Interfacing Disciplines: Textual Narratives of Departure, Navigation and Discovery

*Papers of the doctoral conference
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edited by
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Foreword by Professor John Drakakis, University of Stirling

In her ground-breaking *Translation Studies* (2002) 3rd edition, Susan Bassnett located the business of translation within a 'hierarchic al system' that was 'quite consistent with the growth of colonial imperialism in the nineteenth century' (pp.13-14). Historically this claim is irrefutable, and the process can be traced further back to the assimilation of texts in English translation that was part of a Renaissance imperialism. Of course, no translation can efface the *difference* between itself and its source text, and it is this realisation, and its profound implications, that has produced exciting work in the area of Translation Studies as it is in the process of undergoing a transformation. That transformation is from the status of a 'discipline' with specific objectives, to one in which the local and the global can be seen to actively intersect with each other, where boundaries, centres, dissolve, to the point that translation and interpretation are now the central features of a field of study that at one level promises the possibility of a genuine World Literature, but at its most inclusive stimulates interest in the international and trans-national exchange of semiotic systems with all of the complications, theoretical and practical, that such an extension entails.

In this process, the annual Doctoral Seminar at the Centre for Translation and Comparative Culture Studies, an impressive training ground for young scholars, has played a significant role. Each year post-graduates at all levels present their work before an audience of visiting academics, and each year a progressive 'decentring' has occurred as the ubiquitous nature of 'translation' as a practice that touches all disciplines in the Humanities and beyond, comes more and more into view. Of course, finding the equivalences in one language for texts written in another continues as a practice, but the difficulties of *stabilising* that practice given the inter-cultural exchange that is also involved in the process have become greater, and have helped to reshape the discipline in new and exciting ways. Much of this has occurred as a consequence of the spatial shrinking of the world, of the ease with which it is now possible to encounter through fast and efficient travel, other cultures, other languages. The result has been a growing *disciplinary* awareness of the tension between the 'local' and the 'global', between the imperial aspirations of dominant world cultures and their political, economic and media infrastructures, and dynamic local cultures eager to sustain their own dynamic identities and histories in a world of increasingly porous boundaries, along with the need to negotiate competing interests. All of this has gone hand in hand with an explosion of information technology that has imposed its own demands upon the business of translation and interpretation, on the ways in which 'information' is packaged and exchanged.

The following seven essays represent a selection of papers presented at the Doctoral Seminar over two days in June, 2008, and each in its own way, reflects some of the larger concerns that have become part of the warp and woof of the omni-present field of 'Translation Studies'. Jagvinder Gill's essay opens the collection, and straightaway challenges the accepted 'orientalist' paradigm that would normally fix 'the ontological and teleological definition' of a writer such as Sake Dean Mohamed as they travelled from one culture to another. In shifting the boundary back into the 18th century, Gill mounts a very sophisticated critique of 'orientalism', one that opens to question 'Eurocentric hegemony and Oriental isolation' and that, in the process, seeks to recover the writing of one of the first, if not the first, Indian writer in English. This is the first of four essays, all of which deal with different aspects of travel, and of encounters with 'other' cultures. Gill's fine paper is followed by Rebecca Harwood's

of the travels of two women writers in 1930s Russia, Claire Sheridan (cousin to Winston Churchill), and 'the quintessential flapper' and member of the British 'upper class' and Ethel Manin daughter of a post-office worker. Harwood explores the narratorial strategies and identities, and these two women forge for themselves, and the extent to which their own class affiliations direct their own perceptions of what they see and record. Here 'translation' and 'interpretation' are brought into close alignment with each other, but not simply as formal activities; rather emphasis is placed upon what it is in the lives of these women that *over-determine* their perceptions and their strategies.

There are some texts that are more fought over than others, and Rim Hassen's critique of Laleh Bakhtiar's 2007 translation of *The Sublime Quran* draws our attention opportunely to a case in point. Hassen sets out to answer the question of what in the way of strategy might a feminist translator do with a text such as the *Quran*? Such a project challenges issues such as authorship and authority, and raises further questions concerning how a feminist translator might intervene to stress matters of gendered identity. One space offered to the translator is the 'paratextual' preface, but other strategies might involve the technique of 'compensation' for what Hassen calls 'the linguistic and semantic losses between the source and the target language.' Hassen is not entirely uncritical of some of Bakhtiar's strategies, and notes a tension between the desire to remain faithful to source text, and the demands of a feminist approach. One does not have to read far beneath the surface of Hassen's paper to realise that such issues extend well beyond the boundaries of academic study, and that they address some of the most serious political questions of our time.

The fourth paper, Hunam Yun's discussion of Irish Drama in the Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism raises the fascinating question of why particular cultures at particular stages of their political existence appropriate foreign texts as a means of facilitating discourses that would otherwise be prohibited. This is a problem that left liberal Shakespeareans have had to face in their attempts to undercut the cultural capital that accrues to a writer such as Shakespeare. Yun's paper suggests that the problem extends far wider than Shakespeare, and into territory that, to say the least, is both unexpected and surprising. A very fruitful link is established between Ireland in the early 20th century, fighting for its independence from British colonial rule, and Korea between the two world wars faced with Japanese imperial rule. This is a valuable illustration of the link between a 'literary or artistic movement' of the kind that took place in Ireland, and a political movement that articulated its own desire for independence in terms of theatrical performance. There is much to consider in what can only be described as an allegorised reading of Irish national drama by Korean practitioners, in particular, the interface between politics and art, and Yun notes the manner in which the Korean theatre movement *appropriated* Irish drama for its own political purposes. This emphasis upon the appropriative function of translation complicates significantly the relation between source text and target audience, and situates linguistic exchange at the very heart of political practice, and what we might call the struggle for possession of the linguistic sign.

This theme is continued into Sun Kyoung Yoon's paper on 'Translators' Prefaces' with particular reference to F.W.Newman's preface to his translation of Homer's *Iliad*. This also expands a theme raised in Rim Hassen's treatment of prefaces as para-textual material, but explores further the claim that translation is 'merely transport from one language to another, without any interference.' Yoon's paper touches on

another issue that is of current concern, the 'presentism' whereby different 'metaphors of translation' have currency at particular historical conjunctures, and that all translation is a product of its historical moment. Yoon excavates the debate between Newman and Matthew Arnold over how best to translate Homer, in particular on matters such as the desirability or otherwise of the use of archaic English as the best means of translating the language of an alien culture. Moreover, he also situates Newman's approach in the wider intellectual currents of his time. Indeed, what is nicely exploded in this paper is the 'innocence' and the 'invisibility' of the translator.

Ana Teresa Marques de Santos's paper on 'Translation and the Interface between Literature and Radio' in 1930s Portugal bridges the gulf between 'literature', theatre and the modern media in the early days of Radio, but in the authoritarian regime of António de Oliviera Salazar, where questions of censorship and state control were paramount. The questions that de Santos raises are crucial for an understanding of issues such as the choice of material to be broadcast, the role and function of translators and, in the case of the broadcasting of literary texts, the adaptor, and the extent to which politics informed 'literary choices'. A further question that research of this kind raises concerns the extent to which 'foreign' literature might become a means of raising political questions that would never otherwise surface in an authoritarian regime. What is chosen, why it is chosen, how it is translated and/or adapted, what of these texts is included, omitted or appropriated, are all crucial questions that place the translator and adaptor at a point where, politics, history, culture, and the boundaries between languages intersect. Moreover, radio is, as de Santos clearly implies, one of the under-researched areas of modern media, and was, across Europe a hybrid electronic form, with considerable mass appeal, occupying an intermediary position between literature, theatre, and drama, drawing from them all, but quickly overshadowed by film and later television, but still an extraordinary research resource.

The final paper in this collection moves the debate much more fully into the sphere of electronic media, Information Technology and globalisation, through an investigation of the process of translating commercial websites. The existence of the Worldwide Web presents a range of problems for the translator, and deeply implicates 'translation' in the political practice of expanding and securing markets. Yvonne Lee's paper aims both to challenge and force 'the enquiry into the rethinking of the traditional framework of translation analysis.' She notes the different categories of 'written text' that appear on commercial websites, as well as the visual material that requires to be interpreted, and she also notes the tension between the global claims made by marketing companies and the *local* terms in which such appeals may need to e couched. In her analysis of certain Chinese websites she notes what she calls 'a disruption of coherence' since the imperative to offer 'information for local consumers' exists in tension with 'information about the 'corporation' that may be necessitated by the need to address users who have a vested interest in the commercial practices of the company. This raises questions about the generic nature of the information provided, but it also raises further questions about the ubiquity in a dominant language such as English of particular brand names that are thereby designated as having a 'universal' – albeit 'non-essential' - appeal. It is the final sentence of Lee's paper that issues a real challenge: if translations 'are simultaneously points of arrival as well as departure', and if websites 'are the sites from where users travel further in the hyper-textual cyberspace' then this raises a host of new questions about what, in traditional sense, we might think of as 'travel

writing', and the extent to which we need to reconsider the distinction between 'information' and the affective power of rhetoric in those texts that foreground fictionality. If translation is now the global currency of exchange – and not necessarily an equal exchange – then we may also need to rethink the connections between 'information', 'text' and 'hypertext'.

The seven papers in this collection invite us to reconsider some of the most pressing issues in a field of study that now touches all disciplines. The format of the conference paper, that is strictly adhered to in this collection, is an ideal training mechanism, and the extent to which this group of young scholars have explored and exploited the form in order to stimulate further thought and discussion captures accurately the sense of enthusiasm and adventure of the occasion on which they were first delivered.

Reverse Orientalism in the Texts of Sake Dean Mahomed

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Introduction

Immigration movements into Britain such as the Windrush generation of the 1950s and the large influx of labour stream from the Indian sub-continent in the decades following were by no means the genesis of Britain's inception as a culturally diverse society. The travels of ayahs, lascars, servants and princes 'stretches back to the founding of the East India Company in 1600.'[1] When investigating the various tactics and manoeuvres colonised people had available to them we are able to see a dynamics of Orientalism that was far from the monologue that has been historically presented, by both critics like Edward Said and also Orientalists themselves. These scholars have given far too little attention to the presence and contribution of early Indian settlers in Britain; travellers that escape the ontological and teleological definitions generally associated with sub-continental people's entry into and influence over Britain. This raises the question that if Orientalism as a very structure rests upon basic dialogical distinctions between colony/metropole, colonizer/colonized and ultimately Orient/Occident, how are these definitions able to defend themselves against a process which demonstrates that the very grounds on which these distinctions were made, were far more intertwined for such definitions to sustain themselves in wholesale terms? I would contest that such distinctions disallow the idea that British society and its cultural modernity were intrinsically constituted by a multitude of influences and contestations from Indian settlers and travellers who constitute a legacy Michael H. Fisher has termed 'Counterflows to Colonialism.'[2]

The work of Rozina Vizram, Michael H. Fisher and Shompa Lahiri has been invaluable in unlocking the possibilities of what I have labelled reverse Orientalism. This term is offered as a definition for a process where Indian writers utilised the tropes of classic Orientalism to both challenge the original text and create immigrant spaces within Britain. It is for this reason that I have not labelled it Occidentalism, as that indicates that such a process would have to be symmetrical to the colonial project; such a conception could not sustain itself in macro terms politically, militaristically or economically. However, this paper aims to identify the Orient within Britain itself and argue that Indian travellers and settlers also engaged in 'Orientalising' projects, a cultural dynamics that deconstructs the normal power relations associated with not only the high colonial period but also the pre and post colonial eras. Michael H. Fisher argues that such a contra flow of knowledge can be traced back to the beginning of the 17th century where a process 'less noticed by historians, [was that] Indian travellers and settlers in Britain also contributed incrementally to this body of knowledge about themselves and their homelands.' (Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows*, 5) This paper will outline a process where colonialism was not a simple and uncontested set of relations. There were contrasts as well as correlatives in the way Britons and Indians came to view each other and

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[1] Visram, Rozina. Asians in Britain 400 Years of History. London: Pluto Press, 2002, 354.
See also for further details Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes. Indians in Britain, 1700-1947. London: Pluto Press, 1986.

[2] Michael Herbert Fisher, Counterflows to Colonialism. Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600-1857. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, 1.

define themselves; that these representations were constantly being remoulded and recapitulated over time. Thus, my primary objective is to demonstrate how early travellers to Britain both contested and moulded their identities as Indians but also contested them as Britons, within Britain nearly two centuries before terms such as British Asian became generally received. To do this I am going to analyze specifically the interdisciplinary texts of Sake Dean Mahomed whose writings covered various topics concerning Britain's relationship with India within a framework of departure, navigation and discovery.

Travel Writing and Colonialism

The use of the travelogue was an especially effective medium in which to navigate the dialogical flows of colonialism and the subsequent development of modernity. James Clifford has correlatively argued for travel to be viewed as constitutive of cultural formations where 'cultural centres, discrete regions and territories, do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them, appropriating and disciplining the restless movements of people and things.'[3] The work of the Romanticists and Asiatic Researches had done much to stoke the curiosity of the British reader as to the true nature of the Orient; this body of research both directly and indirectly led to a spate of travelogues from a variety of Orientalists.[4] These voyages were written not only as spatial journeys but temporalised in a manner Edward Said would argue framed the Orient in alien and backward terms. Nigel Leask states that the picturesque format was instrumental in this antiquated fashioning of the Orient, because 'the picturesque landscape is also a *past* landscape which manifests the ruinous agency of time.'[5] He also noted that this process allowed 'the stabilization of bourgeois European subjectivity in the discourse of travel… [where] the Indian picturesque translated sensibility into the personal nostalgia of the imperial viewer.' (Leask 175-76) Thus, the travel picturesque was a form which allowed the writer to create not just the alien landscape but home as well. This dynamic establishes the fluidity and imaginative endeavour that existed between the colony and the metropole, where colony became home and vice versa.

By adopting a reflexive approach the 'Counterflow' travellers also have a relative degree of agency both in the way they were framed in the West but crucially also how they viewed the colonial power. Mary Pratt labels this as 'an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctives, and whose trajectories now intersect.'[6] What she proposes is a dynamics of exchange that acknowledges the asymmetrical power relations of colonialism but leaves the door ajar for native peoples to formulate

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[3] James Clifford, Routes Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1997, 3.

[4] George Viscount Valentia Voyages and Travels to India...(1809-Aristocratic Grand Tour), Reginald Heber's Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay (1827-Picturesque Modality) and Francis Buchanan's A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar (1807-Survey Modality) were just three famous examples in the early 19th century of the different ways Westerners engaged imaginatively with the Orient.

[5] Nigel Leask, Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel writing, 1770-1840 'From an Antique Land. Oxford UP, 2002, 173.

[6] Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge, 1992, 7.

effective responses that either subvert the Orientalist's imperial intentions in the colony or moulds them in order to ameliorate them within their own cultures, according to their own dictates and rules. Pratt, however, limits the Orientals' response to resting within the colony without delineating a process of transculturation that can be reversed and placed within the imperial metropole itself. Dean Mahomed was able to make the opposite journey to the ones showcased by European travel writers; the 'contact zone' and its derivative discourse of transculturation were not just phenomena of the colonized world at the periphery but such discursive possibilities and practices also filtered through to the imperial centre. Tabish Khair contests that 'when one employs the word "travel" in an Anglophone context, one is struck by the extent to which it represents not sight but blindness. The travels of entire peoples sometimes within Europe, but often outside...Eurocentric spaces have been erased.[7]

This paper is an effort to re-inscribe these movements within a revised narrative of interrelations that questions Eurocentric hegemony and Oriental isolation. The modernising European world was also transculturated, it too had to select actively what it absorbed and imbibed from different and foreign cultures, a cultural paradigm that problematizes modernity as being a Western concept *tout court*. I will be locating Mahomed's project within what Clifford has termed the dynamics of dwelling/travelling where 'the representational challenge is seen to be the portrayal and understanding of local/global historical encounters, co-productions, dominations and resistances, [where also] one needs to focus on hybrid, cosmopolitan experiences as much as on rooted, native ones.' (Clifford, 24) It is my hypothesis that his account demonstrates a pre-colonial Britain that was constituted by 'Orientals' such as him to a far greater degree than has previously been acknowledged.

Dean Mahomed – As Traveller

The Travels of Dean Mahomet..., was written in Cork in 1784 and published in 1794. The text cannot be straight-jacketed within one particular form; it can be described in interfacing terms as part memoir, autobiography and as a conventional travelogue. Dean Mahomed was born in Patna, Eastern India in 1759, into a family which had a long tradition of service in the Mughal imperial court. His father and older brother, however, had both enrolled for service within the Bengal army of the East India Company and Dean Mahomed was subject to these competing allegiances. Michael Fisher states that the Bengal army as an entity was indicative of greater political machinations, because 'the complex entity known as the Bengal army arose directly out of the conflicts between the English company and the Nawabs of Bengal.'[8] Thus, Mahomed was born into a highly contested cultural world where identity was subject to hybridised political systems that required him to be mobile and dexterous in his identity formations. This shifting cultural design was not just indicative of the militaries in India at the time, but the country as a whole; it proved crucial to Mahomed's future ability to place himself in a variety of social positions both in Ireland and Britain. This establishes in Mahomed's text the axiomatic link between Orientalism as a discursive site on both sides of the global divide, he de-centres oppositional identity politics at the margins and the imperial centre.

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[7] Tabish Khair, Other routes 1500 years of African and Asian travel writing. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 2005, 5.

[8] Michael Herbert Fisher, and Sake Deen Mahomet. The First Indian Author in English. Dean Mahomed (1759-1851) in India, Ireland, and England. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1996, 120.

His travelogue can be seen as an attempt by a 'subaltern' subject to co-opt himself within the Orientalist project; both the (epistolary) form and scope of the work were very typical of the time, especially British representations of India. The imaginative geography of the text locates Mahomed as writing back from India to Britain. This dynamic establishes two key points, the first being his ability to use European forms and language and secondly the implication that he must have been writing for a European audience. Symbolically, he is even compelled to give the exact co-ordinates of places in relation to Britain; he writes that 'Calcutta is a very flourishing city, and the presidency of the English Company in Bengal. It is situate on the most Westerly branch of the less Ganges in 87 deg. east lon. and 22, 45 north lat.; 130 miles north east of Balisore, and 40 south of hugely.' (Mahomed, 57) He writes the Orient for the West in much the same way as many Orientalists would do at the time and in the future. He impersonates Orientalist curiosity when stating in letter eight that 'the riches and luxury of the East, are displayed with fascinating charms'.[9]

Mahomed also blurs the distinction between Western 'civility' and Eastern 'savagery,' by placing himself within the myopia of the 'civilising' gaze and against the savagery of the natives. He describes one such encounter in textbook Orientalist imagery when stating that 'a gang of those licentious savages rushed with violence on them, inhumanly butchered seven or eight of our people, and carried off three elephants, and as many camels, with several horses and bullocks.' (Mahomed, 55) This identification with Western modernity and technological superiority is reiterated when he describes a battle where 'some of the savages fell on the plain, others were wounded...after feeble resistance with their bows, arrows, and swords, [giving] way to our superior courage and discipline. (Mahomed, 55-56) Throughout these passages Mahomed's use of the first person plural of 'our' indicates that he was intimately aware of the market he was writing for and his epistemologies are shaped accordingly, his account however, is positioned as a reworking of prior depictions that are now being rendered with more intimacy and clarity.

Dean Mahomed as Ethnographer

Throughout the *Travels* Dean Mahomed encounters different landscapes, cultures, peoples and religions, but his text never ascribes a fixed identity to himself. This is especially important in locating the interrelated nature of identity formation within Mahomed's world. The self/other dialectic is always under pressure within the text as he asserts himself variously within Anglo-centric positions but then undermines these locations with his sense of affiliation to Indian customs and rituals. Michael Fisher correlatively argues that the 'diversity of Indian society meant that each city and region which he encountered struck him as distinct and worthy of notice. His relationship to other Indians remained ambivalent. He stood as both an insider to the domestic rituals of his Muslim relatives and also as an outsider to their world.' (Fisher, *First Indian Author*, 2) This ambivalent positioning allows him to offer alternative ethnographic accounts of Indians without alienating or patronising his British readership. One such example among others is letter 14 when he writes 'The Mahometans meet death with uncommon resignation and fortitude considering it only as the means of enlarging them from a state of mortal captivity, and opening to them a free and glorious passage to the mansions of bliss.' (Mahomed, 68). His readiness

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[9] Sake Deen Mahomet, and Michael Herbert Fisher. <u>The Travels of Dean Mahomet an Eighteenth-Century Journey Through India</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 52.

to tailor his writing to suit a British context is represented in the way he refers to Muslims as Mahometans, a term not acceptable to Muslims themselves, then or now. However, he does not pander to British or Orientalist prejudices, nor does he seek to project and circulate them, he actually uses such tools to subtly undercut the moral and civil hierarchies that relegated Orientals to the lowest rungs of the imperial ladder. This is demonstrated by the way he postulates the qualities of Muslim characteristics without offering direct comparison with European habits and practices, a conventional Orientalist strategy. He states 'that the Mahometans are, in general, a very healthful people: refraining from the use of strong liquors, and accustomed to a temperate diet,' (Mahomed, 68) The comparison is subtly invited and the suggestion that Europeans are not as controlled in their use of alcohol is implicit and illustrates his desire to recontextualize value systems outside of Orientalist taxonomies. Tabish Khair writes that 'often in the book, [Mahomed] appears to be implicitly or explicitly correcting dominant English views of India as an exotic land or a land of seductive depravity, of Muslims as blind followers of a depraved and oppressive religion.' (Khair, 202) Mahomed strategically positions himself outside of the Islamic community in India in order to espouse the civility of their culture and mentality, consequently subverting Colonialist assumptions of their irrationality, selfishness, dirtiness and even the dietary benefits of their cuisine.

His framing of the other in more refined terms is demonstrated vividly in his portrayal of the Hindu faith and its varying traits and rituals. A passage regarding the serenity of Benares seems to denote the antique nature of Hindu mentality but also signposts the dangers of modernity and Western culture on 'the simplicity of the native Hindoo's a people unaccustomed to the sanguinary measures of, what they term, civilised nations.' (Mahomed, 80) His use of Orientalist techniques allow him to posit ideas that once seem complicit but in fact display a concern about the cultural hegemony of Western modernity. He takes care to render intelligible for his European reader the idiosyncrasies of Hindu life; he implores 'however strange their doctrine may appear to Europeans...they are much to be commended for the exercise of the moral virtues they inculcate, namely, temperance, justice, and humanity.' (Mahomed, 82) He bids the reader glimpse 'amidst a variety of extravagant customs, strange ceremonies, and prejudices, [where] we may discover the traces of sublime morality, deep philosophy, and refined policy.' (Mahomed, 83) Mahomed co-opts himself into romanticist discourse where he attributes notions of the sublime and the exotic to the Indian people, again with himself as an ambivalently positioned narrator. These details are crucial in the way the Other within the Western mind is challenged, because it is contextualised by an Indian himself, his balanced and positive accounts can be seen as a victory for Indian diversity, and for himself as an objective ethnographer, he enters into a discourse that does not rest on hegemonic designs for power, as the classic Orientalist does.

Mahomed as Cultural Translator/Pioneer
Dean Mahomed was the first Indian author writing in English to be published in England or India, he was aware of this precedent, and the need to be viewed as a genuine writer. The need for his work to be legitimized is indicated by his declaration in the title that the narrative was written by himself.[10] Mahomed's ability to function

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[10] This was a tactic also employed by contemporary and pioneering Black writers such as Olaudah Equiano and Ignatius Sancho, who too intimately identified the need to be validated by their ability to write and in effect create responses to hegemonic assumptions of their inferiority. In fact Mahomed may have been directly influenced by Equiano's text as he visited cork in 1791 and a meeting between the two cannot be ruled out.

and manoeuvre effectively within the British imperial body politic indicates a mobile identity that could be labelled both Anglo-centric and exotic. The fact that he converted to Christianity, married an Irish wife and indulged in British social mores such as drinking alcohol demonstrated his ability to assimilate within British culture, however, throughout his life in Britain he was able to use the 'exotic' and 'Oriental' labels attached to him to his own advantage. His work can be viewed as challenging the authority of colonial discourse in its definition of the other, as his translation revises British originals that are presented as reality and re-presents them through Oriental eyes, thus offering a different version of reality, a rewritten version of the Orientalist text. Susan Bassnett has argued that translations indicate a highly malleable discursive site that 'requires an extraordinary set of literary skills, no whit inferior to the skills required to produce that text in the first instance.'[11] Mahomed's rewriting and his texts as a whole in regards to reversing the hegemony of Orientalist discourse can be viewed as evidence of cultural translation that acts as a regenerative and constitutive element of British modernity.

Shampooing..., Mahomed's second written publication published in 1822 explicitly posits a correlation between European and Oriental learning that he himself was reviving. Up to this point Mahomed had shown no obvious expertise in the arts of shampooing (medicated massage and steam bath). What he was able to do was to incorporate his exotic background with a modern media savvy to create an image of himself from which he could build a succession of successful baths in Brighton that became so famous that they enjoyed the patronage of the monarchy.[12] He states that 'bathing is coeval with the remotest periods of antiquity. Homer mentions the use of private [Shampooing] baths.'[13] Mahomed appropriates his 'exotica' and deploys it selectively, he in effect becomes the Romantic Orientalist who propounds the glory and efficacy of exotic practices that once linked Europe with the Orient. Mahomed goes on to elaborate that 'the herbs and essential oils with which my baths are impregnated are brought expressly from India, and undergo a certain process known only to *myself*, before they are fit to use.' (Mahomed, Shampooing, 3) Thus, Mahomed becomes the Orientalist that hauls Oriental treasure back to the metropole for the benefits of his public. He even goes on to challenge attempts from British imitators in London that sought to copy his practices and thus threaten his position as the translator of Oriental exotic wisdom. His advertisement proclaims that 'Sake Dean Mahomed has long been solicited to come to town,...he felt no desire to do so until he found that an establishment was carried on in his name, with which he has not...the slightest connection.' (Mahomed, *Shampooing*, 200)   Mahomed actually

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[11] Susan Bassnett, 'Writing and Translating' in Susan Bassnett, and Peter R. Bush. The Translator As Writer. London: Continuum, 2006, 179.

[12] Mahomed displayed an intimate knowledge of the way modern discourses could be co-opted but also created. This is illustrated in a series of advertisements he placed in a variety of medical and lifestyle publications. One such advertisement proclaimed that 'the convenience of Mr Mahomed's establishment for baths of every description is unequalled and...The warm bath so materially calculated for promoting the health of the human system, may be had here in all its luxuries; and Mr Mahomed has no hesitation in saying, in a superior mode to any other establishment in the kingdom.' (Mahomed, *Shampooing*, 198)

[13] Sake Deen Mahomed, Shampooing; Or, Benefits Resulting from the Used of the Indian Medicated Bath, As Introduced into This Country. Brighton: W. Fleet, 1838, 1.

delineates a process where the colonizer assimilates to the traveller's self-creations, a reverse mirror image of what Bhabba has termed Mimicry, where the 'process by which the look of surveillance returns as the displacing gaze of the disciplined, where the observer becomes the observed.'[14] In Mahomed's dynamic the subaltern becomes the imitated and the colonialist becomes the imitator.

To authenticate further himself as a genuine medical practitioner Mahomed employed what appeared to be a dichotomy of legitimations. The first was that his art was exotic and thus was only practicable by him because of his own foreignness and 'exotica' and secondly, he located his practice within a rising European medical discourse, what Foucault would later term the expanding biopower of the state. C L Innes argues that Mahomed is 'one of the most striking instances of the ability of some Asian and Black writers to draw upon their cultural heritage and double identity as loyal subjects and 'outsiders' to offer themselves as pathologists, able to redeem the ills which will make Britain a whole and healthy body.'[15] Mahomed co-opts himself within European conceptions of modernity; however, he does this by interrelating pre-modern Indian methods within a discourse of progress that was supposed to relegate such antiquities to the peripheries. Instead, Mahomed highlights that such a singular perspective does not allow for the interventions made by Indians at the centre of British society and its developing modernity, that such interventions are constitutive of British modernity as opposed to being merely influential in varying degrees.

Conclusion

Dean Mahomed's life in Britain and his writings highlight the interrelated nature of British and Indian colonial modernity. He was able to appropriate the very terms and parameters of Western modernity, selectively deploying and contesting its epistemologies. Mahomed's ethnographic and anthropological designs contrast with European Orientalist portrayals of Indians at the time, and also counter-historicize the hitherto neglected presence of Indians in the metropole. He was also able to appropriate the language and imagery of Orientalism to project himself within British society, as a constituent not merely as a traveller. His opening of the Hindoostanee coffee house in 1810 in Portman Square London was one of the first attempts at what is now effectively Britain's favourite eatery, the curry house.[16] Mahomed cleverly marketed his 'exotic' identity to returning company officials from India to create a place for himself that located him within mainstream British society whilst also signifying a society that was open to infiltration and reinvention and as indicated by the coalescing of British and Indian culinary tastes, a legacy that continues to the modern day. His time in Brighton especially has left a legacy that still posits the place in cosmopolitan terms, a genuine contribution to the multi-cultural state that exists within Britain today.[17] Not only was he able to assimilate within British culture, he was also able to create his own Britain, a social formation that influenced the development of modern Britain itself.

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[14] Homi K. Bhabba, 'Of Mimicry and Man' in The Location of Culture. London: Routledge, 1994, 89.

[15] Catherine Lynette Innes, A History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain, 1700-2000. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2002, 55.

[16] The establishment was recently commemorated by a plaque that now rests on a building called Carlton House in London http://www.ukinindia.org/magazines/britaintoday/BTInnerpage 24/01/08.

[17] Mahomed settled in Brighton at the end of his life and travels within Britain, his propriety of a variety of baths and patronage from the Royal family was instrumental in the development of Brighton as a tourist centre at the time a process that continued into modern times. His contribution to the cosmopolitan make up of the city is still evident today, as the city is still symbolic of a place that welcomes difference and encourages equality for all its inhabitants, a legacy Mahomed in many ways helped to create.

Mahomed wrote in English, was at the centre of his own creations, he decided what to circulate, what was deemed relevant to report and what judgements to offer, all of which enveloped in a mobile subjectivity that static conceptions of Colonizer and Colonized cannot account for. Tony Ballantyne analogously postulates that such an endeavour 'moves beyond a literary focus on the static text to focus on imperial systems of circulation, recovering the transmission of ideas, information and identities across the Empire. Such an approach allows us to recontextualize prominent imperial concerns that would otherwise appear marginal.'[18] Mahomed was one such writer whose travels within India and Britain act as a typical example of the way this transmission of ideas became subsumed within dominant structures of knowledge (Orientalism) and need to be reappraised within their temporal and mobile locations. Further academic endeavours need to locate Mahomed and travellers like him within a local British perspective where their effect on British society and culture need to be extricated from a purely imperial framework.

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[18] Tony Ballantyne, Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire New York: Palgrave, 2002, 16.

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Narrative Identities in British Women's Travel Writing between the Wars

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Introduction

In this paper I would like to look at the particular case of the travel narratives of two British women writing on Russia in the inter-war period: Claire Sheridan, best remembered as Winston Churchill's cousin and alleged Communist spy, and Ethel Mannin, only remembered (if at all) as a writer of popular romances. In particular, I hope to illustrate how these two British women travel writers navigated the various discourses of femininity circulating through inter-war British society to construct their narratorial identities.

Despite enjoying great popularity in their time, the work of Mannin, Sheridan, and many other interwar women writers has been largely forgotten; instead the literature of this period is now characterised almost entirely by the work of the 'Auden Generation'. Such wilful neglect of these women writers might be taken as clear evidence of Ingram and Patai's suggestion in their anthology of British Women Writers between 1889 and 1939, that neither 'the critics who have sustained Virginia Woolf's reputation as a priestess of high modernism nor those who celebrated Orwell as the bad boy of British socialism' seem to have known how to evaluate the very particular radical visions of these women and thus rejected their "clear expressions of marginalised political commitments as the telltale signs of inferior art" (Ingram and Patai, *Forgotten Radicals* 8).

As women working and writing in the 20s and 30s, a period marked by great social and political unrest and dramatic changes in women's positions, Mannin and Sheridan were already subject to a complex of subtle and not so subtle restrictions with regard to the public sphere. In choosing to travel to Russia, both Mannin and Sheridan placed themselves in a context that could only lead to a further curtailing of their freedom of expression, movement, creativity and thought. Thus, the usual travellers' claims of offering an authentic rendition of events are all the more dubious in the context of a political space such as Russia in the inter-war years, where the heavy hand of censorship controlled (almost) all social interaction.

The Long Weekend

The interwar period, or the *Long Weekend*, as it has been memorably named by Graves and Hodges in their book of the same name, can be seen as divided into two parts: the energetic Twenties, described by Storm Jameson as "lively with ideas, dreams, hopes, experiments" (Jameson, *Journey* 292) – followed by the grim political realities of the Thirties. This division is evident in the writings of Clare Sheridan and Ethel Mannin, who were both in their middle thirties when they travelled to the same place, but were in fact writing from opposite ends of this long weekend. Sheridan, the quintessential flapper, arrives in Russia on the heady first night of the weekend in 1920 and flirts with Communism with all the enthusiasm of a young girl allowed out on her own for the first time, but for Mannin, in 1936, the failure of Communism and the very real threat of Fascism leave her somewhat weary of the adventure: she is older and ready to go home.

Importantly, the two women were also writing from opposite ends of the British class system. Clare Sheridan, Winston Churchill's cousin, a member of the upper class, is determined to make her own way and shake off the spectre of her highly privileged background, yet sees no contradiction in her "wearing a Red enamelled star attached to my diamond watch" (Sheridan, *Satanella* 208), a star, moreover, given to her by a General of the Soviet Military Police; and Ethel Mannin, a post office worker's daughter, defiantly proud of her roots, who in conversation with the Socialist M.P George Lansbury declares herself "glad that as a writer [she] could be held free of any class distinction" (Mannin, *Confessions* 169).

Although Sheridan and Mannin were women, and both were travelling to the same place, at more or less the same time, it is their differences – in class, age, education, political ideals and expectations – that condition their personal visions and the construction of their narrative identities.

The 1920's
Throughout the interwar period, Russia constituted an enduring public attraction: it was, as Mayte Gómez has said in Burdett and Duncan's *Cultural Encounters*, – "a space marked by huge social and political change" – or better, to quote Adrienne Rich "a place in history'" (Rich. qtd. in Gómez 77). An article by Huntley Carter on Nov, 17th, 1921 in *The New Age*, which testifies to the presence of Sheridan and H.G Wells in Russia, also rails against the number of books about Russia that "pour from the publishing houses in an unending stream,…" Nevertheless, actually to travel to Russia and not just write about it during this time was a brave undertaking – one that certainly risked a person's reputation at home – especially if your cousin was Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War.

But Sheridan, although certainly courageous in travelling alone to Russia, does so rather in the spirit of an almost childlike act of defiance. The voyage is not only an escapade but also quite clearly an escape from the constraints of her upper class family. She is newly widowed, her family is already lining up possible future husbands to keep her in check, but she is determined upon a redefinition of her Self as an artist, a sculptor, and, somewhat awkwardly, as a "worker." In the preface to her first book on Russia, published in England under the title *Russian Portraits* in 1921, ostensibly the unedited diary of her time there, she is quite clear that she does "not pretend to present a picture of Russia. I was only in Moscow where portrait work, not politics, was my concern" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 11).

But she cannot escape her class: although she often rejoices that her background is unknown and unimportant in Russia, itself a highly naive perception, the title for the American edition of her book *Mayfair to Moscow*, emphasises the significance of her origin - Mayfair is not only her personal point of departure, but must also be the one taken up by the reader in navigating her narrative. Although certainly talented a sculptress, her success was undoubtedly promoted by her family connections, and perhaps also by the revived interest at the time in the study of heads as a method to determine personality traits or intelligence. Sheridan had already secured commissions to sculpt the features of many of the leading figures in English society when she accepted the invitation of Kamenev and Krassin (the Russian trade emissaries in London at the time) to go to Russia to add the 'heads' of Lenin and Trotsky to her collection. In her chosen profession, with callipers and chisel as the tools of her trade, Sheridan goes about her work in very much the same way as an early explorer collecting samples from the new world to bring home to the idle

curious. The colonial implications of this claim for possession are borne out at the end of her diary with the appearance of a Mr. Cousins, the President of the Phrenological Society who comes to use her measurements of the heads to make his own generalisations on the characteristics of the Russian leaders from a scientific standpoint.

Her hopes for personal freedom in Russia are clear in her description of standing on deck with Kamenev "to see the last of England, with her Turner sky." Kamenev describes the land they are leaving behind as mysterious, but to her "it was just the old world wrapt in a shroud" with the real Mystery lying "ahead of us in the *new* world that is our destination" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 51). But she strides into this new world with the same imperious superiority and sense of ownership as her Victorian counterparts, attracted by the sheer size of the land and the possibilities for adventure.

Although she herself saw her experience as authentic and believed she had fully engaged with the plight of the Russian people, most critics accused her of irresponsibility and dismissed her observations as superficial. Emma Goldman, in her preface to *My Disillusionment with Russia*, disparages her as a mere "travelling salesman." Indeed, Sheridan's published diary was very uncritical of Russia: she concludes that "Russia is not at war with the world, the world is at war with Russia" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 31), and it is precisely statements like this that so angered her English audience. In her biography of her cousin, Anita Leslie records that:

> Clare did not fully comprehend the indignation that she had aroused among the very people who had previously been ready to give her commissions. Winston did not wish to speak to her - which was natural, for she had greatly embarrassed him. The Royal Family could not condone a visit to the murderers of their relatives. London society now dubbed her "a traitor to her class" (Leslie, *Cousin Clare* 131).

Sheridan's shock at the controversy her travels stirred up upon her return to England could perhaps be seen as evidence that she never really expected either herself or her opinions to be taken seriously. This suggestion is afforded further strength by the rather capricious and defiant style of her second travel book, *Across Europe with Satanella*, published in 1925, four years after *Russian Portraits*, in which Sheridan gives an account of her second journey to Russia, this time in the sidecar of her brother's motorbike. Flying in the face of convention and political boundaries, she motors across Europe into Russia once more if only to prove that she can without being apprehended by the authorities. It is almost too easy to use Sheridan's own words against her, but the following remark is worth sharing in the context of my previous comments about the seriousness of her intent:

> It is always amusing to find out people's politics, and usually those who were not Communists talked to us indiscreetly, taking for granted that we were also not Communist. I never could make out what there was in our appearance to create such an impression (Sheridan, *Satanella* 147).

The 1930's
By the 1930's, as Valentine Cunningham has remarked, "almost everyone was in Russia" (Cunningham 345). Ethel Mannin, like many others at the time, came to Russia and Communism or to a belief in the need for a united or popular front, because of the immediate threat of fascism and war.

In 1933, she joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and began writing regularly for their weekly paper, the New Leader. In 1934, she published *Forever Wandering*, a collection of notes on the people she knew and on her travels, including an account of her first visit to Moscow, gathered together to form part of an autobiography. In Moscow, she was exhilarated by the freedom from tyranny she found there that she hadn't found anywhere else; "I found there a life which is real, free of the tyranny of shams, religious, conventional, moral" (Mannin, *Wandering* 210). Her whole account is laced with optimism – she finds little evidence to support this but insists always on emphasising the possibilities for progress; "Russia is the country of the future; the country with a future – the most tremendous future of any country in the world judged by any standard; it is the most progressive country in the world" (Mannin, *Wandering* 181).

Like Sheridan before her, she claims her account is objective and attempts to formalise this with her numerous sub-headings 'shops, prices, food rations', and although she begins her account by insisting that, "It will be borne in mind that the following notes are the results of my own personal observations in only one place – Moscow; they do not pretend to be 'The truth about Russia'" (Mannin, *Wandering* 173), she too cannot resist the temptation to write Moscow as Russia.

In 1935, Mannin made her second visit to the Soviet Union, on what she describes in her opening chapter as 'the Golden Journey to Samarkand', but this time with only a short return to Moscow. The travels took the form of a an illicit jaunt, sneaking into Samarkand with her friend, trespassing over closed borders without permits, and generally breaking as many rules as possible. She admits in her preface that she was "dreading Moscow" this time, because "her passion for personal liberty amounts almost to mania" (Mannin, *Samarkand* 29) and clearly her attitude to the Soviet Union was beginning to change. As Andy Croft documents in his essay on Mannin in *Rediscovering Forgotten Radicals*, her travel book *South to Samarkand*, published in 1936, was eventually "so critical that Donia Naschen, a Communist artist who had accompanied her to the Soviet Union, withdrew her illustrations for the book" (Croft 220). In the same essay, Croft gives a clear summary of the events leading up to the publication of *South to Samarkand* which resulted in Mannin's change of heart: Mannin only just begun work on *South to Samarkand* when in January 1936 she wrote an article for the *New Leader* under the title 'Whither Russia?' Though she was still enthusiastic for the visible progress in Russia, her last visit had left her disappointed with the many regional and social inequalities she had seen. The article provoked a series of angry letters and parts were taken out of context by the *Blackshirt*, the weekly paper of the British Union of Fascists as evidence of her disillusion in Russia (Croft 219-220). The controversy that followed was bitter. In the preface to her book, Mannin's defence of her stance throughout the controversy is likewise bitter and her writing up of the journey thus appears as almost as an act of revenge for the way in which her earlier article was interpreted. She insists that her book "should be first and last a travel book" (Mannin, *Samarkand* 15) but any pretence at objectivity has gone and many of the things she found to admire on her first trip are now the cause for criticism.

Discourses of femininity
In her essay, *Constructions of Gender and Racial Identities in Inter-war British Women's Travel Writing*, Hsu-Ming Teo notes that:

> The call for women to return to the domestic sphere, and the new variants of the old ideologies of motherhood, reveal continuing pressure on women between the wars to conform to Victorian norms of femininity. What was different about the interwar period, however, was the proliferation of many disparate models of femininity resulting in new discourses which could be employed at various times by women travellers to construct their narratorial identities (Hsu-Ming Teo 125).

To put things crudely, Sheridan, with her early post-war optimism and Mannin, with her late in the day, long in the tooth, pessimism can perhaps be seen as representatives of the two camps of feminism which characterised the interwar period. A reading of the travel writings of these two women shows Sheridan to belong loosely to the 'New' camp with its emphasis on rights for women, while Mannin is more firmly encamped in the 'Old' – as a socialist who believed that freedom for women was only possible in the context of equality for all humankind. But the demarcation lines are not stable and the conflict between the discourses of 'old' and 'new' feminism is clearly exposed in the travel writings of both Sheridan and Mannin.

In *Across Europe with Satanella*, describing a visit to the theatre in Kiev, Sheridan makes the following observation:

> In our box there was a very beautiful young girl, who had been a soldier and done the retreat from Poland with the Red Army. […] From her I learned that sex complexities can be obliterated by real camaraderie. 'I forgot I was a woman,' she said, referring to her life in the ranks; - 'and they never remembered it' – The Russian woman is the most unself-conscious, the most detached, the most highly evolved feminist in the world. (Sheridan, *Satanella* 97)

I quote this passage at some length because it is representative of the contradictory nature of the author that so often makes her a frustrating read. Perhaps all identities are in fact contradictory and as Hsu-Ming Teo pointed out in the context of women travellers in the interwar period "…the process of travel creates a space in which the instabilities of selfhood and national or cultural identities often become apparent" (Hsu-Ming Teo, *Constructions of Gender* 124). It is, therefore, particularly relevant that Sheridan says it was from this girl that she learned an equality of sorts was possible between the sexes in given situations. The implication of this statement is that she herself had no experience of this equality –and indeed, if we look for evidence in her own writing, all we find are examples of her wily exploitation of her sex, and of course her class, in the presence of men, even Trotsky who supposedly developed a violent passion for her, interspersed with moments of incoherent anger that she is either not taken as seriously as a man or, conversely that she is not afforded the respect due a 'lady'.

To give a few examples: at the beginning of *Mayfair to Moscow*, she maintains that she had no fear of venturing into Bolshevik territory alone because "the mere fact of being a woman alone arouses the chivalry of those one meets." (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 19). Later, she engages in a heated argument with Vanderlip, an American financier in Moscow, who does not believe that women ought to work at all, whereas she asserts that she, "would take pride if [she] were a Russian bourgeoise in showing people here that I could do as good a day's work as anyone else, and that I was not as useless and helpless as they imagined" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 183). It is difficult, however, to take this stance too seriously, given that she makes the comment only

one page after having lost her temper at two Russian men staying in the same guesthouse for failing to have opened the doors for her.

To return to the final sentence of the previous quotation concerning the young girl from the Red Army, Sheridan's conclusion that "the Russian woman is the most unself-conscious, the most detached, the most highly evolved feminist in the world," is not just naive but also untrue in the context of Sheridan's overall experiences in Russia. This affinity with a young, and it must be said, beautiful, Russian woman, is the only one of its kind that Sheridan establishes during either of her trips to Russia. In fact, her other encounters with women engender only violent, and mutual, dislike – most particularly on the part of Kamenev's wife, also Trotsky's sister, who obviously despises her on sight; then there is Litvinoff's English wife who is confident Sheridan will secure Lenin for a sitting, because "those sorts of people always get what they want" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 57). Sheridan has absolutely no contact at all with the average Russian woman: they are to her a formless mass, who have not yet discovered hats. It is always class more than gender that defines her experiences.

Ethel Mannin's narratorial voice is noticeably tougher, less concerned with her own predicament as a woman and more engaged with the plight of humanity in general. However, she can also be contradictory, and although she devotes many words in her accounts to Russian institutions, such as the factories, crèches and clinics, she also shares with Sheridan a noticeably feminine preoccupation with the proliferation – or dearth – of flower sellers on the street, which would seem, for them, to represent evidence of social progress. A further concern that colours the accounts of both Sheridan and Mannin, is the current state of the Russian woman's wardrobe. Again, in Leningrad, Mannin comments that, "A good corset-maker would make a fortune in Russia if allowed to, for the Russian female figure at present may be said to not exist" (Mannin, *Samarkand* 42).

The injustice of this remark is all the more surprising coming from a woman who in other parts of her narrative describes the injustices of the State's distribution of accommodation and wages, the Russian abortion laws and is openly critical of the conditions she finds in the crèches provided for the children of the factory workers. Interestingly, it is on the question of children that Mannin most clearly differs in attitude to Sheridan. Upon visiting one of the State crèches and finding the conditions there lamentable, her harshest judgement is reserved not for the matron of the institution but for the children themselves; "They were as unattractive a lot of children as I have ever seen, with a kind of stupid ugliness one seldom sees in little children" (Mannin, *Wandering* 197). This is in great contrast to Sheridan's sentimental reaction some fourteen years earlier in conversation with a man who has sent his and his wife's six week old baby to one of these institutions because, as he defends his decision, although "the baby was more liable to get ill and even die, if it was in a Creche, […] after all his wife's life was not to be reduced to feeding, washing, and dressing a baby" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 133). She is vaguely shocked by this attitude but concludes that when the State will clothe, feed and educate children from birth to fourteen years old, "It is difficult to preserve one's maternal sentimentality in the face of this Communistic generosity" (Sheridan, *Mayfair* 134). Both Mannin and Sheridan have left small children at home, but Sheridan's guilt is assuaged by the fact that she has left them with family. She feels the pressure to be back in the home, and talks constantly about how much she misses her children, her son in particular, but finally, resists being tied to the Victorian concept of motherhood with the justification that she is giving her children a better education by example of

her own ability to earn a living. Mannin's young daughter has been left at Summerhill, A.S. Neill's progressive school, and so in Mannin's view, being herself the product of a much less cosseted background, she is in the best possible hands, because this school gives the children an adult freedom to decide their own educational paths. Mannin suffers none of Sheridan's guilt at rejecting a more traditional approach to motherhood. Her enlightened attitude is perhaps best illustrated by her pronouncement upon hearing that although children may work a full day in Russia, they are given very little if their parents have a good wage: this, she believes, just goes to show that "even in an advanced country like Russia the young are still in subjection to their parents" (Mannin, *Wandering* 200).

Conclusion

To conclude, Sheridan and Mannin's travel accounts are often a frustrating read. This may be in part due to the restrictions and conventions of the *genre*: both women manifest a noticeably less unsteady voice in their journalism written from the security of the home space. But the travel writing of both provides rich sources for further study of the widely divergent and conflicting ideologies in the politics of English travel writing between the wars. Furthermore, they provide strong evidence to sustain Mills and Foster's 'belief in the difficulty of making global statements about the nature of women's travel writing' (Mills and Foster, *Anthology* 1). As Sheridan and Mannin were travellers of the recent past, the modern world and not the Victorian world, it would be reasonable to expect them to be more readily accessible to a more contemporary reading of their work. The follies and fancies of Victorian women travellers are often humoured by contemporary readers because the women themselves are recognisably the product of a more distant past, travelling under different, perhaps more obvious restrictions, restrictions, which crucially, have been discussed in the particular terms of what it meant to be a middle-class woman. Sheridan and Mannin must be approached as women of their time; but their age, class, and education must also be properly considered so as not to risk "losing a sense of the bigger picture of the importance of gender as a fact that always makes a difference (although not always in the same way)" (Mills and Foster, *Anthology* 1).

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Feminist Translation Strategies and the Quran:
A Study of Laleh Bakhtiar's Translation

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Introduction

The Sublime Quran, published in 2007, was translated from Arabic by Laleh Bakhtiar, an Iranian-American female translator. Although it is one of six other English translations of the Quran undertaken by or with the participation of female translators[1], this translation is the only work to have attracted media attention[2] and to have been labelled as "feminist." Ali Eteraz was among the first to point out the "feminist" elements in Bakhtiar's work in an article published in *The Guardian,* entitled "Beyond Islamic Enlightenment (2007)." In this article, the writer and activist draws a strong link between Islamic feminism and Bakhtiar's translation by arguing that Wadud's seminal book *The Quran and Woman* (1999) "opened the door to the first feminist translation of the Quran" (2007). Interestingly, like Eteraz, though many of Bakhtiar's supporters and critics have sought to assess her work in relation to Islamic feminist discourse, no attempts have yet been made to investigate the possible links between *The Sublime Quran* and contemporary feminist translation practice. This paper presents an attempt to compare Bakhtiar's translation of the Quran to the practice of feminist translators such as Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Marlene Wilderman in order to determine whether *The Sublime Quran* can be defined as "a feminist translation."

According to Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, feminist translation was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Quebec. It emerged as a new form of translation enabling the feminist translator to reread, rewrite and appropriate texts (Simon in France, 2007: 26; von Flotow, 1997: 14). Like feminist writers such as Mary Daly and Monique Wittig, feminist translators have developed a number of innovative techniques in order to stress women's voice in their texts and to criticise, undermine and subvert conventional language use, which in their views contributed to women's oppression. Some of the strategies they developed include what Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, a Canadian feminist translator, calls the processes of "neutralisation[3]" and "feminisation[4]" of language, which aim to rid the text of its patriarchal elements (1991: 117). Such strategies not only subvert conventional language use, but also insure the feminist translator's visibility, assertiveness and

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[1] The other translations are: *The Quran, Arabic Text with Corresponding English Meaning* (1995) by Umm Mohammed, *The Holy Quran* (1997) by Amatul Rahman Omar, *The Light of Dawn* (1999) by Camille Adams Helminski, *The Noble Quran : A New Rendering of its Meaning in English* (2005) by Abdelhaqq and Aisha Bewley and *The Quran: a Reformist Translation* (2007) by Edip Yuksel, Layth al-Shaiban, and Martha Schulte-Nafeh

[2] For a few months before and after its publication, Bakhtiar's translation occupied the headlines in several online versions of newspapers such *The Guardian*, *The Herald Tribune* and *the New York Times.*

[3] Neutralisation of language is the process of creating synonyms for words or phrases which are otherwise sex-definite (de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1991: 113).

[4] Feminisation of language "goes beyond neutralization and desexization. It includes strategies such as avoiding pejorative words designating women, encoding new meaning in existing words and coining new words, often using etymology as a resource" (de Lotbinière Harwood, 199: 117-19).

appropriation of the source text. This, however, constitutes one of the main reasons why the Quran could present an interesting challenge for feminist translators. Like many sacred texts of the classical period of religious revelations, the Quran "was revealed in a society in which the public voice of leadership was largely male" (Sells in Boullata, 1999: 5). It is consequently rich in what feminist translators, such as de Lotbinière-Harwood, define as male-biased and patriarchal values; in terms of language, for instance, the Quran, in its original Arabic, uses masculine generic terms to refer to both male and female gender, one of the linguistic practices feminist translators have set out to deconstruct and to challenge. In terms of content, the sacred book of Islam contains a number of "male-biased verses" such as verse 4:11 giving a man double the share of woman's inheritance. The challenge for interventionist feminist translators lies, however, in the Islamic belief that the Quran is the "direct Word of God" and therefore it remains unquestionable, unchangeable and unrevisable both in form and content. The infallible quality of the Quranic text could make it very difficult for feminist translators to assert their identity in an open challenge to the "original" (Wallace, 2002: 69). It could make it equally challenging for them to break the stronghold of "authorship" in order to openly manipulate, intervene or feminise the content and the language of source text, as advocated by writers such as Luise von Flotow and Barbara Godard.

An examination of Bakhtiar's "feminist translation" of the Holy Book of Islam could help us deconstruct the seemingly unbridgeable divide between the Quran's status as a sacred religious text and feminist translation practice. The first question is whether Bakhtiar and feminist translators such as Godard and Wilderman use similar tools to produce a reading from a woman's perspective and to make the feminine visible in the target text. Secondly the main areas of conflict between Bakhtiar's "feminist" approach to the Quranic text and feminist translation practices will be examined. The conclusion will attempt to answer the question whether *The Sublime Quran* is in fact a "feminist translation."

1.   Feminist translation strategies in *The Sublime Quran*
In her article "Feminist Translation: Contexts, Practices, Theories" Luise von Flotow discusses a number of translational tools used by feminist translators such as Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Howard Scott.[5] She argues that translation strategies such as prefacing, supplementing and hijacking[6] have been especially created or appropriated by feminist translators in order to produce a translation that speaks for women (Von Flotow, 1991: 69-71). Although most of these strategies are not unique to feminist translation practice, they have been described as "feminist" because they make it possible for the feminist translator to put more emphasis on women's perspectives, experiences and voices on one hand and to subvert the conventional use of language, on the other (Simon in France, 2007: 31).

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[5]   Howard Scott has been described as Canada's only male "feminist translator" (von Flotow, 1995; Simon in France 2007:31). He is best known for his translation of Louky Bersianik's *L'Euguelionne*, where he uses creative and imaginative solutions to reflect the feminist elements of the source text. A major part of his work is focused on subverting patriarchal bias in conventional language use.

[6] This term was used by David Homel to describe de Lotbinière-Harwood's interventionist translation of Lise Gauvin's *Lettres d'une autre*. It was then adopted by feminist translators such as Luise von Flotow and Barbara Godard "to describe the process by which a feminist translator applies 'corrective measures' to the work at hand, appropriating the text in order to construct feminist meaning" (von Flotow, 1997 :82)

These strategies could be divided into two categories: textual and para-textual. Textual strategies are the different actions taken to intervene directly in the language and the content of the source text such as supplementing and feminising of the text. Para-textual strategies consist of extra-textual material that accompanies the translated text in order to make it more accessible to the reader. This includes strategies such as prefacing, footnoting and thick translation,[7] which are often used by feminist translators to locate the source text in a feminist context. The first section of this paper discusses two feminist strategies identified in Bakhtiar's translation, namely prefacing and compensation.

1.1. Prefacing

Prefacing, as a para-textual strategy, has widely been used outside feminist translation practice. However, as pointed out by von Flotow, this strategy has become a "routine" practice in feminist translation as it provides a "good tool" to bring the reader to better understand the translation on one hand and their feminist contribution on the other (von Flotow, 1991: 76). What makes this strategy specifically feminist is that it presents the text from a woman's perspective. Indeed, the preface offers the space where feminist translators stress their gendered identity, state their feminist tasks and present their feminine perspectives. Marlene Wilderman, for instance, in the preface to her translation of Brossard's *La Lettre Aérienne,* identifies herself as a "Canadian feminist writer and translator" and declares that in undertaking this translation she found herself:

> with a specific task at hand and clear feminist obligations: translate Nicole Brossard's *La Lettre Aérienne* for English feminist readers, and in the process, *create* a certain English Lesbian feminist perspective (1988: 2).

Like Wilderman, and in the preface to *The Sublime Quran*, Bakhtiar stresses her feminine gendered identity when she identifies herself as "a woman translator" and points out that:

> this is the first English translation by an American woman who includes the view of women in the Signs (verses) (2007: xlii)

She then specifies her tasks and aims:

> let it also be said that this translation was undertaken by a woman to bring both men and women to equity (2007: xlviii)

In the above example, Wilderman uses the term "create" to open and pave the way for a new feminine perspective of Brossard's *La Lettre Aérienne*. Similarly, Bakhtiar uses the term "include" to introduce/insert a new reading of the Quranic text from a woman's point of view. Both translators confirm their commitment to break with previous conventional translations by "creating" and "including" a space for woman's experience/voice in their respective works. They both use the preface to stress their role as "woman" translators in the creation of new meaning from the source text.

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[7] The notion of thick translation was first coined by Kwame Anthony Appiah to describe translation that "seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (1993: 817)

Furthermore, prefacing is also used by feminist translators to introduce the original work, to reflect on their linguistic choices and to explain their strategies. Using prefaces to explain translational choices is not unique to feminist translation practice; however for feminist translator this strategy allows them to put more emphasis on their feminine contribution. Barbara Godard, for instance, in her translation of *Amantes* (1980) uses the preface to inform her readers about the original feminist work of Brossard. She then goes on to discuss her linguistic and translational choices:

> I propose to share the trajectory of my particular reading of Nicole Brossard's *Amantes*, first by situating this book within her oeuvre as I read it and then by discussing the special problems posed in translating this work from French into English…With Brossard's neologism …, I have more often translated than paraphrased (1986: 7)

In a similar approach, Bakhtiar uses the preface briefly to introduce the Quran. She then reflects on her linguistic choices and methodology and informs the reader about the materials used to approach the Quranic text:

> for the Muslim, the Quran is the Word (Logos) of God as much as Jesus is the Word of God for Christians… I began this translation as a scientific study…in order to achieve a translation of a sacred text that has internal consistency and reliability… (2007: xlii).

To sum up, Bakhtiar's preface seems to conform to the feminist "prefacing" strategy. Like Wilderman and Godard she stresses her gendered identity in order to prepare her readers to embrace a different reading of the religious text from a woman's perspective. She informs them that she breaks with previous Quran translations, challenging thereby women's absence and reclaiming their right to express their view of the Quranic text. She also defends the translational choices she took to emphasize her contribution as a "woman translator."

1.2. Compensation

Compensation is a technique used by translators to make up for linguistic and semantic losses between the source and the target language. It could be viewed as a textual or para-textual strategy depending on the tools employed by the translator. Hervey and Higgins distinguish several subcategories of compensation which include compensation in place, compensation in kind, compensation by footnoting, compensation by splitting[8] and compensation by merging (2008: 27-31). Although the compensation strategy can be easily identified in a wide range of translations, one subcategory seems to be frequently employed by feminist translators, namely the category of compensation in kind. This subcategory is concerned with losses in

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[8] Godard employed this strategy when she translated the title of Nicole Brossard's *L'Amer,* this term is a neologism in French which contains three different words: *mère* (mother), *mer* (sea), and *amer* (bitter). Godard compensates for the polysemy of the source text by providing all the possible readings in the target texts. She uses graphological deviation and translates the title as:

    The **S**ea
        our
        mothers

 "The Sea Our Mother" + "Sea (S)mothers" + "(S)our Mothers"

Von Flotow describes this same technique as the feminist strategy of "supplementing" (von Flotow, 1991:76).

meaning incurred by differences in gender agreements between the source and the target language. Hevery and Higgins give as an example the problem of translating Dora Alonso's feminist short story "Los gatos," where the opening sentence "la gata dilataba las pupilas en la oscuridad" could lose its feminist value if simply translated as 'the cat's eyes grew large/dilated in the darkness' (Alonso, 1980: 133-4). To maintain the gender-based link between feline motherhood and human motherhood, a crucial element in the source text, Hervey and Higgins propose to compensate in kind by translating the feminine Spanish term "La gata" as the "she-cat" or as "the mother cat." Their suggestion recovers what they describe as an "unacceptable translation loss" (Hervey, 2008: 28).

To overcome similar translation losses, feminist translators employ a variety of tools to compensate in kind. De Lotbinière-Harwood, for instance, uses graphical tools to make up for translation losses between the gender marked French and the gender unmarked English. In the French source text, Michèle Causse uses the silent letter 'e' to indicate the feminine form in the sentence "Nulle ne l"ignore, tout est langue," "Nulle" is the feminine form of "no one." Because in the English language this word does not mark gender, de Lotbinière-Harwood uses a bold **e** in "on**e"** to make up for the linguistic loss and to highlight the fact that the source text refers specifically to the feminine gender. She also uses the same technique to translate the sentence "une muette parle a un aveugle" as "a mute on**e** speaks to a deaf one" (Simon, 1996: 21).

Similarly, Bakhtiar uses the compensation strategy to make up for the linguistic losses between the gender marked Arabic and the English language. She explains that:

> when words in a verse refer directly to a woman or women or wife or wives and the corresponding pronouns such as (they, them, those), I have placed an (f) after the word to indicate that the word refers to the feminine gender specifically (2007: xli).

The impact of adopting the compensation strategy becomes more obvious if we compare Bakhtiar's work to another translation by a male translator. Take for instance this translation of verse 4:34[9] by Colin Turner:

> Men are *the protectors of their women*, for they surpass them in strength, intellectual acumen and social skills. A male doctor is better than a female doctor; a male laborer is better than a female laborer, and so on. Furthermore, men are the *protectors and maintainers* of their women, for it is the men who provide dowries and support their women financially throughout their married life. Therefore it is incumbent on righteous women that they obey their husbands. And when their husbands are absent they must, with God as their aid, strive to protect their reputations and do nothing to shame them. As for those women whose righteousness is open to question, and whose *obedience and loyalty you doubt* – whether their husbands are present or not – admonish them in the first instance; if their *disobedienc*e continues, refuse to sleep with them; if their *disobedience*

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[9] Verse 4:34 is one of the most controversial and contested verses in the Quran: it is often quoted by traditionalist Muslim scholars to support claims that God preferred man over woman, that He placed Muslim male members as guardians and rulers over female Muslim members in all aspects of life and that He gave men the authority to discipline their wives in case of disobedience. Islamic feminists such as Amina Wadud contested traditional interpretations of this verse, on the basis that some of its key words have been misinterpreted and taken out of context.

continues further, *beat* them. If they see reason and obey, do not chastise them any further (1997: 46).[10]

Bakhtiar's translation reads:

<div align="center">

Men are supporters of wives
Because God has given some of them an advantage
Over others
And because they spend of their wealth
So the ones (f) who are in accord with morality
Are the ones (f) who are morally obligated,
The ones (f) who guard the unseen
Of what God has kept safe.
But those (f) whose resistance you fear,
Then admonish them (f)
And abandon them (f) in their sleeping place
Then go away from them (f)[11];
And if they (f) obey you
Surely look not for any way against them (f);
(Bakhtiar, 2007: 94)

</div>

The presence of the letter (f) in Bakhtiar's text contributes to the differences between the two interpretations in terms of meaning conveyance and visual impact. In terms of meaning the letter (f) indicates to the reader which words are meant to be feminine in the source text. In comparison with Turner's translation, if we look at the last 10 lines of Bakhtiar's text, we can easily gather that the subject of these verses concerns the feminine gender, thanks to the letter (f). In terms of visual impact, the unusual presence of the letter (f) creates a stronger effect on the reader and stresses the feminine visibility in the text, which is the ultimate goal for feminist translators as asserted by de Lotbinière-Harwood, who in her translation of Lise Gauvin's *Lettres d'une Autre*:

> used every possible translation to make the feminine visible. Because making the feminine visible in language means making women seen and heard in the real world (1990: 9).

The compensation technique employed by Bakhtiar plays a major role in adjusting gender balance in the Quranic text. This strategy allowed Bakhtiar to insure feminine visibility in the target text and to compensate for the linguistic losses between the

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[10] It is worth pointing out that Turner's translation represents one of the most patriarchal and male-biased interpretations of verse 4:34. He intentionally shifts the centre of attention to the male gender by inserting masculine pronouns and words. For instance, the word 'husband' is used in his translated verse three times, whereas in the original Arabic version it does not occur even once. Turner also inserts various male biased elaborations and extrapolations that are non existent in the original Arabic text, such as the distinctions he makes between male and female doctors or male and female labourers.

[11] Bakhtiar's main contribution as a woman translator of the Quran lies in her interpretation of the word "tharaba," which is often translated as "to beat" or "to strike," thus allowing husbands to beat their wives in case of disobedience. Bakhtiar challenges this interpretation by pointing out the fact that the term "tharaba" has more than twelve different meanings in Arabic including the translation "to go away," which she uses in her translation of verse 4:34 to ask husbands to leave their wives in case of disobedience instead of beating/striking them.

gender marked Arabic and the gender unmarked English language. Indeed, without the letter (f) in the English text, it would have more difficult to understand whether the nouns and pronouns refer to the masculine or the feminine gender. The compensation technique plays, however, another key role in Bakhtiar's, which is to preserve, reflect and mirror the structure and linguistic patterns of the original text. Indeed, in the introduction Bakhtiar argues that previous translations "put emphasis on interpreting a Quranic verse without precisely representing the original Arabic word." She then tells us that one of her main aims is to be "as close as possible to the original text" (2007: i). Bakthiar's aim to remain faithful to the original constitutes one of the major areas where her "feminist" approach diverts and conflicts with feminist translation practice.

2. Conflicting points between Bakhtiar and feminist translators

One of the major areas where Bakhtiar and feminist translators seem to conflict originates from their opposite stands on the distinction separating the original from its translation. Bakhtiar recognizes the primacy of the original when she asserts that "no translation of the Quran can compare in beauty and style with the original" (2007: xli). Feminist translators on the other hand, vehemently reject such distinction on the basis that translation is a production rather than reproduction. They share the view of many other translators, that the translator is a collaborator, a producer who shares the same creative rights as the author and who assumes the right to intervene, to manipulate and to transform the original. The problem faced here, is that the original is a sacred religious text believed to be the direct Word of God. In the case of the Quran, primacy, originality and authenticity are, therefore, of paramount importance as they ensure the text's legitimacy and authority among its followers. How could feminist translators justify the use of feminist strategies devised to intentionally manipulate, transform and challenge the source text, on a sacred and religious text? In other words, are interventionist feminist strategies compatible with the nature and status of a religious text such as the Quran? The absence of key feminist strategies, such as feminisation of the text and thick translation from Bakhtiar's work seems to provide the answer to such questions.

2.1. "Feminising" the text

This technique targets what feminist translators consider as "patriarchal linguistic practice," such as the use of masculine generic terms to refer to both male and female genders. Unlike compensation, feminising the text does not make up for losses between two different language systems, it is an intentional action taken to replace, remove or avoid masculine terms, pronouns and references from the text. It may also involve the creation and insertion of new feminine terms, word-play or reversing word order to stress feminine visibility. A good example of such practice could be found in de Lotbinière-Harwood's translation of Lise Gauvin's *Lettres d'une Autre*, where she employs different tactics to overcome textual patriarchy. The translator, for instance, uses the term "Quebecois-e-s" wherever the generic term "Quebecois" occurred in the original. She avoids the use of male generic terms in English although they appear in French; "La victoire de l'homme" becomes "our victory." De Lotbinière-Harwood also puts the female element first in expressions like "women and men," "her or his" (von Flotow, 1991: 79).

The strategy of text feminisation provides a vivid representation of feminist translator's view of translation as a "transformative" and "creative" act. Indeed, this

tool allows the feminist translator to bring considerable changes both to the form and the content of the original in order to assert their feminist views. More importantly feminising the text is a clear indication that:

> the modest, self-effacing translator, corollary to the notion of transparency, is replaced by a translator who is an active participant in the creation of meaning" (Godard, 1986: 7).

Bakhtiar, on the other hand, affirms her position as a "faithful" translator by informing the reader that "in the Arabic language the masculine pronoun may be used generically to include both male and female human beings" (2007: xlii), she therefore chose to reflect the same pattern in the English text. As a result, many linguistic practices regarded by feminist translators as "patriarchal" were maintained in the translated text, as it the case in the following verses:

> and if a *man or a woman* has
> No direct heirs, but indirect heirs,
> And has a *brother or sister*
> (Verse 4: 12) (2007: 89-90)
>
> Indeed our *fathers* have been touched
> by tribulation and happiness
> (Verse 7:94) (2007: 185)

.

Bakhtiar, unlike de Lotbinière-Harwood, does not reverse word order in the expression "man and woman" or "brother and sister." She does not replace, remove or avoid masculine terms, pronouns or references from the translated text such as the expression "our fathers." On the contrary, the translator seems to pay great attention to preserving not only the form but also the meaning of the source text, she writes that:

> this translation is one of formal equivalence in order to be as close to the original as possible. This is the most objective type of translation, as compared to a translation using dynamic equivalence, where the translator attempts to translate the ideas or thoughts of a text, rather than the words, which results in a much more subjective translation (2007: xlii).

Furthermore, Bakhtiar declares that she adopted a "method of consistency," in which one Arabic word systematically corresponds to a given English word. This method, also employed by Mary-phil Korsak in her translation *At the Start: Genesis Made New: A Translation of the Hebrew Text,* is meant to help the reader perceive the patterns of the original text and to ensure internal consistency, accuracy and "exactness" in the translated text (Korsak, 1993: 224). This means that not only is the patriarchal form of the original maintained but also patriarchal meaning and content, as it is the case in verse 4:11, giving man double the share of woman's inheritance.

> God enjoins you concerning your children
> For the male, the like allotment of two females
> (Verse 4:11) (2007: 89)

Bakhtiar's choice for "formal equivalence" and the "consistency method," reveals that she does not perceive translation as a production, a re-writing or a transformation, but rather as an equivalent, faithful, transparent re-production

of the original. Her role is not that of the assertive, visible, manipulative translator, but rather the faithful, self-effacing, invisible mediator between the original and its translation. Bakhtiar seems to strengthen her position as an extremely faithful translator by avoiding another key feminist translation strategy, namely thick translation.

2.2.   Thick Translation

Thick translation is openly used by a feminist translator as an ideological instrument to guide and influence the reader along certain line. This may be achieved through an extensive use of glossaries, annotations and elaborations meant to emphasize women's experiences, perspectives and realities (Massardier-Kenney, 1997: 61). As a para-textual strategy, thick translation could be considered as one of a feminist translator's most powerful tools. Indeed, the extensive use of extra-textual material to elaborate, frame and situate the source text in a feminist context presents translation as a highly politicized tool designed to serve feminist ideology. "A superb example of thick translation" as Massardier-Kenney puts it, is Maureen Ahern's translation and editing of Rosario Castellanos's works (Massardier-Kenney, 1997: 62). Ahern seems to have transformed the original text by engaging in extensive extra-textual discussions on Castellanos's feminist ideology and strategies. She also enriched the text by making references and elaborating on the works of other women feminist writers who were not included in Castellanos's original work (Ahern, 1988: 8).

Bakhtiar, on the other hand, does not include any extra-textual material to elaborate on the meaning of the Quranic verses. She refuses any form of explanation including footnotes, annexes or parenthetical commentaries, although this is common practice in the translation of religious texts. She states that in her translation:

> there are no parenthetical phrases further interpreting and elaborating a verse, thus allowing the translation to be free of any transient political, denominational or doctrinal bias (2007: xliv)

Bakhtiar's role as an invisible, faithful and consistent translator, clearly contrasts with the concept of thick translation. Moreover, thick translation seems to contradict the Quran's nature as a sacred and religious text. Indeed, the Holy Book of Islam states that it is addressed to all human beings regardless of their gender, race or origins. As a result, reframing such a text in a feminist context means delimiting its scope, its universality and therefore jeopardizing its existence. Bakhtiar acknowledges the importance of preserving the Quranic text's universality by declaring that:

> another unique aspect of this translation in comparison to other English translations is to present a translation of the Quran that is universal, for all times, related to the Quran's eternality (2007: xliv).

The translator's choice to present a "universal" as well as an "objective" translation free of any transient political or denominational bias" clearly indicates that her main aim is to serve the source text, rather than promoting the "feminist truth" as von Flotow and interventionist feminist translators would expect.

Conclusion

I have compared Bakhtiar's approach to the translation of the Quran to contemporary feminist translation practices in order to show the possibilities and difficulties in defining her work as a "feminist translation." On the one hand, there are clearly some similarities between Bakhtiar's work and that of feminist translators such as Godard and Wilderman both on the textual and para-textual level. Like feminist translators, Bakhtiar uses prefacing and compensation to challenge women's absence and silenced voices in previous translations. She uses feminist translation strategies to make the "feminine" visible in the text, to present an innovative and different reading of the Quranic text from woman's point of view and to break with previous Quran English translations. On the other hand, Bakhtiar's perception of translation as a faithful, transparent reproduction of the original, her choice to maintain "patriarchal linguistic practices" and her striving for accuracy, consistency and "exactness" contrast sharply with feminist translators' view of translation as a "transformative" and "re-writing" act.

Whereas feminist translation practice is built on "womanhandling," "manipulating" and "feminising" the language and the content of the source text, Bakhtiar's main aim seems to be to mirror and reflect both the form and the content of the "original." Most significantly, Bakhtiar eschews two key feminist translation strategies, namely feminisation and thick translation, in order to ensure the original text's "objectivity" and "universality" and to transpose what feminist translators consider as "patriarchal linguistic practices" into the target text. Taking all these elements into consideration, it is obvious that Bakhtiar's translation contains too many conventional, traditional, if not patriarchal views of translation to be considered as a "feminist translation" of the Quran. Indeed Bakhtiar shows more commitment to mirroring the form and the content of the source text, rather than projecting and serving what von Flotow calls "feminist truths."

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Locating Irish Drama in Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

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Introduction

As Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere put it, translation is never "innocent".

> Translations are never produced in an airlock where they, and their originals, can be checked against the *tertium comparationis* in the purest possible lexical chamber, untainted by power, time, or even the vagaries of culture. […] There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed (7-11).

This means that the decisions made by the translator are affected by the history in which s/he is positioned. Peter Fawcett explained this 'taintedness' of translation in terms of ideology.

> If we accept the definition of ideology as an action-oriented set of beliefs (Seliger 1976: 91-2, quoted in Ireland 1989), and if we assume those beliefs, even where they call themselves aesthetic, religious or poetic, to be political in the sense that their application establishes relations of dominance, then we can see how, throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation (Fawcett 107).

He argued that we could find an ideological motive even behind the dispute over free versus literal translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This is a view shared by André Lefevere, who argued, "…on every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tends to win out" (39). Therefore, Venuti maintained, ideological manipulation occurs at every stage of translation, from "the very choice of a foreign text to translate, which answers to particular domestic interests" to "the reception of the translation" (67). The most consequential effects of this ideological manipulation of translation are the formation of cultural identities (Venuti 67). Venuti explained, by citing Edward Fowler (71-73), how the canon of Japanese fiction in English which American publishers established during the 1950s and 1960s, based on a well-defined stereotype, imposed "a nostalgic image of a lost past" on Japanese people for roughly forty years. Translations have been "one of the *primary* literary tools that larger social institutions" have "at their disposal to 'manipulate' a given society in order to 'construct' the kind of 'culture desired" (Tymoczko and Gentzler xiii).

In this respect, translation expresses power relations through the production of knowledge and representations. And this power relationship of translation seems to have been most remarkable in colonial contexts, where "knowledge and the representations thus configured are coming to be understood as a central aspect of power" (Tymoczko and Gentzler xxi). However, such knowledge and representations may be oppressive or resistant, depending on who represents whom. As Tymoczko and Gentzler argued:

> […] translation can be used by colonizers as a kind of intelligence operation to interrogate subjects and maintain control, it can also be used by opponents of oppression as counterespionage, to conspire and rebel, for the ultimate goals of self-definition and self-determination in both the political and epistemological senses (xxi).

It is suggested that there were two variants of colonial translation practice: one was those versions of knowledge and representations produced by colonisers and the other was those versions of knowledge and representations produced by the colonised for themselves in response to colonial pressures. These practices have been explored by [post-]colonial translation scholars, with the former exemplified by Tejaswini Niranjana and the latter by Maria Tymoczko. Niranjana has argued that "translation as a practice shapes, and takes shapes within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism" in terms of representation of the colonised. "In coherent and transparent texts and subjects", she argued, "translation participated […] in the *fixing* of colonized cultures, making them seem static and unchanging rather than historically constructed", and accordingly reinforced "hegemonic versions of the colonized, helping them acquire the status of what Edward Said calls representations, or objects without history" (Niranjana 3). As Gandhi stated:

> […] the colonial past is not simply a reservoir of 'raw' political experiences and practices to be theorized from the detached and enlightened perspective of the present. It is also the scene of intense discursive and conceptual activity, characterized by a profusion of thought and writing about the cultural and political identities of colonized subjects (5).

On the contrary, Tymoczko approaches the history of translation from a different perspective (1999). Giving an example in the Irish context, she shows how translation "constituted a means of inventing tradition, inventing the nation, and inventing the self" when it is done for people themselves (1999:18). She argued that the Irish "seized translation of their own cultural heritage as one means of reestablishing and redefining their nation and their people: throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alike translation was engaged for the purposes of nationalism or protonationalism, leading to both cultural and armed resistance".

This article is concerned with the latter case: translation activity as an expression of the cultural power of the colonised. My concern here is to explore how ideological purpose may skew the representation of other culture and influence the selection of certain texts. Using examples from Irish drama translated in colonial Korea from the 1920s to the 1930s, this article analyses the process of the formation of Irish drama as a site of resistance in modern Korean theatre. During the early twentieth century, Korea was colonised by Japan. Under Japanese colonial rule, the supreme task for the Korean people was to recover national sovereignty and independence. The modern Korean theatre movement that arose among Korean intellectuals and dramatists during the colonial period was inherently involved with this task. The ultimate goal of the movement was to recover national independence as well as to establish a modern national theatre. Thus, the modern Korean theatre movement came to have characteristics of an independence movement rather than a literary or an artistic movement. However, as their modernised dramatic polysystem was still young, Korean intellectuals and dramatists who were involved in the theatre movement had to borrow dramatic models from other countries. They imported and

staged western dramas, and Irish dramas were imported in the process. They translated or staged the works of Irish playwrights, particularly those who were involved in the Irish dramatic movement, including William Butler Yeats, Edward John Moreton Drax Plunkett (Lord Dunsany), Lady Augusta Gregory, J.M. Synge, and Sean O'Casey.

This article is concerned with why these playwrights were selected. It seeks to find an answer from the socio-political and socio-cultural contexts in which these dramatic texts were imported, rather than from an examination of individual plays or playwrights. It first looks at Irish drama translation in colonial Korea, then examines resistance and subversion in modern Korean theatre. Lastly, it discusses the representation of the Irish dramatic movement in colonial Korea, which influenced drama translators and ultimately conditioned Irish drama translation.

1. Irish Drama Translation in Colonial Korea

It was in 1895 that Western literature began to be translated into Korean.[1] Until 1910, before the annexation of Korea by Japan, western novels and poems were translated into Korean, but a large number of the translated works were historical, biographical and political texts. Korean intellectuals thought they needed 'practical' rather than 'artistic' literature, which could encourage the public to face their reality because they were confronted with a situation where they might lose their national sovereignty under the threat of Japanese and Western powers.

With the annexation in 1910, the so-called Dark Age began. The Japanese colonial government prohibited the publication of history or biography-related translations and confiscated and burned all such books because they thought their publication might awaken the Korean national consciousness. Only 'artistic' literature was allowed to be translated into Korean during this period (Gim B. 414).

In the wake of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919[2], the Japanese colonial government shifted its policy from a military dictatorial to a cultural one. With changes in the colonial policy, a larger variety of literary genres were translated into Korean and this number drastically increased during the 1920s. During this period, 671 literary works were translated, in comparison to only 89 works during the previous decade.[3] The most important reason for the increase was changes in the Japanese colonial policy. As the colonial government adopted a cultural policy,

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[1] The first Western literary works translated into Korean were *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, translated by Mr. and Mrs Jas. S. Gale in 1895, and *The Arabian Nights,* translated by Jeong Sang-geun in 1895 (Gim B. 1988:152-23).

[2] The Korean people rose up against the military regime of Japanese colonisers in mass demonstrations in March, 1919. It was the greatest mass movement of Korean people in all their history. Facing the strong resistance of the Korean people and international criticism of their harsh colonial rule, Japanese colonisers reorganised their colonial rule under the slogan "harmony between Japan and Korea" and adopted a Cultural Policy.

[3] During the second decade of the 20th century, 15 translated works were published in book form, 33 in newspapers or magazines, and 41 in *Taeseo Muyesinbo* magazine. During the 1920s, 151 British works, 65 American works, 68 German works, 100 French works, 127 Russian works, 126 Indian works, and 34 other works were translated (Gim B. 1988:414).

nationalistic newspapers, including *Joseon Ilbo Daily* (1920), *Dong-A Ilbo* (1920), *Sidae Ilbo* (1924) and *Jungoe Ilbo* (1926), were allowed to be issued and 168 kinds of magazines were allowed to be launched. In particular, many literary magazines such as *Gaebyeok* (1920), *Pehyeo* (1920), *Baekjo* (1922) and *Geumseong* (1923) promoted the development of literature, which motivated the import of foreign literature. Moreover, the Japanese Government-General "forced Koreans to reduce their own national cultural activities and to imitate the Japanese adaptation of Western civilization" (Cho 121). Other reasons for the increase were as follows; the trends of world literary thoughts that were imported through the coloniser Japan instigated literary awareness among Korean intellectuals and made them aware of the need for improvement of their own literature through the import of foreign literature. Secondly, the increased number of students who studied in Japan had opportunities to study foreign literature and a variety of genres. Thirdly, the readership had broadened and wanted foreign literature as they achieved higher education (Gim B. 415).

Against this background, foreign drama was also imported. The first translated drama was *Katusha*, the title of the Korean version of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, in 1916 (Yi M. 321). The translator of this adaptation is not known. During the 1920s, the translation of Western dramas began in earnest. According to Gim Byeong-cheol, a scholar of English literature and translation, the number of translated dramas exceeded that of novels during this period (427). Translated dramas were introduced through magazines or newspapers as well as on the stage, and both classic and modern dramas were translated. During the 1920s, translated classic playwrights included Shakespeare, Victor Hugo, Schiller and Goethe. Among them, Shakespeare's works constituted the largest number, with 12 translations, four of which were translated from Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare* (Gim B. 428).[4] But there were far fewer translations of classic plays in comparison to modern plays. During the 1920s and 1930s, modern plays from England, Russia, France, Germany, the United States, and other countries were imported: Turgenev, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gogol, Chekhov, Ibsen, Strindberg, O'Neill, and others. Irish playwrights, including Yeats, Gregory, Synge, Dunsany, Ervine and O'Casey, and the German expressionist playwrights Georg Kaiser and Reinhard Goering, were also imported during this period. However, translated drama, as well as translations of other genres, decreased rapidly at the end of the 1930s as the oppression and control of the press by the colonial government reached its climax.

It was not until 1921 that Irish playwrights' works began to be translated. Translated Irish dramas were introduced through publications or the stage. After Lady Gregory's *The Rising of the Moon* and Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate* were first published and produced on the Korean stage respectively in 1921, Irish dramatic texts began to be introduced. Although British works made up the greatest number of translations as a whole throughout the colonial period, translated Irish dramas exceeded British ones during the 1930s.[5] While the number of published translations during the 1920s was

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[4] During the 1920s *The Merchant of Venice* (1920, 1922, 1924), *Cymbeline* (1920), *Hamlet* (1921, 1923, 1929), *Othello* (1924), Julius Caesar (1926), *The Tempest* (1926), *Macbeth* (1923) and *Remeo and Juliet* (1921) were translated (Gim B. 1988:426-28).

[5] During the 1920s and 1930s, scholars who studied English or German literature, including Gim U-jin, Jeong In-seop, Gim Jin-seop and Gim Gwang-seop, introduced British playwrights and dramas in earnest. Shaw was most frequently discussed among British playwrights, because he was awarded The Nobel Prize for Literature (1925) and visited the Orient at one time (Shin 1994:205).

sixteen for British dramas and four for Irish dramas, the corresponding figures were eight for British dramas and twelve for Irish dramas during the 1930s (Gim B. 718-19).

The following lists detail translated Irish drama published and then staged in colonial Korea:[6]

Published Works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Translator	Source
Lord Dunsany	*The Glittering Gate*	*Beonjjeogineun Mun*	Gim U-jin	*Dongmyeong* 2:16(33). April 1923. 8-9.
	Fame and the Poet	*Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin*	Jo Yeong-dae	*Sincheonji* 2. April 1924.
	Golden Doom	*Hwanggeum Unmyeong*	Jang Gi-je	*Munye Wolgan*, 1:1. November 1931. 83-93
	The Tents of the Arabs	*Arabia ui Cheonmak*	Yi Ha-yun	*Donggwang* 36. August 1932. 107-17
	Fame and the Poet	*Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin*	An Yong-sun	*Joseon Ilbo Daily*, 6th to 9th December 1934.
Lady Gregory	*The Rising of the Moon*	*Daltt'eul Tt'ae*	Bak Yong-cheol	*Gaebyeok* 16. October 1921, 130-39
	The Rising of the Moon	*Wolchul*	Choe Byeong-han	*Daejung Gongron* 27, June 1930. 193-200
	The Rising of the Moon	*Wolchul*	Choe Jeong-u	*Joseon Ilbo Daily*. 3rd to 15th October 1931.
	The Workhouse Ward	*Binminwon*	Choe Jeong-u	*Donggwang* 35. July 1932. 114-19.
	The Gaol Gate	*Okmun*	Choe Jeong-u	*Joseon Ilbo Daily*. 8th to 14th February 1933
J.M Synge	*Riders to the Sea*	*Badaro Ganeun Jadeul*	Bak Yong-cheol	*Gaebyeok* 25. July 1922. 53-65
	Riders to the Sea	*Badaro Ganeun Gija*	Jang Gi-je	*Daejung Gongron* 22, March 1930. 208-19.
	Riders to the Sea	*Badaro Naaganeun Saramdeul*	unknown	*Byeolgeongon* 5:10 (46) 1930. 160-68
Sean O'Casey	*The Shadow of a Gunman*	*Pyeonuidae ui Geurimja*	Jang Gi-Je	*Joseon Ilbo Daily*. 21st August to 22nd September 1931.
St. J. Ervine	*The Magnanimous Lover*	*Gwandaehan Aein*	Jang Gi-je	*Donggwang* 35, July 1932. 101-13.
William B. Yeats	*The Only Jealousy of Emer*	*Pungrang gwa ui Ssaum*	Yim Hak-su	*Joseon Ilbo Daily*. 4th to 10th July 1936.
	The Words upon the Window Pane	*Changsal e namun sitgu*	Yim Hak-su	*Munjang* (1:4). April 1939. 92-156.

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[6] Shaw and Wilde are excluded from the list because they were regarded as English playwrights rather than Irish playwrights in colonial Korea. During the colonial period, six works by Oscar Wilde, including *Salome, Vera, The Importance of Being Ernest*, etc., and Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband* were published. Wilde's *Salome* was translated six times, but never performed in colonial Korea. Shaw's *How He Lied* and *Arms and the Man* were performed on the Korean stage.

Staged Works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Director	Theatre Company
Lord Dunsany	*The Glittering Gate*	*Challanhan Mun*	Gim U-jin	Geukyesul Hyeophoe, July 1921
	The Gods of the Mountain	*Jijanggyo ui Yurae*	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, July 1924
	Fame and the Poet	*Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin*	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, April 1925.
	The Gods of the Mountain	*Narma (misprint of Marma) ui Chilsin*	unknown	Ewha Girl's College, February 1929
	The Tents of the Arabs	*Arabia ui Cheonmak*	Yi Ha-yun	Yeonhi College, June 1933
Lady Gregory	*The Rising of the Moon*	*Wolchul*	Yeon Hak-nyeon	Paskyula, July 1927
	The Gaol Gate	*Okmun*	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
St. J. Ervine	*The Magnanimous Lover*	*Gwandaehan Aein*	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
T.C. Murray	*Birthright*	*Hyeongje*	Bulmyeongui	Myeong-Il Theatre, December 1932
J.M Synge	*In the Shadow of the Glen*	*Gokganyeong*	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, April 1925

Fifteen plays by seven playwrights were published in magazines or newspapers or produced on the stage during the colonial period. Among these, twelve works by six Irish playwrights were published, including four works by Lord Dunsany, three works by Lady Gregory, two works by W.B. Yeats, and one work each by J.M Synge, Sean O'Casey, and St. J. Ervine. Nine works by five playwrights were staged and six of them were also published. Among these, three works were introduced only on the stage, without being published in newspapers or magazines: Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain*, Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen*, and Murray's *Birthright.*

According to Bentley, "even more than other arts [...] drama is a chronicle and brief abstract of the time, revealing not only the surface but the whole material and spiritual structure of an epoch" (77), but it is difficult to find out why these particular works were selected, because they do not reveal consistency in their themes or subjects. The only clue is that the Irish playwrights chosen were those involved in the Irish dramatic movement. The playwrights listed here are enormously different - ranging from the mystic dramatist Lord Dunsany to the much tougher realist writer, Sean O'Casey. Ordinarily, to work out the selection criteria, one could study translators' prefaces (Bassnett, 2002), but the problem in this case is that no translators' prefaces can be found. Here, we examine the political and cultural contexts in which these translations were produced.

2. Resistance and Subversion in Modern Korean Theatre
Before the arrival of Western influence in the late nineteenth century, the traditional theatrical art in Korea was folk theatre, which was performed and enjoyed by the

lower classes.[7] Traditional folk theatre, including various forms of mask-dance drama, puppet theatre, *pansori* (solo-narrative performance) and shadow play, has a long history which stretches back several hundred years; during this time it has served religious, enlightenment, and amusement purposes (Cho O. 9). In the late nineteenth century, the modernisation movement began throughout Korean society as a result of contact with the Western world. Modern Korean literature blossomed, but even as modern theatre was forming, its formation and evolution were affected by Japanese colonial policy.[8] Japan transplanted and spread its own theatre in Korea while oppressing traditional Korean theatre. During the first period of colonial rule, from 1910 to 1919, Korean theatre was used as a site of [re-]production of the coloniser's culture, that is, *sinpa* theatre. During this period, Japanese *sinpa* theatre occupied the most prominent position in modern Korean theatre.

However, the Korean independence movement in 1919 brought changes. Cultural nationalism, which rose as an alternative resistance strategy to the colonial power after the failure of the political struggle in 1919, seeped into Korean theatre. The *singeuk* (new drama) modern Korean theatre movement rose as part of a cultural movement during the 1920s. The modern Korean theatre movement was launched in 1921 when a small group of college students in Tokyo produced Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gates* and Korean playwright Jo Myeong-hi's *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* (*The Death of Gim Yeong-il*) in Korea. The group was called the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, and was created by some members of the Geukyesul Hyeophoe (Theatre Arts Association). After a successful tour by the company in 1921, other *singeuk* theatre companies were formed. The Towolhoe (Earth-Moon Association) was one of these companies, becoming a dominant theatre company in Korea during the 1920s. With the appearance of *singeuk* theatre companies, the position of *sinpa* companies and practitioners who occupied key positions was degraded. The dominant position of *singeuk* theatre companies continued throughout the 1930s with the formation of the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe (Theatre Arts Research Association, TARA) in 1931. This company was organised around twelve young scholars who studied at Japanese universities. It became the central Korean theatre company and had great influence throughout the 1930s.

The leaders of the movement were not practitioners or dramatists who occupied dominant positions in Korean theatre. They were students at Japanese colleges who went to Japan because access to college and university education was limited in colonial Korea. They aimed to establish a modern national theatre and ultimately to recover their national independence. For this purpose, they saw theatre as a means of national awakening, and accordingly emphasised its social and educational function. They wanted to represent the realities of the Korean people under colonialism on the stage. However, the leaders of the modern Korean theatre

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[7] All forms of traditional Korean theatre were for the lower classes except the *Cheoyongmu* (*Cheoyong* dance) during the United Silla period (676-892). The *Cheoyong* dance was a Korean court mask dance created for the upper classes in Korea, based on the legend of *Cheoyong*, a son of the Dragon King of the Eastern Sea.

[8] Some scholars argue that modern Korean literature began when Western literature was introduced after *Kabogyeongjang* (The Reform of 1894), while others see its indigenous beginnings in late Joseon times from about the eighteenth century (Cho D. 1997:103).

movement had to depend on the import of foreign drama because the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was still young.

Therefore, the motives and position of translated drama in colonial Korea were closely related to the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement. The leaders of the movement thought they needed a totally new type of theatre, which had an entirely new concept, a new role and a new function as opposed to the aesthetic principles of the coloniser's *sinpa*. They regarded translated drama as a model for the establishment of a modern Korean theatre and sought to borrow high status texts from advanced countries such as Europe and the United States. Translated drama was not a means of entertainment, but a text for study. It was a text of stage language, dramaturgy and staging techniques for Korean theatre practitioners and dramatists. The position of translated drama was "central" and "primary".[9] At the same time, the leaders of the Korean theatre movement needed translated drama to serve the purpose of national awakening. Translated drama should be able to reflect the realities of the Korean people. They were also interested in the survival of the Korean language and they considered translation to be one of the means to save and reform the language because, during the colonial period, the Korean language suffered a decline through the Japanese colonial government's language policy to Japanise the Korean people.

Their interest in Irish drama appeared in this context. The leaders of the movement, who were actually Korean intellectuals, considered Irish drama as a model, but due to censorship by the Japanese colonial government, they were unable to express their position directly. Instead, in articles, they expressed their interest in particular aspects of Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. We can trace their intentions by analysing relevant publications.

3. Representation of the Irish Dramatic Movement
Major articles on Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement began to appear in 1921 and continued to be published throughout the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, more than thirty articles by twenty writers were published in newspapers or magazines relating to Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement, which represented all aspects of Irish drama during the period. Discussing the oppressive ideological premises of the activity of Orientalists, Edward Said argued that there is no simple one-to-one correspondence between reality and the way in which reality is presented. This is because "all representations, because they are representations, are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer" (272). Korean writers represented the Irish dramatic movement to serve their ideological purpose in the publications in a different sense from that expressed by Said. They emphasised certain aspects of the Irish dramatic movement, which they wanted to achieve in the Korean theatre movement, or sometimes distorted facts to serve their ideological purpose.

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[9] According to Even-Zohar, there are three kinds of situation when translations can be primary (i.e. innovative): (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature (1990:193-94).

First of all, Korean writers stressed an affinity with Ireland as a victim of colonialism (Gim G. 1935a, An 1933, Bak N. 1933). Irish people and Korean people had similar experiences under colonialism. News or articles on Ireland first appeared even before the annexation of Korea by Japan and increased after the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919: in the three years from 1920 to 1922, four hundred and seventy six articles, including ten leading articles, were published in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, one of the nationalist newspapers, in relation to the Irish political situation and the Irish independence movement. This affinity between their situations aroused interest in Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement as the product of a colonised people. Of course, the Korean people also had affinity for other colonised countries such as India and Vietnam. Articles on the political situations of those countries were published quite often. But here, the affinity did not lead to interest in their drama. One of the reasons for that was that they were not European countries: modernisation meant Westernisation to Korean intellectuals at that time. Ireland was the only Western European country that was perceived as having both an early and a late colonial experience.

In this context, the definition of Irish drama was specific to them. Just as they considered Japanese *sinpa* theatre as the coloniser's, they thought the thriving theatres in Dublin in the 18th century had no meaning in the development of Irish theatre because they were colonisers' theatres. True Irish drama, in their view, appeared only after the Abbey Theatre was established in 1904.[10] Therefore, they treated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Oliver Goldsmith, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw as belonging to the British literary world and excluded them from their list of Irish writers.

Korean writers' interpretation of the Irish context was constituted on the basis of similarity between their situations: that is to say, as victims of colonialism. Although they sometimes described Irish people as having poetic imagination, a mystical nature, humour, unyieldingness, or a non-cooperative nature, the language they used most frequently when discussing the Irish included words such as wanderer, vagabond, roamer, stranger, tears, lamentation or fantasy (An 1933, Gim G. 1935a & 1935b). Their interpretation was based on an active Irish break from imperialist oppression and mistreatment. Therefore, Korean writers understood, "Irish literature which described these national traits had greatly related to the political path Irish people have walked in and represented Irish history full of tears and regrets" (Gim G. 1935c). This understanding also reflected in their appreciation of Irish plays. For example, Dunsany's fantasy play *The Glittering Gate* was seen as depicting Irish people who longed to break the fetters of colonialism (An 1933). Thus, Dunsany was considered as a nationalist writer. The reason why Dunsany was not staged at the Abbey Theatre between 1911 and 1919, in their view, was because he did not deal with things Irish – Irish gods, legends or peasants (An 1933). Likewise, Korean writers emphasised patriotic and nationalistic aspects in the introduction of Irish playwrights, including Yeats, Gregory, Synge and O'Casey. They also emphasised that although Irish playwrights had to use the coloniser's language, English, as opposed to Irish Gaelic, it was different from that of the coloniser. The language they used was full of Irishness (An 1933, Jeong 1938a & 1938b). Therefore, "what some Irish dramatists, stripped strategically of the Irish language, have tactically turned to

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[10] The Abbey Theatre which opened its doors to the public in December 1904 was the first Irish theatre which was more than a provincial or colonial derivative of the London theatre (Rubin, 1994: 467).

their advantage" was "the once alien English tongue, making of it their own weapon of resistance in the process of claiming their identity" (Duncan 3).

Korean writers considered the Irish dramatic movement itself to be nationalistic, not to mention the playwrights who were involved in the movement. They emphasised the movement as part of the Irish nationalist movement (An 1933, Bak N. 1933, Gim G. 1934 & 1935a). They pointed out that the Irish dramatic movement had emerged as a form of cultural nationalism due to the failure of political struggles following the downfall of Charles S. Parnell, the leader of Home Rule. They emphasised the nationalistic aspects of Irish drama and its contribution to the emergence of the Irish Free State in 1922. The international prestige of the Abbey Theatre was another important aspect for Korean writers because of its contribution to the introduction of Irish culture to the world and to the improvement of the standard of Irish drama on an international level (Jeong 1938a, Gim G. 1935b, Yu 1932, Yi H. 1930).[11]

As seen above, the Korean writers were interested in the Irish dramatic movement because of its political connotations rather than its literary or aesthetic value. They were interested in the context in which the plays were produced rather than individual plays or playwrights. Although more than half of the publications were written by leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement - Gim Gwang-seop, Yu Chi-jin, Jang Gi-je and Jeong In-seop - the rest were written by poets, novelists and scholars. Therefore, Irish drama was considered a means of fostering a nationalistic movement among intellectuals as well as in the literary world as a whole. Some Korean translators of Irish drama, including Gim U-jin, Jeong In-seop and An Yong-sun, had also played a part in forming the representation through their articles. Irish drama translation was formed in this context.

Conclusion
Every translation activity has a purpose, and to find out what that is, we need to ask questions such as: 'who did the translation?' and 'why?' Sometimes it is difficult to know the purpose because the transfer of texts does not necessarily depend on the supposed intrinsic value of the text itself alone. The purpose of Irish drama translations in colonial Korea during the 1920s and 1930s can be traced by analysing the socio-political and socio-cultural context rather than looking at the text contents. The representation of the Irish dramatic movement shows why Korean dramatists and drama practitioners considered Irish drama as a model on which to base their own national theatre. This perspective offered a crucial context wherein individual translators selected Irish playwrights. The trajectories of Irish translators – experience of staying in Japan as students and direct or indirect involvement in modern Korean theatre - demonstrate this fact. This is why playwrights such as Dunsany and O'Casey, whose literary and ideological orientations were totally different, could be translated and imported side by side for the same purpose. They were imported to Korea as a model not only of theatre writing but also of nationalistic resistance.

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[11] In an essay entitled "Possible universals of literary contacts", Even-Zohar pointed out "prestige and dominance" as one of the reasons for a source literature being selected (1975/1978:44).

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The Politics of Translators' Prefaces:
with an analysis of F. W. Newman's preface to Homer's *Iliad*

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Introduction

Homer's *Iliad* is one of the most frequently translated texts in Britain, and there have been more than one hundred versions (partial and complete) since George Chapman (1559-1634)'s in 1598-1611. This paper seeks to investigate what translators' prefaces reveal with regard to translation practice from an analysis of a preface to Homer's *Iliad* by the Victorian translator F. W. Newman[1] (1805-1897). Matthew Arnold (1822-1888)'s arguments, in particular, in *On Translating Homer* (1861) will be considered along with Newman's preface because Newman's archaising translation and preface provoked a heated debate with Arnold over how to translate Homer. Therefore, firstly, through the consideration of translators' role, I intend to meticulously examine why translators' prefaces, which are extraneous to the actual translation itself, are significant. Secondly, I will analyse what is revealed in Newman's preface and what is behind his choices in terms of metre, style and diction along with Arnold's criticism.

I. The Significance of Translators' Prefaces

The role of the translator in the process of translating has long been neglected. This seems to be closely associated with the fact that translation has been viewed as having an inferior position compared to original writing. In addition, as Lawrence Venuti effectively argues, it may be because the intervention of the translator in the foreign text has been concealed by the illusion of transparency, which is an effect of fluent discourse (1-2). As a result, the translator has often tended to be invisible; there follows a rather distorted impression that translation is merely a transport from one language to another, without any interference.

However, as Jacques Derrida points out, translation is not a transparent transfer:

> […] for the notion of translation we would have to substitute a notion of *transformation*. […] we will never have, and in fact never had, to do with some 'transport' of pure signifieds from one language to another, or within one and the same language, that the signifying instrument would leave virgin and untouched (Derrida 20).

It follows that the role of the translator – the very cause of the 'transformation' – should not be overlooked. As Susan Bassnett argues in her essay, "The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator," it is time to "recognise the role they [translators] play in reshaping texts, a role that is far from innocent, and is very visible indeed" (1996: 23) and the role of the translator can be "reassessed in terms of analysing the intervention of the translator" in the process of translating (1996: 22).

In this regard, a close examination of translators' prefaces or any kind of prefatory material such as introductions and prefatory notes will be illuminating, as they can be seen as translators' significant statements, contribute to discourse on translation, and can even be manifestos in terms of cultural politics. Through their prefaces,

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[1] Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. F. W. Newman (London: Walton and Maberley, 1856)

translators become visible[2]. Prefaces are not only an interpretative tool for the translated text. More importantly, they can also reveal, in detail, what roles translators are playing, how they intervene between two different languages, what and why they omit or add, how and why they may change or reshape the source text, and what norms they employ. In addition, prefaces may demonstrate translators' purposes: why, for example, they translate a certain text rather than something else and what effect they may expect their translations to have on their own literature.

The intervention or the role of the translator is ideologically and politically determined; translators are not an innocent or transparent medium. They are influenced and constrained by the time and place in which they live, or more specifically, by the politics and ideologies, the prevailing poetical norms of their times and by the expectations of their target readers or patrons. Therefore, a translator's work is always made for his own time. In other words, translators reshape the original for the sake of their times and translation serves the interests of its time and place. Their every choice, whether it is about metre, diction or style, is always under the influence of their times.

We can look to Alexander Pope (1688-1744) for a good illustration of this. He chose the heroic couplet in his translations of Homer, since rhymed couplets were the dominant poetic form in the eighteenth century for original poems.[3] However, by the end of that century they began to decline and then went out of fashion in the nineteenth century. In 1791, William Cowper (1731-1800) chose blank verse, to be specific, Miltonic blank verse, against Pope's tradition in his Homer translations. In his preface, he states that faithful translation cannot be achieved using rhymed couplets, criticising Pope's fettered translation (5-6). Alexander Geddes (1637-1802) and Ichabod Charles Wright (1795-1871) also chose blank verse in their translations of Homer in 1792 and 1859 respectively. By the twentieth century, many translators started to employ prose because translators considered the tastes and expectations of modern readers. For example, Richards chose prose and used plain English in his translation of Homer's *Iliad* in 1950, as if he were translating a novel. In his preface, he confidently declares that he adopted prose in order to appeal to the general reader, which includes foreign readers as well.

It should be noted that all the translators have followed the norms of their own times, which have changed continuously from age to age throughout the history of Homer translations. This would suggest that they are closely connected to contemporary ideologies. Translators' prefaces provide evidence for this as the above-mentioned cases of Cowper's and Richards' translations show; furthermore, they can be read as documents that not only indicate cultural and political implications of translation but also bear upon the historical development of culture.

John Dryden (1631-1700), the "lawgiver of English translation" (Steiner 28), produced several influential and significant prefaces. In 1680, when he translated Ovid's *Epistles,* he divided translation in his preface into three parts: metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation. And he advocated 'paraphrase' for a translation strategy. In addition, he outlined a translator's qualifications and tasks, such as being master

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[2] Translators' essays, footnotes and correspondence as well can make them visible, demonstrating how they interfere in their originals.

[3] In fact, Pope is generally regarded as the great master of the heroic couplet with John Dryden.

of both languages and understanding the characteristics that distinguish his author. In his "Dedication of the *Aeneis*" (1697), he implies at least one purpose of his translation, the age demanding that: "I trade both with the Living and the Dead, for the enrichment of our Native Language" (74). This suggests the ideology and society of the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century in Britain.

After the end of the fifteenth century, European countries such as Spain, Portugal and the Dutch Republic started to wield power over the world, by having naval superiority and establishing colonies abroad, while Britain's role in this expansion of European power was limited. However, the situation changed in Britain's favour in the second half of the seventeenth century (Black 271). Britain became powerful and prosperous in terms of commerce, colonial exploitation, and naval power from the late seventeenth century and this became most apparent in the eighteenth century (272). As commerce and economy developed, the British people began to look at their own language and literature with pride and interest and wanted to create and develop their own literature and culture, imitating classical works. Many kinds of attempts were made for that purpose. For instance, Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) published a massive *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755.

Translation was another attempt, which played a crucial role. As Black argues, people's desires to create Britishness and celebrate the modern entailed an anglicisation of classical and Hebraic forms, poetic forms and contents. Dryden contributed greatly to that movement by anglicising the epic (180). Through translation, he appropriated foreign literatures in order to "serve domestic cultural and political agendas (Venuti 63)." Those agendas belong to his time. Therefore, it can be said that his purpose of translation was the demand of ideologies of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century.

It is interesting to note that, in translators' prefaces, various metaphors of translation have been employed. Dryden used 'slavery' in his "Dedication of the Aeneis" in 1697; John Denham compared unpoetic translation as 'Caput mortuum' in his preface to *The Destruction of Troy* in 1656. Geddes used 'treading the author's footsteps as nearly as possible' in his preface to his translation of the *Iliad* in 1792; Newman used photography as a metaphor of translation in his preface to the *Iliad* in 1856; J. G. Cordery used a 'painting of nature' in his preface to the *Iliad* in 1871.

Finding answers to why those different metaphors have existed in different times is so crucial that the metaphor of translation is a very useful tool in analysing translators' prefaces. Metaphor can illuminate, from a different angle, a variety of facets of its object. Moreover, it is imperfect by nature, and this trait can reveal a new face of the object it describes: "A fresh metaphor may offer a striking new imaginative insight into an old problem" (Hanne 211). This property of metaphor enables one to explore different faces of translation through metaphors of translation of different times.

First of all, metaphors of translation make it possible to understand contemporary concepts of translation or translators' attitudes towards translation[4]. In his essay, "Images of Translation," in *The Manipulation of Literature* (1985), Theo Hermans discusses the common concept and position of translation through images,

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[4] It can be said that the concept of metaphor of translation is also deep down ideological because attitudes to, and concepts of, translation are ideologically determined.

metaphors of translation and in the Renaissance and the mid-seventeenth century. He states that most metaphors of translation suggests the "inferiority of the translation" and the "deficient talents of the translator" (1985: 113).

More importantly, metaphors of translation reflect ideological and political aspects as translators' conscious or unconscious choice of metaphors is connected to the time and the place. According to Hermans, in the Renaissance, translation was often compared to "digging up treasure, unlocking chests, hauling treasures from overseas, even bringing someone back from the dead", all of which are related to "bringing to light something valuable that had been lost or forgotten" (2002: 6). Those metaphors best characterise and mirror the Renaissance which was fascinated by the rediscovery of Classical literature and culture and in which explorers brought back treasure from the New World.

It will be vital to note when, why and in what context metaphor of translation changes, for it reveals changes in ideologies between any two periods. As metaphor of translation is a concept of translation that a contemporary age demands, defines or allows, it mirrors how translation is influenced or intertwined with its contemporary time and place and therefore, with regard to this analysis of translators' prefaces, is a feature worthy of closer scrutiny.

II. The Analysis of the Victorian Translator Newman's Preface
Among others, Newman's preface merits attention. It offers very valuable information with respect to a translation strategy of the Victorian age: archaising. The archaising translation's aim is to "convey the remoteness both in time and place of the original work by the use of a mock-antique language which was called by William Morris "Wardour Street English"…" (Cohen 24).

This translation strategy was very powerful in Victorian times; Victorian translators such as Thomas Carlyle, Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti along with Newman were the leading exponents of archaism (Bassnett and Peter France 52 and Bassnett 2002: 71). As Bassnett and France argue, archaising translation "reflected the respect in which the medieval and ancient world was held, in contrast with the corruption of the modern world" (52). There was a tendency that they wanted to represent the original as it is, and they refused to modernise the ancient original for modern tastes. This kind of archaism is well-demonstrated in Newman's choices of diction, style and metre.

It is noteworthy that Newman's translation of the *Iliad* provoked a heated debate with Matthew Arnold over how best to translate Homer. The debate between the two scholars began with Arnold's public criticism of Newman. After Newman translated Homer's *Iliad* in 1856, Arnold published *On Translating Homer* (which consisted of three lectures) in 1861, in which, discussing how to translate Homeric epics properly, he denounced previous translations such as Chapman's, Pope's, Cowper's and, in particular, Newman's, on the basis that "Homer is rapid in his movement, Homer is plain in his words and style, Homer is simple in his ideas, Homer is noble in his manner" (250). Then, in 1861, offended by Arnold's public disapproval of his translation, Newman wrote a reply, *Homeric Translation in Theory and Practice* to justify his translation and to prove that Arnold's criticisms were absurd. Finally, Arnold published *Last Words on Translating Homer* to reinforce his argument against

Newman in 1862. Therefore, it would be helpful to analyse Newman's preface along with Arnold's criticism.

Newman's preface, which systematically demonstrates what he sought in translating Homer and how he translated him, gives Arnold all the ammunition he needs in order to prove that Newman's principles of translating Homer are wrong. Arnold attacks Newman in *On Translating Homer* in a number of ways, often quoting passages from Newman's preface. For example, he criticises Newman for his choice of diction. Newman states:

> The style of Homer himself is direct, popular, forcible, quaint, flowing, garrulous, abounding with formulas, redundant in particles and affirmatory interjections, as also in grammatical connectives of time, place, and argument (Newman iv).

Cleverly quoting "quaint," "garrulous," "prosaic," "low," Arnold argues that the man who could use those four kinds of dictions for Homeric translation can never translate Homer truly (231): "Well then, Homer is neither quaint, nor garrulous, nor prosaic, nor mean" (233).

Furthermore, Newman opines that, as the entire dialect of Homer is essentially archaic, that of a translation ought to be as much Saxo-Norman as possible and owe as little as possible to the elements thrown into our language by classical learning (vi). Newman believed that translators should use the old English language, not Latinate words. English language has borrowed a great number of words from other languages; from around the seventeenth century, Latin words began to be introduced to English language in earnest.

In response, Arnold disapproves of this idea of Newman's. He states that the translator should not make an attempt to create a special vocabulary for his use in translation, not exclude a certain class of English and not confine himself to another class, obeying theories about peculiar qualities of Homer's style (213). Arnold provides two reasons for his objection to Newman's diction: firstly, Newman's principle with diction is dangerous because it tends to accompany pedantry, which is most un-Homeric; secondly, it is false because Latin elements brought English close to the languages of Greece and Rome (213).

Then, when Newman suggests the analogy between the English ballad and Homer's style in his preface, Arnold castigates Newman for choosing the old ballad measure. Newman says that "[…] the first matter of all, is, to select the meter; with which the style is intimately connected. The moral qualities of Homer's style being like to those of the English ballad, we need a metre of the same genius. It must be fundamentally musical and popular" (v). Arnold replies to it, by referring to Newman's analogy as "erroneous": a "certain style might be the genuine style of ballad-poetry, but yet not the style of Homer. The analogy of the ballad is ever present to Mr Newman's thoughts in considering Homer; and perhaps nothing has more caused his faults than this analogy, − this popular, but, it is time to say, this erroneous analogy" (236). In short, he believes that this analogy is fatally wrong in Homeric translation.

Arnold argues that "ballad-style and the ballad-measure are eminently *in*appropriate to render Homer. Homer's manner and movement are always both noble and powerful: the ballad-manner and movement are often either jaunty and smart, so not

noble; or jogtrot and humdrum, so not powerful" (239: Italics are Arnold's). He states that, as a result, the ballad lacks 'the grand style'. The ballad-manner and the ballad-measure, whoever translates Homer, cannot render him because they cannot reproduce Homer's nobleness (248). Instead, he advocated the hexameter as a measure for rendering Homer into English because, for him, that metre provides the translator with the "immense support of keeping him more nearly than any other metre to Homer's movement" (257). He adds that Homer's general effect can be best retained through the hexameter measure (257).

In fact, a frequent experiment with the hexameter among translators of Homer is one conspicuous phenomenon of Victorian translation[5]. In his preface (1866), J. F. W. Hershel argues that the hexameter is a satisfactory metre for the translation of Homer, dismissing some people's argument that Greek metre depends on quantity whereas English metre depends on accent (viii). Charles Willmore also chose the hexameter in the same year. In his preface, he states that "one great principle in translating poetry is, if the language admits it, to preserve the metre of the original" (vii). According to him, the poet can choose a certain metre suitable for his subject, but the translator does not have any right to do so if he wants to be faithful to his author. He suggests that, in order to capture the author's spirit, the form should agree with the original's form (vii). There were other Victorian translators who favoured the hexameter: J. I. Cochrane[6], J. H. Dart[7], F. H. J. Risto[8], John Murray[9] and James T. B. Landon[10].

In his preface, Newman's archaising translation is clearly demonstrated in his declaration that as the translator he should "retain every peculiarity of the original, so far as *I am able, with the greater care, the more foreign it may happen to be − whether it be matter of taste, of intellect, or of morals*" (xvi: Italics are Newman's)[11]. His archaising strategy is revealed in several other places in his preface. Newman mentions that he is concerned with the "*artistic* problem of attaining a plausible aspect of moderate antiquity" and so he ought to be "quaint," not "grotesque" (x: Italics are Newman's). In terms of grammar, he notes that he used a number of old-

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[5] As Felicity Rosslyn points out, for many Victorian translators, being true to the original meant fidelity to Homer's hexameter (354). In other words, for them, in order to be faithful to Homer, the overarching thing to be considered in translation is to copy the form of Homer's epics, which is the hexameter although that metre has never been popular in English poems. The iambic pentameter has been the most favoured metre.

[6] Homer, *Homer's Iliad*, trans. J. I. Cochrane (London: Hardwicke and Co.,1862)

[7] Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. J. H. Dart (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865) (the first edition is 1862)

[8] Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. F. H. J. Risto (London: Rivingtons, 1861)

[9] Homer, *The Iliad Book I*, trans. John Murray (London: Walton and Maberly, 1862)

[10] Homer, *Homer Iliad A*, trans. James T. B. Landon (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1862)

[11] This phrase suggests that there is an ethical element in Newman's translation as Venuti argues in "Nation" in *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995). Newman's translation can be foreignising whereas Arnold's domesticating. Newman respected the foreignness of the ancient epic which is far away from nineteenth-century England in place and time, that is, the cultural difference while Arnold modernised the original for modern readers.

fashioned formulas while he attempted to "keep up the more elongated pronunciations" (xii) in order to suit the older style. In addition, he states that he inverted words not only for metrical expedients but also for the style that evokes antiquity (xi).

It is significant to note that Newman's archaism, that is, his view of urging the translator to "retain every peculiarity of the original", seems related to the way of thinking in the modern world, which is demonstrated in his metaphors. In his preface, he argues that the translator should be a "daguerreotypist," an early form of a photographer, rather than a "fashionable portrait-painter" (xix). According to him, it is because the translator's duty is to "impart the English reader the means of judging for himself what the true Homer really was, not to "idealize" the *Iliad*" (xix).

These metaphors, a daguerreotype or photography[12], are significant in a number of ways. Firstly, they reveal contemporary ideas of what translation should be like and the best quality of translation − fidelity. In addition, it gives one a glimpse of a technological aspect of mid-nineteenth-century British society – the invention and increasingly widespread use of photography or the development of technology.[13] More importantly, it reflects two mutually-related facets of ideologies or ways of thinking of that era: 'positivism' that emphasises facts and scientific methods and 'realism' that depicts things and people as they are in real life. Art and literature, including, as we have seen, Homeric translation, sought to represent life just as a photographer would take a picture of an object.

It is important to note that all these ideological connotations of photography come under the umbrella of modernity. They are based on, and related to, science, which stems from the Latin *scientia* meaning knowledge. Knowledge has become important in modern times and led to the development of science, which has contributed to creating the modern world. Science and knowledge are the main characteristics of modernity. Nature has become an object of knowledge and even the human body and mind has become a field of science. In translation, the source text has become an object of knowledge. Seen in this context, the metaphor of photography reveals that Victorian society believed that the source text could be scientifically approached as an object of knowledge.

The debate between Arnold and Newman demonstrates that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the two with regard to Homeric translation. However, their different translation strategies reflect some aspects of modern society in the Victorian age. Newman attempted to "preserve every peculiarity of the original," reminding modern readers that the epic that they are reading is not a modern piece of work. He rejected the idea of suiting modern tastes in translation. His archaism seems to have stemmed from his belief in knowledge and science, which were characteristic of Victorian times. He believed that translators would have to represent the ancient source text accurately and intact as if they could photograph it, even though there

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[12] Hershel also employed a similar metaphor, photography, in his preface (1866) when he talked about the superiority of German language for translating Homer, giving an example of Voss' translation (xi-xii).

[13] In 1839, in France, Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) invented daguerreotype, an early photographic technique. In Britain, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877)'s invention of a calotype process in 1841 contributed to the widespread use of photography.

was a huge gap of around 3,000 years in time between the author's time and translators' time. Also, he thought that this project would be feasible. His vast philological knowledge contributed to the formation of this belief in archaism[14]. And Arnold blamed that knowledge for Newman's inappropriate translation in his essay *Last Words on Translating Homer*; he thought that Newman was misled by taking a philological and historical view (351).

While Newman approached Homer's *Iliad* scientifically and realistically, not allowing any imagination, Arnold approached it didactically and poetically, thinking that the nobleness of Homer's work, which Victorian society lacked, can be obtained through translation. In "Preface to First Edition of Poems" (1853), he describes his present age as "wanting in moral grandeur" and "an age of spiritual discomfort" (14). He thought that translators should recreate the ancient epic for the modern world so that they could introduce the nobleness of Homer to it. Homer's works provided Arnold with a "refuge from the multitudinousness, the narrowness, the materialism of Victorian England" (Anderson 88). It can be said that for him the classics are a cure for his society and translation is one important method of reforming the Victorian society. Therefore, it is obvious that the old English ballad, which is often regarded as ordinary, light, simple, and is even often associated with peasants' poems, was not acceptable. Arnold believed that translation ought to be an effective means of ameliorating Victorian society and literature, dismissing Newman's translation as harmful for them.

Conclusion

Translators' prefaces defy the idea that translators are innocent and transparent media and show that translators are visible. They show that translation, which is a rewriting of an original text, "reflect[s] a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (Bassnett and Lefevere vii). My analysis of the Victorian translator Newman's preface to Homer's *Iliad* indicates that translators' prefaces contain valuable information such as Victorian translators' archaising tendency and scientific approach in translation. In addition, it demonstrates that Victorian translation reflects contemporary ideologies and, hence, that translation and ideologies are connected. Finding a link between translation and contemporary ideology, translators' prefaces provide a rich seam of information and discourse about translation, and its ideological and political implications. It follows that translators' prefaces require intensive further exploration and have real potential to broaden the horizons of translation studies.

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[14] Newman's archaising translation shares an interest in philology with Victorian translators such as Blackie. Blackie's preface describes why even the most approved translations of Homer committed offences against the spirit of Homer's poetry. They failed to be philologists: "because they had never grappled seriously with any question of Greek language and Greek thought; because, though they were good poets, they did not profess to be philologers" (viii).

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Translation as the interface between literature and radio during Estado Novo: a preliminary approach (1930's) ✣

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> *Let's hope you never leave old friend*
> *Like all good things on you we depend*
> *So stick around cos we might miss you*
> *When we grow tired of all this visual*
> *You had your time, you had the power*
> *You've yet to have your finest hour*
>
> Queen, "Radio Gaga" (1984)

According to a BBC press office article (BBC 'Press Office'), *The Archers*, on air on BBC Radio Four since May 1950 to the present day, is the longest running radio drama broadcast by the British radio – while on the other side of the Atlantic, for instance, the two longest running North American dramas *Amos 'n Andy* (first called *Sam 'n Henry* and broadcast by WGN) and *Unshackled!* (also a WGN programme) were on air, respectively, from 1926 to 1960 (Ingram) and from September 1950 to the present day (Reynalds).[1] *The Archers* is a commissioned programme: the BBC employs one person or a team of people, as is the case for *The Archers* nowadays, to write the scripts. However, authors such as Dylan Thomas, Harold Pinter, Arthur Miller and David Mamet, have also written for the radio and it is often the case that famous literary careers begin precisely with this particular kind of writing. On the other hand, some of the series or plays that can be heard on the radio were not originally conceived as works to be broadcast in such a fashion - many were indeed published or performed first.

In some countries, this crossing between literature and radio is as old as radio itself. According to Ian Rodger, who has done research on the history of British radio drama:

> when public radio broadcasting started in the twenties, it was immediately used in much the same manner in all countries to broadcast news and information. (…) But on either side of the news bulletins, the different national cultures immediately displayed preferences for forms of entertainment which appealed to existing national tastes and interests. It was quickly realised that radio could be used to broadcast live concerts and recordings of music, but the kind of music chosen and preferred varied greatly from country to country. (…) In Britain, where pioneer commercial stations were replaced by a state monopoly in 1922, there was some preference for ballads and music-hall songs, but a cultural bias (…) determined very early that this new form of communication should be used to transmit drama (2).

✣ A version of this paper was given at the 5th Translation Studies Colloquium - Traduzir durante o Estado Novo (Translating during the New State), at the Catholic University of Lisbon and published in the proceedings of the conference.

[1] *Amos 'n Andy* underwent several format changes throughout the years and was broadcast by different radio stations.

This could therefore explain that the world's first play specifically written for radio, broadcast in 1922, should have been broadcast from London.[2] Different countries showed other cultural preferences and their socio-political contexts would determine for each case a unique relationship between literature in general (and drama in particular) and the radio.

What kind of relationship between these two aspects was there in the Portuguese case? Who and what was being broadcast on radio? And what kind of role did foreign literature have within that context? These are a few of the first questions to be raised in my analysis of works of literature, and more specifically foreign literature, making their way into the radio through a series of steps that constitute a process which can be considered translation in more than one way. This paper analyses the foundations of the interface that translation came to represent between literature and radio in Portugal, while at the same time it demonstrates some of the reasons for the need and relevance of studying translations for the radio.

Radio and Literature during New State

Portuguese radio, in the professional sense, was born during the 1930's, under the authoritarian regime led by António de Oliveira Salazar, known as *Estado Novo*, the New State (1933-1974). The state-owned Portuguese national broadcasting station, *Emissora Nacional Portuguesa*, was inaugurated in 1935, two years after the approval of the Constitution that legitimised *Estado Novo,* after the first experimental broadcast sessions that had begun in the Spring of 1933 and after the publication of the first law regulating radio activity in 1930.[3] The latter testifies to the fact that the Portuguese state had realised the importance of this activity, given that it established that every radio broadcast service, as well as other services related to radio electricity, would belong to the state, which could grant licenses for experimental and, later on (Decreto Lei nr. 22783, 29 June 1933), private radio activity. The state was also entitled to suspend the usage of private radio electrical stations whenever it thought it should in order to cater for public security and national defence. Besides attempting to control the activity in general, this law also expressed the state's wish to take part in it, namely by allowing the Ministry of Commerce and Communications (Ministério do Comércio e das Comunicações) to buy and install two broadcasting stations.

As with so many other countries and governments, this extraordinary new means of communication proved to be immensely appealing in all its innovative potential for communication with the masses. In one of the acts that had been passed the Government had stated its intention of "taking the Portuguese word to all the Portuguese people scattered across the vast empire, across Brazil and across North America"[4] (Decreto Lei nr. 22783). One section of society which could particularly benefit from the broadcasting activity was obviously the illiterate one, a very

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[2] *The Truth about Father Christmas*, a Christmas play by Phyllis M. Twigg, broadcast by BBC in December 1922 (Robertson 326).

[3] 'Decreto Lei' or Act of Parliament number 17899, 29 January 1930. In 1916 an Act of Law had been passed that regulated the wireless amateur radio stations, but according to Santos (70) it was suspended during the First World War.

[4] My translation; 'levar a palavra lusíada a todos os portugueses espalhados pelo […] vasto império, pelo Brasil e pela América do Norte') (Decerto Lei nr. 22783). All the translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

significant part of Portuguese society during at least the first decade of Emissora Nacional's activity. According to Vieira (214) almost 62% of the Portuguese population above seven years of age was illiterate in 1930, an amount that had decreased to 49% ten years later. The differences between the number of literate men and that of literate women were considerably smaller than the difference between the number of literate people in Lisbon or Porto and in the rest of the country. More specifically, in 1930 the number of literate women throughout the Portuguese *distritos*[5], excluding the *distritos* and cities of Porto and Lisbon, ranged between 16% and 30%, and between 25.5% and 42% in 1940. For the same years, the percentage of literate women in the city of Porto was, respectively, around 50% and 60%, and 60% and 67% in Lisbon. As far as the male population is concerned, in 1930 there were between 28% and 55.5% of literate men across the country, excluding Lisbon and Porto, while in 1940 there were between 35% and almost 66%. For the same years in Porto the amount was 77.5% and almost 81% and in Lisbon around 78% and 84% (Ramos 1094). Predictably, it was precisely in those two cities, where the largest number of literate men and women lived, that access to radio was wider. However, any attempt to measure or calculate the impact of radio during this period should not ignore the fact that even though radio was able to reach everyone, not everyone could in fact reach the radio. By comparing the data collected by Ribeiro (137-140) and Ramos (1094), it becomes apparent that no simple cause-effect relationship can be established between the amount of literate men and women per *distrito* and the number of broadcasting devices legally registered in each area. In fact, the three *distritos* with the lowest literacy levels show a number of legally registered broadcasting devices that is close to the national average of devices per *distrito* for the same period of time. This does not say much about who exactly was beginning to listen to radio, but it does not contradict the expectation that the listeners or, more accurately, the proprietors of radio receivers were among the literate sections of the population in the different areas of the country. However, the three regions with the lowest number of radio devices had a literacy level that is close to the national average, excluding the particular cases of Lisbon and Porto. In other words, a higher number of educated people did not necessarily correspond to a higher number of radio sets, thus indicating that other elements are needed if we want to better characterise the radio-listening population in those areas.

The enormous difference clearly setting the two main urban areas of Porto and Lisbon apart from the rest of the country in terms of the percentage of literate people is also present when we consider the number of radio sets owned. While in 1939 1,531 was the national average of legally registered receivers per *distrito*, in that same year there were 89,300 devices registered in Lisbon alone. The case was similar in Porto, and these numbers account for the fact that 2,805 receivers in the area of Santarém, for instance, forty-eight miles away from the capital, corresponded to a mere 3% of the national total. Moreover, this difference between the two largest cities and the rest of the country should hold true even if we could somehow account for the phenomenon of communal radio listening, whereby one sole person owned a radio set, for instance but, having been placed in a public space such as a café, there would be several listeners, or for fact that many radio receivers might not have been registered at all, in order, as suggested by Ribeiro (139), to avoid paying for the radio broadcasting fee imposed in 1933.

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[5] A *distrito* is a political division of the Portuguese territory, created for administrative and electoral purposes; each *distrito* has its own civil governor, the local representative of the state. There are eighteen *distritos* in continental Portugal.

The difficulties in ascertaining radio's importance and impact over a population during a given period of time are indeed many and diverse. They are compounded when conclusions are drawn from the dialogue established between expectations and reality. The *Dictionary of History of the New State* tries to balance the different views:

> Despite the fact that radio greatly mismatched the best dreams held by radio pioneers, who envisaged for it a decisive role in the universalisation of access to culture, the commercialisation of radio sets from the 1950's onwards did constitute, for millions of Portuguese outside the urban centres and deprived even of electricity, the only open window to the exterior world and their only contact with cultural products (Rosas 809).[6]

At the other end of the radio-electric waves we find producers, owners, strategies, politics and intentions. To the committee responsible for "national propaganda", *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* or SPN, headed by António Ferro, radio undoubtedly represented its perfect ally and the attempts made to gain total control over it were constant throughout the first years of the station. *Emissora Nacional*, however, was dependent on the Ministry of Public Affairs and Communication and, more specifically, on the Administration of the Mail and Telegraph Services, which SPN criticised for allowing some programmes to convey ideas that were not in agreement with the regime's ideology. According to Ribeiro (112), one known example of this criticism dates from as early as the experimental period of 1934 and refers to a verse play by João da Silva Tavares, who at the time was head of the literary section of the station and would later become not only an official poet of Estado Novo but also one of the most popular Portuguese authors of the first half of the twentieth century.

Even though Salazar, in Ribeiro's view, "was not interested in the mobilisation of the masses, a characteristic of totalitarian regimes, he wanted rather that the masses did not question the path that he, as Head of Government, had conceived for the country"[7] (Ribeiro 112), the station should obviously reflect the spirit of the regime. In order to achieve this and to meet SPN's demands, Fernando Homem Christo was chosen in March 1935 as the radio's unofficial "political commissar" (*comissário político*). The son of a famous writer and journalist who was also member of parliament, Fernando Homem Christo defended fascism and had studied Law, having been a student of Salazar himself in Coimbra. His role at the station was to guarantee that the work done would be in line with the regime's ideology and thus allow it to be its official voice. Despite the short duration of his position at the station, some of the documents Homem Christo wrote referring to his duties at Emissora Nacional are useful insofar as they can be considered descriptions of the way the government conceived the new means of communication, "in an authoritarian state, a broadcasting station should be a means of culture and a tool for political action and

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[6] "Apesar da rádio ter ficado muito longe dos melhores sonhos dos pioneiros, que lhe anteviam um papel decisivo na universalização do acesso à cultura, a comercialização do transístor a partir dos anos 50 constituiu, para milhões de portugueses fora dos grandes centros urbanos e privados até de electricidade a única janela aberta para o mundo exterior e o seu único contacto com produtos culturais." (Rosas 809)

[7] "Salazar não estava interessado na mobilização das massas, característica dos regimes totalitários, pretendia antes que as massas não questionassem o percurso que ele, enquanto Chefe do Governo, havia traçado para o país." (Ribeiro 112)

[...] this second aim is not less important than the first."[8] Furthermore, Christo believed that:

> the spoken part of Emissora Nacional's programmes should be, in a good proportion, intended for the propaganda of the Nation, the New State, its ideology and political orientation, its achievements and governmental work. The propaganda should be direct and indirect. The latter should consist in leading the whole of the spoken part, including that which is apparently apolitical, towards a political intention. The best way to achieve this is to recruit the very literary collaborators or culture collaborators in general among the writers, intellectuals and artists who support the New State ideology; and also to always ensure the presence of a political mark, albeit discreet, in that which is written by the station and a product of internal authorship, such as news, fait-divers, the press review, the week's comments, etc.. This form of indirect propaganda, [...] should percolate from literature, culture and information [...][9]

During the early years, the programmes of Emissora Nacional were indeed based on the "spoken part," live music and, mainly, recorded music, as opposed to the small amateur stations from the previous years, which were more inclined towards live broadcasting and classical music. In literary terms, the "spoken part" included readings of poems and novels by some of the most famous Portuguese authors of the time. Theatre produced for the radio was however almost non-existent. According to Ribeiro (127), in the second half of 1935, for instance, only twenty-eight minutes of programming were dedicated to broadcasting theatre produced specifically for the radio, in a total of around 1300 hours of broadcasting[10] – and change would take circa ten years. This is not to say that theatre was not at all present, since there was a strong interest in live transmissions of plays performed in Lisbon theatres. In fact, theatre is indeed present in the history of Portuguese radio since its very beginning, and by this I am referring back to as early as the period before Emissora Nacional was founded. Abílio Nunes dos Santos Júnior, to whose father and uncle the famous department store Grandes Armazéns do Chiado, in Lisbon belonged, became one of the most important Portuguese radio pioneers in the 1920's, a time when radio activity was led by amateurs trying to find their way through the constant new developments in the field. His station, first called P1AA and later CT1AA, and considered by at least one scholar (Santos 106) as the one which had "more impact, due to the duration of the project, public visibility and dimension," had a direct line to not just one but rather three Lisbon theatres: the National, the Variedades and Maria Vitória. It was also common for the small radio stations that appeared in Lisbon and Porto after the first legal document regulating radio activity in 1930 to have their own 'grupo artístico' responsible for poetry and theatre productions. Theatre is, furthermore, the first aspect of culture to be listed by the national newspaper *O*

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[8] "num Estado autoritário, um posto Nacional de radiodifusão deve ser um meio de cultura e um instrumento de acção política, e [...] esta segunda finalidade não é menos importante que a primeira" (qtd. in Santos147).

[9] "numa boa proporção, a parte falada dos programas da Emissora Nacional deve ser destinada à propaganda da Nação, do Estado Novo, da sua ideologia e orientação política, das suas realizações e da obra governamental. A propaganda deve ser directa e indirecta. Esta última deve consistir em levar toda a parte falada, mesmo aquela que é aparentemente apolítica, a ter uma intenção política. A melhor forma de o conseguir é recrutar os próprios colaboradores literários ou de cultura geral entre os escritores, intelectuais e artistas afectos à ideologia do Estado Novo; e ferir sempre a nota política, embora de uma forma discreta, na matéria que se pode chamar redactorial, isto é, elaborada na própria Emissora e de autoria interna, como o noticiário, as efemérides, a revista de imprensa, os comentários da semana, etc. Esta forma indirecta de propaganda, [...] deve ressumar da literatura, da cultura e da informação [...]." ("Plano de Propaganda", 19th April 1935, qtd. in Santos 148)

[10] This is my own calculation using Ribeiro's data.

Século when, in 1932 it refers to 'TSF' ("telefonia sem fios" or, in English, wireless) as being "the wonder of all wonders, which instantaneously connects man with the Universe. It is the largest culture and civilisation tool discovered by man's genius until this day. It is the theatre, the newspaper, the music, the art […] at one's place."[11]

The first broadcast of a play by the national radio station after its official inauguration took place precisely two days later, that is on 3rd August 1935. It was the live transmission of the three-act comedy *O Pai da Menina*, performed in the National Theatre Almeida Garrett[12] by Amélia Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro theatre group. Incidentally, this was a translation, by Lino Ferreira, Fernando Santos and Almeida Amaral, of the Spanish play *Mi chica* by Muñoz Seca e Perez Fernandez. On the following day a new play was broadcast live from Politeama Theatre

Translation as interface between literature and radio

Despite the fact that this peculiar case of a foreign author in the national radio theatre obviously reflects the interests and reality of theatrical productions during this period in Lisbon, the importance and extent of foreign works in the literary aspect of the Portuguese national radio deserves our close attention. In fact, Eduardo Street, a man who dedicated his life to radio, as writer, presenter and producer, estimates in his seminal work on the history of the Portuguese radio drama *O teatro invisível* that during his career on the radio, which is to say that between 1958 and 2005 only 51% of the texts used in national radio drama were by Portuguese authors (Street 206-7). The amount of data that I have come across so far in my research into Portuguese Radio Archives has indeed showed a great number of foreign authors and works - British, American, French, German and Spanish amongst others. It has also become apparent that the two archives, the audio and the print archive, not only do not coincide but also do not communicate with each other, since neither is aware of what the other one holds. Once this work has been completed and the data collected and organised, it should be possible to establish with much more accuracy the details of the presence of literature in the Portuguese radio.

One of the preliminary questions that remains to be answered concerns the different genres used for the radio – poetry, novel, drama. The numbers given above for the number of translations relate only to the latter, but it is relevant to ascertain also whether foreign works were used in the other genres' programmes. Radio drama does, nevertheless, constitute a special case, partly because of the importance and popularity that it achieved, and partly because arguably it corresponds to a genre in itself, the boundaries and idiosyncrasies of which will, at least for the Portuguese case, no doubt refer me to the intercultural connections that support and reflect and are supported and reflected by the act of translating someone else's work. The specific case of the BBC, of which a famous Portuguese presenter, working for the BBC Portuguese section during the Second World War is reported to have said "when it speaks the World believes," comes to mind: in Ribeiro's opinion, the British radio station served as a model for Emissora Nacional, namely in terms of format of programmes and dramas broadcast.

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[11] "a maravilha das maravilhas, que põe o homem instantaneamente em contacto com o Universo. É o maior instrumento de cultura e civilização descoberto até hoje pelo génio humano. É o teatro, é o jornal, é a música, é a arte […] em casa de cada um" (qtd in Vieira 121-2).
[12] The National Theatre opened in 1846 under the name of National Theatre D. Maria II, as it is known today, but from 1910 to 1939 it was re-named after its mentor, Almeida Garrett.

An additional reason to focus on radio drama might be the sheer amount of material and data available, despite the destruction of tapes, scripts and different types of documents that took place after the revolution of 1974. This was a reaction to decades of censorship, amongst others, which is another crucial element in this research – as the above mentioned role of Homem Christo as 'political commissar', for instance, indicates. Besides the need to look into the implications of previous censorship to which radio programmes were subject, it will be important to identify not only who and what was translated but also who determined what was translated; to establish who the translators and adaptors were, but also who gave them the job. On a more political note, the languages of the departure texts and the nationalities of their authors, as well as the number of works from each language might also be linked to the neutral position announced by Salazar's government in September 1939, especially if we take into account that during the war there was a careful control of the number of pieces of news that Emissora Nacional would broadcast about Germany and about England, thus ensuring that none of the countries would be in any way emphasised or even mentioned more often than the other, as the historian Júlia Barros has revealed.

Even though drama on the radio can be said to be theatre without scenery or an audience, audiences of that type of programmes need to be researched as well, both because of the role they might play in shaping the translation and in terms of the reception of the foreign works that were used. This could then be contrasted with the reception of printed translations of the same texts. Similarly, the relationship between the plays used on air and the theatre performances of the same texts is also worth analysing.

The common ground between, on the one hand, radio drama and theatre and, on the other hand, between foreign radio drama and translation in general leads to the question as to whether adaptors were also some sort of actors, playing the double role of adaptor and translator. Further, to what extent do author, translator and adaptor share a technique, a specific aesthetic framework? To what extent does their work coincide? Would it be accurate to distinguish them by saying that the author creates texts and the adaptor transforms and prepares them for a medium with very specific demands, limitations, advantages, challenges? Or is the adaptor a creator too, while an author who writes for the radio is also adapting? And how much of a translator was there in each of the adaptors working on foreign literature for Emissora Nacional or, reversely, to what extent can a translator be considered and adaptor?

At this early stage of research, these are some of the many questions to consider, the answers to which will doubtless contribute to a better understanding of the some of the aspects of cultural life in Portugal during the years of the authoritarian regime. Pursuing these interrogations will add to what we already know about which books were read, which authors were preferred, which processes lay beyond literary radio choices and programmes, in which ways did politics inform literary choices, and so and so forth, ultimately leading to the mapping of the interface between radio and literature, the study of which cannot be fully achieved without translation research.

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Local Voices in a Global Medium:
Translating Commercial Websites[1]

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The 1990s saw the emergence of online technologies, including the World Wide Web. The new medium, characterised by attributes such as interactivity, timeliness, multimedia, hypertext and boundary-transcending capability, has redefined the ways in which information is produced, distributed and consumed. Researchers express their observations and views of the new medium with great intensity, seeing technology bringing about drastic changes in how information is acquired and processed (Horn 1990, Landow 1997). With accessibility and immediacy of the Web, information is shared and exchanged at an unprecedented speed, creating the 'space-time compression' phenomenon envisaged in the dematerialisation in trade and commerce and lends itself once again in the translation scenes (Harvey 2000, Cronin 2003). Nevertheless, it is not only a new channel for information exchange but also a powerful instrument in the course of globalisation (Sprung 2000, Cronin 2003, Yang 2004). The traditional business frameworks are now overwritten by the World Wide Web where producers are able to reach customers and distributors at the same time, building new revenue streams as well as business models (Chyi and Sylvie 2001). This feature soon becomes one of the most valuable advantages that both producers and advertisers wish to exploit. Unrestricted by geographic constraints, websites in English seek to counter linguistic barriers via translation, or further localisation, in order to provide specialised contents for international users. Websites with different language options had soon become accessible to everyone with access to the internet, regardless of English literacy, the *lingua franca* of the Web. Multinational companies have been among the first to recognise this niche and reap the benefit of website translation (Schäler 2002, Cronin 2006).

Rajendra Singh notes that contemporary translation theories centre on the exploration of meanings of translation (2007). Website translation complicates this exploration on two counts. First and foremost, the medium, characterised by multimodal and hypertextual features, challenges and forces the inquiry into the rethinking of the traditional framework of translation analysis. Secondly, if website translation is one type of translation activity nascent in the age of globalisation, to what extent is it (any) different from other translation activities? The operation itself is characterised by various unconventional features, such as the uncertain presence or the lack of a definite source text, the choice of multimodal materials in the translation process, and the representation of meanings in different language versions of a website. The verbal and non-verbal elements in a website, therefore, may hold equal significance in the translation process. Considering the complex and interwoven factors in the translation of a website, we may ask to what extent is this translation operation translation *proper*, or translation *sui generis*? This essay is an

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attempt to formulate website translation via a close examination of one significant category of websites and their translation, the commercial websites.

Translating Commercial Websites

There exist at least two counts in which the translation of commercial websites coincides with advertising translation. First and foremost, advertising and websites are in essence mass communication devices in modern society; therefore, it is crucial to take into account elements of advertising translation when investigating website translation. In terms of the commonalities shared by advertisements and websites, Sean Brierley is not the first to claim advertisements as one popular and influential mass communication approach, yet he pinpoints some important features of advertisements, that they are loud, ubiquitous and intend to reach as many users as possible (1995: 123). Guy Cook asserts that advertising is a prominent and significant type of discourse in modern society (1992). Both of these views may be extended to portray the role of websites in our time. Traditionally the study of advertisement had been of great interests to many disciplines. The discourse of advertising has been analysed from perspectives of communication studies (Dyer 1988, Goffman 1979, Williamson 1978) and semiotics (Beasley, Danesi and Perron 2000, Cook 1992, Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1978). Recent research tends to paint advertising positively, describing it as creative and lively (Cook 1992, Myers 1999, Goddard 1998). Furthermore, researchers attempt to consider local advertising material as translations *per se* (Kress and van Leewen 2006, Millán-Varela 2004), highlighting the significance of non-textual elements whilst establishing the argument on the premise that each advertisement 'translates' the core concept or idea of a product into multimodal texts. Since the corpus under consideration is multimodal in nature, the present research adopts theories of visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) so as to investigate how non-verbal elements are transferred into different Chinese websites.

Researchers point out the complexity of advertising, highlighting the fact that advertising involves multiple interactions of different semiotic systems, often with verbal elements sending out tangible information and audio/visual elements enhancing the messages (Scollen and Scollen 2003, Munday 2004). Translation of websites, nonetheless, may find the same pattern in its meaning-making process. A commercial website, whether or not used as an online-sales mechanism, is closely related to advertisements. Like advertisements, contents in a commercial website aim to sell. Whether it is service, goods or corporate values, the texts in a commercial website create meaning, images and identities for products and companies they promotes and prompt consumers' interests. The translations of these texts, therefore, aim to re-create meaning, image and identity of the same product/company across cultures. To promote products or corporate image across borders, multinational companies opt for translation of texts, individual campaigns for each locality or an international campaign in English (Munday 2004). Among these three options, translation is cost-effective yet the most likely to subject to cultural limitations should the translation fail to conform to local conventions. The translation process involves numerous factors other than language, such as the understanding of product/corporate image, knowledge of the medium and grasp of target culture. Therefore the substantial understanding of local market is the key to enable successful translation. In short, website translation, like advertising translation, is a task of juggling multiple semiotic systems so as to achieve its objective (Chiaro 2004, Millán-Varela 2004). The translation of commercial websites, therefore, is to identify, translate and carry across the multiple layers of meaning from one language version

to another. For the purpose of this research, advertisements on websites are not the object of inquiry but the websites of multinational companies that operate in both English and Chinese. The materials selected include the English, simplified and traditional Chinese websites of multinational companies. These websites are compared and analysed on both textual and non-textual levels. In so doing, the research aims to describe the type of translation applied to commercial websites and its implications.

The Web is not only a new channel for information exchange but also a powerful instrument for business to reach potential customers. Multinational companies have been among the first to recognise the boundary-crossing capacity of websites and reap the benefit of website translation. With well-maintained multilingual websites, a company can not only project its image but also sell goods online without the material presence of a shop front (Malaval 204-5). Commercial websites are now seen as a necessary marketing move to reach out to visible and invisible customers in a real as well as a virtual world. The discussion of commercial website translation takes into account the interaction and interdependence of three elements, namely the Web, translation and advertising. As mentioned earlier, on at least two counts the translation of commercial websites coincides with advertising translation. First of all, both texts aim to sell. Nevertheless, Guy Cook and Brierley's insights on advertising can both be extended to describe website translation. Interestingly, there also exist attempts to consider advertising materials as translation *per se*, arguing that each advertisement translates the core concepts into texts (Scollen and Scollen 2003, Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, Millán-Varela 2004). Be it 'the means of communication *par excellence* or translation *per se*, commercial website translation, like advertising translation, aims to sell and involves the use of multiple semiotic resources.

Reading a website involves the interplay of verbal and non-verbal elements. The meaning-making process involves all the elements in a website that *represent* situation show, *interaction* between web users and the website, as well as ways in which elements in a website are visually *structured*. This process correlated to Halliday's three metafunctions of language, the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions (53). The textual metafunction, which stands for components that maintain relevance to the context, is extended to the layout and composition of the visual and verbal in a website, since they bring together the represented participants and the interactive agents (Kress and van Leeuwen 16-18). Based on these theoretical concerns, this paper analyses websites by identifying the represented participants (visual and verbal elements) and examining whether and how these participants are transferred into local websites. The materials selected include English, simplified and traditional Chinese websites of multinational companies.

Versatile Visual Variables
As evidenced by the majority of multinational commercial websites, a portal or global website often offers a design template for local ones. A universal website template has been embraced by many multinational companies such as DHL, UPS, L'Oréal, to name a few. Users find websites with a similar layout easy to navigate irrespective of linguistic differences; moreover, the same design invokes familiarity while contents can be altered for a local touch (Yunker 280). DHL exemplifies the use of a global template, where every single local website adopts the same layout with its signature red and yellow backdrop. This template not only reinforces brand recognition but facilitate users to locate information. However, this 'one-size-fits-all' philosophy does

not always apply to all the other websites in the corpus. The Unilever Taiwan website is structurally independent from the global and the rest of the country-specific websites[2]. As a stand-alone website in the Greater China region, it carries contents that are highly target-oriented, such as graduate recruitment programmes, promotional activities for its brands and the company's history in the local market. Corporate information, such as core values and profile, are not as visible as that in the other websites. This local website has a distinct layout whereby tailored information for the Taiwan market is effectively displayed. This discrepancy is also evident in the Proctor and Gamble Taiwan website. IKEA websites also provide evidence for the difference in template. IKEA apparently offers two design templates for local websites. Interestingly, within Greater China, Hong Kong and Taiwan websites adopt the same template (the same as the corporate website). This template is also re-applied in certain Asian countries (UAE, Malaysia and Singapore). All the other local websites opt for the template used by the China website. However, the favoured template by China website is loaded with graphics and animations, resulting in a much lower downloading speed. The relatively late entry of IKEA into the China market may account for the difference.[3] While both IKEA Hong Kong and Taiwan offer information concerning local development, in the China website information about local involvement and history is nonexistent. Since its presence in China is relatively late, the local market branch needed to build brand awareness and recognition in a short time, making the adoption of an animation-laden template a wise solution since it resembles most of the other international IKEA websites, creating the impression that it is a brand enjoying acceptance around the world. This strategy is proved successful as its sales figure suggests its popularity and surge in sales in China[4].

The use of images is a semiotic resource that is constantly on display in all types of commercial websites. These websites are likely to use portraits to convey messages to website users, regardless of the type of product or service on offer. Among the websites in the corpus, UPS is the only one where portraits are not used. In other words, whether it is service industry (DHL), home furnishing (IKEA), luxury goods (L'Oréal) or FMCG (Unilever and Proctor and Gamble), it is not difficult to find the frequent presence of portraits. It is suggested that images contain interactions between the represented participants (the people, places and things in images) and the interactive participants (Kress and van Leeuwen 119). As images are crucial to the presentation of websites as well as advertisements, the interpretation of images, therefore, is significant as to how the product/company/brand is perceived by potential customers. The particular social relation between the participant (actor), producer and viewer is projected in any semiotic system, creating the 'interpersonal meta-function' (*ibid*. 41) that is crucial to the study of website translation. Analysing the transfer of this social relation contributes to the transfer of visual elements in website translation.

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[2] There exists no links at all from Taiwan website to other Unilever websites; the 'global operation' link is only available in the China website.

[3] IKEA made its entry to the Hong Kong market in 1975 and Taiwan in 1994. Information can be located in http://www.ikea.com.hk/chi/about/history/history.html about Hong Kong and http://www.ikea.com.tw/chi/about/about.html about Taiwan.

[4] China is the largest country of purchase. Information available at www.ikea.com/ms/en_GB/about_ikea/facts_figures/figures.html

Social semioticians tackle the design of an image from many aspects, decoding compositions, frame, perspective and many other elements in images to relate to the possible effect on the viewer. For instance, Kress and van Leeuwen contend that the gaze of the participant in an image addresses a viewer directly or indirectly, creating different relations and associations (image act) in communication terms (122-158). The interaction between the viewer and the participant of an image is formed at many different levels, including gaze and image act, frame size and social distance, perspective and subject image (*Ibid.* 121-54). The producer of images uses a mixture to create images that 'do something to the viewer' (*ibid.*: 122). Taking the example of the L'Oréal websites, the gaze of the participants in global and local websites in Chinese all look directly into the viewers' eyes, demanding attention from the viewer. This intense and direct gaze invites the viewer to form a close social relationship with the participant. In so doing, the participant engages in the persuasion by relating themselves with the viewer. The types of image act created by direct gazes, as seen in L'Oréal websites, form a close connection between the viewers and the participants. With this type of gaze, participants not only 'demand' the viewer's attention and interaction, but ask the viewers to 'desire' what they have. In this case, it is the attractiveness and beauty that the spokesperson has via using the products. Similar gazes are in fact observed throughout websites of other countries of L'Oréal, including its websites in the US and UK as well as all three in Greater China. Although the participants differ according to different contexts, usually featuring iconic actresses/models highly relevant to local markets, the type of direct gaze remains the same. This gaze, in turn, is translated into different actresses/models well-received by the local market looking directly at the website users.

To sum up, the same message is carried across borders into websites in different localities. Using the same gaze, the brand invites viewers to pay attention and entices them to explore the products they promote. Using different participants, the websites garner familiarity and recognition from local users. These portraits, in which the similarly intense gaze strongly engages the web surfers, should be considered as fully translated into websites of different localities despite the different choices of participants.

The analysis of visual elements in commercial website indicates that non-verbal representations are used in a variety of ways to facilitate the meaning-making process. It also demonstrates that in spite of certain individual cases, most of the websites 'translate' the visual elements with a local twist by using high-profile participants in the portrait or people of the same race. The analysis suggests that among the multinationals, luxury goods providers are more likely to rely on non-verbal presentations, echoing Christiane Nord's perspective, 'It may happen that the non-verbal elements convey a piece of information that is even more relevant to the reader than the message transmitted by the text' (109).

Intangible Texts: Linguistic Transfers
Written texts are one type of text that is almost always compulsory in any website, regardless of how salient other visual components may be. For commercial websites, written texts are the crucial apparatus through which to deliver desired results or fortify existing ideas of a brand, a product, or a type of service. However, not all written texts carry the same significance in a website. More than likely, a piece of written information is meant to be read to send out a certain message to the

reader, be it one more click on the mouse to 'find out more', or a click away to navigate to another relevant website that the message-sender intends to draw attention to. In other words, in order to gain some control over the website users' reading sequence, written messages are carefully produced. In commercial websites, written texts can be either functional (such as 'our product' on the navigation bar) or promotional (main body of texts delivering product or brand information). The former, due to its functional feature, is mostly translated literally and directly with little alteration; the latter, however, may be rewritten to a greater or lesser extent. The main reason underlining this discrepancy in translation is the purpose for which the piece of text is intended. For a new product modified for one particular international market, its specification or product description may be re-written to meet the needs of its potential local customers. By contrast, information regarding the profile of a multinational may be translated as closely as possible so as to deliver a consistent image of the corporate. This type of information, including the core value, brand names, logos, and corporate history facilitate the recognition of a company as well as its products and services (Cook 1992). According to Vestergaard and Schrøder, corporate history is 'the so-called prestige or good-will advertising', where the image, instead of the product, is advertised (1985:1). This type of promotional texts aims to create a positive corporate profile, targeting 'long-term goodwill with the public rather than at an immediate increase of sales' (*ibid*). Therefore, corporate history, mission statements and values comprise a crucial and consistent element throughout global and local websites of a multinational company. This type of texts, nevertheless, can usually find its counterpart in a local website, however adapted or abridged. The corporate profile is a manifestation of Roman Jakobson's intersemiotic translation, whereby a company's corporate values, concepts, philosophy and history are 'translated' into words (1959). These texts are crucial to the image of the corporation around the world; they are obliged to be consistent since they may be under scrutiny by not only web users but shareholders across borders. However distant and different a target culture may be, the corporate information must deliver the same effect and message in the local websites. Since corporate information is the only type of written text with a more reliable source and target in a commercial website, a selection from each website in the corpus is analysed to outline the translation of verbal elements.

Text analysis reveals discrepancies in the translation across regions within Greater China. Moreover, not every single piece of information shaping the corporate image will be translated into Chinese. In each Chinese text it is possible to identify traces of 'translation' when compared with the English corporate information; however, it is undeniable that why and how material is selected largely depends on the relevance it has in relation to the locality and the organisational structure between the parent company website and the particular local website. Moreover, the most striking discrepancy comes to light when the translation of corporate information is compared with other written passages in the same website. While promotional texts of a certain product, targeting local markets, may be subject to rewriting and adaptation so as to cater to local tastes and often sound approachable and uplifting, the corporate information is delivered in quite a different and more reserved tone, marking a clear divide in the texts within any one Chinese website. The situation can be exemplified by Proctor and Gamble websites. The corporate profile in the Proctor and Gamble global website contains information regarding its purpose, values and principles. In the China website, all the information is selected and closely translated in a formal manner with long, archaic sentences that read as if they were pledges given by the staff. However, this businesslike tone does not dominate other texts in the same

website. In fact, the P&G China website offers a mixture of information that may be generated locally or derived from global source. The promotional texts regarding product information or activities are almost always in a lively and cheerful tone. By so doing, the texts offer not only factual information but persuasive advertising rhetoric. The hybrid messages mark a disruption in the coherence of texts in the China website, which not only offers information for local consumers but information about the corporation to users with an interest of the company. Since this website targets local customers and caters to inquisitive international users, locally-relevant information clearly relates to Chinese users, whereas company information complies with its corporate regulations and conventions. The result is a website with a minor case of schizophrenia, speaking both formal and colloquial Chinese.

In contrast, the Taiwan website is rather selective in its choice of translation. Among the messages in the corporate profile webpage, only information about 'our purpose' is chosen from the global website. However, this passage just remotely responds to the English counterpart. To say it fully translates the 'our purpose' section might not be appropriate, as this passage also contains information from 'our principle' and other mission statements, which indicates a high level of adaptation undertaken to produce texts for the Taiwanese market. The same adapting and rewriting style is repeatedly applied to other parts of the website. Since the Taiwan website targets mostly local users instead of international surfers, the website itself places more emphasis on the range of products available for the local market. On the whole, any information regarding corporate value and the company ranks secondary in terms of relevance to the locality. As a result, all information about the organisation tends to be selectively chosen and rewritten for the local market. The space available is left for locally generated contents.

As mentioned above, Proctor and Gamble and Unilever are likely to adopt similar strategies to set up local websites. Although both companies have largely restructured their markets in the Greater China region and integrate Hong Kong into the Chinese market[5], they do recognise the heterogeneity of the Taiwan locality and the fact that there is a longer presence in the traditional Chinese market. This nonetheless indicates the multinational companies' awareness of the difference in their potential customers and the efforts they put in maintaining different websites, echoing Chiaro's viewpoint that multinationals are more aware of the cultural nuances and have more resources to modify the translated texts for different markets (2004).

Reuse of written texts in websites is not uncommon. Commercial websites operating in English often reuse texts for multiple locations as content synergy for cost-saving reasons; so do Francophone countries using French and Russian for former Soviet Union countries. However, in Greater China, the reused text is the less circulated traditional Chinese evidenced by Hong Kong and Taiwan websites. For instance, the IKEA websites for these two locations have corporate information that read almost identical where back translation fails to demonstrate the nuances. The same case is found with UPS websites. While both offer simplified and traditional Chinese information, the former targets the vast majority of users in China; the latter,

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[5] Both of these two companies have 'restructured' their marketing structure in Asia, making PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan one single 'Great China' market. Please refer to relevant sources for details. http://finance.news.tom.com/1001/1006/2005721-266606.html, http://www.cpc.org.tw/cpcmall/magazine/index.aspx?MagNo=546

nonetheless, finds its niches for users in Hong Kong and Taiwan, where traditional Chinese characters dominate the writing convention. McDonough contents that when the linguistic and cultural differences between two local markets are minimal, translations in websites may not merit changes or adaptations for each locality, which justifies the re-use of translated texts in the Hong Kong and Taiwan websites, where both localities share similar linguistic convention and have a long history of foreign traders' presence in the local markets.

As mentioned above, commercial websites may demonstrate very different attitudes towards the translations of texts owing to the intended function (factual or promotional) of each piece of information. Since brand names facilitate recognition of the product or service, the translation of brand names and their presentation offer some insight as to the way in which local customers identify a brand. The translation of brand or product names has been well-documented in the field of advertising translation (Motished 2003, Philippson 2003). In addition to its multi-faceted difficulties linguistically and culturally, it offers an interesting site in which source and target language engage in a tug of war. In commercial websites, the Chinese translations of brand names may not stand alone in the logo despite all product names being duly translated for the target market. For the instance of the FMCGs in Unilever websites, in the Taiwan website, only three out of ten logos are displayed in their translated Chinese brand names[6]; one logo has both its English brand name and its Chinese translation. The rest of the six brand names all remain in English. Among the 15 brands available in China, only three are displayed without Chinese translations. Mixed language is one commonality shared by FMCG and luxury products. The L'Oréal Hong Kong website demonstrates a high level of mixed language use, not only in the presentation of logo and brand names[7], but with campaigns and corporate information. The Hong Kong website is also the only one in Greater China that provides a direct link to all-English information, where users can access features about skincare information and procedure. This suggests that users of the Hong Kong website are expected to be able to read bilingually. L'Oréal Taiwan website adopts a more neutralised approach. Brand names are likely to remain in Chinese, although they always accompany the original brand names[8]. In fact, customers might not even be aware of the translated names since the brand names in English are much more familiar. Brand names preserved in the source language deliver a sense of tradition and their foreign origin among potential or existing customers, effectively creating an image which the non-essential product aims to deliver. By contrast, the China website is the least likely to display texts in languages other than Chinese. The brand names are dutifully rendered into Chinese and accompanied by their original, implying that mainland Chinese customers are more inclined to recognise and identify with a certain luxury product in Chinese. In fact, looking at the array of products of the multinational companies in the corpus, the brand names are the most likely to be transliterated/translated for the mainland Chinese users, reflecting the habit of using purely local language instead of mixed-language.

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[6] Among the three, one of them is a locally-developed laundry detergent brand, Bailan, acquired by Unilever Taiwan .

[7] All brand names in the Hong Kong website are not translated.

[8] The two examples are Vichy and La Roche-Posay, both of which are of French origin. The rest of the other brand names, like those in the Hong Kong website, are not translated.

Text analysis reveals that the translation of corporate information is approached differently. As evidenced by Unilever and Proctor and Gamble, FMCGs needs to strongly promote the core value of their producers (de Mooji 1998) so needs to translate and adapt texts so as to produce a localised key concept encapsulated in the website. Luxury, or none-essential products and services, on the contrary, might adopt a more extreme approach, either appealing to the international market, or guarding the brand image. The example from L'Oréal highlights this divide. Adab posits that to successfully persuade consumers to purchase, advertisements often need to extend written texts (142). This holds true for FMCGs, yet does not apply to luxury goods, whose websites usually prefer to accentuate non-verbal semiotic resources to speak for the products. The rendition of verbal elements in the translation of multinational company websites echoes what Adab suggests a hybrid translation strategy which consists of the creation of a 'globally-relevant ST' (Towards: 224). This globally-relevant source text allows local websites to be sensitive to local needs and preferences so as to make necessary changes accordingly. From the discussion above, the translations of verbal elements, including corporate information, language versions and the tolerance of mixed language, reflect the ways in which each local website re-creates the same information differently yet effectively, reflecting the susceptibility of local branches to indigenous cultural and the heterogeneity of potential users.

Conclusion

In a study of the marketing strategies of US online newspaper websites, researchers suggest that in the case of online versions of newspapers 'the medium is global, the content is not' (Chyi and Sylvie 2001). The same hypothesis fits with translated commercial websites. In an age of globalization, when 'no translation, no product' (Topping 111) becomes not only a catchphrase but tacit knowledge of multinational companies, the translation of websites highlights the significance of translation in the multinationals' attempt to break through geographical constraints. FMCGs and luxury goods place different focus on the use of semiotic resources; the former see verbal descriptions as crucial while the latter tend to let the image/picture speak. Written texts appear to reflect the much-hyped keyword 'glocalization'. By being 'glocalized', the local websites in Chinese adopt a hybrid translation strategy to cater to culturally-specific needs in the three localities. The translation mainly refers to a set of conceptual ideas that can easily accommodate changes and be translated into different local websites. The flexibility of this conceptual source, although a complicated subject to tackle methodologically, is the very reason behind the fluidity and versatility of commercial websites and their local counterparts. Messages which will have similar impact across cultures are carefully selected and repackaged in multimodal representations in local websites. Despite the necessity to resort to text analysis to study written texts, the above discussion demonstrates that it is the messages or ideas that travel across borders instead of tangible written texts. The type of translation as evidenced by the commercial websites foregrounds its specificity in comparison to the traditional translation practice in print. The translations are simultaneously points of arrival as well as departure. They are the extension of the parent website; they are the sites from where users travel further in the hypertextual cyberspace.

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