the bookshop, twelve in the production and editing section). Depending on different projects, for example, during the time a Persian dictionary was in process, the publishing house has employed additional staff for short periods as well. During the presidency of President Khatami (1997–2005), the Ministry used to order books from Agah Publishing, at most 200 copies, but since then, it has stopped. The Persian

translation of *The War of the End of the World* has never featured in the orders from the Ministry.

Agah Publishing has a group of “editors” who advise the publisher on the selection of works for publication. They are multilingual and familiar with Persian literature. Some of them are salaried staff, and some work on the basis of a written agreement. Hoseinkhani stresses that the editors usually suggest books for translation to translators. He highlights Kowsari’s fame as a translator, since “he is the best translator of Latin American literature and has published valuable translations so far.” The publisher tells us that he has been insisting that Kowsari translate Carlos Fuentes’ *Terra Nostra* into Persian, but Kowsari has refused:

He is doubtful about the translation. He is right anyway. He has to spend a year or two on a translation when it is not clear if it will be publishable or not, even if we paid all his royalties for translation. All translators like to see their work published, not to accumulate them in our archive of unauthorized books, of which we have a lot. (Interview with Hoseinkhani, May 2008)

As regards the role of literary prizes in increasing the publisher’s capital, Hoseinkhani tends to associate them with political agendas. He refers to the *Mehregan*, a literary prize organized and awarded by a book distribution company in Iran called *Peka*, which represented fewer than seventy private Iranian publishing houses. Arguing that the prize had a remarkable effect on the sale of selected works, Hoseinkhani believes that it later deviated from its principles because some people have managed to “dilute its significance.” In our second interview with him (March 2009), he added that *Peka* deviated from its key aim, that is, creating a national book distribution system, by investing in real estate. *Peka* went bankrupt, despite its initial success, and the *Mehregan* prize was not awarded for some years afterward. It appears that the prize is now privately supported.

Hoseinkhani also refers to the *Yalda* literary prize, another nonstate award that is influential in increasing book sales. Hoseinkhani expresses doubt about the role of the IABP in increasing book sales, and argues that “sometimes it has had a reverse effect on books.” He also told us in a short telephone conversation that he wished the Persian translation of *The War of the End of the World* had not received the best translation prize of the IABP. In our recent interview, he argued that this prize has a reverse effect on book sales, especially fiction. He added that “the readership assumes that the organizers give the award to neutral books.” In other words, the prize indicates that the book does not contain anything regarded as taboo by the Iranian authorities.

In his short answer to our question about the supportive policies of the Ministry for Iranian publishers, such as providing subsidized paper, Hoseinkhani only recalls a time when around two years ago his publishing house and 160 other

private publishing houses in Iran published a manifesto addressed to the government declaring that they did not need subsidized paper any more. He refers to Iranian journalists who were surprised at this motion, as they could not believe “our rationale.” Hoseinkhani says that once the journalists found out about the declaration, they “could not or did not want to report it.” He gives an example of how an unsubsidized ream of paper (one that can be purchased on the free market) has to be bought at three times the subsidized price. Two years after our first interview with the publisher, the state subsidies for paper were cut, a movement that has been welcomed by established, professional publishers like Ney Publishing and Agah Publishing, and by translators like Rezaei and Kowsari. They see it as an opportunity for the revival of the publishing field in two aspects: the elimination of many of the so-called pseudopublishers, and enhancing both the quality of translations and the royalties of translators. The book market is now undergoing a transition, with some publishers trying to figure out how to survive in the field (see *Khabar-Nameh-ye Sanat-e Nashr* 1389/2011).

For Hoseinkhani, the greatest problem facing publishing in Iran today is,

censorship and the practice of a particular kind of cultural policy that reflects the declining ideology of the most underdeveloped layers of Iranian society. This particular practice, using all the necessary means at hand, has been generalized across society as a whole.

In addition, the publisher distinguishes between censorship practices in pre- and post-Revolution Iran. The so-called “left literatures,” that is, books written by Marxist authors, were heavily censored in the pre-Revolution period. For example, Hoseinkhani recalls how translators and publishers alike used to avoid censorship by referring to “one of the greatest thinkers of social science” instead of saying “Marx.” However, he sees the years under President Ahmadinezhad as “the harshest period of censorship for Iranian publishers.” He recalls one problem they faced with censorship. The publisher submitted the Persian translation of Muriel Barbery’s *L’élégance du hérison* (2006) for permission. The censor at the Book Bureau of the Ministry requested the deletion of a section of the book that described women’s clothing. Hoseinkhani recounts that they changed the names of the clothes to other names such as “veil,” and “*mantu*,” a rather long, loose dress popular for women in Iran. However, the permission was not issued. The translation was finally published in 1388/2009. We have no information on whether these parts were censored or not in the final translation.

The Persian translation of *The War of the End of the World* appears to have been at the publisher’s suggestion, even though Kowsari maintains that he does not accept the publisher’s suggestions. Hoseinkhani borrowed the book from Kowsari to read, and after a while, he asked Kowsari if he was willing to translate

it. According to Hoseinkhani, the translator expressed his doubts on the grounds that the book was voluminous and it would face censorship. The publisher sent his signed contract to the translator. Hoseinkhani maintains that the translation was offered to the Ministry at the right time. Except for the publisher's prescribed style sheet, the translation was not edited, as the publisher trusts the translator, who has sometimes edited for the publisher.

This case study shows that, on the level of decision, both the translator and the publisher claimed to be the title selector. What is more certain, however, is that the decision must have been reached jointly: the publisher borrowed the novel from the translator to read, and despite the translator's concerns relating to possible censorship and the voluminous size, the publisher asked for the translation. On the level of motivation, both the translator and the publisher pointed to the social themes of the novel and its possible connection to Iranian society. They also viewed the book as a significant literary work meriting translation. On the level of context, both interviewees conceived of censorship and the cultural policies of the post-Revolution era as effective factors constraining and sometimes increasing their agency. One example provided by both interviewees was the contradictory nature of the IABP for literary translations: increasing the symbolic capital of both the translator and the publisher, though the publisher claimed that the nature of the prize might have discouraged his readership, a claim which is hard to believe given the fact the translation has been published nine times so far (Table 13).

## Women translators

### Introduction

So far, our case studies have looked at three men translators and only one woman translator. To arrive at a more balanced analysis, we will now look at more of the latter.

The publishing field in Iran has attracted as many women as men. They have translated and published a considerable number of books, including literary works, either as translators or as publishers. Their practice, as we will see in this case study, highlights their visibility not only in the field of publishing, but also in the broader issue of women's role in Iran, despite some belief that women in Iran are rather powerless and have no agency. For example, women publishers in Iran, which we do not address here and deserve further research, have performed key roles in the field and have expressed their concerns about various issues, including the publishing field and censorship (see e.g., Lahiji 1387/2008). In addition, although there is a considerable number of women translators who are very active, translating

children's literature (one study reports that they favor it above other genres, see Qorbani, Rahimi, and Tabrizi 1390/2011), there are also a considerable number of women translators who are actively engaged in the publishing field and above all in translating novels from English.

Similar to men translators, women translators have tried to make symbolic capital out of translations. For example, a translator like Farzaneh Taheri has produced no less quality works and even more works than her late author, Golshiri, and has been engaged in various practices. For instance, she was the only Iranian women translator invited to give a talk at the Waltic Congress in 2008 in Stockholm (see Taheri 1387/2008).

Another example is her recent retranslation of Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, published in 1388/2009, which is exemplary of a rather distinctive approach in literary translation in Iran. This approach has three features: first, it is practiced by those who prioritize their cultural role over translatorial one. Second, in terms of translation product, they write long introductions, annotate the translation heavily, and produce a translation that is not inaccurate but often too literal. Finally, working from the dialectic of responsibility and/or accuracy, their translation is done in often self-professed cooperation with various individuals dispersed across time and space. By way of illustration, Taheri's retranslation has 435 pages while a similar full-length translation by the second translator, which we will cover later in this section, has only 240 pages. It starts with a Persian translation of Woolf's introduction to her first US edition published in 1928 (the scanned copy of the original was sent by "a young friend" who in turn obtained it from the British Library), and Woolf's full biography and timeline in Persian and a map of Mrs. Dalloway's London. Forty-three pages of the translator's endnotes also appear after the translation, yet to be complemented with the Persian translation of David Bradshaw's "Introduction" to the Oxford new edition (2000), and of Merry M. Pawlowski's introduction to the Wordsworth edition (1996), and a selected English bibliography, among others. The readership then reads translation not for entertainment but for its added symbolic value, one from the translator with high symbolic capital and one from the translation itself (for more on the translation, see Zahed 1389/2010). Do other women translators in Iran, especially literary translators, follow this approach?

The answer to above question might be found in the case study that follows. The three translators chosen for this case study took part in the earlier survey we covered in the chapter and they agreed to sit for in-depth interviews. These three translators lived in Tehran at the time of the interviews in Spring 2010, and the interviews were conducted in Persian. We knew the first translator because of our reading of her translations and had had a previous short interview with her at the time we were working for the Persian translation journal *Motarjem*. We had also

read some of the translations of two other translators. The first two translators are typical of women translators who translate in post-Revolution era, because as we will show later, the path they have taken in their practice of translation is not very different from that of younger generation of women translators, whom we are not covering here. However, reference will be made to them where necessary. The third translator can be somehow atypical in that she has kept a very low profile and has not translated as much as the first two. We are not also concerned here with women translators who work as nonliterary translators who otherwise deserve equal inquiry.

### Mozhdeh Daqiqi

The first translator in this case study, Mozhdeh Daqiqi, was born in 1956, has an undergraduate degree in Political Sciences, and lives in Tehran. She started translation from English for the Persian press and gradually found herself working as an editor for publishers. Soon editing became her main source of income. Years later, having established contact with influential individuals, that is, famous translators, publishers, critics, and so on, working for one major publisher, and completing some courses in editing, she started translating short stories from English.

Translation of short stories from foreign languages, mainly from English, has historically provided material for the Persian press. In addition to the general readership, which often finds these stories entertaining and informative, the avid readers look for possible models in their attempts at writing short stories in Persian. The exact impact of these translations on the development of Persian short stories and equally Persian novels, and their position in the Persian literary polysystem, needs further study. The findings then can be compared with a recent study that found the Persian novel in a peripheral position, suffering from the critical discourse and faulty networks applied to its distribution in the world literatures (see Azadibougar 2014).

After translating three Sherlock Holmes stories at the request of a publisher, which planned to publish the whole series in Persian, Daqiqi translated a collection of six short stories, which all appeared originally in various North American literary magazines. The selections were made by the translator, and what seemed to be the preliminary norm (Toury 1995) was the fact that they were all prize-winning short stories, and as such they would have some quality. For example, the story that gave the collection its title in Persian was Lorrie Moor's *People Like That Are the Only People Here*, appeared first in *The New Yorker*, January 27, 1997. The rest of the authors were likewise prizewinning authors. The operational norm for the translator was to make sure the stories would not face censorship, and the publisher would not risk publishing a book with no sales. The translation has



been reprinted four times, the total print run in all the editions being 5,500 copies. Except for Steven King, whose works are known to the Persian readership, the rest of the authors were being translated for the first time. Because of this, the translator was concerned about their reception in Iran, given the fact that many of them were full-length stories that would not fit the few pages available for them in the Persian literary magazines. The translator's agency here was at the level of decision, operative insofar as it observed the undefined redlines of the Ministry, which are generally known by Iranian agents of translation. The translator's concerns about the possible sale of the translation were also at work. However, the assurance given to her by some consecrated member of the publishing field, including the publisher's realistic estimate, seemed to increase her agency. Of course, as elsewhere, the tradeoff of various capitals were and are at work in translation and publishing in Iran; however, in the latter case, some agents of translation often tend to mask their practice (i.e., motivations for translation and the amount of economic capital gained) with altruistic if not sweet talks, the unraveling of which is ethically and professionally challenging, if not impossible.

The motivation of the translator, as stated in her introduction to the translation, is said to be "sharing the pleasure of reading good stories with [Persian] readership" (Daqiqi 1379/2000: 9). Nevertheless, it seems plausible to say that the translator was distancing herself from the obscurity of working as a nonliterary translator and editor (often with slightly higher rates of pay) to a more visible level of literary translation (with an average of lower rates at the outset, but a higher symbolic capital and pay along the way). Although the translator here opts for an alternative position, there is hardly any cast-iron guaranty that she would remain unchallenged, or would not trade part of her symbolic capital for economic one. For example, in a recent communication, the translator informed us that because of the strict policies of the Ministry, the high prices of the books, and the lower print runs, she was translating more for the Persian press, preferring to keep her translations for future publication (personal communication, October 21, 2012). A similar strategy was shared in our interview with an Iranian women translator who lives in exile.

Daqiqi has published seven more short story collections, including the works of Isaac Bashevis Singer and Alice Munro, in all of which the selections were made by herself using a similar approach, that is, finding original stories in various literary magazines, literary collections, anthologies, and so on. Beyond the operational norms at work mentioned earlier, the translator had difficulty in finding stories that were not too far from the Persian social and cultural norms: "often the cultural terms and the atmosphere of the stories are too unfamiliar for the Iranian readership to translate properly" (Daqiqi 1387/2008: 113). Daqiqi's translations are not



limited to short stories. She has translated novels such as Kazuo Ishiguro's *When We were Orphans*, in 1381/2002, and Aravind Adiga's *White Tiger*, in 1389/2010.

A look at Daqiqi's works shows that she has worked as a translator and journalist for the Persian monthly *Zanan* [women]. This magazine attained some fame as a reformative platform for modern Iranian women to express their concerns on wide-ranging issues, especially those affecting their status in the post-Revolution era. Daqiqi herself interviewed a number of women translators. However, the magazine was banned by the Ministry on various charges, one being "presenting a disappointing and negative image of Iranian women" (BBC Persian 1386/2008).

Daqiqi has an interesting account of her encounter with censorship. In her translation of eleven short stories by Isaac Bashevis Singer, the Ministry asked for a strict censorship, which made the publisher ask her to give up the translation. They made some changes in the certain words and expressions; however, the censor was not yet satisfied. She says that she asked for a personal meeting, and after three times she secured an appointment with the head of the Book Bureau. The censor working for the Book Bureau was asked to attend the meeting. The head asked the censor what was wrong with the work and whether or not the author's religious affiliation was an issue. The translator, giving the assurance that the author was "religious," finally managed to reach an agreement with the Bureau and the translation secured the permission. As the translators did not provide examples of the things the censor asked to be changed, there is no way to determine the level of agency of each agent here.<sup>9</sup> What can be inferred here is that the translator's agency at the level of context was extratextual, bargaining with the censor over words, expressions, sentences, and full paragraphs. In contrast, the censor's agency at the level of context extended beyond the translator's preliminary and operational norms. Translators' and publishers' agency here is subordinate to the agency of the state, though the former employ their various strategies such as clever selection, adaptation, networking, and direct negotiating in order to maintain their agency. Experience and adaptive expectation have taught these agents of translation how to deal with state constraints, though they have not been always successful and future prospects are hard to predict.

Within the framework of Bourdieu's sociology of culture, competition with other agents in securing higher symbolic positions defines the field. In a country like Iran, in which professionalization of translation has yet to be defined, what

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9. In our experience, Iranian literary translators do not provide samples of censorship, most likely as a way to avoid conflict with the Book Bureau in obtaining permission for their translations. It is nevertheless known that the Book Bureau passes an unofficial paper to the publisher, asking for deletion or changes in the translation.

kind of competition is at work? Many agents of translation tend to undermine competition in their work for several reasons. For one, if competition concerns the quality of translations, they hardly read other translations to begin with (see some of the interviews with the translators in “Academic resources” introduced in Chapter 2). Those who read do not talk about it openly; however, they often become sharply critical of those translations in their small circles. Those who read other translations quite often become nostalgic, and in their attempt to explore those translations critically, praise the dead translators to the skies. It is because of this that in theory the “good” translator in Iran is often, unfortunately, a dead one.

Perhaps one can explain retranslations (i.e., in the strict sense of two translations of the same title) in Iran in the light of competition. Until very recently, translators were working in a vacuum, that is, they did not know whether other translators, say competitors, were translating the same titles. To avoid competition/retranslations and a place in the highly unstructured publishing field in Iran, they would continue translating, hoping to be the first to bring the translation to the market. This strategy was not always successful, and quite often retranslations appeared within a short time of the first translation. Such was the case of Daqiqi’s translation of Jhumpa Lahiri’s short story collection, *The Interpreter of Maladies* (2005), which saw two retranslations within a month. According to the translator, “some journalists and publishers created side issues about the quality of translations.” In this case, two translators and a representative of the third translator – a university lecturer – attended the meeting. Apparently, some kind of microlevel, comparative analysis was carried out, and one translation scored low. A similar kind of analysis has been predominant in translation reviews, generally by certain journalists, who often borrow heavily from others, the deader the better, to display their erudition, leaving no stone unturned, except the translation, the social/cultural and historical facts surrounding the translation under study, and its production and reception.

That said, few translators, including Daqiqi, see competition working at the level of selection, towards bringing about new voices to the otherwise classically dominated field of translation and publishing. Much of the brighter days of the translation and publishing field in the post-Revolution era can be seen from this perspective. It is here that the younger generation of literary translators and publishers challenge not only the older generation – the consecrated members – but also the Ministry, moving the whole cultural field ahead. Faced with a sudden flow of cultural productions (literary translations included), all in need of permissions of some kind, the Ministry becomes a turtle lagging behind, adopting a more conservative stance. Translators and publishers are then affected by this and, as a

result, a new form of competition would be to employ multiple forms of strategies of pressing the Ministry to get the requested permission faster than others. As to other applicants in other fields, some go underground, some go to the heated Dubai, and some find the solution in joining the growing community of Iranians living abroad.<sup>10</sup>

### Khojasteh Keyhan

The second translator, Khojasteh Keyhan, who translates from French and English, was born in 1948 in Iran and has a combined education in sociology and urban development, and a Master's degree in English Literature from L'université Sorbonne, Nouvelle-Paris 3. Apart from some occasional translations, she started literary translations after her return to Iran, the first being Paul Auster's *City of Glass* (1985), published in 1380/2001 in Tehran. Upon her return, she established contact with the editor of *Bukhara*, a Persian journal, for whom she translated several articles. At the editor's suggestion, she turned to Woolf's works because, as the editor told her, that was one to do "to make a name for oneself" in the field of translation and publishing in Iran. The translator was financially dependent on translation for two years; however, she has since secured other sources of income in addition to translation.

As we said earlier, Woolf's works appeals to a group of intellectuals in Iran. Her works represent a complicated narrative and style, which are often copied by some Iranian authors and critics. With some exceptions, the reason why authors like Woolf, William Faulkner, and a martyr-like poet such as Sylvia Plath appeal to certain translators, intellectuals, and the advocates of women's rights lies not so much in the quality of their works per se, rather and partly in their capacity to be resurrected from their graves, butchered into pieces, and consumed as magical

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10. Over the last decade, some of the best Iranian arts, paintings, calligraphies, and sculptures have been sold at the Christie's sale in Dubai. Persian singers, including the Tehrangeles singers (i.e., pop singers who left Iran in the aftermath of 1979 Revolution for the United States) and the growing young generation of singers who find the Ministry regulations too strict, have also staged many of their concerts in Dubai. As to publishers in exile, they have either become so political or so limited in their distribution that their role remains unexplored. Some translators living in exile continue to publish their works in Iran, and some have better followed the Ministry regulations than their counterparts at home. The Iranian translator Farzaneh is a good example, whereas others voice their harsh critique (e.g., Nikfarjam 2010). This then is a competition between exiled translators in securing sales for their books back home.

potions to seek fame. The hazier the image of the original authors, the better the chances of success.<sup>11</sup>

Competition in translation and publishing came to a new stage when an Iranian publisher published the Persian translation of Auster's *Invisible* (2009) within only three weeks of its first appearance in English in 2009. As noted earlier, though Iran is not a signatory to any international copyright conventions, the publisher obtained the copyright for the Persian translation and its simultaneous appearance from the publisher. According to the translator, she was given a photocopy of the novel, and an agreement was made with the Iranian publisher to do the translation as soon as possible (Puramini 1388/2009: 10). In an exceptionally rare circumstance, the Ministry gave the permission in due time, and the translation was published as planned.

Apart from three works by Woolf (see below), and a book by the title of *Deux heures de lucidité: entretiens avec Noam Chomsky* (1387/2008), the translations of which were commissioned by different publishers, the rest are the translator's selections. To this date, they include eight novels from Auster's oeuvres: *In the Country of the Last Things* (1987), *The New York Trilogy* (1987) (a cotranslation), *Leviathan* (1992) ("monster" in Persian), *Oracle Night* (2003) ("the night of foretelling" in Persian), *Man in the Dark* (2003), *The Brooklyn Follies* (2005), *The Music of Chance* (1990), and *Invisible* (2009). Apart from these novels, Keyhan has also translated Auster's nonfictional works, including a retranslation of *Hand to Mouth: A Chronicle of Early Failure* (1997) and *Winter Journal* (2012), which though for one critic was enough to see Auster unable to "gin up the old magic" (Lennon 2012), for the Iranian publisher it was motivating to have the Persian translation so soon after the appearance of the book in English. When an author sells in Iran – to whom it remains to be explored – and has an aura of popularity, it is not the quality that matters, it is the name.

Keyhan has also joined the nation's experts of Woolf. In modern Iran, Woolf was and remains one of the golden keys to symbolic capital for the men of letters and business, and a faithful mascot who might lead the formers to the depths of cold waters and sink them. However, once they whisper Woolf, they are saved. For Keyhan, translating Woolf was such a challenging job that it drove her "mad." She tells us that "Woolf is not my favorite author, and I was badly affected by

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11. Without complicating the issue, historical evidence demonstrates how certain Iranian intellectuals have favored authors who are disliked in their own land, but liked in Iran. In our examination of the previously mentioned case of Franklin/Tehran, we came across various correspondences between the Tehran office and the head office in New York. While the Iranian side was persistent, for example, with publishing Faulkner and Jack London, the latter opposed to it in strongest terms (see Haddadian-Moghaddam 2013).

translating her.” Despite this, Keyhan has translated *A Writer’s Diary* (1383/2004), *Mrs. Dalloway* (1386/2007), and *To the Lighthouse* (1386/2007). When having prestige is more important than one’s bread and butter, some agents of translation undergo mental, if not physical, trauma, and their agencies are affected by the levels of decision and context, each of which in turn affects the translation: one translation becomes “Woolf for Dummies,” accessible and marketable, the other “Woolf for Non-Dummies,” inaccessible yet marketable, and all good items for fancy bookshelves.<sup>12</sup>

Keyhan’s motivation in translating novels, however, extends beyond the works of Woolf and Auster. Partly influenced by the success of Robert Harris’s historical novel *Pompeii* (2003), and because of her interest in ancient Rome, that is, in their “epicurean way of life,” she translated the novel. Contrary to her expectations, the translation, 420 pages, was not successful. According to the translator, “the translation of this historical book did not appeal to the dominant intellectual readership in Iran.” She is also equally interested to translate the so-called *eau de rose* books to encourage people to read more books. She says she is aware of the fact that this particular genre faces censorship; however, what constrains her in selection here is the fact that publishing these novels “has no prestige for the publisher.” She is equally interested in translating D. H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928), not so much for its erotic qualities (an attractive variable for the readership yet an easy prey for censorship), than for its “being a literary masterpiece.” For a translator like Keyhan, the level of context is important in that it also provides a model of success. For example, she is hoping to be “as successful as Zabiholla Mansuri in attracting readership,” an Iranian prolific pseudotranslator we mentioned earlier in this book.

As an agent of translation working in the post-Revolution era, Keyhan has had various experiences with censorship. Many of her translations were exposed to censorship, either at the level of words, expressions, or paragraphs. Her translations of Marguerite Duras’s *Dix heures et demie du soir en été* (1960) and *Ten Thirty on a Summer Night* (1960) have not yet received publishing permission from the Ministry, and the translator believes former translations by R. Seyyed Hoseini are available at the bookshops, though we could not verify this. Her strategy of coping with censorship, for example, differs from one book to another. In translating Mario Vargas Llosa’s *Tours et détours de la vilaine fille* (2008), she had to “accept censorship because the book had many erotic scenes, which were

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12. Keyhan tells us that her translation of *Mrs. Dalloway* was reprinted twice in just three months. The data from the IBH database shows that the total print run of the translation (1386/1387/1389) has been 6,000 copies.

impossible to reproduce in translation.”<sup>13</sup> At the time of interview, the translator told us that she did all in her power to increase the chance of obtaining the permission. One of the things she had to be very careful about was to delete all those sections describing women’s clothes: “We took all the precautions and yet they delete page by page, and I am waiting, worried over the permission.” The translation was finally published in 352 pages (the French version has 417 pages). Given the different technical formats, it is possible to some extent to imagine the degree, or the agency, of censorship.

One might then wonder how Iranian agents of translation, that is, translators in particular, live with such constraints and the highly consecrated, yet unstructured publishing field which, on the one hand, struggles to survive, and yet is hard to meet its expectations, on the other. One possible explanation might be the position of translators in Iran. According to Keyhan, Iranian translators “enjoy a high level of social prestige, higher than elsewhere, and this leaves no room for complain. Of course, financially, there is room for improvement.” That said, the translator adds that she is well-respected whenever she comes to identify herself as a translator, and it is even better when she meets the readership who know her translations. Perhaps, one can also look at translation prizes in Iran in the same way. Apart from the IABP, some private institutions have awarded translators with prizes for the quality of translations or the selections and/or translations. The opinions of agents of translation about the impact of these prizes in increasing or decreasing their agencies differ, as we covered at the beginning of this chapter. Although some see no noticeable effect on their economic or symbolic capitals and therefore their agency at the level of context, some argue that the selections are biased.

### Shirin Ta’avoni

The last translator in this case study, Shirin Ta’avoni, was born in 1945 and has a Master’s degree in English and Library Sciences. This translator was chosen as an atypical translator: she has adopted a very personal approach in the selection and motivation for translation. This provides a counter example to the previous translators and, hopefully, will help us to reach tenable conclusions.

Ta’avoni has been a fulltime employee of National Library and Archives of I. R. of Iran and, because of this and her field of study, she has authored and translated

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13. The original Spanish title reads *Travesuras de la niña mala* (2006). Interestingly enough, the title in French is more explicit than the Spanish in terms of the possible content; however, the back translation of the Persian title, “a girl from Peru,” is clearly an example of how cultural and political norms affect titles.

books and articles in the field, and some translations in the field of theatre and cinema. Her literary translations include one collection of short stories by Katherine Mansfield and four books from such authors as E. M. Forster, J. D. Salinger, Aldous Huxley, and Sidonie-Gabrielle Collette.

Ta'avoni's first literary translation was E. M. Forster's *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905), published in 1368/1989. The selection was random, as the translator tells us: "I was visiting a friend and he had many books. I chose Forster's, read it and enjoyed it. I then decided to translate it into Persian." The same pattern was repeated in her selective translation from two of Mansfield's short stories collections: *The Garden Party and other Stories* (1922); and *Bliss and other Stories* (1923). The main motivation in translating these stories was the fact she "liked" them.

Quite often, the accumulation of various kinds of capitals and exchanging one type for another explain the motivations of agents of translation. However, there are motivations that cannot be explained using Bourdieu's sociology. This is especially true when people do not reveal them, or their motivational statements are vague. For example, for Ta'avoni, in addition to her personal taste, two more things are at work: "Sometimes I translate to see how it comes out in Persian. My other criterion is the length of works. Voluminous books make me bored and I wonder how some translators can translate such works." Given the fact that she has translated short stories and that they are quite popular in Iran, we asked her why she has not translated more. She tells us that she does not like short stories; rather, she likes novellas, and she has some incomplete translations to be published in future. Although she is not a prolific literary translator, she accepts that she has a very particular taste in translation and that she has not been motivated to translate "to prove something." Nevertheless, she adds that some of those who read her translations have encouraged her, and asked for more translations. And some, she argues, might not like her translation, "perhaps they have found them difficult."

We asked her whether she sees any differences between translations done by women and those done by men. She tells us that she has not "felt any difference," and that the "professional" ones have leeway in selecting novels. She nevertheless reads the works of two women translators in particular: Leili Golestan and Goli Emami, two prolific literary translators who had also published in the pre-Revolution era and have been engaged in such professions as editor, publisher, and running an art gallery.

As regards censorship, she was asked to modify some words in Collette's *Cheri and the Last of Cheri* (1926): those related to sexual organs. Permission was given ten years later. The translation was published without censorship.



## Discussion

### *Selections*

Our three translators in this case study were both the title selectors and also accepted the publishers' suggestions for translation. Those offered to them were not necessarily their favorites. For example, Sherlock Holmes novels proved challenging for Daqiqi at the level of decision: the translator tells us that "in addition to the specific mood required for translating them, they demand hard work and looking up words in old dictionaries and reference works alike." With her careful selections of quality short stories, and in the absence of new voices in the classically dominated publishing field, she gradually established herself as a literary translator with worthy selections. Similarly, Keyhan showed her frustration in translating Woolf's works. Her works, she conceded, helped her to establish her position in the intellectually dominated publishing field in Iran; however, translating Auster apparently eased the tension. For our last translator, nothing similar was shared except for the fact that Ta'avoni translated what she particularly liked: except for her translation of Huxley, the rest of short stories/novellas are from a group of authors who seem not to have much in common in terms of style or literary schools other than in their ways of lives that might have been of interest to the translator. Salinger's legacy as a solitary, outspoken, and rebellious critic of US values has appealed to readerships all over the world, and both Mansfield and Forster, in addition to their literary values, carry a particular place in queer studies. In sum, both translators and publishers in our case acted at the level of decision; however, evidence shows that the agency of translators was greater than the publishers.

### *Motivations*

Translation as a complementary way of making a living has been a motivation for the first two translators, whereas for the last translator, with a fulltime job, it was more something done for a personal desire to produce art for art's sake. That said, the first two translators have combined translating literary works with other sources of income, including editing and translating nonliterary texts.

With regard to literary translation, however, motivations vary considerably. For Daqiqi, introducing new authors and voices to the literary polysystem (including North American authors and underrepresented authors such as Singer and Babel) has been at work. In terms of content, a close analysis of Daqiqi's selections, given her agency at the level of decision, shows that she has chosen stories with themes common to people living all across the world: people who come to terms with loneliness, middle age crisis, and love and rejection. Moreover, the profiles of both translators reveal how the translation and publishing field have constructed them at the outset, but they have resisted the pressure



by exerting a higher agency at the level of decision and motivation, and as a result have affected the level of context. In other words, agents of translation could be constructed by the field; nevertheless, the doxical belief helps them to construct the field once they are consecrated enough. In the case of Ta'avoni, she did not see motivation as a form of "achievement motivation," following David McClelland's term (1961), but something more personal and rare, a self-interest motivation that is at odds with the general market demands, though it might have drawn an equally rare audience.

### *Context*

The level of context in our three-tier model of agency is no less important than the levels of decision and motivations. In the context under study, it appears that all social, cultural, and political phenomena are shaped by the larger state policies; however, our translators have not been voiceless. The most observable agents of translation in our case are the state policies pertaining to translation and publication of books, which are enforced by the Book Bureau. When censorship is enforced strictly (see e.g., *TTR* 2002), translators and publishers are forced to conform too. They often do; however, they also try to challenge it. For example, they employ various strategies such as careful selections, adaptation, deletion, and self-censorship to live with it, and sometimes use punctuation marks to mark missing parts in the text, and often publicly talk about censorship in their interviews, as it is the case in Iran. In our case study, we saw that patience and translating for possible future publications are also such under researched strategies in coping with the agency of the state at the level of context. Similarly, the state used to provide subsidized paper for publishers, contributing to the exponential establishment of publishing houses, on the one hand, increasing the paper corruption, on the other. With no empirical studies available on the issue, it is hard to determine exactly the nature of that policy on the agency in our context.

That said, context can also increase the agency of translators and publishers. Up to two decades ago, there was an absence of new voices in both modern Persian literature and the translated short stories. However, because of translations and increasing publication of Persian fiction, the gap has been filled. This phenomenon has clearly increased the agency of translators and publishers, and, as we said earlier, created a transitory professionalization for a limited number of translators.

The case study revealed that the three agents of translation have exercised their agency at the three levels of decision, motivation, and context to a varying degree. They have been for the most part selectors of titles for translation, and their motivations were not limited to the accumulation of various kinds of capital. Their motivational accounts shed light on rather fascinating areas that call for further

research in TS: translating for possible publication in the future (“translation for drawer”) and translating with no personal “achievement motivation.” Belonging to a consecrated and intellectual field, and given the various constrains at work, our agents of translation nevertheless have maintained some symbolic independence through their selections.

## CHAPTER 6

### “The assembly is finished and...”

The assembly is finished and life has reached its term  
And we have, as at first, remained powerless in describing thee.  
(Sa'di 1865:22)

The thirteenth-century, Persian poet Sa'di, whose poem appears above, is well known by Iranians, Persian speakers, and scholars of Iranian Studies. His poems, similar to the poems of Hafiz and Ferdowsi, are among those which are generally memorized and are used in traditional Persian music. Iranians are versed in these poems and often refer to them, depending on the situation. In this case, Sa'di, being a Muslim, has amply described and praised God in the introduction to his book the *Gulistan*; nevertheless, he displays his modesty in not being successful in his attempt. Our project being something very different, it is yet possible to build upon this quotation and suggest that this book is far from being a full account of both agency and translation in modern Iran. It is our belief that there are not any ready-made answers to some of the questions raised in this book. Nevertheless, in attempting those questions, we have not been all “powerless in describing,” if not exploring them. In this final chapter then, we summarize and discuss what we have explored so far and then discuss the implications of this survey for the field of TS, Iranian Studies, and the publishing industry. Finally, we touch upon the limitations and possible areas for further research.

Our intention in this book was to describe and explore the agency of translators and publishers of novels from English in modern Iran, taking into account their decision-making process, motives, and factors that constrain or increase their agency. We have chosen to focus on English-language novels due to the prominent status of translations from English in modern Iran, the impact they have had on the modernization of Iran, and their contribution to the development of Persian literature by introducing new literary genres. We complemented Paloposki's model of translator's agency (2009) by developing a three-tier model of agency that was closely connected to the questions. On the level of decision, we explored the fundamental question of who decides what to translate: the translator or the publisher. On the second level, the level of motivation, we aimed to answer what motivates translators and publishers in initiating translation projects. On the third level, the level of context, we tried to contextualize the broader social context within which

our agents work. On this last level, we examined factors that not only constrain, but also increase the agency of the translators and publishers.

In our study of agency in *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, and on the level of decision, the historical data indicated that Esfahani was the key player in adopting the novel for translation. On the level of motivation, and in the absence of conclusive evidence, we highlighted Esfahani's exilic agency and showed that he conceived of higher political progress than the ethics of fidelity to foreign text. In so doing, he brought about stylistic innovation to the dominant ornamental Persian prose style, by translating for a more general readership beyond the Persian elite. His motivation, then, was argued to be both political and linguistic. On the level of context, in spite of the illusory, disempowering nature of exile, we showed that agents of translation are capable of exercising, transferring, and risking their agency. In so doing, they need to employ their different kinds of capital and exchange one for another. Insofar as the issue of agency is concerned, we also argued that the concept of agency far exceeds the boundaries of textual, paratextual, and extratextual borders, and that it can be misattributed for multiple reasons. Esfahani's translation likewise remains essential for the historiography of the Persian tradition of translation in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, we suggested the concepts of pro-risk agents of translation (both Esfahani and Kermani) and traveling agency as two fresh ways of looking at agency and charting the historical movements of agents of translation in TS. Likewise, we said that the metaphor of traveling agency also helps us to conceive of agency as a property that can be symbolically activated beyond the agent's lifetime.

In the first part of our study of agency in the translation and production of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, we were of the opinion that the translation set the stage for showing how an Iranian modernist, an educated woman in a high political position, engaged in larger pedagogical programs and broadened the range of translations available (Milton and Bandia 2009: 2). This also shed light on the less known role of women in translation in the period. On the level of decision, the publisher was the title selector, and we found no other evidence for the translator's role in this regard. On the level of motivation, the translator should have found the novel appropriate for her overall approach to translation: she adopted a more target-oriented approach in her translation and distanced herself from the still-ornamented Persian prose style to enhance the readability of the translation. Likewise, her translation required that she write a rather lengthy introduction and considerable footnotes for pedagogical purposes. On the level of context, the pedagogical agency of the translator shaped the translation. Our case study also showed that a woman translator with a high symbolic capital managed to perform social and cultural roles beyond "a simple adapter" of foreign literature (cf. the role of the translator at the commercial pole in Bourdieu 1999b). In so doing, the

embodied symbolic capital incorporated in the translator's *habitus* was properly transformed into its objectified form, that is, her concern for social and cultural lives of the Iranians found its way into the translation.

To illustrate individual and institutional agency in the publishing field during the Pahlavi period (1925–1979), we studied three publishing houses of the time. Our aim here was to present a picture of the publishing field in pre-Revolution Iran and to provide an overview of how agents of translation played a key role in shaping the field and in directing the future path. It was shown how agents of translation employ various strategies and networking in order to exercise their agency. We also differentiated between individual agency and institutional agency. The focus on two agents of translation – Jafari, the founder of Amir Kabir, and Sanati, the director of Franklin/Tehran – showed that they turned the constraints upside down. That is, faced with various social, economic, and political constraints, they drew on various coping strategies: establishing contacts with various influential individuals and institutions and creating networks to fulfill their motives.

According to our survey study, the majority of literary translators chose translation consciously and shared the view that they enjoy having cultural and social capital in Iran. Their views differed about the possibility of economic capital as one of their motivations in translating novels from English, and many of them prioritized social, cultural, and symbolic capital over economic capital. This lack of interest (disinterestedness) in capitals was said to be common among literary translators in Iran. The effect of censorship and the IABP, both part of the post-Revolution era's cultural policies, were shown to constrain and often to increase the agency of the translators.

In our case study of Vargas Llosa's *The War of the End of the World* (1984), we showed that, on the level of decision, both the translator and the publisher of the book claimed to have a part in the selection. On the level of motivation, both the translator and the publisher highlighted the social themes in the novel in addition to its literary value and its possible implication for Iranian society in its struggle towards modernity. On the level of context, Kowsari and Hoseinkhani viewed the cultural policies of the post-Revolution era as having a far-reaching effect not only on the practice of literary translators and publishers, but also on the larger social and cultural milieu in Iran. The same policies also revealed a contradictory effect on the symbolic capital of the agents of translation: on the one hand, it increased the translator's symbolic capital (though we said that economic capital should follow the former) and the publisher's economic capital. However, it was argued to have discouraged certain people from purchasing the translation since it had won a state-run prize. The study also revealed that despite all kinds of constraints, agents of translation have been able to draw on various coping strategies to exercise their agency, such as the careful selection of novels to avoid possible censorship,

negotiation with censors, and publishing books with social themes and textbooks for university students.

While the first translator of *Pride and Prejudice* did not play any role in selecting the novel for translation, the second translator played a key role. The analysis of the translator's agency showed that, while the novel was selected by the translator, the decision was supported by the translator's consultation with an agent of translation with high symbolic capital – Deyhimi. His position in the publishing field as an established translator and editor facilitated the negotiation process and bolstered the publisher's confidence in the financial success of the project. In addition, the translator's strategy of translating was based on the idea that his readership is generally from the middle class, hence the decision to translate in a more accessible Persian prose (at this point both translators acted similarly). In the same vein, the translator's decision to avoid footnotes can be seen in the same light. The translator's agency also played a part in his negotiation of the royalty payments: he received monthly payments throughout the project.

On the level of motivation, the translator's motive in translating Austen into Persian was to translate classic novels originally written in English. This decision for the retranslation was also informed by the translator's belief that contemporary Persian readers, especially the growing, educated middle class, need a more accessible prose, which is argued to be absent in previous translations or difficult to achieve with today's readers. One reviewer praised the translator for undertaking the initiative of translating classic novels to that effect, whereas a second reviewer criticized the translator for his simplifying of Austen's "lofty" language. The translator's active engagement in various forms of promoting the translation also indicated that agents of translation can play a key role in accumulating symbolic and, in turn, economic capital for their translations. In other words, Rezaei's interviews with the Persian press and his presence at the academic meeting on translating Austen can be viewed as the translator's motive to increase his symbolic capital as well as that of the publisher's, and hence their collective economic capital. This also permitted the translator to respond to the critics.

On the level of context, the translator's approach to the whole project was primarily context oriented: the translator was aware that the translation of the classics in Iran would generally face no or a minimum degree of censorship. All translations received permission from the Book Bureau of the Ministry in due time. However, permission was delayed for the last title, *Persuasion*. This was, nonetheless, resolved through the publisher's contact with the aforementioned department. This example shows that censorship, at least within the Iranian context, has a contradictory effect on the agency of translators and publishers. It can constrain their agency on the level of decision, that is, they have to look for titles

that face the lowest degree of censorship or no censorship at all. However, the same constraint on the level of context increases their agency, that is, translating popular classic novels that have an arguably secure readership.

As for the publisher's agency in the above case study, the publisher did not play any role in the process. Being familiar with both the translator and the agent of translation Deyhimi, the publisher agreed to proceed with the project, showing some hesitation about the sale of the project in Iran. The publisher played a key role on the sublevel of meta-title, that is, the agreement to initiate the project and pay the monthly fee to the translator. The paratextual analyses also showed that the publisher had invested in producing a high-quality book, producing all the subsequent editions in hardback. On the level of motivation, we said that the publisher's motive in publishing Austen in Persian was twofold: the symbolic capital of Deyhimi and the low risk of publishing classic novels into Persian, both of which minimized the publisher's risk of investment. Finally, on the level of context, we said that the publisher's awareness of the low-risk censorship of classic novels in Iran played a key role. Although there was a delay in receiving permission for one single title, the successful publication of the whole project and the subsequent editions increased the agency of the publisher.

The study of agency of three women translators provided an opportunity to have a better understanding of how they view their position in the field of publishing in Iran. Our case study revealed that Iranian women translators have exercised their agency at all the three levels of in our model with varying degree. They have played their role in the selection of works for translation, and often accepted recommended titles for translation at the request of publishers. While raising both symbolic capital and the need for economic capitals played their role in this, the intellectual structure of the publishing field nevertheless played no less an important role. Their motivations were equally more varied and less explored, shedding light on some understudied issues in TS: "translation for drawer" and translating with no personal "achievement motivation," following McClelland (1961). Practicing translation in a consecrated and intellectual field, on the one hand, and living with various constrains at work ranging from the very moment of selection to the production day, these women translators nevertheless have maintained a distinctive position in the intellectual development of Iranian society, on the other.

The case studies presented in this book allow for some inferences about agency in the translation and production of novels in modern Iran, without any generalizations. This is because we have examined and presented evidence from various resources to strengthen the cases (see e.g., Abramason 1992: 191–193).

Looking back at the three-tier model of agency, we can conclude as follows:

1. Iranian translators perform just as important a role in selecting novels for translation as the publishers.
2. While the agency of the translator is higher on the sublevel of title, the agency of the publisher is greater on the sublevel of meta-title: acceptance or rejection of the translation, the editorial process, the technical format, distribution, promotion, and royalty preferences are all left to the publisher. Nevertheless, translators with higher symbolic capital (be it social or cultural) and an established position in the publishing field have more room to maneuver.
3. On the second level, the level of motivation, agents of translation had multiple motives in the translation and production of novels from English. These motives ranged from the political and linguistic motive of Esfahani, the translator of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), to the pedagogical motive of Mossaheb, the translator of *Pride and Prejudice*, and to the social and cultural motives of the key agents of translation in three major publishing houses in pre-Revolution Iran. Equally, the motives ranged from retranslating classic novels from English and the social motives of the translator and publisher of *The War of the End of the World* in post-Revolution Iran to introducing new voices to the rather classically dominated literary field.
4. On the third level, the level of context, various factors posed limitations or increased the agency of the translators and publishers. Exile could have imposed a constraint on Esfahani. However, it was being in exile that led him to air his political opposition to the despotic Qajars through his “inventive interventions” (Boase-Beier and Holman 1999: 14). Informed by the literacy campaign in the early twentieth century in Persia, Mossaheb’s educational background (effects of her *habitus*) helped her to overcome the ornamental Persian prose style by adopting a progressive translation method for the growing readership, which required accessible prose. Various extratextual factors, such as the lack of capital, competition from other publishers, and a lack of experience decreased the agency of the three managing directors of the publishing houses in pre-Revolution Iran. However, their agency and success were increased through their persistence, coping strategies, networking, and investment in the symbolic and economic capitals of the field, and the exchanging of one type of capital for another.
5. Censorship has had a contradictory effect on the agency of Iranian agents of translation. It has limited their choices and prolonged the publishing process. However, in some cases, because of the needs of the book market, it has provided room for alternative choices (e.g., Kowsari has recently turned to the translation of “tragedies”; see *Sal-nameh-ye Shargh* 1391/2012: 196), ultimately enhancing their agency, and hence their survival in the publishing field.



This last point is one of the unexplored aspects of censorship in Iran. Although there is censorship working in the field of publishing, affecting the logic of the practice, there is also a conformity with it, which is often overlooked in the studies of translation and the discourse of censorship in Iran. This conformity with censorship is either through self-censorship, internalized in the *habitus* of the agents of translation, or in the *doxa* that to be a player in the game of cultural production in Iran, under the Islamic Revolution, one has little choice but to abide by the rules and play the game. For the nonconformists, there is little choice but either to leave the game or to talk openly against the game.<sup>1</sup> That said, evidence shows that the field of publishing in Iran as a sub-branch of the field of cultural production has had more conformists than nonconformists. If we do not see it in this light, the transfer of cultural capital, the development of the publishing field, and the improving quality of books in general would not have been possible, nor could we have seen such importance accorded to translation, and such a high concentration of symbolic capital, in the field of publishing in Iran.

From the perspective of capital transfer, however, it might appear that censorship has blocked cultural capital (here of a foreign origin) to enter the Iranian context through translation. This might be true to some extent; nevertheless, cultural capital can also be found in the alternative choices made by the translators, and through various platforms other than books, such as the Internet (limited as it is, still some translators publish their uncensored translations online: see e.g., *Khabgard* weblog), and access to banned and yet popular satellite programs. Even a blocked cultural capital can be found in its transubstituted forms, projected by, say, a translator speaking about his or her problem with censorship, and in not being able to translate an author (e.g., Keyhan's wish to translate Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in our last case study).

## Implications

What we have explored so far can have implications for the field of TS, Iranian studies, and the publishing industry. As regards the field of TS and in light of the recent interest in the role of human translators, the sociology of translation, and the agency of translators and other agents of translation, this study has enlarged the understanding of the concept of agency by providing empirical studies from a

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1. Interestingly enough, the nonconformist translators continue to publish their translations in Iran. This suggests that there is a certain conformity with censorship, even in being a non-conformist translator.

non-European context. It was argued that the definition of agency as the “willingness and ability to act” (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010) falls short of explaining the capacity of agents, the constraints they face, and the factors that increase the agency of the agents. The three-tier model of agency was developed in order to contribute three significant aspects – decision, motivation, and context – to the study of agency. This model of agency has the potential to be used in the various contexts in which agents of translation work. This will provide a better picture of how agents of translation exercise their agency across different cultures.

The study’s focus on the translation of novels can also be beneficial for researchers of literary translation. Moreover, despite the picture drawn of certain regimes in which intellectuals, writers, translators, and authors are depicted as rather voiceless, Iranian agents of translation have managed to exercise their agency, air their voice, and resist the authoritative homogenization. As players of the game of cultural production, they have been in constant battle with the field of power, on the one hand, receiving some capitals at stake and exchanging one for another, on the other. The translation flows are particularly informative in this regard. The study also indicates that there is still a strong tendency among Iranian literary translators and publishers to subscribe to the “love of literature” cliché as one of their motivations in pursuing their profession, whereas the “bread and butter” side of the story is tacitly concealed (as we have already mentioned, Bourdieu would see this as disinterestedness). This is contrary to the current situation of literary translation in Europe where, on the one hand, a resonant voice for higher payments is being aired (see Holger, de Haan, and Lhotová’s survey, 2007/2008), and stylistic creativity is heralded, on the other (see Wilson and Gerber 2012).

As for the publishing industry, we have provided, for the first time, some insight into the publishing field in Iran. Despite the exponential rise of publishing houses in post-Revolution era and the increasing proportion of translations from other languages into Persian in the total production of books, the publishing industry knows very little about the publishing field in Iran.<sup>2</sup> Scholars might of course see scant references to either Iran or Persian in the global history of the book (subsumed under printing in the Islamic world; see e.g., Roper 2013); however, independent studies are still lacking. Publishing machinery as a subfield of the cultural production under the cultural policies of the post-Revolution era has largely remained outside academic investigation. Among other reasons, the task

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2. The evidence comes from our contact with Robert Baensch, the editor of *Publishing Research Quarterly*: “it has not been possible to publish an article about the publishing industry or any part thereof as it takes place in Iran. I have sent out invitations to submit articles for my ‘International Region and Country’ surveys but have not received replies from anyone in Iran [...]” (personal contact, January 24, 2011).

is a daunting one, there are risks involved for researchers, and disseminating data by the publishers has remained a sensitive issue. This study, nevertheless, has shed light on some aspects of the issue.

As regards the field of Iranian studies, that is, the study of Persian history, literature, and society, this study is the first of its kind to provide a historical account of the practice of Iranian translators from the Qajar era to modern-day Iran from the point of view of TS and as an independent research topic. As mentioned elsewhere in this study, the historiography of Persian translation can benefit from the various resources provided. The study also highlights the importance of agents of translation, whether they are translators or publishers in many of the modernization projects in Iran. We subscribe to the views of the contemporary historians of Persian fiction in stressing the positive impact of translation in the growing number of Persian novels and short stories, and the considerable impact it has left on the diversity of literary genres that are being experienced by the post-Revolution generation of writers (see e.g., Mir'abedini 1380/2001). However, there is an urgent need for the critical reading of this role and the positions of agents of translation in Iran and its literary polysystem (of the latter, see Azadibougar's view about the "de-authentication of literary products" (2010: 317); cf. rather similar ideas in Baraheni, who argues that, in general, the lack of patronage has resulted in the lack of original works in Iran (1368/1989:92, see also 105, 162)).

### **Some limitations in scope**

In this book, we only focused on the translation of novels from English and therefore could not examine thoroughly a number of important issues that affect the field of cultural production in Iran. Examples of these issues include translation from non-English languages, the share of the Persian novel in the market of literary works, the share of state-run publishing houses and organizations in the field of cultural production and measuring their impact, the reception of translations, and censorship. Apart from these issues, which need further study, we refer to some of the theoretical limitations in scope within the present study.

### **Bourdieu's sociology of culture and its application to Iran**

Does Bourdieu score well in the context of Iran? Although Bourdieu's early fieldwork was done in a non-Western context (Algeria), many of his "thinking tools" were the product of a French environment. One might even question the relevance of his historical data (i.e., nineteenth-century France in the case of his study of the literary field) to that of contemporary Iran, which has a different economic and

political system. Besides, Bourdieu's sociology might seem ill-matched, as noted recently (e.g., Shariati 1390/2012; cf. Mir'abedini 1390/2012:99, who sees the "discontinuity of modernity" in Iran a major challenge in using Bourdieu). In addition, although competition and confrontation among social agents lie at the heart of Bourdieu's sociology of culture, there is also some cooperation among social agents, as we have illustrated throughout this book. Agents of translation can compete with each other at one point, and cooperate at some other points, knowing that cooperation might help them on their way to higher positions in the field (cf. the concept of *guanxi* in the context of literary field in China in Hockx 1999). Still, in applying Bourdieu's classification of publishers into literary and commercial to the field of publishing in Iran, we need to find a middle ground for state-run publishing houses, although in the final analysis the latter do not discard economic capital entirely and, as the evidence shows, some have become commercial in practice.

Despite these reservations, given the considerable cultural exchange between France and Iran in the last two centuries (i.e., the considerable number of works translated from French into Persian up to the 1950s), and the intellectual impact of French thinkers on Iranian intellectuals and vice versa (see e.g., Nanquette 2013), Bourdieu's "thinking tools" are not all irrelevant to the case of Iran. For instance, his concepts of field (without worrying too much about the role of institutionalization thereof: see Wolf 2011), were helpful to locate the considerable flows of translations as part of the publishing field.<sup>3</sup> Equally, his concept of capital was powerful enough to delineate the motivations of agents into accumulation of various kinds of capitals and their trade off, although some motivations may remain outside the forms of capital, which need to be addressed. As regards the concept of *habitus*, it was clear from our cases above that each agent's *habitus* affected their gradual inclination toward literary translation. Not all of our agents had any specific training or education in literary translation as is the case with many other translators in Iran; however, they all found a literary *habitus* "durably incorporated" in their body and mind (Bourdieu 1993a: 86). The effects of *habitus* were manifested in the translators working in various capacities in the field of publishing (as translator, editor, consultant, etc.) and in opting for alternative choices when faced with state constraints such as censorship.

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3. For two reasons, Wolf (2011: 14) maintains that translation does not constitute a field: agents cannot create enduring positions in the field because their contacts have a temporary nature, and translators have less established instruments for their consecration compared with authors. There is no reason to single out translators from authors only for the temporary nature of their contacts, which by extension should be equally applicable to authors. In addition, a field for Bourdieu was never meant to be a fixed space with enduring positions.

Nevertheless, adopting a sociological approach to translation, in particular, those inspired by Bourdieu, is easy to advocate but difficult to carry out for a number of reasons. For one, researchers may not be versed enough in sociology. Those with such backgrounds and the rest of the critics often find theoretical and methodological faults with Bourdieu, and find the solution in similar sociologies, which have their own faults (see e.g., Tyulenev 2011). In addition, researchers from the so-called developing countries often deal with societies-in-transition, in which many of sociological concepts and methods are not indigenous, but rather adopted mainly from the West. Such is the case of Iran, where there is hardly any commonly agreed social theorization on its particularities (e.g., Abrahamian's "Oriental despotism" (1974) vs. Katouzian's theory of *Jame'eh-ye Kolangi* or the short-term society (2004); for an informative analysis of this, see Mahdi 2003). Nevertheless, until such theories are available, Bourdieu's sociology, or any other sociologist for that matter, is helpful in exploring translation and publishing in Iran. For example, it can show discrepancies between the particularities of Iranian society with that of the Western world. The data collected from such studies (including the present study) can also serve the empirical base and momentum for the Iranian sociologists towards theorization, say, on the complexities of cultural productions in Iran.

In addition, researchers working with such adopted theories in developing countries face certain ethical and methodological challenges. For example, mapping the structure of the publishing field, similar to what Bourdieu did in France (Bourdieu 1999b), is impossible in Iran because Iranian publishers have valid considerations in not revealing their, for example, market share. This might be because Iranians are still experiencing democratic practices (see Gheissari and Nasr 2006), whereas similar practices have a more established tradition in the French context, where Bourdieu lived and collected his data.

### More to do?

Because of the originality of the topic and the richness of historical resources, several areas deserve further research. We have listed a number of these research projects here, mainly aimed at the students and researchers of TS, and the researchers of literary history of Iran. This list is not exclusive, and the order is of no importance. In developing these projects, it is necessary to ask good questions and be aware of the types of hypotheses that can be empirically tested (see e.g., Munday 2012: 307–310). The list is as follows:

1. *Agent-based studies.* That is, critical study of the roles of several of the agents of translation that have been introduced in this study. For example, a comprehensive study of Phillott, the editor of the 1905 edition of *The Adventures*, not only in this edition, but in the larger intercultural transfers between Persia, India, and Britain, can shed light on the historical role of agents of translation in the early twentieth century. In a broader framework, a useful and yet less explored approach to agent-based studies in Iran can take insights from a rather old model of Robert Darnton's "communication circuit" (1982; see also Finkelstein and McCleery 2005: 12–13). In this model, various agents are examined and books are seen as material objects as part of the history of books.
2. *Research on publishers and the publishing field.* For example, we can explore the role and impact of the three previously mentioned publishing houses and their managing directors in the pre-Revolution era on translation in Iran. Such a study can reveal the possible differences and similarities of the publishing field in the pre- and post-Revolution era, the developments made, and how these agents of translation succeeded in advancing the nascent publishing field.
3. *Historical study of the popular cheap pocket books of the pre-Revolution era.* The aim here is to determine their impact on the development of the publishing field, the professionalization of the translators, and the Persian polysystem of literature, on the one hand, and comparing the result with a similar, less successful experience of the post-Revolution period, on the other. Research can also look at beyond Iran, for instance, trying to find similarities and differences with that of Brazil (e.g., Milton 2001). A much-needed study is about the success story of the earlier-mentioned PBC in revolutionizing book distribution for the first time in Iran by publishing cheap pocket books – 10,000 copies in the first edition – for a large readership. Such research could help to illuminate the role of agents of translation and the strategies used to this end.
4. *Censorship and the politics of translation.* The aim is to determine whether censorship is always constraining. In other words, can censorship, similar to sanctions, have a double nature? Few have asked this question. Some argue that censorship has made Iranian movies more appealing to the Western eye. Could a similar pattern be at work in the translation and production of fiction, and of the increasing volume of Persian fiction? The idea that Iranian agents of translation have been for the most part conformists rather than nonconformists might prove to be helpful in this regard, and might serve as an initial hypothesis to be tested empirically.
5. *Retranslations.* Despite the popularity of retranslations in Iran, there is little empirical research on the issue. In light of Berman's view about retranslations (1995), we could test, following Chesterman (2004: 8), whether later translations are closer to the source text. In addition, we could, for example, try to

explore whether the fact that Iran is not yet a signatory to the UCC has had any major role in this or not. We could also try to examine the extent to which aesthetic (e.g., the translator's dissatisfaction of the first translation) or nonaesthetic factors (e.g., the publisher's economic motives) have contributed to the popularity of retranslations in Iran.

6. *"Translation as an art" and the impact of the Soviet school of translation.* Although Iran has had, for the most part, a bitter experience of its northern neighbor's presence on its land and politics, we know surprisingly little about the impact of the Soviet school of translation on the discourse and practice of translation in Iran. Briefly, following Rossel (cited in Leighton 1991: 13–14; see also page 68), these postulates of the Soviet school of translation are that: the principle of translatability is accepted (the opposite scenario does not score well in Iran); translation as a literary process is accepted over translation as a linguistic process (highly popular among literary translators in Iran); translators see themselves writers and translation should not be a copy or an imitation but an artistic work in its own right (opinions may vary on this point, but many subscribe to it). In short, literary translation is an art and by extension the literary translator is an artist at the service of society (e.g., look at the translators' talking about their motives in some of the resources introduced in this book).

Given that a number of translators in the pre-Revolution period, common to the intellectual fashion of the time, were affiliated to or had sympathy with the Soviet ideology, the research is even more urgent. Although this was not our focus in the book, evidence amounts to distinct similarities between the discourse of translation in Iran and that of the Soviet school. For example, there is still a tendency in Iran to view literary translation as an art (see e.g., Khazaefar 1386/2007b) and, by implication, the translator as an artist. There are, however, differences between translation in Iran, the Soviet school, and elsewhere, which we need to identify and acknowledge. If one could then map them onto research into translation in Iran, a clear image of what we may call the Iranian translation school would gradually emerge. We therefore need empirical studies to explore the impact of the Soviet school of translation on the development of translation theory and practice in Iran, to find out how and through what individuals or networks the translation as an art discourse has been made and remained resistant in modern Iran.

7. *Translation and World Literature.* Although this topic is still under studied even in TS (for one, see Venuti 2012), given the position of literary translation in Iran and the role of the translators as initial arbiters of both the literary value of the works and the possibility of their publication, we can study a number of relevant issues. For example, we may want to know what canons of

foreign literatures have been translated into Persian, what canons have been less translated, and what has been the impact of the translated canons on the development of the Persian literature.

8. And finally, a closely related issue would be the under-studied and yet important issue of *the reception of literary translation*. While there is a commonly held view that the translation and production of books from foreign languages into Persian has been far from being systematic, literary translations have nevertheless been consumed by generations of readers whose reception remains unexplored. Understanding the general reception of literary translations and comparing them with, say, the reviewers' reception can tell us whether translators have followed the market demands (economic imperatives), their own taste, or the logic of the field of cultural production.



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## Appendices

Appendix 1. The full text of Mossaheb's (1351/1972: 85–90) critical ode [the gift of grievance and tear] in Persian

### ارمغان شکوه و اشک

آن وعده ها که دوش نمودی به ما کجاست؟  
کاین وعده ها فسانه و افسون ماههاست  
گفتی که آن کنم که مراد دل شماست  
دیدی که آن نکردی و این نیز پا به جاست  
ویرانه تر مجو، ز دل ما خدا گواست  
پس این ستم ز عشوہ خوبان به ما چراست  
«بالای» کیست این که بلای دل شماست  
حاجت چه گفته نیست که مقصود بر ملاست  
آبش ربوده دست ز صحرای کربلاست  
شد نرخ بوسه نیز گران این چه ماجراست  
در هر اداره شاهلکی شوخ و دلریاست  
داند خدا چه خاصه خرجی ها به کارهاست  
گفتی گذشته همه پر لکه و سیاست  
بعد از تو بر تو نیز همین بحث و ماجراست  
تا کارهای ملک بر آری به رای راست  
خودگر چه اشک داروی هر درد بی دواست  
بیداد رفته بر ما، دادی تو دادخواست  
بر ما چها رود که خود آتش به جان ماست  
آن بی نواکه از پی نانش صد نواست  
آبی رسان، که تشنگی اینک به منتهاست  
«ای من غلام آنکه دلش با زبان دوتاست»  
دانی نه کم ز سرزنش این پند بر ملاست  
این نسخه تو سخت به قانون تراز شفاست  
«کاوَل علاج واجب بیمار احتماست»  
پس به ز ترک داروی تقلیل اشتهاست

ای وعده تو چون سر زلفین تو نه راست  
نی نی که نیست صحبت دوش و دی و پریر  
گفتی رقیب را ندهم ره به بزم انس  
گفتی همه وفا کنم از جور بگذرم  
گفتی کنم عمارت ویرانه های ملک  
گفتی به عهد من نکند کس ستم به کس  
گفتی بلا و فتنه ز «بالا» شروع شد  
گفتی فساد و جور و ستم بر کنم ز اصل  
نانی بود به قیمت جانی در این دیار  
تنها نه نرخ آب فزون گشت و نرخ نان  
افزود ناز و گشت حقوقش فزون به حق  
جز اسم نیست کسر مزایا و خذف پست  
گفتی تبهکاری از حد فزون شدست  
هشیار باش ز آنکه اگر غفلتی رود  
رنج سفر نهی به تن خویش هر زمان  
جز اشک ارمغان تو از هر سفر چه بود  
ما را ستم رسیده و چشم تو اشکبار  
از دود آتش دلی ار سوخت چشم تو  
این در اشک را به پیشیزی نمی خرد  
تا چند تشنه را به سراپی فریفتن؟  
گفتی که همراهم همه پاکند و متقی  
پس رک و آشکار همی پندشان دهی  
گویی گه منصفانه بلزدند و کم و کمک  
انصاف اگر چه در ره دزدی بود نکوست  
دانی که ترک عادت خود آورد مرض

گیرم که سر ز پند تو پیچند هم‌رهان  
 اسلاف آنچه بوده پیچند هم‌رهان  
 «عشق است و مفلسی و جوانی و نوبهار»  
 با این همه جوانی از کار خسته اند  
 این پشت میز سگته ناقص همی کند  
 دولت اگر نبود جوان، چشم بد به دور  
 گر فقر و ضعف علامت تقوی و خدمت است  
 این دست می برد به کت تن که عاریه است  
 با هم‌رهان بگوی که رنگی دگر زنند  
 آن مدعی که گفت بود آب جو حرام  
 فتوی گرفت و گفت حرام است آبجو  
 ملت که دل به «نان جوی» خوش نموده است  
 زین «دولت جوان» چه کسی رخت بر نیست  
 باشد که عهد «دولت قن‌داه ای» رسد  
 گفتی که مغرضان ره عصیان گرفته اند  
 فرق است بین ناصح و مغرض به فعل و قول  
 «گر پند تلخ می دهمت تنگ دل مباش»  
 خیر تو خواست آنکه سخن گفت تلخ و سخت

بر کاهدان زند که گنجینه بر هب است  
 با آن که هست عین صواب، این کجا رواست؟  
 انصاف ده توقع زهد و ورع خطاست  
 این خستگی به سن جوانی کجا سزاست؟  
 وان در صف رجال هم از ضعف پا به پاست  
 آگه نبود کس که سر انجام آن چه است  
 پس سمبل رجال شما «لاشه گداست»  
 یعنی که مال خلق نخورد است و پارساست  
 زیرا دگر نه بوی و رنگی بر این حناست  
 باور مکن که گفته او در ره خداست  
 تا دسترس به ویسکی و کنیاک وهم سوداست  
 دستش به «آب جو» چه رسد این چه مدعاست؟  
 گویا که وقت «دولت طفلان تازه پا» است  
 تا پاک دست و دل نبود، کی گره گشاست  
 وان گفته هایشان همه بی ارج و بی بهاست  
 کین گمره است و آن بره راست رهنماست  
 «تلخی بیاد آر که خاصیت دواست»  
 آن کس که چرب گفت همان سود خویش خواست

## Appendix 2. Datus C. Smith's (1953) first letter to Homayoun Sanati

Mr. Homayoun Sanati  
 Musee Sanati  
 Tehran, Iran

BAGHDAD, December 10, 1953

Dear Mr. Sanati:

Mr. Griffith and I think that one of the most gratifying aspects of our delightful visit in Tehran was the pleasure of meeting you. Perhaps we can work something out for formal association, but whether or not that happens we shall remain deeply grateful to you for your generous understanding of what we are trying to do, and for your wise advice to us.

Along the lines of our talk in Tehran, we set down here a plan for your consideration. If it should prove agreeable and possible for you, this is what we would recommend to our Board of Directors, and with every expectation that they would authorize us to go ahead. We must explain, however, that our full Board does not reconvene until March, and theoretically no action should be taken until then. However, Mr. Griffith and I are so enthusiastic about this possibility that if you should be available we should at once seek quicker action. I discuss this further at the end of the letter, but mention it here so that you will know the importance we attach to your own possible role in the undertaking.

We have been encouraged to start a Persian program by virtually all of the Iranians we consulted--statesmen, educators, publishers, and others. We intend to recommend to our Board that such a program be undertaken, and that you be placed in charge of it. This would include selection, editing, translation, and publication of the books. This would of course be handled in consultation with a Franklin officer (probably myself), and subject to the general policy direction of the Board of Directors, but with the widest possible latitude for expression of your own judgment and for conducting the business of Franklin in ways that are most appropriate for Tehran. As to how this might work out in practice: We would agree together that a certain kind of book should probably be published, and you would be supplied with sample copies of a number of different books of this kind. You would then solicit the opinion of Iranians qualified to express a judgment on this kind of book, and they might also suggest other possibilities from their knowledge of American literature. You would then present your recommendation, supported by the other opinions, and give us a rough estimate of the cost of editing (if any), translating, and what Franklin would of course depend on the publishing arrangements it was possible to make for a particular book, and you would be the negotiator with the publisher. Presumably, in most cases we would simply give you a general idea of the limits of negotiation, so you could complete the agreement without the necessity of checking back with New York on details. In fact the only certain requirement that can be foreseen for all books would be that our Directors would have to approve the rough estimate of cost before any translation or publication was undertaken.



In brief, you would be our legally appointed representative in Iran, and everything done there would be done through you. At the same time, we would not mean to place on you the unfair responsibility of deciding by yourself what books should be published, or other basic policy matters, though even there your recommendation would undoubtedly be the dominant factor in our thinking about any problem.

As a reminder of our conversation, let me say that we intend to issue all books through Iranian publishers, and we recognize the importance of consulting publishers as well as other kinds of people in deciding what books to publish and who should translate them. We would not think of confining all the books to one house, but rather of placing them with three or four or more publishers, according to the special interests and capabilities of the various houses. Once the books are issued, we would give them certain supplementary support through advertising, and of course our Tehran representative would be in charge of that also.

The full expense of a small office and secretary and all reasonable office costs would of course be borne by Franklin, and I assume that, as in Cairo, there would be a Franklin Publications bank account against which checks would be drawn on your signature. For salary for full-time work we would propose \$2,500 per year for you, which we have been advised is a good salary in Tehran for the responsible head of an office. But we know very well that salary by itself could not attract you from your present challenging work, and that only belief in the value of the project for Iran could persuade you or your family that you should do this. As you know, your belief in the project as a loyal Iranian is the only basis on which we would want you to work with us anyway.

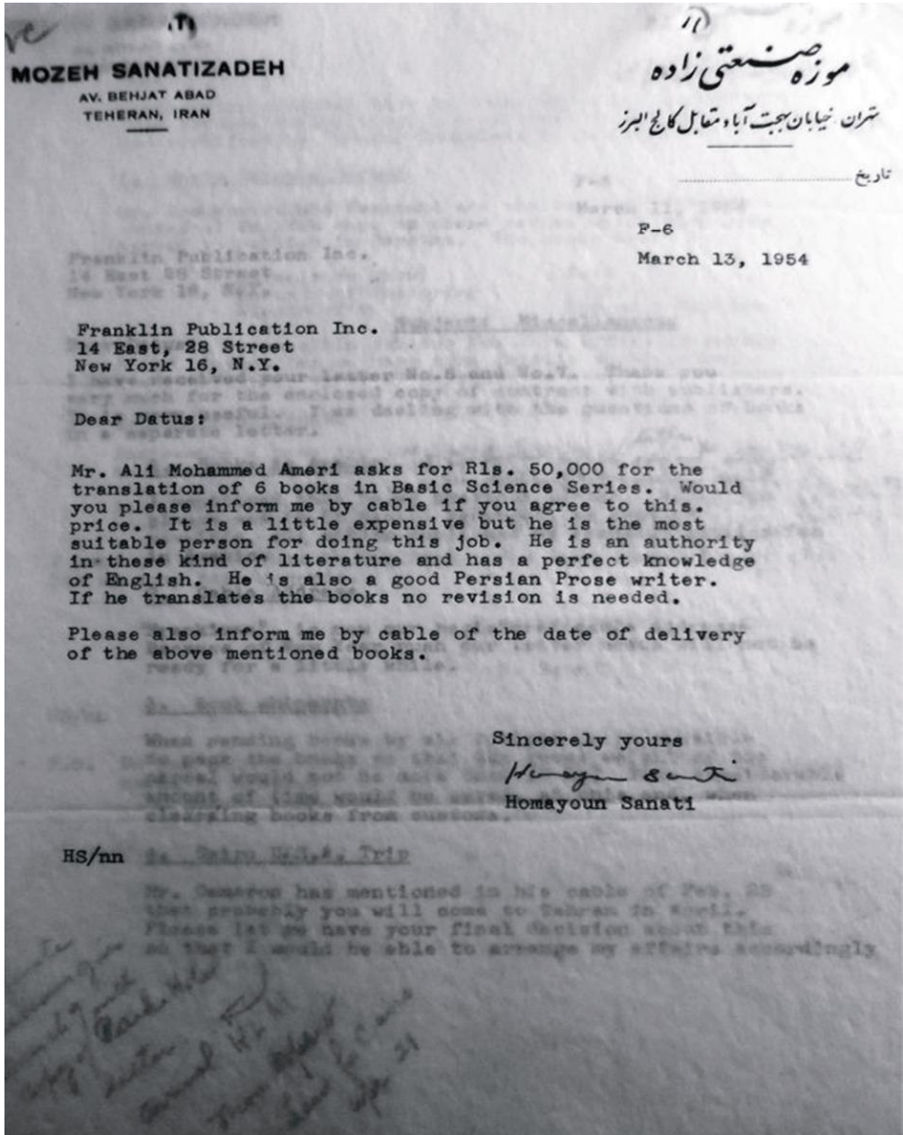
Although we should much prefer full-time work from the beginning, we should be willing to consider some proportional arrangement for both time and salary at the start if that would ease the problem of your leaving your present work.

If you should be willing and able to start in February or March, we would propose that in April or May we should pay the cost of a trip for you to go to the States for about four weeks and to Cairo for about one week. Such a trip would be much more valuable and interesting for you if it could come after you had faced some of the initial problems in Tehran; and that would also enable you to have commissioned certain translations so the translators could be at work while you are away.

The idea that Mr. Griffith and I have for possible action in advance of our Directors' meeting is this: under certain circumstances our Executive Committee can be authorized to act for the full Board, and we think that might be the case here. Mr. Griffith and I are members, and of the four members in New York one will be joining us on this trip about January 1. We think the members in New York might reach their judgment, and then I could write you formally right after the first of the year.

We hope that you will not rush any decision on this. If, however, it should be possible for me to let you know at Faletti's Hotel, Lahore, by January 1, or Oriental Hotel, Bangkok, by January 9, that would enable me to give you formal notification of agreement long enough in advance to permit you to start work by say March 1. Because of the uncertainty of mails, perhaps you would be good enough to cable if you should feel there is not enough time to be sure of reaching me at whichever address you use.

Appendix 3. Homayoun Sanati's (1954c) letter to Datus C. Smith,  
about A. M. 'Ameri



## Appendix 4. Questionnaire for literary translators (used in Chapter 5)

1. How many novels have you published (translation from English)?
  - a. 5 works
  - b. 5 to 10 works
  - c. 10 to 15 works
  - d. More than 15
2. What is the lowest and highest print runs of your translations in each edition?
  - a. Between 1,500 and 3,000
  - b. At least 1,500 and at most 3,500
  - c. At least 3,500 and at most 5,000
  - d. More than 5,000
3. How did you become a translator?
  - a. By chance
  - b. Preplanned and based on personal interest
  - c. Translation was my subject of study
4. Is translation your only means of income?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
5. If not, specify other means of income you have.
  - a. Cultural professions (editing, journalism, teaching, etc.)
  - b. Business
  - c. Official jobs or working for private companies
  - d. None of the above
6. What kinds of contracts have you mostly had with your publishers?
  - a. A percentage of the cover price
  - b. Handing in the right of publication to the publisher
  - c. Based on the pages or words of translated materials
  - d. a and b
7. How many of your translations of novels from English have been censored?
  - a. None of them
  - b. 1 to 5
  - c. 5 to 10
  - d. More than 10
8. Do you have any translations that have not been granted permission for publication by the Ministry?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

- 
9. Have you ever been invited to give a talk on your translations in official gatherings? Do you have any experience teaching translation in a class or translation and editing workshops?
- Yes
  - No
10. Why do you do literary translation?
- Literary translation is a way to accumulate symbolic (fame and credibility) and cultural capital (education, knowledge, and certificates) in Iranian society
  - It is a means of income
  - It is because of personal interest
  - Both a and b
11. What are your criteria in selection of a work you want to translate?
- Based on my personal knowledge of the writers and their works
  - Based on the publisher's recommendation
  - Based on a friend's recommendation
  - Randomly
12. In your opinion, which of the suggestions below best describe the selection of your published literary translations?
- The popularity of the writer and his/her works in Iran
  - The possibility of the work to be published given the cultural and religious conditions in Iranian society
  - The tendency to share the enjoyment of reading the work with others through translation
  - All of the above
13. Are you a member of a national or international professional translators association?
- Yes
  - No
  - I don't know about any of these associations
14. What is your opinion about Iran signing one of the international copyright conventions?
- I agree, provided that it would increase the quality of the translations and put translation in order
  - I don't agree since it would reduce the number of translations published and put economic pressure on publishers
15. What do you think of the IABP and the literary translations awarded so far?
- It has encouraged translators and increased their symbolic capital (prestige and social recognition) and the selection has been unbiased
  - The selection has not been unbiased; however, they have encouraged translators and increased their symbolic capital
  - It did not have any sensible effect on the improvement of the quality of translations or the sale of them

16. Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, has defined four kinds of capital for translators and other agents in the publishing field: symbolic capital (fame and credibility), social capital (social relations, friendship, and contacts), cultural capital (education, knowledge, and certificates), and economic capital (money and material goods). A translator's position in the field of literary translation depends on the amount of capital he/she is able to accumulate in competing with other translators. Which of the following orders best describe your practice as a literary translator in accumulating and increasing these types of capital?
- Symbolic, social, economic, and cultural capital
  - Economic, symbolic, cultural, and social
  - Symbolic, cultural, social, and economic
  - Cultural, social, symbolic, and economic
17. What is the nature of your interaction with other agents in the field of literary translation (publishers, editors, and literary publishers)?
- It is just limited to the translation being published
  - It is not limited to a specific translation; rather, it is continuous contact
  - I do not have any contact after publishing the work and receiving the payment
18. Have you ever traveled abroad in order to improve and solve the linguistic and cultural problems of a translation?
- Yes
  - No
  - I would like to, but it has not been possible
19. Have you ever been impelled to censor or reconsider parts of your translations as requested by the Ministry?
- Yes
  - No
20. What strategies do you adopt in your translations in order to avoid obligatory censorship?
- Self-censorship
  - Adaptation (an "intralinguistic process of accommodation to new [culture], to the requirements of official censorship" (Merino and Rabadán 2002: 132)) to escape censorship
  - Not translating works that are most susceptible to censorship
21. Do you read translation journals, for instance *Motarjem* and *Motale'at-e Tarjomeh*?
- Yes, I'm a subscriber
  - Sometimes I read them
  - I don't read translation journals
22. How do you evaluate the status of literary translators in Iran?
- Translators have a remarkable cultural, social, and economic status
  - Translators have only cultural and/or social status
  - A translator's economic status is a prerequisite for his/her cultural and/or social status



- 
23. How do you evaluate the publication of literary translations in post-Revolution Iran?
- It is appropriate
  - It is unstable
  - It is improving
  - It is declining
24. What variables have probably increased the quality and quantity of literary translation in post-Revolution Iran?
- The policies of publication and the controlling guidelines of the Ministry
  - The economic status of the readership
  - The size and the capital stock of the publishers
  - All of the above
25. How do you evaluate the situation of literary translation and translators in post-Revolution Iran comparing to pre-Revolution Iran?
- A quantitative and qualitative increase in titles and diversity of titles plus an increase in the number of translators
  - A quantitative increase in the number of titles, diversity of works, a qualitative decrease in translations and an increase in the number of translators
  - Only a quantitative increase in titles, the diversity of works and an increase in the number of translators
  - These two periods cannot be compared in terms of the quality of works

## Appendix 5. Questionnaire for Abdollah Kowsari, used in Chapter 5

### General questions

1. What is your year of birth? What is your marital status? What is your highest educational level? When did you find yourself interested in literature? What kind of books did you read? How did your family, society, and cultural situation affect your outlooks in pre- and post-Revolution Iran?
2. Is translation your only source of income? If not, mention other means of income. If you had careers other than translation, what were they and how long did you do them?
3. Name the prizes you have been awarded for your translations. What effects did they have on your career? Have you ever been publicly recognized for your achievements as a translator? How many times have you been a committee member for one of the literary translation prizes?
4. How many times have you given a speech on literary translation, on Latin American literature, or other subjects?
5. Have you had any formal education in translation or editing? Have you ever taught literary translation or editing? If so, when and for how long?
6. What are your sources for world literature, especially English novels?
7. What are your norms for selecting novels to translate into Persian?
8. Have you ever translated books or novels based on the publishers' suggestions?
9. It appears that there is no literary agent in Iran to link writers, translators, and publishers together. If you agree, who plays the role of a literary agent for you? Do we need literary agents in Iran, as is common in Western countries?
10. Which authors would you be interested in translating? Why? Are you in contact with them?
11. Generally, if one book is a best-seller in one country, it can be adopted for translation in another country. Have you ever observed such a trend in Iran?
12. Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, has defined four kinds of capital for translators and other agents in the publishing field: symbolic capital (prestige and social recognition), social capital (network of social relations, friendship, and contacts), cultural capital (education, knowledge, and diplomas), and economic capital (money and material goods). A translator's position in the field of literary translation depends on the amount of capital he/she is able to accumulate when competing with other translators. In your published translations, which type of capital and its accumulation concerned you most? Which type of capital and accumulation is more challenging? Why? Can you order these types of capital based on your status in the literary translation field in Iran? And how do you identify the order of these types of capital for literary translators in post-Revolution Iran?
13. What is your mental image of yourself as a translator? What do you think about your position as a translator?
14. What is the nature of your interaction with other translators, editors, literary critics, literary publishers, lecturers, and researchers in the literary field? What do you think about the absence of a professional translators' association (see e.g., *Motarjem* issue 4, 36, and 43) in Iran and its possible effects on translators' activities and their relationship with each other and with international professional translators' associations?

15. What do you think about literary translators and translations in post-Revolution Iran? If we divide this period into the war period, the postwar period until Khatami's presidency, the period of Khatami's presidency, and the post-Khatami presidency period, how do you see literary translation and the quality of the translations? What other factors do you think hinder the publication of literary translations besides censorship?
16. How do you evaluate literary translators and translations in pre-Revolution Iran? Is there any kind of specific tendency in the translations of this period? Could literary translation be a means of income?
17. What do you think about the similarities and differences between the literary translations of pre- and post-Revolution Iran?
18. Is there any relationship between published literary translations and the absence of an international copyright convention in Iran?

### Questions about the translation of *The War of the End of the World*

19. Why did you decide to translate *The War of the End of the World* into Persian? How long did it take to translate the work? Did you have other means of income during the translation?
20. What was your payment for the translation (state precisely)?
21. How did you solve problems in translating the book?
22. Have you been in touch with the writer or the English publisher and translator of the book into English, Helen R. Lane?
23. What was the nature of your interaction with the publisher of your translation? Did the publisher consult you about the method of publishing the book? Why did you publish your translation with Agah Publishing?
24. Did Agah Publishing give you any specific advice in translating *The War of the End of the World*?
25. Which Iranian publisher would you like to work with? Why?
26. How did you handle passages in your translation that could face censorship? Please mention a few examples along with the page number.
27. Were you asked by the Ministry to censor part of your translation? If yes, please mention the cases.
28. Who edited the translation of *The War of the End of the World*? If you were the editor, please explain the process.
29. What do you know about the readers' reaction to the translation? Have you read the reviews about the translation? How effective were they? What was your reaction to them?
30. How effective was the IABP in encouraging readership? Have other publishers suggested that you translate other works by the same author or other Latin American authors?

## Appendix 6. Questionnaire for Agah Publishing, used in Chapter 5

### General questions

1. What is your date of birth and level of education? Did you attend any training courses in publishing?
2. Is publishing your only source of income? If not, what else do you do for a living? Why did you begin to work as a publisher?
3. Please provide me with the following information, if possible:
  - The establishment date of the publishing house
  - The total titles published (translations and non-translations)
  - The legal status of the publishing house
  - Any financial dependence on other publishers
  - If there is a publisher among the shareholders
  - If there is a distributor among the shareholders
  - The size of the publishing house (capital stock, turnover, number of salaried staff)
  - Prizes obtained for books
  - The number of the books purchased by the Ministry
  - The importance of foreign literature
4. What is your selection process for publishing literary translations? How important is the translator's symbolic capital (prestige and social recognition) for you? Do you have any institutional mechanism (reading committees, readers, series editors, etc.) for the publication of books?
5. According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, there are four types of capital for agents in the publishing field: symbolic capital (prestige and social recognition), social capital (network of social relations, friendship, and contacts), cultural capital (education, knowledge, and diplomas), and economic capital (money and material goods). The position of publishers in the publishing field depends on the amount of capital they can obtain when competing with others. Which capital has been most important for you to acquire? Which is most difficult to obtain and increase?
6. What are your strategies for increasing your symbolic capital (i.e., prestige and social recognition)? Some strategies can be the use of advertising, cultivating social contacts with other agents, competition for national best-sellers, etc.
7. How do you evaluate the position of published literary translations in post-Revolution Iran, its evolution, and the position of literary publishers in light of the policies of the Ministry?
8. How do you see your position in the field of publishing in Iran?
9. What is the nature of your cooperation with other Iranian publishers?
10. Who are your favorite translators of novels from English into Persian?
11. Do you suggest novels for translation to translators?

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## Questions about the Persian translation of *The War of the End of the World*

12. Was the translation the translator's suggestion? Why did you decide to publish it? How important was the translator's symbolic capital in your decision?
13. Has this translation been edited? If yes, who edited it?
14. How many times have you printed the translation to date? Please mention exactly each print circulation, the price, and its sales.
15. Did you give the translator or the editor any directives about the translation?
16. Did you experience any difficulties in obtaining publication permission from the Ministry? Did the Ministry request that you censor the translation? If yes, please provide some examples.
17. How do you evaluate the reception of the translation? Did you read the reviews of the translation?
18. Has the IABP awarded to the translation been effective in increasing the translation's readership and your economic capital?
19. Have you recommended other works for translation to the translator?
20. What was/is the translator's payment?

## Appendix 7. Back translation of a book contract for the Persian translation of *The War of the End of the World*, discussed in Chapter 5

The following contract is concluded between Mr. Abdollah Kowsari, holder of I.D. card No. x, resident of Tehran, translator of the book written by Mario Vargas Llosa, entitled *The War of The End of The World*, which hereafter will be referred to as “the work,” and Hosein Hoseinkhani (Agah Publishing), who is called the publisher in this contract.

*Article 1:* The translator hands over the complete text [translation] of the work to the publisher. The text should be completely legible with correct dictation, orthography, and full punctuation. He also transfers the publishing rights to the publisher.

*Article 2:* Hereby, the translator testifies that he has not given any kind of privilege for publication of this book to one or more real persons or a corporate body. If anyone claims the right or any privilege of the work, the translator will be responsible for that and the publisher will not take responsibility.

*Article 3:* In return of the translator’s transfer of the rights of the publishing of the work, the publisher will pay 15% of the cover price of every edition after 3 months of the publication. Moreover, the publisher undertakes to grant 20 free copies of the book to the translator upon publication.

*Article 4:* The book’s circulation in its first edition will be at least 2,000 copies. The number of the published copies in each edition should also appear on the title page of the book.

*Article 5:* The publisher determines the paper type, book size, book-binding, and the pricing of the book. In addition, the publisher is permitted to print an extra 10% of the total circulation for probable spoilages (printing offcuts, form offcuts, binding, and transportation) in every publication which does not include any rights.

*Article 6:* In the case of any dispute in interpreting and implementing of this contract, the issue shall be settled by referring to an arbitrator who is accepted by the two sides/parties.

*Article 7:* This contract is regulated and exchanged by 7 articles and drawn up in two originals.

Name: ..... Surname: .....

Publisher:

The translator shall hand over the translation manuscript before the end of the year 1376/1997, and the publisher commits to pay Five Thousand Rials to the translator by the end of 1376/1997.

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