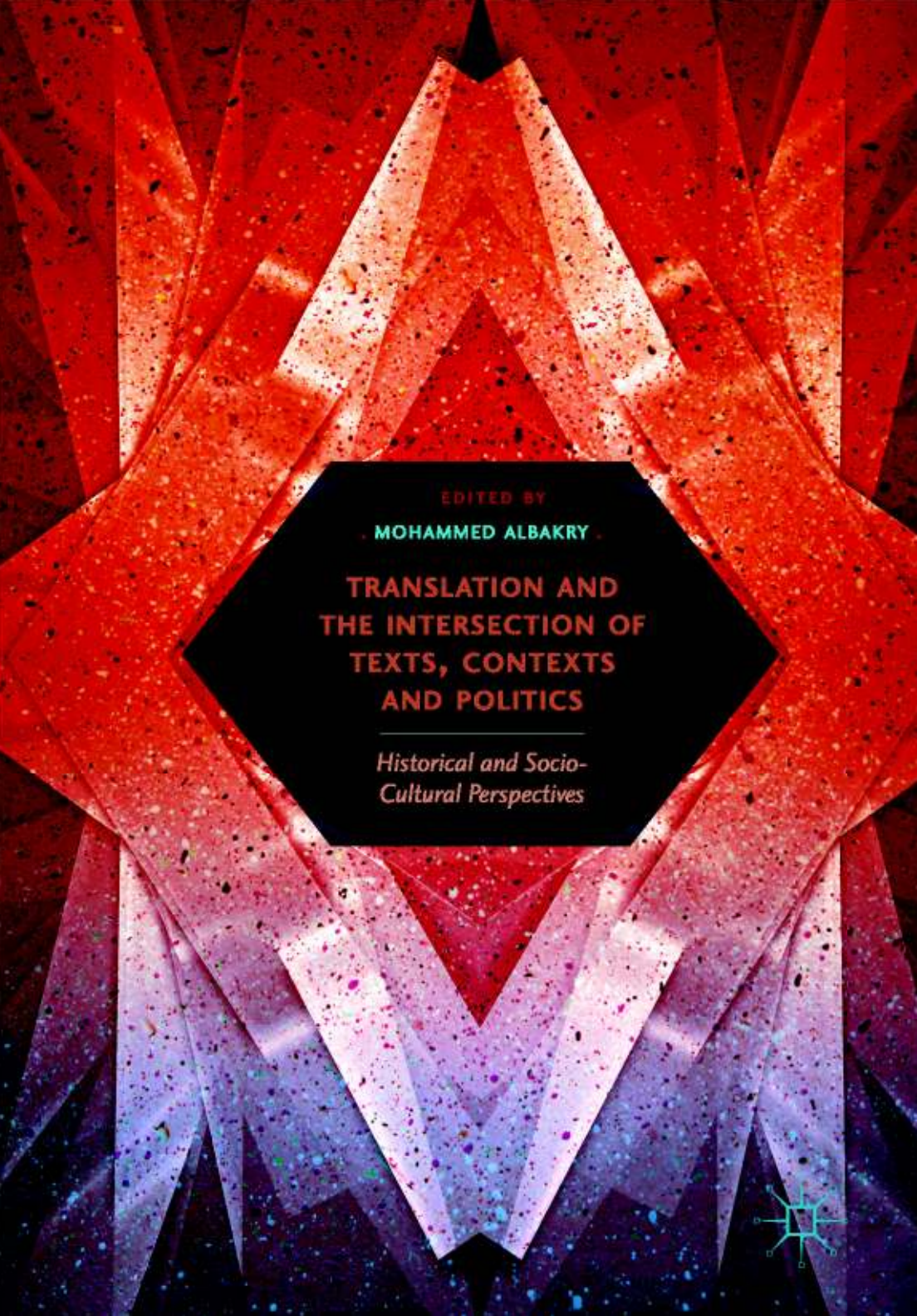
EDITED BY
MOHAMMED ALBAKRY
TRANSLATION AND THE INTERSECTION OF TEXTS, CONTEXTS AND POLITICS
Historical and Socio-Cultural Perspectives

Translation and the Intersection of Texts, Contexts and Politics

Mohammed Albakry
Editor

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Foreword

Translation studies, as a relatively new discipline when it emerged in the 1960s as an academic field in its own right, survived at first on the margins of the humanities and social sciences. Since the early years of the twenty-first century, the field has secured a position at the center of the humanistic enterprise. The forces of globalization and the countless linguistic and cultural encounters in the contemporary world have doubtless spurred its development, as have new insights into language and culture in the academy. Translation studies have now begun to spur academic as well as practical interest in a wide range of fields, energizing research and curricula throughout the humanities and stimulating major research universities in the United States and abroad to resume or initiate degrees and programs in translation studies. Furthermore, the academy has come to embrace translation as a large interdiscipline that encompasses the arts, the humanities, social sciences and computer sciences. This new approach rewards institutions and scholars handsomely by truly internationalizing the curriculum, and making it more relevant to both faculty and students. Translation theory today has broadened its reach to a number of important subfields, including the topic of this book, "translation as a political and contextual act." The volume will certainly be of interest to both scholars and students in a number of interrelated and interdependent areas of study.

This rich collection of essays, edited by Mohammed Albakry, is evidence of the revitalization of the translation field and the importance of translation studies to a range of disciplines. Its focus on translation and politics raises many key questions for translation practice, pedagogy and research and will certainly heighten awareness of how translation is so much more than an act of language transfer, but rather a conscious political act that employs the arts of reading and writing to reconstruct the realities of the source as well as the target texts and contexts. The diverse and well-researched essays in the volume point to an array of fascinating translation issues, including the pervasive and often invisible presence of ethical choices in the translation act, power relations, censorship, the role of the subaltern, gender dynamics, translation as a performance and collaborative art, and the ever-present interplay of language and identity.

It is with great pride that I note that this book is one of the many fine products of the 2103 NEH (National Endowment of the Humanities) Summer Institute at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, titled "Translation and Its Centrality to the Humanities" which I codirected with Chris Higgins. In the intensive three weeks of the program, university teachers, graduate students and translation scholars gathered to explore the idea that translation is no mere searching for lexical equivalents but a profound act which builds bridges across times and cultures, opening new possibilities for texts and their readers. This book is evidence of the exciting potential of this growing field that continues to expand borders, build bridges, and reaffirm our shared humanity.

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January 2017

Acknowledgments

Any book is never a singular or a solitary act, and no more is this truer than in an edited volume that depends on the intellectual contributions of many scholars. I want to express my utmost thanks, first and foremost, to the diverse group of scholars whose work is included in this volume. I deeply appreciate their dedication to the process of writing and their collaboration in revising and expanding their chapters. Very special thanks should be extended to three of the contributors—Joseph McAlhany, Hans Gabriel, and Karen Rauch—for their participation in a panel I organized at the 2015 ALTA (American Literary Translators Association) Conference in Tucson, Arizona. The final idea of this volume took shape in my conversation and correspondence with them. Special thanks are due to Elizabeth Lowe and Chris Higgins, the organizers of a wonderful 2013 NEH (National Endowment of the Humanities) Summer Institute at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. My participation in this interdisciplinary scholarly gathering focusing on the centrality of translation to the humanities sparked my initial conception for this volume. I would also like to acknowledge Middle Tennessee State University for the opportunity of a non-instructional assignment at the final stage of this project.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to many other individuals whose help and support have been important at different stages: Maria Backman, Chair of the English Department, and Jwa Kim, Director of the Literacy

Studies Ph.D. Program, for encouraging and facilitating my scholarly work; Palgrave Macmillan's anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and feedback that helped define the content of this volume; and Collin Olson and Katie Myers for their proofreading help and assistance in preparing the manuscript for delivery.

As always, I am deeply grateful to my wife, Judy Albakry, for her constant encouragement and steady support.

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1

Interrogating Translation as a Doubly Political and Contextual Act

Mohammed Albakry

Translators do not operate in a vacuum nor do translated texts magically appear like babies in cabbage patches. Both are subject to a myriad of elements that shape and exercise pressure on the work of translators and the selection, production, and reception of their translated texts. More than a self-contained, neutral act of interlingual transfer, translation is a fraught act rooted in specific historical, economic, and sociocultural contexts and is particularly sensitive to the politics, broadly conceived, of these contexts.

Politics, in the widest sense of the term, and translation have always been associated. Most reading and writing, as Von Flotow maintains (2001), are produced and conducted in a political context. Translation—the combined act of careful reading and rewriting—is, therefore, "doubly" political; "not only was the first text embedded in and influenced by certain political configurations, but the second

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text, the rewritten version, adds yet another layer of politics, that of the new translating culture and era" (Von Flotow 2001: 9). Echoing the same argument about the "doubleness" of translation but focusing more on conceptualizing it as a process of re-contextualization, House (2005: 344) notes that any translation is an act of performance producing a doubly contextual text, bound "... to its contextually embedded source text and ... to the (potential) recipient's communicative-contextual conditions."

The term context, as it is understood here, goes beyond the narrow view of the co-text, or textual elements, and the cognitive variables constraining our interpretation of texts (see Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Gee 2014; Ghadessy 1999; Hermans 2014; Nida 2002). It is rather a dynamic part of any discourse encompassing both external and internal factors that can influence one another and relates as much to the various aspects of a particular setting of writing/translation as well as the translators' interaction with systems, traditions, authors, publishers, power relationships, previous translations, paratextual material, genre expectations, history of reading, institutional framework of reception, prevailing literary trends, and presumed tastes of audiences, among a host of other mediating agents and factors that have an impact on the production and reception of translated texts.

This volume considers the various ways in which the historical and sociocultural conditions as well as the politics of reading and rewriting/translation can intersect and influence the highly charged act of translation. The contributing scholars offer their perspectives based on their translations from, or research on, different genres and text types including fiction, short stories, memoires, religious texts, scientific treatises, and news reportage from a variety of different languages and cultural traditions. Building on other works that explored the role of translation in ideological negotiations and cultural struggles or translators as active agents situated in their own space, time, and history (see Baker et al. 2010; Blumenfeld-Kosinski et al. 2001; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Tymoczko 2010), the chapters in this volume widen the scope to include texts from a range of diverse contexts and historical periods encompassing early modern Europe, post-1848 Switzerland, nineteenth-century Portugal, Egypt in the early twentieth century under British

colonial rule, Spain under Franco's dictatorship, and contemporary Peru and China, among other geographical contexts and time periods.

What makes this volume distinctive is the fact that it considers the fundamental aspects of text, context, and politics in terms of their interplay and interconnections. The different authors may differ in how they stress the relative importance of the interrelationships of these elements, but they are always conscious of the political and contextual aspects in their interrogation of the act of translation and its influence on the perception and interpretation of texts. In so doing, they generate critical discussion that locate the texts in their source and receiving contexts in order to engage with larger questions involving fidelity, equivalence, mediation, elision, silencing, identity, conflict, intentionality, manipulation, power differential, gendered meaning, cross-cultural hierarchies, negotiation of cultural difference, and (mis) representation of the Other.

In Chapter 2, Joseph McAlhany provides a historical view regarding the dichotomy of body and spirit, one of the commonplace tropes in the history of translation. McAlhany takes as his point of departure the encounter between an unpleasant geometer and a translator of Horace narrated in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), a social satire of European society as seen through the eyes of two imaginary Persian visitors. In this encounter, Montesquieu's geometer uses the trope of body and spirit to deny the possibility of translation since, as he puts it, an "animating spirit" will always be lacking in a translation's new body. This argument leads McAlhany to trace the origins and development of the body/spirit trope in the early debates about the possibility and legitimacy of translations of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. He focuses in particular on the Septuagint, a translation in which, legend has it, seventy translators independently produced seventy identical renderings. The story of this translation, as McAlhany points out, was told in various ways by Christians wishing to imbue the Greek text with the spiritual authority of the original and emphasize how the "spirits" of translation permit a miraculous and perfect transfer of meaning. This notion of "spirits" has persisted, and, as McAlhany argues, the transfer of a text's "spirit," even if only partial, remains a translation ideal to this day. The darker side to these spirits is their authorization of the

overwriting of original texts, and thus translation may become a form of cultural appropriation.

In Chapter 3, historian Lindsay Wilson places Newton and his French translator, Emily Du Châtelet, deeply in their sociocultural contexts in her "Mediating Science in Early Modern England and France: Isaac Newton and his Translator, Émilie Du Châtelet". With narrative verve, Wilson explores how the myth of Newton as a lone genius bringing enlightenment was carefully constructed against accounts of the politics of early modern European science and religion that told another story. Contrasting Newton and his French translator, Emily Du Châtelet, Wilson points out that Newton had contributed to this myth himself by vigorously asserting his priority in the discovery of calculus against Leibnitz's claims and by intentionally making *Principia* abstruse to avoid stating his intellectual debt to others. Du Châtelet, on the other hand, championed a collaborative model of science as evidenced in her translation of *Principia* which was accompanied by a commentary that placed Newton's contributions in the context of other discoverers, both before and after. Du Châtelet, as Wilson argues, approached *Principia* not as a monument to the person of Newton, but as a text to be worked on by herself and others across national boundaries. In Du Châtelet's translation, her name, not Newton's, appeared on the title page, and a preface by Voltaire even appeared before Newton's preface. The chapter concludes by pointing out how recent recoveries of Newton's and Du Châtelet's theological texts that had been suppressed for centuries show the two figures' different views on religion, philosophy, science, and translation, as well as reveal a side of Newton that, now exposed, undermines the Enlightenment myth.

In Chapter 4, Hans Gabriel offers a close reading of one of the Swiss "classics" of the German-speaking world and stresses the need for reading the translation of Gottfried Keller's canonical work in its totality. Written primarily in Berlin between 1848 and 1855, Keller's Seldwyla stories still exist in English translation mainly in individual reprints and out-of-print editions, and not at all as a complete collection. In his reading, Gabriel argues that *Schadenfreude* pervades Keller's use of the town and its people as an opportunity to forge, in both senses of the word, a Swiss(-German) identity within and against some of the

predominant German-language literary, political, cultural, and linguistic contexts of his time. For a fuller appreciation of the literary merit of the stories, therefore, this larger context of the stories need to be properly understood by any translator of Keller's work. Focusing on his own translations of Keller's literary frames of "Introduction" and "Forward" and one of the stories—*Der Schmied seines Glückes* (*The Forger of his own Destiny*)—that also does not otherwise exist in English—Gabriel explores the way in which Keller's two literary frames work together with his stories. The chapter, thus, not only demonstrates the need for an English translation of the complete collection in light of its larger context, but also emphasizes the importance of including paratextual elements in English translations of any individual Seldwyla story or stories.

In Chapter 5, Suzanne Black takes us to nineteenth century's Portugal. By the mid-nineteenth century, Portugal occupied a curious position within the European colonial project, at once the holder of a wide-flung empire and a declining world power subject to British and French domination. This curious political position is documented in Júlio Dinis's 1868 novel *An English Family: Scenes from Life in Oporto*. Black's chapter examines the historical and political contexts for this important but largely forgotten novel of cross-cultural exchange. After situating the novel in relation to the political conflicts of the mid nineteenth century, she argues that the narrator of Dinis's novel functions as an interpreter of British culture for Portuguese readers. However, while the book's courtship plot looks forward to a multi-ethnic world which might reconcile English and Portuguese values, she finds that Dinis's characters are repeatedly critical of British chauvinism. Black then argues for the use of foreignizing and pre-servation techniques in translating this historical novel into English and addresses some of her own strategies involved in translating the novel to make the case for what she labels an activist approach. Such an approach, she maintains, would help foster appreciation both for the novel's contemporary relevance and aesthetic value. In line with this approach, she considers such specific translational issues as the rendition of servant speech, the retention of Portuguese language vocabulary and phrases, and the adoption of linguistic hybrids.

In Chapter 6, we move to North Africa under colonial rule in the early twentieth century and the issue of translating one of the leading feminist figures in the Arab world: Huda Sha'rawi. As Nada Ayad points out, Huda Sha'rawi played a key role in Egyptian women's nationalism on both the domestic and international stages as documented in Sha'rawi's celebrated memoires. In order to contextualize and complicate the image of Arab women's involvement in the Egyptian political sphere in the first two decades of the last century, Ayad examines the Arabic "original" of Sha'rawi's memoirs along with its English translation. Through historical and textual analysis that attends to matters of genre, market, narrative strategy, and reception, Ayad traces what is lost and what is gained in the processes of translation, examining the intertwined shifts of language and literary context that a work can incur as it moves from its point of origin out into a new cultural sphere. She contends that the Arabic and the English texts are both translations in the broader sense of the term and are informed by each respective source culture's social determinations. These determinations undergird how both texts rely on silencing, curtailing, and elisions.

In Chapter 7, Juan Ignacio Guijarro González offers a critical inquiry of archival materials to shed some light on the complex and often-neglected subject of the interrelation between censorship and translation. After the Spanish Civil War had ended in 1939, General Francisco Franco established a right-wing dictatorship which was to last for decades, until his death in 1975. From the beginning, as Guijarro González explains, the new regime set up a censorship system that rigidly restricted the circulation of ideas and texts all over the country, and, quite predictably, the translation of foreign literature became then a major source of ideological and cultural contestation. Making extensive use of the official reports available at the Spanish censorship archives, the author focuses on the cultural and ideological forces at work during this period when attempts were made to translate some of the novels of Nabokov, especially his novels *Pnin, Ada* and, his acclaimed masterpiece, *Lolita*. The case of Nabokov's translations in Francoist Spain, as Guijarro González points out, is rather peculiar; since in Nabokov's person several contradictory factors coalesced: on the one hand, he shared Franco's anticommunist fervor but, on the other, he was firmly

opposed to any form of authoritarian power. To complicate things further, his novels' usual focus on sexuality, adultery, and crime made them particularly problematic to translate in an ultraconservative nation heavily influenced by the strict morality of the Catholic Church.

In Chapter 8, Justine Pas takes us to the world of relay translation, the practice of using already translated texts as sources for yet other translations. This practice, as Pas explains, is used when original source texts are lost or when translators between rarely found language pairs are unavailable. While she acknowledges the beneficial role relay could play in the survival of texts from minority languages, she questions its prevalence and contemporary use especially in literary translation, and argues that the doubly mediated English translations indicate an imbalance of power in the position of source languages and literatures within the global hierarchies of cultural prestige. Using as a case study the 1970 relay translation (via French) of Stanisław Lem's critically acclaimed Polish novel, *Solaris*, Pas demonstrates in concrete terms the inadequacy of relay translation. Her careful textual analysis reveals that relay translation—by introducing a third linguistic layer and cultural context—is more likely to increase inaccuracies and errors, making it a practice particularly ill-suited to literary translation.

In Chapter 9, Karen Rauch reflects on her own translation of an ecocritical essay collection titled *Knots Like Stars: The ABCs of the Ecological Imagination in Our Americas* by the Peruvian writer Roberto Forns Broggi. In her reflexive exploration of the power relations between author and translator, between original and "copy," Rauch employs one of the principal metaphors of her translation project—the Incan *khipu*, a color-coded system of cords—to envision translation as a visual art that does not distance itself from the notion of voice. The chapter probes some of the major issues at play when a translator makes decisions about how best to translate a text and gives a personal perspective on the relationship dynamics between a male author and a female translator and the concomitant tension generated by cultural and gender

differences. In the course of her translation of the essay collection, however, Rauch reports that she gradually came to perceive the translation process as re-performance of the text as she and the author collaborated to create a new artifact in English.

In Chapter 10, Li Pan investigates the institutional practices and politics within which Chinese translation of Western news reports are produced especially when it comes to reports related to the politically fraught issue of the Tibet conflict. Drawing on Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis and the notion of recontextualization in critical studies of translation (see Baker 2006; Kang 2007), Pan examines the representations of China in (re)framing the riots that happened in Lhasa—the capital city of Tibet—in March 2008, in both the original English news stories and their Chinese translated versions. The chapter throws into question the claims regarding the "faithful" translation of news reports from foreign media and highlights the complex role of cultural and ideological factors involved in shaping news translations aimed at local audiences.

As this overview indicates, the volume interrogates the act of translation from and into different languages (Hebrew, Greek, French, German, Portuguese, Arabic, English, Polish, Spanish, and Chinese). Its broad focus creates juxtapositions that emphasize the fact that translation is a transformative act that can only produce a portrait, not an exact copy of an "original." Like any artistic portrait, translation entails a point of view. Just as the artist's view shape a portrayed object, the translator's view—influenced by the larger historical, political, and sociocultural contexts in which the act of translation is situated—shapes our perception and interpretation of the translated texts.

Even though the volume is not intended to be a translation manual aimed at providing a how-to-guide, most of the analytical case studies included here do have both theoretical and pedagogical implications for would-be translators and translation practitioners. The book will be helpful in raising the awareness of translators and future translators about the fraught nature of translation, the role of historical and contextual knowledge, and the major linguistic and cultural challenges translators are likely to encounter in a wide array of genres and text types. It is hoped that this work will be of great benefit to scholars interested in translation studies,

applied linguistics, foreign languages and literatures, comparative literature, intellectual history, and cultural studies.

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Mohammed Albakry earned his PhD in applied linguistics from Northern Arizona University and is professor of English and applied linguistics and affiliate faculty in the literacy studies Ph.D. Program at Middle Tennessee State University, USA. He has taught and lectured widely in different universities in North Africa and East Asia, and his scholarly work has been supported by various grants and fellowships from Fulbright, the University of Connecticut's Humanities Institute, and the Chinese Language Council International. He authored and coauthored numerous refereed articles and most recently co-edited the drama anthology *Tahir Tales: Plays from the Egyptian Revolution* (Seagull Books/University of Chicago Press, 2016). He is also a practicing translator and was awarded a 2014 National Endowment for the Arts Translation Fellowship.

2

Montesquieu's Geometer and the Tyrannical Spirits of Translation

Joseph McAlhany

2.1 Introduction

Within the whole of the *Persian Letters*, Montesquieu's eighteenth-century epistolary pseudotranslation, only once does the issue of literary translation arise. In letter 123,[1] Rica, the primary reporter on life in Paris, recounts a stroll with an unnamed friend along the Pont Neuf, where they compel a geometer deep in contemplation to join them at a café. Following some disagreeable banter there, the geometer departs, and on his way out has a run-in, physical as well as intellectual, with a *savant* whom he knows. This acquaintance, who reveals he has been a translator for twenty years, shares the wonderful news that his translation of the Roman poet Horace has just been published. Instead of the

[1] Letter 123 in the 1721 edition, 129 in subsequent editions.

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admiration and accolades he expects, however, his math-minded interlocutor immediately deflates his pretensions with a single question: "You haven't done any thinking for twenty years?" (*Il y a vingt ans que vous ne pensez pas?*) When the translator mounts a feeble defense, which is in truth merely a plea that his valuable public service be recognized, he is assailed with a series of pointed barbs, none of which, even if now hurled with far less gusto, will fail to touch translators today:

> —Monsieur, dit le savant, croyez-vous que je n'aie pas rendu un grand service au public, de lui rendre la lecture des bons auteurs familière?
> —Je ne dis pas tout à fait cela: j'estime autant qu'un autre les sublimes génies que vous travestissez. Mais vous ne leur ressemblerez point: car, si vous traduisez toujours, on ne vous traduira jamais. Les traductions sont comme ces monnaies de cuivre qui ont bien la même valeur qu'une pièce d'or et même sont d'un plus grand usage pour le peuple; mais elles sont toujours faibles et d'un mauvais aloi. Vous voulez, dites-vous, faire renaître parmi nous ces illustres morts; et j'avoue que vous leur donnez bien un corps: mais vous ne leur rendez pas la vie; il y manque toujours un esprit pour les animer.
> —"But monsieur," said the scholar, "don't you think I've performed a great service to the public, making it easy for them to read the best writers?"
> —"I wouldn't say that. As much as anyone, I hold in high regard the sublime geniuses whom you dress up in rags. But you're not like them at all—you could translate forever, but no one will ever translate you. Translations are like brass coins: they have the same value as a gold piece, and are common currency with the people, but they don't last, a cheap alloy. You say you want to give these illustrious dead a rebirth in our day, and I grant that you do provide them with a body, but you don't give them life: what's always missing is a spirit to animate them."[2]

As a Parthian shot, the geometer suggests, not without condescension, that the translator make better use of his time in the discovery of beautiful truths (*belles vérités*) available to anyone via simple calculation.

[2] All translations, from this and other texts, are my own unless otherwise indicated. For a different translation, see Mauldon (2008: 170–171).

The two disengage and go their separate ways, equally annoyed with one another. The translator, however, offers no rejoinder to the geometer's assault, as if he could not find the words.

The tropes the geometer manages to deploy in these few lines, clothing (*travestissez*) and currency, are translation commonplaces, and his concluding binary of body and spirit is a metaphor coterminous with the idea of translation itself (Steiner 1998: 280–281). Indeed, the separability of a text's body (letter, signifier, *verbum*) and spirit (meaning, signified, *sensus*) lies at the heart of translation, and the oscillations between them supplies its lifeblood. In Plato's *Ion*, one of the earliest explorations of translation, Socrates interrogates a rhapsode by that name, who "translates" Homeric texts in dramatic performance. Ion's activity represents the most fundamental form of translation (*hermēmeuō*),[3] an intralingual interpretation, yet it already involves a separation of the letter and the sense. When Socrates first praises Homeric rhapsodes, his assumption, at least before Ion, is that to be successful, they must know not only the words of the text they recite (*ta epē*), but its meaning (*dianoia*) as well. It is impossible, Socrates says, that a rhapsode could be a translator (*hermēneus*) of the poet's meaning if he does not know what the poet says (530C). The hapless Ion, perhaps only the first award-winning translator who could neither resolve the dilemma of body and spirit nor explain what he does, can only agree to Socrates' ironic conclusion that his translation abilities must be some divine power (*theia dunamis*), not a technical skill (*technē* or *epistēmē*).

The trope of body and spirit survived various translations to live on in Montesquieu's strange epistolary essay on translation. His geometer would agree that real translation involves the transfer of a spirit into a new body, but for this very reason he also declares it impossible. In his view, the scholar-translator attempts an interlingual transfer of meaning—translation proper, in Jakobson's (1959) terms—which, like a brass coin (or paper money), functions quite well as a matter of common faith, but fails upon close inspection to be in any real sense what it purports to be: that is, *his*

[3] Johnson's (2001) claims that "Plato did not write on translation" (p. 44) and "Socrates does not mention the translator explicitly" (p. 45) thus depend upon a narrow definition of translation.

Horace is not *the* Horace. The geometer does not require even a cursory perusal of his acquaintance's translation to know that the vital element is missing; *ipso facto* he knows it to be a travesty of the original, since the spirit of Horace does not—cannot—inhabit the French version. Nonetheless, his recognition of the separation of body and spirit as the precondition for translation, as well as his elevation of the spirit to its necessary and sufficient cause, situate the geometer within the mainstream of translation theory (Seidman 2006: 17). However, he acknowledges this separation only to deny its reality; it exists for him, as the separation of form and matter does for Aristotle, only in speech, and translation understood as the transfer of an original's animating spirit into a different body is simply a manner of speaking. The geometer's world, composed of abstract and ideal bodies—points, lines, planes, and solids—permits no actual translation, and the word "translation" itself possesses for him only metaphorical meaning.

From this perspective, translation cannot be a matter of degree, with the original's meaning expressed imperfectly, since a geometrical circle is by definition perfect, else it is no circle. An approximation sketched on a napkin the geometer will not recognize. In fact, he at first does not even realize that the translator is talking about a translation, and reacts with incomprehension when the scholar announces his publication of "my Horace" (*mon Horace*):

> Je suis bien aise que vous m'ayez heurté, car j'ai une grande nouvelle à vous apprendre: je viens de donner mon Horace au public. —Comment! dit le géomètre, il y a deux mille ans qu'il y est.
>
> "I'm glad you've run into me, as I have some important news to tell you: I've just presented my Horace to the public."
>
> —"What?" said the geometer, "He's been around for two thousand years!"

For the geometer, Horace can only be Horace in Latin, and people had been reading him, in Latin, for almost two millennia. A new presentation of Horace—the real Horace, the only Horace there is—confounds the geometer, for whom Horace in French is an oxymoron. If, on the other hand, the translator had not handled the words of Horace, but instead had communed with his muses, he would not have translated in

the everyday (and, to the geometer, illegitimate) sense, but would have instead "translated" original poetry, infused with the spirit of Horace. Montesquieu's *savant* would then no longer be a translator who will never be translated, but one of the exalted authors destined to be travestied in translation: as Vergil was the Roman Homer, he would be the French Horace.

In the geometer's extremist view, which calls into question the existence of translation proper, the poet's living spirit, entombed within his original language, cannot be set free to inhabit another textual body via some kind of metempsychosis. Unlike those who traffic in evergreen truths, whether among the timeless axioms of Euclid or hexameters straight from the Muse, Montesquieu's dispirited translator, his eyes fixed on someone else's words and never turning to the heavens for inspiration, can produce nothing but lifeless relics. The metaphorical binary of body and spirit that makes translation possible at the same time places the translator in an extreme dilemma. Borges (1996: 400) puts it in the starkest terms:

> Traducir el espíritu es una intención tan enorme y tan fantasmal que bien puede quedar como indefensiva; traducir la letra, una precisión tan extravagante que no ha riesgo de que la ensayen.
>
> Translating the spirit is an undertaking so immense and illusory that it may well seem indefensible; translating the letter, an exactitude so outlandish that there is no danger it will be attempted.[4]

Translation proper thus exists as an excluded middle, between the impossibility of replicating textual bodies and the spiritual ideal of semantic identity.

Montesquieu also burdened his fictional translator with the choice of Horace, a poet whom he admired, especially as a satirist (Montesquieu 1964: 978). Among Horace's odes, epodes, satires, and epistles, his most influential poem, particularly after Boileau published *L'Art Poétique* (1674), is the *Ars Poetica*, a 500-line poetic discourse on how (not) to write poetry. At one point, Horace advises would-be poets to avoid the

[4] For a translation with a different sense, see Allen (1999: 95).

trite and commonplace and to eschew literal translation if they hope to treat popular subjects in an individual and original way:

> publica materies privati iuris erit,
> si non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
> nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
> interpres . . .
> You'll possess private rights over public property
> if you don't waste your time on an easy and open track,
> and don't try to render word-for-word as a faithful
> translator . . . (131–134)

The final line, sundered from its context, becomes in translation studies readers an imperative to translators, though Horace does not address them directly and translation is at best a secondary concern.[5] Fidelity, a canonical virtue of translation, normally refers to accuracy in reproducing the original sense and certainty in capturing the original spirit. Here, however, it signifies a faithful rendering according to the letter (*verbo verbum*), and is not a translator's vice, but an author's. (An earlier translator nicely offers "slavish" for *fidus*).[6] Horace nowhere mentions *sensus*, which is present only implicitly as the other and, in the mainstream tradition, more important half of the translator's binary, nowhere does he advise translators to heed the spirit rather than the letter; his advice is directed to poets alone. In fact, Horace presumes that faithful translators adhere to the word, and for this reason create nothing worthwhile as literature: literal translation makes for bad poetry. Unfaithful translation, freed from the word, and seeking only to capture the spirit, is, at least implicitly, an approved mode of literary creation, in which the original text inspires rather than dictates. Word-for-word translation leads to lifeless literary productions, new bodies without an animating spirit, while translation of the spirit is equivalent to original authorship. Just as in the geometer's view, translation is either a travesty or

[5] See, e.g., Lefevere (1992: 15), who translates: "Do not worry about rendering word for word, faithful translator, but render sense for sense." Johnson (2001: 172–175) discusses various interpretations of the lines.

[6] Fairclough (1929: 461).

no translation at all, and Montesquieu's translator cannot escape the irony that a faithful rendering of Horace, by Horace's own terms, would validate the geometer's attack.

The inability of a translator of Horace to find common ground with a geometer (itself a failure of translation) is not accidental, nor is their encounter in a pseudotranslation fortuitous. Poetry had often served alongside geometry as exemplar of the inseparability of word and sense, and thus as evidence of translation's impossibility. Geometry, in a role traceable to the square drawn in sand by the slave in Plato's *Meno*, had long represented a perfectly unified symbolic system that can be understood by everyone, possessed of an ideal universality that renders translation both impossible and unnecessary, as in a pre-Babel condition of linguistic unity. Poetry joins geometry in mutual resistance to the separation of body and spirit, but the individuality of a poem lies on the opposite end of the spectrum from geometry's universality. It approximates a private language, its particular meaning cloistered within the bounds of its own text. In 1751, Diderot, for whose *Encyclopédie* Montesquieu contributed an "Essay on Taste" (*Essai sur le goût*), proclaimed in his *Lettre sur les sourds et les muets* poetry's ultimate untranslatability in contrast to geometry's common intelligibility (2010: 234, 243). He allowed that a poem's ideas could be reproduced and equivalent expressions might be found, yet the distribution of vowels and consonants create a subtle symbolic effect (*l'emblème délié, l'hiéroglyfe subtil*) that cannot be replicated in a different language. As an example, he compares the L-sounds of Homer's *elelixen Olympon* to those of the French version *où l'Olympe ébranlé*. Despite their similarity, the greater distance between the L's in the French fails to capture the original's vivid impression (*sentiment vif*) of a shuddering Mount Olympus. For Diderot, this inability to reproduce the meaning inherent in and inseparable from the physical quality of the text results in a loss, no matter how miniscule, that prevents a complete semantic transfer and renders all translation futile. He reiterates at the conclusion to the *Lettre* the impossibility of translating a poet in another language, again in contrast to geometers, who are commonly understood. The physical qualities of the literary text necessarily disappear in translation (2010: 228), utterly disheartening translators, whom Diderot calls, in an echo of Montesquieu's geometer, "imitators of Genius" (*les imitateurs de Génie*). In poetry as in geometry, close approximation counts for naught.

As a final irony, Montesquieu embedded this encounter of impossibilities within a pseudotranslation, first published anonymously in Holland (though his authorship of the *Persian Letters* was an open secret). Pseudotranslations such as Macpherson's Ossian poems of the 1760s and Pierre Louÿs's *Chansons de Bilitis* of 1894, now canonical texts in translation studies, complicate in obvious ways the standard discourse of translation (Venuti 2002: 34–44; see also; Apter 2005; Bassnett 1998; Toury 1985), yet Montesquieu's deliberate meditation on translation surpasses these forged artefacts of literary history. In particular, the rigged collision of geometry and poetry in letter 123, a pseudotranslation within a pseudotranslation, collapses without recourse to historical or social context the categories of original and translation, obscures the pseudo and the real: did the fictional Rica, in his (pseudo)original letter to Usbek, translate the overheard French banter between geometer and translator into his native tongue, in which case Montesquieu (pseudo)translated it back to the (original) French? Or did he transcribe it, for Montesquieu to leave "untranslated"? The geometer's disavowal of the translator's activity cannot be distinguished as original or translation, even before it has been (pseudo)translated. Letter 123 does more than demonstrate "the fundamental unreliability of translation's claim to approximating the original in another tongue" (Apter 2005: 167); the geometer's perfectly rational demand for an animating spirit, an all-or-nothing proposition, and the translator's silence in response call into the question the concept of close approximation as a meaningful way to talk about translation. In Montesquieu's imbrication of translation fictions, belief in the possibility of translation is totally irrational.

2.2 The Miracle of Translation

The geometer's pseudotranslated refusal to acknowledge the everyday miracle of translation hearkens back to rabbinic debates about the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures (Alexander 2014: 238–242; Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 51–83). While some disputed its accuracy, most famously in the choice of *parthenos*, with its explicit reference to virginity, as a translation of *almah* at Isaiah 7.14, others

offered a more fundamental resistance to a Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures: the Hebrew script itself possessed a spiritual authority that would be lost in any other physical form (Veltri 2002: 83–92). *Megillat Ta'anit Batra*, a calendar of fast days, declares that "darkness fell on the world for three days" on the occasion of the Septuagint's appearance (Veltri 2002: 144–150), and the post-Talmudic tractate *Massekhet Sepher Torah*, possibly deriving from much earlier sources, equates the Greek translation to the golden calf of Exodus, with the explanation that a proper translation of Torah is impossible (1.8; Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 69–72; Simon-Shoshan 2007).[7] At stake was the "translatability" of Judaism itself, and Jewish resistance to being translated found strength not in a spirit of opposition, but in unwilling flesh (Assman 1996), a refusal to recognize translation even as metaphor. Since spirits of translation freed from the textual body allowed for the possibility of complete semantic transfer, untranslatability's last bastion was the unbridgeable separation of texts written, as *Megillah* 9a puts it, "in our body" (*beguphan selanu*) from those "in their body" (*beguphan selahen*). The Talmudic debates, naturally, reach no definitive conclusion on the question of translation,[8] yet at least one thread held fast to this absolute position of untranslatability, grounded in the indispensability of the body to the significance of the text (Levinas 1984: 341). Without the separability of body and spirit, the would-be translator inhabits a no-man's land between the horns of Borges' dilemma: "He who translates a verse according to its form is a liar, and he who adds is a blasphemer" (*Tosefta Megilla* 3.41). To survive, the translator needs to believe in a textual spirit that can rise from a lifeless body, and to have faith in a semantic resurrection.

Upholders of the untranslatable might have recruited Montesquieu's geometer to be their standard-bearer for the inseparability of body and spirit in a language of eternal truths, yet it was the defenders of the Septuagint translation who appropriated geometry as an ideal to

[7] Similarly *Masskehet Sopherim* 1.7, with five translators instead of seventy. Rabbinic literature speaks only of the translation of the Torah, though the tradition eventually expands to include other Hebrew scriptures.

[8] *Megillah* 8b cites one view that the scriptures of the Jews remained sacred only when translated into Greek.

explain their uncorrupted, and incorruptible, (non)translation of the holy scriptures. In ancient accounts of the Septuagint's miraculous genesis, seventy (or seventy-two) identical Greek translations of the Hebrew scriptures were produced independently. Philo of Alexandria, a Hellenized Jew writing in the early first century AD,[9] likened this perfect transfer of sense from Hebrew into Greek to geometry and logic, which are not liable to mistranslation because they are untranslatable:

> καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν διάλεκτος, ἡ δ' Ἑλληνικὴ διαφερόντως, ὀνομάτων πλουτεῖ, καὶ ταὐτὸν ἐνθύμημα οἷόν τε μεταφράζοντα καὶ παραφράζοντα σχηματίσαι πολλαχῶς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἐφαρμόζοντα λέξεις; ὅπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὔ φασι συμβῆναι, συνενεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταὐτὸν κύρια κυρίοις ὀνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐναρμοσθέντα εὖ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν. ὃν γὰρ τρόπον, οἶμαι, ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποικιλίαν ἑρμηνείας οὐκ ἀνέχεται, μένει δ' ἀμετάβλητος ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθεῖσα, τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἔοικε τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι συντρέχοντα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα ἐξεῦρον, ἅπερ δὴ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα τρανώσειν ἔμελλεν ἐμφαντικῶς τὰ δηλούμενα. (*On Moses* 2.37–40)
>
> And who is ignorant of the fact that every language, and especially Greek, possesses an abundance of words, and by metaphrase and paraphrase you can form the same thought (*enthumēma*) in different ways, adapting different expressions on different occasions? Yet according to the story this is not what happened in the case of the Torah. Instead, the right Greek words were matched with the right Hebrew words, perfectly fitted to the intended ideas (*tois dēloumenois pragmasin*). In geometry and logic (*dialektikēi*), what is signified (*ta sēmainomena*) does not admit different translations (*hermēneias*), but what is originally set down remains unchanged, and in this same way, I believe, these translators discovered words corresponding to the ideas (*tois pragmasin*), which were the only words, in fact, or the best ones that would make the meaning (*ta dēloumena*) unmistakably clear.

[9] In the different accounts of the Septuagint translation, the number of translators is either seventy or seventy-two until the tradition settles on seventy. Philo, however, never mentions the number of translators, and maintains a narrative distance from the miraculous aspects of the story. See Canfora (1996: x).

Philo acknowledges in the first sentence the mundane ideal of accurate translation—preserving the same sense with different forms of expression—but this Septuagint translation exceeds human understanding because it maintains identity of spirit together with identity of body, despite all appearances to the contrary. The impossible geometric ideal is thus achieved, and the "horizontal" transfer of meaning from Hebrew to Greek is only apparent. Instead, the translation derives its spirit from the same divine source as the original, in what might be called a parallel "vertical" process, like multiple correct proofs of the same geometric problem (Stierle 1996). Translation no longer requires the original's spirit to undergo a process of extraction from the textual body, since this spirit maintains an independent existence.

The Hebrew scriptures, then, are not in truth the original source, and the Septuagint is not strictly speaking a translation at all. It is, rather, a different worldly manifestation of the same divine truth, the same universal spirit in a body different yet somehow the same, the (re) creation, in fact, of an identical original. Reading the Greek Septuagint would be an experience exactly equivalent in every sense to reading the Hebrew scriptures: a translation perfect on every level, in which the distinction between horizontal transfer of meaning from one textual body to another and vertical inspiration from an identical spiritual source collapses. As with the eternal truths of geometry, texts with a claim to sacred status cannot, strictly speaking, permit degrees of accuracy. To guarantee sanctity, translation must occur without any loss, both in body and spirit, a requirement made explicit in the charge given to the Septuagint translators not to omit, add, or alter anything, but to preserve the original's content and form (*On Moses* 2.34: *tēn ex archēs idean kai ton typon*). To overcome the logical paradox Montesquieu's enlightened geometer could not accept, Philo's miraculous account of the translation process seeks to generate an impossible ideal translation rather than declare translation impossible. Without a faith in miracles, the geometer cannot resolve the diametrically opposed horizontal translation of the body and vertical translation of the spirit, nor discover any point of intersection. From his rational perspective, perfect identity of Hebrew and Greek is an ontological impossibility, and exact equivalence can never be epistemologically guaranteed.

Whereas the geometer's refusal to acknowledge the separability of body and spirit in anything but word leads to the outright rejection of translation, the Septuagint's supernatural preservation of both threatens the existence of translation with its perfection, which is identity with original authorship. Philo, in fact, opens the story of the translation with a description at pains to identify the translators of the scriptures with the original's divinely inspired authors:

> καθάπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος. (*On Moses* 2.37)
>
> Like the divinely inspired, they began to translate, not each in a different way, but all with the same words and phrases, as if some unseen prompter sounded in the ears of each of them.

The same prophetic muse of Moses whispers the words directly into their ears, bypassing the body of the text before them. Only the existence of a prior Hebrew original, a stubborn historical fact, preserves the distinction between translator and original author. An emphasis on the miraculous identity of the two texts, however, diminishes the inconvenient presence of an original, and the translators are elevated to the status of prophets, granted all the attributes of inspired authors:

> ἐάν τε Χαλδαῖοι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν ἐάν τε Ἕλληνες τὴν Χαλδαίων ἀναδιδαχθῶσι καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐντύχωσι, τῇ τε Χαλδαϊκῇ καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνευθείσῃ, καθάπερ ἀδελφὰς μᾶλλον δ' ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔν τε τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τεθήπασι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐχ ἑρμηνέας ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἱεροφάντας καὶ προφήτας προσαγορεύοντες, οἷς ἐξεγένετο συνδραμεῖν λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τῷ Μωυσέως καθαρωτάτῳ πνεύματι. (*On Moses* 2.40)
>
> When Hebrews have been taught Greek and Greeks Hebrew and they read both texts—the Hebrew and the translation—, they are astounded, and revere them as siblings, or rather as one and the same text, in word and meaning. They call them not translators, but hierophants and prophets, for with their immaculate intellects they were able to join together with the completely pure spirit of Moses.

The comparison to siblings is apt: both texts are children (twins, really) of the same parent, and the distinction between the textual bodies loses all significance. As a result, the Septuagint usurps the original and can now authorize all other translations, even those made from yet other translations. Each translation, divinely inspired, would be as "close" to the original, because it would in fact be a "translation" of the same original spirit, and as with timeless Euclidean truths, the historical and physical differences between versions become inconsequential. The King James translation, for example, can claim to possess the same holy spirit and to represent the original and unaltered word of God, obviating the need to gauge its fidelity against any earthly text. Modern-day evangelicals who regard it as the only authoritative Bible (in contrast to "debased" versions such as NRSV) unwittingly hearken back to this earlier tradition.

The translation's perfect identification with the original endangers the status of the original text *qua* original (what does chronology matter to timeless truths?), and as a consequence, its very existence as a text. The spirit, freed completely from the original's textual body, remains untouched by historical or political context, and authorizes constant overwriting. (The Hebrew text that served as the basis of the Septuagint is, in fact, no longer extant.) In his own account of the Septuagint (*City of God* 18.42–44; see also *On Christian Doctrine* 2.15.22), Augustine provides unintended dark testimony to the consequences of this well-intentioned striving for a return to the days before Babel. The miraculous identity of all seventy translations, without a single difference even in word-order, created the impression there had been only one translator (*tamquam unus esset interpres*), a result of the one spirit that all the translators possessed collectively (*spiritus erat unus in omnibus*). Nor was this one spirit common only to the seventy translators, for, as in Philo's account, they all shared the same spirit that had originally inspired the Old Testament prophets:

> quia sicut in illis vera et concordantia dicentibus unus pacis spiritus fuit, sic et in istis non secum conferentibus et tamen tamquam ore uno cuncta interpretantibus idem spiritus unus apparuit.

> Because just as one single spirit of peace was in them [sc. the Old Testament prophets] as they spoke truth in perfect agreement, so too in these [sc. the Septuagint translators], who did not consult one another and yet translated everything as if speaking with a single mouth, was the same single spirit manifest. (*City of God* 18.43)

In Augustine's account, the divine authority acquired by the Septuagint through a singularity of spirit cast other scriptural translations into darkness.[10] He mentions translations by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and an anonymous individual, only to note that the church treats the Septuagint as if it were the only one (*tamquam sola esset*). Most Christians in the Greek-speaking world, he adds, are not even aware that other versions exist (*plerique utrum alia sit aliqua ignorant*). The reverence paid to the spirit in this binary model, coupled with the need to eliminate any potential source of loss, leads to the elimination of bodily difference, and the original physical text loses its own form of primacy as the *sine qua non* of translation. Under this unifying spirit, all signs of plurality disappear, and a Pentecostal ideal of universalism, in which every strange tongue is heard as one's own, overcomes the broken unity of Babel (Assman 1996).

In Christian writers, the cavalier attitude towards the earthly *verbum* arose from a felt need for the translatability of Hebrew into Greek and Latin, and of Judaism into Christianity. Pagan Romans, however, had already developed an ideology of translatability, born of a combination of cultural anxiety and will-to-power. The Romans were in thrall to Greek language and literature, a condition they addressed through translation and acknowledged well before Horace's oft-quoted line on the cultural dominance of Greece (*Epistle* 2.1.156: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*. "Captive Greece captured their savage conqueror."). Their literature began in the middle of the third century BC with a translation of the *Odyssey*, and they never stopped producing translations in various senses of the term: the first Roman epic, adopting from Greek epic the non-native dactylic hexameter for its

[10] See Johnson (2001: 48–54) for a different comparison of Philo and Augustine on the Septuagint.

form, was composed by the trilingual Ennius, who claimed at the opening of the *Annales* that Homer's soul now inhabited his body, and later Vergil's *Aeneid,* the great epic of Rome, had to be heralded by contemporaries as something greater than the *Iliad* composed by a Roman Homer. In the late Republic, the Roman elite were nearly bilingual, thanks to both years of study and time spent in rhetorical and philosophical finishing schools in Athens or other Greek-speaking communities. The first-century AD biographer Suetonius records the tradition that Caesar's final words on receiving the most unkindest cut of all were the Greek *kai su, teknon (Divus Julius* 82). (*Et tu, Brute* is the "translation" that Shakespeare has made famous, left "untranslated" in *Julius Caesar*.) Indeed, such was Rome's debt to Greek culture that much nineteenth-century classical scholarship was dedicated to *Quellenforschung*, source-criticism that sought to discover, or conjecture into existence, lost Greek originals of extant Roman texts. Even if not all of Rome was translated—Quintilian could claim satire as completely Roman (*tota nostra*)—it often seems as if it were, and the spirit of Rome was one of translation, often indistinguishable in practice from appropriation and domination.

Nietzsche saw the darker side of this spirit of translation, and gave utterance to its underlying aim, the preservation of the spirit at all cost. He attributes this attitude to French authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but more pointedly to Horace himself, who represents the original of this ideal (Nietzsche 1887: §83: "Übersetzungen"):

> Sollen wir das Alte nicht für uns neu machen und uns in ihm zurechtlegen? Sollen wir nicht unsere Seele diesem todten Leibe einblasen dürfen? denn todt ist er nun einmal: wie hässlich ist alles Todte!
>
> Shouldn't we make what is old new for ourselves, and compose ourselves into it? Shouldn't we be allowed to breathe our soul into this lifeless body? For it is dead, after all: how disgusting everything dead is!

These reanimations of earlier texts are the perfected form of a translation whose origins lie in the separability of body and spirit. No longer would

the poets whom Nietzsche ventriloquizes count as translators, since no one, least of all Horace himself, would claim Horace was a translator of Alcaeus or Archilochus, or Racine a translator of Euripides. Their translations, their "transmogrifications," of the original spirits of their Greek predecessors demonstrate a willful disregard of earthly history, or at least of other histories, which ends in the appropriation of other spirits and the burial of original bodies:

> In der That, man eroberte damals, wenn man übersetzte,—nicht nur so, dass man das Historische wegliess: nein, man fügte die Anspielung auf das Gegenwärtige hinzu, man strich vor Allem den Namen des Dichters hinweg und setzte den eigenen an seine Stelle—nicht im Gefühl des Diebstahls, sondern mit dem allerbesten Gewissen des imperium Romanum.
>
> In fact, at that time to translate was to conquer, and not simply by leaving out the historical, not at all: allusions to the present were added, and first of all the poet's name was stricken from the page and your own put in its place—not with a feeling of theft, but with the very best conscience of the *imperium Romanum*.[11]

Even when in this model the act of translation is recognized as asymptotic approximation at best, the founding trope of body and spirit still generates the spiritual ideal that governs the translator. After all, earthly possibilities can only be realized when the impossible is demanded, as Wilamowitz says in his essay on translation (1891: 6). With an increasing production of and appetite for texts from across the globe, and an explosion in contemporary world literature in translation, the expanding army of translation studies marches forward, with all the best intentions, under a conquering banner borrowed from the Roman and Christian tradition: *in hoc signo convinces!*

The originals that succumbed to this tradition maintained a dogged, if failed, resistance to translation by their temporal successors. Ancient Greek, from the hybrid Homeric to the *koinē* of the New Testament, can claim to be one of the most translated languages in the history of the

[11] For a different translation, see Nauckhoff (2001: 82–83).

world, yet the ancient Greeks themselves, generally speaking, refrained from translation: singularly uninterested in literature from other languages, they almost never engaged in the activity (Rochette 1997: 12–19). Even if we think they were overly arrogant in their approach, much of the ancient Mediterranean seemed to acknowledge the basis for it. Not until the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian in the second century AD do we have any evidence for literary translation of Latin literature into Greek, and even then examples are rare, perhaps motivated by the emperor's well-known philhellenism. Akin to the Talmudic proponents of an untranslatable Judaism, the Greeks treated their alphabet with singular reverence, to the degree that a Greek rarely if ever saw a document that incorporated Roman letter-forms (Rochette 1997: 291). In the terms of the dominant trope of translation, the Greeks maintained a reverence for the body, cultural rather than religious, and thus never practiced translation, while the Romans concerned themselves with the spirit of the text as the surest means of cultural appropriation. Never overly scrupulous in their regard for the letter, epitomes and abbreviated versions of texts suited the Romans perfectly well (McElduff 2013: 9–11). The Jewish tradition, as already noted, kept alive a resistance to being translated, but after the invention of the Septuagint tradition, this resistance was based upon issues of accuracy and fidelity, rather than a refusal to recognize the possibility of real translation across bodies. Once the opposition was conducted in these terms, the separation of body and spirit, along with the privileging of the latter, established itself as *the* trope of translation.

The real question of translation, then, is not what it is in some Platonic sense, but how it has been translated, because *this* translation has consequences for texts, but even more so for those who translate them. In fact, within the traditions under discussion, words to which we customarily attach the base meaning "(interlingual) translation" do not always distinguish between various forms of translation. Greek *hermēneuō* and its cognates can also mean "to explain, to expound" or simply "to express, put into words," and the same applies to Latin *interpretor* and Hebrew *targum*. Alexander (2014: 229–230) succinctly defines the semantic field of all three: "to explain a word or statement by another word or statement." But the "Roman" and "Christian" translation of translation (the labels are more ideological than historical) leads

to the ideal of metempsychosis and thus promotes the sacrifice of textual bodies. In claiming he translated Greek speeches as an *orator* rather than as an *interpres*, Cicero, for example, makes translation a matter of sacrifice, a choice between word and sense, and like Horace, he denigrates the *verbum pro verbo* translator who fails to preserve in full the original's style and force (*The Best Kind of Orator* 14). Jerome, too, followed this view of translation in his "Letter to Pammachius" (*Ep*. 57), a foundational text of translation theory. Although he makes an exception for the sacred scriptures, he ultimately harmonizes all translational discrepancies under a unifying spirit: *sermonum varietas spiritus unitate concordat* (*Ep.* 57.7: "variation in expression finds harmony in unity of spirit"; see McAlhany 2014: 446–448). When this translation of translation becomes the authoritative version, those who would bodily resist translation find themselves in danger of being overwritten, much like the Septuagint critics who sought to impugn the accuracy of the translation in the same terms that made the translation possible: free spirits of translation turn tyrannical.

Thus Montesquieu's geometer, despite his fervent denial, becomes a secular heir to this tradition and an unwitting ally of universal translatability. His denial of translation within the spiritual tradition of tropes keeps alive the possibility of translation, as his repetition of these same tropes to a very different end demonstrate. Well over a century after the *Persian Letters*, the great nineteenth-century classical philologist Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff prefaced his translation of Euripides' *Hippolytus* with a short disquisition *was ist übersetzen?* ("What is translating?"). Like Montesquieu's Horace translator, his fictional forebear, Wilamowitz touts the public utility of providing translations, but echoes the geometer's tropes, not to mock faith in translation, but to proclaim its ideals (1891: 7):

> es gilt auch hier, den buchstaben verachten und dem geist folgen, nicht wörter noch sätze übersetzen, sondern gendanken und gefühle aufnehmen und wiedergeben. das kleid muss neu werden, sein inhalt bleiben. jede rechte übersetzung ist travestie. noch schärfer gesprochen, es bleibt die seele, aber sie wechselt den leib: die wahre übersetzung ist metempsychose.

> It is important here as well to disregard the letter and follow the spirit, to translate neither words nor sentences, but to capture and reproduce the thoughts and emotions. The clothes must be new, their contents must remain. Every proper translation is a change of dress (*travestie*). Or to put it more finely, the soul remains, but changes body: real translation is metempsychosis.[12]

Another echo of the demand made by Montesquieu's geometer for an animating spirit is found in Edward FitzGerald's jocular but still dangerous defense of his non-literal "transmogrification," the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam*. In a letter to a friend (Wright 1901: 5), he writes: "But at all Cost, a Thing must *live*: with a transfusion of one's own worse Life if one can't retain the Original's better. Better a live Sparrow than a stuffed Eagle." Once the Septuagint translations had been translated into their miraculous Christian form, with the ultimate conquest of spirit over body, translation, even only as a manner of speaking, became something it never was before: the secular miracle of metempsychosis. And even more miraculous, the metempsychosis could be partial, since not all of the original spirit would survive the transfer. All it takes is faith.

2.3 Translation Untranslated

Translations of the Septuagint translation, operating under the ideal of a Roman and Christian appropriation of spirit, promoted the overwriting and burial of textual bodies, yet the earliest account of the process, which fortunately escaped overwriting, demonstrates its own resistance to the translation of translation. It is an account remarkable, in fact, for the complete absence of translation tropes. The pseudographical *Letter of Aristeas* (ca. second century BC) established more than a century before Philo the legitimacy and spiritual authority of the Septuagint translation not by means of a miracle, but

[12] For a different translation, see Lefevere (1992: 169).

through the translators themselves, elders selected by the High Priest who represented (anachronistically) the Twelve Tribes of Israel. Before they begin their work, King Ptolemy II Philadelphus treats the translators to a week of banquets, over the course of which he poses one by one to all seventy-two translators a question on ethical behavior or good governance. Each individual by his response demonstrates his outstanding wisdom and piety, assuring the king and the readers of their *bona fides* (their responses make up the bulk of the letter). The letter acknowledges that the Jews worship the same high god as everyone else, yet the translation work proceeds without divine intervention, without a union of pure intellects, and without whispers straight from Moses. These translators, forebears of Montesquieu's *savant*, act very much like the Homeric scholars of the library of Alexandria, who through the process of careful collation and criticism established an authoritative text of the Homeric poems, though these scholars competed as much as they collaborated (Honigman 2003: 119–143):

> Οἱ δὲ ἐπετέλουν ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀντιβολαῖς· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον πρεπόντως ἀναγραφῆς οὕτως ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου.
>
> By making comparisons among themselves, the translators brought everything into agreement and finalized their task. Demetrius had the text that resulted from their agreement properly transcribed. (*Letter of Aristeas* 302)

These translators remain very human, never rising to the status of prophetic authors as in Philo's account. Despite their uninspired process of collaboration, without the mystical process in the tradition Philo preserves, they managed to produce a translation so "excellent, pious, and completely accurate" (§ 310) that after a public reading, the High Priest and leaders of the Jewish community decree that it should forever remain unchanged, placing a curse upon anyone who might in the future alter the text in any way and thus impugn its authority (§ 311).

In this version of the translation, body and spirit generate no separation anxiety, there is no claim to perfect identity, and no

recourse to miracles. Unanimous agreement among the seventy-two translations is neither required nor expected, and whatever the majority agree upon (*to sumphōnon ek tōn pleionōn*) becomes the authorized version. Augustine critically describes this process of collaboration as *more hominum* ("in the manner of humans"), and claims that even if the translators did work in this way, the divine spirit nonetheless intervened in the translation process (*City of God* 18.43). On the other hand, Jerome, the experienced translator, rejected the miracle of identical Septuagint translations that Augustine emphasized. In the *Profatio in Pentateuchum*, he dismisses the isolation of the translators in individual cells as a "lie" (*mendacium*), since the sources he knows, first and foremost the *Letter of Aristeas*, say nothing of the sort (PL 28.150A–151A). Quoting the *Letter* and the first-century AD historian Josephus, Jerome declares without reservation that the translators worked together in the same building, comparing what they wrote, and the role of divine prophecy is denied outright (*in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant, non prophetasse*).

The Septuagint translators of the *Letter of Aristeas*, for all their wisdom and piety, remain resolutely along the horizontal, and the Jewish community possesses an unquestioned confidence in the ability of human translators to render a text, even a sacred one, accurately. The problems of fidelity and epistemology that a translation absolutist such as Montesquieu's geometer would raise are simply ignored, and their version acquires authority from its public acceptance by the entire community, creating a form of legitimacy founded upon the realities of translation in the human world, rather than a faith in the workings of a holy spirit. Here, the spirit that is privileged does not belong to the original text, but to the community of translators. The harmonious text produced by the collaboration of human hands and minds, interestingly enough given the source text, requires no faith in the supernatural as precondition to acceptance and fears no rejection due to an absence of a divine spirit. Remaining grounded in the body of the text, without appeal to a spirit separable from it, this version of translation, a human endeavor *more hominum*, necessitates a larger community that privileges plurality and nonidentity. The inevitable differences among the multiple human translations unify the community in a way the

divinely-inspired identical versions could not. In truth, the translators in the miraculous accounts of Philo and Augustine needed to produce only one translation, and only one translator needed to perform the work, since all translations would inevitably be identical; the large number of translators and their isolation serve only to prove the miraculous nature of the translation and furnish it with spiritual authority. The process described in the *Letter of Aristeas*, on the other hand, produced a collaborative translation no single individual would have produced on his own.

Neither Montesquieu's geometer nor the anti-Septuagint absolutists could accept the *Letter of Aristeas* version of the translation: a human translator not directly infused with the original spirit introduces suspicion of errors and usurpations of authority, and cannot guarantee reproduction of the original spirit that gave life and vitality to the original production. No matter how "pious and completely accurate" such a translation may be, it cannot escape charges of concealment, much as the Jewish translators themselves came under suspicion of King Ptolemy in Augustine's account. Nor can a translator who is involved in a purely horizontal process of translation that does receive its impetus from the same source as the original text escape the stigma of intermediacy. The genuine rebirth or revivification that absolutists demand can only occur through unmediated engagement in the divine realm of the spirit, while the everyday work of translation operates upon earthly bodies, and as such is imperfect and human. Their denial of translation's reality, whether as geometrical superfluity or poetical impossibility, is a denial of mistranslation's potentiality, and a denial of humanity. Montesquieu's anonymous and fictional scholar-translator, when confronted with the geometer's challenge to translation, may not after all remain speechless out of incapacity, but ends the letter in silence in accordance with Wittgenstein's (1963) famous final proposition of the *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*: "There must be silence about that which cannot be spoken." (*Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen*.)

In truth, the translator had already said enough. When he first announces his translation to the geometer, he does not use the language of translation. He merely states that he has just given his Horace to the public (*je viens de donner mon Horace au public*). It is the geometer, well versed in the commonplaces of translation theory, who draws the translator into a discourse for which he seems unprepared, if not

unwilling. It is likewise the geometer who claims that the translator wishes to reanimate the dead, putting words into the translator's mouth via mistranslation (*vous voulez, dites-vous, faire renaître parmi nous ces illustres morts*). The translator makes a simple claim, to which the geometer, if he had ears to hear, would agree to in letter, though in a very different spirit: the nameless translator only offers to the public *his* Horace, not *the* Horace, and not anyone else's Horace—certainly not the geometer's. There are many Horaces, and to what degree any of these approximate the real Horace must remain an unsettled epistemological issue, but to aim at approximation of the original spirit can only lead to translation's undoing. On the other hand, the *savant*'s separation of his Horace from all others, including *the* Horace, rather than the separation of textual body and authorial spirit, allows for the possibility of translation and mistranslation without stumbling into epistemological rabbit-holes.

The geometer, in fact, speaks in a language that is unnatural and inhuman, and travels in realms of pure spirit, detached from the messiness of life and history. He is first encountered on the Pont Neuf deep in thought, contemplating a curve that had troubled him for a week, and it takes several tugs of his sleeve to "bring him back down to himself" (*pour le faire descendre jusque à lui*). Prior to his confrontation with the translator, which ends the letter, the geometer had revealed in his coffee-house conversation a mind abstracted to a disturbing degree. On a visit to a magnificent chateau and beautiful gardens (*une château superbe et des jardins magnifiques*), he saw only a building measuring $60' \times 30'$ with a ten-acre oblong grove (*un bâtiment de soixante pieds de long sur trente-cinq de large, et un bosquet barlong de dix arpents*), and complains that rules of perspective had not been applied to the pathways to make them appear uniform from every view, as his "orderly spirit" (*esprit régulier*) would have preferred. (Ironically, he cannot recognize his own inexact approximations, as when he notes Horace had been around for 2,000 years—1,800 would be the correct figure.) More disturbing, a report of a bombardment in Spain elicits from him delight in describing the arcs the bombs traced through the air, with little concern for their results (*charmé de savoir cela, il voulut en ignorer entièrement le succès*), and another patron's lament over recent floods that have ruined him brings joy to the geometer as confirmation of his calculations of the comparative amounts of rainfall (*Ce que vous me dites là m'est*

fort agréable, dit alors le géomètre, je vois que je ne me suis pas trompé dans l'observation que j'ai faite.). The geometer always looks up to the heavens, where he believes the eternal truths worth pursuing reside, and chides the translator for neglecting these *belles vérités*. Yet while he takes an interest in objects in the sky above, such as bombs and rain, their consequences for humans down below trouble him not at all. Earthly bodies do not concern him, and even his head-on run-in with the translator occurs only because he pays no heed to what is in front of him (*il négligeait de regarder devant lui*). His refusal to acknowledge the possibility, much less the value and necessity of imperfect translation perfectly accords with his lack of humanity, born of impossible and inhuman ideals of perfection.

Given our human frailties, translation should strive not for identity of spirit (its perfection and end), but for multiplicity of bodies (the historical record of its failings). Rather than hope and pray for the monolithic miracle of seventy identical translations, we should labor to produce seventy or more different ones. The translations of the Septuagint translation demonstrate not so much the need for a faith in the miraculous as much as the need for multiple translations and constant retranslation, because the best translation is always all of them. Translation should involve the translator not in a fruitless perpetual struggle to overcome an inevitable loss of spirit, but a fruitful constant negotiation of loss. In *The Task of the Translator*, the cryptic preface to his translation of Baudelaire, Benjamin recognizes that theory cannot provide an account of canons of accuracy, and more importantly, has nothing to say about what is essential to translation. Translation is not even possible when it strives, with all its being, to become like the original (1923: x),[13] a misconceived ideal of translation founded on the binary of body and spirit, though Benjamin uses the more mundane pairs language (*Sprache*) and content (*Gehalt*), form (*Form*) and meaning (*Sinn*).

Benjamin escapes the false dilemmas of mainstream theory to a space where traditional notions of fidelity and freedom are no longer

[13] Benjamin (1923: x): Über den Begriff dieser Genauigkeit wüßte sich jene Theorie freilich nicht zu fassen, könnte also zuletzt doch keine Rechenschaft von dem geben, was an Übersetzungen wesentlich ist. . . . keine Übersetzung möglich wäre, wenn sie Ähnlichkeit mit dem Original ihrem letzten Wesen nach anstreben würde.

operable, and the separability of body and spirit, always a misleading trope, no longer needs to be accepted in speech or denied in reality. His ideal translation, an interlinear version of the holy scriptures, is shockingly unsatisfying within the traditional discourse of body and spirit, but perfectly sensible if the aim of translation is no longer to illuminate the original, but to reveal translation as a way of meaning, as something that always occurs in between the lines. Like any language, translation is a way of seeing, and revelation comes only through failure to achieve identity. To translate is *ipso facto* to fail, and successful translation, like Horace in French, is an oxymoron. In this regard, Montesquieiu's geometer is right about translation as it has traditionally been translated and is commonly understood. But as inevitable failure translation is revelatory not of texts (which should not be its object) nor even of illusory notions of originality, but of ourselves as translators, which is to say, as human beings. In the best of all possible worlds, successful translation is a continuous failure, a welcome moment of human possibilities between universality and individuality, between body and spirit, between the nightmarish uniformity of Babel's unity and the chaotic isolation of Pentecostal universalism. When confronted with the inhuman bluster of translation theorists like the geometer, we ought to maintain the silence of Montesquieu's nameless translator and let our flawed and unmiraculous Horaces out in to the world.

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3

Mediating Science in Early Modern England and France

Lindsay Wilson

3.1 Introduction

In *Divine Fury: A History of Genius*, Darrin McMahon (2003) traced the rise and fall of the myth of genius, highlighting the eighteenth century as a pivotal point in England and France when the apotheosis of intellectuals came into vogue. Isaac Newton served as a prototype for this trend, as evidenced by Alexander Pope's poetic declaration, "Nature and Nature's Laws lay hid in Night: God said, 'Let Newton be!' and all was light."

Penned in 1727 and ringing triumphantly through the ages, Pope's characterization presents a portrait of Newton that resembles myth as much as history. As Joseph Mali observed, "History is an indissoluble fusion of empirical fact and imagination, and thus science and myth. . . .

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[but] critical historians . . . have failed to account for what higher metaphysical truths myths served, and, ultimately, why they still persist in the collective and cultural traditions of all religions, nations, and civilizations" (Mali 2003: xii). In this regard, there is no doubt that the myth of Newton as a lone genius that mimicked or supplanted the myth of the Christ savior has informed ideas about scientists and the purpose and organization of science for centuries.

However, a reassessment of Newton's image that discloses his "dark side" has been going on for decades. Besides his reputation as a brilliant scientist, Newton would, in the twentieth century, be revealed as a consummate self-fashioner and a heretic with alchemist tendencies. But this other side of Newton was not known to his translator, Émilie Du Châtelet who translated his *Principia* into French. Du Châtelet, one of many supporters of Newton, cast Newton and herself as agents of enlightenment, liberating humanity from the oppression of religion and superstition.

The careful crafting of the images of both Newton and Du Châtelet prompts us to examine the context of the religious and political forces that enabled ideals of reason and progress to prevail in the sphere of public opinion by the middle of the eighteenth century. This contextualization is necessary for addressing the role that Du Châtelet, as well as other important Newton's admirers, played in projecting and propagating an exalted view of Newton. I will argue in this chapter that matters of enlightenment, gender, and national identity played important roles in how science and religion were mediated in early modern Europe.

3.2 The Crafting of Newton's Image in England: The Role of Conduitt

McMahon notes

> Extraordinary genius seldom just appears, but is invariably "constructed", "created," and "made," invented through a process of celebration and publicity that helps to bring it into being. Newton in fact was shrewd in

> the art of "self-fashioning." . . . He sat for more than 20 portraits and busts, works that helped to spread his image, carefully controlled, to the world. Even more importantly, a group of committed "disciples" worked hard after his death to propagate his fame (McMahon 2003: 99).

Chief among those disciples was John Conduitt, Newton's nephew, who wasted no time in contacting Newton's friends and colleagues after Newton's death in 1727, asking them to send their recollections of Newton to include in a biography. By this time, Newton had attained worldwide recognition as a mathematic and scientific genius. In his unpublished memoir, Conduitt recounted how Newton had made himself master of Descartes's geometry quickly by dint of genius. According to Conduitt, having bought a prism to test Descartes's doctrine of colors, Newton proved Descartes's hypothesis wrong and supplanted it with his own theory (Conduitt: 86). By 1665, Newton had his first notions of fluxions and gravity. The foundations of his discoveries, in Conduitt's account, were set before he was 20 years old, though not fully worked out for another 20 years when he communicated them in tracts and letters to the Royal Society.

Founded in 1662 by King Charles II, The Royal Society assembled the leading lights of its time and published their ideas in the *Philosophical Transactions.* Early on, it established the principles of scientific priority and nonanonymous peer review. Its counterpart in France was the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, founded in 1666 by Louis XIV, which had as its goal encouraging and protecting the spirit of French scientific research. Its journal, the *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences avec les mémoires,* facilitated the confrontation as well as the circulation of ideas. As Newton's ideas were being articulated, they were quickly disseminated throughout Europe by these new academies in order to expand knowledge and enhance state power. England and France led the way in this initiative and in extending membership to foreigners.

Slowly Newton began to practice science in public, first by demonstrating the first functional reflecting telescope that he had constructed to the Royal Society. In 1672, Newton was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, a year before the German philosopher Wilhelm Leibniz's essay

"Theory about Light and Colors," was published in *Philosophical Transactions.* Critical reactions to Newton's telescope presentation plunged him into polemical exchanges for four years, including one with Robert Hooke, the Society's Curator of Experiments. These hostile debates prompted Newton to withdraw from scientific publication and correspondence (The Newton Project, retrieved March 31, 2016). William Derham described to Conduitt how the controversies with Leibniz, Hooke, and others about colors made Newton very uneasy. Hoping to avoid "being baited by little smatters in mathematics," Newton confided to Derham that he intentionally made the *Principia* abstruse, albeit intelligible to able mathematicians (Derham 2006: 234).

In 1687, at the astronomer Edmond Halley's expense, Newton published the *Principia*, which established his reputation in England, though not in France. In 1699, Nicolas Fatio, Newton's closest friend, published a text proclaiming Newton's priority in the discovery of calculus and implying that Leibniz stole the idea from him. Leibniz denied this charge, and a furious dispute erupted between the supporters of Leibniz and Newton.

In 1703 Newton was elected president of the Royal Society. He published *Opticks* in 1704 and was knighted in 1705. In 1712, Leibniz asked the Royal Society to set up a committee to review the priority dispute between him and Newton. For what was hardly an impartial review, Newton, as the society's president, hand-selected the committee members from the Royal Society to compile a report, asserting Newton's priority and implying plagiarism on Leibniz's part. To assure that the report would gain a large audience, Newton had it printed anonymously in the *Philosophical Transcriptions* in 1715.

At the same time, Newton was feuding with the Astronomer Royal John Flamsteed over Newton's failure to give due credit to Flamsteed for posing the problem that led Newton to develop his ideas in *Principia.* Worse yet, in the midst of his priority dispute with Leibniz, Newton ordered Flamsteed to hand over his compilation of astronomical observations to be completed and edited by Halley, who succeeded Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal (Flamsteed 2006: 23–54).

These details reveal Newton's competitive nature and concern for his self-image.

Moreover, they reflect the ethos of science at the time, which was extremely competitive. Great emphasis was placed on personal merit. Although Newton at one point declared that he "stood upon the shoulders of giants," he gave little credit to that vision of science in practice. As Alfred Hall notes, "An achievement in scholarship, science, mathematics, or medicine was a marketable commodity, a highly personal property," that could advance one socially (Hall 1980: 3). This would prove to be the case when Newton was appointed the Warden of the Mint by the monarch, assuring his financial stability ever after.

Conduitt skimmed over these unsightly details as he sketched out a hagiographic biography that would inform the plot of subsequent scientific genius biographies. "Had this great and goodman lived in an age when those superior Genij inventors were Deified or in a country where mortals are canonized," wrote Conduitt, "he would have had a better claim to those honors than those they have hitherto been ascribed to, his virtues proved him a Saint and his discoveries might well pass for miracles" (Conduitt 2006: 168–169). Noting that Newton was born on Christmas day three months after the death of his father, Conduitt likened him to Caesar as well as Jesus, observing that posthumous children frequently prove most extraordinary persons (Conduitt 2006: 198).

Since Conduitt was unqualified to evaluate Newton's achievements in mathematics and physics, he focused on Newton's character, noting that Bishop Burnett had said that he valued Newton more for being the whitest soul that he knew than for his philosophy. In another anecdote, Newton was offended when a good friend told him a loose story about a nun (Conduitt 2006: 188). Conduitt remarked that "Newton was courteous and humane even to the lowest people; generous and charitable without bounds; exceedingly affable, never marryd,.. His life was a continued series of patience and all Vertues without any mixture of Vice from which he was pure and unspotted" (Conduitt 2006: 97). As for how Newton reacted to all his accolades, Conduitt states that: "Notwithstanding the extraordinary honours that were paid him . . . he was so little vain and desirous of glory from any of his works that . . . he would have let others run away with the glory of those inventions which have done so much honour to humane nature if his friends and country men had not been more jealous than he of his and their glory" (Conduitt 2006: 103).

Moving on to Newton's religious beliefs (see section 3.6 for a more detailed discussion of this aspect), Conduitt exercised extreme caution. He first noted that Newton was a firm believer in revealed religion, as was made apparent by how much he wrote about it and by his own exemplary life (Conduitt 2006: 95). "In an age of infidelity," Conduitt declared, "It was unusual for a philosopher to have spent so much time on divinity and to be so public an advocate of it" (Conduitt 2006: 191). He referenced Newton's Irenicum and Creed that contained Newton's heretical reflections on the fundamentals of Christian faith, government, and the relationship between church and state. These theological manuscripts were inaccessible to the public before Newton's death and marked "not fit to publish" after his death (McLachlan 1950: i). Reasons for their very late publication have been attributed either to scientists' judgments that anything nonscientific was nonessential or to concerns that the theological manuscripts would undercut the myth of Newton that was gaining ever more momentum in the nineteenth century.

Conduitt mentioned in passing that when Newton was made a fellow of Trinity College, at Cambridge University in 1667, he was expected to take holy orders. In 1675, shortly after beginning his intensive study of the Bible, Newton asked the Secretary of State for a dispensation from taking holy orders, and the statutes were altered for his benefit. When importuned to take the Mastership of Trinity College or any preferment in the Church because of his great knowledge of divinity, Newton replied, "I shall be able to do you more service than if I was in orders" (Conduitt 2006: 23–54). The fact that Newton refused last rites when he died added to the mystery and could provoke more questions that Conduitt chose to leave unanswered.

3.3 The Crafting of Newton's Image in France: The Role of Fontenelle

In addition to contacting Newton's friends and colleagues after his death in 1727, Conduitt immediately notified Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, perpetual secretary of the *Académie Royale des Sciences* from

1697 to 1739. One of Fontenelle's roles was to make scientific ideas accessible to the public, and he was known as the greatest propagator of Descartes's ideas. Fontenelle found himself in a delicate position when Conduitt asked him to write an *éloge* of Newton. Although Newton had been acknowledged as a scientific genius throughout the world, he was not nearly as well accepted in France as in England because of the great rivalry that existed between the two countries. It seemed that to accept Newton's *Principia*, one had to reject Descartes's system. How was Fontenelle going to write the *éloge*—in his capacity as academy secretary dedicated to encouraging and protecting the spirit of *French* scientific research or as a cosmopolitan, facilitating scientific research across national borders? Moreover, there was the dispute between Newton and Leibniz to consider.

Early in the *éloge*, Fontenelle brought up this dispute, characterizing it as a contest between Germany and England as well. Not only were the French and English competing in science, so too were the Germans. Resolving to observe the neutrality of a historian, Fontenelle identified Newton as the first inventor, and Leibniz as the first one to publish his method of calculation. The English were not so even-handed. There was an uproar at the Royal Society at Fontenelle's characterization, not least because Descartes was French (Fontenelle 2006 lvi: 111).

Rather than declaring Descartes wrong and Newton right as Conduitt had done, Fontenelle hailed both as geniuses of the first rank. Advising caution when Newton used the term attraction as a force unknown and counter to Cartesianism, Fontenelle nevertheless marveled at how Newton had managed to mix together so many abstract theories and constantly come up with conclusions established by astronomy (Fontenelle 2006: 114). He further held the *Principia* up as a model for how to proceed in experimental philosophy. Although Newton had left his *Opticks* unfinished, Fontenelle suggested that he had provided enough hints in the form of queries to enable future philosophers to work out a whole system based on his foundations (Fontenelle 2006: 116).

Moving from science to history, Fontenelle noted that Newton had been working on a treatise of ancient chronology not intended for publication, although he wrote an abridgement of it for the queen's use only. A copy had been translated, critiqued, and printed in French by two scholars whom

Fontenelle left unnamed (Fontenelle 2006: 118). Newton was furious about the theft and made sure the public knew of it. Fontenelle admitted that the men should have waited until the whole work was published, but explained that they "were eager to have the Honor of contending with so great an Adversary" (Fontenelle 2006: 119). In the context of frequent political contests between France and England, the language of science at this time closely resembled the language of warfare, dominated by words such as spying, disputes, combats, changing alliances, and proclaiming winners and losers. Indeed, Leibnitz remarked that "the competition between book and book, brain and brain, constituted almost a gladiatorial spectacle for the entertainment of the sophisticated" (Hall 1980: 3).

As a postscript, Fontenelle mentioned that Newton left behind writings on antiquity, history, and divinity that were largely unknown to the public. He also stated that Newton adhered to the Church of England. This was a remark that, in vacillating about how to describe Newton's religious beliefs, Conduitt chose not to include in the information that he gave to Fontenelle. Thus Fontenelle's éloge that would influence all succeeding biographies contained no suspicion of Newton's heresy (Iliffe 2006: xlvi).

3.4 The Political and Religious Context of Newton's Science in England and France

A shift in worldviews was fundamental to Newton's success, and it occurred in the English experience of the tumultuous Civil War in the 1640s, the Restoration of the monarchy in the 1660's, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

In the wake of the Glorious Revolution, a new worldview did emerge, if not the New Jerusalem. Liberal Protestants who identified as Newtonians embraced Newton's physics to envision the world as rational, orderly, and harmonious, with the laws of nature serving as models for the laws of the state. They grabbed onto the new science as an alternative to revealed religion or atheism. It was their notion that truth could be discerned through experimentation that would propel advances

in science, industry, and politics (Jacob 1976: 22–71). They were, of course, unaware of Newton's religious texts because they had been suppressed by Newton, Conduitt and, for the most part, their contemporaries.

In France, on the surface, absolute monarchy, supported by the Catholic Church, held the population in their thrall. The Jesuit order monopolized intellectual life and the Cartesian worldview prevailed. It took four decades for Newton's ideas to be accepted in France, beginning with his work on optics. He first made himself known to French scientists in 1672 with his reflecting telescope and paper on light. Yet, despite the ingenuity of Newton's theory and the results that Newton claimed, France's leading experimental scientist, Edme Mariotte, was unable to replicate Newton's experiment. Newton's theory remained in disfavor for a generation (Guerlac 1981: 45).

In 1672 Leibniz came to Paris, visited the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, and presumably learned about Newton's telescope and theory of color from Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens. By 1688, reviews of the *Principia* began to appear, but few scientists took much heed of it because of the theory's complexity and its rejection of Descartes's mechanical system. However, Leibniz and Huygens studied it intently and corresponded with Newton, rather than attacking him in print first, as would become the case when Newton gained more fame. Both realized that the tourbillons of Descartes had to be abandoned for Kepler's empirical laws to be valid (Guerlac 1981: 50–52).

Dortous de Mairan, soon to succeed Fontenelle as secretary of the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, was the first in France to replicate Newton's optical experiments. Nevertheless, as conflicts between Cartesians and Newtonians intensified after 1722, Cartesians held on with great tenacity to Descartes's doctrines (Brunet 1931: pref., v). As the debates progressed, the Cartesians found themselves having to complicate the system of their master constantly by additions and transformations (Brunet 1931: 75). Why did the Cartesians hold so steadily to Descartes's system? Regarding revolutions in thought in seventeenth-century England, Christopher Hill has written "the real problem is not, how do men come to look at familiar facts in a different way? But how do they liberate themselves from looking at them in the

old way" (Hill 1975: 252)? Liberating themselves from looking at facts in the old way would prove especially challenging for French scientists, and Voltaire and Du Châtelet played a major role in putting public pressure on them to do so.

Certainly the mood within France became more combative after Voltaire travelled to England. In 1733 he published his *Philosophical Letters,* contrasting a liberated English culture, society and politics with his own French culture that blocked religious and political liberty. The book was seen as a wholesale criticism of the French system, and its sale was forbidden. It created such a scandal that Voltaire was obliged to retreat to Émilie Du Châtelet's chateau in Cirey, to make an easy escape across the border if needed.

3.5 Newton's French Translator: Émilie Du Châtelet

Though not schooled natural philosophers, Voltaire and Du Châtelet set up a laboratory and large library at Cirey and became deeply engaged in the debate that was going on between Newtonians and Cartesians at the *Académie Royale des Sciences.*

Du Châtelet had a gift for mathematics and natural philosophy and connections that enabled her to be tutored by the most prominent men of the day, including Maupertuis, Clairaut, Koenig, and the Bernoullis who bridged the divide between academy members and the enlightened public.

Because Newton was still relatively unknown in France, there was a need to popularize Newton's ideas for a general audience. The urbane Italian polymath, Count Francesco Algarotti, was one of the first to do so when he published *Le Newtonianisme pour les Dames* in 1738 (Hutton 2004: 197). By removing all of the technicalities of mathematics and mechanics, Algarotti offered a text deemed "suitable for the ladies." It consisted of six dialogues in which a naive Italian Marchesa is introduced to the basics of Newtonian optics and physics. Algarotti visited Cirey in 1734, where he discussed the book. Though tantalized by Algarotti's

goal of bringing Newton's sublime ideas to the public, Du Châtelet was dismissive of the book upon publication. She found it frivolous and inaccurate, noting that the translator's preface belied the intent of the text by promoting Descartes over Newton. Worse yet, Du Châtelet found an unsettling resemblance of a portrait of the subordinate Marchesa to herself. In contrast to Du Châtelet's misgivings, Algarotti's book proved to be an instant success, printed in multiple editions and several European languages (Hutton 2004: 197).

The same year, Voltaire's *Elémens de la philosophie de Newton*, was also published. It was intended for a non-scholarly audience, but was more substantial than Algarotti's. Voltaire's discussion of nature was presented not in the form of a romantic dialogue like Algarotti's, but in dialogue with his audience, demonstrating how Newton had exposed the inadequacy of Descartes's abstract ideas. Engaging readers directly in the text, Voltaire offered them opportunities to prove for themselves that knowledge based on sight was insufficient if not accompanied by the sense of touch and experience (Voltaire 1738: 71). This principle of knowing for oneself rather than relying on the laws of the authorities and the opinions of others was one championed by Du Châtelet that would become a dominant theme in the Enlightenment and fully articulated in 1784 in "What is Enlightenment?," by Immanuel Kant, the central figure in early modern philosophy (Kant 1784).

Du Châtelet had tutored Voltaire in higher level mathematics to enable him to write *Elémens de la philosophie de Newton*, which was dedicated to her. No backward Marchesa here, Voltaire hailed her, "Immortal Emilie, vast pow'ful Mind, Pallas of France, and Glory of thy Kind, Surpassing Age, ev'n in thy Bloom of Youth, The Pupil, Friend, of Newton, and of Truth" (Voltaire 1738: Aiii).

In her anonymous review of the book for the prestigious *Journal des Sçavans*, the first academic journal established in Europe, Du Châtelet commented that the one thing lacking from Newton's glory was that he wasn't better known: "His philosophy, bristling with calculations and algebra, was a kind of mystery in which only the initiates had the right to participate" . . . Voltaire's text could "open a whole new universe to reasonable and attentive readers in a France where even the most respectable people had still not embraced Newton fully" (Du Châtelet 1738: 534). Declaring

that "we have worked hard enough for the glory of Newton, it is time for us to participate," Du Châtelet recognized how French scholars Richer, Picart, and Maupertuis shared a part of Newton's glory by providing observations and measurements to support Newton's theories. "We should," she said, "blush at being the last to render homage to Newton, or rather to the truth" (Du Châtelet: 536). Her objection to personalizing or nationalizing science put her at odds with the *Académie Royale des Sciences*.

Du Châtelet continued on the same theme in her *Foundations of Physics* that was written for her son as a complete book of physics and published in 1740. Reflecting the wide range of knowledge she had acquired, this text would set the stage for integrating Newton's ideas with those of a multitude of other scientists when she translated Newton's *Principia*.

The standard text on physics in France until that time, by Jacques Rohault was based on Descartes's theories and published in 1671. Unlike Rohault, Du Châtelet searched beyond France for sources, gathering discoveries that were scattered in many Latin, Italian, and English books largely unknown to French readers. Although a self-declared Newtonian, she drew on ideas from Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton to delineate not just celestial mechanics, but the metaphysical, causal explanations for the phenomenon of attraction. Metaphysical causes were what she believed Newton's theory lacked. Here she disagreed with Voltaire.

Rather than paying homage to the lone genius claim, Du Châtelet took note of those who had come before him. Speaking of Descartes, she wrote:

> The geometry of this great man, his dioptics, his method are masterpieces of sagacity that will make his name immortal, and if he was wrong on some points of physics that was because he was a man, and it is not given to a single man, nor to a single century, to know all. (Du Châtelet 2009a: 118)

Du Châtelet envisioned natural philosophy as an unending chain of knowledge to which many contributed. Descartes and Galileo had set the foundation for Huygens and Leibniz. It was by making the most of the works of Kepler and Huygens that Newton discovered attraction. There was still more to be discovered. Regarding the tension between seeing science in national or transnational terms, Du Châtelet wrote,

"Guard yourself, whichever side you take in this dispute among the philosophers, against the inevitable obstinacy to which the spirit of partisanship carries one: this frame of mind is dangerous on all occasions of life; but it is ridiculous in physics. The search for truth is the only thing in which the love of your country must not prevail, and it is surely very unfortunate that the opinions of Newton and Descartes have become a sort of national affair. About a book of physics one must ask if it is good, not if the author is English, German, or French" (Du Châtelet 2009a: 119–120).

Du Châtelet was right about the reliance of scientists on the work of their predecessors and contemporaries. However, she spoke from outside the academy. Her vision of progress assumed harmonious progression in contrast to the harsh conflicts of her day. In retrospect, historians of science agree that the convergence of the ideas of many, rather than the independent discoveries for which Newton was hailed, more accurately characterized the development of science, as demonstrated by the cases of Galileo, Huygens, and Boyle (Hall 1980: 5).

After these works of popularization, Voltaire and Du Châtelet introduced themselves officially to the *Académie Royale des Sciences* by participating in an essay competition on the nature and propagation of fire in 1744. They had been working on an essay together, but Du Châtelet showed her independence by abruptly changing course and submitting her own essay. This was a radical act, for in France, women were excluded from the academies. Though neither essay won, both were deemed worthy of publication and were published at the Society's expense.

In retrospect, Voltaire's interest in science had first been piqued in England. His knowledge grew in Du Châtelet's circle at Cirey by the expertise that her connections with scientists and mathematicians gave them. Within six years, Voltaire and Du Châtelet had established themselves as figures to be reckoned with by the traditionally closed *Académie Royale des Sciences*. In 1746, Du Châtelet would take pride in being named an academy member elsewhere in Europe: the University of Bologna (Zinsser 2009: 13).

Also in the 1740s Du Châtelet embarked on her most ambitious project: a French translation of Newton's *Principia.* Before she

completed it, she had formulated her philosophy of translation in her translator's preface to Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees.* This book was a biting social satire published in 1734. She asked her readers to "reflect on why, for so many centuries, not one good tragedy, one good poem, one esteemed history, one beautiful painting, one good book of physics, has come from the hands of women" (Du Châtelet 2009a: 48). She concluded that it was for lack of education and resolved that "if she were king," she would "allow women to share in all the rights of humanity, and most of all those of the mind. Women seem to have been born to deceive, and their soul is scarcely allowed any other exercise" (Du Châtelet 2009a: 49). She attributed women's backwardness to ignorance of their own talents or lack of a bold spirit, weighed down by prejudice (Du Châtelet 2009a: 49). She was determined to acquire and display the highest possible education for all to see with the support of the most accomplished scholars to tutor her in the ideas of Newton.

But Du Châtelet aspired not to be a humble disciple of Newton or her tutors. She acknowledged that, unlike all translators, she had no idolatrous respect for her author and would take the liberty of adding her own reflections. Defending her audacity, she urged her readers to examine whether her reflections were accurate. "For, if they are true, and if they teach men how to know themselves, they cannot fail to be useful to those thinking men, and it is for those only that this book is destined" (Du Châtelet 2009a: 50).

Like all translations, hers was partial, representing her vision of the collaboration that was inherent in discovery and modeling how natural philosophy was a communal endeavor. There were four parts to the project: One was the translation of Newton's text itself, which was the easiest part. To it, Du Châtelet added her commentary, an abridged description of Newton's system. She went on to offer analytical solutions for the most controversial of Newton's ideas and summarize the two most important proofs of Newton's theory: Bernoulli's treatise on the moon and the earth's tides, and Clairaut's essay on the effects of attraction on the shape of the earth (Du Châtelet 2009a: 251–252).

In her commentary, Du Châtelet placed Newton's discoveries in the context of other discoverers and noted where there was still work to be

done. On the matter of comets, Newton was indebted to Edward Halley for calculating the distances they covered and suggesting that the parabola changed to an ellipse that took 575 years to reach earth (Du Châtelet 2009b: 340). Regarding Newton's study of the tides, Du Châtelet credited Leonard Euler with calculating the speed of the water in the tides at St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Ostend (Du Châtelet 2009b: 331). French academicians had journeyed to the polar circle and Peru to confirm Newton's hypothesis that the shape of the earth was flattened (Du Châtelet 2009b: 318). They had corrected Newton's supposition on the homogeneity of the earth's matter, arguing that the opposite supposition could be just as valid (Du Châtelet 2009b: 319). Regarding the moon, she remarked that "Although the method he followed on this occasion was less clear and less satisfying than the one he used for other phenomena, one must be very grateful to him for exerting himself here" (Du Châtelet 2009b: 340).

Du Châtelet worked on the project intensely for many years, as she elaborated on or corrected aspects of Newton's system as new scientific treatises emerged. She had a presentiment of death and worked feverishly to finish the proofs. They were finished in 1749 just before she died in childbirth. The book was printed 10 years later in 1759 and remains the only French translation. Du Châtelet's name, not Newton's, appeared on the title page and a preface by Voltaire appeared before Newton's preface. Declaring that the world had seen two prodigies, Voltaire placed Du Châtelet on a par with Newton. Du Châtelet was "the *author* of the translation necessary for all those who would like to acquire the deepest knowledge for which the world was beholden to Newton" (Newton/Du Châtelet 1759: pref. v). The completed project was deemed a testimony to Du Châtelet's rare intelligence and ability to translate a difficult text into terms that the public could understand. It was not "subject to abrupt shifts in topics" or "characterized by the unfamiliar language and mathematical formulations that filled *Principia* itself" (Zinsser 2001: 30).

As mentioned before, Du Châtelet's role in disseminating knowledge was demonstrated when she tutored Voltaire so that he could popularize Newton's theories in his *Elémens of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* as well as when she translated *Principia*. But the Descartes-Newton debates meant more to Du Châtelet and Voltaire than adjudicating between two competing theories of the physical world. They contributed to the creation of a public

sphere in which people could make free and public use of critical reason. Criticism would prove to be a useful tool to apply to orthodox Christian dogma, ecclesiastical authority, and absolute monarchy as well as to nature. Through her translation and other works on Newton, Du Châtelet was able to "dare to know" in a political and cultural environment that placed heavy restrictions on women, and in so doing, she enabled others to participate in a newly emerging Republic of Letters too (Brewer 2014: 2).

Looking over the course of his career, it is clear that Newton would have objected to identifying a translator as author or accepting the idea of science as a communal endeavor rather than his personal possession. Newton had been quick to dispute any suggestion that Leibniz had put forward the calculus before he had and saw nothing wrong with appropriating the work of a colleague like Flamsteed as his own. Newton's ire over the premature publication of his chronology was another example of his notion of knowledge as a private possession. He hesitated about publishing because he disliked any criticism of his work. Since Du Châtelet disagreed with Newton on all these points, he probably would have regarded her as an outrageously presumptuous translator at best.

3.6 The Politics of the Enlightenment and the Ideas of Newton and Du Châtelet That Were Not for Public Consumption

Conduitt had glossed over Newton's religious beliefs for public consumption, but, from time to time thereafter, a colleague of Newton or a later historian would hint that Newton had been an Arian who believed in parts of the Holy Scriptures but not the Trinity. Had this knowledge been made public, Newton would have been condemned as a heretic, denied public office, and banished from the public scene. Needless to say, the myth of Newton as the enlightened genius would have gained little traction. Alongside his career as a scientist, Newton had dedicated himself to demonstrating that the Catholic Church had corrupted the Scriptures and that this corruption had been passed on to Protestant churches. He considered it his job to purify the Scriptures, and he

devoted many manuscripts to teasing out what he accepted as the truth (The Newton Project). Seeing Newton in this light undermines the notion advanced by some historians that the Enlightenment was an age of Dechristianization (Vovelle 1973). It remained an age of faith for many.

Most of these religious manuscripts were put away after his death. However, there are three noteworthy works that were published in the first half of the eighteenth century that are pertinent to this study: the *Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733), *Revised History of Ancient Kingdoms: A Complete* Chronology (1725), and the *Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture In a Letter to a Friend* (1754).

In writing about prophecies, Newton became a translator himself, interpreting the language of the Prophets figuratively. He wrote not as the translator of human authors but of God himself (Newton 2012a: 13, 15) and considered himself one of the elect to be able to do so. In the *Revised History of Ancient Kingdoms*, Newton sought to correct earlier historical accounts by setting the Jews' records against those of the Greeks and Latins. As he pieced together the fragments of the past, Newton acknowledged that there were limits to attaining the truth even as he pronounced that, "The correct history is . . . " (Newton 2012a: 93, 101). It was the abstract of this chronology, not his scientific work, that had aroused Newton's ire when some French critics staked their careers on attacking his work.

Newton relied on the skills of the translator again in *An Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture: In a Letter to a Friend.* Rather than seeing a translator as making choices about how to translate, much less adding his own voice as Du Châtelet did, Newton insisted that the translated text be absolutely true to the original source. Anything less would dissolve the translated text of its divinely inspired status.

Devoting enormous effort to rooting out early forms and translations of the Scriptures, Newton determined that two texts that had been relied upon to support the doctrine of the Trinity were spurious, and he rejected the doctrine as an article of the Christian faith.

Newton's excursions into biblical exegesis were not unusual for his time, and they constituted an important part of the political scene. Numerous

critical and skeptical commentaries about the Bible that were at odds with Newton as well as the Catholic Church were variously published, censored, or circulated clandestinely across Europe by intellectuals like Isaac La Peyrère, Benedict Spinoza, Richard Simon, Nicolas Fréret, and Dumarsais. The goal of these critics, however, was not just to point out minor errors in the computation in Kings or in the geography of the Pentateuch, but "to prove that the Bible was not divinely inspired, that Christianity was not a divine religion and therefore that the whole scheme of life, political, social, and moral which existed because Christianity was assumed to be divine, would have to be changed" (Wade 1967: 272). It was a view held by the most radical exponents of the Enlightenment.

Meanwhile, unpublished until 2009 was a manuscript entitled *Examens de la Bible* by Du Châtelet that carries the same theme and purpose as the critics mentioned above. It, along with a number of other anonymous manuscripts, was disseminated clandestinely. There is no evidence that she read Newton's manuscripts on the Bible. Unbeknownst to one another, Newton and Du Châtelet travelled common intellectual ground and were likely to have read critical manuscripts by a mix of authors whose ideas were considered suspect. However, their approaches to the Bible were very different.

On the basis of *Examens*, it is likely that Du Châtelet would have been declared a heretic by the Catholic Church for questioning its interpretation of the Bible and a heretic by Newton for not accepting all that he pronounced in his role as a seer.

A big difference between Newton and Du Châtelet is that he approached the Bible with an air of deep reverence, in the guise of one of the elect of God striving to purify the Christian tradition. In contrast, Du Châtelet launched an all-out attack on the Bible, titling her text, "Examination"—a test—rather than using innocuous words like "Literal Commentary," that were chosen by her orthodox guide, Augustin Calmet. Where Newton had tread with such painstaking care, Du Châtelet went forward boldly, deriding parts of the creation story as no more substantial than outdated myths or old wives' tales intended for children. The use of the phrase "old wives' tales" reminds us of the persistence of myth that Mali (2003) hearkens to at the beginning of this chapter. Unlike Newton, who delved into the analogies of words, Du

Châtelet stuck resolutely to literal translations that she knew made no sense. Her rendering of texts was blatantly out of touch with the original texts and cultures for the purpose of discrediting them.

Rather than trying to understand history as the unfolding of prophecy, Du Châtelet questioned the authorship of multiple books of the Bible and hinted that the correspondences relating the Messiah in the Old Testament to the Messiah in the New Testament were contrived. She rejected images of a God capable of anger, jealousy, prophecies, and miracles, for a religion based on reason rather than revelation.

Whereas Newton had expected in the Apocalypse a magnificent culmination of history, Du Châtelet could discern only a dark, unintelligible nightmare. Their outlooks, once their theological views are disclosed, were clearly poles apart. Ignorance of these differences leads to a lack of understanding of the complexity of the Enlightenment and the roles that Newton and Du Châtelet played in it.

3.7 Conclusion

Enlightenment, in the sense of critical thinking, would spread over time, along with the myth of the lone scientist, and refined to include the qualities of neutrality and lack of bias. Newton has remained one of the most talked about, if rarely read, figures in history. Following his ideas and biography is a daunting task for any historian because the sources are so vast. In contrast, it has been relatively recently that the ideas of Du Châtelet have been recognized. Most remained unpublished, hidden from readers who might try to "dare to know" who she was. For a long time, knowledge of her remained overshadowed by Voltaire's exaggerated praise of her and the scandalous gossip about her love life current in her lifetime and continuing into the contemporary period. Conservative reaction to Du Châtelet's unorthodox views and unconventional lifestyle reached its peak when it was suggested that Du Châtelet's death in childbirth proved that she could not transgress the laws of Nature with impunity (Candaux 2008: 88–90). These laws of nature conformed not to Newton's new laws of physics, but to

Christianity's traditional myth of the creation and fall that Du Châtelet had tried to discredit.

Further making Du Châtelet ineligible to be considered a serious scientist was the aspect of Newton that included his rigorous celibacy. He was thought to be too absorbed in abstract thought to feel sexual passion. The worry that women would distract men if they did intellectual work together kept access to universities in early modern Europe closed to women, and universities, like monasteries, would remain worlds without women after the secularization of learning and into the twentieth century (Noble 1992).

In many ways, Du Châtelet saw herself as an interventionist translator, mediating among French, English, and German cultures, each proud of its own native scientist: Descartes, Newton, or Leibnitz and vaunting his superiority over the rest. She reflected all the forces that had shaped her as a scholar working outside the academy or universities before beginning her translation. In that translation, she adopted a style totally different from Newton's. Rather than making the text so complicated that only the elite could understand it and dare not criticize it, as Newton had done, Du Châtelet opened it up to the world, engaging in conversation with both the author and her readers.

The idea of the interventionist translator has recently become fashionable in translation studies as the myth of the lone genius has waned in fields other than science. In this respect, Du Châtelet was a forerunner of a style of scientific translation into French that would be taken up again in the nineteenth century by Clémence Royer (translator of Darwin) and in the twentieth century by Marie Bonaparte (translator of Freud), neither of whom philosophized about it as much as she.

Newton, Darwin, and Freud were authors significant not just for the intellectual breakthroughs that they made, but, just as importantly, for the unfinished business that they left behind (Lear 2005: 226). There was much for those who followed, both within and outside science, to absorb and transform in remarkable and sometimes unpredictable ways. Their ideas had afterlives that allowed them to evolve over time and place and iteration (Benjamin 1997: 253–263). Translators and women

of science like Du Châtelet, Royer, and Bonaparte extended the reach of these ideas by taking them across boundaries of gender, genre, and nationality and opening up worldviews hitherto unknown to themselves and their readers.

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4

Translating the Forging and Forgery of Mid-nineteenth-Century Swiss(-German) Identity in Gottfried Keller's *People of Seldwyla*

Hans Gabriel

4.1 Introduction

In his sarcastically titled aphorism "The Treasury of German Prose" ("Der Schatz der deutschen Prosa"), Friedrich Nietzsche names Gottfried Keller's two-volume collection of stories *Die Leute von Seldwyla* (*The People of Seldwyla*) as one of only four German-language prose works outside of Goethe's oeuvre that "deserves to be read again and again" (Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches,* 1886/1966: 921–922).[1] Written primarily in Berlin between 1848 and 1855, and published first as a collection of five tales with a brief literary "Einleitung" or "Introduction" in 1856, and then again with a second

[1] All English translations from the original German, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

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volume containing five additional tales and a literary "Vorwort" or "Foreword" in 1873, the stories that comprise Keller's *People of Seldwyla* take place in and around the poetically imagined Swiss small town of *Seldwyla* or "Seldville." The most famous of these stories, such as *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe (A Village Romeo and Juliet), Die drei gerechten Kammmacher (The Three Righteous Combmakers)* and *Kleider Machen Leute (Clothes Make the Man)* have long been canonized and read as "classics" throughout the German-speaking world. In English translation, however, they exist individually and in anthologies and collections primarily in reprints and out-of-print editions, and I have found no complete English translation of the ten stories or of the prefatory materials. Even when selected stories from the collection do appear in translation under the original title, Keller's original literary "Introduction" and "Forward" describing and revisiting the town and its inhabitants are not included.[2]

This omission is all the more surprising considering that Keller's "Introduction" and "Forward" already force the translator to confront and to grapple with what I suggest makes Nietzsche consider this collection so deserving of repeated re-readings. With its deliberate use of standard German, Keller's narrative establishment of his quintessentially Swiss town and its inhabitants exudes an oddly

[2] Examples of Keller's tales that exist in English translation include: *Die drei gerechten Kammmacher,* translated as *The Three Righteous Combmakers* by Robert Browning in Ryder (1982: 15–51) and by Hottinger in his own collection (1929/1970: 125–172), and as *The Three Just Comb-makers* by N. Reeves in Lamport (1974: 121–163); *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe,* which exists as *A Village Romeo and Juliet* in translations by P. Thomas (1955, reprinted and "adapted" in Ryder 1982: 52–118), by R. Taylor (1966/2008), and by M. D. Hottinger (1929/1970: 45–124); and *Kleider machen Leute,* translated as *Clothes make the Man* by Hottinger (1929/1970: 173–222), by Steinhauer in his own anthology (1977: 230–266) and in Ryder (1982: 152–189). The two largest collections of Seldville stories in English translation, Ryder's and Hottinger's, contain four and five of the ten Seldville stories, respectively, along with other stories by Keller. In addition to the three tales mentioned above, they both include *Spiegel, das Kätzchen (Spiegel, the Cat* in Hottinger (1929/1970: 3–44) and *Mirror, the Cat* in the Browning translation in Ryder (1982: 119–151). Ryder adds his own translation of *Das verlorene Lachen* in his collection, the title of which he translates as *The Lost Smile* (1982: 190–270).

self-inclusive *Schadenfreude*: a "joy in the suffering" or inherent inadequacy of their world and their lives as well as of his own literary representation of them. This *Schadenfreude* pervades Keller's use of the town and the people of Seldville as an opportunity to forge, in both senses of the word, a Swiss(-German) identity within and against some of the predominant German-language literary, political, cultural, and linguistic contexts of his time. The German-language literary context of the Village Tale and the political context of decentralization in German-speaking Europe, the cultural contexts of a "German" work ethic and of the Grimms' fairy tales and, finally, the linguistic context of German dialect variation all factor significantly in the (self-)identity of German-speaking Europe in the period surrounding 1848, the year that saw failed republican revolutions in what is now Germany and Austria and the establishment of the modern federal state in Switzerland.

I want to indicate how and why translating and presenting Keller's narrative "Introduction" and "Forward" *along with* any or all of the stories is essential for communicating both the importance of these German-language contexts for Keller's "people of Seldville" and a sense of the ambivalent *Schadenfreude* with which he presents them. This chapter therefore focuses on my translations of Keller's literary "Introduction" and "Forward" and of one of the stories that also does not otherwise exist to my knowledge in English: *Der Schmied seines Glückes* (*The Forger of his own Destiny*). I will also reference Nietzsche's characterization of all language as a "lie" in his early essay *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinn (On Truth and Lie in an Extra-moral Sense*, 1873/1966), and Walter Benjamin's description of translations as fragmentary expressions of a deeper "translatability" in his essay *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers,* (T*he Task of the Translator,* 1923/1980). Because they both reflect Keller's self-consciously inadequate narrative perspective, Nietzsche's and Benjamin's essays offer useful theoretical frames and support for understanding and translating Keller's ambivalent literary "forging" of his own ironic mid-nineteenth-century Swiss(-German) nonidentity.

4.2 "Building Out the Individual Detail Poetically and Politically": The Literary Context of the Village Tale and Political Decentralization in Mid-nineteenth-Century German-speaking Europe

By the time the first volume of Keller's *People of Seldville* collection appeared in 1856, the *Dorfgeschichte* or "Village Tale" had achieved tremendous popular and literary-critical success and acclaim as *the* quintessential German-language prose genre. Ostensibly defined aesthetically by a simple, unadorned realism in style and in content, collections of these tales from all over German-speaking Europe offered idealized projections of traditional "unspoiled" village life and local customs as supposedly realistic representations of a particularly positive and typically (Swiss-) German extra-literary reality. Karl Hagen's enthusiastic 1843 review of the collection that gives the genre as a whole its designation—Berthold Auerbach's *Black Forest Village Tales (Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten)*—is typical of how the village tales were conceived and received. Hagen proclaims the village tale not only to be more "realistic," but also more "natural" and "individual" than French and English novels of big-city life, because it reflects the decentralized reality of a greater (but politically nonexistent) "German Spirit." As Hagen writes,

> The German writer, by contrast, who knows no capital city for all of Germany in which individuality hasn't yet been subsumed by the system of centralization, takes us directly into the middle of folk life, where calm nature reigns, where the sanctity of a natural development hasn't yet been clouded by the vices of the greater outside world (1843/1981: 152).

In other words, as Keller points out in his 1852 review of fellow Swiss-German author Jeremias Gotthelf's novel *The Spirit of the Times and the Spirit of Berne (Zeitgeist und Berner Geist)*, conservative and liberal republican authors and critics alike in Switzerland and in the other German-speaking states use this supposedly "realistic" genre as both an escape from and a hopeful corrective to the political realities in German-speaking

Europe. "Long before 1848," Keller concludes disapprovingly in his review of Gotthelf, "Swiss political life had made the reactionary and conservative parties see the usefulness of *Belles Letres*" ("Zeitgeist," 1852/1978: 43). Hagen, by contrast, praises Auerbach's village tales for what he calls a "deutscher Nationalgeist," or "German national spirit," which he claims to discern in the village lives and traditions represented in the tales (1843/1981: 152).

The problem, of course, with celebrating the realism of a literary genre that supposedly represents a "German national spirit," is that "Germany" literally exists in name only; there are only the literary representations or constructions of this political idea that the authors manufacture themselves and seek to superimpose over the disappointingly different political reality. The notorious and no longer officially sanctioned first stanza of what remains the German national anthem is an emblematic example of how these poetic aspirations are applied to a stubbornly contrasting political reality. Written by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in 1841, the stanza maps out poetically and more or less accurately the boundaries within which – with the exception of Switzerland – some dialect of German was spoken at that time. Fallersleben pointedly titles his literary/linguistic definition of Germany "The Song of the Germans" *(Das Lied der Deutschen)*, and he pointedly sets his text to the tune of the Austrian *Kaiserlied,* or "Emperor's Song," with its melody by Haydn and its opening line "God save [our] Emperor" (*"Gott erhalte [unsren] Kaiser"*). The fact that the territory he describes is comprised of a myriad of different states, empires and kingdoms rather than one political entity. However, illustrates just how strongly the concept of "Germany" remains entrenched in the literary and linguistic realms rather than in any political reality.[3]

[3] Fallersleben's opening stanza uses four rivers, the Maas in the west, the Memel in the east, the Etsch in the south, and the Belt in the north, to delineate the boundaries of his liberal political ideal of a unified republican Germany. Ironically, more than anything else, it was the Nazis' actual consolidation of Fallersleben's poetically delineated space (and more – again, minus Switzerland) into a unified fascist political reality a century later that led German politicians to officially eliminate the first stanza from the national anthem after World War II in favor of the third stanza, which celebrates instead the ideals of "unity and justice and freedom for the German fatherland" ("*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit fuer das deutsche Vaterland*"). The second stanza, which celebrates "German faithfulness," but also "German wine, German women and German song" ("*Deutsche Treue, deutsche Frauen, deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang*"), is also no longer a part of

The failure of the revolutions of 1848 to realize politically what Fallersleben and others express poetically, as well as the strong political differences and cantonal allegiances that remain in Switzerland, help explain why literary critics such as Hagen celebrate the turn in literature toward a validation of local communities and traditions as a source for a larger (Swiss-)German identity. To return to the work of Keller's popular Swiss-German contemporary, Gotthelf's *Zeitgeist und Berner Geist* intentionally contrasts the political "spirit of the times," or *Zeitgeist,* with a "Bernese spirit" or *"Berner Geist"* he intentionally represents with local details, traditions and dialect from the countryside of canton Berne and contrasts with the more liberal (or as Gotthelf himself puts it in his preface, "radically political") city of Berne. Gotthelf does so not because of, but rather in spite of the fact that the city had just recently acquired the status of permanent Swiss federal capital in 1848 after the refusal of the "Sonderbund" or "special confederation" of conservative cantons to dissolve and a month-long civil war at the end of 1847.[4] Gotthelf's message is clear: the "politically" determined representative capital of Switzerland—the city of Berne—cannot and will not supplant the more "essential" representative of Swiss identity: an overarching "spirit of Berne" that Gotthelf fabricates literarily from his own local/rural customs, Christian values and a supposedly apolitical "republican freedom." As he concludes in his preface, "The author wrote this book against this sect [of radical republican (liberals)] that destroys all the happiness of the

the official national anthem for obvious reasons. Historically, however, it points to the roots, and the strength, of the wish for a unified republican "Deutschland" in Germanspeaking Europe in the (all male) universities and student fraternities of the so-called "young Germany" period leading up to the revolutions of 1848.

[4] Although his frame of reference is Zürich in particular, Gordon Craig (1988) offers an outstanding summary of the general Swiss political situation in the middle of the nineteenth century. His attention to the cultural and social perspectives and influences of the period make his work particularly relevant here, and he repeatedly cites Gottfried Keller, a native Züricher and an interested political observer. For an excellent overview of the political events leading up to the formation of the new Swiss republic in 1848, see especially chapter 3, "Toward a More Perfect Union: Sonderbund War, New Constitution, Problems of Foreign Policy" (pp. 63–92). Craig even borrows the title of the original German version of his work—*Geld und Geist (Money and Spirit)*—from the title of another of Gotthelf's works: *Geld und Geist, oder die Versöhnung (Money and Spirit, or the Reconciliation)* (1852/1940).

common people; his justification in doing so lay in Christian love and in republican freedom" (1851/1926: 9–10).

Gotthelf is merely imitating Fallersleben and attempting to do what Auerbach also demands of the Village Tale in his own introduction to his *Black Forest Village Tales* a decade before. What contemporaneous German-speaking Europe needs, as Auerbach sees it, is the political development or "building out" (*Ausbildung*) of individual particularities (*Einzelheiten*). Therefore, realistic literary treatment of this situation must likewise take the form of particular scenes or specific customs presented and developed as "national types." "In the countries of centralization," writes Auerbach,

> of historical unity and uniformity, the poet is far more likely to be able to set up national types. The English and the French have grown up under the same laws, under similar living conditions and historical impressions; their character has something in common, not only generally speaking, but also in its individual details. Just as we must build out the individual detail politically, so also do we have this as our literary/poetic task. (1843/1981: 150)[5]

Lynne Tatlock's modern *caveat* regarding realism generally sums up how these and other German-language literary figures unabashedly link German literary forms and extra-literary (political) reality in the 1840s and 1850s. One must, Tatlock writes, "acknowledge the historical connection of the nineteenth-century writing that has traditionally been called 'realistic' to national cultural programs, as well as the function of 'realism' as a term of approbation [. . .] which has served (and still serves) to [. . .] legitimate national culture" (1990: 71).

Given this literary context and debate and their explicitly political motivation, associations and implications, the literary "Einleitung" or "Introduction" that Keller attaches to the first volume of *The People of Seldville* becomes much more than merely a description of his own village setting, the name of which he immediately translates for his reader.

[5] The German term *Ausbildung* has a wide range of meanings, including "education" and "formation." These are also important as implications of what Auerbach is advocating here, namely, the literary or "poetic" expansion upon localized detail as the basis for the formation and dissemination of a larger pan-German political "spirit" or "type."

"'Seldville' means in older speech a blissful and sunny place," the "Introduction" begins, "and so, in fact, the town of this name is situated somewhere in Switzerland. It is still nestled/stuck *(steckt)* in the same old ring wall and towers as three hundred years ago, and it remains the same hamlet/dump *(Nest)*" (1856/1993: 3). In explicit contrast to the pseudo-realism otherwise propounded and practiced by the Village Tale, Keller's "Introduction" forces his contemporaneous German-language audience to start by "taking his narrator's word" for his village's existence rather than by assuming any direct mimetic correspondence to any extra-literary, extra-linguistic "real world." The translator, too, is then both freed and forced to consider such ambivalent terms as *steckt* and *Nest* within the greater context of Keller's narrative ambivalence toward the idealizing tendencies of the typical village tale. Any translation must then try to balance the potential for such terms to be understood (and rendered) as sympathetic, facetious, or pejorative.

What Keller's anti-pseudo-realistic village tale refuses to be understood or translated as, in any case, is simply one or the other extreme. Hagen celebrates the genre a decade earlier as "so significant for the present precisely because [. . .] a keen or delicate tact everywhere allows virtue to win out or depicts errors in all their negative consequences" (1843/1981: 152). Keller's "Introduction" pointedly turns the tables with its opening linguistic translation of his village's location, "the original underlying intention of this location being solidified," the description continues, "by the fact that the founders of the city planted it a good half hour from a navigable river as a clear sign that nothing should become of it" (1856/1993: 3). Such is the nature of Seldville that it pointedly cannot be used to demonstrate anything with absolute certainty other than the essential incommensurability of its imaginary existence: "not a soul in Seldville has anything," the opening description concludes, "and no one actually knows what they've lived off of for centuries (1856/1993: 3)."

This simultaneous linguistic imitation and rejection inverts the Village Tale's ostensible definition by extra-literary reality and subverts its political usefulness in the "building out" of a Swiss or German "national spirit" or "type." Instead, we witness the linguistic construction of a village milieu by a narrator who is constantly compelled to underscore the inherent non-identity between his object and its representation. Nietzsche's own general

explanation of the development of supposed "truths" in his early essay *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinn (On Truth and Lie in an Extra-moral Sense)* reflects an implicit *Schadenfreude* in the unmasking of this process that echoes the perspective of Keller's narrator here. "As a genius of construction," Nietzsche writes,

> man raises himself far above the bee in the following way: the latter [the bee] builds with wax that he gathers from nature, he [man] builds from far more delicate conceptual material which he first has to fabricate from himself. [. . .] His method is to hold man up to all things as the measure, but in doing so [. . .] he forgets the original perceptual metaphors as metaphors and takes them as the things themselves. (1873/1966: 315–16)

4.3 "The German at His Greatest and Most Beautiful": The Cultural Context of a German-Language Work Ethic

A perfect example of just such a "perceptual metaphor" that Keller's collection responds to in the literary "fabrication" of post-1848 Swiss/German identity is the concept of a typically "German" work ethic. In 1855, the year before the first volume of Keller's *People of Seldville* appears, Gustav Freytag publishes what would become the best-selling German-language prose narrative of the nineteenth century: his novel *Soll und Haben (Debit and Credit)*. Freytag ascribes his novel's epigraph to his friend Julian Schmidt, the period's most influential literary critic and publisher. "The novel should seek the German people," the motto reads, "where they are to be found in all their honest industriousness, namely, at work" (1855/1993, p. 11). Freytag claims to want to portray Germans in the novel at what he and Schmidt claim to be their best. "Whoever wants to depict us," Freytag writes in the pages of Schmidt's literary journal *Die Grenzboten* in 1853, "must seek us in our workroom, in our *Comptoir*, [in] our field, not just in our family. The German is at his greatest and most beautiful when he is working" (1853: 128).

Not surprisingly, Schmidt praises *Debit and Credit* for admirably fulfilling Freytag's professed goal, underscoring the novel's glorification of an as yet underdeveloped bourgeoisie under the auspices (once again) of a realistic reflection of the German people. German-speaking Europe's best-known liberal literary critic Karl Gutzkow counters in the pages of his own literary journal *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd* with the rhetorical question, "Where is work here? Individual work that belongs to the realm of poetry and not of statistics?" (1855: 559). Their debate highlights the centrality of the cultural context of honest hard work for mid-century German-language identity.[6] Despite their differences, however, both sides of the political spectrum once again appeal to the mutually accepted (and mutually fabricated) concept of honest hard work as a cornerstone of their literarily constructed ideals of a unified "German Spirit" after the revolutions of 1848 failed to produce real-life political unification.

The context of work is central in Keller's introductory description of the imaginary Swiss people of Seldville as well. As he does with the generic context of the Village Tale, however, Keller's narrator undermines the concept as a morally and unambiguously positive inherent characteristic of (Swiss-)German identity. And he does so with the same self-inclusive *Schadenfreude* evident in his ironizing of the ostensibly "realistic" village milieu. In both cases, a purportedly "real" extraliterary basis for an overarching national "spirit" or identity is exposed, to speak again with Nietzsche, as being "fabricated" from a "conceptual metaphor," be it the idealization of traditional village life or of honest hard work. In this case, Keller's narrator offers an opposing conceptual metaphor of work for his reader and translator: that of the naïve enjoyment of and subsequent fall from a work-free speculative credit paradise. In his narrative "Introduction," we read that the people of Seldville

> have strangers work for them for as long as possible, and use their profession to engage in an impressive amassment of debt, which is

[6] Robert Holub (1991) illustrates this point particularly well with regard to *Soll und Haben*. See especially his chapter 7, "The Business of Realism: Ethical Preoccupations and Aesthetic Contradictions." For a sense of the breadth and variety as well as the centrality in German-language culture of the mid-century discussion surrounding "work" and Freytag's novel, see the chapter in Bucher & Hahl entitled "Der Roman und die Arbeit (G. Freytag)" (1981: 323–362).

> precisely what forms the basis of the[ir] power, glory and cozy comfort [. . .], and which is maintained with an extraordinary reciprocity and self-assuredness – but [. . .] only during this aristocracy of youth. For the moment one of them reaches the end of the aforementioned peak years, when the men of other small cities turn inward and begin to fortify themselves in earnest, he's done in Seldville; he has to stop and stays on, if he's a really typical Seldviller, as a disenfranchised fallen being cast out of the credit paradise. [. . .] Whatever stays behind and gets old in Seldville, however, belatedly learns to work, and I mean that kind of nitpicking work for one's daily income that consists of a thousand small things that one never really learned to do. The aging, impoverished Seldvillers with their wives and children are the most assiduous little people in the world after they've abandoned their learned trade, and it is moving to see how active they are from then on in trying to acquire the barest means for a good bit of meat. (1856/1993: 3–4)

Keller's description of the people of Seldville as "disenfranchised beings cast out of the credit paradise" of speculative finance highlights the status of his people's work ethic and that of other authors' protagonists as equally rooted in poetic fabrications rather than in some real (Swiss-)German "national spirit." This inevitable loss of credit(ability) then reduces his readers and translators, like his protagonists, to "the most assiduous little people in the world [. . .] trying to acquire the barest means for a good bit of meat." Reader and translator alike are once again confronted with the same impossible freedom of choice the text gives them in the opening description of Seldville's location. The text itself reminds the translator that no choice is or can be completely satisfying. One can only try to oscillate between sympathetic and cynical connotations to try to communicate "the barest sense" of the narrator's gleeful ambivalence regarding this work-free "credit paradise" and the inevitable fall from it. As Nietzsche puts it, again in his essay *On Truth and Lie in an Extra-moral Sense,* and again with regard to language in general,

> 'correct perception'–which would mean the full and adequate expression of an object in the subject – seems to me a contradictory impossibility ("ein widerspruchsvolles Unding"); [. . .] there is no causality, no correctness, no expression, but at most an *aesthetic* way of relating ("*ästhetisches* Verhalten," Nietzsche's emphasis), by which I mean a signifying transference, a stammering translation into a completely strange or foreign

> language, for which in any case a freely poeticizing and freely inventing intermediate sphere and force are necessary". (1873/1966: 315–16)

Translating Keller's opening description of work in Seldville, too, is as much about conveying this explicitly ambivalent underlying "joy in suffering" or *Schadenfreude* toward the impossible "glory days" and speculative "credit paradise" of Seldville and its inhabitants as it is about trying to replicate in English this German-language literary construction of a "typically Swiss world" that is pointedly opposed to, and yet inextricably linked with, the "German spirit" of the Village Tale and the concept of honest German industriousness. In his introductory essay *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers (The Task of the Translator),* Walter Benjamin characterizes what he refers to as a text's "translatability" as similarly reflecting a whole self-consciously incommensurate "way of meaning" rather than any one more or less ostensibly accurate translation of one language into another. "[. . .] The translation," writes Benjamin,

> rather than making itself similar to the sense of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate or "build in" *(anbilden)* the original's *way of meaning* into its own language, in order to make both recognizable, like shards, as a fragment(ary piece) *(Bruchstück)* of a vessel, as a fragment (ary piece) of a greater language. (1923/1980: 18, my emphasis)

Unlike his German-language contemporaries, who use honest hard work and healthy village life in their tales to wishfully project an identifiable "German spirit/identity," Keller uses his poetically imagined town and his description of its work-averse inhabitants to "fragment" their narratives and his own, reflecting instead how they all seek to manufacture this identity. Thus, even as it takes great pains to establish the poetic creditability of his literally and literarily forged Swiss town, Keller's narrative also gleefully highlights this activity and its result as just the "contradictory impossibility" *(widerspruchsvolles Unding)* that Nietzsche describes. Like Benjamin's essay, Keller's *Schadenfreude* vis-à-vis the "contradictory impossibility" of his own linguistic construction challenges any translator to acknowledge this fragmentary inadequacy by, as Benjamin puts it,

"lovingly and in detail incorporating into its own language" not simply its meaning, but rather its "way of meaning."[7]

The opening of Keller's "Forward" to the second volume of *The People of Seldwyla* reemphasizes this point. Here, the supposed desire of his Swiss compatriots to claim Seldville as really being their own town becomes an opportunity for the narrative to highlight the setting's poetic "way of meaning" over any one actual meaning in particular. To speak with Nietzsche, Keller's narrator underscores his own "freely poeticizing and freely inventing intermediate sphere and force" in order to highlight that of his real-life Swiss countrymen. As Keller writes at the beginning of his "Forward,"

> Since the first half of these stories appeared, some seven cities from the Swiss lands have been arguing over which of them was meant with Seldville [. . .] [The Author] has tried to keep them all at bay by asserting that there rises in every city and in every valley of Switzerland a little tower of Seldville, and that this place was therefore to be considered a conglomeration of such little towers, an ideal city that was merely painted on the mountain mist and traveled with it, now over this valley, now over that one, and perhaps here or there beyond the borders of the dear fatherland, beyond the current of the old Rhine. ("Vorwort," 1873/1993: 307)

Nowhere, however, does the narrator reveal the artifice of his contemporaries' efforts to construct a German(-language) national identity more emphatically or with greater *Schadenfreude* than in *Der Schmied seines Glückes* (my translation: *The Forger of his own Destiny*), the second story of this second volume. The title already presents the translator with a double fragmentation of the straightforward notion of honest hard work in the ambivalent image of the "Schmied"—literally the "(black)smith"—"of his own *Glück.*" The title points directly to the German popular saying, "Jeder ist seines Glückes Schmied," itself a fairly straightforward translation of its likely Latin source with a direct English parallel in the popular notion

[7] It is interesting in this context to note the common root of "bilden"—of creative/active formation—in the verb "anbilden" that Benjamin uses to describe a successful translation (1923/1980: 18) and in the verb "ausbilden" that Auerbach uses to encourage German-language literature and politics to successfully manufacture a German national identity from the disparate German-speaking territories (1843/1981: 150).

that one "forges one's own destiny." This title is not only the one Keller's narrator adopts for the story, however, but also the title that the title character has given himself. And as the story repeatedly makes clear, its title's adoption of its title character's adoption of the title *Der Schmied seines Glückes* is by no means meant to be flattering. By rendering *Der Schmied* as "The Forger," an English translation can maintain the traces of the original saying while also highlighting the more negative aspects that "Forger" connotes and that Keller's narrative lovingly reinforces in the *Schadenfreude* with which it gleefully chronicles and imitates its protagonist's actions. The ironic and ambivalent perspective with which the people of Seldville and the narrative introduction alike regard work in Seldville receives further ironic emphasis here, in the protagonist's and the narrative's (self-)understanding of how one "forges"—or falsifies *and* creates—one's own destiny.

As for the second part of the title, the word "Glück" is already impressively "fragmented" in the original German. Since it can go from "luck" and "happiness" to "fate, destiny, fortune," it is already ideally suited to Keller's narrative "way of meaning."[8] It carries important (ironic) connotations as well, particularly when coupled with the protagonist's name. The word's numerous appearances in the opening passage of the story alone, along with my efforts to translate them, illustrate how fully Keller's narrator takes advantage of this flexibility. My translations appear in boldface, followed by the original German term in boldface and italics:

John Kabys, a well-mannered man of nearly forty years of age, was fond of repeating the saying that everyone ought to, should and could be—and without a lot of fuss and bother—the forger of his own **destiny *(Glück)***.

Quietly, with only a few strokes of genius, a real man could forge his own **fate *(Glück)!*** was his repeated motto, by which he understood the attainment not merely of what was necessary, but indeed of anything and everything one could wish for, however superfluous.

[8] Although the concept of "Glück" in the work of Gottfried Keller has received some critical attention, almost none of this attention has been focused on *Der Schmied seines Glückes.* This is surprising to say the least, since the word assumes so many denotations in the course of the story. See, for example, Böschenstein (1990) and Pestalozzi (1990).

Thus, as a tender youth, he had already executed the first of his master strokes and transformed his baptized name *Johannes* into the English "John" in order to prepare himself in advance for unusual and **fortuitous** things ***(das Glückhafte)***, since he thereby distinguished himself from all the other *Hanses* and acquired an Anglo-Saxon entrepreneurial aura as well. He then waited quietly for a little while, without learning or working much, but also without living beyond his means; rather, just shrewdly waiting. When **fortune** ***(das Glück)*** refused to take the bait he had set out, however, he executed his second master stroke and changed the "i" in his family name *Kabis* to a "y." This word (also written "*Kapes*"), which means cabbage, thereby acquired a more noble and exotic flavor, and *John Kabys* could now await his **fortune** ***(Glück)*** with greater justification, as he believed (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 362).[9]

On the one hand, there is the move in the translations of "Glück" as "fortune" toward a material or financial realm, something Keller's narrator has fully prepared us for by the end of both of his prefaces. "Glück" doesn't necessarily or automatically lean in this direction in German, but just as he does with the idea of honest hard work, Keller clearly enjoys exposing the self-evident status that this equation has increasingly assumed in his day in general, and in the mind of his protagonist in particular. This leaning toward "fortune" in English has the added justification and/or benefit of reanimating the memory of the Latin source word from which both author and protagonist have "forged" the original German title. On the other hand, the translation of "destiny" in the title, and "fate" in John's repetition of his own motto is, at least in part, an effort to keep the term from slipping too far in that one direction only. And in doing so, this translation seeks to follow Keller's narrator in imitating and ironizing just what his main character tries to do himself (to great comic effect) in the various "translations" of his own name.

If the multiple possible translations of the single word *Glück* "make both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments," to speak

[9] I have also italicized the variants of the protagonist's first and last name in this opening passage to highlight the variety of permutations in this initial passage alone. I discuss this variation, which continues throughout the story with the silent acquiescence/complicity of the narrator, in the paragraphs that follow.

again with Benjamin, then the numerous variations of first and last names that appear in the opening passage only reinforce this fragmentary incommensurability or nonidentity. The story's first passage starts and ends with the same name construction: John Kabys (with a "y"). In between, however, and for much of the rest of the story, the narrative documents, adopts and even translates for us the impressive number of variations the names undergo at the protagonist's own hands. In order of their appearance, we have the first names John, Johannes, and Hans (underlined in the story's opening passage above), along with the italicized last names Kabys, Kabis, Kapes, Kabys-Oliva, and Kabys de Litumlei, and the full names John Kabys-Häuptle and Hans Kohlköpfle. Even "John"—the protagonist's "original" name in the story—is already his own translation, as the narrative immediately points out. Rather than any ostensibly original name from outside the narrative, what remains constant is once again only the frantic identity forging and forgery by the protagonist and the narrator. Keller's narrator therefore presents his protagonist's identity much as he presented the identity of his quintessential Swiss town of Seldville: as something based on a linguistic translation or fabrication from the very beginning or, to speak again with Nietzsche, on "a freely poeticizing and freely inventing intermediate sphere and force."

4.4 "Nun saβ John im Glücke"—"Now John Was Sitting Pretty": The Cultural Context of the Grimms' Fairy Tales

At the same time, the name "Hans," or "Jack," also still retains an archetypal significance within a greater German-language context. Throughout the German-speaking world, the name "Hans" and the word "Glück" taken together automatically evoke the title of one of the most famous of the Grimms' fairy tales (1974; original work published 1810): *Hans im Glück*. Very much like the pseudo-realistic genre of the Village Tale, the Grimms' earlier romantic collection of Fairy Tales proved popular in large part because they explicitly present a unified German(-language) identity poetically, in the form of naïve, unreflective protagonists such as "Happy-go-lucky Hans."

Wolfgang Preisendanz has commented extensively on the intertextual resonances between John and the original "Hans im Glück" of the Grimms' fairy tale. He delineates particularly clearly the parallel between the action in the fairy tale on the one hand and in Keller's Seldville tale on the other. The fairy tale, he notes, has a protagonist,

> who exchanges the lump of gold as the wages for his faithful service for a horse, a cow, a pig, a goose, a whetstone and, when that falls into the well, returns 'with light heart and free of all care' to his mother. He [John Kabys] rises to the position of adopted son, is supposed to work as majordomo and tutor after the birth of the heir, and ends up as a nail smith, in which capacity he learns the joy of simple and untroubled work. He, too exchanges one happiness for another one [that is] increasingly externally insignificant (1989, p. 19).[10]

As the "Introduction" and the "Forward" do with regard to the village tale, *The Forger of his own Destiny* both acknowledges and inverts this idealized fairy-tale context, in which a happy-go-lucky simpleton finds true happiness only after he loses the financial fortune he gained through honest hard work. When Keller's ironically hyper-reflective "Happy-go-lucky Hans" stumbles into a vast financial fortune by pure luck (one of the many meanings of *Glück*, after all), the narrative slyly describes this momentary paradise of complete financial and existential bliss by noting simply, "Nun saß John im Glücke" (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 378). Based as it is on both a fairy tale and a forgery, this description, like the moment of apparently transcendent *Glück* it describes, is ephemeral. And it is undone, appropriately enough, by the protagonist's own inability to resist "just one more master stroke" in his forging.

Equally unsurprisingly, attempts to translate the fragmented fairy-tale context Keller invokes with this simple phrase into one or the other English phrase prove inadequate. "Now John was sitting pretty"—captures fairly well the colloquial usage of the verb in German and in English in this

[10] Preisendanz quote here is from the final sentence of the original Grimms' fairy tale. The full line reads: "With light heart and free of all care, he [Hans] now skipped away until he was home with his mother" (1810/1974: 101). Preisendanz also acknowledges the complexities of Keller's structure as he develops his reading further (1989: 25ff.).

context, since the German "saß" quite literally means "was sitting." Disappointingly, however, it conveys neither the narrative's ironic echoing of the fairy tale title, nor even one of the multiple possibilities of "Glück." Once again, the gleefully ambivalent *Schadenfreude* of Keller's narrator reflects an equally ambivalent inter(con)textuality in the protagonist's own mind and anticipates the similarly irresolvable "translatability" of the moment for any translator. The narrative comment "Nun saß John im Glücke" thus reflects a "Meisterschlag," or "master stroke" not only from the perspective of John, who obviously takes this good fortune to be a direct result of his own "forging." Rather, Keller's own narrative "master stroke" here, as in the story as a whole, is his ability to exhibit the two manufactured realities side by side; to simultaneously both affirm and undermine the common (non-)identity of these two "Hanses/Johns." In so doing, he draws attention to the similar status of the concept of "German" and "Germany" as a marker of non-identical identity in the mind(s), the culture(s) and the language(s) of German-speaking Europe before and after 1848.

The protagonist's situation also emphasizes the simultaneous sense of control and helplessness associated with this (non-)identity, its fabrication, and its translation. Earlier, John is cast as the fisherman, both by himself and by the narrator: "If the two women [in whom John is initially interested] were his *Glück,*" we read early on, "then it appeared not unwilling to allow itself to be caught in the outspread net of the master (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 365)." Now, in his self-induced fall from paradise, both the narrative and John himself present him as the fish. With its trademark *Schadenfreude,* the narrative contrasts the earlier image of John "sitting pretty" with that of him now "flopping about *(zappeln)* in an indestructible net" (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 392). John's titular motto at the beginning of the story that one should be able to forge one's own destiny includes the hubristic qualification, "und zwar ohne viel Gezappel und Geschrei" ("and without a lot of fuss and bother") (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 362). As the corresponding collective noun for the verb *zappeln, Gezappel* linguistically foreshadows John's helpless "flopping about" even in his own initial expression of consummate self-assurance. Neither this linguistic foreshadowing nor the cockiness of the alliterative phrase "Gezappel und Geschrei" translates into English in a way that retains this connection, however. All the translation can try to do is

imitate the sense that both the initial (self-)description and the subsequent inversions, as forgeries of narrator and protagonist alike, can and must never appear absolutely conclusive.

Keller's narrative underscores this point by ironically "nailing down" this indeterminacy in its closing line. Previously, the narrative related how John sleeps with his benefactor Adam's wife, but only, we are told, "always with the intention of solidifying his position and of truly nailing down his happiness *(sein Glück an die Wand nageln)"* (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 386). The result, in a hilariously literal act of fabrication, is that John ironically fathers the son who replaces him as heir to his adopted father's fortune. The story's final description of John, however, is of a man who, rather than still trying to "nail down his good fortune," now seeks to drive away any remaining memories of his misguided attempt to do so by actually forging real nails in the nail forgery he buys instead. No absolute final success is offered, however; all the story's final line reveals is that he is increasingly successful, "the better the nails turned out that he forged" (*Schmied,* 1873/1993: 395). In fact, the natural syntax of the German-language original literally gives the verb *schmiedete*—the act of forging—the last word rather than the finished product (*die Nägel*—the nails) or their finished state (*gerieten*—turned out). Given John's surprising and potentially promising turn toward honest hard work in the story's last line, it is crucial that the English translation also do so rather than using the arguably more natural English translation "the better the nails he forged turned out." Only then can the translation also ironically leave John just as it first found him: as the self-proclaimed "smith" of the title continuing actively to "forge" his own inconclusive (non-)identity.

4.5 "The Germanic Spirit's Places of Refuge": The Linguistic Context of (Non)standard German

Keller's "*aesthetic* way of relating" never succumbs, in other words, to his German-language contemporaries' pseudo-realism, where an ostensible mirror image of reality provides readers and translators

an overarching and univocal identity to work with. By foregrounding and practicing this irresolvable "way of meaning" instead, Keller and his translator can highlight a never fully realizable possibility or "translatability," rather than an aesthetically fabricated univocal final representation, of Swiss(-German) national identity. This ambivalence proves particularly appropriate after the revolutions of 1848 in the German territories failed to unite the German-speaking states into one unified "Germany." Still the quaint foreign German-speaking "other" depicted in the Village Tale in the minds of German speakers, Switzerland's successful and relatively smooth transition to a modern republic in 1848 also made it the only actual German-speaking model for German liberals and for their failed republican hopes and dreams, as well as their only German-speaking safe haven from political reprisal and oppression.

By poetically forging their own recognizably Swiss setting and *personae* but pointedly using neither dialect nor idealized naïve peasants or fairy-tale heroes, Keller's *People of Seldville* not only represent his awareness of this ironic Swiss(-German) (non)identity. They also pointedly unmask the literary and political forgery or "lie" of a common German-language identity or "spirit" based on local detail and idealized dialects and customs. Keller's criticism of his countryman Gotthelf's excessive poetic use of just these sorts of devices, and in particular of stylized Swiss-German dialect, then becomes an implicit linguistic justification and explanation of Keller's own refusal to do so. In an 1851 review of Gotthelf's *Erzählungen und Bilder aus dem Volksleben der Schweiz (Stories and Images from the Folk Life of Switzerland),* Keller writes,

> German literary criticism has been in the habit of frightening away every Swiss writer who dared to write a German-language book by accusing him of "Helvetisms" and by asserting that no Swiss person would ever learn to write German. Whereas five hundred years ago, the "Royal Language" [of German] still saw and wore its own finery and jewelry itself, in the present day, where she is the only common ruler and the only consolation in the misery of the German territories, this has changed, and she now greets even her most distant vassals bringing her

> decorations and jewels with benevolence. True enough, Jeremias Gotthelf abuses this mood by writing entire passages in Bernese German dialect instead of making do with the most essential and powerful provincialisms. Nevertheless, one is inclined to let even this go, since the great popularity of his work encourages people in Germany to learn to pursue, with a bit more familiarity and facility, the Germanic spirit into its places of refuge. ("Die Käserei," 1852/1978: 42)

In other words, with his customary self-inclusive *Schadenfreude,* Keller addresses Fallersleben's alternative "Song of the Germans" and Auerbach's earlier imperative that "just as we must build out [the details of] our individual [locales] politically, so also must we do so poetically" his own way. In contrast to his contemporary countryman Gotthelf, he insists on using standard German rather than dialect to represent "somewhere in Switzerland" an imaginary "place of refuge" for a greater "Germanic" spirit. The result, forged in both senses from the German(-language) literary, political, cultural, and linguistic contexts of his day, is *The People of Seldville*.

4.6 Conclusion

No English translation can capture linguistically the ironic sense of nonidentity inherent in Keller's insistence on standard German for his own collection of "stories from Switzerland." Some awareness of this context, however, along with the literary, political, and cultural contexts examined earlier and the ironic *Schadenfreude* with which Keller manipulates them, is nonetheless crucial in translating Keller's *People of Seldville*. Such an awareness points translators first of all to the "Introduction" and "Forward" as an essential context provided by Keller's own narrator for understanding and translating the uniquely ambivalent style and content of his stories and of the collection as a whole. These framing narratives, in their turn, alert translators to moments that can perhaps allow a translation to reflect, to some degree at least, the "way of meaning" informing Keller's rejection of dialect, moments such as Keller's insistence on the "Germanic" spirit rather than merely the "German" or the "Bernese" spirit, for example, or his description of Seldville

as a place that "floats now above this Swiss locale, now above that one," and even "perhaps here and there beyond the borders of the dear fatherland, beyond the current of the old Rhine" (Keller, "Vorwort," 1873/1993: 307). A modern English translation that is sensitive to these contexts and to such moments, like Keller's own self-conscious literary forging, can then also acknowledge its own status as a conceptual metaphor instead of feeding the illusion that it actually offers any univocal final representation. The hope and the goal is that such a translation of Keller's collection can thereby also communicate, along with Nietzsche's conviction that the tales "deserve to be read again and again," the continued "translatability" or "afterlife," to speak with Benjamin, (1923/1980: 18) of a "Germanic spirit" in the imaginary lives of Keller's Swiss(-German) people of Seldville.

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5

"No Blind Admirer of Byron": Imperialist Rivalries and Activist Translation in Júlio Dinis's Uma Família Inglesa

Suzanne Black

5.1 Introduction

By the mid-nineteenth century, Portugal occupied a curious dual position within the European colonial project. On the one hand, it was an imperialist power holding African colonies in Cape Verde, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as Goa and Macau in Asia. On the other, it had lost a vital part of its empire when Brazil gained independence in 1822, and it was often subjected to the economic, political, or cultural dominance of larger European powers (Marques 1976: 70). English merchants, for example, controlled the port wine trade in Portugal's north, as documented in Júlio Dinis's *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da vida do Porto (An English Family: Scenes from Life in Oporto)* (1868).

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One of the first realist novels in Portugal, *An English Family* depicts both the British and Portuguese communities in Portugal's second-largest city, Oporto, envisioning their eventual merger through the courtship of Carlos Whitestone, the son of a British merchant, and Cecília Quintino, the daughter of his family's Portuguese bookkeeper. Not only does Cecília and Carlos's romance cross cultural and religious lines, but the Portuguese-born Carlos (or Charles) himself has a dual nationality symbolized by the way both the Portuguese and English forms of his name are used in the text. However, despite Dinis's reputation in Portugal as an important nineteenth-century writer and despite the novel's potential interest for British and North American readers, *An English Family*, like most of Dinis's work, remains untranslated. This gap is unfortunate, for greater awareness of Portuguese attitudes towards the British—which are arguably more nuanced and less stereotypical than the reverse—have the potential to refine our understandings of imperialism as depicted in nineteenth-century European literature.

After examining the political contexts for and colonial rivalries in this novel of commercial and cultural exchange, I explore what I believe to be the best techniques for and the linguistic issues involved in translating a socially engaged writer like Dinis, who is sometimes dismissed as a sentimental young adult novelist. I argue that Dinis (or, more precisely, his narrator) can be productively understood as taking on the role of the colonial interpreter and post-colonial translator. Not only does Dinis include his own translations of British song lyrics and poems in *An English Family*, but the narrator acts figuratively as an interpreter of the English, explaining practices that may seem strange to his Portuguese readership. Drawing on post-colonial theories of translation, I contend that an activist and foreignizing translation of *An English Family* might illuminate Dinis's novel, even if such a translation strategy does not necessarily mimic the writer's own, more cautious, translation practice. Specifically, an activist approach calls attention to political points still relevant in the age of globalization, and foreignizing approaches have the potential to foster greater attention to and appreciation of the novel's aesthetic qualities.

5.2 From Civil War to the Crimean Conflict: Historical and Political Context of the Novel

To understand the social and cultural conflicts in *An English Family*, it is helpful to consider the historical context in which Joaquim Guilherme Gomes Coelho (1839–1871), who used the pen name of Júlio Dinis, wrote, as well as his own political allegiances. Like many other European countries, early nineteenth-century Portugal was divided between traditionalist, autocratic forces (like the aristocracy, large landowners, and the Catholic Church) and advocates of liberal democracy (such as the professional middle classes). In 1828, these divisions erupted into civil war, the so-called "liberal wars" (*guerras liberais*) which ended with the restoration of a constitutional monarchy in 1834. Trained as a physician, Júlio Dinis was a member of the liberal bourgeoisie. Conflicts between tradition and modernity are central to all four of his novels, and his protagonists consistently advocate for change and progress. For example, in Dinis's first novel, *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor (The Pupils of the Dean)* (1867) the young doctor Daniel scandalizes his village with new medical ideas, including the idea that men are related to monkeys. In *An English Family,* Carlos argues with Manuel for an updated method of bookkeeping, while Cecília challenges traditional restrictions on young women by walking alone through Oporto and attending a Carnival ball with her girlfriends. As a writer, Dinis is sometimes criticized for a naïve optimism about the ease of social change, but his brief writing career coincides with an "economic boom" in the 1860s (Marques 1976: 12) and a moment in Portuguese history when "the spirit of liberalism had prevailed" (Livermore 1976: 294).

In *An English Family*, ruins from the *guerras liberais* cast a literal shadow over Oporto, a center of liberal and even radical ideas which was besieged by absolutist forces for over a year in 1832–1833. As Cecília's father, Manuel Quintino, takes his Sunday walk about the city in chapter 20, he is confronted by ruins, memories, and ghosts left from the siege:

> . . . naturally he turned his eyes up to the scraped and somber face of the Serra do Pilar, crowned by its ruined convent and circular church. The sad

> remains of the civil war are still quite obvious there, such that their memory rises suddenly before anyone who contemplates them for a few moments. (Dinis, n.d.: 759)

On the one hand, Manuel's recollections are those of a middle-aged man and the war is twenty years in the past. But the ruined buildings that remain and Dinis's sudden shift to present tense suggest that the civil wars continue to shape Oporto's present, their memory liable to rise like ghosts before any sightseer. Significantly, Dinis sets the novel in 1855 against the backdrop of another war, this one in the Crimea. Cecília reads the war news to her father, a supporter of England, and to his more autocratic friend José Fortunato, who sides with Russia and the Ottomans. As Cruz has argued, the novel is radical in the way it sets the war in the context of everyday life (2002: 156–157), but its historical setting also signals a shift from internal divisions to a newer conflict, that between rival empires. By the 1890s, Portugal and Britain would clash for control of Southern Africa and anti-English riots would break out in Oporto.

5.3 The English Under Portuguese Eyes: Dinis as Interpreter of British Culture

The book's major cultural divide is clearly between these imperial allies, the British and the Portuguese. While relations between the two communities are generally cordial, as befits the long alliance between the two countries, their members do not mix. In chapter 4, the narrator notes that Oporto is divided into three regions, with the British living in the west of the city, in the neighborhood of Cedofeita. Because of this "reverse apartheid" (Cruz 2002: 156), the English are viewed with some bemusement, especially by the less educated Portuguese characters. A *comadre* of Cecília's servant, for example, describes Carlos's sister Jenny as "Odd, like all Englishwomen . . . No one ever sees her at her window, and when she comes by here, she gives me a very serious bow and nothing more" (Dinis, n.d.: 793).

Dinis himself was of mixed Anglo-Irish and Portuguese ancestry (Cruz 2002: 9–10), and his narrator thus takes on the role of authority on British culture, translating English poems and stories and explaining the daily routines of the Whitestone family. Through a look inside their house, we learn, for example, about the decoration of a British home, British eating and gardening habits, and British celebrations (such as the birthday parties of Carlos's father and sister). Dinis's narrative also serves to familiarize Portuguese readers with British writers and reading habits. Carlos's father is devoted to Sterne's *Tristam Shandy*, while his son decorates his room with busts of Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, and Scott (Dinis, n.d.: 636). Dinis also draws attention to the prominent place of the English Bible in British cultural life, having the Whitestones read from and discuss it in several passages.

In other words, Dinis interprets British culture for his Portuguese readership. Robinson (1997) explains that the colonial interpreter or post-colonial translator may use translation in three different ways, corresponding roughly to the periods of colonization, independence, and decolonization. In the colonial period, translation often helps the imperial power consolidate its power over the colony, but it can also be seen in more positive terms as a strategy for "surviving cultural inequalities," and eventually as a "channel of decolonization" (1997: 6). It might initially be tempting to see Dinis as a sort of European Malinche, betraying his people by encouraging them to accept British control of business and British cultural dominance. In my opinion, however, Dinis's translations have all three functions. They are meant to educate Portuguese readers about the British, but the narrator also criticizes Anglo prejudice and encourages his readership to hold Portuguese culture in higher regard. Moreover, through the hybrid identity of Carlos/Charles and the mixed marriage with which the book closes, Dinis appears to look forward to a more European identity that blends the best of North and South.

The narrator often expresses admiration for the British, who had aided the liberal forces in the *guerras liberais* and are often associated with innovation in Dinis's fiction. Mr. Richard, Carlos's father, is respected in Oporto's business community for his "fine commercial sense and entrepreneurial spirit" as well as his willingness to take

business risks (Dinis, n.d.: 591). Jenny, Carlos's sister, combines blonde beauty with kindness and clever diplomacy, mediating many of the conflicts between the characters. As for Carlos (or Charles, as his father and sister refer to him), his character has a "dual nationality" that mixes good traits from both his English nature and his Portuguese nurture; his English qualities include "strength of will, stubbornness, stoicism" as well as "some eccentricities obviously inherited from his father" (Dinis, n.d.: 599). Physically, his "kind and expressive face" represents the "best of the Saxon type" (Dinis, n.d.: 637).

Some of these descriptions are clearly meant to challenge Portuguese stereotypes and misconceptions of the British. For example, as early as chapter 1, the narrator protests against "the old prejudices of Mediterranean poets and writers that Englishmen are necessarily melancholy." He points, instead, to a long tradition of British comedy and humor, arguing that "Dryden asserts that English comedies possess an indisputable superiority over those from the rest of the world" (Dinis, n.d.: 594) and concluding that "Tom Jones and even Falstaff himself are perhaps more typically English than some somber characters Byron made fashionable" (Dinis, n.d.: 595). In praising British comedy, Dinis opens a literary space for himself as Portuguese inheritor of Laurence Sterne, Walter Scott, and perhaps Jane Austen.

But while the narrator values British liberalism, entrepreneurship, and humor, he is pointedly critical of other aspects of British culture, as can be seen through the novel's repeated references to Byron and to Mr. Richard's flaws. Byron is mentioned at least ten times in the novel, often negatively. For example, in the reference above, he is initially associated with a fashionable *spleen* perhaps untrue to British character. A journalist friend of Carlos also recalls Byron's negative references to the Portuguese in *Childe Harold*:

> What do you think of that *Childe Harold*? It's the only truly romantic poem that's been written to date. (Pause). I forgive him that "Poor, paltry slaves" with which he flatters us. And know that I'm no blind admirer of Byron. (Dinis, n.d.: 613)

A closer look at *Childe Harold* suggests why a Portuguese reader might have decidedly mixed responses to the poet. Byron does praise Portugal's

natural beauty, but his descriptions of the Portuguese themselves are condescending and pejorative. In addition to being "poor, paltry slaves," the Portuguese are "A nation swoll'n with ignorance and pride, /Who lick, yet loathe" the British hand that (supposedly) protects them from France. In addition, all the residents of Lisbon are dirty: "No personage of high or mean degree/Doth care for cleanness of surtout or shirt." Finally, Byron asks Nature why "waste thy wonders on such men?" (Byron 1980: 16–17).

Byron's reactions to the Portuguese are filled with imperialist prejudices: For him, naturally servile and incapable of self-defense, the Portuguese deserve to be dominated, and the natural wonders of their land should belong to more deserving peoples. Their only culture is that of ignorance and poverty. Yet Byron's position in the British literary canon masks the historical forces behind the poverty he sees; while the Napoleonic Wars enriched England and France, they "devastated the Iberian Peninsula and [. . .] placed the Portuguese treasury at the mercy of foreign bankers" (Livermore 1976: 292). Small wonder that by chapter 19 Carlos pushes aside his Byron and grumbles to his sister Jenny that:

> Sometimes I lose my patience with this Lord Poet of ours, to be honest with you. There's so much bitterness and sarcasm in some of these pages that little by little they end up making us wicked [. . .] The eagle's instincts are higher and more heroic than the dove's, but we all prefer to have doves nearer our house. (Dinis, n.d.: 755)

As Carlos's bird analogy suggests, Dinis rejects Byron partly for aesthetic reasons, preferring the gentle domestication of the Victorian dove to the predatory heroism of the Romantic eagle. However, the idea that Byron makes his readers bad people can be read either as a general claim about Byron's effect on all readers (including Carlos's Portuguese friends), or, perhaps, given that the passage features two English young people, as a critique of Byron's moral effect on British readers specifically. Whatever the case, Dinis's references to Byron show him as no blind advocate of British liberalism.

Other important criticisms of the English can be found in discussions of Mr. Richard's flaws. When Carlos confesses his feelings for Cecília,

his father dismisses them as frivolous, largely due to a range of prejudices. The father's biases include those of social class, wealth, and fatherly pride, but the main one is ethnic or even racial:

> The prejudices, above all, of an Englishman; a son of Great Britain can never see with complete indifference a woman from another country steal the heart of one of his relatives. In every English soul, there is a, more or less open, profound conviction of racial superiority, which prevents him from dispassionately envisioning such alliances. (Dinis, n.d.: 867)

Though Mr. Richard rapidly suppresses his prejudices once his daughter Jenny brings them to light, his refusal to assimilate into Portuguese culture is more stubborn. Dinis's narrator notes that despite having absorbed twenty years of Port wine and Portuguese weather,

> these influences, along with all the other attractive features of our homeland, had still not succeeded in obtaining from Mr. Richard two important results: the adoption of Iberian ways of life, against which he reacted with all the inflexibility of his British sinews, and respect for Portuguese grammar. (Dinis, n.d.: 596)

The narrator makes no objection to Mr. Richard's wish to preserve British customs, but he pointedly satirizes the Englishman's linguistic failings, clearly linking British disdain for other languages with colonial power. He notes that Mr. Richard "did not disprove" Alexandre Herculano's claim that "whenever an Englishman, in desperate straits, resorts to some foreign tongue, he never does so without twisting, worrying, and mutilating it with all the barbarity of a Cimbri warrior" (Dinis, n.d.: 596). Here Whitestone's linguistic incapacity and Herculano's allusion to Germanic barbarians are slyly used to undercut his claim to ethnic superiority. But the narrator goes farther, suggesting a bit tartly that one can see in Whitestone's mangled syntax

> the liberal claims of a true citizen of London. His orderly and conciliatory mind, the constitutionalism rooted in his English spirit, and his adherence to the interventionist principles adopted in his country seemed to have

> extended themselves extravagantly to the field of Portuguese syntax, leading Mr. Richard, in an excess of harmonizing tendencies, to attempt agreements between nouns and adjectives despite their absolute repulsion in number and gender, and to modify the grammatical constitution of an ally, much as England likes to modify its political one. (Dinis, n.d.: 596)

The Englishman possesses sufficient economic hegemony that he has no need to master Portuguese; in fact, he attempts to rewrite the language along English lines. This colonialist logic is shared by his friends Mr. Brains and Mr. Morlays, who envision a world empire unified by the English language.

Dinis's criticisms of British prejudice, linguistic chauvinism, and political interventionism are complemented by important advocacy of Portuguese culture. Introducing Cecília in chapter 11, the narrator calls her "a model of Portuguese, and perhaps *portuense,* beauty, in its happiest manifestations." He then protests against the Portuguese tendency to describe feminine beauty in relation to foreignness:

> Our custom, when we wish to exalt the beauty of a woman in the readers' mind, is to classify her amongst the Spanish, the Italians, the Germans, and the English, but never amongst our fair compatriots, who have suffered for many years, with the sublime resignation of martyrs, this old and flagrant injustice.
>
> It seems our national type is unworthy of mention, and only when she deviates from it and by some freak of nature puts on foreign features does a woman merit the more or less euphonious and exaggerated forms of our admiration. (Dinis, n.d.: 675–676)

This disdain for the familiar, the narrator argues, extends far beyond the physical to the cultural, with the Portuguese reluctant to defend their accomplishments alongside those of other European cultures:

> If we dare to speak of Camões at the same time as Tasso, Dante, and Milton, if we dare to appreciate port wine alongside sherry, Chateau-Laffite, and Tokay, it is only because out there they have been given letters of nobility. (Dinis, n.d.: 676–677)

The cause, he explains, lies in the smallness of Portugal and the scorn of larger European powers who only grudgingly acknowledge Portugal as European. Dinis's defense of Portuguese beauty and culture here bears an interesting resemblance to Robinson's definition of decolonization as "The gradual process of undoing the more harmful effects of colonization, especially the collective inferiority complex—the former's colony's sense of being less modern, less educated, less intelligent, less cultured, less civilized than the formal imperial power" (Robinson 1997: 115). On the political sphere, Portugal was obviously an imperial power rather than a colony of England, but its peripheral status afflicts it with some of the same insecurities and anxieties (it is worth noting here Dinis's own blind spot in relation to Portuguese colonialism; Africa and Brazil are almost never mentioned in his fiction).

5.4 Dinis as Translator

Given Dinis's awareness of language as a tool of empire, it is only appropriate to translate the novel in a way reflecting this awareness. I turn now to a brief examination of Dinis's own translations within *An English Family* and then some of the reasons and ways I have attempted to use activist approaches and foreignizing techniques as I work on a translation of the novel.

Dinis was well aware of the pitfalls of translation. The narrator has fun with bad translation in chapter 16, in which Manuel and Cecília accompany Jenny and Mr. Richard to the opera for a performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Seeking to be helpful, Manuel tries to translate the libretto from Italian to Portuguese, but his translation is doubly unnecessary. In the first place, his British employers are familiar with the Walter Scott novel on which Donizetti's opera is based. Moreover, Manuel concentrates on the Italian phrases most cognate to Portuguese and "consequently those least in need of conversion" (Dinis, n.d.: 723). Dinis's use of the participle "vertido" (spilled, poured, converted) rather than "traduzido" points to Manuel's naïve idea of translation as moving a substance from one linguistic container

to another. Unsurprisingly, the bookkeeper gets false equivalences (such as the Italian word for family, "prosapia," which means "hot air" in Portuguese) amusingly wrong.

This Italian/Portuguese pun is obviously challenging to represent in English. One could attempt to substitute a similar English misunderstanding of the Italian line "Di mia prosapia" ("Dee, me prose peas"? or "sappy," in the sense of sentimental?) and then render Manuel's "Ele mesmo confessa que tem prosápia" as "He himself confesses he's very pro-peas" or "He himself knows he's being all sappy." A better option, however, might be quickly to gloss Manuel's mistake, since the full passage makes it obvious that Manuel is simply converting Italian words into their Portuguese cognates. This approach also has the advantage of preserving the author's implied criticism of the opera. Thus a more foreignizing translation might read as follows: "*Di mia prosapia* the former was saying. 'He himself confesses he's full of hot air,' [Manuel] interpreted, this time disastrously mistaking the Italian word *prosapia* for our own" (Dinis, n.d.: 723).

Interestingly, despite Dinis's many references to familiar operas and canonical British writers like Walter Scott, his actual translations in *An English Family* are of more ephemeral popular texts, such as American poems like Park Benjamin's "The Old Sexton" or English song lyrics, like Henry Russell's "My Mother's Bible" and Russell and MacKay's "Cheer Boys Cheer." In each case, Dinis offers Portuguese readers a prose translation from English which aims for fidelity of sense, rather than attempting to capture the rhyme or meter of the original verses. For example, "The star of Empire glitters in the West" of "Cheer Boys Cheer" is rendered almost word for word as "no Ocidente brilha a estrela do império" (Dinis, n.d.: 631). An example of close equivalency is Dinis's change of "ocean's breast" to "ocean's back" (*o dorso do oceano*). As a result, the British or American translator of Dinis can simply replace Russell's (and Benjamin's) original lyrics.

A more interesting translation challenge is posed by a lullaby "in Scottish dialect" (Dinis, n.d.: 627) sung by Kate, the Whitestone children's senile nurse and the novel's madwoman in the attic. Because the narrator offers no other information about the song, the original is difficult to trace, and it may even be an invention of Dinis,

who presents it not in prose, but in a Portuguese folk form similar to the ballad stanza, the *quadra*:

> Dorme, filho, que eu vigio,
> E enquanto dormes, sorri;
> Que a tua porção de lagrimas
> Eu as chorarei por ti.

Literally rendered, the lyrics could read as follows:

> Sleep, child, and I'll keep watch,
> And while you sleep, smile;
> As for your measure of tears,
> I'll cry them for you.

The English or American translator could settle for this paraphrase, but surely it is better to preserve a Scots dialect. One might attempt a back-translation into Scots, but this approach risks mistaking or stereotyping the dialect. Could one instead substitute a stanza from (or a reference to) a real Scottish lullaby with a similar meaning, such as Jim McLean's "Smile in Your Sleep"? This approach would complement Dinis's own citations of the foreign texts he uses.

> Hush, hush, time tae be sleepin
> Hush, hush, dreams come a-creepin
> Dreams o peace an o freedom
> Sae smile in your sleep, bonnie baby

As in Dinis's song, McLean's lyrics tell the child to smile in its sleep. But his song is also a protest against the Highland Clearances, as its second verse makes clear:

> Once our valleys were ringin
> Wi sounds o our children singin
> But nou sheep bleat till the evenin
> An shielings stand empty an broken. (McLean 2008)

Kate's song includes, of course, no political explanation for the child's "measure of tears." But *An English Family* frequently alludes to the Scottish historical novel, and Kate's madness and occasional fits of violence make her a logical character to murmur songs with a more political subtext.

In fact, Dinis's paratexts (if not his actual translations) sometimes hint at the possibility of a more experimental or foreignizing approach to translation. Notably, the novel offers a full page of introductory context for MacKay and Russell (1852). The narrator gives a brief biography of Russell, paraphrases the lyrics that he is about to translate, and analyzes the song's reception in both England and North America, claiming that it is extremely popular both with English and North American audiences at public concerts and among British soldiers serving in the Crimea (Dinis, n.d.: 630–631). Surprisingly, the narrator never presents the song as in any way relevant to the situation of Portuguese readers, even though he acknowledges that it is a "song of encouragement" to migrants leaving Europe and crossing the sea in search of wealth and new lands. In other words, Dinis does not seek to domesticate Russell's song for a Portuguese audience, but to move his readers closer to the Anglo-American cultural context in which he sees the song as having meaning.

5.5 Translating Dinis: Activist Approaches

Thus, despite the importance of sense for Dinis's own translations from English to Portuguese, an English version of his novel may actually be better served by a more activist approach or by foreignizing techniques, especially given the radically different context in which a contemporary British or North American reader is likely to encounter the text. Activist approaches, as understood by Tymoczko, give translators agency and power, allowing for "greater self-awareness in translation choices and greater control in constructing the cultural representations and performances in the target text that support the translator's specific aims and goals" (2010a: 248). An activist translator might choose to translate texts created by marginalized groups or in non-Western languages, or to

emphasize texts that express resistance to colonialism, to censorship, or to other repressive cultural policies (Tymoczko 2010b: 1–2). For example, Milton (2010) explores the career of the Brazilian writer and publisher José Bento Monteiro Lobato, whose translations, including those of Anglo-American children's literature, challenged both the Vargas regime in Brazil and the dominance by Portugal of Portuguese-language publishing. Vieira (2010) discusses her personal experience translating into Portuguese a French political science dissertation that would expose as lies official narratives about Brazilian history.

In contrast to these examples, Dinis's own work as interpreter of British culture and translator of British songs might not seem especially activist. His motives appear to be those of liberal humanism, such as a more accurate understanding of British culture and a better appreciation of his own Portuguese one. If the novel's courtship plot rebukes British attitudes towards racial or ethnic purity, it certainly does not protest against European colonialism as a whole. One should also acknowledge that Dinis's other novels, with their rural settings and colorful peasants, were amenable to cinematic appropriation under the reactionary Salazar regime (Torgal n.d.). Likewise, the choice to translate Dinis—a classic, if peripheral, European writer who espoused bourgeois values—may not appear very activist at first glance. However, Portuguese literature remains marginalized within world literature, and Dinis's criticisms of British chauvinism gain more bite when read by Anglo readers than by Dinis's original readership. The translator can also present an interpretation of *An English Family* that brings out Dinis's more activist tendencies, such as his observations of working-class people. Realism was new to Dinis's readers and he is one of the first Portuguese writers in whom one begins to see plausible peasants and servants. After Carlos, seeking a private interview with Cecília, sends away Cecília's servant Senhora Antónia, she gets a chance to talk back, at least to the reader. Grumbling her way down the stairs, she unleashes a creative flood of insults, all intended to take the haughty young Englishman down a peg. Specifically, the son of her employer's employer is a slug (*lesma*), skinny (*magrizelas*), and the "two of clubs" (*dois de paus*). Unfortunately, English slugs are stereotypically plump and slow rather than thin or contemptible, and the last of these insults appears to be Antónia's own

invention, presumably referring to a playing card of low value. The challenge is to keep the demeaning quality of the insults, to make them compatible and comprehensible, and to respect Antónia's linguistic inventiveness. If we have her drop her aitches, we allude to the wordplay of Cockney English:

> Just look at 'im, wormin' 'is way in 'ere. That scrawny stick! That joker! (Dinis, n.d.: 736)

Joker has the advantage of alluding to Carlos's main character defect; he is repeatedly characterized as *estouvado* (rash and thoughtless).

The activist translator might also want to emphasize parts of Dinis's work that gain additional resonance in today's context, such as his admiration for female forms of power or his depictions of British immigration to Portugal. On a first reading, Carlos's sister Jenny may seem no more than the traditional Victorian "domestic angel" (as chapter 4 is titled). Yet this reading overlooks her skill at resolving both private and public conflicts; as the narrator warns, she is the dominant force in the family (Dinis, n.d.: 602). When Jenny mediates between her brother and her father, or between her father and his bookkeeper, both she and the narrator often use metaphors from politics and diplomacy. She herself refers to Manuel as "um homem honrado, mas . . . subalterno" (Dinis, n.d.: 871) when she challenges her father's racism, and the word "subalterno" is probably best translated as "subaltern" (rather than "subordinate") to bring out the novel's colonial context. At the end of the book, after Jenny proposes manipulating gossip about Carlos and Cecília to the Whitestone family's advantage, Mr. Richard exclaims "Bravo! How Machiavellian! I didn't know you were so clever a diplomat" (Dinis, n.d.: 873). An activist translation can emphasize or even extend this vision of a political Jenny, just as it might echo American immigration imagery in the narrator's description of the English arriving in Portugal. The Portuguese original refers to the "tipos ingleses, que as ondas do oceano arrojam todos os dias às nossas praias" (Dinis, n.d.: 594), or (literally) to the "English types that the ocean's waves cast up daily upon our beaches." This image of British merchants as washed-up refuse and as overly numerous (arriving every day) has some interesting overlaps with today's anti-immigration rhetoric.

However, the translator's task is complicated by the verb arrojar, whose connotations are difficult to capture in English. The associated adjective, "arrojado," means "bold" or "daring," but can also have a more negative sense of "cheeky" or "impudent." That is, the waves could be bravely bringing the British, or cheekily daring to reject them, or the British could be the ones bravely or impudently washing ashore. An activist version might choose the more negative sense to remind readers that Anglo immigrants have sometimes been an unwelcome presence, and render the line as "English types that impudently roll ashore each day." A more experimental approach could echo Emma Lazarus's poem "The New Colossus": "English types, refuse tempest-tossed daily upon our beaches."

In short, an activist English translation that foregrounds Dinis's incipient populism, feminism, and criticisms of British immigration might correct misimpressions of Dinis as sentimental or reactionary. Such a translation would support Egan's (1994) interpretation of the novel as parodic, anti-patriarchal, and "pre-postmodern," thereby giving Dinis, as he foresaw in *An English Family,* a stamp of nobility by appreciating him outside of Portugal.

5.6 Translating Dinis: Foreignizing Techniques

Another resource I have found useful in translating Dinis are the foreignizing techniques advocated by Venuti. A foreignizing approach offers a "dissident" (Venuti 1998: 125) alternative to the usual Anglo-American translation practice, in which the translator becomes invisible and the foreign text appears to fit seamlessly into the culture receiving it. A foreignizing translation, in contrast, maintains the disruptive cultural otherness of the original text, placing "an ethnodeviant pressure on [dominant] values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text" (Venuti 1995: 15). Its ultimate goal is to create "a not unpleasurable recognition of translation" (Venuti 1998: 13). As a result, Venuti often champions a "rethinking of experimentalism," both in his choice of writers to study and in his own translations of nineteenth-century literature (1998: 236).

Venuti's conception of foreignizing translation is not without its critics. Tymoczko characterizes it as a form of resistance rather than as activism, and as "both too loosely stated and too rigidly prescriptive" (2010b: vii). Both Tymoczko and Robinson note that foreignizing translations tend to target an elite Western audience and may not be effective in some developing countries or former colonies (Tymoczko 2010a: 210–211; Robinson 1997). Robinson is also skeptical that foreignizing translations "are necessarily more beneficial" and cautions that their "quaintness" risks making the original author and source culture "seem childish, backward, primitive" (1997: 111). Instead, he discusses more local strategies like new translations, playful mistranslations, or hybridized languages (1997: 88–89). Specifically, he examines Niranjana's arguments for "radically new translations" of classic Indian texts in order to challenge or confront earlier colonial translations, as well as strategic misunderstandings of Catholic discourse in the Philippines (1997: 89–100). Robinson also explores Mehrez's work on North African texts that subvert linguistic hierarchies and use mixed or hybrid languages (1997: 100–102).

Important though such critiques of Venuti are, I have found his overall discussion and specific examples of foreignizing translation helpful in considering particular passages from Dinis. The categories in Venuti (1995), such as "Invisibility," "Nation," or "Margin," are central to *An English Family*, and Venuti himself (1998) discusses strategies for translating the discourse of the nineteenth-century novel. Realistically, an English translation of *An English Family* is likely to attract a smaller, more academic audience than did Dinis's middlebrow Portuguese original (one of the challenges I have faced in trying to find a publisher for the translation). Thus one might experiment with the translation's English rather than trying to replicate closely Dinis's style, which Portuguese critics have sometimes dismissed as "forgettable" "pulp fiction" (Lisboa 2003: 38). Venuti encourages such experimentation, even asking at one point if a translation might surpass the original (1995: 265). For example, the "light" writing style dismissed by Dinis's contemporary Eça de Queirós might appeal to Anglo-American readers familiar with Jane Austen, whom the English translator could echo.

A foreignizing approach could also open a space in which Dinis is given a voice to respond to Byron's well-known remarks on Portugal; specifically, it is a way of resisting the "dominant discourses" (Venuti 1995: 97) on Portugal in Anglo-American writing. Likewise, the setting and imagined audience of *An English Family* make the book resistant to domestication for Anglo-American readers. The foreignizing translation is sometimes compared to a journey abroad. For example, Venuti quotes Goethe's remark that it "requires we should go across to what is foreign and adapt ourselves to its conditions" (Venuti 1995: 104). Because the city of Oporto plays a major role in Dinis's story, readers of the English translation will frequently find themselves in a foreign environment to which they must adapt, as when they accompany Manuel on his Sunday walk along the Douro River in chapter 20. Moreover, the book not only features the foreign setting common to much world literature, but also forces readers to assume a Portuguese identity. When Dinis's narrator rebukes his Portuguese readers for hiding their love of country from other Europeans, he frames it as "a confession, here, amongst family members" (Dinis, n.d.: 676). Manuel's reflections on his walk rely on knowledge of the siege of Oporto by absolutist forces 20 years before, just as Dinis's narrator assumes that his readers will recognize allusions to the Portuguese literary tradition.

But perhaps the best argument for a foreignizing translation of Dinis is that a domesticating one would, for all Dinis's enthusiasm for domestic spaces and values, do a fundamental violence to the novel's imagined relationships between author and reader. Dinis frequently addresses his readers, whom he imagines as Portuguese, and often as female. For example, when Cecília comes to visit Jenny, the narrator believes that his reader will envision the typical greeting between Portuguese women, and he moves to correct this cultural misunderstanding:

> Affectionately Jenny held out her hand and . . . and "they kissed each other," you may be thinking, gentle reader. Well, no, they did not, *minha senhora*; Englishwomen save up those treasured kisses much more than do the women of other countries; a friendly squeeze of the hands, a smile, an affectionate phrase . . . and *mais nada*. Might it be to give those kisses more value once they are granted? (Dinis, n.d.: 675)

Such a passage, with its description of British reserve (and its suggestion that it may be grounded in a calculating emotional economics), is impossible to domesticate for an Anglo-American reader. One could delete it entirely, removing Jenny's foreignness, but such an omission distorts the way in which the two girls' relationship develops from friendship to sisterhood. A sensitive translation must then move the Anglo-American reader towards the text and towards a feigned Portuguese identity, as leaving the words "minha senhora" ("madam") and "mais nada" ("nothing else") in their original language attempts to convey.

Because it is fundamentally a form of resistance to dominant values, there is no single formula for a foreignizing translation, as opposed to a fluent and domesticating one. Although Venuti cautions that each work requires a slightly different approach derived from the translator's interpretation of the original, he does discuss specific cases of foreignizing translation. For example, Venuti describes the strategies he used in his own translations of I. U. Tarchetti, an Italian Gothic writer who lived from 1839 to 1869 and who was thus an almost exact contemporary of Dinis (1998: 12). Drawing on the styles of Edgar Allan Poe and Mary Shelley, Venuti opted for an archaic "syntax and lexicon" (1998: 14), as well as strategic uses of calque (or loan word) renderings in his Tarchetti translations. To signal Tarchetti's ironic view of Romanticism, he also included allusions to twentieth-century clichés and popular culture in an attempt to create "jarring" "combination[s] of various lexicons" (1998: 17). Many of Venuti's strategies for translating Tarchetti can be applied to Dinis, although some may be less suited to the Portuguese writer's more middlebrow style and gentler irony. However, Dinis's own writing suggests additional foreignizing techniques, such as retaining untranslated Portuguese phrases, hybridizing Portuguese and English, or mingling different dialects of English.

Dinis's own foreignizing strategy is clearly the use of untranslated English, making it obvious that significant parts of an English translation of the novel must remain in Portuguese. The author uses English words to refer to places in London ("The City," "West End" "Covent Garden market"), British food ("roast beef," "puddings," "lunch"), and a variety of British commercial and political institutions ("meetings," "Bank of

England," "The Times," "God save the Queen"). The titles and greetings of the British characters are typically left in English as well, so that Jenny is introduced as "uma gentil *lady"* and often called "*miss* Jenny" by her servants. Mr. Richard, logically enough, greets his dog Butterfly in English: "*O' Butterfly, good morning! How do you do, sir?,"* a bit of dialogue that retains a foreignizing flavor not just for Portuguese readers but for Americans more likely to ask "How are you," or for any reader unlikely to address pets as "sir." On occasion, Dinis's English vocabulary is slightly *aportuguesado*; Butterfly, for example, offers his paw not for a "handshake" but a "shake-hand" (Dinis, n.d.: 632).

While many English words are left untranslated, others are given a quick parenthetical translation, either by the narrator or by other characters who reiterate the same idea in Portuguese. "*Merry England! Oh, merry England!*" is quickly rendered as "Alegre Inglaterra! oh! alegre Inglaterra!" Dinis's English will always tend to vanish in an English translation, even if one follows the formatting of the original and italicizes it. Thus it seems important to compensate for it by keeping similar features of the translation in Portuguese. Portuguese place names, titles, as well as foods and catch-phrases, should remain in their original language, especially for an American readership increasingly exposed to Spanish or for a British readership that has traveled to Portugal. For example, Manuel and his daughter obviously speak Portuguese with each other and with other Portuguese characters, such as Manuel's old friend José Fortunato. Fortunato's nightly visits to take tea are logical scenes for Portuguese turns of phrase, because Dinis generally uses English for comic effect (it is largely absent from the more serious dialogues in the book), and, as Robinson cautions, care must be taken to use the source language in a way that does not contribute to stereotypes (1997: 111). During Fortunato's first visit, the old men's discussion of Carlos distracts Cecília, who forgets to refill Fortunato's teacup and is scolded by her father:

> "*Ai, perdão*—said Cecília, blushing at her distraction. [. . .]
>
> "This is very good, *menina*," he [Fortunato] said, "May I have one more little spoonful, please? *Muito bem*."

> "Not in the least, Senhor Fortunato," continued Manuel Quintino. "It's clear you don't know Carlitos. One thing he's never been is a show-off. Even as a child . . . "
>
> "Have some of this *torta*, then, Papa," said Cecília so affectionately that she stirred up all the old man's tender feelings. (Dinis, n.d.: 701)

Cecília's quick apology and her "Ai" are akin to the sort of English terms Dinis uses; Mr. Richard, for example, typically expresses his emotions, whether mild disappointment or repressed rage, only with the monosyllable "Ho!," and as a cognate of "Pardon me," "perdão" is likely to be understandable in context. Readers acquainted with Spanish may recognize the similar Portuguese titles "menina" (miss) and "senhor" (mister); likewise, many readers will realize from context that with "Carlitos" that Manuel is using an affectionate diminutive for Carlos that has no good English equivalent. When offering Manuel cakes, Cecília uses the more common Portuguese word *bolos*, but it lacks the English cognate that *torta* has. Ironically, European Portuguese has adopted the English word "cakes," but its Portuguese spelling ("queques") is likely to throw off Anglo-American readers, especially those with some Spanish.

But these strategies are conventional translation practices, and if one is to be truly foreignizing, one might retain Portuguese expressions that cause the reader to do some work or feel some discomfort. Some of Dinis's diction, after all, would seem to require more than elementary knowledge of English, such as "meetings," "Joint-stock banks," "comfortable" and "habitat." Since Portuguese writers have sometimes seen English as a rival imperial language, one might exploit the agonistic conception of language Venuti values (1998: 23), and refuse to translate moments of antagonism. For example, the muttered insults directed at Carlos in chapter 21 might well be left in Portuguese:

> "He's riding like a fool," said one man.
>
> "He'll slip!" added another.
>
> "One Englishman down, if you ask me. *Que o leve o Diabo*." (Dinis, n.d.: 772–773)

Dinis's novel even flirts, albeit briefly, with the possibility of a hybrid of English and Portuguese. Neither Mr. Richard nor Manuel speaks a foreign language well, and the narrator notes of Manuel that his English

> was, to some extent, like his employer's Portuguese. It made quite an impression to hear him stamp every word of English with the most authentically Portuguese pronunciation, tone, and inflection possible. One might say that Manuel Quintino spoke Portuguese in English. (Dinis, n.d.: 660)

But Dinis never explores the creative possibilities of such a hybrid, making the characters speak standard grammatical Portuguese and dodging entirely the question of what languages the younger characters (such as Cecília and Jenny) use with each other. Might the translation, however, develop further this idea and briefly hybridize English with Portuguese? For example, immediately after the passage above, Manuel welcomes Carlos with a phrase whose syntax and vocabulary are far removed from English: "Ditosos olhos que o vêem!" (Dinis, n.d.: 660). One could well render this phrase as "Portuguese in English" with a strategically awkward translation like "Blessed eyes who see him!"

A final foreignizing resource for the American translator of Dinis is the use of British English and, more generally, of different dialects of English. Venuti notes that domesticating translations avoid using "Britishisms in American translations and Americanisms in British translations" (1998: 4–5). Clearly, however, the Whitestones must be made to speak a recognizably British English. Jenny will sound too American if her "Oh meu Deus!" becomes "Oh my God!" rather than "My God" or "Good God!" However, Dinis's English tends, whether through ignorance or deliberate strategy, to the multinational. The songs he cites are Scottish as well as English, and at least one of the poems included in the novel is American. Russell's "Cheer, boys, cheer" was set to music by a Scotsman and adopted by Confederate soldiers. *An English Family* therefore seems already to speak in a global English with which the translator may legitimately experiment. For example, one might make the characters use markedly American expressions in order to suggest the future of the

global capitalism described in the novel, as when the cheerful utopian Mr. Brains predicts something akin to a world government and a world language, mentioning "young America" as he does so:

> Mr. Brains, the optimist, had a strange affection for utopias. Now, extending his vision to future centuries, he seemed to see off in the distance that much-celebrated unity of races, brought about by a single nation, by one law, by the dream of a common language, by the suppression of the word "war" from that universal vocabulary, because it had no object to which one might apply it [. . .]
>
> Mr. Richard, smiling like someone who had less faith in so golden a future, asked:
>
> "And what language might that be, Mr. Brains? One of those existing today, which will spread, or a new one yet to be formed?"
>
> "Who can say, Mr. Richard? That secret belongs to the future. But doubtless English is a very plausible candidate."
>
> "Ah! Yes?"
>
> "Sure thing. First of all, England is the main colonial nation. English is already familiar in every corner of the world. And youthful America, at least in its more vigorous elements, the ones which must surely conquer the others, is also of English origin." (Dinis, n.d.: 847–848)

Mr. Brains's allusion to the American poet Adrienne Rich is of course anachronistic, but I use it to foreshadow his more noticeable break into American English. Venuti's work is helpful in suggesting such creative possibilities to the translator, while more activist translation studies help frame the novel within a wider political context.

5.7 Conclusion

Translation studies scholars often ask what broader lessons may be drawn from the translation of a specific text. In historical terms, Portuguese literary accounts of the British offer a valuable counterpart to the writings of British imperialism. When the Portuguese figure in nineteenth-century British literature, it is generally in negative terms, such as the smelly slaves of Byron's *Childe Harold*. These depictions conveniently overlook the

increasing British dominance of Portuguese trade and politics that Dinis chronicles in *An English Family*. Today, when the United States (or at least some Americans) worry about Latino immigration and unwillingness to assimilate, Dinis's novel offers a useful counterview of Anglos invading a Latin culture and taking a generation to assimilate; it also reminds us that Europe is not the unified culture that those fearful of non-Western immigrants like to claim. By drawing on the contributions of both activist translation scholars and advocates of foreignization, one can try and move these political points, along with Dinis's novel, from periphery toward the center.

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6

Between Huda Sha'rawi's Memoirs and *Harem Years*

Nada Ayad

6.1 Introduction

On February 2011, an article reflecting on the Arab Spring uprisings, published in the online magazine *Qantara*—whose motto it is to foster "dialogue with the Islamic world"—reveals the persistence of the image of Arab women's position in society as a barometer of either progress or regression. The author's shock regarding women's involvement in the uprisings is brought to light through her observation that

> [w]hat did come as a surprise . . . was the very visible commitment . . . with which the large number of women involved set about organizing the uprising . . . it demonstrated a willingness and determination to get out on the streets and physically go from door to door drumming up support. (Sabra 2012)

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The author observes Arab women's presence in the streets of their respective countries as not only an anomaly but also as an indicator of an up-to-now unavailable agency: "This *new* self-confidence of young Arab women is an indication of the kind of profound social changes that are taking place in the MENA countries . . . . *Even* if the Arab world is still trailing behind the rest of the world . . . " (Sabra 2012; emphasis added). The emphasis on newness here betrays an amnesia regarding a rich and varied history of Arab women's political activism and participation while recycling Orientalist rhetoric that rests on a set of binaries—east/west, public/private, political/domestic, visible/invisible, traditional/modern—that ossifies Arab women in time and divests them from being participants in their countries' histories.

This chapter reaches to Egyptian feminist and political activist Huda Sha'rawi's account of the political movements unfolding in turn-of-the-last-century Egypt to dismantle these binaries. For, it was during this time that the Egyptian political, national and feminist fabric was undergoing significant transformations—the revolution against British colonialism occupation (1919) gained Egypt nominal independence; nationalist parties were vibrantly proliferating; the first constitution was written in 1923; the first University of Cairo opened in 1908; and, most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, a feminist consciousness was emerging.[1] Specifically, I turn to Sha'rawi's memoirs (1981), composed in Arabic, as well as Margot Badran's English translation of them (1987), to contextualize and complicate the image of Arab women's involvement in the political sphere.

Sha'rawi gathers, records and reports stories which make up the memory of a generation and a nation in her memoirs *Mudhakkirat Huda Sha'rawi: ra'idat al-mar'a al-'aribya al-haditha* (*Huda Sha'rawi's Memoirs: Leader of the Modern Arab Woman*) (1981). Dictating them in Arabic to her secretary, Abd al-Hamid Fahmy Mursi, Sha'rawi translates her memoirs into a medium that promises to be permanent: the printed word. Here, I avail myself of Mona Baker's (2016: 7) definitions of translation deployed to study the cultural productions

[1] See Beth Baron, *The Woman's Awakening in Egypt* (1994), Margot Badran and Miriam Cooke, *Opening the Gates* (1990)

that emerged as responses to and reflections on the 2011 uprisings. She uses translation in both its narrow and its broad senses, illuminating that in its narrow sense, translation "involves rendering fully articulated stretches of textual material from one language into another, and encompasses various modalities such as written translation, subtitling and oral interpreting." In its broader sense, she argues, "translation involves the mediation of diffuse symbols, experiences, narratives and linguistic signs of varying lengths across modalities (words into image, lived experience into words), levels and varieties of languages (for example, Standard Written Arabic and spoken Egyptian), and cultural spaces, the latter without necessarily crossing a language boundary."

In this chapter, I read the Arabic and the English version of the text in tandem to destabilize a binaristic understanding of them. Margot Badran's English translation—in both the broad and the narrow sense of the term—*Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist (1879–1924)* (1987) re-historicizes Sha'rawi's Arabic narrative, deleting large segments, and augmenting others.[2] The critical scholarship on the text has been read as conforming to a progressive narrative whose telos begins in the sequestered harem, advances to nationalist consciousness, and culminates at the train station where Sha'rawi publicly unveils and becomes "liberated." The English text asserts faith in the necessity of rejecting the "harem years" as an integral step toward Sha'rawi's awakening to political consciousness. In so doing, it confirms the harem's oppressiveness. As other scholars have noted, this is accomplished by the embellishments of details of Sha'rawi's private life and her marriage, while eliding a large section of the Arabic text. This contributes to the homogenizing discourse that sees the "Arab" woman as oppressed and politically silenced as echoed in the international media reporting on the 2011 Uprisings.

Analyzing the adoption of the newspaper to ventriloquize a male nationalist voice, contextualizing the narrative within the language debates taking place at the time of the 1919 Revolution, and studying the fissures appearing in the Arabic text, I argue that it too relies on homogenizing

[2] See Mohja Kahf's "Packaging 'Huda': Sha'rawi's Memoirs in the United States Reception Environment" (2000) for a thoughtful and thorough analysis of Badran's translation.

tendencies. That is, a substantial segment of the text narrates Sha'rawi's political participation as a nationalist and as a feminist on the national and international stages through transcriptions of official government statements, public speeches, and newspaper articles. The heterogeneity of the Arabic text, the very intertextuality that is its striking feature, is rich with complexity. On the one hand, it exposes the extent of Sha'rawi's access to key public figures—male and female, political and religious. On the other hand, it underlines her adoption of a classed male nationalist's language and voice. Thus, both the Arabic and the English texts rely on silencing, curtailing, mediation and elisions. That is, the Arabic version, faithful to the generic expectations of a memoir, caters to the narratives of early twentieth-century Egyptian nationalism. While, the English version, as previous scholarship has uncovered, speaks to a contemporary Anglophone audience invested in the reproduction of images of the exotic east. An intertextual and transhistorical analysis of the Sha'rawi translations—in English and in Arabic—reveals the range of political work that Arab women have been and continue to participate in.

6.2 From the Huda Sha'rawi's Memoirs to Harem Years

As one of the leading figures of the 1919 Revolution, Huda Sha'rawi was instrumental in introducing Egyptian women's nationalism and feminism to both the domestic and international stages. She organized the Union of Educated Egyptian Women in 1914 and was elected president of the Wafdist Women's Central Committee, established in the nascent years of Egypt's national consciousness. Sha'rawi also oversaw the publication of a feminist journal, written in French, called *L'Egyptienne* in 1925. She was the founder of the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU), and served as its president from 1923 until her death in 1947. As a spokesperson for the EFU, she traveled to western Europe and the United States and advocated for "the Egyptian woman."

Indeed, it is to Badran's credit that Sha'rawi has come to be known to English language readers. In 1987, *Harem Years,* the only translation that exists in English, was published. It continues to circulate, and is

widely read in courses on Third World Feminism, and Arab women's literature. A quick survey of the critical scholarship on Sha'rawi reveals that the English version, not the Arabic, serves as the primary source.[3] I do not claim to find the "original" voice of Huda Sha'rawi, since I read both texts as translations. Furthermore, the details of how both these memoirs came to life highlight the futility of seeking an original text or unearthing Sha'rawi's "true" intentions, since she dictated her memoirs to her secretary (who might have edited her words in the process of putting them to print) and she died before they were completed. The English translation does not detail whether Badran used the published 1981 Arabic text as her primary source, or whether, having ties with the Sha'rawi family, she also had access to other documents from which to draw from for her translation.

6.3 Translation and Reception

Translations—especially those from the Global South to the Global North—are not produced or received in a vacuum, for the act of translating is a cultural practice that is imbedded in relations of domination.[4] Given the paucity of texts available in English translation from the Arab world, each translated text carries a heavy burden of representation. Amireh and Majaj (2000: 4) remind us in *Going Global: The Transnational Reception of Third World Women Writers*

[3] Some of the scholarship includes Beth Baron (1994) *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*; S. Asha, "The Intersection of the Personal and the Political: Huda Shaarawi's *Harem Years* and Leila Ahmed's *A Border Passage*" (2012); Nawar al-Hassan Golley, *Reading Arab Women's Autobiography: Shahrazad Tells her Story* (2003); and Nabila Ramdani, "Women in the 1919 Egyptian Revolution: From Feminist Awakening to Nationalist Political Activism" (2013).

[4] The scholarship on unequal relations of translation is vast and thorough: Mona Baker "Reframing Conflict in Translation"(2007), Marilyn Booth " 'The Muslim Woman as Celebrity Author and the Politics of Translating Arabic: *Girls of Riyadh* Go on the Road" (2010), Richard Jacquemond "Translation and Cultural Hegemony: The Case of French-Arabic Translation" (1992), Tejaswini Niranjana *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (1992), Gisele Sapiro "Translation and the Field of Publishing: A Commentary on Pierre Bourdieu's "A Conservative Revolution in Publishing." (2008), Gillian Whitlock *Soft Weapons: Autobiography in Transit* (2007), Lawrence Venuti *The Scandals of Translation* (1998).

that contexts of reception significantly influence not only how specific works are read, but also which texts are translated, marketed, reviewed and taught, and which issues are prioritized. Texts are thus commodified and assessments of audience appeal (ranging from interest in the "exotic" to feminist solidarity) serve to foreground certain texts and repackage or silence others.

Harem Years appeared at the cusp of a wave of interest in writings from the Arab world. Egyptian novelist Naguib Mahfouz won the Nobel Prize in 1988; and, the United Nations declared 1975–1985 to be the international decade of women. Amireh (1997) argues that this declaration heightened First World concern about Third World women and provided the impetus to global feminism. The decade culminated in 1986 with the first International Feminist Book fair in London, which provided a forum for Arab women to present their work to an international audience. This political interest in the Middle East region also coincided with the establishment of women's studies programs in the Euro-American academy.

Instantiating Amireh and Majaj's arguments, Kahf (2000) contends that *Harem Years* appears into an already commodified literary representation of Arab women's lives. She (2000: 149) compellingly argues that pressures of the United States reception environment played a factor in the following translation decisions: to minimize Sha'rawi's engagement with Arab men, over-exaggerate Europe's influences on her and eclipse her command of class privilege. Drawing on Hans Robert Jauss's work on a reading public's "horizon of expectations," Kahf (151) proposes that the United States reading environment necessitated the packaging of Muslim women as victims, or escapees, or pawns.[5] These frames of representation, Kahf explains, informed Badran's choices. The English text details Sha'rawi's childhood, her marriage to her paternal and much older cousin Ali Sha'rawi, her formative familial relationships of devotion and reciprocity—her relationships with her brother, and her

[5] This study is not alone in calling for a re-evaluation of translation and reception theory and practice in the Arab context. See, for example, Tetz Rooke's "Autobiography, Modernity, and Translation" (2004) and Michelle Hartman's "Gender, Genre, and the (Missing) Gazelle: Arab Women Writers and the Politics of Translation" (2012).

father's first wife, as well as other very close bonds with Egyptian and French women from her social milieu. These details comprise the main text of the English translation, while the remainder of the Arabic text remains untranslated. This untranslated material is a chronicling of Sha'rawi's political involvement, recognized publicly both in Egypt and abroad. Rather than a first person, plot-driven account, the bulk of the untranslated Arabic memoir is a chronological trajectory narrated through public documents: transcriptions of official government statements, communiqués with members of the Wafd party,[6] letters to prominent politicians and their wives, open letters to English government officials and Egyptian heads of state, public speeches and lectures that Sha'rawi gave, cables and newspaper articles, and transcribed official government statements. Strung together, they reveal the details of the historical moment in which she participated and her extensive political accomplishments. Yet, these documents, the narrative of Sha'rawi as a political figure, and hence the details and the import of Sha'rawi's political involvement do not exist in the translated English version. Badran (1987: 3) admits in the preface of the English translation

> Some reordering of the text was dictated by chronology and by the concern to preserve the natural flow of the narrative. There were also some minor deletions to remove repetitions or the occasional overelaboration. Another kind of intervention was the removal to an Appendix of material Huda introduced to refute charges of her father's complicity in the entry of the British into Egypt in 1882. This, however important for her to put on record and for the interested historian, does not form part of the central narrative of her own reminiscences . . . Everything unless otherwise indicated is from Huda's memoirs.

[6] The Wafd Party – a secularist, nationalist movement – had the support of Egyptians from all social classes. Under the leadership of both Muslim and Coptic notables, among which were Sa'd Zaghlul, 'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmi, and Huda Sha'rawi's husband, Ali Sha'rawi, the Wafd party became the center of an anti-British movement of national unity which stressed the complete independence, making no mention of any external solidarity. The Party's manifesto, drawn up in January 1919 for presentation at the Allied Power's peace conference in Paris, proclaimed that the Egyptian population now formed "a single and unique race, perfectly homogenous in its physique as in its mentality and its manners." (quoted in Gershoni and Jankowski's *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs,* 42–43). See also Selma Botman *Egypt from Independence to Revolution, 1919–1952 (*1991).

Badran's claim of preserving a "natural flow of the narrative" and her decision concerning what constitutes the "central narrative of her own reminiscences" betrays a disavowal of the Arabic text's dynamism and ambivalences. My intention is not to imply that this was a willful misrepresentation on the part of the translator for ideological gain. Rather, I am more concerned with the larger constellation of issues that the exigencies of the Global North's publishing markets propagate and reproduce.

6.4 Memoirs and Autobiographies

Combined with the translation decisions outlined above, the conflation of genres has contributed to further constriction of the representation of Sha'rawi's text. In the literary scholarship concerning the English translation, the generic terms "autobiography" and "memoir" are deployed interchangeably to describe it. However, it is important that we understand the distinction, for, I argue, Sha'rawi's text should be read as a memoir, not as an autobiography. Whitlock (2007: 20) defines memoir as a way of "personalizing history and historicizing the personal, placing the self in relation to public history and culture," while Buss's (2002) definition of memoir distinguishes it from autobiography on the grounds that memoir writers seek to make themselves part of public history, focusing on the times in which they lived. Furthermore, Smith and Watson (2010) articulate the key difference between the two genres in *Reading Autobiography*. For them, a memoir deals with an exteriority of the subject, whereas the autobiography deals with interiority.[7] In Arabic literary studies, the terms "memoir" and "autobiography" have been generally used interchangeably. There is also a marked gendered component, for autobiography has been a genre dominated by men, in both Arabic and in English. Arab literary

[7] For a thorough overview of the differences between the two genres in English literary criticism see Julie Rak "Are Memoirs Autobiography? A Consideration of Genre and Public Identity" (2004).

critics of autobiography—Muhammad Abdul Ghani Hassan, Ihsan Abbas, and Yahiya Ibrahim Abdul Dayem—offer a historical understanding of men's autobiographical writing.[8] A genre-specific reading makes a difference for, in Sha'rawi's underlining the historical moment in which she was a key participant, she is faithful to the memoir's generic demands. This adherence to generic demands was an expression of her public, civic roles. However, the translation decisions informing the English version—mainly the focus on her "harem years" as the subject of the main text, while relegating the details of her political participation to the text's epilogue—invite the reader to read the text as an autobiography, a largely western genre primarily concerned with the narrator's interiority (Smith and Watson 2010: 3).

Studying the reviews of the English translation reveals Anglophone readers' investment in keeping Arab women in the harem and having access to the narrator's interiority. These readings partially explain the author's surprise at seeing Arab women protesting outside of their houses during the 2011 uprisings detailed in the introduction of this article. One reviewer of *Harem Years* suggests that "nonspecialist" readers would need "further discussion of polygamy and concubinage . . . These are *exotic* notions to a Western reader. They were, however, the source of serious problems for Sha'rawi—who left her husband because of his attachment to a concubine" (Bergman 1988c: 524; emphasis added). Yet another reviewer praises the translation for exposing to the English reader a "different life that is bound to fascinate." According to his understanding, what is "bound to fascinate" in early twentieth-century Egypt is the fact that the "sexes were strictly segregated, the women living their lives within the private enclosures of the 'women's quarters,' the harem" (Franklin-Trout 1987: 5). He then concludes that, "slowly out of the harem, the revolutionary is born . . . In a final gesture when she stands at the Cairo train station in 1923 surrounded by the traditional crowd of women covered in long black cloaks and throws off her veil it is clear that Egypt—and its women—have turned a dramatic

[8] Marvin Zonis (1991: 62) accounts for the paucity of autobiography and biography in the Middle East, by explaining "that concepts of the individual and individualism assume different dimensions in the Middle Eastern and in Western cultures."

corner" (Franklin Trout 1987: 11). Yet another reviewer details that "Huda's long separation from her husband catapulted her entry into politics" (Asha 2012: 33) and that her sociopolitical activities transformed her from a "brooding, melancholic child, languishing in the interiors of the harem to a pioneering figure in the social and political history of Egypt" (Asha 2012: 34).

The elision of large sections of the Arabic memoir allows for the reproduction of these familiar dichotomies that view the harem and the outside space of the revolution as dialectically opposed, and that place the harem and its inhabitants outside of history. It bears repeating that this is not the fault of the sole translator, but rather an indication of the power of the reception apparatus. Moreover, the Arabic text is not free of mediations. For its reliance on the newspaper to narrate Sha'rawi's political life, at the expense of reflection and interiority, as well as her adoption of Modern Standard Arabic, affirms Sha'rawi's reluctance to narrate from the individual position. Like the English translation, the Arabic version also relies on silencing and excisions.

6.5 Arabic Memoirs of a Public Figure

The Arabic memoir narrates a unique moment in Egypt's history. *Mudhakkirat Huda Sha'rawi* is a four hundred and fifty seven page document divided into forty-five chapters. Although dictated by Sha'rawi to her secretary, it should not be regarded as a "rediscovered" authentic voice, but rather, I argue that it, also, should be read as a translation that reduces representations of Arab women to an elite class that speaks a Modern Standard Arabic, is literate, has access to the popular press, and actively participates in the male nationalist sphere. Sha'rawi's Arabic text, in opposition to the English version, is heavily invested in an exteriority. This appears most notably in the text's ventriloquizing of the Egyptian newspapers widely circulating during the first two decades of the past century. After the initial short chapters detailing her childhood (these too are largely devoid of affect and interiority), the voice of the newspaper dominates the memoir. Most

of the newspaper articles transcribed are extracted from prominent press widely read at the time. Chief among them were the famous *Kawkab al-Sharq,* "Star of the East," a paper expressing Wafd positions in the 1920s; *Garidat al-Mukatam,* which, in its favorable appraisal of British occupation, was considered controversial and often attacked by nationalist papers*; al-Akhbar,* "the News," was the organ of the Nationalist Party, popular at the height of the nationalist movement*; al-Siasa,* "Politics," which appeared in October 1922, was the organ of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party (Ayalon 1995: 76–77). On several occasions, Sha'rawi merely claims that this "article appeared in the press" without stating a specific source.

Sha'rawi's heavy reliance on the press confers authority on her narrative since the rise of the press in Egypt was enmeshed with the rise of political activism. Historian of the Modern Middle East Ayalon (1995: 59) argues that the Arab press created a climate for political action "by aggressively projecting political messages to its readers and generating active political debate among an expanding reading public." Ultimately, this undermined British occupation, whose leaders were unaware of the potential power of the press. Ironically, Lord Dufferin—the special British envoy sent to Egypt after the conquest—emphasized that "a free press" would be "necessary to render vital and effective" the functioning of other institutions that he proposed. Lord Cromer who was the agent and consul-general in Egypt from 1883 to 1907, believed in freedom of expression as "an instrumental safety valve for releasing pressure" (Ayalon 1995: 52).[9]

In transcribing articles published in prominent press, Sha'rawi's Arabic memoirs set to print oral and transitory accounts of her civic participation. For example, she transcribes a lecture she gave for the Sixth International Feminist Conference in Gratz, Switzerland, which elaborates on the closure of all houses of prostitution (Sha'rawi 1981: 305). After the transcription of her speech in full, she confirms that

[9] Indeed, Ali Yusuf, (quoted in Ayalon 1995: 58) editor of *al-Mu'ayyad* ("the Strengthened, or Victorious") wrote that the Egyptians were resisting the English colonial occupation through "the press, the only weapon that the occupier has left in the hands of the nationalist to repel that which is objectionable."

> *al-Akhbar* newspaper published this speech in its entirety on September 25th 1934, and the newspaper commented, "This speech was interrupted several times by loud applause." The Association of Egyptian Students of Paris sent a telegraph thanking me for my efforts in benefiting the nation. (Sha'rawi 1981: 309)

Here, the applause meeting her speech, a cross-culturally recognized marker of approval and praise, travels across time and language. It marks her large international audience and solidifies her popularity. Furthermore, it authenticates her public presence. In addition, the telegraph traveling from Europe to Egypt also marks her political acuity and her fame. Collectively—the newspaper, the applause, the telegraph—figure to replace her voice, and a first person narrative. This decentering of the authorial voice through the reliance on public newspapers accords with the demands of the memoir while largely eclipses Sha'rawi's own personal reflections.

The decision to use the newspaper as an intertext, and to present herself as a public figure is brought to light in moments of textual fissures, where Sha'rawi references personal notes that she calls upon, mainly, when recounting her reaction to the deaths of loved ones in her life. Evidence of another personal text—which she refers to as her "personal notebook" (Sha'rawi 1981: 133) —first appears on the occasion of her detailing the painful death of her beloved young niece Huda: "I remember that I wrote in my notebook on Monday May 11th 1914, 'This morning, death had plucked our budding young flower at the peak of her youth. Alas, we grieve'" (Sha'rawi 1981: 133). In the following chapter, Sha'rawi chronicles her first trip to Paris without her mother, where she seeks medical help for her children. The divisions in this chapter are markedly different from the composition of the rest of text. They are fragmented, and, under the day of the week and the month, there is a brief description of daily personal events—the heavy rain that saddens her, the travels of her husband Ali Sha'rawi, her daughter's 11th birthday, her having coffee with Mademoiselle Clement. These short glimpses into Sha'rawi's personal life bring to sharp focus the very impersonal accounts that dominate the rest of the text. These accounts of textual

fissures reveal Sha'rawi's careful and calculated investment in presenting an impersonal and political side of herself.

6.6 On Language

Sha'rawi inhabited a world of male nationalism and it is in its language that she raises a woman's voice against the humiliation of Egypt's colonial past. During the time in which the memoir was set, language was used to advance a nationalist as well a pan-Arab identity. Before I elaborate on this point, however, a brief description of the Arabic language is in order. Diglossia—strictly defined as variety within the same language—is a major characteristic of Arabic. There is a difference between Modern Standard Arabic (*al-fusha*), the only standard form of written Arabic, and the regional variety, dialect *('ammiyya),* the language of everyday spoken communication. Although there is only one written form, Modern Standard Arabic, there are numerous dialects spoken across the region—some of which are mutually unintelligible. The two varieties differ on the level of grammar, and manner of acquisition. Dialect is acquired through daily, informal interactions, while Modern Standard is learned through formal education. To understand the various communities created when speaking (and writing) in *'ammiyya* and *al-fusha,* linguistic anthropologist Haeri (2003: 38) details her interaction with an Egyptian teacher who shares: "When I speak in *'ammiyya* it is from me to you directly . . . The Arabic language is not difficult, but, well, *'ammiyya* is the dialect of life. If I spoke to you in *fusha,* that takes time and it is not normal/reasonable that we speak like that to each other."

During the rise of nationalist consciousness in the Arab world in general, and in Egypt in particular, the battle between the male Egyptian nationalists was fought on linguistic terrain. Director of Cairo University and fierce opponent of Pan-Arabism, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1945: 247) called Arabic "the Egyptian language." Taha Hussayn, considered one of the most influential Egyptian intellectuals, understood Arabic as Egypt's national language but he did not see it as constituting a Pan-Arab identity. Similarly, in 1929, Tawfiq 'Awwan highlighted

differences in regional colloquialisms as no basis for a shared "Arab" identity (Gershoni et al. 1986: 220).[10] The differing viewpoints regarding the link between language and national and pan-regional identity reveal the murky linguistic terrain in which Sha'rawi was inserting herself by choosing to narrate Egyptian women's nationalism in Modern Standard Arabic.[11]

I read Sha'rawi's choice in writing in Modern Standard Arabic, with no traces of Egyptian colloquialism (even in transcriptions of conversations that took place with members of the Egyptian Feminist Union or members of the nationalist party, the text maintains Modern Standard Arabic) as acceding to the nationalist demands articulated and debated by the male elite. Furthermore, the adoption of this standard Arabic eclipses the heterogeneity of the languages spoken at the historical moment she narrates, as well as the existence of a colloquialism—the spoken Arabic of all Egyptians, and the only Arabic of the non-elite and the non-literate. That is, Sha'rawi's father only spoke Arabic; her mother spoke Circassian and Turkish. By virtue of her class, Sha'rawi spoke French in her everyday life in her social circle. She spoke Arabic with her father and at the women's nationalist meetings, and she spoke Turkish with her mother (Badran 1995: 22).[12]

Sha'rawi's choices in language and in intertext combine to form a gendered and classed exclusion.[13] The predominant readership of the newspapers was male, even though women's literacy was on the rise. The censuses conducted at the time reveal very low literacy rates for men and women in the last

[10] See also Yasir Suleiman, *Arabic in the Fray: Language Ideology and Cultural Politics* (2013).

[11] For an introduction to the extensive debate regarding dialect use in Arabic literature see Richard Jacquemond, *Conscience of the Nation: Writers, State and Society in Modern Egypt* (2008) and Samia Mehrez, *Egypt's Cultural Wars: Politics and Practice* (2008).

[12] Baron (1994: 84–85; 138–140) recounts an anecdote by Labiba Hashim, the publisher of the famed woman's magazine *Fatat al-Sharq,* as well as the first Arab woman to hold the position of lecturer at the Egyptian University. She highlights the dangers of Arabic illiteracy through the story of a young woman who applied carbolic acid to her hand thinking it was cologne. When asked why she had not read the label, she blamed it on her having studied French, not Arabic. Similarly, the American traveler Elizabeth Cooper (1914: 345) observed women reading Browning and Tennyson and conversed with women fluent in French and English.

[13] Gershoni and Jankowski (1986: 40) describe the 1919 Revolution as a "political phenomenon, aiming at no socioeconomic transformation of class structure and as a result achieving none (the rural uprisings of 1919 were quickly repressed and were not repeated."

Indeed, Sha'rawi was blind to her class privileges, made evident by the episode in which Sha'rawi, Rushdi Hanim decide to build a tennis court in Mustafa Riad Basha's garden. She writes (1981: 99)

decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century. According to the 1897 census, 8% of Egyptian men and 0.2% of Egyptian women were literate. In the next ten years, Egyptian female literacy jumped to 50%. By 1917, the figures for women had climbed again[14] (Baron 1994: 81–82) but were never equal to those of their male counterparts.

Like Badran's translation, Sha'rawi's Arabic memoirs rest on exclusions, not only by drawing distinctions between the nation and its others, but also in privileging certain cultural forms, practices, and constituencies within the supposedly unified nation. Thus, adhering to Baker's (2016) broad definition of translation, Sha'rawi mediates the narrative of women's presence in Egyptian history and eclipses a classed and gendered heterogeneity, re-inscribing cultural, classed and gendered divisions and hierarchies. While the English translation erases the political and public material in Sha'rawi's memoirs, the Arabic version erases both the colloquial element of Arabic, as well as the polyglot nature of Sha'rawi's social milieu, while catering to an elite male readership.

The polyglot nature of Egypt's citizenry at the time, the low education levels and the varying degrees of Arabic language skills of the elite women who participated in the 1919 Revolution is brought to light in a pivotal scene that Sha'rawi recounts. Under the section titled "The First Woman's Demonstration" she details that on the morning of March 20th, 1919, "I sent posters that I prepared for the demonstration to Ahmed Bei Abu Asba's house." Crafted with white paint on black canvas, written in English and in French, the posters read, "Down with the oppressor and down with

Often we would exercise in the Giza and its gardens. And our discussion would often be around looking for a practical, feasible way to reach the improvement of the Egyptian woman's case . . . We settled on starting our project by directing the woman to practice physical exercise first . . . we decided to establish a tennis court.

The project ultimately fails, – "I will not forget the disappointment and failure that ensured when we explained the matter to our Ladies [the invitees] (100)" – when, during the opening ceremony, none of the women present set foot on the tennis court. This episode exposing Sha'rawi's blindness to her class privileges does not appear in *Harem Years*.

[14] Beth Baron (1994: 82) warns, however, that these censuses were not the most reliable, since they were supervised by different directors and "did not have uniform definitions and variable." However, even though women's literacy was on the rise, reading, especially of political material, remained largely a male-dominated activity.

colonialism" (Sha'rawi 1981: 188). She then explains her surprise at finding one of the posters that read "Long live the advocates of justice and freedom" missing. She elaborates,

> I asked my friend, Wagida Hanem, . . . the reason. She told me that one of the Ladies claimed that there was a language mistake on it, and she did not allow for it to appear. She announced with her loudest voice among the Ladies, "If knowledge of a language is lacking, then it is best not to write in it." But she was, in reality, the one who did not know. I convinced her of her mistake after this, and she never forgave me for it. (1981: 188–189)

Here, language choice and mastery becomes a vantage point from which to articulate nationalism and political solidarity. It not only showcases the polyglot nature of the elite protestors but, in asserting her mastery of Arabic, Sha'rawi solidifies her high standing position within the nationalist and feminist movement. Given that this is considered the first women's demonstration, that language played a key role affirms language's central position in unifying the nation and articulating solidarity against British occupation. Sha'rawi suggests that women's participation in the political sphere, their emergence on the historical and national stage cannot begin without the affirmation of their mastery of Arabic. However, this linguistic competence forces a unity where none was shared by Egypt's diverse linguistic and classed population.

Given the differences between Arabic and English, this linguistic layering cannot be captured in the English translation, and is beyond the translator's control. This impossibility of translation—in the narrow sense of the term, according to Baker's formulations—does not undo the instability of binaristic understandings of these two texts. For, Sha'rawi's focus on an exterior voice articulated in Modern Standard Arabic, the heavy reliance on the press, as well as the strategic arranging of documents showcase that the Arabic text was in itself a form of translation in Baker's (2016: 7) broader sense of the term—"the mediation of diffuse symbols . . . across modalities . . . and cultural spaces." The "original" itself contains silencing,

curtailing, and exclusion, so, even if it were not edited in the interlinguistic translation process, it would still remain an "inauthentic" rendering of Sha'rawi's life.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that a historicized and politicized form of unpacking translation reveals differences of class, language and dialect, and gender that are obfuscated by translation practices that attend only to the linguistic. Analyzing both sources is therefore a dual project of historical recuperation and postcolonial cultural analysis. Through a mixture of historical and textual analysis that studies genre, market, narrative strategy and reception, I have been centrally concerned with tracing what is lost and what is gained in translation, examining the intertwined shifts of language and literary context that a work can incur as it moves from its point of origin out into a new cultural sphere. Situating these translations in terms of not only the literary and textual, but also the historical and political is to emphasize that what may seem like purely aesthetic choices (reordering the narrative in a more chronologically linear way, or doing away with the newspaper archive and emphasizing the personal over the political) have import in the way that Arab women are rendered and the way their narratives are taken up in service of essentializing tropes. However, I am not presenting the Arabic version as the rediscovered native voice. Instead, I recognize that Sha'rawi's choice of language, of genre and of intertext as homogenizing to Egyptian women's political activism in a way that itself elides a diverse representation of Egyptian women's political participation. These divergent interpretations of the same text—the gap between the texts' iterations—expose how a given source can be differently and multiply worlded and offers a chance to reconsider the historical tensions between eastern and western cultures and to bring nuance to the understanding of their current manifestations.

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7

Nothing but Sex from Beginning to End: Censorship in Translating Vladimir Nabokov's Novels in Spain During the Francoist Dictatorship (1939–1975)

Juan Ignacio Guijarro González

7.1 Introduction

In 1941, Vladimir Nabokov published an article in *The New Republic* entitled "The Art of Translation," in which this multilingual author born in St. Petersburg expressed his "strong opinions" on the subject of translation; the piece appeared shortly after his arrival in the United States, escaping from Nazism in Europe. In 1939, 2 years before the publication of "The Art of Translation," the Spanish Civil War had ended, and General Francisco Franco established a right-wing dictatorship that was to last for almost 40 years (1939–1975), a true anomaly in Western European politics.[1] From

[1] In those decades, the only other authoritarian regime in Western Europe was the *Estado Novo* (1933–1974) in Portugal, so that the two states in the Iberian Peninsula were ruled by right-wing dictators: Franco and Salazar. For insightful views on translating practices in this historical context, see Seruya's (2010) "Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* regime."

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the very beginning, the new repressive regime made a keen effort to set up a solid censoring system which would rigidly restrict the circulation in the country of both ideas and cultural discourses—mostly film, theatre, books or the press. Especially in the early postwar years, the Catholic Church played a crucial role in censorship boards, since it is a well-known fact that it strongly supported Francoist ideology. The translation of foreign literature, therefore, became a major source of political and cultural contention, since it meant allowing the introduction of alien ideas which would inevitably clash with the ultraconservative and isolationist tenets of the dictatorship.

The case of Vladimir Nabokov is quite peculiar and intriguing, since in his very person coalesced several contradictory factors regarding not only his political and religious views, but also his aesthetics and his relationship with both Spain and Spanish culture. This chapter aims to explore, for the first time, the politics of translating several major novels by Vladimir Nabokov in Spain between 1939 and 1975, when his works were almost lost in translation in a European country. Special attention is paid to the censorship files on Nabokov's novels available for consultation at the Spanish National Archives, given that they are an invaluable source of information about the cultural and political mechanisms of power at work during the Franco period.[2] Other relevant topics to be addressed include the sociohistorical context in which the novels were translated, the publishing houses in which they appeared, and the professional translators who penned the Spanish renderings.

[2] The censorship records for all books published in the country during the Francoist regime are now open to the public at the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), the governmental organism located in Alcalá de Henares (near Madrid), which paradoxically is the birthplace of the greatest writer in Spanish history: Miguel de Cervantes. Each file is identified by a code with several numbers, followed by the last two digits of the year in which it was opened, as in 1234/64. Throughout this chapter, file numbers will appear in parentheses, and the censors' comments will be translated into English. Unfortunately, as Herrero-Odriozola (2007) notes, many AGA files are either lost or missing (p. xv).

7.2 Translating: A Cultural and Political Act

Just as translation as a cultural practice has been largely neglected by literary history, and the work of translators has usually remained invisible and unrecognized, one could also argue that the political dimensions of translating have been similarly ignored. However, the situation seems to have changed in recent times, since Translation Studies adopted new approaches and started to shed new light on many aspects of the field which had hardly been considered before. Rundle and Sturge (2010) allude to these new approaches when they contend that:

> Translation practices—as important intersections of different cultural, ideological and political influences—are most usefully examined within their precise historical context. That includes both the macro level, such as institutional constraints or long-term literary trends, and the micro level, the texts themselves, right down to the decisions made by translators, editors and publishers concerning individual translations. (p. 3)

Two leading scholars in the field of Translation Studies in Spain, Álvarez and Vidal (1996), maintain that translating is always linked to ideology—either explicitly or implicitly. Their analysis is informed by Bassnett's argument (1996: 21) that "the study and practice of translation is inevitably an exploration of power relationships." Álvarez and Vidal (1996) repeatedly assert that the contextual is always essential when translating, and argue that it is a cultural practice perfectly suited to "conveying the typically Foucaultian binary essence of the opposition power/knowledge" (p. 5). The French thinker's famous dichotomy is arguably nowhere more troublesome than under an undemocratic political system. Therefore, it is intriguing that, in their solid analysis of the multifaceted intersections between translation and ideology, Álvarez and Vidal should not consider the issue of how oppressive regimes strictly control and censor translating practices, thus proving that literary texts are relevant not culturally, but also politically. Rather unsurprisingly, quite a few of the assertions these two Spanish scholars make fittingly apply to the specific context of Francoism—or, for that matter, to any other regime that establishes a rigid censoring discourse. First, they rightly claim that "the translator can distort and manipulate reality, because he is under the pressure of a series of

constraints . . . typical of the culture to which he belongs" (Álvarez and Vidal 1996: 5). Later on, they expand on this idea by referring to:

> How important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation. It is essential to know what the translator has added, what he has left out, the words he has chosen, and how he has placed them. Because behind every one of his selections there is a voluntary act that reveals his history and *the socio-political milieu that surrounds him* [emphasis added]. (Álvarez and Vidal 1996: 5)

As it will be seen later, these two statements are especially illuminating when considering the conditions under which the Spanish translators of Vladimir Nabokov's novels had to carry out their task during the—seemingly never ending—Franco years.[3]

7.3 Nabokov's Views on Translation

Translating always remained both a major occupation and preoccupation throughout Nabokov's career, so that "translations are of such prodigious extent and diversity that they must be regarded as a principal part of his life's work" (Beaujour 1995: 714). It is surely no coincidence that translating as a subject matter is present in some of his novels. It is also worth recalling not only that Nabokov's artistic views always focused heavily on the "aesthetic bliss" generated by the masterly use of language, but also that, as a boy born and bred in an aristocratic St. Petersburg family, the author grew up speaking several languages. As he pointed out in an interview, with usual Nabokovian immodesty: "I was a perfectly normal trilingual child in a family with a large library" (Nabokov 1973: 43). The three languages he

[3] Likewise, in *Translating literature*, the late André Lefevere (1992) discusses briefly the question of ideology, stating that what all translators want, first of all, is "getting their work published," a goal which is easier to reach if the resulting text "is not in conflict with standards for acceptable behavior in the target culture: with that culture's ideology"; he adds that if that were not the case, "translators may have to adapt the text so that the offending passages are either severely modified or left out altogether" (p. 87). Once again, these commonsensical notions by a leading voice in Translation Studies perfectly illustrate what happened for decades in Spain with the vast majority of Nabokov's novels.

learned at an early age where English, French and, of course, Russian. Later on, however, during the several years he lived in Berlin, he obviously had to speak some German. However, he never did learn Spanish, a fact to be reconsidered later on in this chapter.

Nabokov began his long and remarkable career in literary translation in his twenties, when he translated into Russian poems by French and English authors such as Rimbaud, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Shakespeare, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, Yeats and Rupert Brooke. In 1923, while still studying at Cambridge, he produced the first Russian translation of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in wonderland*.[4]

The publication of his first novel in English, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, in 1941 marked the start of a new artistic career in another continent and another language, a career in which he practically stopped writing in the language of Chekhov or Tolstoy. However, he did not lose contact with literary Russian completely, since he continued translating, but now from Russian into English: he rendered works by favorite authors of his, like Gogol or Lermontov. The main title of his career as a translator would be a monumental version of *Eugene Onegin*, the novel in verse by his beloved Alexander Pushkin. It came out in The Bollingen Press in 1966 as a four-volume set in which most of the pages were taken up by the introduction and a massive Commentary. This translation stirred a great controversy for its extreme literalism, and it actually caused the break-up with Nabokov's longtime friend and champion Edmund Wilson, the influential critic who had published a scathing review of the translation in *The New York Review of Books*.[5] Nabokov detailed his contentious theory of literalism in his often-anthologized essay

[4] In her book *Nabokov Translated. A Comparison of Nabokov's Russian and English Prose*, Grayson (1977) refers to the resulting text as "a delightful, ingenious, and wholly 'readable' piece of work" (p. 19). Both the author and the main character of *Alice in Wonderland* would resurface in Nabokov's career decades later when writing *Lolita*.

[5] Nabokov (1973) defended himself from attacks in his essay "A reply to my critics", which ended by referring to Wilson's review in unmistakable terms: "His article, entirely consisting, as I have shown, of quibbles and blunders, can be damaging only to his own reputation" (p. 266). According to Beaujour (1995), "Nabokov did not really believe that Pushkin *should* be translated. The commentary is in fact the heart of the 'Onegin Project', and the translation 'proper' is of minor importance, almost a pretext" (p. 717).

"Problems of translation: *Onegin* in English," originally published in *Partisan Review* in 1955. He clearly defines the only goal of any translator:

> The person who desires to turn a literary masterpiece into another language has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text. The term "literal translation" is tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or a parody (2012: 119).

In addition, apart from translating some of his favorite Russian authors, he would also embark on a truly unique process of self-translation. On the one hand, he rendered some of his English works into Russian: in 1954, the first version of his autobiography, *Conclusive Evidence*, and in 1967, *Lolita*; on the other hand, once he became a literary celebrity, he also collaborated in translating most of his Russian novels into English, normally with his son Dmitri, whom he considered the ideal partner for the job. He also made a special effort to control the renderings of his works in other languages; he even ordered that several Swedish editions of his books be totally destroyed, since parts of the original texts had been either modified or eliminated altogether.[6] This episode underscores how zealously Nabokov always tried to exercise control over translations of his work, to what extremes he was willing to go in order to assert his authorial rights and, finally, how crucial translating was in his artistic vision.

7.4 Censorship Under the Franco Regime

Like all dictatorial regimes, Francoism set up a solid censoring infrastructure which proved to be quite lasting and effective since, for more than 40 years, the culture and the people of Spain suffered its

[6] In the second volume of his excellent biography, Boyd (1993b) records that the author "received a haunting description (clear day, mild wind, lake, gasoline-scented air) of the burning of six thousand copies of the unsatisfactory Swedish translations of his books on a garbage dump near Stockholm: two thousand copies apiece of the first and second editions of *Lolita* and the sole edition of *Pnin*", (p. 386). This incident is also explored in Schiff's (1999) Pulitzer Prize-winning biography *Véra (Mrs. Nabokov),* which amply reveals that—as in everything else—husband and wife totally agreed on the strict control over foreign translations.

consequences. Franco died in November of 1975, and Spain rapidly became a democratic state again but, as Merino and Rabadán (2002) aptly point out, his repressive legacy outlasted him several years: "Although in 1977 official censorship was abolished, records show that it continued under democracy, at least until 1983, when the first socialist government was already in power. It gradually faded away" (p. 126).[7] Even though different periodizations of the Francoist regime have been offered by scholars depending on historical, political, social, economic, or even cultural factors, from the point of view of censoring practices there are clearly two major stages: from the end of the civil war in 1939 until 1966, when a new Press Law came into effect, and from that year until Franco's death in 1975. The war began in July 1936 when Franco and other right-wing military officers rose against the short-lived and unstable Republic, which had been democratically established in 1931. The conflict lasted 3 years (1936–1939), during which large segments of the country had been occupied by the rebel forces.

In April 1938, 1 year exactly before the war ended, the rebelling forces decreed wartime norms which severely limited all printed matter (journalistic or literary), in order to prevent the publication of any unpatriotic material. Despite minor modifications in ensuing years, these wartime norms would actually remain effective in Spain for 28 years until new legislation was approved in 1966. In the early postwar period, Spain was a country emotionally and economically devastated after 3 years of fighting, and it was politically isolated on the international scene. A censoring structure was soon created in which both religious and political forces would share varying degrees of power over the years, given that "Francoism (1936/1939–1975) was an idiosyncratic mixture of (ultra-) Catholicism, fascism and other reactionary ideologies or ingredients" (Vandaele 2010: 84). The only political party allowed in the country for decades, the fascist Falange, tried to impose its political views

[7] Merino and Rabadán are linked to a major research project based at the University of León, and formed by Spanish scholars nationwide since 1997: "The TRACE (TRAnslation and CEnsorship) project deals with the coordinated study of censorship in the translation of different text types (narrative, poetic, theatrical and audiovisual) in Spain during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries," http://trace.unileon.es/?page_id=189

when censoring texts. The Catholic Church also imposed its religious views. The church had enthusiastically supported Franco from the start, famously defining the civil war as "a crusade," especially against communism, an enemy commonly loathed by Falange, Catholicism, and all other Franco supporters. The Soviet Union, which had fully supported the Republic during the war, became an evil nation.[8] For many years, in Spain the foes of communism "became willing censors who protected Spaniards from 'contamination' by 'dangerous' products, whether Spanish or foreign in origin" (Merino and Rabadán 2002: 126).

Especially in the early postwar period, many people in Spain were illiterate or just preferred reading popular books (like westerns or sentimental novels). Nevertheless, all texts were subjected to official inspection under Franco. A report had to be written by a censor (sometimes two); each report included both a description of the contents of the book in ten to twenty lines and answers to six specific questions in order to ascertain whether the work attacked religion, morality, the Catholic Church, or the Franco regime. Spanish sociologist Abellán (1980) affirms in his pioneering book *Censura y creación en España (1939–1979)* that four major criteria prevailed in the Spanish censoring discourse for decades: morality and sex (adultery, divorce, homosexuality, abortion), political opinions (communism, liberalism), religious views (atheism), and provocative and indecorous language (p. 88). As it will be shown later, most of these basic criteria would inevitably clash with Vladimir Nabokov's novels.

In 1966, a new Press Law was passed in the hope of modernizing Spain and presenting a more positive image of the country abroad. The nation had greatly changed since the previous press law had been approved in 1938 during the war. Still utterly undemocratic, by 1966 Spain had boldly managed to be accepted gradually on the international scene since, with the advent of the Cold War in the late 1940s, Franco was now suddenly perceived as a valuable ally in the global fight against

[8] It is quite revealing that, in the opening pages of *The Artistic Censoring of Sexuality: Fantasy and Judgment in the Twentieth-Century Novel*, Mooney (2008) should connect the censoring systems in Francoist Spain and the Soviet Union (p. 6–7). Nabokov's works were banned for decades in the USSR, and the author died years before the collapse of the Soviet regime.

communism. It was for this reason that the Pact of Madrid with the United States was signed in 1953 and that, only 6 years, later President Eisenhower visited Spain and joyfully embraced the dictator. A direct result of the Pact of Madrid was that Spain was finally admitted into the United Nations in 1955, after a long and humiliating wait. These were in Spain the years of the so-called *desarrollismo* ("development"), when the national economy was rapidly improving. Tourism played a major part in this economic development, even though it meant opening the country to new ideas from abroad—the long years of postwar isolation were truly gone. In this changing historical context, a promising politician named Manuel Fraga took over the newly created "Ministry of Information and Tourism" in 1962 and tried to update and modernize the censoring discourse.[9] The effects of the 1966 Press Law (often called "Fraga law") are indeed hard to measure since it was not as liberating as expected: the old "compulsory consultation" disappeared, only to be replaced by "voluntary consultation," so that now editors were forced to decide whether they would present a book to be examined by the censors or, instead, they would prefer to publish it directly and risk possible economic and legal consequences afterwards. Vandaele (2010) assesses the negative impact of what he terms an "infamous" law, asserting that it "abolished pre-publication censorship but reinforced post-publication censorship and self-censorship, because authors were made "responsible" for what they wrote" (p. 87–88). Most experts agree that the 1966 Press Law greatly promoted self-censorship not only among Spanish editors, but also among authors and even translators, all of whom were fully aware of the risky role they now played under the new legal structure.

[9] Widely known nationally, Manuel Fraga (1922–2012) was a towering conservative politician in recent Spanish history, with a long and controversial career spanning from the second half of the dictatorship to founding a right-wing party in democracy. His obituary in *The New York Times* discusses his mixed legacy and mentions the 1966 Press Law:

> To the Spanish left, Mr. Fraga was a reviled reminder of a right-wing government that kept Spain isolated from Europe and the rest of the world for decades. Defenders, however, note that he promulgated a Franco-era law that did away with media censorship, seen as a hint of change in the hard-line government. As tourism minister, he worked to open Spain to the outside world. ("Manuel", 2012)

7.5 Translating Nabokov in Francoist Spain

The translation and publication of Nabokov in Spain was specifically conditioned by several additional factors—literary and extraliterary—regarding his relationship with both Spanish politics and culture. To begin with, ever since he had to leave his Russian homeland at 19 because of the Soviet Revolution, he became a fervent anticommunist, a fact that obviously endeared him to the official ideology prevailing in the Franco regime. But his Spanish reception was further complicated by the fact that he not only despised Marxist regimes, but also Fascist ones, having witnessed directly the rise of Nazism in Berlin. His utter rejection of any form of totalitarian government included Franco's regime as well. As he unequivocally declared in a BBC interview in 1969: "I loathe and despise dictatorships" (1973: 149).[10] An additional problem regarding Nabokov's reception in an ultra-Catholic state like Spain was that he was keen on rejecting any kind of conventional religious belief, including Christianity. In his essay "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*" he enumerates with Nabokovian irony the different subjects that he thinks most shocked US publishers in the 1950s, among which was "the total atheist who lives a happy and useful life, and dies in his sleep at the age of 106" (p. 314).

To complicate things further, the author never showed much interest in Spain or its culture. While over the years he established ties with other European nations like France, England, Italy and Switzerland (where he lived from 1961 until his death in 1977), Spain is conspicuously absent in his works, in the many interviews collected in *Strong Opinions*, or even

[10] Five years before, he had offered in another interview what might arguably be the most detailed explanation of his politics:

> The fact that since my youth—I was 19 when I left Russia—my political creed has remained as bleak and changeless as an old gray rock. It is classical to the point of triteness. Freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of art. The social or economic structure of the ideal state is of little concern to me. My desires are modest. Portraits of the head of the government should not exceed a postage stamp in size. No torture and no executions. (Nabokov 1973: 34–35)

in Boyd's (1993) massive two-volume biography.[11] As a matter of fact, Boyd (1993) records Nabokov's strong opinions on a uniquely Spanish tradition, bullfighting, as brutal and primitive. His lists of favorite authors never included a Spanish name and, most tellingly, he always manifested his utter aversion to the most revered text in Spanish literary history, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which he found extremely cruel. Boyd asserts that the writer "had reread *Don Quixote* and lectured on Cervantes at Harvard. He had reacted with outrage to Don Quixote's cruelty, to the book's implicit invitation to its readers to enjoy Don Quixote's pain and humiliation" (p. 271b).[12]

Last, but not least, the translation and publication of Nabokov's works in Spain was enormously complicated by the crucial fact that his plots tend to focus on thorny subjects which were deemed anathema by the Catholic Church and, subsequently, by the official censoring discourse: topics dealing with sexual and moral issues like extramarital affairs, divorce, pedophilia, or even incestuous relationships. Logically, in the very context of the Francoist dictatorship, it was quite unlikely that the translation of such texts would be approved by the censors.

7.6 The Translation of *Camera Obscura*

The earliest Nabokov file to be found at the Spanish censorship archives concerns the translation of his novel *Camera Obscura* (2995/48), his sixth Russian novel, first published in 1933. It is also one of the most comprehensive documents, which is not unsurprising if one bears in mind that the file was opened in 1948, that is, in the early

[11] References to Spain are also hard to locate in the biography of his wife, Schiff's (1999) *Véra (Mrs. Nabokov)*. Undeniably, in his most famous novel names like *Lolita* and *Dolores*, or the *Carmen* motif do possess a distinct Spanish flavor.

[12] Boyd also briefly adds that the influential literary critic Harry Levin—Nabokov's closest friend on campus—once sharply replied on this subject: "Harvard thinks otherwise" (quoted in 1993b: 213). The challenging *Lectures on Don Quixote* were published posthumously in 1983, 6 years after Nabokov's death in 1977; first translated in 1987, this is obviously not one of his most popular books among Spanish readers.

days of Francoism, and that the plot of *Camera Obscura* is one of Nabokov's harshest, involving a succession of love triangles, betrayals and humiliations.

In 1948, editor Luis de Caralt presented a French paperback edition of the novel to be scrutinized by the so-called "readers"—terms like "censor," "censorship" or "banned" were wisely avoided in decades of cultural manipulation. An individual close to the Falange political party, Luis de Caralt had founded in 1942 a publishing firm under his own name in Barcelona, and over the years he would specialize in novels by contemporary authors in French, German and English: Georges Simenon, Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Graham Greene, William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, and Vladimir Nabokov, among others.[13]

The censorship file for *Camera Obscura* (2995/48) reveals that a long power struggle began in 1948, and it was to last almost 3 years—the longest for any single Nabokov translation proposal in Spain. In July 1948, a censor wrote a long and negative report, decrying that the novel was "a vulgar vaudeville in pornographic style" and that, therefore, "it is not possible to suppress scenes or sentences," sharply concluding that the text proposed was "inadmissible in every way." Therefore, the official resolution was to "suspend" (not "prohibit") the translation, and editor Luis de Caralt was duly notified that the novel *Chambre Obscure* by "Nabakov-Sirene" [sic] did not comply with the law of 1938 (in effect since the war).

However, probably because of his Falangist ideology, de Caralt managed to write an appeal a few months later claiming that "the crude passages can be softened." Rather shockingly, he added that the novel actually has a moralizing tone (an idea which would have angered Nabokov, who despised morals in art), since it ends with the protagonist "cruelly punished" for having abandoned his family. The editor's appeal was successful, since a second report, written in January 1948, included references both to "a very slight moralizing goal" and to "softening crude

[13] In his survey on publishing houses during the Francoist dictatorship, *Tiempo de editores: Historia de la edición en España, 1939–1975*, Moret (2002) also notes that Caralt published both commercial and quality literature (pp. 52–62). Most of the firms he surveys are located in Barcelona, the capital of Spanish publishing.

passages," so that the text could be published. The official file shows that the second censor reached very a different conclusion from the first one: "I believe that it can be tolerated." However, this censor still demanded suppressions on 15 different pages of the Spanish translation presented for approval. Once the editor presented a "clean" version of Nabokov's text for further revision, permission for publication was officially granted in April 1951, and the file was closed one month later. In the end, Luis de Caralt did manage to publish the first translation of a Nabokov work in Spain that same year, 1951, but his *Cámara oscura* was in fact a heavily censored edition which would have greatly displeased its author.[14]

7.7 The First Attempt to Translate *Lolita*

With the approval of the new Press Law in 1966 and the gradual modernization of Spanish mores and society, the number of Nabokov novels presented for official authorization notably increased during the second half of the 1960s, with ambivalent results. The "Fraga law" was passed in March 1966 and became effective one month later. The actual reach of the new legislation was soon tested in the realm of literature, since already in June 1966 Plaza y Janés—one of the leading Spanish publishers at the time—presented for publication none other than a translation of *Lolita*. This novel (first published in Paris in 1955) is not only Nabokov's undisputed masterpiece, but also his most controversial text, which took years to print in the US under Eisenhower's conservative administration.[15]

[14] The translator was José María Riba Ricart, who, according to the catalogue of the Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional de España, BNE), rendered into Spanish several European novels in the postwar period.

[15] For an informative overview of the many problems Nabokov faced when trying to publish his novel in the USA and other countries, see Feeney's (1993) article "*Lolita* and Censorship: A Case Study"; for deeper views on this subject, see also chapter 3 in Mooney's (2008) book *The artistic censoring of sexuality: fantasy and judgment in the twentieth-century novel,* entitled "*Lolita*: American mimetic fantasy, ethical reading and censoring narrative."

A French edition including the *text integral* was presented for "voluntary consultation," and the response—quite predictably for Spain in the mid-60s—was emphatically negative (4316/66). Two different censors inspected the French rendering of Nabokov's text, and both agreed that Spanish readers should not have access to the (mis)adventures of Dolores Haze and Humbert Humbert. The first report noted that Nabokov's novel went against Spanish moral values, and complained that it was "a cynical and sensual account" of pedophilia which could actually by punishable by law, so that the work "is not to be authorized."

The second report, dated two weeks later, was even more detailed and negative, redundantly defining *Lolita* as "an immoral work which takes place in a completely amoral atmosphere" that uses a "certain derogatory tone regarding Christian morals," and a text in which "sexual relationships between father and daughter are almost considered normal." This second censor also alludes to possible legal sanctions and concludes that "its publication should not be authorized." Needless to say, after these two very negative reports, in June 1966 an official note was sent to Plaza y Janés publishers informing them that the Spanish translation of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* was not "advisable." Once again, the masterful use of language by the Spanish censoring structure must be acknowledged, since verbs such as "ban" or "prohibit" are hard to find in these official documents.

7.8 *Pnin*

Five Nabokov novels were proposed for translation in the late 1960s, when the author had fully consolidated his reputation as one of the world's greatest living writers. For the very first time, two translation proposals were presented in one single year, and in the very same month, January 1967, one of them for his campus novel *Pnin*.

A modest Barcelona publisher, Pomaire, presented in January 1967 a proposal to translate *Pnin*. It had been published in English a decade

before, and parts of which had first appeared in *The New Yorker*.[16] The exiled author movingly describes here the mishaps of an erudite Russian emigré, Timofey Pnin, first in Europe and then in a fictional US college town, always lonely and misunderstood. The text was approved quickly by the Spanish censoring system and the official report closes in a very positive note: "The book does not present any problems, either political or moral. Splendidly written, this book is publishable" (0168/67). These final words constitute a brief instance of literary criticism, praising Nabokov's style, which by 1967 was celebrated worldwide; interestingly, these passages are sometimes found in the Spanish censorship files.

The first comment does require some further analysis since, even though Pnin's wicked wife Liza (arguably Nabokov at his most misogynistic) is repeatedly unfaithful to him, this time the Francoist censorship did not find it objectionable—Spanish morals were indeed changing inexorably during the 1960s, partly because of the constant flow of tourism. Paradoxically enough, *The New Yorker* had refused to publish chapter two of *Pnin* since it found the text too "unpleasant," probably because it detailed how cruelly Liza always treated her husband. Moreover, *The New Yorker* had also refused to publish chapter five of this campus novel, which depicted a meeting of Russians exiled in the United States, due to its anti-Stalinist overtones—a topic recurrent in Nabokov's *oeuvre*, of course.[17] Ironically, the very same ideological overtones that *The New Yorker* found distasteful fit perfectly with the basic tenets of Franco's Spain and its rabid anticommunist rhetoric. When the censoring system considered the Spanish translation of *Pnin*, it seems undeniable that political issues vastly prevailed over moral ones, a pattern that actually became more dominant in the final years of the dictatorship. Another sign that Spanish

[16] It is a revealing coincidence that, a few years later, Pomaire also presented for translation another controversial work of fiction such as Lawrence Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet* (Gómez Castro 2009: 137).

[17] On the topic of *The New Yorker* and *Pnin*, see chapter three in Dimant's (2013) thorough book. Regarding the political contents of this campus novel, it is also worth noting that Spanish censors did not eliminate Nabokov's bitter denunciation of Nazi concentration camps.

society was changing was the fact that *Pnin* was rendered into Spanish by a female translator, María Espiñeira de Monje, who did not enjoy a long career in the field.[18]

7.9 *Ada*

In 1969, a first attempt was made to translate into Spanish one of Nabokov's masterpieces, *Ada*. Nabokov's longest novel had actually been published in English in 1969, a revealing fact that indicates that Spanish publishers were making an effort to keep up with foreign colleagues. It was quite improbable that—even in the late Franco days—a novel like *Ada* would be accepted by the censoring system, since it revolves around an incestuous relationship between a girl named Ada and her brother in an imaginary location which somehow encapsulates Nabokov's aesthetic vision. Grijalbo, another Barcelona publishing house, tried to translate *Ada*, but their efforts to do so were unsuccessful.

The *Ada* file was opened in September 1969 and, less than a month later, Grijalbo was officially notified that translating the novel into Spanish was not "advisable," revealing once again the cunning linguistic ability of the Francoist censorship (9323/69). This official file contains two written reports which offer very different views on this exuberant text. Unexpectedly, the first report is in favor of translating *Ada*, but several pages with sexual content have been suppressed. This first censor offers a detailed literary analysis of the text, but does not even mention the incestuous element which lies at the core of *Ada*, a most surprising gap indeed. However, this omission is corrected in the second report, whose author clearly denounces that "in the work there is nothing but sex from beginning to end;" moreover, this second censor adds a Whitmanesque enumeration of sexual passages in the novel to prove the claim that "there is a succession of pornographic

[18] Only 1 year later, in 1968, *Pnin* became the first work by Nabokov to be translated into Catalan, one of the two languages spoken in Catalonia (Northeast Spain), even though under Franco the use of Spanish regional languages was restricted.

scenes throughout the whole book."[19] Obviously, this second report concluded that the Spanish *Ada* should not be authorized and, as it usually happened during the Francoist period, the negative report was the one that prevailed in the end. As a result, *Ada*, one of Nabokov's undisputed masterpieces, would never be translated in Spain as long as the dictator was alive—it finally came out in 1976, 1 year after his death.

7.10 *King, Queen, Knave*

As the Francoist regime was coming to an end and, simultaneously, Spain was becoming modernized, the late 1960s tendency to translate the famous author of *Lolita* not only continued, but actually increased. Five Nabokov novels were published in Spain between 1970 and 1975 (the year in which the dictator died): one in 1971, two in 1972, one in 1974, and one in 1975.

King, Queen, Knave was the first of the two Nabokov translations published in Spain in the year 1972 and was met with an usually harsh response, demonstrating that—even in late Francoism—the censoring system still remained powerful decades after its creation (8653/70). *Korol', dama, valet* was Nabokov's second Russian novel and it was first published in Berlin in 1928; 40 years later it was translated as *King, Queen, Knave* by the author and his son Dmitri. The plot unfolds in Berlin in truly Nabokovian fashion: it is a dark tale involving adultery and murder. In this case, the censors were quite severe with the Spanish translation that was presented for 'voluntary consultation' in September 1970 by Luis de Caralt. A first report decries that the work "morally is absolutely negative," depicting love in obscene terms, and "without one respectful sentence regarding moral values." Therefore, this censor believed that the Spanish translation of *King, Queen, Knave* should not

[19] The disparity between the two censors neatly illustrates the arbitrariness of the Francoist censoring system, a topic which has been frequently debated. In his book on H. G. Wells and Francoist censorship, Lázaro (2004) offers an illuminating analysis of the opposing views in this critical debate.

be published, unless the many erotic passages marked in the typed manuscript were suppressed.

Although the file was opened in 1970, many of the documents date from 1972, a clear indication that the manuscript was probably revised in depth for approval. The documentation shows that, in January of 1972, both publisher Luis de Caralt and an external reader asked for a revision of the case since, on the one hand, the translation had been "cleaned" and, on the other, financial losses might be especially high, given that a film adaptation of *King, Queen, Knave* was about to premiere in Spain.[20] Both pleas were effective and a second report, written a few days later, noted that the translation was now publishable since all obscene passages had been suppressed. In the end, Luis de Caralt did publish *Rey, dama, valet* as a censored version in 1972. The translation was signed by Victoria Lentini, who also worked with other English-speaking authors like William Faulkner, Pearl S. Buck, Ruth Rendell, and Agatha Christie.

7.11 Franco's Death and the Translation of *Lolita*

After ruling Spain undemocratically for more than 36 years, Francisco Franco passed away at 83 on November 20, 1975—a death that altered the course of Spanish history. King Juan Carlos I was sworn to the Spanish throne only two days later, and, in 1978, a national referendum overwhelmingly voted in favor of a new Constitution which preserved basic human rights such as freedom of expression: "the right to communicate freely or receive any accurate information by any means of dissemination whatsoever . . . the exercise of these rights cannot be restricted by any form of prior censorship" (as cited in Green

[20] As a matter of fact, the film would not premiere in Spain until after Franco's death, and with a very different title: ¡*El salto del tigre*! In "Nabokov and cinema", Wyllie (2005) remarks: "In April 1968, prior to the publication of *King, queen, knave* (Nabokov's new translation of *Korol', dama, valet*), a $100,000 contract for the movie rights had already been negotiated"; she then adds about this unremarkable West-German production that "At the Cannes Film Festival in 1972, Polish film-maker Jerzy Skolimowski's adaptation of *King, queen, knave*, starring Gina Lollobrigida and David Niven, was nominated for the Palme D'Or" (p. 218).

and Karolides 2005: 542).[21] Obviously, as Merino and Rabadán point out, the censoring structure of the Franco regime did not vanish overnight after being operative for decades; its disappearance was a gradual process that took several years. In any case, it seems symbolic that, within the context of the radical changes taking place in Spain that November, Nabokov's most controversial novel, *Lolita*, was finally authorized for publication after being rejected twice: in 1966 and in 1969. A second attempt had been made in 1969, by Grijalbo, which again presented a French paperback edition of the novel for "voluntary consultation" (9979/69). Although this time the file was quite brief and included no written report, the result was exactly the same, and the translation of *Lolita* was turned down a second time in Spain during the 1960s. Given that, with the 1966 Press Law the antecedents were now taken into consideration, it seems obvious that the two very negative reports from 1966 must have been quite decisive in 1969 as well.[22]

In 1975 a third proposal was made, again by Grijalbo, a Barcelona publisher specialized in quality best-sellers like Herman Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny* or Mario Puzo's *The Godfather*.[23] However, what Grijalbo did finally bring out in late 1975 was not a new rendering of Nabokov's masterpiece, but an imported translation of the text from Argentina; under Franco imported translations also had to be inspected by the censors. *Lolita* had been translated in Argentina as early as 1959—only 1 year after its publication in the United States. The text was signed by Enrique Tejedor, a pseudonym used by the highly respected Argentinian critic and translator Enrique Pezzoni, who also rendered into Spanish

[21] It is highly revealing of the way the so-called *Transición* ("transition") was carried out in post-Franco Spain that one of the seven men who 'fathered' the Spanish Constitution of 1978 was none other than Manuel Fraga, who only 12 years before had been the Minister responsible for the 1966 Press Law under Franco.

[22] On the reception that the Spanish censorship gave another famously controversial novel of the time, see Gómez Castro's (2009) "Censorship in Francoist Spain and the Importation of Translation from South America: the Case of Lawrence Durrell's *Justine*."

[23] The case of Grijalbo merits special comment since it was a publishing house founded in Mexico after the Spanish Civil War by a leftist exile, Joan Grijalbo, who years later was allowed to open a branch in Barcelona. In his overview of Spanish publishing, Moret (2002) quotes Joan Grijalbo stating that he regularly consulted *Publishers Weekly* in order to know which novels should be translated (pp. 164–167).

Moby Dick, and two other Nabokov novels: *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* and *Look at the Harlequins!* Unsurprisingly, after long years of waiting, *Lolita* was an enormous success among Spanish readers, and a second paperback edition soon appeared in 1975.[24]

7.12 Conclusion

Vladimir Nabokov died in Switzerland in July 1977, a year and a half after Francisco Franco. Although the Spanish dictator was slightly older, both men could be said to belong to the same generation. The Russian-born writer strongly believed in absolute creative freedom and in art as an aesthetic realm that knew no boundaries; in contrast, once the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939, Franco imposed a rightist totalitarian ideology largely based on fascist and ultra-Catholic views. The Francoist dictatorship immediately set up a censorship system which, for almost four decades, would repeatedly prove to be both powerful and effective. It scrutinized any material to be published and translated in the country, and banned topics or ideas deemed subversive from either a moral or a political perspective. The content of most Nabokov novels made them morally objectionable in the eyes of Francoist censors as explicitly revealed in their official written reports, which have proven to be an invaluable research tool in order to explore this subject in depth. Whereas readers in nearby Western European nations like France, Italy or Germany could have access to Nabokov's unique literary output in their respective languages, in Spain the act of translating his works often became a tiresome and problematic process

[24] Ironically, years later it was revealed that Tejedor's rendering omitted problematic passages in Nabokov's masterpiece. Translations of six other Nabokov novels were published in Spain soon after Franco's death: three in 1976, *¡Mira a los arlequines!* (*Look at the harlequins!* 1974), *Barra siniestra* (*Bend sinister*, 1947), and *Ada* (*Ada*, 1969); one in 1977, *Pálido fuego* (*Pale fire*, 1962); and two in 1978, *La verdadera vida de Sebastian Knight* (*The real life of Sebastian Knight*, 1941), and *La dádiva* (*The gift*, 1963). In addition, *La defensa* (*The defense*, 1964) came out in 1981, and *Cosas transparentes* (*Transparent things*, 1972) in 1985. A multi-volume edition of Nabokov's complete works is currently being published in Spain: volumes III (*Novelas 1941–1957*; 2006) and IV (*Novelas 1962–1974*; 2008) have appeared so far.

for both translators and publishers alike. Although the initial atmosphere of isolationism of Francoism slowly softened over time, several Nabokov novels were never published while the dictator was alive, and the majority of those which reached Spanish readers only did so in the final decade of the regime, after the 1966 Press Law was passed. Given that Nabokov did not know Spanish and never showed great interest in Spain or its culture, he was probably never aware that in this European country several novels of his were either banned, or published with suppressions. The strong sexual overtone of Nabokov's novels and the unconventional moral values they depict operate as a major challenge to the rigid political codes of any censoring apparatus, in Spain or elsewhere.

The fate of the Nabokov novels explored in this chapter neatly demonstrates that translation and politics are closely interrelated and that the act of translating does not take place in a vacuum but, instead, is always subject to various socio-historical constraints. Largely ignored in scholarship, the history of literary translations is an indispensable critical tool to understand the cultural and social history of any given country. Furthermore, in the case of dictatorial regimes like Francoist Spain, the combined study of translations and censorship greatly reveals the many intersections of texts, contexts, and politics. The peculiar nature of translating practices in the context of the long Francoist dictatorship is a fascinating and complex field of study still in need of further research.

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8

The Politics of Relay Translation and Language Hierarchies: The Case of Stanisław Lem's *Solaris*

Justine M. Pas

8.1 Introduction

Indirect or relay translation, the practice of using already translated texts as sources for yet other translations, is neither new nor limited to literature. It goes back perhaps as far as direct translation itself (Dollerup 1999; He 2001: 197), and has played a significant role in literary and scientific developments all over the world. Before the tenth century, Arabic translators used Syriac translations of Greek scientific and medical texts (Healy 2006: 13). During the Middle Ages, Greek philosophical and scientific texts arrived in Latin out of their Arabic translations (Smith 2015: 11). French translations of eighteenth-century English texts, including those by Alexander Pope, Samuel Richardson and Jonathan Swift, first arrived in German, Italian and Spanish out of their French translations (Graeber 1991: 5–6). During the Jewish

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Enlightenment or the Haskala, German and English were used as bridge languages to help accelerate the development of modern Hebrew literature (Toury 1995: 130–131). In the late nineteenth century, a number of German fairytales by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were translated into Japanese out of English. The English was also the source for early twentieth-century Chinese and Thai renditions of the tales (Dollerup 1999: 278). Today, international organizations, including the United Nations and the European Union, use relay interpreting as a cost-saving measure. It is also relied upon when original source texts are lost or when translators between rarely found language pairs are unavailable. Chinese translations of all of Henrik Ibsen's plays, for example, were based on their English renditions and not Ibsen's original Dano-Norwegian versions (He 2001: 197).

While relay translation has a long and varied history, its contemporary use in English-language literary translation requires explanations that go beyond the cost of translation or the accessibility of translators and source texts. In fact, contemporary relay constitutes a special case because English is the most widely spoken and the most often translated language in the world today (Branchadell 2005: 11; Bassnett 2014: 138). Translators into and out of it are so widely available that English often serves as a bridge language between infrequently found language pairs such as the above mentioned Norwegian and Chinese or Hebrew and Danish (Branchadell 2005: 12; St. André 2008: 231). Yet, despite the ready availability of translators and original source texts in languages as familiar and recognizable as Polish, Russian, Albanian, or Hungarian, a number of novels published in these languages over the last sixty years arrived in English not out of their original source texts, but out of their translations. In view of the global dominance of English, assertions of translators' unavailability as reasons for relaying novels out of French or German translations, suggest that the original languages are so peripheral, if not utterly alien, even global languages cannot accommodate them. These implications are especially problematic because in the process of translating translations, English relays marginalize and make invisible original source languages emphasizing, instead, the majority bridge languages used to relay them. English relay translation thus parallels concerns expressed by postcolonial critics who note that

translation of world literatures "often proceeds within inequalities of power" (Tymoczko 2009: 179), which are especially pronounced when the target language is as globally influential and powerful as English (Cronin 2003; Starosta 2013). As recent history of English translation reveals, how the source text is translated depends largely on the standing and importance of its original source language in relation to English. Contemporary relay translation thus indicates the position of source languages and literatures in the hierarchies of cultural prestige encoded in English (Toury 1995: 130, 131, 141).

I use as a case study the 1970 English relay translation of Stanisław Lem's 1961 Polish novel *Solaris* to focus my discussion specifically on English as the final target language. The novel provides a productive analytical lens because even though Polish is a minority language and its literature receives little attention in English-language publishing markets, Lem's novels have for decades constituted an important presence in world literature. When the English *Solaris* appeared in 1970, for example, 40 translations of his novels and short stories were already available in Europe and Japan, and over 5 million copies of Lem's works were in circulation (Suvin 1970: 218). By the time of his death in 2006, American newspapers remembered Lem as "one of the world's best-selling authors" (Bernstein 2006, para. 1) whose works "have been translated into at least 35 languages and have sold 27 million copies" (Sisario 2006, para. 3). In spite of Lem's literary credentials, critical praise and popularity, however, *Solaris*, the first of his novels to appear in English, continues to be re-issued in its French-mediated English translation, even though a direct translation of it has been available since 2011.[1]

In the chapter's first section, I contextualize Lem's relay *Solaris* with a brief overview of the practice of translating translations to illustrate the specifically problematic nature of literary relay. I then move to a

[1] By the award-winning translator Bill Johnston and available as Audio and Kindle only. As of July 2013, the Lem estate had "not yet managed to arrange publication" of the direct translation (B. Johnston, personal communication, July 19, 2013). A publisher is the sole owner of a translation for which it has purchased rights as long as the edition remains in print, and has monopoly over it until the original falls into public domain (Bellos 2011: 295–297).

discussion of this phenomenon as a trend indicative of hierarchical preferences for some languages over others in terms of their status vis-à-vis English. The next section describes the paratextual presentation and marketing of the *Solaris* relay to show how the English translation conceals the linguistic origins of the source text. In the chapter's two final sections, I examine examples culled from Lem's 1961 Polish *Solaris*, its 1970 relay, and the 2011 direct translation to demonstrate that at issue is not the quality of the 1970 English translation as such, but its transformation of Lem's original source text. Such transformation occurs because the involvement of additional languages and translators increases the likelihood and accretion of inaccuracies and errors and, as such, relay is particularly unsuited to literary translation (Dollerup 2000: 23; Gottlieb 2008: 64). Textual integrity is obviously not assured by direct translation, but the introduction of a third linguistic layer, cultural context and translator multiplies the semantic complexities and stylistic challenges inherent in all translational processes.

8.2 Relay Translation

Relay translation continues to be a largely understudied phenomenon and few sources examine its cultural significance (Dollerup 2000: 22; St. André 2008: 231; Perdu Honeymon 2005: 73). One way to explain this scarcity is to consider the status of translation itself as secondary or derivative. When translations are believed to be mere copies, few see the need to examine "poor copies of poor copies" (St. André 2008: 231; Washbourne 2013). Another, related reason is terminological inconsistency, which confuses relay with other translational phenomena and makes research into this important subfield of Translation Studies more difficult (Dollerup 2000: 19).[2] This chapter proposes the uniform use of "relay" as a term that best describes this complicated process (see St. André 2008: 231; Dollerup 2000: 23; Gottlieb

[2] A variety of terms ranging from mediated, second-hand, secondary to intermediate, filtered, and indirect continues to refer to the same process. See, for example, Ringmar (2012: 141), St. André (2008: 231), Dollerup (2000: 23), Toury (1995: 134), Gottlieb (2008: 64), Shuttleworth and Cowie (2014 [1997]: 76) and Kellman (2010: 14).

2008: 64). Aside from already being part of the interpreting vocabulary, relay brings to mind runners passing batons to their teammates, sometimes dropping them in the process. The metaphor acknowledges that relay does not necessarily result in an inadequate translation—the baton might well be passed quite nimbly and successfully. At the same time, it suggests the possibility of utter failure where dropping the baton slows down the team, costing them their victory. The latter is worth considering because by its very nature, relay translation exponentially increases the possibility of infelicity. It may lead to errors precisely because it multiplies the number of translators and languages and, as such, statistically increases the possibility of inaccuracies (Dollerup 2000: 23; Gottlieb 2008: 64; St. André 2008: 231).

Lem's *Solaris* is not an isolated example of English relay translation and, over the last sixty years, a number of other Eastern European novels entered English via French or German, often entirely without or with little paratextual indication of their original languages (Kellman 2010: 14). Three of the novels by the major Polish writer Witold Gombrowicz, *Ferdydurke* (1937), *Pornografia* (1960) and *Kosmos* (1965) were published in English via French and German. The 1961 English translation of *Ferdydurke* concealed the novel's original language, its cover indicating only the French-English translator's name (Kellman 2010: 15). The 1963 novel, *Hard to Be a God*, by Soviet authors Arkady and Boris Strugatsky, was translated from German and not Russian. In 1973, Lem's 1967 novel *The Invincible* (*Niezwyciężony*) appeared via German.[3] Hungarian author Sándor Márai's *Embers* appeared in 2001 via German. Finally, at least seven novels by the Albanian author Ismail Kadare, including *Dosja H* (1981; *Le Dossier H.*, 1989; *The File on H*, 1998), were translated into English via French, five of them by the award-winning American translator and translation scholar David Bellos (Kellman 2010: 15).[4]

[3] Recently (2014), Bill Johnston translated *The Invincible* directly from the Polish as he did *Solaris* in 2011. Both are available only as Kindle and audio books.

[4] It is very difficult to figure out which English translations are not based on original texts. If such information is included, it is usually buried somewhere on the copyright page. Consequently, this is not enough evidence to claim that only texts in Eastern European languages are relayed into English. The authors and titles listed here come from the article titled "Twice Removed" (2003) and from Steven G. Kellman's "Alien Autographs."

One way of justifying such circuitous literary routes is by claiming that translators between certain language pairs are unavailable and thus these texts would otherwise not appear in English. This is, in fact, how David Bellos explained his misgivings and reasons for translating a French translation of Kadare's Albanian *Dosja H*. In his article, Bellos first notes his ambivalence about the process of relay:

> I was initially dubious in the extreme. I knew no Albanian (and even now know only the tiniest scraps of that strange and difficult tongue). I also had principles! Enough damage can be done in one language shift to make a double shift seem like a recipe, if not for disaster, then at least for pretty thin gruel. (2005, para. 1)[5]

Bellos is certainly correct in observing that direct translations do not guarantee felicitous bilingual renderings, and adding yet another linguistic layer further challenges a novel's textual integrity. He rationalizes his involvement in the project, however, by indicating the unavailability of translators for what he calls "that strange and difficult tongue." Soon after this observation, however, Bellos admits he "subsequently learned that there are some distinguished Englishmen proficient in Albanian," but adds that he is "not at all sure they would have wanted then, or would want now, to work for the rates of pay of a literary translator" (para. 3). Although Bellos begins by noting the absence of Albanian English translators, he soon admits there were, in fact, skilled translators to be had, but they wouldn't have taken on the job because of the meager rates paid for literary translation (2005, para. 3). He does not explain why he agreed to translate for these rates, but they would not have.

Bellos's entire article reads like a rationalization for participating in a type of translation he distrusts, if not outright disdains. He offers, for instance, that he visited Kadare in Paris where they discussed the French translation and Kadare "was not at all worried about being translated from his French translation" and "preferred it that way" (2005, para. 4).

[5] I personally take exception to such linguistic exoticizing. Albanian certainly isn't strange or difficult for Albanians. Any language can appear strange or difficult to those unfamiliar with it.

Bellos explains, however, that Albania did not sign international copyright contracts until 1994, four years after Kadare left the country. It is thus quite plausible that Kadare's willingness to have his novel translated from the French had to do with copyright complications. Finally, the following statement from Bellos is most revealing about English-language publishers' insufficient investment in translation:

> Kadare has long been translated into German directly from Albanian, but for that there is a good reason: a German scholar virtually invented the discipline of Albanology, and there has long been a tradition of teaching Albanian in German universities. In Holland, too, Kadare is translated directly – but then, Dutch authorities paid two experienced translators a good salary for two years simply to go and learn Albanian in order to do the job. Britain and America have neither those traditions, nor such support for translation. (2005, para. 7)

By pointing to the resources for translation available in Germany and the Netherlands, this passage implicitly addresses the lack of resources for English-language translation, and Bellos's comment confirms why the United States and Great Britain are defined as closed literary systems (Even-Zohar 1990). Countries such as Germany or the Netherlands expend resources to ensure translators of even "strange and difficult" languages are trained, but in the United States, the number of translations continues to hover around 3% of the entire annual publishing output and very few translators can afford not to have day jobs (Venuti 2008: 10; Bellos 2011: 202–204). Such closed literary systems assign translators and translations rather low prestige levels (Lindqvist 2010: 75) thereby allowing, if not promoting, the use of majority language translations as source texts.

8.3 Minority and Less Translated Languages

The global reach and dominance of English makes the notion that literary relay occurs only "when there is a lack of competent trained translators in various language combinations" (St André 2008: 232) rather improbable. Even the publication history of early English

translations of Lem's work contradicts the assumption that literary relay happens when direct translators are unavailable. While relay translations of *Solaris* and *The Invincible* were published in 1970 and 1973, direct English translation of Lem's *Memoirs Found in a Bathtub* was published in 1973, *The Futurological Congress* and *The Cyberiad* in 1974, and *The Star Diaries* in 1976. The proximity of direct and relay translations' publication clearly demonstrates the availability of capable Polish-English translators. Yet another motive for relay translation could be the cost of direct versus relay translations. This is, however, a rather unlikely scenario. English literary translators are woefully underpaid, earning about as much as "babysitters," so unless relay translation is performed free of charge, it is hard to imagine it as a money-saving strategy (Bellos 2011: 291; Venuti 2008: 10). This situation stands in contrast to countries such as Japan, where literary translators have status similar to authors, or Germany, where they earn significant royalties for the books they translate (Bellos 2011: 204).

If English literary relay is neither about the availability of translators nor translation's cost, a political explanation provides a more plausible account for such circuitous routes. As this volume's introduction and essays demonstrate, translation is undeniably political, and the politics of translation are especially pronounced when the global visibility and cultural legibility of majority languages such as English, French or German are viewed in terms of the marginalization and invisibility of minority ones like Polish, Albanian or Hungarian (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Damrosch 2003; Venuti 1998). Majority alone, however, does not necessarily ensure that languages accorded this status are treated as prestigious when it comes to English translation. It is thus necessary to consider minority along with the more recent conceptual category of "less translated languages." This helps account for majority languages that are as widely used as Chinese, Arabic, or Russian, but which are equally neglected when it comes to English translation (Branchadell 2005: 1).

Pairing minority and less translated languages is theoretically productive for discussions of relay translation because the two emphasize that even when languages are widely spoken and influential—Russian, Arabic and Chinese, for instance, are three of the six official United Nations languages—their majority status does not guarantee their literary texts will arrive in English

directly out of their originals, or even that they will be translated in any significant numbers. Both terms are thus useful in explaining why Russian texts might be as likely to arrive in English via bridge languages, as might texts in Polish or Albanian. When minority and less translated languages are considered together, they make more explicit politics and ideologies through which certain languages and texts are deemed less valuable and therefore deserving of relay translation, if they deserve translation at all. These two categories make clear that Polish is a minority and a less translated language—it holds neither prestige nor authority in the global literary marketplace (Venuti 1998: 135). The fact that the English translation of *Solaris* used the French *Solaris* as its source indicates that French occupies a more privileged position than Polish in relation to English (Toury 1995: 141).

In addition to the status of Polish as a minority and less translated language, at least two related issues may help explain why the 1970 *Solaris* was not initially translated out of Polish. The first of these is Lem's early invisibility. Lem's work, while celebrated now, was virtually unknown in English in the late 1960s. Secondly, and coupled with Lem's early invisibility, is the rather insignificant cultural standing of science fiction. As *The Guardian* pointed out in the aptly titled article "Science fiction: the genre that dare not speak its name," "Mainstream authors and publishers seem happy to appropriate the tropes of science fiction but not the label itself" (Barnett 2009, headline). It is rather unlikely, however, that the stigma of science fiction continues to play a role in the relay's republication because Lem is now considered one of the most important figures in world literature. At the same time, the continued circulation of a translation that only tangentially reflects the narrative power of the original and paratextually conceals its derivation has important consequences.

8.4 Paratexts and Marketing

Every translator works with "diverse linguistic and cultural materials" as he/she reads and interprets the complicated "chain of signifiers that constitutes the foreign text" before replacing it with "a chain of signifiers in the translating language" (Venuti 2008: 13). Needless to say, the

complicated and unstable processes involved in translation become amplified by the addition of another mediating language, culture and translator(s). Lem's Polish-language *Solaris* (1961) was rendered in French by Jean-Michel Jasienko (1966), which was, in turn, translated into English by Joanna Kilmartin and Steve Cox (1970). In other words, Kilmartin and Cox replaced the French chain of signifiers on the strength of their interpretation of Jasienko's French translation and without access to the Polish of the original novel.

As Fig. 8.1 illustrates, the integration of the *Solaris* relay into Nida's model shows a break in the chain of signifiers from the Polish source to the English target text (as cited in Bassnett 2002: 26; Nida 1964: 107). The English used a translation that decoded the Polish chain of signifiers and recoded it in French. In turn, the French chain of signifiers was decoded and recoded in English. This integrated model clearly shows that the strength of Jasienko's French interpretation determined the English translation of *Solaris*, rendering the original source language inconsequential and unnecessary.

The marginalization of the novel's original Polish is confirmed by its paratextual invisibility, which highlights the French translation as its source text. As Olga Castro (2009) points out, paratexts, including front and back covers, introduce texts to target readers, affect these texts' reception and are often shaped by economic interests (p. 10). The interplay of economic and marketing interests may help explain the curious phenomenon on the Amazon page of Bill Johnston's 2011 direct translation of *Solaris* (available as audio and Kindle only). The page

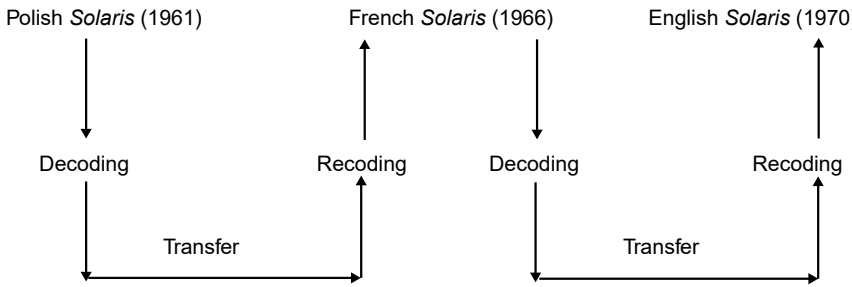

Fig. 8.1 Relay translation integrated into Eugene Nida's model

displays a prominent horizontal line of five links: Kindle, Hardcover, Paperback, Audible and Mass Market Paperback. The uniform status visually accorded each of the five versions suggests they all link to the same translation of the novel with format being the only difference. This is not the case, however. Both Hardcover and Paperback links lead to the novel's relay translation, while Kindle and Audible lead to Johnston's direct translation. Only the more careful readers might discover by accessing the less prominently displayed link for "Read more" that the Kindle and Audible text "is the first English translation directly from the original." Yet, when similarly accessing the Hardcover and Paperback links, the reader will not easily find references to these editions' relay translation.

Amazon's confusing presentation aligns with the paratextual absence of the novel's original source language and its implied assertion that Lem wrote in French. In different editions and issues of *Solaris*, including its first English publication in 1970, Lem's name appears on the book's cover and the two translators are mentioned on the title page, as is the fact that they translated *Solaris* out of French. The back cover describes Lem as "the best known science fiction author writing outside of the English language." There is no mention of Polish anywhere outside or inside of the book. The relay's erasure of a minority and a less translated language suggests the publishers' desire to market the novel using the more prestigious status of French. At the same time, the absence of Polish implies either the unavailability of the original source text or the impossibility of translating it directly.

8.5 Lem's *Solaris*

Lem's novel details the failed studies of the planet Solaris to emphasize the narcissism of space exploration out of which the human need for the alien other arises. The planet has been observed and studied for generations, yet no one has managed to interpret its appearance or behavior in any definite or convincing manner. When Kris Kelvin,

the novel's protagonist, arrives on the space station orbiting Solaris, he finds the place in disarray and confusion. One of the crewmembers is dead, another is in self-imposed seclusion and the third named Snaut, is initially recalcitrant and unwilling to tell Kelvin what happened. Just as he begins to delve into the station's mysteries, Kelvin inexplicably encounters Harey, an exact flesh-and-blood copy of his dead wife, who believes she is his wife. The novel's basic plotline focuses on Kelvin's guilt over his wife's suicide; the appearance of this copy, and there are more to come, forces him to confront his painful past. With Snaut's help, Kelvin eventually comes to understand that Solaris somehow creates flesh-and-blood manifestations of his own and the other crewmembers' deepest memories, dreams or fantasies.

Kelvin's feelings about his past in response to the copies created by Solaris are overshadowed, however, by the novel's central philosophical treatise on humanity's hubris and narcissism. In fact, Lem's novel uses Kelvin and Harey's relationship as a minor, basic plot to forward a much more central point. More than presenting a story of guilt and regret, the novel shows that when confronted with the alien and mysterious Solaris, all scientific, linguistic, epistemological and cognitive efforts fail. The novel asserts that all "Holy Contact," as Lem calls the human desire for the alien other, is utterly beyond humanity's reach. As Snaut tells Kelvin: "We're not searching for anything except people. [. . .] We desire to find our own idealized image" (2013, The Minor Apocrypha chapter). Using Kelvin's relationship to the copies of his dead wife, the novel demonstrates that when human beings look out into space, they are incapable of seeing anything beyond their own reflections. Importantly, this is also how *Solaris* metanarratively critiques the genre of science fiction for representing the worlds beyond our own as imaginatively rendered copies of Earth and its inhabitants (Ketterer 1974: 186).

The multiplicity of challenges inherent in relay translation is obvious in the differences between the Polish *Solaris* and its English relay translation. The overall accretion of errors, inaccuracies and the flattening of stylistic complexities resulted in a version that only tangentially reflects Lem's project, his lucid prose, his compelling characters and his mysterious and alien Solaris. As Bill Johnston told me, "though [the relay] tells the story

of *Solaris*, [it] frequently fails to convey Lem's style, his humor, his attention to detail" (personal communication, June 14, 2011). The foregrounding of basic plot engenders a reading of the novel as a love story between the main characters, but *Solaris* is not about romantic love. As Lem said in response to the Steven Soderbergh film based on the relay, "I only wanted to create a vision of a human encounter with something that certainly exists, in a mighty manner perhaps, but cannot be reduced to human concepts, ideas or images. This is why the book was entitled 'Solaris' and not 'Love in Outer Space'" (2002, para. 14). The relay focuses so much attention on the novel's basic plot, which for Lem was quite inconsequential, that the English-language novel is not a philosophical treatise on humanity's hubris and narcissism, but a story of love and regret set on a spaceship.

8.6 *Solaris* and Semantics

Many differences, while appearing to be a simple matter of word and phrase choice, affect the relay's clarity and logic.[6] As Bill Johnston observed, "some of the inaccuracies in the English [relay] translation can be traced to the French, while others arose in the process of translating from French to English" (personal communication, July 19, 2013). Words have varied connotative power, and translators confront choices that impact the meaning of sentences, paragraphs, even entire texts. Such possibilities abound in the relay of *Solaris*. In the original, for example, Kelvin notices that the blood he saw on Snaut's knuckles earlier is no longer there. As a result, Kelvin has "*krótkie jak błysk olśnienie*" or, literally, "a brief, like a flash, insight" (35), which Johnston renders idiomatically as "a flash of insight." The French translates the Polish phrase as "*un bref eblouissement*," which ends up in the relay as "a brief moment of dizziness" (34). The French phrase

[6] In Polish, French, and Johnston's direct translation, Kris Kelvin's ex-wife is named Harey, not Rheya, and Kelvin's crewmate on the Solaris Station is named Snaut, not Snow. Perhaps the English relay translators did not like the masculine sounding Harey, opting for the name's anagram Rheya, and instead of the piggish Snaut, the more neutral Snow.

connotes amazement, but also vertigo; Kilmartin and Cox read it as vertigo and translated it as dizziness. In Polish, Kelvin links Snaut's bloody knuckles to the apparitions' corporeality. So when Kelvin says to Snaut, "It's a real person . . . someone you can draw blood from" (34), the relay's "dizziness" implies that he is overwhelmed or confused while the original and direct translation's "insight" signals a breakthrough. In yet another example, Snaut "drags" himself out of his chair while he "jumps" out of it in the original (37, 37). In all three versions, he is exhausted at this point in the story, yet manages to rise rather energetically in the original, but not in the relay translation. Similarly, when Kelvin tells Harey that he is sleepy, she replies in the original that she is not (88). Yet in the relay, she says "I'm sleepy" (91), which is rather confusing since Solaris's corporeal manifestations never need sleep.

A pair of even more puzzling examples of lexical difference comes in the chapter where Kris examines Harey's blood. He looks at it under a microscope and focuses on *białko* or protein (98). The French translates "protein" as *albumine* (95), meaning plasma proteins, which the English, eliminating only two vowels, renders as albumen. Albumen, however, has nothing to do with blood, human or otherwise, because it refers to egg whites whose presence in Harey's blood is inexplicable. Such changes also modify the nature of Solaris's creations of Harey and Kelvin's attitude toward these repeatedly manufactured Hareys. As the first version of Harey arrives, for example, Kelvin asks about her clothes as she arrives with only the dress she's wearing. In the English relay, Harey "worries" (57) about his question, but in Polish his words *zaintrygowały* or intrigued her (57). While seemingly trivial, this lexical change relates to Kelvin's central dilemma about the self-awareness of these Solaris-created Hareys; whether they know who/what they are and whether they are attempting to conceal something from him. The concern she shows in the relay suggests Harey is afraid Kelvin has uncovered something she wants to hide, while the curiosity of the Polish shows Harey's confusion about the nature of her being. The worry in her voice relates to another issue, which occurs when Harey's second version enters Kelvin's cabin. While the Polish describes her voice as *cichy* or quiet, the English renders it as "anxious" (87/89). In English, her anxiety, like her worry, suggests that she has something to hide. Once Harey does discover that she "is not Harey" and does, in fact,

worry, she explains to Kelvin that she can't leave, that she tried to, but couldn't (107). She calls herself *podła* or awful/dreadful in Polish (103), thereby self-reflexively acknowledging that her presence hurts Kelvin. The relay, however, transforms her anxious feelings when she refers to herself rather confusingly as a "coward" (107). The relay also alters Kelvin's feelings for Harey. At one point, Kelvin asks whether Harey will return and is asked, in return, why he cares about her reappearance. In the relay, he asserts his possession of Harey as he responds, "she belongs to me" (133). This line does not exist in the original and suggests a sentiment Kelvin never expresses. In Polish, he simply responds: *Nie twoja rzecz* or "None of your business" (128), never asserting his ownership of Harey and refusing to disclose the nature of his feelings.

If the above examples illustrate the semantic distance between the original and the relay, the following differences can be gauged only at the discursive level of longer passages. They demonstrate how Lem's innovative, lucid and precise prose becomes in the relay a rather muddled series of mundane descriptions. Lem's prose has been praised by critics, translators and scholars for its innovative style and elegance. It is this unique style that realistically represents the scientific aspects of his novels, which he rather ingeniously invented, and sometimes even predicted (Liro 1987). In *Solaris*, the most representative examples of the relay's transformation of Lem's complex prose come from descriptions of the planet itself. The 1970 English version describes the mysterious Solaris at the heart of the novel in a flat, lackluster, and at times confusing manner. This is a crucial difference because, as Lem reflected on his novel decades after its publication, "the planet neither built nor created anything translatable into our [human] language" (2002, para. 9), and one of the ways the novel represents this failure of human cognition is with detailed descriptions of

> symetriads, asymetriads and mimoids – strange semi-constructions scientists were unable to understand; they could only describe them in a mathematically meticulous manner, and this was the sole purpose of the growing Solarian library – the result of over a hundred years' efforts to enclose in folios what was not human and beyond human comprehension; what could not have been translated into human language – or into anything else. (2002, para. 9)

The relay's stylistically reductive rendition of Lem's astoundingly vivid portrayal of this alien entity means that the love plot can indeed emerge as more central in the 1970 translation. The following description of a "dying" symmetriad demonstrates this difference by juxtaposing the relay with the same passage from the Polish source text and Johnston's 2011 direct translation of it as published in the Kindle Edition in 2013.

Relay: A powerful moaning roar issues from the invisible depths like a sigh of agony, reverberates through the narrow funnels and booms through the collapsing domes. In spite of the growing destructive violence of these convulsions, the spectator is rooted to the spot. (117)

Polish: *Z niewidzialnych głębin donosi się rosnący szum, ryk, powietrze, wyrzucane jak w jakimś agonalnym oddechu, trąc o zwężające się cieśniny, chrapiąc i grając gromowo w przelotach, pobudza zapadające się stropy do rzężenia jakby potwornych jakiś krtani, obrastających stalaktytami śluzu, martwych, głosowych strun, i widza ogarnia momentalnie, mimo rozpetującego się, najgwałtowniejszego ruchu – jest to przecież ruch zniszczenia – zupełna martwota.* (122)

Direct: A gathering roar rises from the unseen depths; air, expelled as if in death throes and rubbing against the narrowing channels, wheezing and thundering in the passageways, stimulates the collapsing ceilings to a wail as if from lifeless vocal cords or monstrous throats overgrown with stalactites of slime, and despite the furious movement that has been unleashed – it is, after all, the movement of destruction – the spectator is immediately overcome by a sense of utter deadness. (Lem 2013, the Monsters chapter)

Unlike the relay, the original and the direct translation are longer and use metaphors and similes modified by descriptive adjectives such as "surging avalanches of births" or "air expelled as if in death throes." They also anthropomorphize the symmetriad with words like "modeling influence," "rubbing," "wheezing" and "monstrous throats." Both employ a much longer, more complex sentence that, through its very

structure, imitates Kelvin's awed reaction to the symmetriad's transitory existence. Authorial style is certainly difficult to define, but the stylistic differences in this and many other passages of the relay leave little to the imagination. The 1970 relay reads like a series of prose summaries while Lem's novel is evocative, elegant and original in how it presents an encounter with an entirely incomprehensible alien.

Translation is the most powerful way in which languages and cultures are represented and shaped for reception beyond their own borders. It plays a crucial role in creating readers' impressions of texts and authors (Lefevere 1992: 9). For those without access to the novel's original Polish, the relay translation of *Solaris* is its authoritative English-language interpretation (Lefevere 1992: 42). By diminishing the original's philosophical criticism of space exploration and reducing its metanarrative censure of science fiction's anthropomorphic representations of alien others, this English interpretation foregrounds the novel's rather inconsequential story of love and regret set on a spaceship.

8.7 Conclusion

Inherent in the construction of a handful of languages as culturally prestigious is the circular argument that their prestige derives from their superior aesthetic value, a value that makes them particularly compatible with literary expression (Greene 2011: 14–16). However circular and subjective the assignation of such prestige might be, it protects these languages' literary output from "manipulation and even deformation in their foreign reception" (Damrosh 2003: 24). Assumptions about language value help explain why German or French novels in English via Spanish would not be tolerated, yet Polish and Albanian literature in English via French is acceptable. When certain languages are valorized over others not in terms of the quality of their literary contributions or their authors' critical esteem and popularity, but in terms of their perceived status vis-à-vis English, the resulting hierarchies confirm the preconceived notions of these languages' aesthetic value. Finally, classification of languages

such as Polish and Albanian as minority (in terms of cultural prestige) and as less translated (in terms of English), clarifies the translational challenges confronted by even popular, critically acclaimed literary texts. However subjective such determination might be, the inherent quality of literary texts matters little in determining if and how they are translated (Lefevere 1992: 2). Politics is at the center of literary English translation because, more than the prestige of particular authors, the status of the languages in which they write determines how their texts are translated into English, if they are translated at all. *Solaris* continues to be published in English via French not because there is no one to translate it directly or because it is classified as science fiction, but because Polish holds no cultural prestige and is of little literary consequence in English-language publishing markets.

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9

Navigating Knots: Negotiating the "Original" and Its Embedded Layers of Translations Across Cultural Boundaries

Karen Rauch

9.1 Introduction

Upon revising one of the chapters in a book I recently translated from Spanish to English, I noticed an inconsistency in the spelling of the capital city of the Incan Empire. Was it "Cuzco" or "Cusco?" I wondered. I assumed that one was the accepted English spelling while the other was the Spanish, and that my error in the translation was a question of mixing up my languages. Much to my surprise, however, a quick Internet search revealed that the answer is not so simple. In David Knowlton's (2011) blog, "Cusco Eats," I found the following observation, which brilliantly summarizes the issue:

Though seemingly a simple matter of right or wrong, issues of spelling can be quite complex. Different spellings often invoke strong emotions that are less matters of linguistics than of identity and politics. As a

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result, they respond to different histories and different arrangements of power. (para. 1)

Through further research into the matter, I discovered that in 1976, the city's mayor signed an ordinance to ban the use of the "z," given that it was considered a vestige of Spanish colonial dominance; from that time on, only "Cusco" was to appear in official publications and venues. Nearly 20 years later, this spelling was also discarded in favor of one that is ostensibly closer to the Quechua pronunciation: Qosqo. (Knowlton 2011, para. 5). What was my ethical obligation as a translator, then? To research and include the "original" spelling insofar as such a quest is possible? When asked, an experienced translator opined that my job was to use "Qosqo," or risk expressing a lack of cultural awareness/sensitivity. To what extent, however, can we ever uncover the "original," enveloped as it is in centuries of cultural and linguistic layers, of conquests and domination, of revolutions and evolutions? Can we find an "original" when the very idea of the necessary spelling of the word with the Latin alphabet already implies a translation? The ancient Incas had no written language, and although we have yet to understand the communicative secrets of their *khipus* (a color-coded system of knots on cords), it does seem unlikely that their mysteries enclose an alphabet. In short, the decision of how to spell one proper name used only a handful of times in a 300-page book took some time to research and was charged with political implications. In the end, "Cusco" remained as the chosen spelling, in an effort to reflect careful cultural sensitivity while ensuring that the book's intended audience would recognize the place name.

Such a decision probably would not have entered into a translator's thought process fifty years ago. It has only been in recent years that translation studies have begun to examine the activity of translation as more than mere linguistic transfer, a process in which the translator typically was thought to remain invisible. Cultural studies and postcolonial studies have allowed us to look at translation as a culturally charged activity that involves ideological issues such as power, dominance, gender inequality, identity politics and the relations between dominant and minority languages, to name just a few of the issues at play in current translation studies publications and conferences (Apter 2005; Alvarez et al. 2014; American Literary Translators Association

Conference 37 "Politics and Translation," Conference 38 "Translation and Traffic," & 39 "Translations & Crossings"). As Álvarez and Vidal (1996) state: "the study and practice of translation is inevitably an exploration of power relationships within textual practice that reflect power structures within the wider cultural context" (p. 1).

Moreover, translation studies, particularly works that emphasize ideological concerns, have revealed that decisions about what gets translated and eventually published are typically political as well as economic in nature. My initial decision to take on the aforementioned project was political, but also interpersonal stemming from my friendship with the author, Roberto Forns Broggi, a native of Peru who teaches Latin American literature and film studies in Colorado. When we first entertained the possibility, the manuscript was still unfinished, but I knew that the subject matter was an ecocritical approach to Latin American texts and films. Ecocriticism, although broad-based, has as its ultimate aim to increase awareness of the degradation of our environment in order to ensure a respect for the nonhuman world; presumably this will lead to positive change at all levels. My own deep conviction in the importance of ecological issues and a concern over the global threat of our planet's deteriorating health, so to speak, cemented my decision to undertake my first book translation. Quite recklessly, I agreed to translate Forns Broggi's book without having read any of the work, not even a rough draft of a single chapter. Thus, my own political beliefs led me to agree to translate a friend's unfinished manuscript, a translation of a personal relationship into a professional one. Negotiating that divide was not always easy, especially taking into consideration cultural differences as well as gender differences.

In what follows, this chapter will examine several political issues that had an impact on the process of translation, as well as the final product. First, I will discuss some of the pastiche elements of the "original" text, revealing its inspiration in a bicultural approach that endeavors to utilize some foundational tenets of principally Quechua thought along with a planetary or translocal perspective. Next, the discussion will turn to the relation between the author and the translator, a dynamic that is fraught with issues of power and cultural stereotypes not only in the process of translation, but also possibly in the body and mind of female translators,

given that women are often associated with translation, mere servants of the male, who is seen as the true creator (Simon 1996; Levine 2009). Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of three seemingly purely linguistic considerations with regard to translation, all of which, nonetheless, are freighted with ideological concerns, such as the relations between the powerful and the powerless, between written and oral language, and authority and submission.

9.2 Knots Like Stars: The ABCs of the Ecological Imagination in Our Americas

The title of Forns Broggi's book, *Knots Like Stars: the ABCs of the Ecological Imagination in Our Americas* (2016), perfectly encapsulates the complex linguistic and bicultural work of translation in general. On the one hand, we have the phrase "knots like stars," whose inspiration was the work of poet and visual artist Jorge Eduardo Eielson (Peru, 1924–2006). Fascinated and inspired by the Incan *khipus*, Eielson, a protégé of the great Peruvian author and anthropologist José María Arguedas, published a book of poetry entitled *Nudos* (*Knots*) while at the same time he was creating a series of visual knots. Forns Broggi's vision for the book, then, was that each of the entries would be considered a "knot" that could be read in and of itself, not necessarily tied to any progressive order in the book. We might think of it as analogous to Julio Cortázar's idea for *Rayuela* (1963) (*Hopscotch*[1]). The simile itself "knots like stars" refers to one of Eielson's paintings, which adorns the cover of the Spanish version of Forns Broggi's book (2012), in which there is a field of multi-colored dots or circles, calling to mind another of the prevalent metaphors in the book: seeds. Thus, much like seeds are scattered randomly over the Earth, the entries in the book could be read starting from any point, and not necessarily in alphabetical order.

[1] Cortázar divided his novel into "regular" chapters and expendable ones, and urged the reader to not merely read from beginning to end, but to "hopscotch" through the novel according to suggestions included at the end of each chapter.

Given his influence on Forns Broggi's work, providing some context for Eielson's poetic vision is in order. While it is sometimes nearly impossible to date Eielson's work with any precision, Rebaza Soraluz affirms that Eielson's poetic *Nudos* and his material art—textile sculptures in the form of knots—both emerged initially during the 1960s (cited in Gardner Clarke 2012: 55). Considered a member of the *Generación del Cincuenta* (the Generation of the 50s), Eielson and the other Peruvian poets from this group were known for their "poesía pura" (pure poetry), which ostensibly is "characterized by a poetics that favors the abstract and the philosophical implications of poetry over the expression of cultural content" (Gardner Clarke 2012: 57, note 25). Yet, this characterization has been refuted by many of the poets themselves (Gardner Clarke 2012; Cárcamo-Huechante 2005). Much as translations are embedded in cultural and political relations, so too are "original" artistic productions. Eielson clearly incorporates the cultural in his work, as evidenced by his twentieth-century *khipus*, both poetic and visual. Indeed, several scholars, such as Rebaza Soraluz (2005), have noted how Eielson blurs the lines between what we typically consider the verbal and the visual. One critic notes:

> Eielson's poetry heavily transmits the tactile sense through reference to its own material qualities and through its relationship to Andean textile construction and aesthetics . . . . Eielson surpasses the formal limits of the written text and emphasizes the non-alphabetic layer of significance latent in its silent and vestigial textile structure. (Gardner Clarke 2012: 58)

Both Eielson's poetry then, which necessarily uses the Latin alphabet, and his textile *khipus* attempt to transcend the limits imposed by a linear thought pattern whose foundation is the notion of an ordered alphabet.

On the other hand—and on the other side of the colon in the title—we have the phrase "the ABCs of the ecological imagination," with its emphasis on the idea of a dictionary of sorts, organized according to the standard ordering of the Latin alphabet used in both Spanish and English. Forns Broggi shared with me that his inspiration for the dictionary was Dan Beachy-Quick's *A Whaler's Dictionary* (2008). Forns Broggi wrote a piece for each of what he considers to be important concepts or metaphors in

ecocriticism and arranged them in alphabetical order according to subject, although some letters ("C," for instance) have quite a few essays or entries. Others, such as ("O"), have none. It is an eclectic book that includes essays that could be considered purely academic; entries that are composed entirely of quotes by well-known Latin American authors (the entry entitled "Biocenosis," for example, consists of one long quote from Ida Vitale, Uruguay, 1923) or environmentalists (Enrique Leff, Mexico, 1945); a list of eco-films and of projects that Forns Broggi wishes to undertake in the future; personal meditations and invocations; and series of aphorisms, such as the entry titled "Seeds." If it is true, as Brian Nelson and Brigid Maher (2013) state, that "[t]he most crucial element of a translator's work is finding a voice for the text being translated" (p. 3), then I had my work cut out for me. In order to translate *Knots like Stars,* a text teeming with heteroglossia, I had to find dozens of voices.

As my work on the book progressed, I began to think of the two parts of the title, straddling the two dots (or seeds) of the colon, as an analogy not only for the political project of the book but also for the process of translation, insofar as translation occurs in "the cultural space that emerges from the clash (although, ideally, intersection) between the two [languages]." (Álvarez and Vidal 1996: 3). Much as Gustavo Pérez Firmat has described a bicultural, bilingual existence as "life on the hyphen," for me the process of translating *Knots like Stars* was "life on that colon," the interstices or small spaces between, among, and around cultures. In fact, I began to adopt more of a textile attitude about the activity of translation: much like the *khipus* are formed by joining opposite threads to form a new whole, the translator weaves the threads of two (or possibly more) languages and cultures together to form something new altogether. This is also similar to Quechua oral performances, especially riddles, which, as Krögel (2011) explains, employ "balanced rhyme schemes and cadences, as well as the invocation of two original and contrasting, but related images to create an aesthetically pleasing and entertaining verbal performance" (p. 32). More than anything, then, I came to conceive that, unlike most popular notions of translation as a simple rewriting of the text in the other language (transparent linguistic transfer), my work was closer to a re-performance of the text, an insight reinforced in Nelson and Maher's (2013) assertion

that "[e]very translation of a text is a *performance* of that text as reflected in the selection and sequence of words on a page" (p. 3., emphasis in the original).

9.3 Author/Translator Relations

Clifford E. Landers opens his essay "The care and feeding of authors" with the following statement: "One of the most crucial aspects of literary translation can be the translator's relationship with the SL author" (2001: 81). Indeed, as he and several other prominent translators have discussed (Levine 2009; Rabassa 2005), authors and the translators of their works frequently forge a lasting friendship. In my case, as previously mentioned, the initial relationship between author and translator was already one of friendship, which became a professional relationship once the contract was signed. This no doubt changed the dynamics of the translation process. Throughout the rewriting of the book in English, the author and I had lengthy phone conversations about the text and exchanged numerous e-mails. In addition, we met in person twice during two different summers. Throughout all of these exchanges, we negotiated meaning, made decisions regarding the English text, and added to and subtracted from the English document, which in many ways is truly an updated and expanded version of the seed that was *Nudos como estrellas* (2012).

During the first summer meeting, I recall asking Forns Broggi several questions about a deeply philosophical entry titled "Things." My second or third query elicited a frown from the author, not because, it turns out, he was appalled at my lack of understanding, but because he was deeply unsatisfied with his own writing, particularly at the end of the essay. "Cambiemos eso" ["Let's change that"], he said to me, and so we rewrote, or perhaps re-performed, it together. He spoke aloud in Spanish, attempting to articulate his interpretation of a difficult metaphysical poem by Roberto Juarroz, and I reiterated what I heard in English, all the while taking notes. It was thus Forns Broggi's and my view of our work as a living, fluid text that allowed for an

author/translator relationship that hinged on collaboration and an organic reimagining of the project.

Another round of negotiations concerned a large section of an entry that I had removed without previously consulting the author. My decision was based on the fact that the aim of the original was to detail the plethora of words used to describe a certain occupation that is prevalent in many Latin American countries: waste pickers. The Spanish version of "Waste Pickers" opened with a long paragraph that discussed the numerous names used in all of the countries of Latin America as well as the United States to refer to those who make a living by collecting, recycling and/or repurposing the items that others discard. When I mentioned deleting this opening to Forns Broggi, he argued for keeping the lengthy passage, including all of the nouns in Spanish and Portuguese. It was too lengthy, I rejoined, and no English speaker is going to pay attention to the words or use this paragraph to learn Spanish or Portuguese. What was the point? Forns Broggi, however, refused to be persuaded. As a result of our discussion, I reinstated the section so that the English reads as follows:

> In Uruguay they call them *clasificadores* and more derogatorily *hurgadores* and *requecheros*. In Chile, *cartoneros, cachureros* or *recolectores informales*. In Paraguay, *gancheros* or *segregadores*. In Ecuador, *minadores* or *chamberos*. In Colombia, *basuriegos, costaleros, chatarreros, botelleros, recicladores, zorreros, cachivacheros*. In Venezuela, *excavadores* or *zamuros*. In Brazil, *catadores* or *chapeiros*. In Panamá and up into México, they are called *pepenadores*, although they go by other names too: *metaleros* or *changos* in Panamá, *guajeros* in Guatemala, *churequeros* in Nicaragua, *buscabotes, cartoneros* or *traperos* in México, *buzos* en Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras and the Dominican Republic. (*Knots like Stars*, 2016)

Although the paragraph is extremely long, and I cite it here only in part, to delete it would have been a serious misstep in the process. As I now realize, the enumeration of so many terms, all of which will be meaningless and perhaps unpronounceable to the monolingual English speaker, nevertheless plays an essential role in the political project inherent in the English version of the text: these foreign terms serve to

emphasize the proliferation of this type of job in Latin America. The extreme poverty in many countries has caused an increase in the number of this class of workers and thereby a proliferation of slang terms in various dialects of Spanish and in Brazilian Portuguese. Forns Broggi's insistence on the inclusion of this long section maintains the full force of the political intent of his book: to increase awareness of the social and environmental problems we face today and to show that they can be overcome only through collaboration at all levels, local, regional, national and planetary. The title of the entry itself required discussion with the author, given that the Spanish, "Biorrecicladores de basura," does not lend itself to a literal translation; "bio-recyclers of garbage" would mean little to most English speakers. Forns Broggi suggested that I use "dumpster divers," but I insisted on "Waste Pickers" after reading Melanie Samson's introduction to *Refusing to Be Cast Aside: Waste Pickers Organising Around the World* (2009). Reflecting on the terms that she and the contributors were going to employ to designate those who make a living in this way, Samson refers to "the politics of naming" and decides upon "waste pickers" over more pejorative terms such as "scavengers" (p. 2). To either elide this section or select another term for "waste pickers" would have diminished the work of the more than 15 million people world-wide who make their living in this fashion, precisely at a time when they are raising their voices and organizing.

There were other times throughout the years that I worked on *Knots like Stars*, when Forns Broggi wanted to participate in the translation process by changing my English word choices. It is, after all, my first language and thus I had to insist delicately, and then firmly, on the validity of my translations. One of the book's entries discusses a social and political movement called "Buen vivir," which I rendered as "Good Living" in an early version of the translation. Forns Broggi maintained that "Good Life" was more appropriate, because he was unaware of the cultural connotations of the phrase. Indeed, living the "good life" is not at all the sense we wanted to convey about the topic. I decided that we should keep the term in Spanish and the author conceded that keeping it in Spanish ensured that the phrase stood on its own, without any of the cultural baggage that comes with phrases like "good life" or "good living" in English. After making that decision, I came upon an article

in *The Guardian*, in which Eduardo Gudynas rejects any of the above versions in English: "These are not equivalents at all. With *buen vivir*, the subject of wellbeing is not [about the] individual, but the individual in the social context of their community and in a unique environmental situation" (as cited in Balch 2013). The term *buen vivir* itself is an inexact translation of the Quechua term *sumak kawsay,* and as Gudynas explains, although the *buen vivir* movement has its foundation in the indigenous social philosophy, "[i]t is equally influenced by western critiques [of capitalism] over the last 30 years, especially from the field of feminist thought and environmentalism" (2013). Through our negotiations of meaning, then, Forns Broggi agreed to accept my perspective to not translate this term, a decision that I continue to find satisfying, given that a translation into English would have diminished the political and cultural weight of the *buen vivir* philosophy and movement.

One would think that issues of gender would also come into play throughout the process of rewriting the book in English, if only because of deeply engrained stereotypes about translations and translators. As Sherry Simon (1996) observes, "Whether affirmed or denounced, the femininity of translation is a persistent historical trope" (p. 1). It is not clear whether the feminization of translation contributes to the translation's inferior status with respect to the original, or whether it is a trope that stems from the mistrust with which translation and translators are viewed. In the history of the Americas, we could cite the (in)famous case of La Malinche, Hernán Cortes's interpreter, accused of betraying her own peoples—despite the fact that they were not her people—through her gift for languages (Valdeón 2014: 18). Of course, the long tradition of the cultural implications of La Malinche's ostensible betrayal precedes the Conquest of the New World and is not confined to the Americas; we have only to think of the stereotype of Eve to realize the extent of this image linking the feminine to her ability to tell lies that beguile man. Simon (1996) summarizes the analogy thus: "We are not surprised to learn that the language used to describe translating dips liberally into the vocabulary of sexism, drawing on images of dominance and inferiority, fidelity and libertinage" (p. 1). Yet, for all that, the relationship between author and translator in our case did not often appear to be one of master creator and servant, but more along the lines of what Suzanne Jill

Levine asserts in her book *The Subversive Scribe* (2009): "The translator [as] collaborator rather than 'handmaiden,' the latter being one of the tradition's misogynist labels for this oft maligned but indispensable figure in literary history" (p. ii). Much like Levine and the authors she translated, Forns Broggi and I collaborated in the creation of a new text, and the idea of the translator as a sort of helpmate to the male creative genius, so deeply embedded in the Western social imaginary, is one that both of us reject.

9.4 Translational Knots

From the outset of the *Knots like Stars* project, the notion that my translation was making "minority" literatures[2] available to English-speaking readers both elated and worried me. As already mentioned, Forns Broggi favors a pro-Quechua vision of the planet, attempting to adapt an indigenous worldview into his book. Quechua's current status as a minority language, however, has not always been the case. Alison Krögel (2011) situates the historical import of the establishment of the Incan empire: "The rapid fifteenth-century expansion of Incan domination throughout western South America is one of the great imperial success stories in the history of the world" (p. 40). Quechua, or *runasimi*, was the official language of the empire, and the Incas ensured the smooth running of their extensive domains in part by obliging all the peoples they conquered and incorporated into their empire to speak it.

Although scholars have long recognized the many strengths of the Incan empire, the absence of any writing system has appeared an anomaly when comparing this civilization to others of the Ancient World. It is only recently that we have begun to understand, albeit in a small way, the communicative power of the Incan *khipu.* It was long believed that the *khipu* was an accounting system of sorts, employed to keep track of the movement and consumption of the vast number of

[2] By this, I mean literature in the nondominant language; that is, literature in languages other than Spanish.

goods needed to supply an empire as large as *Tahuantisuyu.* In short, both the spoken language and the nonverbal communication system of the Incan Empire were tools used to control their conquered peoples.

The empire that succeeded the Incan—the Spanish, or more properly Castilian, the product of Castille's conquest of most of the Iberian Peninsula—continued to foster the dominance of Quechua, using it as the indigenous lingua franca into which they translated documents, especially those used to Christianize the indigenous. This practice of relying on Quechua lasted well until the last decades of the eighteenth century when it was deemed too dangerous to the Spanish stronghold in the region in the wake of indigenous rebellions that shook Spain to its core (Krögel 2011: 16, note 9). The Quechua language, then, was used as a powerful tool to subjugate, assimilate and control conquered peoples for centuries.

Today, however, Quechua is considered a minority language, despite being the official language, along with Spanish, in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Although there are certain projects whose intent is to continue to disseminate the language via the Internet and social media, Quechua is primarily a spoken language. As Cronin notes:

> [t]he concept of minority is the expression of a relation not of an essence. A language may be displaced from the public sphere and thus increasingly marginalized from use in various areas of life because of invasion, conquest or subjection by a more powerful group. The speakers of the minority language thus occupy the same territory as before, but their language is no longer in a dominant position. (2011: 167)

There were quite a number of Quechua terms in the Spanish version of *Knots like Stars*, and the decisions regarding each during the translation process were politically charged. In the entry on the Amazon region, for instance, there was a long poem entitled "Wámpach." The explanation in Spanish noted that a "wámpach" is a bag, but I could hardly translate the lines that consisted only of the word "wámpach" as "bag." Somehow that seemed woefully inadequate. I searched for the word in a Quechua-Spanish dictionary; it did not appear there. Finally, after searching on the Internet for

quite some time, I came across this definition on a Spanish government website, which serves to provide an online catalogue of items in various museums. The wámpach in question, naturally, is found in Spain's Museo de América:

> Bolsa de forma ligeramente trapezoidal tejida con hoja de chambira formando una malla muy tupida. Presenta un asa larga y estrecha para colgar del hombro en bandolera para no dificultar el movimiento al caminar por la selva. Es de uso exclusivamente masculino y dentro de estas bolsas se lleva entre otras cosas remedios tradicionales para las picaduras de víbora (como piel de igüana, hiel de "majaz" o "achuni" o hierbas de "pijipí"), contenedores con pintura para adornarse, un peine o un cuchillo. En la actualidad las usan para llevar pólvora o cartuchos[3] de rifle. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte)

Of course, a translator cannot write the above in a poem in place of a line of poetry that simply asserts "wámpach," so I kept the Quechua word in the poem.

The next decision therefore was whether or not to put the description of a *wámpach* into a footnote. Indeed, my first English version of many of the entries included numerous footnotes. I somehow felt it was my scholarly duty, the fruit of my academic training, to explain everything. My first couple of months of translating could be described as a veritable footnote frenzy. As the work progressed, however, I began not only to include fewer and fewer footnotes, but also to delete footnotes in some of the earlier chapters as part of the revision process. In other words, as the work continued, I, as the translator, become more and more aware of the ideological weight of my lexical choices and translation strategies given that translation implies a negotiation of

[3] That is: A vaguely trapezoidal-shaped bag woven from palm leaves and forming a very tight mesh. It boasts a long, narrow handle to hang over the shoulder so as to not impede movement while walking through the forest. It is used exclusively by males and the bags contain among other items traditional medicine for snake bites (such as iguana skin, coati bile, or pijipi herbs), containers of paint with which the men adorn themselves, a comb or a knife. Currently the bags are also used to carry gunpowder and shells. (My translation).

power, between author and translator, as well as between two cultures. According to Álvarez and Vidal:

> If we are aware that translating is not merely passing from one text to another, transferring words from one container to another, but rather transporting one entire culture to another with all that this entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation. (1996: 5)

Indeed, postcolonialist scholars have argued that translations from minority languages into dominant languages, such as from indigenous languages into Spanish or English, often use a series of rhetorical strategies that serve to render the dominated culture as "exotic." As Wang Hui notes,

> texts from dominated cultures often appear in imposing scholarly translations, which are painfully and pedantically literal and loaded with an awesome [number of] exegetical and critical apparatuses. Such scholarly translations reinforce the image of the 'orient' as stagnant, mysterious, strange, and esoteric, of interest to and penetrable only with the help of a handful of orientalist 'experts.' (2011: 199)

In effect, I came to realize that my lengthy footnotes not only precluded almost any possibility that the text could be read pleasurably, but that they were also presenting Latin America, in particular its indigenous peoples, in a way that the average reader could not understand without the aid of extensive footnotes. I also rejected the notion of a lengthy "translator's introduction," which I had first considered as a means to move all of my footnotes to the beginning of the text, instead of at the bottom of the page. In sum, the final version of *Knots Like Stars* includes the translator's acknowledgements, but little explanatory material; it lets the rewritten text stand on its own, much like the Spanish version does. Reflecting on the evolution of the translated text, I am satisfied with this decision and my transformation as a translator. Wang Hui observes that "orientalist" translators "are seldom shy of turning the paratextual space—prefaces, introductions, notes, appendixes and so forth—into a colonizing space where cultural differences are interpreted as signs of the inferiority of non-Western cultures" (2011: 201). At least at the level of the paratextual, or the absence thereof, *Knots Like Stars* does not perpetuate a vision of the

indigenous peoples of Latin America as exotic and foreign. This was especially important given that the overarching vision of the book is planetary.

The inclusion of entire poems in minority languages, such as Quechua and Totonac, thrust me into the quagmire of "relay translation," in other words, translating from another translation (in the case of *Knots like Stars*, into Spanish), not from the original, indigenous language. James St. André (2011) has noted that relay translation is generally viewed with disdain; he even quotes one critic who deemed relay translation "appalling" (p. 227). The assumption is that if something is lost in translation, then the loss in relay translation is double, at the very least. St. André (2011) sums up this critical scorn thus: "If translation is a poor copy, then why discuss poor copies of poor copies?" (p. 230). As he further indicates with his choice of the word "mistrust" to characterize the scholarly perspective on relay translation, critics seem to believe that a relay translator is pulling the wool over their eyes, that in some way, readers of relay translations are being cheated out of some ineffable truth inherent in the "original," but necessarily absent in "a copy of a copy." Due to the disregard with which it is viewed, there is a dearth of critical studies on relay translation: "The perception is that studying it will add nothing to the total sum of human knowledge" (St. André 2011: 230). Clearly, however, St. André makes a cogent argument for the inclusion of scholarly monographs on relay translation in the broader field of translation studies. Yet, many translation studies experts and scholars in general continue to be wary of relay translation. There were several examples in *Knots Like Stars*, nonetheless, of entire poems in an indigenous language, and I had no choice but to rely on the perils of relay translation.

In the case of Totonac poet Manuel Espinosa Sainos's (2008) *Tilikgoy litutunakunín /Cantan los totonacos*, which I translated as *Songs of the Totonac People*, the matter became even muddier. Forns Broggi had discovered Espinosa Sainos's poetry in an online e-book sponsored by the Mexican government, as part of a project to promote the creative work of indigenous poets. Espinosa Sainos's book was one of five bilingual books of poetry published as part of the series. According to

Tilikgoy litutunakunín's preface, Espinosa Sainos and the other indigenous authors included in the cultural project:

> Escriben en sus idiomas, y luego, con la misma sonoridad, esas frases, esas voces son convertidas al español. El ritmo y la musicalidad son un acierto; los lectores gozarán en ambas lenguas estos poemarios, que evocan la riqueza de las palabras en diferentes tonalidades. (p. 11)
>
> [. . . write in their languages, and then, with the same sonority, those phrases, those voices are converted into Spanish. The rhythm and musicality are correct; the readers will enjoy in both languages these poetry collections, which evoke the words' richness in different *tonalities*.] (My translation; my emphasis)

This brief passage merits analysis insofar as the assumptions it makes about translation, language and poetry are quite striking indeed. First, we note the overwhelming stress on the orality and musicality of not only the poetry, but also the "conversion" of the poem into Spanish. Second, the process of writing in the indigenous poets' own language is expressed in the active voice ("Escriben/They write"), but then, when the passage switches to the passive voice, something mysterious happens: those words, those phrases "are converted," as if by some magical process beyond any human agency. It is not clear, then, if the Spanish version of the poem is a translation by Espinosa Sainos himself or another writer/translator, or if it is the poet's rewriting of the piece in Spanish, although I am inclined to think it is the latter. Indeed, this quote takes us back to the notion of translation as a kind of performance, although it elides the arduous work that often goes into such an art, rendering the translator invisible.

Although misinformed perspectives on relay translation had also seeped into my psyche, causing me to feel like a fraud for translating into English Espinosa Sainos's poem when I could not read it in the original, Totonac language, I soon realized that in many cases relay translation is a "necessary evil," as St. André suggests (2011, p. 227). Since there are few translators who work from Totonac or Huitoto—to mention only two of the Latin American indigenous languages—into English, it is necessary to translate these works first into Spanish and

then into another language, if we are to make indigenous works more available world-wide. Such has been the situation historically as St. André notes: "The colonizing language (Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, English, German) thus became the 'portal' or 'mediating' language between the colonized country and Europe" (2011). At a recent American Literary Translators Association panel on translations from Latin American indigenous languages into English (Call et al. 2015), several of the translators discussed the process of relay translation since they know Spanish but not the indigenous languages in question. Their process of translation involved spending time with the poet listening to him or her speak about the poem in Spanish, or translating orally the poem into Spanish, with the English translator taking notes, a perhaps cumbersome arrangement that they are willing to endure nonetheless to disseminate the work of more indigenous poets into English, thus broadening poetic and cultural horizons. It is also a process very similar to the collaborative re-performance of a text that I described earlier. In sum, despite the mistrust that many scholars and authors display about relay translation, I came to value the process as part of a larger political project of ensuring that marginalized voices are heard.

A third linguistic consideration that arose during the re-performing of *Knots Like Stars* in English was the phenomenon of retranslation. Whereas relay translation is frequently disdained in scholarly and literary circles, retranslations, or translating a text into a language into which it has already been translated, is typically viewed favorably: "[r]etranslation in the field of literature is usually regarded as a positive phenomenon leading to diversity and a broadening of the available interpretation of the source text" (Gürçaglar 2011: 231).

Forns Broggi's entry "Interval" contained a poem by Ida Vitale that had already been ably translated by Katherine Hedeen and Víctor Rodríguez Nez, and which is included in *Garden of Silica* (2010), their anthology of Vitale's poems. Yet, there was a fundamental difference in my interpretation of the poem, particularly in the first line (see the excerpt below), which includes the polysemous word *cerrazón*: "Cuando la cerrazón arrecie." Whereas the aforementioned translators rendered *cerrazón* as storm clouds, I preferred the other potential meaning of the word in English: "close-mindedness."

Parenthesis, Fragile House

When close-mindedness threatens
open a parenthesis, a tepid sign,
fragile house . . .

Paréntesis, casa frágil

Cuando la cerrazón arrecie
abre paréntesis, signo tibio,
casa frágil . . .

In spite of the presence of other lexical elements that evoke nature, such as "forests," "sun," and "soil," a reference to the weather did not seem quite right to me for the opening line of the poem. Perhaps in some way "close-mindedness" was a rephrasing that captured not Ida Vitale's voice (the original?), but her voice as spoken by Forns Broggi; her voice as re-performed by an author and translator in the broader context of *Knots like Stars*. By lending another interpretation to the first line in particular, my intent was not to "correct" the prior translation, but to add to the chorus of voices who interpret this poem in another language.

9.5 The Khipu of Translation

In her book on Andean cultures, Denise Arnold (2006) asserts that *khipus* "might form a conceptual bridge between numbers and writing" (p. 208). The bridge, as a link between two places or contexts, is a metaphor that is often employed to describe translation, which ostensibly connects two languages. Yet Arnold deepens her analysis of the *khipus* to reach this conclusion:

> textual practices in the Andes do not distance the voice from the object . . . as do European writing practices; rather they sustain the processual flow between word, sound, body, and mimetic image that cannot be abstracted easily into objective signs and fixed meanings. (p. 208)

Indeed, in this chapter, we have seen the emergence of a performative perspective on translation, as authors and translators, including Forns Broggi and myself, often engaged the voice in a type of re-performance of a text. This calls to mind, too, the earlier reference to the Quechua tradition of reciting riddles, consisting of a pair of balanced opposites in the creation of a "verbal performance" (Krögel 2011: 32), echoing the construction of a *khipu*: the tying together of opposing threads to form a knot. For me, the collaborative performance of translating *Knots like Stars* emerged from the *khipu* in which word, sound, body and image were embedded and enmeshed; in which fixed meanings gave way to a more emancipatory, fluid notion of text.

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10

Representing the Tibet Conflict in the Chinese Translation of Western News Reports

Li Pan

10.1 Introduction

China has long been represented as a cultural and ideological "other" in Western media, as revealed in much of the previous work on discourse related to China (Cheng 2011; Sparks 2010; Wu and Wang 2008; Zhou and Shen 2001). News, as a major medium of representing what has happened is supposed, and claimed as well, to be impartial. However, in reality, news discourse is often not impartial, nor is impartiality even possible in some cases, as revealed by linguistic studies on mass media discourse (e.g. Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995a; Van Dijk 1988, 1995). Similarly, most readers would expect news translations to be faithful. However, do news organizations disseminate faithfully translated news texts in their actual practice, especially when translating foreign reports

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that are related to domestic issues in their own countries? For instance, does *Reference News* (hereafter *RN*, Chinese《参考消息》, in Chinese Pinyin, Cankao Xiaoxi), the most authoritative newspaper in China committed to translating foreign media, publish only faithful translations as it claims? How is China represented in *RN*'s reports that are translated from major Western media outlets when they concern sensitive topics related to China?

To find answers for the above questions, this chapter, following a tentative model that draws on critical views of representation (Fairclough 1995a, 1995b), the narrative notion of (re)framing (Baker 2006, 2010) and recontextualization (Kang 2007; Goffman 1974), examines the representations of China in (re)framing the conflicts of the riots that happened in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, in March 2008, in the original English and Chinese translated news stories. Specifically, the chapter first compares the ways that the conflicting parties of the riots and the rioting event itself are labeled or relabeled in the narratives circulated by some major British and American news organizations and by *RN* to find out whether distinct representations of the event are produced and different "realities" are thus constructed. Then it incorporates the results from a survey carried out by the author at the headquarters of *RN* to investigate the institutional context within which the Chinese translations were produced. Finally, from social and historical perspectives, it explores the Chinese media's politics of translating reports on the conflicts in China for the Chinese reader.

10.2 Representation, Reframing and Recontextualization

Representation, reframing and recontextualization, as the key concepts in this chapter, are understood differently by scholars from different fields and traditions. They are reviewed below mainly in the ways that they are related to news and news translation from the critical perspectives of linguistics and Translation Studies.

10.2.1 News as Representational Discourse

For analysts from Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) schools, news is a discourse representing the "reality." For instance, Fowler, one of the most prominent Critical Linguists, regards news as "a representation of the world in language" (1991: 4) that is "mediated, molded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium (language in this case) used for representation" (Fowler 1996: 4). In other words, news is not a value-free reflection of what happened, nor are events and ideas presented "neutrally, in their neutral structure" (Fowler 1996: 4). Rather, news reports are constructed in accordance with social values as well as the stylistic and ideological conventions of the newspaper, and the language in the news is selectively chosen to construct a certain "reality" in the reporting. This approach of viewing news is also highlighted in CDA, an outgrowth of Critical Linguistics (Garrett and Bell 1998). As Fairclough (1995a) points out, while there are always different ways of representing the same thing, media texts are assumed to constitute versions of reality rather than "'merely mirror realities' as sometimes naively assumed" (p. 103). He further stresses that the focus of the discussion of representation in media discourse is upon "how events, situations, relationships, people, and so forth are presented in texts" (p. 103).

10.2.2 News Translation as Recontextualization and Reframing

Much of the research on journalistic translation focuses on interventions in the translation process (Munday 2007a), including viewing news translation as "gatekeeping" (Vuorinen 1995; White 1950) or on the role of translation on information flow in this age of globalization (Bassnett 2005; Bielsa 2005, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Comparatively, only a few scholars view news translation from the perspective of recontextualization (e.g. Kang, 2007; and Huang, 2007). Nevertheless, many scholars in media studies hold that news itself involves recontextualization; for instance,

Caldas-Couthard (2003), Linell (1998), and van Leeuween (1993), just to name a few. They believe that recontextualization always goes on in news reporting since news is "a discourse about a social practice which always takes place outside the context of that practice and within the context of another one" (Caldas-Couthard 2003: 275). According to Linell (1998), recontextualization is defined here as "the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context . . . to another" (p. 154). In this sense, research on recontextualization in both news and news translation mainly concerns the "dynamic transfer-and-transformation" from one context to another.

News translation can also be analyzed in terms of reframing, especially when it functions in the context of conflict and violence. For instance, Baker (2007), drawing on narrative theory and some social theories, sets up a model of reframing strategies "to examine some of the ways in which translators and interpreters reframe aspects of political conflicts and hence participate in the construction of social and political reality" (p. 151). While recontextualization and reframing seem to be overlapping with each other, recontextualization actually serves as the base of reframing in discourse, just like context serves as the base for constructing and interpreting a social practice or an event. In addition, recontextualization is the process of deploying discursive means to make the discourse suitable for a changed context while framing in news and reframing in news translation both imply an active participation in the construction of reality (Baker 2006). In news translation, much in the same way as recontextualization, reframing involves the translator's mediation in various aspects of discourse, such as linguistic expressions, concepts, "facts," arguments, values and ideologies. For translation scholars, recontextualization is a necessity for successful translation due to the fact that the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) serve two readerships who are from two different cultural and societal contexts (Kang 2007). It is not difficult to see that recontextualization and reframing are closely related and that both are indispensable when there is tension and conflict between different representations and ideologies in news translation.

10.2.3 Categorization in Representation and Labeling in (Re)framing

Categorization and labeling, two terms sharing a similar sense, have been used in different academic fields to indicate lexical choices in naming and address or the referential expressions. For scholars of CDA, categorization is crucial for constructing and interpreting "different discourses" (Fairclough 1995a: 114). There are "always alternative ways of wording any (aspect of a) social practice," and that alternative wording usually corresponds to "different categorizations" (p. 114). Nominal groups are important for specifying of things in term of class and category of membership within a class. In this chapter, the nominal groups for categorizations in news translation will be analyzed to uncover how the various referential expressions of the same news actors and events in the original reports and their translations reveal the relationships between participants of the communicative events. As Fairclough (1989) states, "a text's choice of wording depends on, and helps to create, social relationships between participants" (p. 116).

Just like categorization, labeling forms "certain images in the mind of the readers and, consequently, appeal to their own recollections and representations of the world" (Valdeón 2008: 300). Labeling devices are effective means of constraining the interpretation of narratives (Baker 2006: 123). By labeling, Baker (2006) refers to "any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative" (p. 122). Labeling, as one of the reframing strategies Baker depicts (2006, 2007), has political implications in some sensitive news reports. For instance, the choice of either "The Handover of Sovereignty" or "The Return to the Motherland" to refer to the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 does "not exist in free variation [. . . but has . . .] serious implications in the real world" (Baker 2007: 157). Munday (2007b) also points out that referring expressions for a single individual are a chief form of evaluation in both the TTs and the STs, as they reveal "the evaluative political" views of both the translator and the original writer (Munday 2007b: 205). The classic example is *freedom fighter* versus *terrorist*, depending on

whether the point of view of the observer is favorable or negative (Munday 2007b: 204).

Both labeling and categorization are of particular importance in signaling attitude or for understanding the ideological implication in news and news translation. Labeling with a "choice of one type of name over another can encode important information about the writer's attitude to the referred in a text" (Simpson 1993: 141). Categorization, with a choice of different words for referring to the same thing by different speakers, is indicative of the different ideological affiliations of the language user. Therefore, to understand how and why different discourses and representations are produced in news and news translation, it is critical to analyze the categories drawn upon in labeling or relabeling the actors and events and the strategies of (re)labeling that(re)frame narratives in order to construct certain representations of "realities" in news translation.

10.3 Modeling News and News Translation

Generally speaking, news translation normally involves the same events told in at least two different languages. The news events, or the "facts," are thus the core of the bilingual narration. As visualized in Fig. 10.1, the news events or the "hard facts" are usually retained in the TT when the news report is translated from the ST. However, the representations of the "hard facts" could never be the same with different framing of the events in the ST and the TT. At the same time, both framing and reframing, attributed by conscious participation of the agents (here either the news writer or the translator) through active strategies into "the construction of reality" (Baker 2006: 106), are to some degree facilitated respectively by recontextualization, namely the dynamic transfer and transformation from one context to another. Although Goffman (1974) considers that recontextualization usually amounts to reframing, (re)framing tends to stress the means and recontextualization underscores the ends. In this sense, recontextualization in news translation involves the dynamic transfer and transformation of news from the institutional practice of producing the ST to that of the TT as well as from the social context of the source language (SL) to that of the target language (TL).

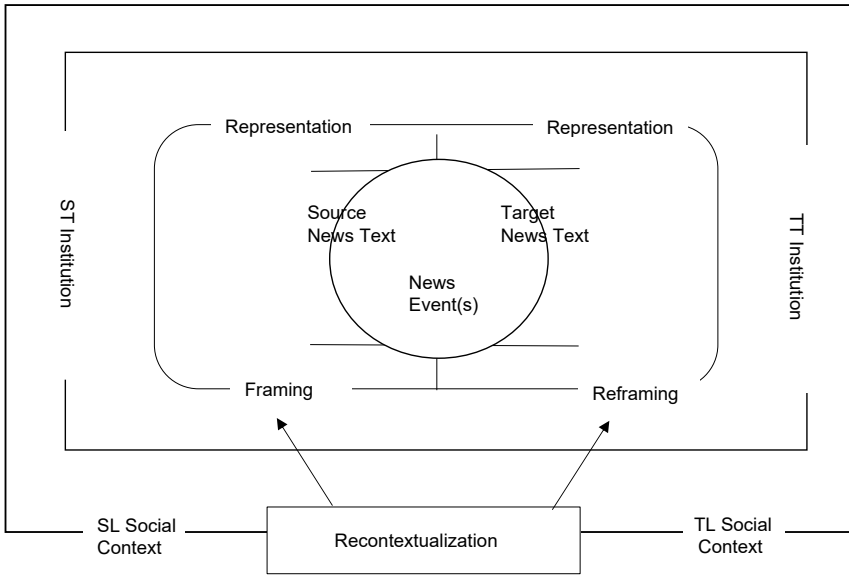

Fig. 10.1 Modeling news and news translation

Following the relations that I model in Fig. 10.1, the rest of this chapter carries out a text analysis of the (re)labeling of the participants and the Lhasa event of 2008 to examine how different representations of China are framed in the ST and (re)framed in the TT, followed by interpreting and exploring the distinct representations from the dimensions of recontextualizing institutional and social practices.

10.4 Representing and Reframing China

Discourse on China in Western media generally tends to offer "Western representations of China" that differ from the real China, or China in reality (Li 2005). Such biased representations are often found objectionable by most Chinese people and scholars in China and abroad. As a case in point, the Western media's reports of the Lhasa event before the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008 resulted in severe criticism by Chinese internet users (Zhang 2011; Pan 2012).

This section, which analyzes how China is represented in reporting the Lhasa riots, focuses on the examination of the lexical choices for labeling the conflict (i.e. the news event) and the participants involved in or related to it (i.e. the news actors) with examples extracted from two samples. Each of the samples consists of a pair of original reports in English and their Chinese translation published in *RN*. Sample 1 ST was published by the American newspaper *The Washington Post* on March 17 and its Chinese translation (Sample 1 TT), published on March 18, is *RN*'s first report on the Lhasa event. Sample 2 TT, a translation published in *RN*, consists of two parts, translated, respectively, from a report by the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* (Sample 2 ST1) and *The Times* (Sample 2 ST2), both first circulated on March 19.

10.4.1 (Re)framing Conflicts

To find out how the Tibet conflicts are framed and (re)framed, this section will analyze the expressions for referring to the Lhasa event in the ST and the TT, with two extracts from Sample 1 (all the emphases in the extracts are mine and BT stands for back translation).

Extract 1

Ex 1 ST (*Washington Post*, March 17, 2008): The *violent protests* by Buddhist monks and other Tibetans that exploded in Lhasa on Friday, therefore, have generated widespread condemnation among the country's majority Han Chinese. In street conversations, Internet discussions and academic forums, most Chinese have readily embraced the government's contention that the *violence* resulted from a plot mounted by the Dalai Lama from his exile headquarters in India.

Ex 1 TT (*RN*, March 18, 2008): 因此, 14日发生在拉萨的暴力活动遭到了全国大部份人 的谴责。在街头谈话, 网上讨论和学术论坛中, 大部份中国人都欣然接受了政府的说法, 即这次暴动是达赖喇嘛在印度的流亡总部策划的一起阴谋。

Ex 1 BT: The *violent activities* that happened in Lhasa on 14th, therefore, have generated condemnation among the country's majority. In street

conversations, Internet discussions and academic forums, most Chinese have readily embraced the government's version that this *insurgency* was out of a secret scheme plotted by the Dalai Lama from his exile headquarters in India.

In Extract 1, the ST refers to what happened in Lhasa on March 14 as "violent protests." The TT uses 暴力活动 [violent activities] to identify the event instead. The major difference is the implied meaning: framing the event as "protests" could lead the English reader to infer that someone or something was protested against and would probably regard the Chinese government as the target of the protests. The relabeling of the event as "activities" in the Chinese version not only avoids such inference but also reframes it with a more general category in the translation. In terms of categorization, 抗议 [protest] is less general as a category for reference since it is a kind of 活动 [activity].

Additionally, with 14日 [day fourteenth] replacing *Friday*, the translator seems to try to recontextualize the report by relabeling the time to suit the time zone of the target community. However, the relabeling is actually of associative implication to the Chinese reader. Similar to the case of 9/11 in the US, March 14 has been a sensitive date in China associated with the bloody and ruthless riots in the city ever since the Lhasa event happened. The date has been frequently used in referencing the event both by the Chinese government and in the main Chinese media, often as 3·14拉萨暴力事件 [March 14th Lhasa violent incident] or 3·14打砸抢烧事件 [March 14th beating, smashing, robbing, and burning incident].

Another significant deviation is turning "the violence" into 这次暴动 [this insurgency] in referring to the event in the translation. The ST reports that, according to the Chinese government's "contention," "the violence resulted from a plot mounted by the Dalai Lama." The TT, in relabeling the event as the insurrection out of a secret scheme plotted by the Dalai Lama, reframes the event as "organized opposition to authority" instead of "violence," which is nothing but "an occasion when people behave violently" (Wordnet). Coherently, the TT uses 暴动 [insurgency] in the next mentioning of the event, as shown in Extract 2 below.

Extract 2

Ex 2 ST: (*The Washington Post*, March 17, 2008) Jorge Chiang, a stylishly dressed Hong Kong businessman on a trip to Beijing, said he, too, believed the *bloody rioting* was set off on orders from the Dalai Lama. Now, he predicted, the Chinese government will use the violence as a reason to round up the most prominent activist monks and "tighten its control over Tibet."

Ex 2 TT (*RN*, March 18, 2008): 一名来北京出差的香港商人说, 他也认为这场暴动是达赖喇嘛授意发起的。

Ex 2 BT: A Hong Kong businessman on a trip to Beijing, said he, too, believed the *insurgency* was set off on orders from the Dalai Lama.

In this extract, the ST quotes a businessman from Hong Kong saying that he, too, believed that "the bloody rioting" was ordered by the Dalai Lama. In the TT, the businessman's wording of the event is turned into 这场暴动 [this insurgency]. The TT thus reframes the businessman's representation of the event more negatively in terms of political implication. At the same time, with 暴动 [insurgency], the relabeling reframes the event as a violent action against the authority, which is more specific than "rioting" in terms of categorization. In addition, the TT omits the businessman's prediction of the Chinese government's possible actions quoted in the ST and thus suppresses his negative presumption of the Chinese government's possible reaction against "prominent activist monks" and Tibet.

As a whole, the detailed analysis of Sample 1 finds that, with the different framing of the rioting event, the English report and the Chinese translation present a different representation of what happened in Lhasa. The relabeling and the omissions, obliterating the cause and altering the nature of the event, help significantly in delegitimizing the original narrative of the violence and reframing the conflicts in the TT. The Chinese translation thus successfully advances the Chinese government's perspective regarding the event when it constructs a different "reality" as far as the nature of the happening is concerned.

The nature of the happening is also altered in the translation when the news actors involved in the event are relabeled. Such relabeling instances are prevailing in Sample 2, as the next section illustrates.

10.4.2 (Re)labeling Conflicting Parties

A close comparison of the ST and the TT of Sample 2 reveals that the most striking divergence between the news text in English and the Chinese translation is the ways in which the two parties involved in the Lhasa event are identified. For the sake of space, only two extracts are analyzed in detail, and the other instances of relabeling the actors are summarized in Table 10.1.

Extract 3

Ex 3 ST (*The Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 2008): Tourists arriving in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, from the closed city of Lhasa have told how they saw *angry* mobs of *Tibetans* attacking *ethnic Chinese* last Friday.

Ex 3 TT (*RN*, March 21, 2008): 从拉萨转移到加德满都的游客讲述了14日他们是如何目睹 暴徒袭击平民的。

Ex 3 BT: Tourists transferring from Lhasa to Kathmandu, have told how they saw *mobs* attacking *ordinary people* last Friday.

Ex 3 ST, as the lead of the report in *The Daily Telegraph*, presents the account of the tourists who witnessed attacks during the riots. It describes the attack as "angry mobs of Tibetans attacking ethnic Chinese." In the

Table 10.1 (Re)labeling conflicting parties in Sample 2

English ST	Chinese TT	Back translation	English ST	Chinese TT	Back translation
Angry mobs of Tibetans	暴徒	Mobs	The ethnic Chinese	平民	Ordinary people
Tibetan throwers	袭击者	Attackers	Seven to eight Chinese people	有七八个人	Seven to eight people
Mob of Tibetans	暴徒	Mob	Chinese passers-by	过路者	Passers-by
Angry mobs of Tibetans	暴徒	Mobs	Anything that looked Chinese was attacked	Omitted	

TT, however, the attackers, "mobs of Tibetans," are turned into 暴徒 [mobs] and the attacked, "ethnic Chinese," into 平民 [ordinary people]. Since neither of the races of the two groups is recognized, the Chinese translation constructs what happened in the riots as "mobs attacking ordinary people" instead of "mobs of Tibetans attacking ethnic Chinese."

Apart from erasing the racial identities of the attackers and the victims, another significant deviation in reframing the attack is the deletion of the negative modifier "angry" used in the ST in labeling the attackers as "angry mobs." With its lead describing the attackers as being "angry," the English report tends to guide its potential reader to wonder why the Tibetans were angry, and the story proper in the news text is expected to provide the answer regarding what caused the anger. Such a framing is obviously not subscribed to by the Chinese translators, and the modifier "angry" is deleted along with the racial identity of the rioters. Likewise, omitted in the TT are the rumors about the cause of the attack quoted in the latter part of the ST, which argues that "a group of monks arrested on Monday had been killed by the Chinese, and that this inflamed emotions" (*Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 2008). The omission of racial identities is also found in the following extract of Sample 2.

Extract 4

Ex 4 ST: (*The Times*, March 19, 2008) Western tourists emerging from Tibet yesterday described their shock and fear as they watched a "howling" mob of *Tibetans* stoning and beating *Chinese passers-by* in two days of rioting in Lhasa last week.

Ex 4 TT (*RN*, March 21, 2008): 昨天从西藏回来的西方游客描述了他们的震惊和恐惧，上周在拉萨两天的骚乱中，这些游客曾眼看着一群"嚎叫"的暴徒殴打过路者。

Ex 4 BT: Western tourists emerging from Tibet yesterday described their shock and fear as they watched a "howling" mob beating passers-by last week in Lhasa's two days of rioting.

Ex 4 ST, also the lead, starts the report by *The Times* by mentioning the Western tourists' shock and fear at their witness of *a* "'howling' mob of

Tibetans stoning and beating Chinese passers-by." We can see that Ex 4 TT again relabels the attackers and the attacked with the omission of the racial identities of both parties in the conflicts and thus presents a much vaguer image of the conflicting parties and results in reframing the reported attack as a conflict between mobs and common people. Throughout Sample 2 TT, omission is found in eight instances of relabeling the news actors, four in referring the Tibetans as attackers and four in identifying the Chinese as the victims, as summarized in Table 10.1. With all such relabeling instances, the representation in Sample 2 TT blurs the ethnic confrontation that has been constructed in its two original English reports.

10.5 Politics of Translating Conflicts

Text analysis of the two samples reveals that the translations for the Chinese newspaper construct discrepant representations of China because the relabeling of the news event and of the news actors creates a reframed narrative of the conflicts. As illustrated in the analysis of Sample 1, *RN* reframes the rioting event that happened in Lhasa, which to Westerners is the most controversial city in the Chinese territory, as part of a scheme to separate Tibet from China masterminded by the Dalai Lama rather than as the result of the racial conflicts generally framed by Western media. Sample 2 exemplifies the distinct framing of the same event by the relabeling of the two races involved in the riots, which changes the categorization of the participants of the event and results in discrepant representations of the conflicting parties.

The investigation of institutional practice is considered crucial for the interpretation of the choices made in the production processes of texts. In Fairclough's (1995a) words, "processes of text production are managed through sets of institutional routines" (p. 48). Therefore, to understand why the apparent discrepancies occurred in the translation, we will first examine the institutional practices of news translation by *RN*. The larger contextual factors are then explored to find the social politics of translating conflicts for the Chinese media.

10.5.1 Institutional Practices

For a better understanding of the institutional practices involved in producing the translations for *RN*, a questionnaire survey and two interviews were conducted at headquarter of Reference News Agency (hereafter RNA), the Chinese news agency that disseminates the Chinese newspaper, in Beijing. The questionnaire was self-answered by thirty-five of RNA's in-house translators and the coordinator for the English–Chinese translation department was interviewed first, followed by the deputy editor-in-chief of *RN* (see Pan 2014b for details). The results are briefly discussed below in relation to the findings from the text analysis:

1. Recontextualization of the representation is not constrained but facilitated by the collective procedures of producing translated news texts at RNA. In the production process, every procedure involves the possibility of recontextualizing the news story to some degree. First of all, the selection of news articles and paragraphs to be translated by its news-selecting teams stationed at home and abroad leads to the initial recontextualization of news discourse for the target reader. After that, the selected reports are further transformed by the editorial staff's omission of certain elements in the source news reports. Then in actual translation, the translators are not monitored in order to avoid interventions that might lead to reframing the events in the translation. Though the translators are required to be faithful in rendering the selected reports or paragraphs of reports, the editors of *RN*, acting as the "top checkers" of all the translations, very often do not know the SL of the text translated and might overlook some of the translators' interventions. Subjective mediation could occur in rendering expressions or clauses that the translators find at odds with institutional or government policies. At the last stage, further recontextualization is very likely, not only in the editors' revisions or even omissions of some sentences or expressions in the translated report but also in their editing of the original headline or even giving a new headline to the Chinese report ready to be published.

2. Recontextualization is deemed necessary in the translators' consideration of the possible differences in the source readers' and the target readers' reactions towards negative reports about China. The producers of the Chinese reports for *RN* would probably never agree with the analogy of filtering to describe their role in the translation. However, questionnaire responses suggest that some RNA's in-house translators consider filtering to be a necessary function in guaranteeing the target readers' proper reactions towards negative or sensitive news on China. Accordingly, assumptions about possible attitudes of their Chinese readers towards news reports about China could partially be the motivation that drives *RN*'s producers to reframe the narratives by the original writer; for instance, the abandoning of the original framing of the event as bloody riots, as evidenced in Extracts 1 and 2.
3. Institutional training influences the actual renderings of sensitive expressions. The survey responses reveal that more than three fifths of *RN's* translators had been working in the institute for more than 5 years and that one-third had over 10 years working experience at *RN*. Working in a specific institutional context while being exposed to the in-house training processes year by year, *RN*'s in-house translators may be better viewed as institutionalized professional news translators. They are thus different from those freelancers who are less likely to commit to certain institutional practices.
4. Recontextualization can partly be the result of *RN* producers' resistance to the representation of events by Western media. As Schäffner (2014) observes, with their "translation embedded in institutional practices," the in-house translators' actual practice is bound to be "determined by institutional policies and ideologies" (p. 148). In this sense, it is unlikely that the producers of the translations, both the institutionally trained translators and the editors, would subscribe without reservation to the representations of China in the major British and American media. It is understandable that the official nature of *RN* and its connection with the state-run Xinhua News Agency make *RN* a newspaper much in line with the policies of the Chinese government. In fact, in the survey, RN's producers admit that they need to consider the attitude of the government as

well as the possible response by the general public while striving for faithful translation in their practice.

10.5.2 Historical and Sociocultural Factors

News and news translation are both social practices that are bound to be influenced by the mainstream politics. Since the larger context of social and cultural community determines or shapes the discourse practice that mediates between text and context (Faircough 1995a: 73), the exploration of social factors will likely provide a better understanding of the impact of the larger context on the news institute's decision making in the process of translation. In particular, the discussion here centers on the distinct ideas and beliefs held by the two language communities about the political status of Tibet and the nature and cause of the Lhasa event.

Firstly, the different understandings of the historical and political status of Tibet determine the distinct representations of China in relation to Tibet. The controversy is centered on whether Tibet has long been a part of China historically or was "independent" until China's "invasion" in 1951. According to the Chinese historians' account of the related history, Tibet was officially incorporated into the domain of China in the mid-thirteenth century in the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). Since then, Tibet has been under the jurisdiction of China's Central Government as a part of the Chinese territory. However, the Dalai Lama and his followers argue that Tibet was "independent until 1951" and that it has "suffered under an unlawful occupation by the Chinese thereafter" (Dillon 2009: 168). The rule of the Chinese government over Tibet is thus claimed "unlawful" by this group of people, which significantly influences Western representations of China in reports related to Tibet. It can explain the Western media's use of "protest," "riots," "violence" to label the event in Sample 1. In contrast, the Chinese government argues that Tibet "has always been an integral part of China and that it always should be" (Dillon 2009: 168). Such a view explains the use of 暴动 [the insurgency] and 暴力活动 [violent activity] in relabeling the event in *RN*'s translation, as found in Ex 1 TT.

Secondly, the nature of the Lhasa event is interpreted differently in China and in Western countries. The Dalai Lhama and his Western supporters insist that the rioting event was the result of increasing racial tension and conflict between Tibetans and the Chinese people under the Chinese government's rule over Tibet. The majority of Western media agree with the Dalai Lama's claim and frame the riots in Lhasa as racial conflicts between the Tibetans and the Chinese. However, to both the Chinese government and many Chinese people, the riots were a politically motivated and well-planned insurgence which is a part of the scheme masterminded by the Dalai Lama. They believe that "the [Lhasa] incident has once more exposed the separatist essence and the hypocrisy and deceitfulness of the alleged 'peace' and 'nonviolence' of the Dalai clique" (Dumbaugh 2009: 5).[1] Accordingly, in its translation (see Ex 3 TT and 4 TT), RNA, as an agency operated under the state Xinhuan News Agency, avoids subscribing to the Western media's frame. For instance, it omits the rumor quoted in the English original report by *The Daily Telegraph* (Sample 2 ST1). Also omitted is the quotation of a tourist's claim in the ST that no monks were involved in the violence. The claim obscures the responsibility of the monks for the attacks and the omission of it in the TT avoids raising any concerns over the monks' participation in the conflicts. The reframing can also be viewed as an effort to prevent possible Han Chinese's hatred towards the Tibetans and the Tibetan monks and avoid intensifying the racial tensions in other Tibetan areas in China. In addition, the Chinese news agency, labeling the riots as "the insurgence" (Ex 2 TT), reframes the representation of the event in a way to adhere to the political beliefs shared in the Chinese communities.

Thirdly, different understandings of China's religious policies can partly explain the different framings of the direct causes of the fierce attacks on the Chinese people by the Tibetans. In the report by *The Daily Telegraph*, the rumor quoted is used as the background information by the English news reporter to answer the English language reader's possible questions about the cause of the Tibetans' anger (see the analysis of Extract 3). The report quotes two men saying that "a rumour spread that a group of monks arrested on Monday had been killed by the Chinese" (Sample 2 ST1). It thus places the

[1] These remarks are attributed to PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao.

blame on the Chinese and frames the rumored killing as the direct cause of the riots. Such ways of representing China go well with the frequent practice in Western media regarding the issue of Tibet, in which they construct China as a country intolerant of religion, especially Tibetan Buddhism. *RN*A resists such framings since the agency does not agree with the quoted rumor about the cause of the event. The resistance can explain its deletion of the quotation as well as of the modifier "angry" in describing the Tibetan attackers, as shown in Extract 3.

Fourthly, the mainstream media has a direct impact on the choices of words for referring to the event in *RN*. For instance, the official media CCTV and Xinhua News Agency's frequent references of the event as 3·14打砸抢烧事件[3·14 beating, smashing, robbing and burning incident) and 暴动 [insurgency] are borrowed in *RN*'s rendering of "riots" (Sample 2 ST) into 打砸抢烧事件 [beating, smashing, robbing and burning incident] (Sample 2 TT) and both "violence" and "blooding riots" (Sample 1 ST) into 暴动 [insurgency] (Sample 1 TT). Evidently, the politics of translating news for a target reader is to follow the mainstream beliefs and views to recontextualize news discourse in a way to facilitate its function in the TL community while being shaped by the historical, sociocultural and ideological contexts in which the translation is meant to serve.

10.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the representations of China in Chinese and English language news reports about the Lhasa event regarding the framing strategy of (re)labeling both the news actors and the news events in constructing the conflicts. While the investigation of the institutional practices in *RN* indicates that recontextualization is facilitated by the collective procedures of producing translation in the news agency, the exploration of the larger context leads us to see that mainstream beliefs and views have a significant impact on the institutional recontextualization of the representation of the conflicts for the Chinese reader. Future studies based on a larger sample of source and translated news stories from more diverse

sources should prove useful in investigating such issues as whether other news institutions differ in their translating politics regarding labeling these events because of different reporting perspectives and different readerships.

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Sample 1 TT: *Reference News* (2008). 中国人支持政府行动 [The Chinese people support the government's action]. March 18, p. 14.

Sample 2 ST1: *The Daily Telegraph* (2008). Tibetans attacked Chinese, say Lhasa tourists. Mar 19. Accessed April 10, 2015. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1582120/Tibetans-attacked-Chinese-say-Lhasa-tourists.html

Sample 2 ST2: *The Times* (2008). Tourists speak of shock and fear at Tibet riots. March 19. Accessed April 10, 2015. http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/asia/article2608428.ece

Sample 2 TT: *Reference News* (2008). 外国游客直击拉萨事件 [Foreign tourists witnessed Lhasa incident]. March 21, p. 14.

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