Introduction

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When retranslation first became a research interest for me in the 1990s, I was working on translations and retranslations of a few classics by a government publisher and private publishing companies. I knew I had an interesting corpus and was onto something bigger than just capturing stylistic shifts and diverging translation strategies in the various translations of these works. Close scrutiny of the retranslations revealed differences and common patterns that were indicative of the dynamics of the socio-political context of the culture I was studying—which was Turkey in the 1920s-1960s. Meanwhile, there were only a handful of scholarly publications that tackled retranslation from a conceptual perspective. Fortunately, this was to change in the decades that followed and the surge of interest in retranslation enabled a much broader outlook. While early work (see articles in Bensimon and Coupaye, especially Berman) mostly focused on the source author and literature as the engines behind retranslation, cultural and sociological approaches quickly shifted the focus towards the target culture and target readers, as well as the target context that trigger retranslated works. Today, retranslation is a burgeoning field and the potentials it offers for understanding the sociological and ideological drivers of translation have become much clearer. Although Antoine Berman's ideas on retranslation (Berman) have led to an initial conceptualization of retranslation as linear progress, leading to an "entire critical discourse on retranslations as expressing a default, a deficiency, or decaying of first translations" (Massardier-Kenney 74), this view has been largely refuted by subsequent studies that point out the complexity and multiple causation behind retranslation (Venuti; Brownlie; Koskinen and Paloposki; Deane-Cox). Those who need a closer insight into the evolution of ideas on retranslation during the past three decades may benefit from numerous studies that offer critical overviews (cf. Alvstad and Assis Rosa; Massardier-Kenney; Koskinen and Paloposki; Tahir Gürçağlar).

Nowadays, retranslation is a popular topic within translation studies, and it features strongly in translation history, textual analyses of translation series, and multimodal translation as the studies in this special issue demonstrate. There is an international conference series devoted to retranslation titled "Retranslation in Context" (held in Istanbul in 2013 and 2015, in Ghent in 2017, in Madrid in 2019 and a conference planned to take place in Budapest in 2021). After the pivotal special issue of *Palimpsestes* on retranslation (Bensimon and Coupaye) that served as a launch pad for much future thinking on retranslation, there have been various special issues of journals focused on retranslation, increasing in number and frequency (Milton and Catherine Torres; Alvstad and Assis Rosa; Dore; Van Poucke and Sanz Gallego; Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar *The Translator*), monographs (O'Driscoll; Pokorn; Deane-Cox; Courtois; Walsh), and edited volumes (Kahn and Seth; Monti and Schnyder; Létot-Douglas and Cabaret; Cadera and Walsh; Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar *Perspectives* and *Studies*). Retranslation is included as a separate entry in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Tahir Gürçağlar), the *Routledge Handbook of*

Literary Translation (Koskinen) and the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Koskinen and Paloposki). Digital humanities have also found their way into research on retranslation and digital tools are being developed to trace retranslations (Şahin, Duman and Gürses; Cheesman et. al; Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar "The Making and Reading").

As the richness and complexity of the field of retranslation became gradually more evident, studies started to grow and diversify in scope, both in terms of their content and the methodologies employed. This special issue includes studies that explore several themes that remain understudied in contextualizing retranslations and exploring their interrelationships, in addition to their links to their source texts and initial translations. The range of the studies in the present issue is broad and covers such topics as the effect of previous translation(s) on subsequent retranslations, the creation and recreation of images of authors and works through retranslation, paratextual features of retranslated sacred texts, retranslations of gay literature and retranslation as reframing and rewriting. Although some of the articles employ comparative translation analysis, their primary goal is the exploration of how retranslations are presented to the world and how they are received, which is key to understanding how retranslations are a part of social change and shifting (self) images of source and target cultures. To this end, the essays in this issue place strong emphasis on the agency of (re)translators and how they create difference through their discourse and translational choices. Rather than setting out to confirm or refute the so-called progress-based "retranslation hypothesis" (Koskinen and Paloposki), the studies reveal the multifariousness and mutability of retranslation. They do this both by carrying out a careful analysis of how textual features of retranslations differ both from each other and initial translations, and also by delving into the contextual factors that create specific paratextual and discursive frameworks for the production and reading of retranslated works.

In the opening article to the special issue, Piet Van Poucke offers a mixed methodology for analyzing the "effect" of previous translations on a particular retranslation. He carries out a comparative analysis of four sets of retranslations of literary works from Russian into Dutch and traces the overlaps in lexical, syntactical and stylistic choices among retranslations of the same work, specifically problematizing the borders between retranslation and revision and ageing as a motive for retranslations. A unique aspect of Van Poucke's essay is the way he adds a "control" group of two retranslations published in the same year, which he terms "parallel retranslations" to his study. This enables him to gauge whether the overlaps in retranslations separated by time are quantitatively and qualitatively different from parallel retranslations, which cannot have been influenced by each other in any way, since both were published synchronously without the translators being aware of each other's efforts. His findings indicate that for the specific corpus that he has examined, lexical diversity is not altered by retranslators to a great extent. However, retranslators use the same building blocks to create a new narrative through their syntactic and stylistic choices. Van Poucke notes that his findings need to be verified across other genres and cultures.

In her article, Samira Saeedi adopts a sociological approach to exploring the discourse around retranslation as a concept and practice in Iran today. She focuses on the retranslations of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, a work that saw over a hundred retranslations in Iran during the

past four decades, as a case in point as she investigates the motives and contexts of literary retranslation in the country. Saeedi analyses the discourse of the translators and publishers based on the data she collected during her interviews with ten translators and six publishers in Tehran. Her agency-based study engages with the relevance of the professional status of translators and separates her informants into groups of amateur, early-career, mid-career and senior translators, a categorization that is reflective of a certain shift of behaviour among these groups towards retranslation. The interviews have enabled Saeedi to explore the operations of the publishing market in terms of commissioning translators and the incentives for retranslation, as well as the diversity of views among translators on retranslation, ranging from retranslation as a profitable activity to retranslation as a process of reinforcing trust in professionalism.

Hua Tan has carried out a study on paratexts of the Chinese translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* by Thomas H. Huxley and investigated the shifting motives and intended functions of retranslation in China in over a century by tracing the discourses crystalizing in the paratexts, including translator's notes, commentary, preface, and visual material. He reveals how the different social and political backgrounds to the translations and China's changing cultural landscape have affected the main goals of the translators and publishers vis-a-vis the dissemination of science and knowledge in the society. Tan argues that the paratexts of the initial translation by the prolific writer and translator Yan Fu positioned the work within a social reform agenda in a period when China was struggling with political instability, poverty and illiteracy. The retranslations, however, contextualized the work within the larger body of western scientific knowledge and their paratexts appeared to address the need to facilitate the dissemination of scientific knowledge among readers in the country, a change that indicates the changing political and intellectual dynamics in China.

Sema Üstün Külünk tackles a subject that has largely been overlooked in the field of retranslation, namely the retranslations of the Qur'an. She focuses on the paratextual elements of an extensive corpus of Turkish translations presented and marketed under various titles and carries out a quantitative analysis of the translations as well as a qualitative paratextual analysis of their covers and prefaces. Üstün Külünk offers a numeric analysis of Qur'an translations published in Turkey in 1923-2019, with a chronological overview of the varying trends in their publication and naming. She reveals that throughout the decades, both the numbers of translations and the designations/titles of the renderings have diversified. She associates the trends in the translations with the changing social, ideological, and cultural context in Turkey. As a result of her paratextual analysis, the author identifies a meta-narrative specifically surfacing in the prefaces of the respective translations, problematizing the translatability of the Qur'an and laying bare the diverging motivations of the translators and publishers.

Marie-Christine Aubin focuses on the retranslations and adaptations of Balzac's works and regards them as extensions of Balzac's aura in new cultures and societies. Focusing on the hierarchical, linguistic and situational constraints governing the retranslations/adaptations of Balzac's works in various media and cultures, she explores the impact of these constraints in creating the macrotext of the author. Aubin examines various instances of translations of Balzac's works such as *La Cousine Bette, Sarrasine* and *Le Réquisitionnaire* in different cultures with an emphasis

on the specific version of the source text preferred by translators and publishers, a question which is key in retranslations of canonical literature. She examines the constraints shaping the final products in the target culture and concludes that studying the various retranslations of Balzac's works across different languages and cultures creates a "prismatic" view of the source author.

In her study on the retranslations of *Hamlet* in Turkey, Hilal Erkazancı reveals how the image of *Hamlet* is reflective of the evolution in Turkey's self-image and the dividing lines that mark the country's identity as situated between the East and the West. The focus of the author's analysis is the discourses that frame the retranslations and multimodal translations of *Hamlet* and their shifting positions within the Turkish literary establishment. She argues that these discourses reflect the ontological question of Turkey's "other" as *Hamlet* is both remembered and dis-membered in line with narratives of the nation's self-image. Erkazancı concludes that westernization, secularism and nationalism are the three socio-political issues that have been associated with *Hamlet* in Turkey throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries and the work has taken on meanings beyond its status as a canonical western work. Erkazancı also discusses the different versions of *Hamlet* on stage and screen as forms of post-translation rewriting.

Natalia Kamovnikova sheds light on the trajectory of another canonical western author through retranslations: Rudyard Kipling in Russian translation. While she offers a panorama of Kipling's transforming image in the Russian literary landscape starting from the pre-revolutionary period, Kamovkinova reveals the dual facet of the author represented by the translations of *The Jungle Book* and his poetry, respectively. While *The Jungle Book* was retranslated and published in numerous editions, causing a loss in its stylistic features and leading to it being reduced to a children's book, a limited number of Kipling's poems in Russian translation became an inspiration and kept Kipling's image alive as a traveller and romantic. In both cases, both political conditions and censorship played a role in the direction that retranslations took, however, not everything can be explained through these factors and Kamovnikova suggests that further research of official regulations, publishers' archives and memoirs of translators and editors can offer the key to the multiple causation underlying Kipling's existing position in the Russian literary field.

In the final essay, Bo Li examines how gay literature is reframed through retranslations and reprints in his study on the print and multimodal translations of Pai Hsien-yung's *Nie Zi*. With a print translation, reprints, cinematic and stage adaptations and a TV series, *Nie Zi* is a prolific work that has been strongly reframed by the paratextual features of the print translations and the fansubbed subtitles of the play and the TV series. Li questions the motives behind the various retranslations of the work and sets out to trace the links and intertextual relationships among them. He illustrates the importance of visual resources in his investigation on covers and blurbs and raises questions about the translation of loaded terms used in a heteronormative society into a more open one. Li also shows how a print translation may foreshadow future reception and reproduction of a source text across different media.

The two translations included in this special issue are from Turkish literature. The first translation, "That Photo of a Gathering Over Rakı", is the rendering of a poem by Gökçenur Çelebioğlu, a leading poet and translator. The second one is a short story by one of the modern

masters of Turkish fiction, Yusuf Atılgan, titled "The Ticking of the Clocks". The similarities between the two translations do not end with their shared source culture; they are both products of workshops focusing on the translation of Turkish literature into English. Starting to receive more scholarly attention in recent years (cf. Cordingley and Frigau Manning) collaborative translation has existed as a phenomenon throughout history and is especially widespread in the field of literary translation where authors, poets and translators frequently collaborate. Shaped by different dynamics and concerns in each culture and time period, collaborative translation efforts can originate from a series of distinct motives. The two workshops to be briefly described here have primarily grown out of a desire to make Turkish literature more widely known in the English publishing world.

"That Photo of a Gathering Over Rakı" is a translation by Saliha Paker as part of the Cunda International Workshop for Translators of Turkish Literature (CIWTTL). The workshop ran for ten days every year at the Cunda Island in Turkey and gathered both experienced and novice translators who worked on poetry and prose in intensive sessions. Part of the mission of CIWTTL has been to contribute to the creation of a new generation of translators of Turkish literature. The invitation-only workshop also hosted poets and authors whose works were being translated by the participants, enabling them to have discussions and collaborative translation sessions. The workshop was founded in 2006 and ran in Cunda until 2015, after which date it re-organized itself as a series of shorter ad-hoc sessions held in Istanbul. The activities of the workshop have resulted in a series of publications by the workshop participants, some of which are available on the workshop's website at http://tecca.boun.edu.tr/. The workshop published a selection of its products in an edited volume titled *Aeolian Visions/Versions: Modern Classics and New Writing from Turkey* (Kenne et al. 2013).

Atılgan's short story is translated by the members of University of Toronto Workshop in Literary Translation: Turkish-English (WILTTE) which has been meeting since its founding by Nefise Kahraman in 2016. Conceived under the auspices of the University of Toronto where the members of the workshop have been meeting in weekly sessions, the workshop has proven to be one of the longest lived and popular initiatives for translating Turkish literature into English in Canada. It is open to all interested parties with a sufficient level of competence in both Turkish and English who would like to take part in the process of translation. The selection of works for translation and the translation process itself are carried out by the members of the workshop under the leadership of Kahraman.

Finally, this issue was prepared as Covid-19 forced the world into lockdown and people had to find new ways to survive, socially, physically, financially and spiritually. In the midst of fear and anxiety, human creativity flourished in all kinds of unexpected ways, touching the lives of billions scattered around the world, united by the same worries and hopes. As the pandemic goes on and we continue to remain in our homes and bubbles, we find solace in art in all its forms. The artist featured in this special issue, Beyza Boynudelik, seems to have presaged our present life experiences early on in her artistic career. Isolation, the evolving human existence at the face of technological advances, and the solitude of the individual in the urban environment are common themes in her art. What is even more interesting is that she has been including the image of masks

in her art in a variety of settings for many years. You can visit Boynudelik's website (https://www.beyzaboynudelik.com) for more of her art and details of her artistic journey.

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Ready!
2014
Acrylic on canvas
40x40 cm
© Beyza Boynudelik

The Artist

Born in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1975, **Beyza Boynudelik** lives and works in Istanbul. She holds a BFA and MFA in painting and printmaking from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Turkey. She is currently writing her PhD dissertation in the same university.

Beyza has participated in solo and group shows, symposia and workshops in Turkey, Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. Her works can be found in individual and institutional collections. She produces paintings, prints, photography, installations and video art. Beyza's works are manifestations of everyday life events, the view of the city as a living organism, the unseen imaginable world and figures which are in perpetual contact with each other. She is in a continuous search to explore people's relations with each other and often displays an ironic attitude in her paintings. She analyzes the hidden background of visible phenomena by tracing the ways in which the urban individuals lead lonely and isolated lives, devoid of sincerity and reality, laden with skepticism stuck between a virtual and real identity. Global problems, intimacy and women's issues specific to her region are some of the topics of her latest works. Through her paintings, Beyza visualizes the path of today's individual as he/she becomes reactionless, emotionless, solitary and almost devoid of memory while trying to perform the role of the "ideal metropolitan subject" in a city life with constantly changing agendas.

The Effect of Previous Translations on Retranslation: A Case Study of Russian-Dutch Literary Translation

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Introduction

In this paper, the concept of "retranslation" will be used in its meaning of "a new translation produced in the same language where a previous translation of the same text already exists" (Koskinen 317). Literary and other texts have been translated and retranslated throughout history, and as mentioned by Lawrence Venuti, all acts of retranslation share one common purpose – the creation of a kind of "value", whatever that value may represent for the translator, the editor or the commissioner of the retranslation. Since the 1990s, Translation Studies has devoted many studies to the concept of retranslation and a long list of possible motives for retranslation have been defined since then. The vast majority of suggested motives for retranslation seem to have one particular characteristic in common: retranslations aim at presenting a better or enhanced version of the previous translation. Without the purpose of removing the 'deficiencies' of an older translation or enhancing its quality, the act of retranslating would seem to make little sense, so it is self-evident that retranslations are often broadly advertised as "new" and "refreshed" versions of older translations due for "replacement", even if the changes to previous versions are not necessarily for the better. In some specific cases, the marketing strategy even masks the fact that the reader is not really dealing with a retranslation, but with a mere revision of an older translation.

The crucial difference between translating and retranslating a text is that a retranslator has the opportunity to (and perhaps should always) use the previous translation to get acquainted with at least one possible way of translating the source text (ST), and be able to recycle those particular sections of the translation that show no obvious deficiencies and, hence, can be reused in the new version without harming the final result. Since in a number of cases, there is only one obvious translation of a certain word or phrase available, it would be far-fetched to try and replace it. However, what if the proportion of text that could be reused in the new translation were to be so substantial that the new version would hardly differ from the previous one? Does it make sense to retranslate at all in such a case? From which point on are we dealing with a "retranslation proper" instead of a revision or simple refreshing of the older translation? And how do retranslators cope with the presence of particularly successful lexical, syntactic or stylistic choices by the first translator(s)? After all, Antoine Berman pointed out that the continuous process of retranslating would, in the end, lead to the creation of a "great translation" (Fr. *grande traduction*) that would come so close to perfection that retranslations would become superfluous (Berman 2). However, the practice of literary translation insinuates that this level of perfection is hardly attainable.

The aim of this paper is to study the effect of a first, or previous, translation on the process of retranslating. I would like to find out what are the possible common features shared by retranslations, but absent in other translations, which show no link to each other at all. In order to do that, I will analyze a total of four pairs of literary translations from Russian into Dutch. On the

one hand I will compare 3 clear retranslations, ordered by one particular publishing house in the Netherlands (van Oorschot), with their predecessors and attempt to identify what they have in common, and what tendencies can be defined with regard to the changes that are introduced in the new target texts (TT). On the other hand, my corpus will include a pair of Dutch translations of one and the same Russian literary work that were made independently from each other and were published virtually on the same day, as the translators were unaware of each other's translation effort. In the latter case, the so-called "previous" (the term is not really applicable in this case) translation could not have had any effect on the "second" translation, making it an interesting case to compare the processes at work with those in the three retranslations proper mentioned earlier.

1. Retranslation, Adaptation and Revision

As Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen correctly stated in their article on the "fine line between retranslating and revising", the exact relationship of a text with the previous translation(s) cannot always be determined, even if the most recent translation is presented as a "retranslation, re-edition or revision" (Paloposki and Koskinen 44). A retranslation is often clearly announced as such on the blurb or in the paratext to the edition out of economic considerations. The reasons why the boundaries between the different categories of revision are so unclear may be attributable to the complex nature of the retranslation process. First of all, although the definitions of the concepts of retranslation and revision seem clear enough (a retranslation is a completely new translation, a revision is a reworked version of an older translation), "retranslators may, or may not, rely on earlier versions to the extent of copying elements from them" and "revisers may, or may not, alter the text extensively" (Koskinen 317), which makes a distinction between the two processes less transparent. Indeed, in practice, the "labels" of "(re)translation, (…) revisions, adaptations and retellings" are "hard to separate and cover different contents" in different circumstances (Van Coillie 39).

Moreover, with the publishing houses realizing the commercial potential of a retranslation superior to that of a re-edition or even revised version, it is natural that they are tempted to recommend their new edition of a canonical (and therefore possibly commercially profitable) literary work as a completely new translation. In many cases, the blurb of the new edition refers explicitly to the novelty of the translation and literary reviews are often overly keen on recommending the refreshed version of a literary translation as being entirely trustworthy. As Koskinen stated, retranslation is clearly seen as a strong marketing device, but the term on its own does not reveal the true nature of the text: "peritextual and paratextual information may not necessarily always be trustworthy, and revealing the true relationship between two translated versions may require close contrastive reading, identifying relevant similarities and differences" (Koskinen 316).

The relationship and interdependence between two different translations of one ST may, indeed, have many faces and also holds an element of ethics. For many centuries, the question of plagiarism was hardly mentioned in the literary industry, as the ethical norms of translation and originality fundamentally differed from contemporary attitudes. As Racz (44) points out, ethical principles of (re)translation surfaced only in the nineteenth century, while the "routine consultation of prior translations" was taken for granted in the preceding period. With regard to these ethics of

retranslation, Eoyang (as quoted in Racz 44) distinguishes three different approaches: "(1) intertextuality, which is creative license; (2) influence, which is creative opposition; and (3) imposture, which is uncreative theft". To this list, Koskinen, in the *Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation* (320), adds two more possible approaches – "forceful avoidance of any influence" and "hostility" towards the previous translations.

How a retranslator deals with the work of his/her predecessor is finally a question of personal ethics. Steiner calls the use of previous translations translating "after and against" (412) the existing translation(s), which constructs at the same time an appropriate aggressive metaphor that reflects the distance the retranslator wants to, or has to, observe if s/he wants to be fully appreciated for his/her originality in the confrontation with (the) earlier translation(s). On the other hand, according to Racz "a retranslator ought to do everything in his/her power to ensure the production of an original and error-free TT. Consulting a prior translation or translations once a TT draft has been finished thus becomes but one judicious step in the entire enterprise of retranslation, one available uniquely to the retranslator" (Racz 47).

In this process, not only may earlier translations into the same language be included, but also translations into other (mostly central) literary systems, as they have great potential to influence translation policies and processes in other (mostly peripheral) systems (see Alevato do Amaral for a discussion on broadening the notion of retranslation in that direction)[1]. Translations into languages other than the one into which the retranslator is working can, indeed, shed useful light on the meaning or interpretation of certain difficult passages in the ST, especially when the translator is dealing with a canonical literary work or with archaic lexicon and culture-specific expressions.

2. Methodology

In this paper, I will try to visualize the effect of a previous translation on a retranslation – or, if looked at from the other side of the mirror, the traces of previous translations in a retranslation – by comparing four Dutch translations of classical Russian literary works with their parallel or re-translations. Literary translations are specifically chosen here because they are probably more often retranslated than other types of texts. Moreover, the style and originality of a translated literary text is presumably more important than that of other text types (journalistic, political, historical, scientific and many other types), which allows me to compare the translations not only at the lexical and syntactic levels, but also at the stylistic one.

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[1] The terms "central" and "peripheral" suggest they are within the polysystem theory, which divides languages, cultures and cultural systems into bigger, central entities and smaller, peripheral ones (see Even-Zohar for an introduction to these theoretical concepts).

2.1 Corpus

2.1.1. Three Translations and their Retranslations

On the one hand, I will compare three recent retranslations with older translations of the same work, published by the same publishing house, and explicitly announced to the reader as a 'refreshed' and reworked translation of the previous one (see Table 1). In these particular cases, the retranslators were fully aware of the existence of another translation and the explicit reference to retranslation virtually forced them to use the previous translation as a starting point for their task. This inclination to consult the previous translation must have been especially high as the literary translations all appeared in the prestigious series of the *Russian Library* (Du. *De Russische bibliotheek*) which has been in existence since 1953 and is known for its high-quality translations of canonical Russian literature[2]. The publishing house responsible for the *Russian Library*, van Oorschot, (rightly) considers the series of translations of classical Russian literature as a "cultural monument" (Hartman) and, at the same time, as an economic product intended to make profit. The economic consideration behind the edition of a series of retranslations, from 2005 on, is obvious on the website of the publishing house (http://www.vanoorschot.nl/product-category/russische-bibliotheek/), where the new translations are discussed at great length.

> Retranslations are often interrelated with the ageing process of translations in general (see Van Poucke 92). However, it is not only the Dutch language, but also the translation norms of the Dutch target culture that have changed over time, and therefore the publishing house decided to order a series of new translations of the Russian classics. As stated by Menno Hartman, one of the publishers of van Oorschot, the retranslators were not asked to "revise" the older versions (which were, in his words, affected by "the ravages of time" anyway), but were expected, instead, to deliver a completely new version of the TT. The publisher stresses that the retranslators were explicitly given carte blanche in order to avoid a sudden change of style within the same translation, which could have been the result in the case of a partial revision (Hartman). In other words, the prestigious nature of the earlier translations is no longer taken into account in the translation policy of the publishing house, and the obvious link with the past is deliberately cut. It is interesting to see how the translators also avoid confrontation with the past in their paratext. The retranslators talk at length about the literary works in the original Russian culture, but do not discuss the previous translation and/or the changes they made into the TT, which is in line with the general modus operandi for literary translators.

In order to avoid the influence of (1) the changing translation strategies over time, and (2) the possible idiosyncratic peculiarities of the specific translation strategy of one particular (but not representative) translator, I will use translations by three different translators and published around the same period. In particular, I will discuss the following pairs of translations and retranslations:

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2 Acknowledging the still problematic nature of literary translations from Russian into Dutch in the 1950s on the one hand (because of insufficient knowledge of Russian in Dutch culture and/or the obvious problems connected with the omnipresent indirect translations through French and German), and the opportunities for commercial success on the other, editing house van Oorschot decided in 1953 to start up its own series of high quality literary translations. Skilled and experienced Dutch translators were systematically approached with the request to provide direct translations of the 'classics' of Russian literature into Dutch.

Source text	Target text 1 (TT1)	Target text 2 (TT2)
Фёдор Достоевский, *Братья Карамазовы* (1879-1880)	F.M. Dostojewski, *De gebroeders Karamazow* (1958, translated by Jan van der Eng)	Fjodor Dostojevski, *De broers Karamazov* (2005, translated by Arthur Langeveld)
Лев Толстой, *Война и мир* (1868)	Leo Tolstoj, *Oorlog en vrede* (1966, translated by H.R. de Vries)	Lev Tolstoj, *Oorlog en vrede* (2006, translated by Yolanda Bloemen & Marja Wiebes)
Антон Чехов, *Пассажир первого класса* (1886)	Anton Tsjechow, *De passagier eerste klas* (1954, translated by Charles B. Timmer)	Anton Tsjechov, *De passagier eerste klas* (2005, translated by Tom Eekman)

Table 1: Overview of source and target texts used within the *Russian Library* corpus of retranslations

2.1.2. One Case of 'Parallel Translation'

On the other hand, I will also analyze two different translations of one and the same Russian literary work, for which I would like to introduce the term "parallel translation" within the boundaries of this paper. The term "parallel" is used here because we are dealing with two different translations of one and the same literary work, but it is virtually impossible to refer to them as a first translation and retranslation as the translations were done independently from each other, with the translators not knowing of each other's efforts:

Source text	Target text 1 (TT1)	Target text 2 (TT2)
Владимир Одоевский, *4338-й год: Петербургские письма* (1835)	Vladimir Odojevski, *Het jaar 4338* (2011, translated by Willem Weststeijn)	Vladimir Odojevski, *Het jaar 4338* (2011, translated by Aai Prins)

Table 2: Overview of source and target texts used for the analysis of parallel translations

The two competing translations of Vladimir Odoevsky's utopian *The Year 4338* (1835) were published at virtually the same time in 2011, one in a bilingual edition by publishing house Pegasus as part of an academic-oriented series of books *Slavic Copybooks* (Du. *Slavische Cahiers*) and translated by Willem Weststeijn, the other by publishing house Hoogland & Van Klaveren and translated by Aai Prins. Just like in the three cases of retranslation, we are dealing with highly experienced and recognized literary translators, which makes the exercise the more relevant for research purposes. As all 8 translations in the analysis attend the highest quality standards, we avoid the quantitative data (see Table 4) being contaminated by the youthful lapses of an unexperienced literary translator.

2.2. Method

When comparing retranslations with their previous versions, on the one hand, and parallel translations on the other, we have to take into account that we may encounter one specific methodological problem. Parallel translations are each other's contemporaries and are, therefore, expected to show a number of similar linguistic features after all, while the (re)translations in this case study significantly diverge from each other with respect to temporal features of linguistic ageing. However, bearing in mind that the ST remains the same in all cases, and that translators, as a principle, try to respect most stylistic features of the original (we are dealing with canonical STs from the rich treasure-chest of classical Russian literature and translations into a prestigious series) we do think the comparison stands up to scrutiny and should reveal at least some tendencies of

literary retranslation that transcend the generally acknowledged process of refreshing linguistic features of ageing.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the differences between four paired couples of literary translations (three translations with their respective retranslations, and one pair of parallel translations) at lexical, syntactic and stylistic level. First, the lexical choices of the retranslators will be studied quantitatively. In each of the literary works, one section will be selected at random, and within each section, I will compare the lexical choices by the retranslators with the choices made by the first or earlier translators. As the short story by Chekhov has no further subdivisions, I begin the analysis from the start of the story. For *War and Peace,* chapter 20 of the 1st part was selected at random, for *The Brothers Karamazov,* chapter 3 of book 11 (see Table 1). In Odoevsky's *The Year 4338*, the 2nd *Letter* was appointed by lot (see Table 2).

During the analysis, I will ignore the grammatical form of the chosen word(s) and will only compare the translators' choices at the surface level of primary lexicality. Whenever the two translators use the same word (in any form), I will consider this as a "match"; in all other cases, I will count the translations as a "divergence".

Subsequently, the same selected sections will be scanned qualitatively for different translators' choices at syntactic and stylistic level. The term "syntax" is here understood to mean "the way in which linguistic elements (such as words) are put together to form constituents (such as phrases or clauses)" ("Syntax"). In particular, I will look at the changes in the grammatical structures of the sentences. The stylistic analysis will then focus on the "distinctive manner of expression" ("Style") of the ST in translation, which includes a comparison of the register, the tropes and the reproduction of culture specific elements in translation. In this phase of the analysis, I will look for syntactic or stylistic patterns in the retranslations that occur at least twice in the retranslations and for which the previous translation could have been an inspiring factor in the decision process by the retranslator.

3. Case Study

3.1. Lexical Analysis

The fact that there is a difference between a "retranslation" and a "revision" has been stressed more than once in academia, but that difference has not yet been quantitatively defined and there is no real theory yet on the borderline between the two approaches to the adaptation of an older translation to the norms of the contemporary target culture. In order to gain a rough understanding of the lexical characteristics of retranslation, I will mutually compare samples of the randomly selected sections (see 2.2) and count the number of lexical items that are exactly repeated in the retranslation.

First, I will focus on the first 200 words[3] in each translation and will determine the percentage of matches between them. The results for the three retranslated works show an overlap of 54% of

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[3] As the number of words in the two translations is unequal in most of the cases, I will stop the analysis only at the first full stop after the 200th word and take the average of the two translations in order to calculate the percentages of matches and divergences.

the words on average, with a slightly lower percentage for the retranslations of Chekhov (52%) and Tolstoy (50%) and a significantly higher result for the Dostoevsky retranslation (62%). Despite the limited character of this sample, a preliminary conclusion can be drawn: around 50-60% of the words in the older translation are apparently 'recycled' in the retranslations. If we compare that with the amount of overlap between the two parallel translations, then we notice only a slightly higher result of 60% there. No fewer than 136 words are identical in a sample of respectively 225 and 232 words in the two translations.

In order to illustrate the contingent overlap between two 'parallel' translations first, I will use an example taken from the Odoevsky translations, where the amount of almost verbatim repetitions is particularly high:

Translation by Weststeijn (2011)	Translation by Prins (2011)
Eindelijk ben ik in het centrum van het Russische halfrond en de wereldbeschaving. Ik schrijf je **terwijl ik** in een **prachtig** huis **zit** op **de luifel waarvan met enorme** kristallen letters geschreven staat: Hotel voor **vliegpassagiers**. Dat is hier zo de gewoonte: **op** de rijke huizen **zijn alle** daken **van kristal** of bedekt met witte kristallen dakpannen en de naam van de eigenaar is **aangebracht met gekleurd kristal**. 's Nachts, als de huizen vanbinnen verlicht zijn, **vormen deze schitterende rijen daken** een **betoverende** aanblik. Bovendien is **deze gewoonte heel handig**: **je hoeft niet, zoals** bij ons in **Beijing**, waar je 's nachts **vanboven af je eigen huis niet kunt herkennen, niet naar de grond af te dalen**.	Eindelijk ben ik in het centrum van het Russische halfrond en de wereldbeschaving; ik schrijf je, **gezeten** in een **schitterend** huis, **waar** op **het convexe dak in reusachtige** kristallen letters staat geschreven: 'Hotel voor **Inkomende Luchtpassagiers**'. Dat is hier zo de gewoonte: de rijke huizen **hebben allemaal kristallen** daken of **zijn** bedekt met witte kristallen dakpannen, en de naam van de eigenaar is **vervaardigd uit gekleurde kristallen**. 's Nachts, als de huizen vanbinnen verlicht zijn, **bieden die glinsterende dakenrijen** een **sprookjesachtige** aanblik; bovendien is **dit gebruik zeer nuttig – dat is heel wat anders dan** bij ons in **Peking**, waar je 's nachts **met geen mogelijkheid het huis van je kennissen herkent en je wel genoodzaakt bent te landen**.

Table 3: Divergences between two samples of the parallel Dutch translations of Odoevsky's *The Year 4338*.

Only the words and expressions in bold are not exactly repeated in both Dutch versions of Odoevsky's novel, which suggests that two translators, independently of each other, come up with roughly the same translation solutions for 60% of the words. This case study seems to suggest that there is an obvious and natural way of translating a ST, at least in those cases where the Russian version is not stylistically complex, as was the case in the used sample. For the translation of stylistically more defiant genres, and in particular for poetry translation, this percentage would probably be lower, but further research on a corpus of parallel translations (providing it is possible to irrefutably prove the absence of mutual influence between two translations) of for instance poetry is required to confirm or reject this intuitive hypothesis.

On the one hand, the lower percentages for the Chekhov and Tolstoy retranslations could be an indication that retranslators deliberately move away from their predecessor and try to repeat fewer words, but on the other, the Dostoevsky sample shows a contradictory result, where the overlap is even higher than in the parallel translations. Without asking the retranslators specifically about their working methods, it is impossible to determine whether they actually came across the

same finding as their predecessors in some cases and only then decided to strive for originality and move away from the earlier TT, or whether their translation process led to the TT in its published form in which case the deviations from the older versions would be natural and not affected by a desire to create an original translation.

Before we dig a bit deeper into the corpus, we remove the bias that might be created by the presence of articles, prepositions and other simple text structures, for which often no acceptable alternative is available. In other words: how many different ways are there to express simple clauses such as, "on the moon" or "in the train"? It could be useful to do the same exercise for the most meaningful lexical items only, i.e. verbs and nouns. Again the translations were compared with one another, but in this phase of the analysis, only the first 100[4] verbs and nouns in each of the analyzed sections were compared with their counterparts. The comparison of the translations gives the following quantitative results:

Lexical overlap	Verbs		Nouns	
	TT1 = TT2	TT1 ≠ TT2	TT1 = TT2	TT1 ≠ TT2
Dostoevsky	60	40	69	32
Tolstoy	46	59	66	35
Chekhov	52	48	60	42
average	**52%**	**48%**	**64%**	**36%**
Odoevsky	53	48	64	37
percentage	**52%**	**48%**	**63%**	**37%**

Table 4: Number of matches and divergences between the translations of verbs and nouns in the selected samples of the translations in the corpus.

The first result that catches the eye is the surprisingly high similarity between the average for the retranslations on the one hand, and the parallel translations on the other, both for verbs and nouns. While the percentages for the matches for the verbs are completely identical (52%), the difference for the nouns is only one percentage point – 64% versus 63%. Even if this result is based on a limited sample, this finding suggests the nature of retranslation is not fundamentally different from translation after all, as the two parallel translators have an almost identical amount of overlap in their lexical choices in comparison with the retranslators.

When we look more closely at the individual cases, there are, of course, more significant differences (and here again the Dostoevsky text stands out), but on average there seem to be no clear cases of plagiarism nor of complete hostility or rewriting of the ST in Dutch. This might be partly explained by the brief the retranslators received from the publishing house (see 2.1.1), but the high percentage of matches can also be explained by the (expected) high quality of the previous translations. Further research could focus on translations published in popular and cheap editions by less experienced (re)translators in order to establish whether the quality expectations of the publishing houses also play a role in this issue.

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[4] Here again, the exercise was not interrupted in the middle of a sentence, which explains why the sum of the two results in some cases gives a figure that exceeds 100.

The results of the analysis also seem to confirm the suggestion that there are only a limited number of ways to translate certain lexical items into another language, and that there is no particular reason for avoiding the most obvious lexical choice for the sake of originality. This specific suggestion is partly confirmed (albeit based on a very limited corpus) by the analysis of the two parallel translations: in cases where translators have no earlier translation to consult for inspiration, they have no first version to retranslate against (see earlier) and apparently choose the most obvious verb or noun to express the meaning of the ST. In approximately 50-60% of the cases, this seems to lead to the same lexical preference. However, this quantitative similarity gives only a hint of what is really going on at other text levels, as will be illustrated further in this paper.

Moreover, one could also ask the question here whether other types of texts (philosophical treaties, essays, opinion articles, and most obviously poetry) would lead to similar results. Racz's analysis of poetry retranslations at least confirms the hypothesis that style is much more important than content, which leads to a more original style of translating and, hence, a higher degree of diversity in lexical choices (Racz). One could expect that originality is of higher priority for poetry retranslators.

3.2. Syntactic and Stylistic Analysis

The analysis, so far, shows a number of similarities between retranslations and parallel translations and gives a rough idea of the level of lexical elements that are retained or changed during the retranslation process. The lexical comparison of these small samples evidently only covers part of the story, and it is necessary to look at other aspects of retranslation as well, in order to better define the nature of retranslation. At first sight, the results of the quantitative analysis seem to suggest that the result of the work of retranslators does not significantly differ from the results of parallel translation. Does this imply that the previous translation plays no meaningful role at all, since the 50-60% of overlap between the translations could also be the case where only one translation is the obvious choice for the (re)translator? Is there any effect at all from the previous translation? In order to answer this question, one has to delve deeper into the more structural parts of the retranslations, i.e. the syntactic and stylistic features. At this point, the retranslations differ significantly from the parallel translations.

3.2.1. Divergences at Syntactic and Stylistic Levels

The parallel translations share significantly more syntactic decisions than the translations and their retranslations. Here the temporal factor comes into play, as parallel translations share the same linguistic surroundings and are virtually made for one and the same audience, while retranslators are dealing with a target language and target culture that is different from the previous TT. Some languages seem to age more quickly than others, but even in the case of English, which seems to evolve relatively slowly (see Mair 5-6), retranslations are needed to refresh the language of the older translation.

The Dutch literary language, which is the object of this paper, evolves relatively quickly (see van der Horst and van der Horst for a detailed analysis), and that is why linguistic ageing was a major consideration for the van Oorschot publishing house (Hartman) behind the decision to have the classical works of Russian literature retranslated into Dutch. As both translations of the

Odoevsky novel reflect the condition of the Dutch language in 2011, there are no significant syntactic shifts between the two versions. Contemporary parallel translators use similar syntactic structures and avoid outdated language. This is obviously not the case with the retranslations, where linguistic rules have changed over the four or five decades that separate the two versions of the TT.

In fact, the sample of literary translations that is used in this paper shows the same characteristics as other retranslations in the *Russian Library* series (see Van Poucke 108-110): for instance, the reduction of the use of subordinate clauses, participles and gerunds, or the splitting of long sentences into smaller ones. Specifically, in the present corpus, the avoidance of passive and impersonal constructions in the retranslations is noticeable, as can be seen in following example:

(1)　Больному дали чего-то выпить, зашевелились около него, потом опять расступились по местам (TS 94 – *The patient was given something to drink, they moved around him, then again moved to their places*)[5]

Men gaf de zieke iets te drinken, om hem heen werd zenuwachtig geschuifeld, waarop iedereen zijn oude plaats weer opzocht (TT1 100 – *They gave the patient something to drink, around him there was nervous shuffling, after which everyone returned to their old place*)

De zieke kreeg iets te drinken, er was wat beroering om hem heen, daarna ging iedereen naar zijn plaats terug (TT2 105 – *The patient got something to drink, there was some turmoil around him, then everyone went back to his place*)

This extract of the ST contains a series of passive and impersonal constructions, and they are in general retained as such in the Dutch translation of 1966. Although the English translation of the Dutch retranslation might suggest otherwise, there is a significant change in syntax and style between the two Dutch versions. Whereas only one of the three clauses in the 1966 version contained an active subject, all three clauses are active in the retranslation. In the 1966 version both the words *men* (*one*) and *werd* (*was*) referred to impersonal and/or passive constructions, which certainly was in line with the original, but would sound outdated now, which is why the contemporary retranslators had reason to replace the syntactic structures of the original, even if this decision moves the TT virtually away from the original. In other words, the retranslation process moves the TT away from the previous version in order to remove the traces of ageing (see Van Poucke for similar examples).

Other divergences between the first translation and the retranslation are to be found at the stylistic level and here again, the majority of interventions by the retranslator serve to either update the translation, or restore certain features from the ST that had been lost in the previous TT. A

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5 In the examples the following codes will be used to refer to the sources: C = Chekhov, D = Dostoevsky, T = Tolstoy. S is used for the source text, and T for the target text, with the number "1" referring to the first translation, and "2" to the retranslation in the corpus. The next number indicates the page in the used text edition. The translations between brackets after the examples do not aspire to literary quality but stay as close to the Russian and Dutch originals as possible in order to show the syntactic fingerprint of the Russian and Dutch phrases.

first example involves the lowering of the register, which is most often encountered in the sections with direct speech:

(2) Вы чем-то расстроены? (DS 288 – *Are you upset with something?*)

Is er iets waardoor u geprikkeld bent? (DT1 702 – *Is there something by which you are irritated?*)

Is er iets met u aan de hand? (DT2 703 – *Is there something wrong with you?*)

The more modern version of this dialogue sounds much more natural and colloquial than the first version, which makes the conversations much more plausible and credible for a modern audience. Similar examples of this kind of shifts can be found throughout the corpus, as for instance in the Chekhov translations, where *околевать* (CS 271; here in the meaning of 'to die') is first rendered by *er tussenuit knijpen* (CT1 36; *to decamp*), but translated less shrouded by *de pijp uitgaan* (CT2 397; *to kick the bucket*) in 2005.

In general, most of the first translations in the *Russian Library* series suffered from a kind of verbosity that was superfluous, especially in the case of the short stories by Chekhov, who is famous for his verbal austerity (see Van Poucke 108-110). In the corpus for this paper, verbose sections in translation are reduced in order to move the retranslation closer to the ST:

(3) Вы, человек интеллигентный и пожилой, ни разу не слыхали про меня (CS 271 – *You, an intelligent and elderly person, have never heard of me*)

U bent een man van intelligentie en niet zo jong meer en toch heeft u mijn naam nooit horen noemen (CT1 36 – *You are a man of intelligence and not so young anymore and yet you have never heard my name mentioned*)

U, een ontwikkeld en bejaard iemand, hebt nooit van mij gehoord (CT2 397 – *You, an educated and elderly person, have never heard of me*)

Whereas the Russian author himself needed only 11 words for this clause, the first translator required almost twice this amount of words – 20 – to express roughly the same. From this point of view the retranslator managed to restore Chekhov's style to a certain extent and reduced the Dutch sentence to only 11, which is quite an achievement, taking into account that Dutch, unlike Russian, uses articles, and therefore usually needs more words than Russian to express the same narrative.

The restoration of stylistic elements from the ST in retranslation is one of the features that is traditionally linked with the so-called Retranslation Hypothesis (see Berman for the initial idea, and Chesterman for the further development of the concept), which states that first translations are meant to introduce a certain literary text into another literary system, but are always incomplete, which is why retranslations are necessary to restore the typical features of the ST. Our corpus, indeed, also shows a number of cases where stylistic features from the ST, that had been left out from the first translation, have been restored in the retranslations:

(4)   … лучше мечтать. Намечтать можно … (DS 289 – *better dreaming. It is possible to dream …*)

De droom <…> fantaseren … (DT1 703 – *The dream <...> to fantasize*)

… je kunt beter dromen. In je dromen … (DT2 704 – *you can better dream. In your dreams …*)

In this example, we notice how the repetition of the verb "to dream" in Russian (*мечтать*) is avoided for stylistic reasons in the first translation (Dutch literary language in general avoids the use of too many repetitions), but restored in the retranslation, thus bringing the translation stylistically closer to the ST.

Another characteristic of the retranslations in the corpus is that the retranslators show more respect for the idiosyncrasies of the ST, again translating away from the previous version:

(5)   впереди их старшая, Катишь (TS 93 – *in front their eldest, Katish*)

vóór hen de oudste, Katja (TT1 99 – *in front of them their eldest, Katya*)

voor hen de oudste, Katisj (TT2 104 – *in front of them their eldest, Katish*)

In this example, the first translator clearly tried to avoid confusion in the Dutch reader, who was perhaps not supposed to grasp that *Katisj* is one of the many forms that exist for the name *Ekaterina* (*Екатерина*) in Russian. By choosing *Katja* instead, the 1966 translator used a more familiar form of the name that was far better known to the audience. However, the 2006 retranslator takes for granted that the contemporary reader will see the link between the names and restores an element from the Russian version that was lost during the first translation process, even if the form *Katisj* is not more familiar now than it was in the 1960s. Something similar happens in the same extract from *War and Peace*, where the *Софи* (*Sofi* in transliteration, TS 94) from the ST was first rendered by *Sofja* (TT1 100) in 1966, but restored to *Sophie* (TT2 10) in 2006.

3.2.2. Similarities at Syntactic and Stylistic levels

If so many elements from the first translations are replaced in retranslation, what is then retained, apart from a number of lexical choices that might have been made because there is no realistic alternative available that still sounds natural for a Dutch-speaking reader? And how can we find out which of the features from the first translation are retained without interviewing the retranslators about their translation strategy?

It is, indeed, very difficult to prove traces of the previous translation that go beyond the obvious level of lexical choices made by the first translator. As we have seen before (4.2.1), retranslation is often a question of refreshing, as well as the removal of outdated language.

Even if retranslators have the disadvantage that their effort will always be compared with a previous translation, which might urge them to aim for an exaggerated reaction against their predecessor, they also have the advantage that they have the power to judge the decisions by their predecessors and to preserve any part of the previous translation that is considered successful. In

the following example, for instance, the translators had a range of different possibilities at their disposal to render the Russian but they finally settled for an almost identical solution:

(6)   разлегся на бархатном диване, сладко потянулся и задремал (CS 270 – *lay down on a velvet sofa, stretched sweetly and dozed off*)

vlijde zich op de fluwelen bank neer, rekte zich behagelijk uit en sluimerde in (CT1 35 – *lay down on the velvet sofa, stretched comfortably, and fell asleep*)

vlijde zich neer op zijn fluwelen bank, rekte zich behaaglijk uit en dommelde in (CT2 396 – *lay down on his velvet sofa, stretched comfortably, and fell asleep*)

Words and expressions such as *zich neervlijen* and *beha(a)g(e)lijk* are of rather elevated register and the choice for this particular group of words in one sentence most probably proves influence from the previous translation. These are the cases where one could expect that the retranslator approved of the choices made by the first translator and decided not to alter the first translation, which still does not sound outdated and correctly reproduces the content of the ST.

4. Conclusions

In Translation Studies the difference between retranslation and revision has been touched upon on a regular basis, but research has not been able, so far, to define a clear border line between the two processes, which have a lot in common, but should still be considered as separate activities. At least subjectively, a retranslator is "more highly valued" than a reviser (Koskinen 316), and the concept retranslation surely has more economic potential for a publishing house than revision, so the question is relevant.

The analysis of a small sample of literary translations from Russian into Dutch has shown that retranslations, despite their very individual nature, still have some hallmarks in common. For instance, they show a surprisingly constant percentage of lexical overlap with their respective predecessors. Indeed, the retranslations that have been examined in this paper all retain approximately 50-60% of the lexical items in general, and a similar amount of verbs and nouns in particular, from the previous translations. The question is whether the retranslators would have made the same lexical choices if they had been the first translators, and hence had not had a predecessor at their disposal, which could be checked for inspiration in places that displayed specific translational difficulties.

The example of two parallel translations, used as a means of comparison in this paper, suggests that two translators, independently of each other, come up with a similar amount of the same translation solutions. This would assume that roughly half of the lexical items in a literary text have a natural and obvious translation equivalent that does not constitute real difficulty for the translator, and therefore can safely be retained by a retranslator without risking criticism of plagiarism. The other half of a text is where the real job for a literary translator begins. And that job often includes an update of those elements in translation (not only lexical, but also syntactic and stylistic) that are no longer accepted within the literary norms of the receiving culture. The number of clear findings by the previous translator that are kept in the retranslation is, after all, very limited.

Retranslation, at least in the case of the three explored retranslations from the *Russian Library* series, does not seem to lead to an excessive borrowing of lexical translation solutions by the previous translator, nor does the act of retranslating seem to lead to the extreme denial of the interpretation of the previous translator. The lexical overlap between different translations of one and the same text is rather constant, and does not significantly vary from the overlap that exists between two parallel translations, which confirms the presupposition that a translator has only a limited number of ways to translate a ST and should not try to diverge further from an older translation than necessary. In many cases the lexical diversity of the translations is only slightly altered by the retranslator, but what s/he actually does, is rebuilding a new kind of narrative, making use of the same building blocks as the previous translation, but reordering them in such a way that they create a new and innovative look on the ST.

At the same time, a number of questions still remain. What, for instance, if the same exercise applied to a much larger corpus of translations and retranslations? The choice of a small sample for this study undoubtedly influenced the final results, but this finding does not alter the fact that the concurrence of quantitative results is surprisingly high. The analysis in this paper seems to suggest that an overlap of 50-60% is natural. Does this mean that a significantly higher percentage of overlap (of for instance 80%) implies that we are dealing with a revision? And does an overlap of more than 60% between 2 translations imply that the retranslator committed plagiarism of some kind? How far can, or should, a retranslation of prose fiction diverge from an older version without harming the originality level? Attempts have been made to answer these questions, at least within the Turkish context, where abundant evidence of plagiarism and "fake translations" was uncovered in recent publishing practices (see Şahin, Duman and Gürses for a discussion of the issue).

Another question concerns the genre of the translated text and the languages involved. This case study included only Dutch translations of Russian prose fiction, but my hypothesis would be that retranslations between other languages may react differently to examples of ageing, and that retranslation of poetry and drama will differ more significantly from their predecessors. In the case of poetry, that is presumably so because formal characteristics take precedence over the content of the work, which gives the retranslator the opportunity to pick words from a much broader range of semantic fields and with different musicality. In the case of drama, the need to keep the play performable urges the retranslator to remove more outdated linguistic features from the translation than is the case with prose fiction.

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New Perspectives on Retranslation: The Case of Iran[6]

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This paper explores retranslation in contemporary Iran (1979–2019). Retranslation, following Tahir Gürçağlar, is defined here as "the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text"(232). In Iran, Western classics, best-sellers and award-winning books are often retranslated multiple times. Almost one-hundred translations of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and forty different translations of *1984* are available on the Iranian book market. The more recently published *Becoming*, by Michelle Obama (2018) has had twenty-six different translations within a year of its publication in 2018. This seems to be the reason why Iranian journalists view retranslation as a "competition" (see Ghane).

This "distinctive feature" of the Persian translation tradition, as Azadibougar and Haddadian-Moghaddam (157) call it, sparked my interest in the following questions: Why is retranslation common in Iran? What advantages do retranslations yield for Iranian translators and publishers? What leads readers to select one retranslation over others? This paper argues that retranslation in Iran is a significant and often profitable social phenomenon.

For this study, I conducted interviews with ten Iranian literary translators and six publishers in Tehran, Iran, all of whom were highly recognized agents of translation.[7] This approach enabled me to offer a reliable snapshot of the reasons behind retranslation in Iran. This is followed by the exemplary case study of the retranslation of *Animal Farm* (hereafter AF).

Discourse around Retranslation

In contemporary Iran, the number of (re)translations is sharply increasing (Saeedi and Karimi Behbahani). The literature on retranslation is extensive, focusing commonly on comparative textual and occasionally paratextual analysis. For instance, a textual analysis of three retranslations of *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen) tested the validity of the Retranslation Hypothesis (Vahid Dastjerdi

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[6] The present study is based on my PhD dissertation *The Role of Translators in Contemporary Iran: New Perspectives on Collaboration, Retranslation and Visibility* submitted to the University of Melbourne (2016-2020).
I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. I am also indebted to Andrea Rizzi for reading versions of my article. All translations from Persian into English are mine, unless otherwise stated.
[7] To conduct the interviews, I obtained the ethics approval from the Faculty of Arts Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG), The University of Melbourne (approval number: 1749018).

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and Mohammadi), while a more recent study examines visual representations of AF by comparing three retranslations against their start text (Amirdabbaghian and Shunmugam).[8] In his book,

Literary Translation in Modern Iran: A Sociological Study, Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam effectively engages with Persian retranslations of English novels such as *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen) and reveals the underlying motivations of their translators and publishers.

Against this academic backdrop however, Iranian translation scholars, critics, reviewers, and journalists predominantly consider retranslation a cultural crisis in the public discourse.[9] For instance, in an online daily newspaper, Pirouzeh Rohaniyoun, an Iranian author and journalist, believes that amateur translators take on retranslation in a quest for financial gain and prestige (Rohaniyoun). In her view, having one's name on an award-winning book does bring a translator prestige and financial gain, but she remarks that retranslations by amateur translators are conducted in haste and are of low quality (Rohaniyoun). Quoting iconic Iranian translators Najaf Daryabandari and Media Kashigar, Rohaniyoun suggests that skilled translators recommend retranslations only when a more fluent translation is needed. In an interview with Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), Iranian translation scholar Karimi Behbahani stated that he considers retranslation a profit-driven practice, especially for publishers. Like Rohaniyoun, he holds that rather than aiming to offer a more accurate translation, retranslation is a socially motivated practice for amateur translators (Karimi Behbahani). Contextual factors such as the lack of clear commitment to national and international copyright conventions, for example the Berne convention, are recognized as a key reason for the increasing number of retranslations in Iran.[10]

The most interesting point emerging from the above-mentioned articles is the sharp distinction between how the intentions of amateur and non-amateur translators are viewed. On the one hand, retranslations performed by amateur translators, in which copies of previous translations are republished with minor or no revisions, are deemed to be a profit-driven practice and seem to be distrusted by readers. On the other hand, retranslations carried out by established Iranian translators, who are more trustworthy agents of translation, are considered valuable cultural contributions. Following Chesterman, I define trust here broadly as the belief that someone or something meets the expectations of other parties (*Memes of Translation* 178*).* Trustworthiness of translation agents is the point of departure in this paper. To the best of my knowledge, no previous

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[8] Retranslation Hypothesis assumes that "later translations tend to be closer to the source text" (Chesterman 8). Throughout this paper, to follow Pym, I use "start text" as the text we translate from to include "views of translation" that assume texts are "made up of translations" and "reworked fragments of previous texts" (1-2).

[9] This issue is addressed in different news broadcasting and interviews with experts, translators and publishers. Here are few links to news on the issue of retranslations. On retranslations of Dostoyevsky see: http://traductologie.blogfa.com/category/12 (access date: 10 September 2018).

[10] Although Iran is not a member of any international copyright conventions, publishers more commonly tend to get permission from the start text's author for translating their works. Iran has two national copyright laws: the copyright law of 1969 [Haqq-e Mo'allef] and the Law concerning the translation and reproduction of books, publications, and audio recordings [Qānūn-e tarjama wa takt̲īr-e kotob wa našrīyāt wa āt̲ār-e ṣawtī]. See http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/copyright (access date: 30 October 2019).
The Berne Convention protects producers' literary, artistic and intellectual rights, ratified in Berne, 1886. Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/ (access date: 10 September 2018).

study has engaged with the relevance of translators' professional status and socio-cultural and economic motives as well as the reception of retranslations in Iran. My study aims to fill this gap.

In this paper I use the terms 'amateur' and 'early-career' translators to describe translators who have never translated before, or who have translated only one title before moving into retranslating. As I discuss below, these two categories usually collaborate with newly established publishers and are less recognized members of the Iranian literary translation field. I also use the terms 'mid-career' and 'senior' translator to describe translators who have introduced new foreign authors by translating more than two new titles into Persian. Mid-career and senior translators usually collaborate with highbrow publishers, and the participants of this study fall into these groups.

Retranslation beyond the Text

This article benefits immensely from recent contributions to our understanding of literary retranslation.[11] Particularly relevant to my study is Sharon Deane-Cox's work on retranslation in the history of English and French literature. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's literary practice theory, Deane-Cox investigates the role of translators and publishers in retranslations of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and George Sand's *La Mare au Diable* between the 19th and 20th centuries. She does so by utilizing the novels' paratextual materials to illuminate the underlying motivations for retranslations. Deane-Cox has shown that retranslation is a "complex" practice and it is "as much a socially and a culturally embedded phenomenon as it is a textualized one" (189-190). I take a similar approach to my study of retranslation in contemporary Iran.

This article, therefore, situates itself within the paradigm of sociology of translation due to its emphasis on the role of translators and publishers (hereafter 'agents') in retranslations of literary works (see Wolf). The choice of focusing on the role of agents is because active retranslations are common in Iran, in particular among amateur and early-career translators. Active retranslation, according to Anthony Pym, refers to retranslation in "virtually the same cultural location and generation" that is produced in a state of rivalry (*Method in Translation History* 82–83). Mid-career and senior translators are comparatively inclined towards passive retranslations: that is, to retranslate when there is "likely to be little active rivalry between different versions" (82). Hence, in this context, the strong presence of active retranslations in Iran invites translation scholars to explore the role of agents and the possible motives behind retranslation. Here I use Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *capital* and *field* to discern translators' and publishers' motivations and agency in what I term the literary translation field of Iran; Inspired by Bourdieu's definition of literary field (143), 'field' is defined here as the social space in which translators and publishers

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[11] For revisiting the Retranslation Hypothesis see: Paloposki and Koskinen, Deane-Cox. For researching retranslation see also: Tahir-Gürçaglar. For narrative theory and retranslation see: Brownlie. On translators' voice in retranslation see the *Target* special issue edited by Alvstad and Rosa. On collaboration and retranslation see: Bistué, Rizzi. For retranslation of children literature see Pokoron.

strategically act to define their status, and 'capital' as both the economic and non-economic benefits of retranslation for the translators and publishers (*The Forms of Capital* 81-93).

Method

This case study draws on interviews and paratextual analysis to answer the questions outlined above. I conducted sixteen semi-structured interviews with ten Iranian literary translators and six publishers to explore the process of commissioning translators, the incentives for retranslation, and the translators and publishers' perspectives towards retranslation. This is because the sole use of paratextual materials would "reveal little, if any, information from behind the scenes" of retranslation commissioning process (Deane-Cox 26). The knowledge and the experiences of Iranian translators and publishers are a crucial source of data to highlight the motives underpinning retranslation.

Moreover, because paratextual materials offer "evidence for the type and extent of interactions between the (re)translations" (Deane-Cox 34), I elected to examine the paratextual materials of four of AF's retranslations. This allows to recognize how translators use retranslation to assert their trustworthiness over past translations. Due to the rivalry in the literary translation field of Iran, retranslations tend to challenge previous translations and translators. Using paratextual elements (pictures, notes, visual cues), translators and publishers try to convince readers that their new retranslation is trustworthy. Amateur translators in particular use a variety of strategies to introduce their retranslation as the latest, most reliable version of the start text.

To reveal the strategies of trust building, I apply a recently introduced concept of trust-signalling to the study of retranslations: "Signalling is persuasion: a rhetorical and psychological strategy employed to reassure or convince an audience" (Rizzi et al. 19). Translators and publishers use trust-signalling markers as a device to convince readers that they are trustworthy agents of translation, either to gain benefits or avoid accusations of copying/paraphrasing previous translations.

Retranslation: Risk and Reward

In the context of Iran, retranslation projects tend to be publisher-initiated. Five of the six publishers I interviewed have commissioned translators to carry out retranslations (July–September 2017, Tehran). The interviewed publishers usually ruled out the financial motivation for retranslation. This is not new. Haddadian-Moghaddam explains there is "a strong tendency among Iranian literary translators and publishers to subscribe to the 'love of literature'" generally as their incentive for choosing to be a literary translator and publisher (182). However, this 'love of literature' is only one of the several expressions of the social and economic motivations I examine here. The perceived inadequacy of previous translations is the main incentive and justification for publishers to offer a new translation. The inadequacy is normally attributed to the archaism of the Persian language used in earlier translations, and the alleged incompetence of past translators. Therefore, to support their claim and justify their decisions for retranslation, they commission senior or mid-career translators.

The Iranian publishing house, Ofoq Publishers, tends to retranslate world literature classics.[12] Being recognized as a major publisher of authors such as Hermann Hesse increases the social prestige of the publisher in the literary translation field.[13] I asked Samin Nabipour, the director of international affairs at Ofoq Publishers, why they had decided to commission translators to retranslate the world's classics under a series titled '[author's name] heritage'. She responded:

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هم بعد اقتصادی دارد هم بعد پرستیژ و هم مجموعه ما را کامل میکند. ما به اینکه میراث نویسنده های دیگر رو داشته باشیم و بتوانیم مجموعه کاملی به طیف وسیعی از مخاطبان ارائه دهیم خیلی اهمیت میدهیم. برنامه بعدی..میراث هرمان هسه است. با اینکه آثار هسه کتابهایی هستند که اینجا چندین بار چاپ شدند ولی خب ما با مترجم های خیلی خوبی کار میکنیم. مثلا آقای امرایی که همینگوی رو ترجمه کردند اسم هایی هستند که هم روی کیفیت کار و هم روی برخورد نهایی خوانندگان تاثیر دارند..اعتمادشان جلب میشه دیگه یعنی وقتی ببینن یک کتابی را اسدالله امرایی ترجمه کرده اعتماد می کنند.

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> It is profitable, prestigious, and enriches our collection as well. Our prime concern is to offer a rich collection of other authors' heritage to a wide range of readers. We are planning to retranslate Hermann Hesse's heritage. Although they have previously been translated several times, we are commissioning great translators [to retranslate them]. For instance, Asadollah Amraee [re]translated Hemingway's heritage [for us]; his name not only guarantees the quality of translation but it also affects the reception of the text … I mean, when readers see that Amraee has [re]translated the book, they trust the translation. (Nabipour)

The combination of a renowned author and a famous translator explains the act of retranslation and signals trust. Ofoq Publishers secures the success of new translations of a text not only by the strategic choice of the first authors and their works, but also by commissioning senior translators. The choice of such translators signals that the new translation is a reliable one. In this case, Asadollah Amraee's name, on the front cover of the novel, aims to convince readers of the quality of the translated text.

My interview with Amraee confirms the impact of a translator's professional background not only on publishers' decisions for retranslating books but also on the reception of a retranslation (17 August 2017, Tehran). He told me about an occasion where he met a young translator and they reckoned they were both translating the same book. Amraee says that " یه لحظه دیدم که جاخورد. [as soon as she heard, she was بعد گفتم چرا ناراحت شدی. گفت آخه ترجمه‌ی شما بیاد ترجمه‌ی من رو نمی‌خونن" shocked. I asked her the reason, she said, 'no one will read my translation while yours is on the

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market'] (Amraee). These statements show how investing in trusted translators can grant publishers a competitive edge against their competition in the translation of a given text.

Similar strategies are employed by other publishers to reap the benefits of retranslation and reinforce their trustworthy position for themselves in the literary translation field. Mohammadreza Arbabi, publisher and the director of Translators and Interpreters Association of Tehran (TIAT), says: "وقتی میرم سراغ کاری برای بازترجمه که بدونم یک مترجم خیلی قدر دارم و یک اثر به نام." [I would publish a retranslation if I [could] commission a great translator to retranslate a famous work] (Arbabi). Arbabi's emphasis is also on commissioning a trustworthy senior translator who has a successful track record. This seems to be a fair justification for retranslation.

Former director of Hermes publishing house, Lotfollah Saghravani, justifies his decision for commissioning a retranslation of Albert Camus' *L'Étranger* directly from French, and Hermes' plan to market the retranslation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, by stressing that the translator— Mohammad Reza Parsayar— "مترجم ما کسی که این کار رو انجام داده آقای پارسایار هستند و ایشون سابقه فرهنگ‌نویسی دارند یعنی جدیدترین و مدرن‌ترین فرهنگ فرانسه به فارسی رو ایشون تالیف کردند." [is a lexicographer and … has compiled the most recent French-Persian dictionary] (Saghravani). Although Parsayar is a highly competent and educated translator, he is less recognized in the literary translation field, so his background is offered as evidence that the retranslation is trustworthy. Saghravani clarifies that his motivation is educational, as he believes retranslation of world classics from their original language is necessary for the Iranian book market:

> ما ریسک کردیم و روی رمان بینوایان دو هزار و پانصد صفحه ای سرمایه گذاری کردیم..چون نشر ما تو ایران کمبود متون کلاسیک دارد و نیاز دارند که مستقیم از زبان اصلی ترجمه بشن.

> We took the risk and invested in a retranslation of *Les Misérables*, a two-thousand-five-hundred-page novel … as Iran's book market needs the world classics to be translated directly from their original languages …. (Saghravani)

This statement also reveals how retranslations of certain works are advantageous to a social context and how retranslation allows the agents of translation to intellectually play an influential role in the Iranian book market, in particular when they are trusted agents of the literary translation field. Therefore, gain of cultural capital seems to encourage the production of retranslations.

Leila Hosseinkhani, the director of Agah Publishing House, while ruling out pursuing economic gain through publishing retranslations, states:

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باز ترجمه برای سود اقتصادی نیست، باید ببینیم که آیا ضرورتش بوده یا اینکه ما این نیاز رو احساس کردیم که این کتاب باید توی بازار باشه و به دست مخاطب برسد. به علت نبود کپی رایت اگر همزمان بشه بخاطر سرمایه گذاری که کردیم چاپ میکنیم اثر رو، هرچند که شاید اون ناشر هم ترجمه خوبی ارائه کرده باشه ولی خب به هر حال ما هم روی این کار کردیم سرمایه گذاری و هزینه کردیم، وقت گذاشتیم و مجبوریم چاپ کنیم.

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Retranslation is not for economic gains. There should be a need for retranslating a work, or we should feel that the book must be available on the market and accessible to readers. However, due to the lack of copyright laws, in the case of parallel translations, we have no choice but to publish our translations, as we have already invested in the translation project, even if another translation is released by a recognized publisher or translator. (Hosseinkhani)

Hosseinkhani, similar to Saghravani, addresses the cultural urge for retranslation of certain books. She rightly addresses that sometimes translations are released simultaneously in the absence of firm international copyright laws. This sheds light on one of the financial risks of retranslations.

For mid-career and senior translators—those who have translated two or more new titles—the risks of retranslation outweigh its benefits. Retranslators, in particular if they are amateur or early-career translators, tend to be perceived as imitators and followers of the first translator and their works are compared to earlier translations by readers (Meftahi). This is the reason why some translators claim that they were unaware of other translations and others express regret for engaging in retranslation or feel they need to justify the reason why they retranslated a book. This is mainly due to the negative discourse around retranslations that label retranslation as a profit-driven praxis. From my interviews, it seems that mid-career translators believe that by retranslating, they put their symbolic capital at risk. Maryam Meftahi, a mid-career translator, for instance, expresses regret at having performed retranslations, and stresses that she will not perform them in future.

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بر اساس تجربه ای که داشتم تصمیم گرفتم دیگر رمانی را که قبلا ترجمه شده ترجمه نکنم. حتی کتاب هایی بوده که من شروع به ترجمه کردم بعد متوجه شدم مترجم دیگری هم روی همان کتاب کار میکند من کتاب را کنار گذاشتم...من بعد از بازترجمه خالد حسینی به این نتیجه رسیدم که سعی کنم نویسنده های جدید معرفی کنم به جامعه رمان خوان ایران.

</div>

> After my first experience of retranslating a book, I decided not to retranslate any novels in the future. There were books I put aside in the process of translation as soon as I heard another translator was working on it … after retranslating Khaled Hosseini's [*The Kite Runner*], I realized that I should give priority to introducing new authors and new books to Iranian readership. (Meftahi)[14]

The reason she prefers to introduce new authors and works seems to be that it would allow her to gain a leading position in the literary translation field. Meftahi successfully introduced Jojo Moyes' books to Iranian readers.[15] After her success, many amateur translators retranslated Moyes' books to enter the literary translation field, but Meftahi is recognized as the pre-eminent specialist translator of Jojo Moyes in the Iranian book market.

Similar views have been shared by other translators. Shaghayegh Ghandhari admits that she is reluctant to accept retranslation offers from publishers. She explains her previous willingness to produce retranslations as a result of being unaware of the pre-existing translations:

> من معمولا پیشنهاد ناشرها را برای بازترجمه نمی پذیرم.شده کتابی رو ترجمه کردم و بعد فهمیدم که دو نفر دیگه هم کتاب رو ترجمه کردند ولی اونموقع من نمیدانستم.

> I usually do not accept publishers' retranslation offers. Once I translated a book and, later, I happened to discover that two other translators had previously translated it. I did not know about this at the time of translating. (Ghandhari)

Senior translators in the literary translation field confidently defend their retranslations. The translator of Saramago's novel *Blindness (1995)*, Amraee, explains his decision to retranslate the novel by expounding that his retranslation is closer to the author's style of writing (Amraee). Amraee stoutly defends his retranslation of the novel, and openly acknowledges previous translations of the work:

> درباره بازترجمه کوری هم من هر جایی در مورد ترجمه خودم صحبت کردم حتما اشاره کردم که فضل تقدم با خانم مشیری بوده. ایشون آدم تحصیل کرده و گزیده کاری هستند. ویراستار خوبی هم داشتند. من نمیخواهم حق رو زیر پا بگذارم. ولی واقعیت ماجرا این است که من زمانی که کوری رو دست گرفتم و شروع کردم ... اطلاع نداشتم که ایشون دارند ترجمه می‌کنند.

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[14] *The Kite Runner* is written by Khaled Hossein, an Afghan American author (2003).
[15] Pauline Sara Jo Moyes, born in 1969, is an English romantic novelist. Her famous novels *Me Before You* and *After You* are (re)translated in Persian. Her works were introduced to an Iranian readership by Maryam Meftahi.

> As for my retranslation of *Blindness*, wherever I mentioned my translation
> I acknowledged its previous translator, Ms Moshiri, who is an educated,
> discerning person. Her translation has also been edited by an adept editor.
> I want to be fair. The point is that by the time I started translating *Blindness,*
> I did not know that she had already been translating the book. (Amraee)

By conceding the high competency of the previous translator, Amraee demonstrates his own trustworthiness. He also reviewed another translation of the book performed by Mehdi Ghabraee, praising his competency and, in doing this, secures and enhances his own among the circle of translators. At the same time, Amraee simply acknowledges that he was unaware of previous translations.

In response to my question about why he retranslated a book on the history of art, Mohammad Nabavi revealed that he was unaware that another translator was translating the same book. Once he knew, he decided to release his translation later. As Nabavi explains:

بعد از پایان ترجمه ی یه کتاب متوجه شدم مترجم دیگری هم اونو کار کرده. چون به هر
حال من و ناشر هر دو شناخته شده تر هستیم، فکر کردیم و تصمیم گرفتیم چند سالی دست
نگه داریم بگذاریم اون کتاب به فروش برسه و بعد چاپ کنیم.

> when I finished translating a book, I found that another translator had also
> translated the same book. The publisher of my translation and I decided
> to wait for a few years and allowed the other translation to sell as much as
> possible. Then, we published my translation of the book. The reason is
> that, comparatively, my publisher and I are more recognized. (Nabavi)

As the statement shows, Nabavi is confident that his trustworthy position among readers and in the literary translation field of Iran secures the sales of his translation even if released later.

The translators' views on retranslations provided here show that it is the social status of the translators in question that determines and justifies the production and reception of multiple translations in Iran. Based on the cases of Amraee and Nabavi, it seems that senior translators' motivations to retranslate are less likely to be interpreted by their readers as opportunistic.[16]

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[16] Reception of retranslations in Iran is thoroughly investigated in the author's doctoral dissertation: See Saeedi 2020.

Case Study: Retranslations of Animal Farm

In this section, I discuss four retranslations of *Animal Farm (Orwell 1945)*. The novella has enjoyed approximately one hundred Persian translations since 1979 and is a notable example of the practice of retranslation in Iran. The first Persian translation of AF appeared in 1965. After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, and between 1980 and 1984, four different retranslations of the book appeared. This surfeit seems to be due to the lack of a firm copyright law. Seventy-seven retranslations of AF were published after 2010 (see figure 1).
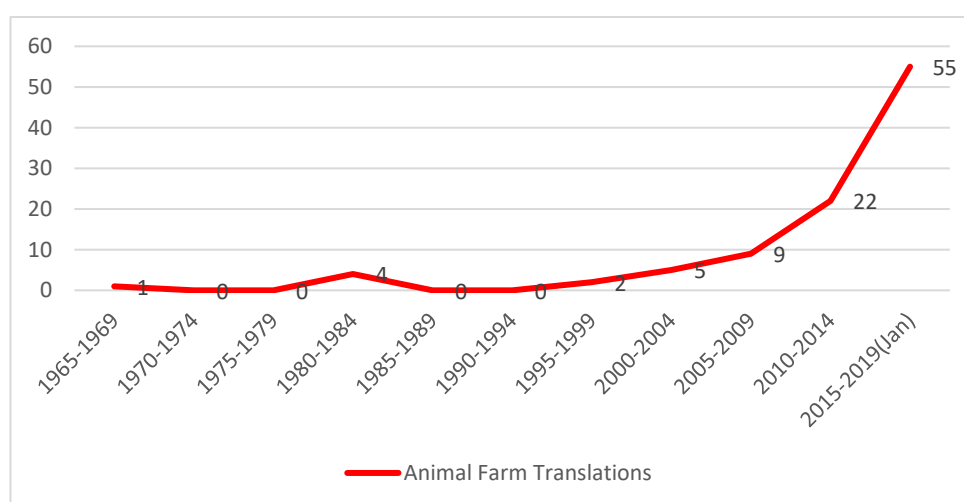
Figure 1: Trend in AF retranslations since 1969

Figure 1 shows that retranslations of AF are active, in particular after 2010. Pym points out that, in the case of active retranslations, the causes are "far closer to the translator" (*Method in Translation History*, 83). In this case, then: who are the translators? Of the 97 translators, 72 are either amateur or early-career literary translators (see figure 2).[17] The track records of the early-career translators show that they are mainly inclined to retranslate popular books and they are mostly commissioned by newly established or less recognized publishers.

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[17] These data are collected from the National Library of Iran database. I first looked for Persian titles of AF. Then, I recorded translators' biodata. Accordingly, I searched translators' names to identify how many books they had translated before translating AF.
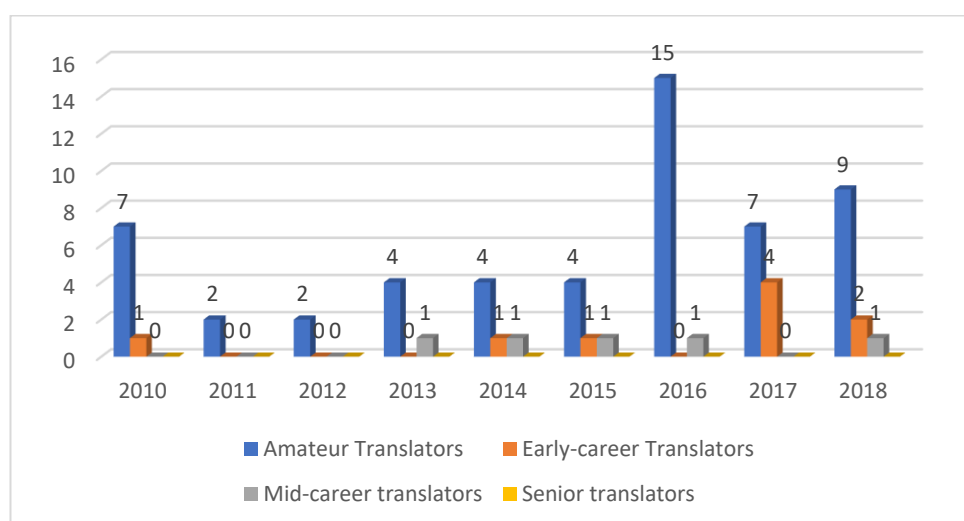
Figure 2: AF translator professional status

Several reasons motivate AF's retranslations. This includes the short length and simple prose of the novella, which makes AF a safe choice for amateur translators, and the novella's political content, which allows for the circulation of restricted discourses in Iran's literary translation field (see the case of Shahab Habibi below). For publishers, it is risky to invest in translation of a new work by an amateur translator as amateur translators are generally less familiar with publishing policies for a literary book in Iran. Besides, books with higher numbers of retranslations obtain publishing permits more easily than would newly translated books (Kaghazchi). Another reason for amateur translators to carry out retranslations is that such practitioners do not necessarily need to possess a high translation competence. There is the possibility of copying previous translations, applying minor modifications, and presenting them to the market as new translations. The basic level of visibility, that is, having their name on a translated book, serves as a non-economic incentive for amateur translators.[18]

From the perspective of the interviewees, the motivation behind high numbers of retranslation for AF is economic capital. For instance, Arbabi states:

بعضا مترجم های مبتدی سراغ این کار می روند. این نشونه ی چیست؟ ...پیشنهاد بازترجمه از سمت ناشر میاد. مثلا شازده کوچولو رو هر کسی ترجمه کنه اسم شازده کوچولو می فروشه. در نتیجه دیگه براش کیفیت مهم نیست.

Sometimes, amateur translators tend to retranslate such works. What does it tell us?...publishers offer retranslations. For instance, no matter who the translator is, *The Little Prince,* is always profitable for the publisher. Therefore, these publishers are not concerned with the quality of translations. (Arbabi)[19]

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[18] In Iran, translators' names are always printed on the front cover of translated books. This issue is thoroughly investigated in my PhD dissertation (Saeedi 2020).

[19] *Le Petit Prince [The Little Prince]* was written by French author Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (1900–1944).

Amateur translators are either not paid or poorly paid (interviews, July–September 2017). Therefore, for newly established publishers AF's retranslation cultivates economic capital. For its amateur translators, it is a pathway to enter the literary translation field and build a track record.

Similarly, Saghravani, the publisher, points out that " اینطور اگر چون نیستیم اقتصادی منافع دنبال بود سراغ کتاب هایی می رفتیم که هم ترجمه کردن آنها راحت تر هست و هم وقتی شما تولید کنی قیمت ارزان تری دارند و مشتری بیشتر مثل دو کتاب معروف جرج اورول. " [We are not after economic profits because in that case there are books that are easy and cheap to retranslate and, at the same time, have a vast readership, such as Orwell's books] (Saghravani). Hence, the retranslations of such novels are associated with profit-driven motivations in the literary translation market as well as the early-career translator's quest for visibility.

A Paratextual Analysis

In this section, I discuss paratexts of four active retranslations of AF. They are selected based on the abundance of paratextual materials and the availability of the books on the market. The retranslations under examination here are conducted by a senior translator, Homayoun Nourahmar (1983 edition); a mid-career translator, Ahmad Kasaeipour (2011); an early-career literary translator, Shahab Habibi (2015); and by a team of amateur translators: Pari Ghayouri and Hamidreza Ghayouri (2018).

The first retranslation of AF, in 1983, was performed by Nourahmar, a recognized Iranian literary translator. I use this retranslation to demonstrate how motivations for retranslating AF have changed over the decades. The paratext of this retranslation signals closeness to the start text by offering a literal translation of the book title, compared to the first translation. The first translation of AF was entitled *Qaliyih Hiyvānāt (Orwell 1965)*, literally translated as 'Animals' Bastion', while this retranslation is entitled *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt* or 'Animals' Farm' (Orwell 1983), which is closer to the start text's title. The preface of the book illustrates Nourahmar's knowledge of English literature through comparing Orwell's style of writing to that of Jonathan Swift.[20]

Hence, it seems, similar to the senior translators that I interviewed, Nourahmar's aim is to offer a more accurate translation of the start text.

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[20] Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), known as Isaac Bickerstaff, was a leading Anglo–Irish prose satirist. For more see: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jonathan-Swift. (access date: 10 May 2020).
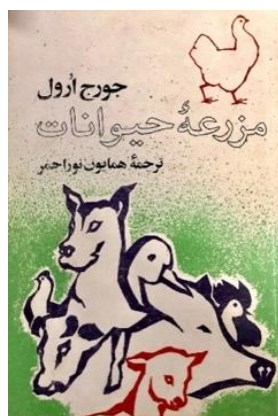
Figure 3: *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt*, front cover, translated by Homayoun Nourahmar

Five categories of footnotes are identified: explanation of figures of speech, transliteration of proper nouns, conversion of measurement units such as yard and bushel, English equivalents of translated noun phrases such as Whiter Wool Movement, and clarification of untranslatable words. These transliterations and further explanations signal accuracy in the translated text. Having a trusted translator, this retranslation, by signalling closeness to the start text, legitimizes its presence.

Further retranslations of *Animal Farm*, which I will discuss shortly, share the following feature: they are all published after 2010, hence, they are produced in a state of competition. The retranslation of AF by Kasaeipour has been published in two different editions: medium octavo and pocket size, in 2011 and 2013 respectively, with different pricing and print-run (Orwell 2011). This retranslation is presented as being translated from a new start text—the edition released for the fiftieth anniversary of the book (Orwell 1996). Therefore, they signal that the start text is a different one compared to the previous retranslations. This may seem to be a fair justification for a new retranslation of the book. Figure 4 shows the front cover of AF's retranslation by Kasaeipour (Orwell 2011).
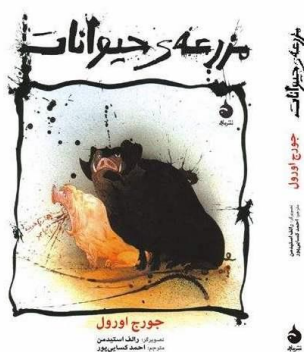

Figure 4: Front cover of AF*,* translated by Kasaeipour

The front cover and in-book illustrations are copies of AF's new edition for the fiftieth anniversary of the book. Using book covers identical to the claimed new start text suggests that the translator and publisher negotiate trustworthiness of the new published translations with prospective readers. However, the hallmark of this start text is Orwell's preface *"The Freedom of the Press"* in which he criticizes the ethics of journalism (Orwell 1996). Either this preface was removed from Kasaeipour's retranslation in the publishing process, or the claim of using the new start text is false and was just used to promote and justify the new retranslation. Either way, they, Kasaeipour and Nashr-e Maahi, secured their symbolic capital. The octavo medium size, with an ornamental packaging, was published in 2011 and was last reprinted in 2013. The pocket size has been reprinted 9 times since 2014. The pocket-size version is cheaper compared to the octavo medium. This seems to be a strategy used by the publisher to increase the novella's sales.

The content of AF, which allegorically represents living under a dictatorial regime, serves as a platform for opposing voices. This is the case with the next retranslation of AF by Shahab Habibi (Orwell 2015). This retranslation is the most outspoken version in terms of the translator's intention for retranslating the book. In this case, the author's intention for writing the novella is also retranslated. Habibi attempts to connect the content of the book with his own experience in his country. Therefore, the translator not only retranslates the book textually, but also socially, through the extensive use of paratextual materials.
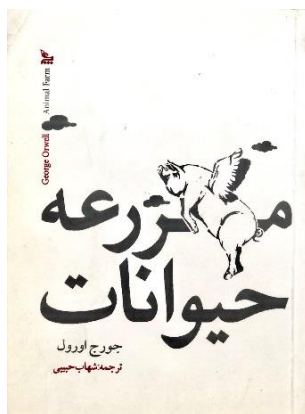

Figure 5: Front cover of AF, translated by Shahab Habibi, published by Chelcheleh

The preface of this retranslation follows the intention behind the front cover. To reveal his own interpretation of the book to the readers, Habibi establishes his persona as a reliable and educated person. In the dedication page, for instance, Habibi says " ترجمه این اثر را تقدیم می‌کنم به مادرم ناهید، که از کودکی تا کنون، روزی را بدون آموختن از او نگذرانده ام. " [I dedicate the translation to Nahid, my mother, with whom I haven't passed a day without learning] (in Orwell 2015). Habibi's preface mainly has a hermeneutical function in the sense that it highlights "certain aspects or qualities, mediating relevant contexts, instructing the understanding or interpretation" (Batchelor 160). For instance, in his preface, Habibi attempts to unravel the allegorical meaning of the text and forground his own interpretation which, following Batchelor, widens readers' "interpretive options" (160). Habibi is open about his ideological motivations behind retranslating the book and makes attempts to raise the reader's awareness of the metaphorical content of AF by saying that

این بار انگار تازه داشتم لایه های دیگر داستان را می‌دیدم. بزرگ تر شده بودم و با واژه ها و عبارت هایی مثل دیکتاتور، ''
استبداد و ...آشناتر از قبل. خیلی آشناتر از قبل. '' [It was like I was seeing other layers of the book. I was a grown-up and more familiar with words such as dictator, despotism and … more familiar than before] (Habibi 6). Habibi continues:

حقیقتش اگر تصمیم گیری با من بود، خواندن این کتاب را برای دانش آموزان مدارس
اجباری می‌کردم...کتابی که می تواند به طرز شگفت انگیزی دیدگاه انسان را به آنچه در
اطرافش اتفاق می افتد تغییر دهد.

> If I was to decide what should be taught at school; I would make it compulsory for students to read this book … this book has great potential to make people rethink their surroundings. (7)

Regarding his accuracy in translation, Habibi adds that he has taken a university course to learn about the technical equivalences in Persian, but again he asks readers: '' زیاد سخت نگیرید که باز هم حرف
چیز دیگری است '' [take it easy as the story is not about these things] (8). While Habibi aims at reinforcing his own political agenda through retranslation of the text, he still finds it necessary to earn readers' trust.

I close this section by considering the retranslation of AF by Hamidreza Ghayouri and Pari Ghayouri (Orwell 2018). This case reveals how contextual factors contribute to the emergence of retranslations and unveils the possible reasons behind the increasing distrust toward retranslation. The front cover of the retranslation displays several trust-signalling strategies. There are two titles printed on the front cover: *Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt* in a larger font, and *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt* in a smaller font as a subtitle in parentheses (see figure 6, the front cover on the left). Also, from the information on the front cover, we learn that the book is a bilingual version of the novella.

The translators' and publisher's surnames indicate the family relationship between them. The same translation was re-published in the same year by two further translators, Ghazaleh Ghayouri and Nazanin Ghayouri, apparently all members of the same family (see figure 6, the front cover on the right). These retranslations have the same book covers and the same prefaces—only the names of translators have been changed, as figure 6 illustrates. Publishing in this case seems to be a family business.
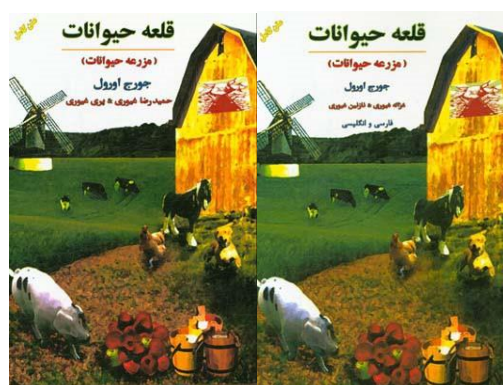

Figure 6: Front covers of two different translations of AF

Figure 7: Front covers of two different translations of AF

Hamidreza Ghayouri had already translated and published AF solo in 2016 with another publisher, Rastin, whose director is Hasan Ghayouri (figure 7, on the right).[21] Again, this retranslation has a doppelganger with a different translator's name, Mohammadreza Ghayouri (Orwell *Animal Farm* [*Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt*]) published by Yung publishing (figure 7, on the left). Each of these four retranslations is published by a relative, as the surnames suggest.

Clearly, translators seek to gain visibility by having their names printed on the front covers, but the small number of copies per print-run, 200, suggests another possible explanation. In Iran, publishers must renew their publishing business licence biennially and provide the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (MCIG) with a business report which proves that they are actively working. To be eligible for renewing their publishing business licence—that is, the license which allows one to work as a publisher in Iran—Iranian publishers need to publish four books per year which should be "preferably first print" (article 15 in Principles of Issuing Publishing House Licence).[22] This would allow publishers to get extension for their business licence. For newly-established publishers, it is a financial risk to publish a book without any certainty about market reception. Therefore, publishing the same book under different names not only diminishes the financial risk of publishing a first-print book, but also makes them eligible to continue their publishing business. In the example of the Ghayouri's retranslations, the publications are all first print and are published with different translators' names. In these cases, therefore, retranslation seems to be, partially, a strategy for fulfilling the criteria set by the MCIG in order for their publishing business to survive.

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[21] Retrieved from https://www.chaponashr.ir/rastin (access date: 26 October 2019)

[22] See https://ketab.farhang.gov.ir/fa/filepool/2992/-شیوه‌نامه‌اجرائی‌صدور‌پروانه‌-
نشر?redirectpage=%2ffa%2fregulations%2fregulations1 (access date: 20 May 2020).

The paratextual analysis of retranslations offered in this section reveals that there are several incentives for translators and publishers. As the evidence suggests, retranslation in Iran does not follow a linear progression in terms of quality and reliability. Mid-career and senior translators are most concerned with justifying their retranslation practice by foregrounding the novelty of their work, whether by choosing a different title, foregrounding a different theme, or offering a more reliable edition. The first discussed retranslation, Nourahmar's, covertly addresses the inadequacy of the first translation. The last three retranslations were published within a short period of time with a variety of strategies that challenge the previous translations: Kasaeipour's multi-version edition, Habibi's activist angle and the Ghayouri's collaborative translation.

Concluding Remarks

Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field as well as Rizzi, Lang, and Pym's concept of trust-signalling, this paper aimed to shed light on a complex series of motivations informing the substantial production of retranslations in contemporary Iran. Evidence suggests that retranslations are in most cases a combination of socially and financially motivated tasks. Retranslation is rewarding, but at the same time an unsavoury practice for translators depending on how trustworthy the intercultural mediators are. This is determined by their position in the literary translation field.

Collaboration between senior/mid-career translators and established publishers results in "institutional trust," which means readers "do not need to know professionals directly: they have enough confidence in the profession" and the standard of the product that they receive, as Rizzi, Lang and Pym remind us (13). Therefore readers, without questioning the motivations behind retranslations, tend to accept the emergence of a new retranslation. For publishers, commissioning trusted translators bolster their claim that only they are able to offer reliable retranslations.

Producing retranslations under such a state of intense competition seems to be a profitable trade for amateur translators: a pathway to enter the literary translation field and gain quick recognition. Although they are usually underpaid for their work, retranslation is an opportunity to build their persona and their track record. For newly established and unrecognized publishers, retranslation offers much-needed economic capital from the sales of popular books as demonstrated in the case of AF translated by the Ghayouri family. Also, it seems in the case of active retranslations that major contextual factors, such as the near-total lack of enforcement of (inter)national copyright laws and conventions, play a key role.

This paper suggests that retranslation can be a response to the translator's or publisher's aspiration to compete for a significant cultural role in their society. Even if this practice comes with financial risks, the potential gain in cultural capital outweighs such dangers. The translators' and publishers' perceptions gauged from the interviews discussed here are that retranslation provides Iranian readers access to restricted ideas and narratives. Retranslation in Iran is a distinctively social phenomenon.

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From Social Reform to Knowledge Dissemination: A Case Study of the Chinese (Re)translations of the Science Text Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays

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Introduction

The translation of non-literary texts, especially science texts, compared to that of literary texts, tends to receive less attention not only from general readers in public, but also from scholars. One phenomenon of such tendency is that non-literary texts are far less retranslated. Different from literary texts, which could have as many as dozens of retranslations, such as the English novel *Jane Eyre,* which has more than thirty Chinese retranslations, non-literary texts in general have much fewer retranslations, with many of them never retranslated. The reasons for retranslation of non-literary texts differ from those for literary texts. Literary texts are retranslated, as investigated by many researchers, often because of particular consideration of new target reader groups, language, style, aesthetics, commercial interest, and the like; while non-literary texts tend not to be retranslated for that many different purposes, it is commonly agreed that knowledge dissemination is the major motive behind their retranslations.

The earliest study on retranslation in some sense dates back to the 19th century, as in Goethe's discussion of the three epochs of the translation of foreign literature (Robinson, 1997). While more recent studies focusing on retranslation have flourished since the 1990s, increasing with a greater impetus in the first decade of the 21st century (Tian), many focus on literary translation, uncovering the motivations of retranslations, examining their reception, investigating the factors that facilitate the retranslation of certain works, and so on. Studies like Du-Nour (1995), Armstrong (2008), Lu (2014), Cadera and Walsh (2016), Pujol (2017), Liu and Wang (2018), fall into this category. There are also studies on non-literary text retranslations, for instance, Huang (2009), Wang (2013), Tan and Xin (2017). Among the studies on non-literary retranslation, a few focus on science texts, such as Xu and Wang (2017), and Xiao (2018). Yet, comparatively speaking, studies on science text retranslations are far fewer than those on literary texts. Besides, the studies on science text retranslations, from what I observe, tend to make comparative analysis of the retranslations of certain texts from linguistic perspectives. Few focus on looking into the paratexts of the retranslations of science texts. Thus, this article tries in some way to fill this gap. I will analyze the paratexts of four Chinese (re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays,* and discuss how the motivations for its (re)translations change from social reform to knowledge dissemination, and argue how the retranslations also re-present Yan Fu's translation in new contexts with a new set of goals.

Methodology and Theoretical Basis

This study is mainly based on a qualitative analysis which compares the paratexts of four Chinese (re)translations of the science text *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*. In the comparative analysis, I use tables and graphs to summarize the paratexts used in the (re)translations and exemplify the paratexts that explain or imply the motivation of these versions. Based on the analysis of the paratexts of the four versions and a comparison of their paratexts, I argue that the Chinese retranslation of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* involves a motivation transformation.

The theoretical framework I draw on is mainly the theory of paratexts. The concept of "paratext" was put forward by the French literary theorist Genette. According to Genette (1997), the presence of a text in the form of a book relies on "accompanying productions" (1), such as title, preface, illustration. These verbal and non-verbal productions reinforce the text's presence in the world. Genette defines them as paratext, which is "what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (1). As a threshold of a book, the paratext "offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back" (2). In Genette's paratext framework, two categories of paratexts are differentiated: the peritext, elements situated within the book itself, such as title, preface, note; the epitext, distanced elements located outside the book, such as interviews, letters, diaries. The paratext framework was initially applied to literary criticism, then borrowed into other fields, like media studies, cultural studies, translation studies. In translation studies, since Kovala (1996) and Hermans (1996), interest in analysis applying paratext theory has been on the rise. In the past ten years, quite a few collections of paratextual translation studies were compiled, such as Gil-Bardají, et al (2012), Pellatt (2013), Belle and Hosington (2018), Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2019). In these collections, various topics were discussed from the perspective of paratextual analysis or within Genette's paratext framework. Batchelor (2018) proposed "a theory of paratextuality of translation" (139). In her framework, paratext is defined as "a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received" (142). Batchelor expanded Genette's typology of paratext parameters into those of space, substance, time, senders and addressees, and function, making it "adequate to contemporary translation studies" (153). As can be seen, the concept of paratext has traveled into translation studies from its initial field of research and formed a well-grounded tradition of research in the new field. The paratextual analysis in this paper, which focuses on one of the two categories of paratexts: peritexts, is a response to such tradition.

Four Chinese (Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*

Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays is a science text published by Thomas H. Huxley in late 19th century. It is a collection of essays about the author's scientific thought on morals and politics. The collection was first translated into Chinese and published by Yan Fu in 1898 in the late Qing Dynasty, titled *Tianyan Lun* (《天演论》). It proved to be a huge success, with quite a few reprints. The second translation (first retranslation) came out in 1971, nearly 80 years later, titled *Jinhua Lun and Lunli Xue (Old Translation Tianyan Lun)* (《进化论与伦理学（旧译〈天演论〉）》) . The third translation (2nd retranslation) appeared 34 years later in 2005, titled *Jinhua Lun and Lunli Xue (Complete Version) (Tianyan Lun Attached)* （《<进化论与伦理学>(全译本)(附<天演论>)》）, and was revised in 2010. The latest

translation (3rd retranslation) came out in 2017, 12 years after the second retranslation was published, titled "*Tianyan Lun*" *& A Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original "Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays"* (《<天演论>及其母本<进化论与伦理学>全译》).

Paratextual Analysis of Chinese (Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*

a) Paratextual Analysis of the First Translation

The first Chinese translation was produced in 1896 and serialized between 1897 and 1898 in the daily newspaper *Kuo Wen Pao*'s (《国闻报》) periodical version *Kuo Wen Hui Pian* (《国闻汇编》) founded by Yan Fu. In 1898 it was published and so well accepted that quite a few editions were published. Even today, it is still reprinted. This translation appeared in more than 30 editions with different paratexts. The following table presents the paratexts of some editions that are traceable.

No.	Title	Year of Publication	Publisher	Translator's Preface	Translator's Commentary	Foreword	Translator's Note
1	Huxley's Zhigong Tianyan Lun (Manuscript)(赫胥黎治功天演论)(手稿)	1896	N/A	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
2	Tianyan Lun Xuanshu (天演论悬疏)	1897-1898	《国闻汇编》	Yes	Yes	No	No
3	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	陕西味经售书处	No	Yes	No	No
4	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1897-1898	沔阳卢氏慎始基斋刻	Yes	Yes	No	No
5	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	沔阳卢氏慎始基斋刻	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	侯官嗜奇精舍石印出版	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Huxley's Tianyan Lun (赫胥黎天演论)	1901	富文书局石印出版	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1903	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	Wu Rulun's Abridged Tianyan Lun (吴汝纶节本天演论)	1903	上海文明书局印行	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
11	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1905	上海商务印书馆	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1921	上海商务印书馆	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 1 Paratextual Elements of *Tianyan Lun* translated by Yan Fu (Adapted from Sun, 2003: 133-134)

In this table, "Translator's Commentary" refers to Yan Fu's Fu'an (復案) which appears at the end of each essay. In Fu'an, Yan Fu explained and commented on some key ideas, or provided some background knowledge related to the essay, or voiced his political views. "Translator's Note" refers to Yan Fu's Yili Yan (譯例言) which introduced how he translated this book, such as his principles of translation.

As the table shows, every edition includes the translator's comments, almost every edition has a translator's preface, most editions have a foreword and translator's note, and most editions are titled *Tianyan Lun*.

As Graph 1 shows, Wu Runlun's foreword pointed out that

> people must bring out their best to achieve progress every day, so that their country and nation could survive and never disappear, this is called taking full advantage of natural laws; people's taking full advantage of natural laws is in itself in line with natural laws, thus the development of nature and human society follows natural laws likewise (*以人持天，必究极乎天赋之能，使人治日即乎新，而后其国永存，而种族赖以不坠，是之谓与天争胜。而人之争天而胜天者，又皆天事之所苞，是故天行人治，同归天演* See underline in Graph 1).

Yan Fu also emphasized the idea of "survival of the fittest in natural selection". In the preface, he claimed, "many ideas repeatedly argued in Huxley's book are quite similar to what the Chinese ancients said, which is helpful for China to develop and save itself from corruption and invasion" (*赫胥黎氏此书……其中所论，与吾古人有甚合者，且于自强保种之事，反复三致意焉* See underline in Graph 2). Yan Fu not only advocated such ideas in the preface, but also repeatedly explained and commented on them in what he called Fu'an in the essays. For instance, he explained the concepts of "struggle for existence" (*物竞*) and "natural selection" (*天择*) in his Fu'an (See underline in Graph 3). In addition, Yan Fu wrote a Yili Yan for *Tianyan Lun,* in which he pointed out the difficulties and methods of translation. He put forward three principles of translation, Xin (*信*) (Faithfulness), Da (*达*) (Smoothness) and Ya (*雅*) (Elegance), which are regarded as longstanding translation criteria in China. In Yili Yan, Yan Fu did not discuss much about the idea of "struggle for existence" and "natural selection," as his main purpose is to explain how he translated *Tianyan Lun.* But he did mention that he coined the terms like "*物竞,*" "*天择*" in Chinese (*物竞、天择、储能、效实诸名，皆由我始* See underline in Graph 4). In addition, the paratextuality of the front cover also reveals implicit meaning. As Graphs 5 and 6 show, the title on the cover of Yan Fu's translation occupies a large space, with the title of some editions almost occupying the whole page, which is very eye-catching. Since Tianyan (*天演*) was a new term and new concept introduced into China by Yan Fu, the cover design would easily attract the readers' attention. Besides, some editions included the translator's name on the front cover, which conveys the message that the translator (well known among officials and scholars) hoped to influence his intended readers (the government officials and scholars of the time) through his translation. Another feature of the paratexts of *Tianyan Lun* is its typography. As Graphs 1-3 show, the language used by Yan Fu is traditional Chinese, and the characters are arranged vertically from right to left, which is the convention of the typography of books before the 20th century, conforming to the reading habit of the intellectuals. This typography is different from that of books published in the modern period and it would help in gaining a larger readership from the intellectuals and government officials as it conformed to their reading habits.
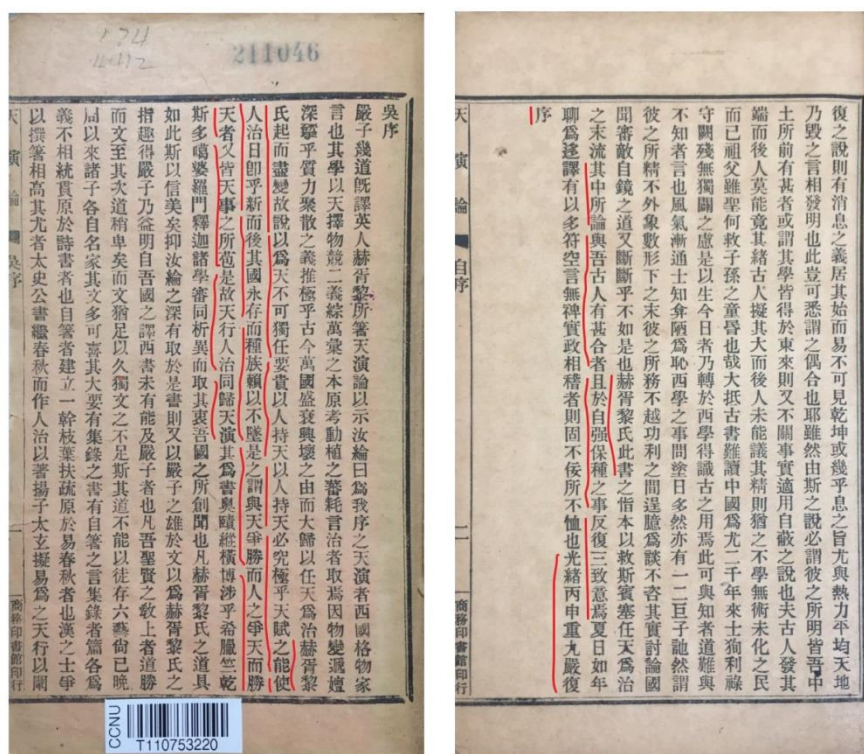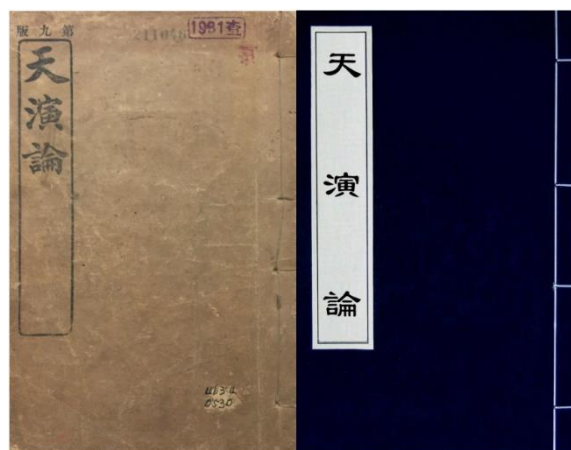
Graph 1 Wu Runlun's Foreword (Yan, 1898 Preface: 1) Graph 2 Translator's Preface (Yan, 1898 Preface: 2)
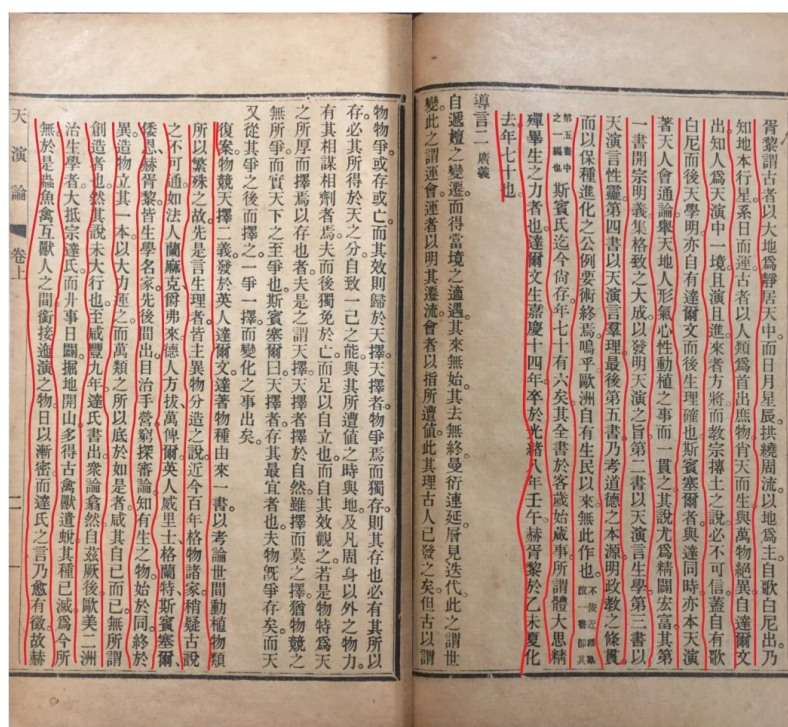
Graph 3 Translator's Commentary (復案) (Yan, 1898: 2)
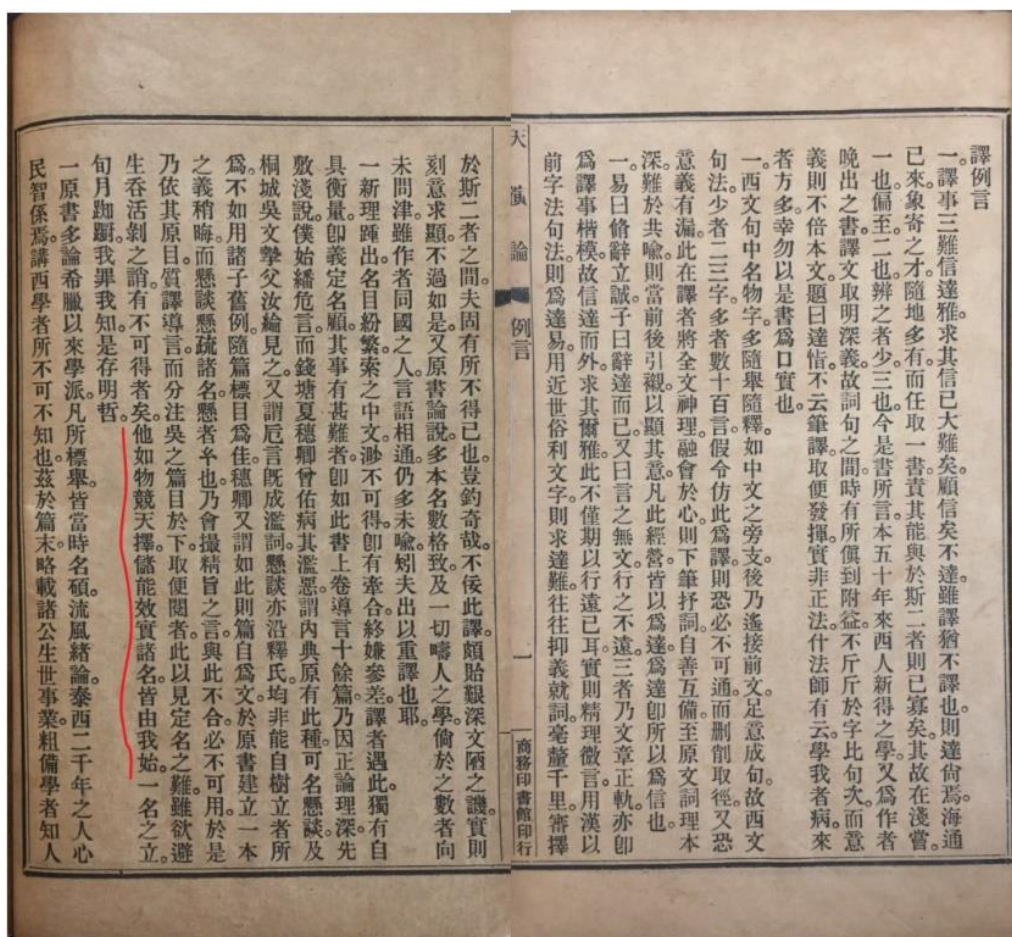
Graph 4 Translator's Note (譯例言) (Yan, 1898 Translator's Note:1)

Graph 5 Cover of *Tianyan Lun* (Yan, 1898)

Graph 6 Cover of *Tianyan Lun* (from Xu, 1996: 263&265)

From the above paratextual analysis, it can be seen that such concepts as "evolution" (进化), "struggle for existence," "natural selection," and "survival of the fittest" (适者生存) were coined in the hope of raising public awareness, enabling people to acquire new knowledge and to improve themselves, so that they could overcome their ignorance and work to make the country strong and revitalized. The foreword by Wu Rulun, an influential scholar of the period, the preface and translator's commentary all conveyed the idea of making China strong by enlightening the public through introducing such concepts as "物竞" and "天择." Thus, we can argue that the main motive behind the translation *Tianyan Lun* was to enlighten the public and government, especially scholars and intellectuals of the late Qing Dynasty, so as to bring about social reform.

b) Paratextual Analysis of the First Retranslation

The 1971 retranslation was far less influential than the first translation. Compared to *Tianyan Lun* with more than 30 editions, this retranslation has only 1 edition. It mainly includes 5 paratexts: an author's preface, a publication note, Chairman Mao's quotes, a table of contents and a translators' note. Its preface is not the translators' preface or foreword from some influential scholar in the target culture, but the author's preface from his original book (translated into Chinese) (See Graph 7), which was not included in any editions of *Tianyan Lun*. The inclusion of the author's preface indicates that the retranslation intended to present to its readers what the book was originally like in its original language, transferring knowledge as it was from the original. In the publication note, it was pointed out that "Huxley's book was retranslated under Chairman Mao's instruction, "Make the past serve the present and foreign knowledge serve China," for cadres to learn from"*(遵照毛主席关于"古为今用，洋为中用"的教导，我们现在出版了这个新译本，供干部学习参考和批判*). See underline in Graph 8). In Chairman Mao's quotes, it was also clearly stated that "China should acquire advanced knowledge from foreign countries" (*中国应该大量吸收外国的进步文化* See underline in Graph 9). The translators' note in this retranslation is different from that of *Tianyan Lun* which mainly explained how the translator translated the book. This note was a collection of explanatory entries (as shown in Graph 10) attached at the end of the book rather than at the front of it as in

Tianyan Lun. With this note, readers could have a better understanding of the terms or names used in each essay of the book. On its front cover, we can see its publisher, Science Press (*科学出版社* See underline in Graph 11), a famous publisher focusing on science books. The front cover features the name of the author rather than the translator. The presence of the publisher's name indicates that the retranslation intended to disseminate science knowledge.
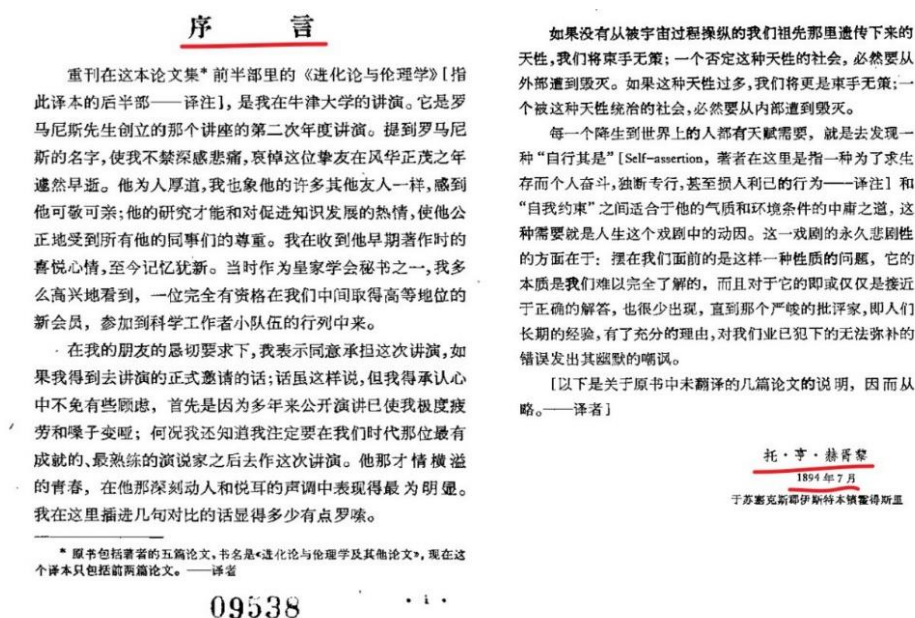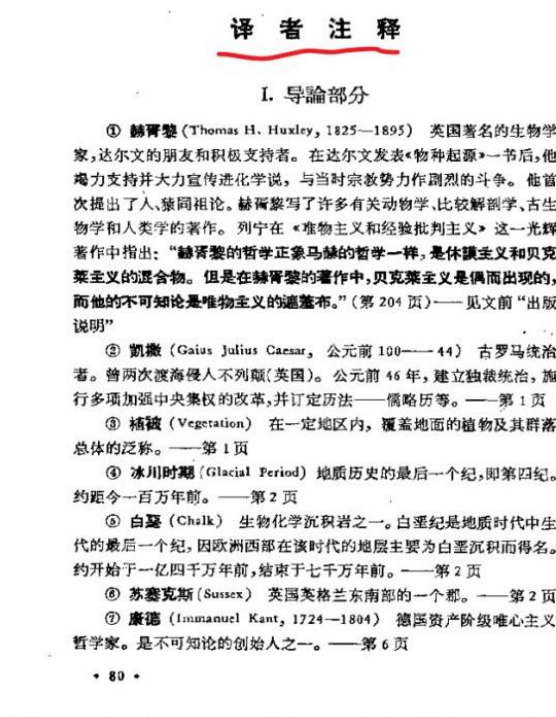

Graph 7 Author's Preface (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: i-iv)
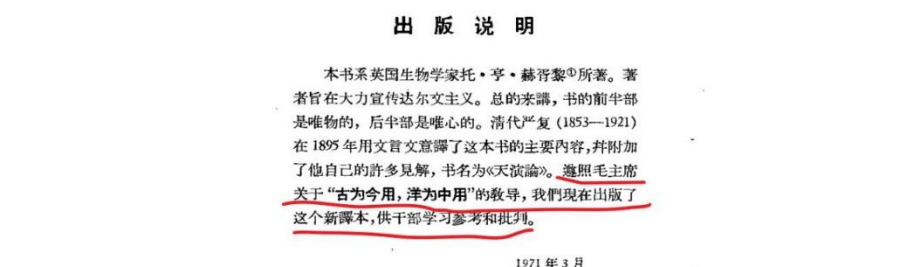
Graph 8 Publication Note (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971)
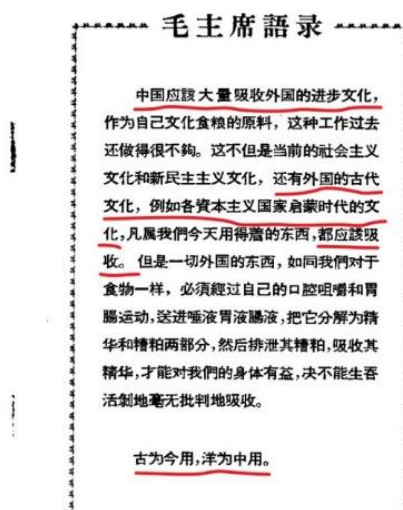
Graph 9 Chairman Mao's Quotes (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971)

Graph 10 Translators' Note (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: 80)

进 化 论 与 伦 理 学

(旧 譯《天 演 論》)

〔英〕赫胥黎 著

科 学 出 版 社

Graph 11 Front Cover (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: Front cover)

As the above analysis reveals, whether the author's preface or the translators' note are attached at the front or the end, they all intended to provide readers with knowledge from the original book. The publication note and Chairman Mao's quotes clearly reveal the main purpose of this retranslation: to help readers acquire knowledge. Thus, it could be said that the 1971 retranslation was aimed at knowledge dissemination.

c) Paratextual Analysis of the Second Retranslation

Different from the previous incomplete (re)translations, this retranslation, published in 2005 and revised in 2010, is a complete translation and includes 7 paratexts: a series preface, a translator's introduction, a non-translator introduction, an author's preface, an appendix, background information with illustrations, and a list of names in English and Chinese.

Compared with the previous (re)translations, this retranslation includes more paratexts, which provides readers with more information on the book and related subject. The first preface is a Series Preface, which indicates that this book is part of this series. As the preface points out, "the science classics referred to in the series preface are the most fundamental and important books in science; they are epochal in the history of human knowledge and civilization" (*这里所谓的科学元典，是指科学经典中最基本、最重要的著作，是在人类智识史和人类文明史上划时代的丰碑* See underline in Graph 12). Hence, it can be argued that the main aim of this retranslation is knowledge dissemination. Besides, at the bottom left of each even page of the series preface, the statement "Great Book of Science" is inserted, which reinforces the aim of disseminating knowledge. Following the series preface, some background information illustrations about the social and scientific developments are provided, as shown in Graph 13, introducing the background to the period when Huxley wrote the book. Such supplementary information offers readers knowledge on the background of Huxley's ideas, which enhances their understanding of the knowledge in his book. The introduction after the illustrations includes a detailed commentary on the first translation. As is pointed out, Yan Fu's "adapted and abridged translation aimed to bring about social reform to save China from 'extinction,' which indeed has led to tremendous changes in China during late the 19th century and early 20th century" (*正是这种"歪曲原意"的翻译，在当时的中国社会迅速*

掀起了一股"天演"热，如一声惊雷，对19世纪末20世纪初的中国历史产生了不同凡响的影响 See underline in Graph 14). The translator's introduction provides a detailed introduction to the structure and main points of Huxley's original, for readers to have a preview and better understanding of the knowledge in the book. As is said, "the following provides a brief introduction to the main points of the six parts of the retranslation for easier reading on the readers' part" (为了便于读者阅读，下面对六个部分进行简要说明 See underline in Graph 15). We can see that although the two introductions focus on different aspects, the former on Yan Fu's translation, and the latter on the original, both are intended to enable readers to have a better understanding of the knowledge. In addition to the first introduction that comments on *Tianyan Lun*, *Tianyan Lun* is attached at the end of the book as an appendix, as shown in Graph 16, for reference and comparison purposes. And a list of names, which was not available in the previous (re)translations is also attached as shown in Graph 17. On its front cover, we can see a line "Collections and Series of Science Classics" (*科学素养文库·科学元典丛书* See underline in Graph 18). Its inside cover lists the first series of science classics already published (See underline in Graph 18). The inclusion of the book in the series of science classics reveals that the main purpose of this retranslation is to disseminate scientific knowledge.
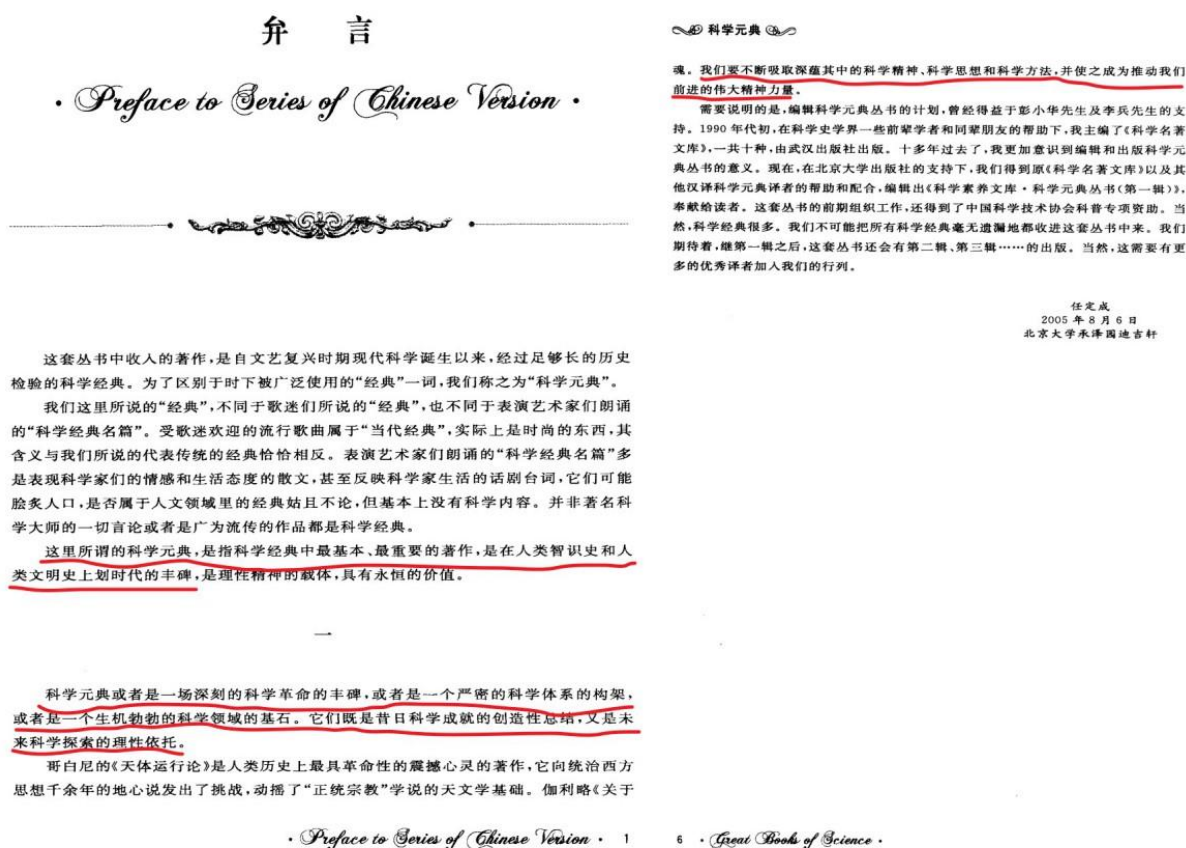
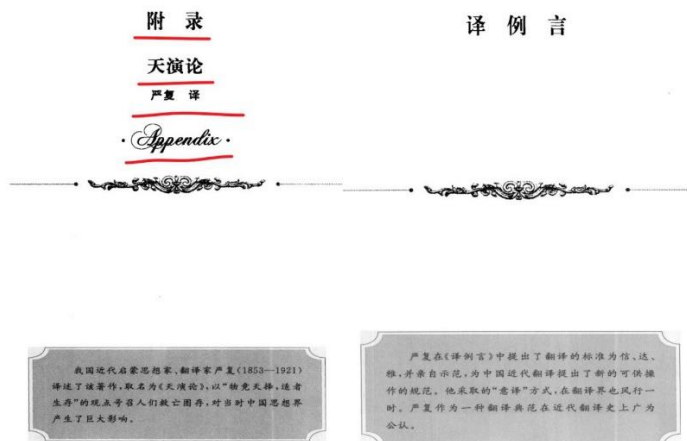Graph 12 Series Preface (Song, 2005/2010 Series Preface: 1-6)

Graph 13 Background Information with Illustrations (Song, 2005/2010)
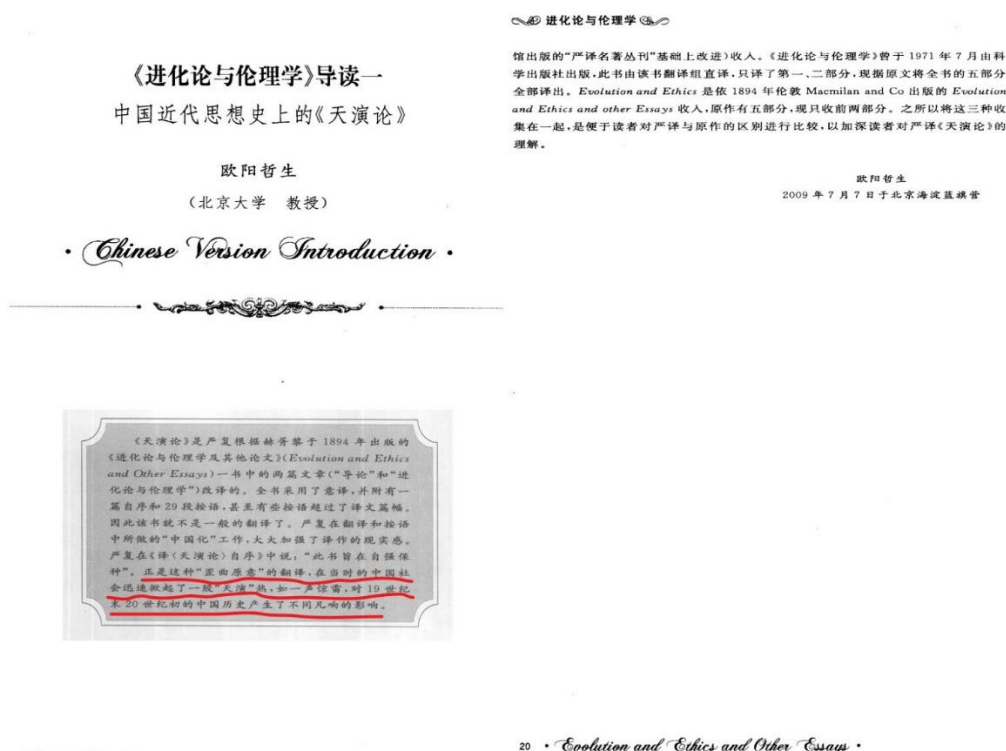
Graph 14 Non-translator Introduction (Song, 2005/2010 Introduction 1: 1-20)

Graph 15 Translator's Introduction (Song, 2005/2010 Introduction 2: 1-7)

Graph 16 Appendix of *Tianyan Lun* (Song, 2005/2010: 141-201)

人名中英文对照表

A

Adam Smith	亚当·斯密
Ahasuerus	亚哈随鲁
Alexander Grant	亚历山大·格兰特
Alexander	亚历山大
Aphrodite	阿芙罗狄忒
Aratus	阿拉托斯
Ares	阿瑞斯
Aristotle	亚里士多德
Augustine	奥古斯丁

B

Ballington Booth	巴林顿·布斯
Baur	鲍尔
Ben Tillett	本·蒂利特
Berkeley	贝克莱
Bill	比尔
Bolingbroke	博林布鲁克
Booth Clibborn	布斯·科里波恩
Booth	布斯
Booth-Clibborn	布斯-科里波恩
Borner	伯尔纳
Boscovich	博斯科维奇
Bramwell Booth	布朗威尔·布斯
Britnell	布立特勒尔
Browning	布朗宁
Buchanan	布坎南
Büchner	布希纳
Burton	伯顿

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Graph 17 List of Names (Song, 2005/2010: 136-140)

Graph 18 Covers (Song, 2005/2010: covers)

As the above analysis shows, apart from including Huxley's preface, this retranslation includes many more paratexts, such as two introductions, a translator's preface, background information with illustrations, a list of names, providing more supplementary information for readers, all of which reveal and enhance its purpose: to disseminate knowledge.

d) Paratextual Analysis of the Third Retranslation

The latest retranslation, first published in 2017, like the second retranslation, also includes *Tianyan Lun*. Yet, different from the second retranslation which attaches, in simplified Chinese, a complete version of Yan Fu's traditional Chinese translation as an appendix, this latest retranslation, as its title (*Tianyan Lun & A Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*) indicates, puts Yan Fu's translation before the retranslation rather than attaches it as an appendix at the end. The paratexts of this latest retranslation mainly include covers, an editors' preface (publication note), an introduction, a series foreword, notes, a table of contents, Yan Fu's biography and correspondence, illustrations, a modern Chinese translation of *Tianyan Lun* with annotations, and so on.

On the front cover of this version, its title is divided into two lines with *Tianyan Lun(《天演论*
》) on the upper line in a bigger font size and *And a Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original*
"Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays" (及其母本《进化论与伦理学》全译) on the lower line in a smaller font size (as shown in Graph 19). On the right of the front cover, there are a few lines of words (as circled in Graph 19) stating the great influence of *Tianyan Lun*. On one of its inside cover, a

line, *An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds (文化伟人代表作图释书系)* appears at the top left, indicating that this book is one of the series. In its short series foreword, it briefly explains what the series is about and how the series presents each book to readers, for example,

> what "An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds" includes are masterpieces of great minds that have significant influence on the construction of human's knowledge system...most of these masterpieces are long and profound pieces which do not meet with the reading habit of contemporary readers, therefore, for some of the series, we have translated them with adaptation and provided some illustrations necessary for readers to have better understanding of the essence of the knowledge in these books ("文化伟人代表作图释书系"所选择的，正是对人类知识体系的建构有着重大影响的伟大人物的代表著作……这些著述大都篇幅宏大，难以适应当代阅读的特有习惯。为此，对其中的一部分著述，我们在凝练编译的基础上，以插图的方式对书中的知识精要进行了必要补述 See underline in Graph 20).

The message these paratexts convey is that this book is one of the masterpieces of human knowledge, well worth reading, and this book presents itself in a reader-friendly way for easier reading and comprehension. As for *Tianyan Lun*, this book does not just include a reprint of Yan Fu's version in simplified Chinese, it also provides a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's traditional Chinese version, with annotations and notes added. As the underline in Graph 21 shows, this version provides a modern Chinese translation of *Tianyan Lun*, "translated into modern Chinese with annotations by Yang Heqiang and Hu Tianshou" (*杨和强 胡天寿 白话注译*). This book has some annotations in each part of *Tianyan Lun*. For example, as can be shown in Graph 23, Yan Fu's preface is followed by some annotations to explain some concepts or words in Yan's preface. For each essay in *Tianyan Lun*, a brief introduction is provided at the beginning, followed by some annotations, then by Yang's and Hu's modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's version. (See the circled part for the essay introduction, the underline parts for the annotations and the modern Chinese translation in Graph 23) In addition, this version has provided some additional materials closely related to Yan Fu, including a brief biography (See underline in Graph 24) and Yan Fu's correspondence with his teachers and friends (See underline in Graph 25). These additional materials provide more background knowledge and information for readers' better understanding of Yan Fu's ideas in *Tianyan Lun* and also of the knowledge of evolution. In addition, this version has provided a complete retranslation as an appendix attached after *Tianyan Lun* with annotations and modern Chinese translations (See underline in Graph 26). This appendix provides readers with a complete picture of Huxley's ideas in *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*.

Graph 19 Covers (Yan & Liu, 2017 covers)

Graph 20 Series Foreword (Yan & Liu, 2017)　　　Graph 21 Inside cover (Yan & Liu, 2017)

Graph 22 Notes (Yan & Liu, 2017: preface 4-6)

Graph 23 Introduction to each part and Markings of Yan's version and new version (Yan & Liu, 2017: 2&5)

Graph 24 Biography of Yan Fu (Yan & Liu, 2017)　　Graph 25 Correspondences of Yan Fu (Yan & Liu, 2017)

进化论与伦理学及其他论文

Graph 26 Complete Retranslation (Yan & Liu, 2017)

As the above analysis shows, this 2017 version intends not only to help readers have a better understanding of Yan Fu's thoughts in *Tianyan Lun*, and a better understanding of why Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* influenced China, but also to help readers to acquire science knowledge from Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*.

e) Summary of Paratextual Analysis

From the paratextual analysis of the four (re)translations, we can see that each has its own features of paratexts, which reveal their main purposes of publication. The following table summarizes their main paratexts.

	Covers	Author's Preface	Translator's Preface	Foreword	Translator's Intro.	Series Intro.	Intro. by others	Publication Note	Translator's Comment	Translator's Note	Illustrations	Appendix	Others
Yan Fu's translation	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
1971 retranslation	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
2005/2010 retranslation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2017 retranslation	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2 Paratextual Elements of the Four (Re)translations

As the table shows, Yan Fu's translation and the 1971 retranslation have fewer paratexts than the 2005/2010 and 2017 versions do. Yan's translation mainly includes a translator's preface, commentary and note. These paratexts, especially the translator's commentaries, unveil the intention of the translator: to enlighten the public through the knowledge introduced. The 1971 retranslation includes the author's preface, which provides some background information on the original, and a publication note, which points out that the retranslation aims to provide a new version for readers as a source of knowledge. It also includes Chairman Mao's words which emphasize the importance of learning from the past and foreign countries. These paratexts make it clear that this retranslation aims at knowledge dissemination. The 2005/2010 retranslation includes not only the author's preface, the translator's note and the preface, but also some introductions, illustrated background information, such as the social background and scientific development, which provide supplementary information for readers to better understand the knowledge conveyed through the book. The 2017 version also includes many paratexts like the previous retranslation. Yet what makes it different is that it adds a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* alongside Yan's translation, with annotations added. Besides, this version has also provided a brief biography of Yan Fu and his correspondence with his teachers and friends. These paratexts help readers better understand Yan Fu's thoughts.

(Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays:* From Social Reform to Knowledge Dissemination

Some scholars (Hou, 1999, Xu, 2010, Xu and Wang, 2017 and Xiao, 2018) have discussed the retranslation of science texts. According to Hou (3), retranslation of science texts is necessary and mandatory if 1) the existing translation is too outdated in such aspects as its language and terms, for example; 2) the existing translation is found with so many mistakes as to cause misunderstanding; 3) the original was published in more than one version with many differences. In Xu and Wang's case study of the Chinese sci-tech classic *Tian Gong Kai Wu*, the reasons of its retranslation mainly lie in: 1) change of social background; 2) change of target readers; 3) the translator's new interpretation of the original. These arguments reveal the reasons for the retranslation of science texts and identify one that is common to all of them: retranslations, whether they are because of a change in target readers or a translator's new interpretation, are generally produced for better knowledge dissemination.

As discussed above, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* has four (re)translations over 120 years. Three retranslations have been produced since it was first translated in the late Qing Dynasty. As the above paratextual analysis shows, the book was first translated at the end of the 19th century when China was in turmoil during its last monarchy. It was under such background that Yan Fu translated it. From the paratexts of Yan Fu's translation, we can find that he translated this work in the hope of bringing about social reform through enlightening the public and government officials. It was a chaotic period for the country faced with both internal and external troubles. Internally, the government of the monarchy was subject to severe corruption; people lived in poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. Externally, China suffered from foreign aggression and invasion. The government tried in many ways to take China out of crisis but in vain. Many well-educated patriotic officials and other patriots with lofty ideals were quite active to seek ways to save China. One of the ways they found was to learn from western countries through translation to acquire their advanced knowledge, so as to make China strong. Consequently, many books, especially scientific ones, were translated from western languages into Chinese. It was hoped that the knowledge in the translated books could enlighten not only the government but also common people. *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was translated against such background. From the paratexts of Yan Fu's translation, whether Wu Rulun's preface, Yan Fu's preface or translation commentaries and notes, we can see that Yan Fu intended to influence the public, especially intellectuals and government officials, through his translation, so as to bring social reform to save a chaotic China.

By comparison, the three retranslations were produced under totally different social and political backgrounds. Although the 1971 retranslation and the two other retranslations in the 21st century were produced under different backgrounds, they have the same purpose: knowledge dissemination. The 1971 retranslation took place during the 10-year Cultural Revolution in the unstable period of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Cultural Revolution was initiated to guard against the penetration of capitalism into the communist PRC. The movement hindered the PRC's social, economic and cultural development. Culturally, the acquiring of knowledge from capitalist countries through translation was greatly impeded. It was against such a background that

Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays was re-translated. As its publication note pointed out by quoting Chairman Mao's words, it was important to learn from the past and from foreign countries. Thus, this retranslation was produced in the hope that readers could learn from foreign countries.

The two other retranslations were made in the 21ˢᵗ century since the PRC has put forward the Reform and Opening-up policy for more than 30 years. China has gained tremendous achievements in every aspect after implementing this policy. The government has been attaching more and more importance to the development in the fields of science, education and culture. Translators were selected and resources were arranged to translate or retranslate classics and other books from other countries, especially developed ones. Against such background, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was retranslated once more. The 2005/2010 retranslation is included in the series of *Science Classics* translated into Chinese. Its inclusion into the *Science Classics* series indicates that the main purpose of this version is to facilitate the spread of science knowledge. In addition, this retranslation includes a few introductions, and some other supplementary information, such as background information, all of which are intended to facilitate readers' understanding of the science knowledge in this work. There may be some other considerations for this retranslation, like providing a version of simplified Chinese and a complete translation for readers, because the first version is an abridged and adapted translation in traditional and classic Chinese, and the 1971 retranslation is also an incomplete version. Yet, such considerations are secondary, which in some sense are part of its primary concern: to better disseminate knowledge. The 2017 retranslation provides a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's version, with introductions and annotations added, which helps readers better understand Yan Fu's thoughts. This modern Chinese translation is arranged in parallel with Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* in this version. Following this parallel arrangement of the two versions of *Tianyan Lun*, a new complete retranslation is included. This version is included in *An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds*. This 2017 version, as the paratextual analysis shows, is also aimed at promoting the spread of knowledge, not only the science knowledge in *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, but also the social, historical, political and philosophical knowledge in *Tianyan Lun*. In summary, the motivation for the (re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was transformed from social reform to knowledge dissemination.

Conclusion

This article analyzes four Chinese (re)translations of the science text *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*. The paratextual analysis reveals that the four versions were translated against different social backgrounds in different periods according to different motivations. The first version, an adapted translation, came out in the late Qing Dynasty, a period of turbulence. It was intended to trigger political and social reform by enlightening the government and people. Its main aim is thus social reform. The second version is a retranslation produced about eighty years later during the Cultural Revolution in the PRC period. This version was formed in another period of social and political turbulence, though in a different way from that of the first version. Against the background that translation was much restricted, this version was produced mainly to disseminate science knowledge. The other two versions are retranslations made in the 21ˢᵗ century. The two versions were produced in a period when the PRC carried out a Reform and Opening-up policy

for more than thirty years with a lot of progress made in every aspect. The government attaches more and more importance to cultural and educational development. Much effort has been spent in translating foreign classics. The two versions, both complete retranslations of the original, were made against such a background, with their motivation set to disseminate knowledge. In a word, the trajectory of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*' travel in China experienced a motivation transformation—from social reform to knowledge dissemination. The starting goal is social reform, but in later retranslations, its motivation is transformed into knowledge dissemination.

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Strong enough
2012
Acrylic on canvas
40x40 cm
© Beyza Boynudelik

The Discourse on the Praxis and Pragmatics of the Qur'an Retranslations in Turkish

Sema Üstün Külünk

1. Introduction

The Qur'an, holy book of all the Muslims around the world, has been partially and wholly translated into numerous languages since its revelation in Arabic in the 7th century (Binark and Eren. As a country, where the majority of the population identifies as Muslim, Turkey has hosted a great number of retranslations of the Qur'an into Turkish since the early Republican era as well. More than five-hundred Turkish retranslations of the Qur'an have become available since 1923 till the present day (Üstün 297). This number includes various re-editions of the same Qur'an translations, annotated formats, simplified versions, and facsimiles.

As one of the most retranslated works in Turkish, Qur'an translations in Turkey constitute an intriguing site of research. Ongoing interest in these retranslations derives from a number of issues, including the sacred status of the source text, arguments over its untranslatability, the claimed deficiency of the human translator to render the words of the Holy creator, particular Arabicity of the source text vis-à-vis Turkish, and the hegemonic expertise claimed by faculties of theology vis-à-vis Translation Studies departments, creating a meta-narrative on the retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkish.

As is well-known "retranslation" prevailingly serves as an equivocal frame of reference as "the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language" and "the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself" (Tahir Gürçağlar). This hypothesis explains governing premises of the translational act and product under different circumstances questioning the impact of the temporal, spatial, social, political and/or cultural contexts on the production of relative retranslations.

This study sets out to explore the particular discourse on the retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkish. As shall be further explored, each retranslated text has been released with a new argument to justify its necessity among the already existing Qur'an translations. In this regard, translational agents (i.e. the translators, editors, and publishers) of these retranslations put forth various claims to explain the motives behind their translations. The analysis of their statements reveals the differences in their approaches towards the conceptualization and instrumentalization of translation; and accordingly, shapes the meta-narrative on the Qur'an translations in Turkey. By exploring this unchartered territory of Turkish retranslations of the Qur'an, this study illustrates the religion-oriented context that marks the framing of the translations with a focus on paratextual

elements (particularly book covers and prefaces) and with reference to respective social and political trajectories that governed the production of translations.

2. Questioning the Motives Behind Retranslation: Why is a text REtranslated?

Studies on retranslation are mostly carried out to seek out the motives behind retranslations and the clues are often found in the context of the relevant retranslations (Tahir Gürçağlar). The "retranslation hypothesis" (Chesterman) can be stated as the dominant discourse when it comes to explaining the motives of retranslation. This "hypothesis" originates from an essay by Antoine Berman (Berman 1) and focuses on a discourse of "lack", which expresses "default, a deficiency, or decaying of first translations" (Massardier-Kenney 74). Retaining the language of lack, Lawrence Venuti also questions the motives behind retranslation, and concentrates on the "progress" stating that "retranslations are designed to challenge a previous version of a foreign text, they are likely to construct a denser and more complex intertextuality so as to signify and call attention to this competing interpretation" (28). However, this initial focus on the idea of improvement from one translation to another has been challenged with a number of counter-examples, revealing that retranslations do not always come closer to the source texts with new translations as claimed (Paloposki & Koskinen). In a similar vein, Collombat notes that the reasons behind the "wave of retranslations" vary and in several instances, they are not concerned with improvement (Collombat 11).

3. Exploring the Wave of Qur'anic Retranslations in Turkish

Since its revelation in the 7th century, the Qur'an has been translated into several languages, including Turkish numerous times. One may trace back Turkish translations of the Qur'an to different time spans, depending on how one defines the limits of Turkish. In other words, there are multiple 'first' translations of the Qur'an in the long history of the Turkish language. Determining which translation was/is the initial one depends on the set of criteria adopted for the periodization of Turkish language, including, for instance, Turkic languages spoken in the Anatolian principalities (8th-13th century), Turkish as spoken in the Ottoman period (13th- early 20th century), or the Turkish language in the Republican period (1923- onwards). This study mainly focuses on the translations of the Qur'an into Turkish printed in the Republican period after 1923 with due consideration of its organic roots with the Ottoman legacy.

The first Ottoman-Turkish translation of the Qur'an was published two years after the Tanzimat Period[23] (1841). The title of this Turkish translation was *Tefsir-i Tibyan* [The exegesis of al-Tibyan] and was done by Debbağzade Muhammed Ayintabi in Cairo (Akdemir) in 1843. It was commissioned by Sultan Mehmet IV. *Tefsir-i Tibyan* was a Turkish translation of the Arabic commentary *al-Tibyan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* [The exegesis of Qur'an by al-Tibyan] and it was reprinted eleven times in the late Ottoman period (Wilson). Following it, *Tefsir'ul Mevakib Tercemet'ul Mevahib* [The Exegesis of Mevakib and Translation of Mevahib] by Ambassador Ferruh Ismail Efendi was produced in 1865 (Hamidullah), which is also the year when the first press law entered into force,

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[23] Also known as First Constitutional Era, *Tanzimat* refers to the reformative period characterized by modernization attempts between 1839-1876 in the Ottoman Empire.

bringing strict rules for managements of the press (Berk 47). In the Ottoman period, Qur'anic renderings in Turkish were produced only in the form of exegesis, and commentaries rather than translation proper.

Later in the Republican Era, in the absence of the office of the *Sheikh'ul Islam*[24], three Qur'anic translations appeared in the market in 1924. The earliest of them was Süleyman Tevfik's (1865-1939) *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tercümesi* (Translation of the Noble Qur'an). This translation was followed by numerous other Turkish retranslations of the Qur'an in different forms and under varying titles. Figure 1 represents the increasing number of translations for each decade.
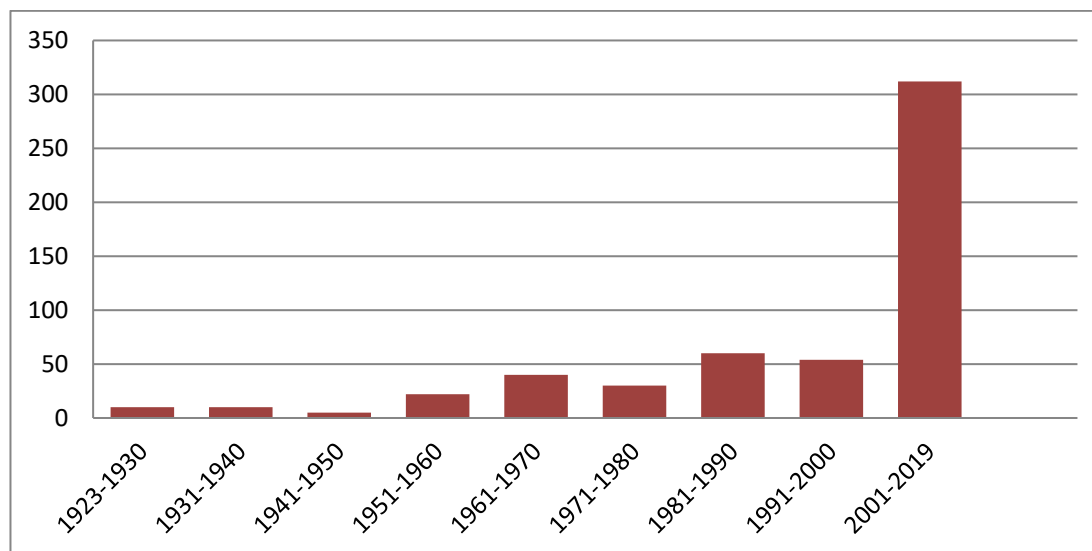

Figure 1 Qur'an Retranslations in Turkish between 1923-2019[25]

4. In search of a Qur'anic Retranslation Discourse: Praxis and Pragmatics of the Turkish Retranslations of the Qur'an

The complex nature of Qur'anic retranslations in Turkish can only be understood with an initial exploration of the discourse over the Qur'an translations in the Ottoman period. One does not encounter any noteworthy reflections on the translation of the Qur'an in the Ottoman period until the 19th century. There are several reasons behind the lack of accounts on Qur'an translations till that time. First, the *ulama* (religious and legal scholars in the Ottoman era) were the most influential group of the society, who led people' religious lives and practices. The interpretation of any Qur'anic issue was under their control, and the only Qur'anic reference books available then were Arabic exegeses. Thus, any individual interpretive attempt would receive a strong reaction and be interpreted as an act against their authority. Also, the rate of literacy was quite low, making written texts accessible to a very limited number of people; and hence, negatively affecting the demand for a translation. According to Ziya Paşa, the rate of literacy was estimated to be two percent in 1868, and according to the State Institute of Statistics, it has varied between 8 % and 10.6 % in the

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[24] The title given to the grand religious authority, advising the sultan on religious matters, legitimizing government policies and appointing judges in the Ottoman period.

[25] The figure is prepared on the basis of the archival data available in libraries such as ISAM, National Library, as well as prominent online bookshops such as Idefix, Kitapyurdu, etc.

19th century (quoted in Berk 45). Furthermore, the language of instruction in institutions called *madrasa* (traditional-Islamic educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire) was Arabic (Wilson). Elucidating the issue from a different perspective, Ali Suavi drew attention to an Ottoman interculture (quoted in Paker), which viewed Arabic as an organic part of the language along with Persian and Turkish (Cündioğlu *Türkçe Kur'an* 158). Only with the nationalist turn and interest in the vernacular language, did people begin to view Arabic as "foreign" (Wilson 108), and remarkable cases of Qur'anic retranslations began to appear in Turkish after the establishment of the new Republican regime on 29 October 1923.

The year 1923 is defined as the beginning of Turkish society's transformation of, "a transformation from a multi-lingual and multinational Islamic regime under the Sultan-Caliph to a monolingual and one-national secular state" (Berk 93). The approach of the new state to religion was shaped in accordance with its reformist agenda, which also proved to be decisive in the production of Qur'anic renderings.

In 1924, the new government abolished the Islamic caliphate (3 March), closed the *madrasas*, which were opposed to the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish, and prohibited religious education (15 March) as well as the Sufi orders. *Madrasas* were replaced with schools for imams and preachers and a theology faculty was established at the University of Istanbul, therefore the control of the religious education passed to the Ministry of Education (McPherson 5).

In this context, the debut of the Turkish translations of the Qur'an sparked a hot debate on the translatability of the Qur'an, the necessity of the translation as well as the characteristics of the forthcoming retranslations. With "the spread of literacy via state schools, emergence of nationalism, print technology as well as intellectual currents" (Wilson 16), Qur'anic retranslations emerged as a topic for debate in the early Republican period. In this regard, the ideal of a Muslim society that can truly comprehend Islam emerged as the preliminary premise for Qur'an translations.

To shed light on this discursive narrative on Qur'anic retranslations in Turkish, I will concentrate on two types of material: quantitative data and qualitative statements. The first type of material refers to the changes in the number of retranslations of the Qur'an in different time spans. This numeric analysis concentrates on the impact of the temporal and spatial frameworks on the Qur'anic renderings. Namely, the chronological analysis divided into decades focuses on particular socio-political conditions of the relevant durations. The second type of material relies on the distinctive context of Turkish Qur'an translations as widely revealed in their paratexts (i.e. book covers, and prefaces in this case) (Genette), with particular references to the statements of respective translators. Qur'anic translations have been designated by different titles in Turkish. Among them three main terms come to the fore: *tercüme* [translation], *meal* [synopsis of meaning], and *tefsir* [exegesis]. In this study, I consider all of them as a (heterogenous) sum of Qur'an retranslations without delving into their translational differences (i.e. different translation strategies applied in these practices, such as literal translation, annotated translation, etc.). This bi-faceted analysis of the discourse on the translations of this religious text is motivated to demonstrate the

social, political, and financial concerns governing the reproduction of a canonical work other than religious concerns, as one would initially expect.

4.1 A Chronological Overview of the Qur'an Retranslations in Turkish

This section examines the quantitative changes in the number of the retranslations of the Qur'an. This quantitative analysis is accompanied by an elucidation on the terminological diversity of the designation/labeling/titles of these Qur'an translations. The aim is to map any correspondences between the numbers of the retranslations and social, political, and economic changes in Turkey with a concentration on their impact on the discourse of Qur'an retranslations.

Prior to the involvement of the state, private publishers such as İbrahim Hilmi and Naci Kasım undertook some translations in the beginning of the Republican period (Cündioğlu *Kur'an Çevirilerinin Dünyası* 30). As mentioned before, the first translation in Turkish was *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tercümesi* [Translation of the Noble Qur'an] (1924) by Süleyman Tevfik (1865-1939) (Hamidullah and Yaşaroğlu). The publisher of this translation Naci Kasım also wrote an introduction to the translation explaining why he sponsored the translation:

> It is impossible for those who do not know Arabic and Persian to understand the noble meaning of the Noble Qur'an that is the light of guidance of the civilized world, impossible to know its commands that guide the way. Though four noble works in Turkish have been published [...] these were written a century ago, and their archaic style and stilted expressions prevented the students from benefiting from them. (quoted in Wilson 423)

These introductory statements provide clues on the expected functions of Qur'an translations, explaining the motives behind the production of this and following retranslations. In this excerpt, concerns over understandability, accessibility and civilization are foregrounded. This translation received severe criticisms at its time, which were mainly published in *Sebilürreşad*, an influential journal of the period (Aydar 48). According to Wilson (2009), these reactions display the view of the devout intelligentsia of the time about the Qur'an translators, "who did not meet the conventional requirements of Islamic scholarly disciplines" (424). Furthermore, the advertisements for this translation in multiple newspapers and accompanying commercial images were regarded as disrespectful and scandalous for the Qur'an (Wilson 424).

In the same year, this translation was immediately followed by the second translation of the Republican period, *Nur'ul Beyan* [The Light of Explication] (1927) by Hüseyin Kazım Kadri (1870–1934) who used the pseudonym Şeyh Muhsini Fani (Erşahin 152). Hüseyin Kazın Kadri was a bureaucrat, politician and journalist with no competency in Islamic fields. This translation also provoked criticisms, including those by the head of the Directorate of Religious Affairs for its deficiency in Arabic language and fıqh (Islamic law) (Cündioğlu *Kur'an Çevirilerinin Dünyası*).

Furthermore, the language combination used in the translations of the time was not limited to Arabic-Turkish. There were also translations of the Qur'an produced by using a mediating language, resulting in "relay translations". As an example, Cemil Said, a government official,

produced a Qur'an translation from French into Turkish in 1924 (Durmuş 145). Said's translation also invoked harsh criticisms. The title of this translation *Türkçe Kur'an-ı Kerim* [Turkish Qur'an] was deemed distorted and misguided (Durmuş 146). In addition, the educational and professional background of the translator was found inappropriate for translating the Qur'an. That the translation was a relay translation from an intermediary language rather than a direct translation, (i.e. it was not translated directly from the Arabic Qur'an but from Albert de Biberstein-Kazimirski's French Qur'an translation, which already had been in circulation for decades in Istanbul) also caused dispute. All three translations published in 1924 were received with disappointment and outrage by most of the devout intellectuals in Turkey (Wilson 421).

After these private initiatives, the state's involvement in the field of Qur'an translations was met with different reactions by different sections of the society. Kemal Karpat counts "the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish among the reforms of the long-term nationalization project" (282). The parliament decided to publish an official translation of the Qur'an and accordingly commissioned Mehmet Akif to produce the translation (*tercüme*) and Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır to produce an exegesis (*tefsir*) of the Qur'an in 1932. After Mehmet Akif's resignation from the duty, Yazır agreed to fulfill the project only on the condition that his translation would be called *meal* (Aydar 48), which he formulized and introduced as a translation postulate for an appropriate rendering of the Qur'an. As shall be elaborated below, the term would acquire wide acceptance and turn into an established Qur'anic term appearing in the titles of Qur'an translation in Turkish since then.

The early years of the Turkish Republic may be called "transformation years". It was the period when the newly founded secular state started carrying out several reforms to create a one-national and monolingual state from a formerly multi-lingual and multi-national society. In 1924, only a year after the foundation of the Republic, three Qur'an translations were published, all termed *tercüme*. Under the shadow of ongoing radical reforms of the new regime, İbrahim Hilmi published *Türkçe Kur'an-ı Kerim Tercümesi* [Turkish Qur'an Translation] in 1926. It was prepared by a translation committee (Hamidullah 86). However, Osman Ergin maintains that this translation was in fact done by Zeki Megamiz, whose name was not revealed, as Megamiz was a Christian Arab. This was followed by *Maani-i Kur'an- Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Türkçe Tercümesi* [The Meaning of the Qur'an- Turkish Translation of the Qur'an] by İzmirli İsmail Hakkı in 1927. Figure 2 demonstrates the number of Qur'an retranslations produced in the early Republican era under different designations in Arabic script, which continued to be used until 1928.
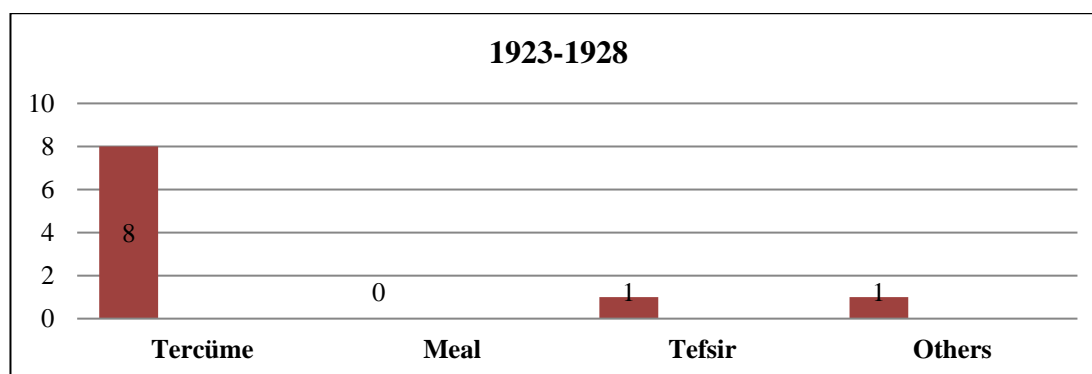
Figure 2 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1923-1928*[26]

November 1928 was the beginning of the so called "Turkish Language Reform" in Turkey. The first phase of the reform was the adoption of the Latin alphabet over the Arabic script. The underlying motive of the reform was to achieve an extensive break from the Islamic past (Berk 96-97). The reform was put into practice quite effectively and by the middle of 1929, all publications were using the new Latin alphabet. In terms of the translation of religious texts, the project was composed of different phases, including *Türkçe Kur'an* [Turkish Qur'an], *Türkçe Ezan* [Turkish Call to Prayer], *Türkçe Tekbir* [Turkish Takbir], and *Türkçe Hutbe* [Turkish Hutbah] respectively, which caused great controversy and hot debates that continued to resonate in subsequent periods.

The first Qur'an translation printed in the Latin alphabet in Turkish was the transliteration of the *Türkçe Kur'an-ı Kerim Tercümesi* [Turkish Translation of the Qur'an] by İzmirli İsmail Hakkı in 1932. The translation was first published in 1927 with the Arabic alphabet (Erşahin 155). Ömer Rıza Doğrul's translation *Tanrı Buyruğu- Kur'an-ı Kerim Tercüme ve Tefsiri* [Command of the God-Translation and the Exegesis of the Qur'an] was published in 1934 before the publication of the first volume of the state-commissioned translation by Elmalılı Hamdi in 1935.

The transition to a new alphabet had considerable repercussions for Qur'an retranslations. The discussions on the translatability of the Qur'an were now guided by new approaches towards the potentials of the new alphabet. In this context, İbrahim Hilmi made a radical attempt and published *El-Mushafuşşerif* [The Qur'an] in 1932. In this translation, he provided a transliteration of the Arabic original text in the Latin alphabet, as well as an interlingual Turkish translation. The translation was claimed to be prepared by a committee, but the identities of the committee members were kept secret. The translation faced harsh opposition. There were again rumors claiming the translator was a Christian Arab. This translation was further accused of distorting the Turkish alphabet and the meaning of the Qur'an (Erşahin 157). As a response to these accusations, İbrahim Hilmi sent a letter to Atatürk, President of the Turkish Republic at the time, explaining the motives behind his translation and defending it. However, official inspection by the Directorate of Religious Affairs concluded that the work was an attempt to adulterate the Turkish alphabet. Nonetheless, despite the disapproval of the authorities, this translation was accepted by the public and republished in 1936, 1937 and 1950 (Ocak Gez), demonstrating how the same translation might reverberate differently in different sections of a society.

Figure 3 demonstrates the number of Qur'an retranslations produced in the Republican era's second decade under different designations in Latin script as discussions on the project to Turkify the language of religion continued.

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[26] "Others" category refers to the Qur'an translations that do not include any of the terms "*meal*, *tercüme*, and *tefsir*" in their titles.
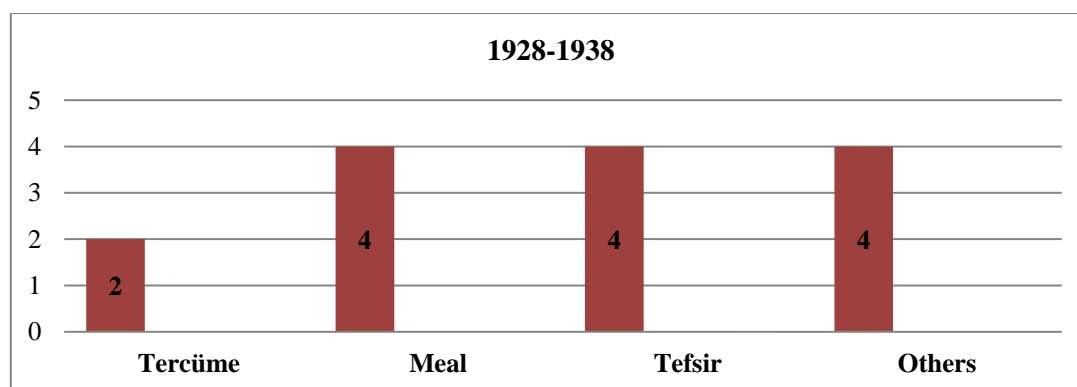
Figure 3 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1928-1938*

The division of this period in 1938 is deliberate because the completion of the translation by *Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır Hak Dini Kur'an Dili Yeni Mealli Türkçe Tefsir* [The Religion God, the Language of the Qur'an- New Exegesis with Synopsis of Meaning] in 1938 was a turning point in the history of Turkish translations of the Qur'an. The impact of this rendering on the Qur'an retranslations in Turkey derives from two facts. First, it was published with the strong support and approval of the state, which enabled a wide distribution network. Secondly, the translator Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır was a prominent Islamic intellectual of the period with a considerable influence in the field who proposed new conceptions and contextual frameworks. In the preface of this translation, Yazır precisely stated that the translation of the Qur'an could only be designated as *meal* and defined the term as follows: [… *Meal* means to diminish something. Thus, to express a statement with no full equivalence but with some deficiency is called *meal*. It is because of this deficiency, we used the term *meal*] (Yazır 30). With the introduction of a new term (i.e. *meal*), Yazır challenged existing translations and deemed them inappropriate. Accordingly, he produced a verbatim translation in the Arabic syntax order and overtly stated that his translation was a humble human product which could by no means be equal to the sacred original. The motive behind this attempt lies in the socio-political conditions of the period. Yazır intentionally produced a complex and inversion-structured translation so as to make it inappropriate for any use in worship in the Turkification projects, which are briefly mentioned above. In this vein, his retranslation emerged as a site of discursive tension between an individual translator and the government, each side having different concerns over the same translation.

Governed by the socio-political premises of his period, Yazır's emphasis on deficiency has been decisive on the Qur'anic discourse in Turkey since then, and has frequently been used as a tool to justify new attempts for retranslations of the Qur'an. Different from his politically-oriented context, many translators instrumentalized "*meal*" as a sanction to prove the necessity of their translation (based on the assumption that any translation of the Qur'an is insufficient) and enjoyed the freedom of accepting the inherent insufficiency of their works before the sacred source text.

The following Figure 4 shows the number of Qur'an retranslations produced under the impact of the influential "*meal*" by Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır as well as the rich texture of the designations used to define these translations.
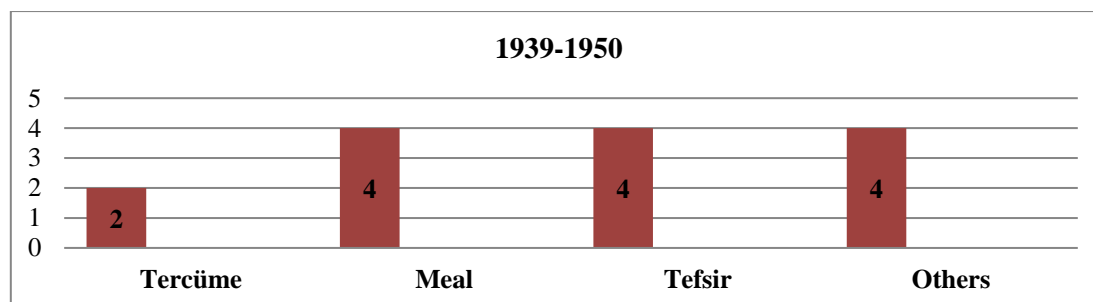
Figure 4 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1939-1950*

The periodization of Qur'an retranslations in Turkey chosen for the purposes of this study follows the socio-political changes the country has experienced. The end of the single party system in the late 1940s proceeded to a new phase with the victory of *Demokrat Parti* (DP) (Democrat Party) in the 1950 elections. The period between 1942-1947 was a time of non-translation for Qur'anic renderings. The challenge of DP (established in 1946) against the existing political paradigms by instrumentalizing religion as an asset of its political discourse had reverberations in the field of Qur'an translations as well, and new translations began to appear afterwards. Accordingly, the program to Turkify the call to prayer came to an end with an amendment in the legislation which legalized the recitation of the call in both Turkish and Arabic (Cündioğlu "Türkçe Kur'an"). In this period, the sale of religious publications gained considerable momentum. As an example, the Arabic original of the Qur'an, imported from Egypt, sold 250,000 copies in one year (Karpat 286).

During the period 1950-1960, several retranslations of the Qur'an were published under different headings (i.e. *tercüme, tefsir, meal,* etc). Among them were *Kur'ân-ı Hakim ve Meâl-i Kerim* [The Glorious Qur'an and Its Meaning] by Hasan Basri Çantay (1952) and *Islam'ın Mukaddes Kitabı Kur'an-ı Kerim, Türkçe Tercüme ve Tefsir* [The Holy Book of Islam: The Qur'an: Translation and Exegesis] by Hacı Murat Sertoğlu (1955), which draw attention with their exhaustive use of the respective Qur'anic terms in their titles. In addition to these more conventional translations, some controversial titles appeared in the market such as the translation *Kur'an* [The Qur'an] by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and *Türkçe Kur'an-ı Kerim* [Qur'an in Turkish) by Osman Nebioğlu, which are both intriguing in that they did not bear any references to their translational nature. The emergence of these translations in the 1950s can be interpreted as a reflection of the changing conventions of the socio-political order, in which the rivalry between two leading political parties (*Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi* [Republican People's Party] abbreviated as CHP and *Demokrat Parti* [Democrat Party] abbreviated as DP) both endeavoring to gain the majority in the parliament might have enabled Qur'an translators to act under freer circumstances under less official scrutiny.

Figure 5 represents the increasing number of retranslations of the Qur'an in the 1950s, with the majority of the translations presented as *tefsir* (exegesis) in the titles among other renderings.
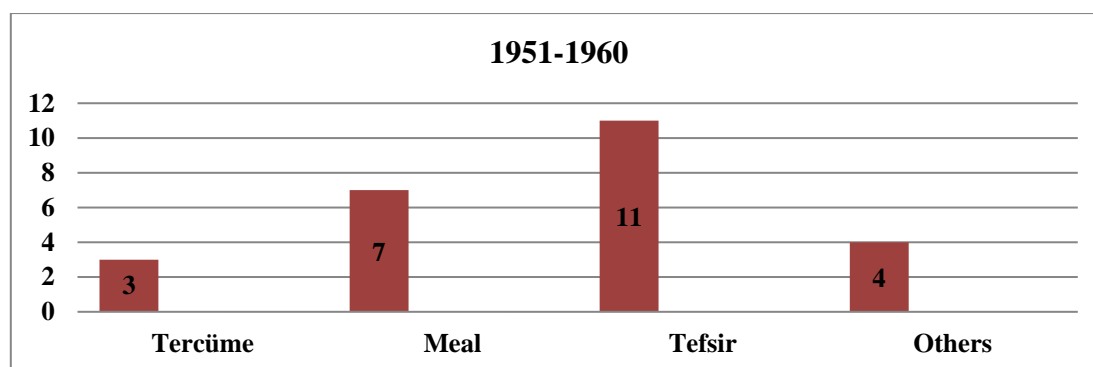
Figure 5 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1951-1960*

This period came to an end with the first *coup d'état* in the Republican period on 27 May 1960. One of the first acts of the *coup* was to commission the translation of the Qur'an to the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Referring to Eric J. Zurcher and Ruşen Çakır, Berk defines this translation in relation to the attempts "to liberate the Islamic thought from the monopoly of those who knew Arabic and were the only ones to reach the sources and the establishment of Islam not just as a religion but also as a way of life" (183). During this time span, there were dozens of new Turkish retranslations of the Qur'an.

This era was also marked with Turkish translations of established exegeses of the Muslim world such as *Hulasatu'l Beyan Fi Tefsiri' l Kur'an* [The Explanation on the Exegesis of the Qur'an] (1966) and *Fîzilali'l-Kur'ân: Kur'an'ın Gölgesinde* [Under the Shadow of the Qur'an] (1966) by Sayyid Qutb. These translations can well be contextualized in relation to the rising Islamist voice in the 1960s in Turkey. In this regard, it is a prevailing assumption that translation played a significant role in the revival of Turkish Islamism in the 1960s along with surrounding social, political, and cultural trajectories (Kara; Göle; Bora). Increasing interaction of the Islamist intellectuals with the foreign Muslim world prepared the grounds for new Islamic translations (Kazdal 275). In this context, the reverberations of the quest of Turkish Islamism to challenge its introvert nature and re-bond its broken ties with the *ummah* (Işık 412) appeared in the field of Qur'anic renderings with Turkish translations of contemporary exegeses of foreign Islamist figures.

Furthermore, this period witnessed the involvement of the press in the production of Turkish Qur'an translations. Several newspapers such as *Milliyet*, *Akşam* and *Haber* distributed Qur'an translations (mainly *meal* and *tercüme*) to their readers, which considerably increased the number of Qur'anic publications. As Figure 6 reveals, the quantity and the variety of Qur'an retranslations in Turkish continued to flourish in the 1960s.
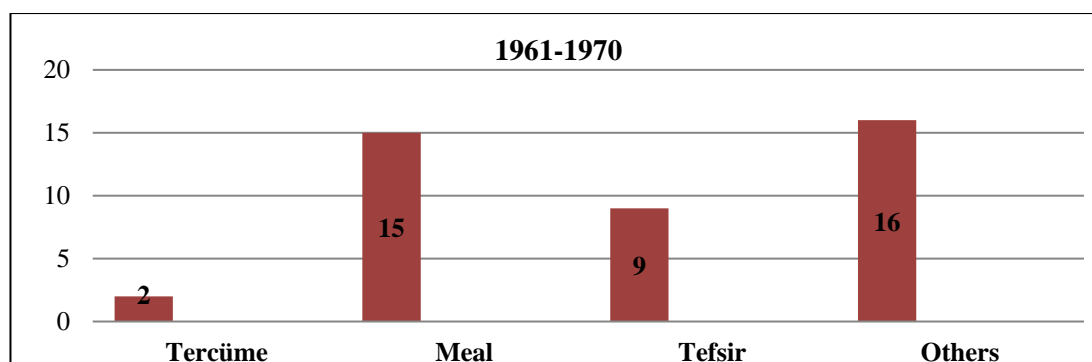
Figure 6 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1961-1970.*

The next decade also started with a *coup* attempt of the army on 12 March 1971. Between the years 1970-1980, several translations of the Qur'an were produced, largely predominated by the term "*meal*". There were no new renderings titled "*tercüme*" (translation) (apart from the reprints of the previous translations) published in this period, which might well have been a result of the conservative atmosphere the political crisis had created. In other words, socio-political anxiety might well have led to a conservative and conventional approach in the sphere of Qur'an translations and influenced the production of new retranslations under the designation of *meal* rather than *tercüme* (translation). As Figure 7 illustrates, *meal* outnumbered other translational designations during these years.
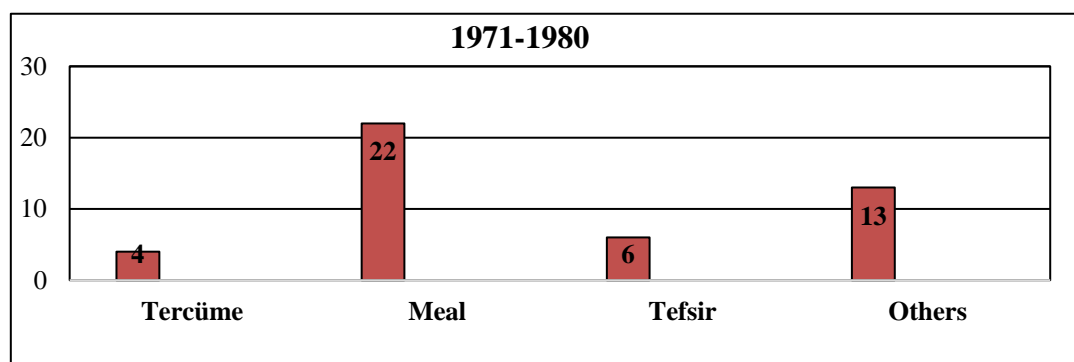
Figure 7 Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1971-1980

On 12 September 1980, the second *coup d'état* was staged as a result of the political violence between far-right and far-left groups which was worsened by grave economic problems with high rates of unemployment (Zürcher 263). It radically transformed the economic, political, and cultural life in Turkey (Gürbilek). Turkish Qur'an translations are higher in number in that period compared to the previous decades. There was also an increase in the translations done from Arabic (17 %), which is defined as "an indicator of the growing Islamist currents as well as the inclusion of the religious education in primary and secondary schools; the building of new mosques; and the growing number of *imam-hatip* (preacher) schools and Islamic bookshops" (Berk 182).

Moreover, repercussions of the waves of modernization in Turkey were also seen in the field of Qur'an retranslations. Different interpretations of the Qur'an were prepared based on

modern discoveries and scientific inventions. Namely, some of the ayahs[27] ,of the Qur'an were reinterpreted in relation to the new findings in the modern world. They were presented as interdisciplinary works between the theology and positive sciences. The exegesis *Yüce Kur'an'ın Çağdaş Tefsiri* [The Contemporary Exegesis of the Glorious Qur'an] (1989) by Süleyman Ateş constitutes an example. The 1980s also hosted terminological diversity in the titles of the Qur'an translations. Rather than referring to them as *tercüme* [translation proper] or *tefsir* [exegesis proper], many new retranslations bearing complex titles such as "*açıklamalı meal*" [explanatory synopsis of meaning], "*mealen manzum açıklama*", etc. [explanatory synopsis of meaning in verse form] appeared in the market. Furthermore, it was in the 1980s when the concept *çeviri* (Turkish equivalent for the Arabic-origin word *tercüme*) first came to daylight in the world of Qur'an translations. In this period, two translations were published under this title: *Kur'an-ı Kerim Meali: (Türkçe Çeviri)* (1984) [The Meaning of the Qur'an- Turkish Translation] by Yaşar Nuri Öztürk; and *Tanrı Buyruğu Oku, Kur'an Nazım Çeviri* [The Command of the God: Read- Turkish Verse Translation of the Qur'an] (1987) by Rıza Çiloğlu.

Figure 8 demonstrates the lack of any works titled *tercüme*, the prevalence of *meal* and other Qur'anic renderings with diverse-complex terminological designations given in the column "Others".
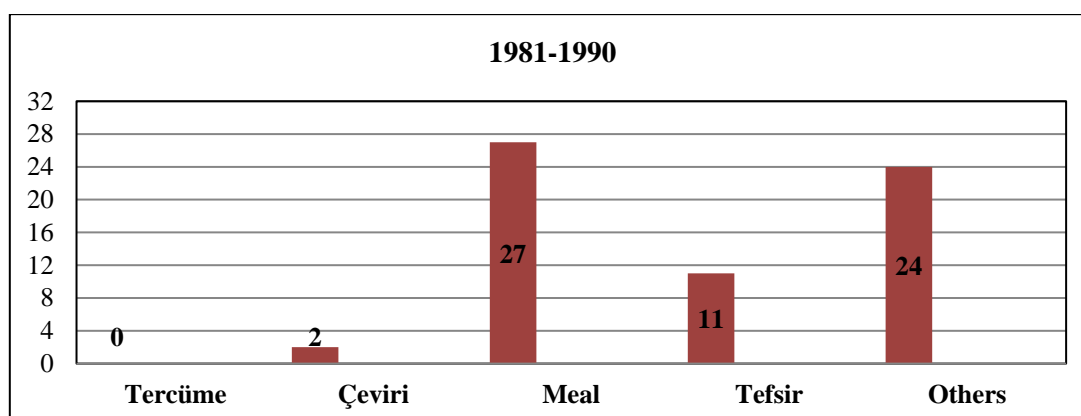
Figure 8 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1981-1990*

In the 1990s, the developments in the media (i.e. the launch of private TV and radiobroadcasting), and the emergence of new political platforms and ideological movements caused further diversification in the field of Turkish Qur'an retranslations. First, the number of translations of the Qur'an with no reference to their translational production began to increase such as *Kur'an* (1992) [The Qur'an] by Turan Dursun; *En Mühim Mesaj Kur'an: Kur'ân Hakkında Yeni Mütaalaalar* [The Most Important Message: the Qur'an- New Deliberations on the Qur'an] (1994) by Suat Yıldırım. Secondly, female Qur'an translators appeared on the stage for the first time in the 1990s. The translation by Medine Balcı was published under the title of *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Kelime Meali* [The Qur'an and its Literal Meaning] in 1991. Thirdly, the diversity in the designation of translations gained further complexity. The heading of the following Qur'an translation vividly manifests the altering translational premises of the period: *Kur'an'ı Anlamak: Tercümeden Meale*

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[27] *Ayah* is the Arabic word referring to the verses of the Qur'an. They are of varying lengths and make up the chapters (*surah*) in the Qur'an.

Mealden Mini Yoruma [Understanding the Qur'an- from Translation to Meaning, from Meaning to Mini Interpretation] (1996). Figure 9 portrays the increasing number of the Qur'an retranslations and the momentum for the complex titles over the so-called translation *proper*.
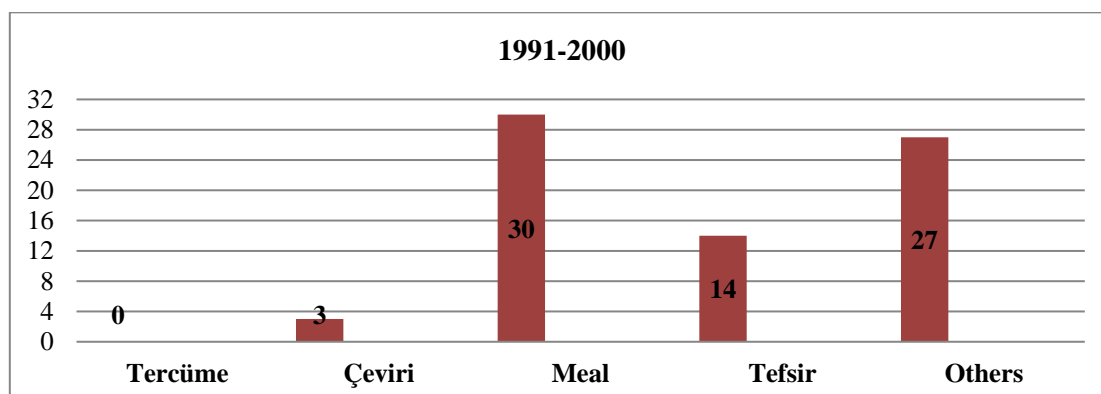

Figure 9 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 1991-2000*

The new millennium can well be called the "the age of *meal*", considering the remarkable boost in the number of Qur'anic renderings called "*meal*". Among the motives behind this increase, the rise of a right-wing political party (i.e. AKP) with a focus on disseminating the Islamic discourse, the developments in the publishing sector, wide access to internet, and the increasing interest in religious publications in the public can be named. Above all, I think through time, the term *meal* gained such an established position in the world of Qur'an translations that it emerged as the most convenient and representative way of presenting a retranslation of the Qur'an in Turkish. Tracing two Turkish words interchangeably used to refer to translation *tercüme* and *çeviri* in the titles of Qur'an translations, it would not be wrong to say that *çeviri* has gained popularity and has an overwhelming success over the term "*tercüme*", doubling it in number.

What is more, compositional changes in Qur'an translations were also observed in this period. Qur'anic renderings composed according to the chronological order of the revelation of the ayahs or themes of the surahs were produced. These cases might be regarded as products of a parallel argument to the "retranslation hypothesis" with their innovative nature bringing novelties to the existing repertoire.

This decade hosted a female Qur'an translator as well. Necla Yasdıman translated the Qur'an into Turkish in 2006, becoming the second female Qur'an translator in Turkish. Her translation called *Kur'ân Tahlili: Arapça Gramer Işığında Sözlük-Meal-Tefsir* [The Analysis of the Qur'an: A Dictionary, Meaning and Exegesis of the Qur'an in the Light of Arabic Grammar)] was additionally designed as a grammar book for learners of Arabic.

Moreover, as a crucial indicator of the correlation between the socio-political context and Qur'an translations, the *Alevi Kur'an Tefsiri* (2012) [Alawite Qur'an Exegesis] by Ahmet Bedir was published following the attempts for a better recognition of *Alevi* community[28], constituting an ultimate example to the praxis of retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkey. Figure 10 shows the striking number of *meal* works, with a boost in their numbers observed in all areas of Qur'anic renderings.
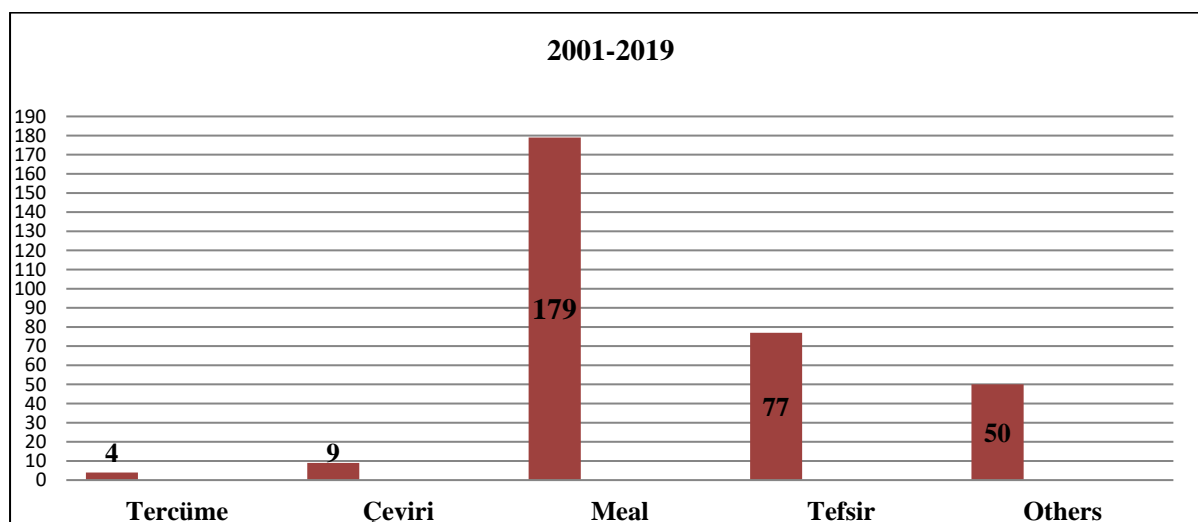
2001-2019

Figure 10 *Qur'an retranslations in Turkish between 2001-2019*

4.2 A Critical Overview of the Discourse on Qur'an Retranslations in Turkish

This section concentrates on distinctive premises of the decades-long translational journey of Qur'an retranslations in Turkey. The corpus of the study is composed of exemplary prefaces written by Qur'an translators of respective temporal spans under scrutiny. Their varying foci reveal different approaches of the agents towards the retranslation of the Qur'an. The ways in which they explain and justify the need for their respective translations illustrate the rich and complex fabric of Qur'an retranslations in Turkey.

To begin with the first translators of the Qur'an in the early Republican period, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı expresses the motives behind his translation titled as *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Anlam- Ma'ani-i Kur'an* (1927) [The Meaning of the Qur'an- Turkish Translation of the Qur'an] with a concentration on the use of plain language, fidelity and understandability, which would be echoed frequently in the following Turkish retranslations of the Qur'an:

> [I tried to explain the meaning of the original as similarly as possible with a proper translation in accordance with the rhetoric our language. With respect to language, I may claim no success and the style may have gotten a bit loose, but I guess translation does not include circumlocution. I did not translate before understanding the *ayah*, I did not insert any words

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[28] The *Alawite* is a term used to refer to heterodox Muslim Shi'a community in Turkey. They constitute the largest religious minority who differ considerably from the Sunni Muslim majority in their practice and interpretation of Islam in Turkey.

that did not reflect the meaning of the original. The words of God are not presented in an incomprehensible way.][29] (İzmirli)

As one of the most established Qur'an translators in Turkish, Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır presents an authoritative translator portrait setting criteria for a proper Qur'an translation and translator. Yazır (1935) claims that a Qur'an translator should be able to read the Qur'an lacking vowel markings as a sign of competence in Arabic language. He complains about the Qur'an translators of the time and argues that the translators could not read even the Qur'an with vowel markings and they pretend to come up with meaning of the Arabic Qur'an (Wilson 202). As a proponent of the view that the Qur'an cannot be truly translated, Yazır explicitly states in the preface of his translation that it was not his own choice but he was commissioned to translate the Qur'an by the state with references to the articles of his contract (19). Following these statements, Yazır (1935) argues that the Qur'an cannot be translated and what he does is to write an exegesis and produce a *meal* via strictly preserving the syntax structure of the source text. In this regard, Yazır defines *tercüme* as follows:

> [Translation is to express the meaning of a word in another language with a corresponding expression. It must be equivalent to the original in clarity and signification, in summary and in detail, in general and in particular, in strength and in accuracy, in eloquence of style, in manner of elucidation, in the production of knowledge and in craft. Otherwise, it would not be a complete translation (translation proper), but a deficient version.] (9)

With his definition of an utmost ideal translation, Yazır implicitly puts forth the impossibility of translating the Qur'an. Yazır states that previous translations and contemporary discussions on the forthcoming translations create an illusion of reflecting the reality of the Qur'an:

> [Under these conditions, people claiming to translate or to have translated the Qur'an would be just lying. [...] There are even some who do not understand the Qur'an and do not read exegeses with the claim that it includes the interpretation of the exegesis writer, and by reading just the translations of the Qur'an, they claim to analyze the Qur'an. [...] There are also others, who are not content with saying the translation of the Qur'an and dare to say "Turkish Qur'an". Is there such a thing as Turkish Qur'an, you fool?] (15)

Under these premises, Yazır introduces the term *meal* as a suitable term for designating Qur'an translations, which is briefly defined as translating with some deficiency and without a claim to represent and replace the original. From a "retranslation hypothesis" perspective, I can argue that this translation was not produced to fill a gap or improve previous translations. It was produced to construct a metanarrative over Qur'an translations (emphasizing their insufficiency vis-à-vis the sacred original) to challenge the attempts to Turkify the language of religion, which was high on the agenda in the late 1930s in Turkey.

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[29] All translations provided in square brackets are mine, unless stated otherwise.

The translation produced by Yazır (which I propose calling a "canonical translation") constitutes a myriad for Qur'an retranslations in Turkish. As a state-sponsored translation by a prominent Islamic agent, it opened the path for other translations and received widespread circulation with a wide distribution line. In other words, this retranslation with no claim to bring newness to the existing repertoire triggered other retranslations of the Qur'an by establishing the premises of a Qur'an translation in the eye of the readership in the early 1940s.

The following decade was marked with radical attempts in the titles of Qur'an translations. The translations called *Türkçe Kuran* [Qur'an in Turkish] (1957) by Osman Nebioğlu and *Kur'an* [Qur'an] (1959) by an anonymous translator ignited discussions on the presentation of Qur'an translations. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (1955) draws attention to this issue in the preface to his translation as follows: "… *sunduğumuz kitap Türkçe Kur'an değil, Kur'an'ın Türkçe'ye tercümesidir* [This book is not a Turkish Qur'an but a Turkish translation of the Qur'an]" (XXXVI). This sensitivity can well be interpreted as a resonance of the prolonged debates in the political agenda on the conduction and annihilation of the practice of Turkish call to prayer (i.e. *ezan*].

In the 1960s (hosting the resurgence of Turkish Islamism), Islamic publications (particularly translations) began to boom in Turkey, which also resonated in the world of Qur'an translations. In this context, the abundance of retranslations of the Qur'an was subject to criticisms. Mehmed Şevket Eygi (1961) criticizes the excessive number of Qur'anic renderings and accuses their publishers of using the Qur'an for financial profit. This case shows us how the concerns and interests of the market can serve as a guiding principle in the context of retranslations even in the case of a holy book:

> [The popularity of Qur'an translations starting after the Second Constitution is a harmful trend. Before the Second Constitution, the Ottoman state used to keep the press under control and did not let publishing of arbitrary, erroneous Qur'an translations and exegeses. [...] They cannot deceive us. All of these translations are for economic gain and interests.] (Eygi 5)

This decade also witnessed the emergence of intralingual translations of Yazır's canonical Qur'an translation. These editions published under the title "*sadeleştirme*" [simplification] echo well the premises of the "retranslation hypothesis" with their claim on the ageing of language:

> [In the recent years, there occurred a need for different editions of Elmalılı's work in the form of *meal*, by either simplification or by preserving the original translation and explaining the old word either in parentheses or in footnotes.] (Karslı 66)

In this regard, archaic words used in the translation by Yazır were mostly changed to (modern) Turkish words, and the syntactic order was regulated according to the Turkish language. Besides, these (intralingual) retranslations merit attention with their intervention in the composition of Yazır's translation. His original translation is composed of a *meal* and ten volumes of exegesis. However, the edition published in 1962 does not include the exegesis but the simplified version of the *meal* section solely. In this regard, "retranslation" emerges as the site which breaks the unity

of a former translation. Despite the committee's claim to make this translation more accessible and easier to understand for a Turkish readership, I think the publication of this shortened version also originated from financial concerns considering the wider share of translations (and *meal*s) in the market compared to exegeses.

The discourse on the Qur'an retranslations in the 1970s concentrates on the terms used in the titles of Qur'an translations with an observable increase in the preference for "*meal*" over "*tercüme*". In this context of production, well-known Islamic scholar Süleyman Ateş (1977) elucidates on the term "*meal*" and emphasizes the inherent and inevitable deficiency of any Qur'anic rendering in Turkish. In this sense, the production of a new translation with an initial acceptance of its deficiency can be interpreted as a premise that nullifies the claim of the "retranslation hypothesis", which is based upon the idea of progress and betterment of the translation:

> [Translation is transferring a statement from one language into another […..] Verbatim translation is what replaces the original. No translation can replace the original Qur'an. No translation can reflect all the miraculous features of the Qur'an. Because Qur'an is the word of God/ revelation… Nevertheless, Qur'an translations are called *meal* rather than *tercüme*, as translation is what replaces the original. *Meal* is to transfer the original into another language with some deficiency. It is regarded as appropriate to call Qur'an renderings *meal* to state that the translation has no claim to replace the original but is a representation with some deficiency.] (Ateş IX)

The 1980s maintain the concerns over the terms used to designate Qur'an translations. This period also marks the debut of the particular Qur'anic and translational attribution to the word "*meal*" as an entry in Turkish dictionaries (see *Büyük Türkçe Sözlük* [Grand Turkish Dictionary] (1982)), which can well be regarded as evidence of its terminological establishment. The definition is further detailed with the word's derivative forms. As an example, the word "*mealci*" [*meal* +*ci*] is defined as "*Kur'an-ı Kerim meali hazırlayan kimse, Kur'an-ı Kerim meali okuyan kimse* [The person who prepares the *meal* of the Qur'an, the person who reads the *meal* of the Qur'an]", where dual agency is attributed. The use of the same designation both for the producer and the addressee of the translational act can seem confusing at first sight. It is a consequence of a particular discussion concerning Qur'an translations since the 1980s. This decade witnessed the debut of *meal*-oriented arguments in Turkey. It bore a slightly pejorative connotation. In these years, an increasing amount of Qur'an translations published in several forms as "*meal*" entered wide-spread circulation (Hamidullah and Yaşaroğlu 1993) and began to receive considerable criticism with the claim that they violated the framing features of "*meal*" with radical shifts in forms, rank-bounds and interpretations of certain ayahs. Some of these translations were even accused of manipulating the essence of the Holy book. This criticized dependence on the "*meal*" (i.e. Turkish rendering of the Qur'an) rather than the original Qur'an in Arabic also gave birth to an ideological orientation of its own right. It was called "*mealcilik*". The word is defined as "*Kur'an-ı Kerim meali okumayı ön plana alma görüşü*" [The view, prioritizing reading the *meal* of the Qur'an]. This view over-prioritized the meaning of the Qur'an which put Qur'an translations at the core of the world of belief and put Sunnah and hadith (i.e. practices and expressions of the Prophet Mohammad) into a relatively

secondary and/or insignificant status. These arguments have placed "*meal*" at the centre of discussions on Qur'an translations with unanswered questions on the potentials of the translation vis-à-vis the canonical religious original since then.

Moreover, this period hosted discussions on the potentials of different translation strategies for Qur'an retranslations. In this regard, translators' motives to explain the grounds for their introduction of a new translation into the existing Qur'anic repertoire began to illustrate a shift in the discourse on translations of the Qur'an. The concentration on diversity and innovation began to be voiced more loudly in this period compared to preceding decades. In their translation, Atay and Kutluay (1981) confirmed that the sense for sense translation technique, which they applied, was the best way to translate the Qur'an to justify their retranslation rather than mimicking former retranslations within the plethora of Qur'an translations in Turkish:

[… Thus, the most appropriate way is to express in Turkish what is understood from the Arabic original rather than producing a word-for-word translation. We followed this method in our work.] (Atay and Kutluay IX)

In the meantime, the 1990s is marked with the discussions on the integration of the Muslim individual into the secular public sphere and the resurgence of "*Kur'an'a Dönüş Hareketi*" [Returning to the Qur'an], prioritizing to understand the premises of the Qur'an to reconstruct religious life as a reaction to so called radical Islamist views. In this period, Yaşar Nuri Öztürk emerged as a symbolic and controversial figure who was influential in the debates of the period. Öztürk (1994) emphasizes the importance of using plain language in translation to make it accessible to all the individuals (13), which he expresses as follows in the preface of his translation: "Our main aim in reading a *meal* is to understand the words of God without including the interpretation of a human" (Öztürk 10).

The focus on the socio-political and cultural structures in the production of Qur'an translations also resonates in the preface of another Qur'an retranslation of this decade. Mustafa Hizmetli (1998) concentrates on the temporality of the translations and accordingly claims that each era requires a new translation of the Qur'an to address the current issues of the period. In this vein, elaboration on the source text (i.e. the Qur'an) as an open book, which enables different interpretations in different time periods, emerges as a radical and controversial approach among the conventional views on the Qur'an. Even though this approach (viewing Qur'an as an open book) is harshly challenged by many established Islamic scholars, it continued to serve as a guiding principle for many other retranslations of the Qur'an, especially in the early 2000s:

[The message of the Qur'an is universal and beyond the eras. Thus, it addresses all ages and its semantic feature is to be re-analyzed in each society. It is not possible to translate it with all its artistic and semantic richness. In this situation, the translator cannot do anything other than transferring what s/he could understand from the text. Anyway, each translation inevitably limits the structure of the act with temporal and social accumulation of the society it is to be produced in.] (Hizmetli 8)

The discourse on the Qur'an retranslations in the new millennium can best be defined with the word "diversity". Challenging conventional prose translations of the Qur'an, new retranslations in the form of verse appeared in the market in this period. As an example, Nusret Çam (2002) called his translation *Şiir Diliyle Kur'an-ı Kerim Meali* (2002) [The Meaning of the Qur'an in Poetic Language] and posited that the eloquence of the Qur'an embodies a high form of literature and it could only be rendered as a poetic work. Whereas, Edip Yüksel (2000) produced a Qur'an translation titled as *Mesaj: Kur'ân* Çevirisi (2000) [Message: Qur'an Translation] in which he excluded prophetic references. He argued that conventional Islamic scholars misguided the public with ungrounded claims on Islam and loaded it with superstitions. With his translation, Yüksel (2000) claimed to provide the readership with the clear message of the Qur'an produced under the light of modern sciences.

The freedom enjoyed among the Qur'an translators of the period also had reverberations in the compositions of the retranslations. New translations began to be produced with different chronological orderings or thematic concentrations than the source text. The translations *Ayetlerin İniş Sırasına Göre Kuran Çevirisi* [The Translation of the Qur'an in the Order of the Revelation of the Ayahs] (2006) by Abdurrahman Abdullahoğlu; and *Konularına Göre Kur'an* Çeviri*si* [The Qur'an Translation Classified According to the Subjects] (2008) by Ömer Dumlu can be counted as examples of these cases respectively.

Moreover, the concerns on the reception of the Qur'an translations are noteworthy in this decade. Translators positioned their retranslations with an emphasis on their interpretative nature and inherently stressed their very existence in the production of these translations. This new approach differs greatly from the humble and passive translator profile primarily constructed in the context of "*meal*" by Yazır (1935), demonstrating how governing premises of discourse on Qur'an translations have been subject to change. In this regard, İhsan Eliaçık (2007) criticizes the misleading usage of *meal* to create an illusion before the eyes of the readership as follows:

> [*Meal* is hearing what is not told in the text […] Qur'an is not just a written text. Thus, its *meal* is not the act of writing the overt meaning next to the source text. On the contrary, it is the act of hearing what is not told in the source text… I think the term *meal* is not used correctly in Turkish. Most of the titles of Qur'an translations in Turkey are as Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Yüce *Meali*, which means Qur'an and my glorious commentary… Every *meal* is an interpretation. Claims stating "I translate without including my commentary" are the manipulation of the reader unless a specific aim is made explicit.] (Eliaçık 6-10)

Last but not least, only one among the prefaces of a number of Qur'an retranslations made explicit references to translation theories. Salih Akdemir (2004) expresses that Qur'anic renderings in Turkey are devoid of sound and consistent translation strategies. Despite the blurry framing of his postulate, expressions of Akdemir in *Son Çağrı Kur'an* (2004) [Last Call-Qur'an] referring to functionalist theories of translation merit attention as an attempt to justify a Qur'an retranslation on the basis of conceptualizations in translation studies.

[A successful Qur'an translation can only be produced by heeding that the source text is originally an oral text, by analyzing the historical background to explicate the inexplicit expressions, by determining the events as if living thorough them and by reconstructing the text if required. Anyway, it should not be neglected that any translation is an interpretation. [….] A functionalist translation theory based on Critical-Philosophical Hermeneutics is the best method to produce a Qur'an translation, which the public has been looking forward to for a long time. In this translation, we tried to apply this method.] (Akdemir XXV)

Then comes the question: "what triggered this diversity in the world of Qur'an translations in Turkey in the early 21st century?" The answer sits within the triad of political, social, and cultural premises. First, it is possible that the triumph of a political party (AKP) with an overt Islamic inclination in 2002 might have had a boosting affect in the sphere of religious publications. With a government instrumentalizing religion as a crucial asset of its discourse, Islamic concerns began to be uttered more loudly in the society, which simultaneously increased the interest in religion. Besides, the integration of religion into the social order resonated through the increasing visibility of religious sects (i.e. *cemaat*), each of which claimed to produce a particular Qur'an translation for their followers. In this regard, it can well be argued that retranslations of the Qur'an served as areas of tension among emerging religious groups in Turkey in the 2000s. As well as these socio-political motives, publishing opportunities in the press and the diversification of the addressees probably had an impact on the increasing number of retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkey.

5. Conclusion

In this study, I revisited the recurring question of "why certain texts are repeatedly translated while others are translated only once?" within the context of Qur'an translations. I aimed at exploring the discourse on the particular features of numerous retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkish by replacing the literary concentration of the retranslation paradigm with production practices of religious texts.

Glancing through the giant corpus of Qur'an retranslations in Turkish, I focused on their paratextual elements (i.e. titles on the book covers, and prefaces) and conducted both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The numeric analysis has revealed that the production of the Qur'anic retranslations portrayed a continuum with no considerable intervals in decades. There has also been a steady increase in the number of productions, referring to the fresh and continuing interest in this canonical religious book. In this vein, I attempted to analyze the production cycle of these retranslations with references to the temporal and spatial contexts of the periods. By depicting social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of the decades under study, I suggested that they might have been decisive on the quantity of the retranslations of the Qur'an in Turkey along with other translation-oriented conditions.

Moreover, the chronological overview of these retranslations has demonstrated that it was not only the numbers of translations that changed over the years but also that the designations/titles of these renderings have diversified. In this context, different terms have been

used to name Qur'anic renderings, each bringing forth its very own discourse on translation as a way of justifying the necessity of the relevant retranslation.

In the second stage of the analysis, I provided an overview of the discourse governing Qur'an retranslations in decades with several references to statements by Qur'an translators. Each period proved to be regulated by different and overlapping concerns, which I attempted to associate with the social, political, and cultural circumstances of respective temporal frameworks. In this regard, the 1950s emerged as a relatively free translational context for Qur'anic renderings under the shadow of political rivalry that instrumentalized religion. The 1960s seemed to have been considerably affected by the translation-oriented resurgence of the Islamist discourse in Turkey. While the 1980s were marked with "*meal*" discussions leading to an ideological metadiscourse called "*mealcilik*," which prioritized reading translations of the Qur'an vis-à-vis supplementary religious sources. Whereas, the hybridity and abundance of the new retranslations of the Qur'an in the new millennium (i.e. the 2000s) mainly derived from the new neo-Islamic government, the integration of religious life into the public sphere, the developments in the press, and/or the enhancement of channels of information for religious concerns.

Translators' motives for positioning their retranslations within the Qur'anic repertoire in Turkey were disguised under various statements. The meta-narrative constructed on Qur'an retranslations manifests itself in the prefaces of the respective translations. Some translators/preface-writers concentrated on the term *meal* as a way of acknowledging the intrinsic deficiency of the human translator to translate the words of the Holy Creator. By defining this term as "a personal interpretation of the Qur'an" the translators seem to have opened up a space for their own translations and offer a way for further welcoming new Qur'anic translations. Some others emphasized their novel approach to translation with respect to methods and compositional strategies to justify their retranslations. In this vein, it is possible to come up with a continuum of examples with supporters of slavish adherence to the original vis-a-vis proponents of creative compositions producing Qur'an translations in verse form on each pole.

Furthermore, the prior concentration on acceptability in translation seems to have been replaced with understandability. This discourse prioritized meaning over other concerns and is presented as the underlying ground for retranslations of the Qur'an. This view brought forth changes in the order of the surahs in accordance with their date of revelation as well as retranslations produced/interpreted according to the findings of positive sciences. Also, I argue that the discourse on Qur'an retranslations has been shaped by its own dynamics as well as social, political, and cultural premises. The abundance of already available renderings of the Qur'an led translators to seek alternatives in their production to justify the necessity of their translations. Besides, I also think that the presence of high numbers of Qur'an retranslations on the market created the illusion of a great demand for retranslations of the Qur'an, which, in turn, encouraged publishers to produce new ones. On this point, probably no one was wrong as new renderings of the Qur'an continue to appear in the market to be sold every day.

As a concluding remark on the discourse on Qur'an translations in Turkey, I argue that the claim on "newness" has been the prevailing premise underlying new Qur'anic retranslations in

Turkey. The translators did not seem to show interest in "improving" former retranslations. In other words, they were not concerned with the betterment of preceding translations and mostly evaluated their translations in isolation from others. Considering the initial admission of producing a deficient translation in the context of "*meal*", it is an expectable outcome that translators of the Qur'an did not aspire for progress and/or perfection in their new retranslations. In this regard, the main justification mechanism has been constituted on the "newness" each retranslation offered to the repertoire in line with the framing socio-political narrative. In fact, this is not too far detached from the retranslation hypothesis with its emphasis on the "lack and deficiency" in the repertoire. All factors considered, the world of retranslations of the Qur'an will most likely remain a controversial and simultaneously productive site for translators and translation scholars in the future, constituting a full-fledged area of Translation Studies.

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Balzac Retranslated

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Introduction

Literary translation is tricky. Hardly ever do you hear a critic say the translation of a book is "good". In the best of cases people pretend that, even though they have been reading a translation, they were in fact reading Balzac, or Dostoevsky, or any other author of universal renown. For those who are able to read the original text, the translation is more often than not rejected as "inaccurate," "stylistically inadequate," "loose," "overly free," "not doing justice to the original," or simply "bad". James Payn even claimed that Balzac "is not translatable, or when translated is not readable" (67). However rhetorical such a statement might be, there is no doubt that the task of the literary translator is challenging. In 1967, Fritz Senn rightfully remarked: "... the translator is in a much worse position than critics or commentators are. They can afford to be highly selective and parade their scraps of insight and erudition with an air of being at home equally well in any place of the book—but the translator cannot shirk a single issue" (176). Faced with such difficulties, whether stylistic or content-related, the translator *has* to make decisions. These may not please everyone, yet they are genuine literary interpretations of the source text. Thus Chan Leo Tak-Hung's notion that literary translation criticism should "cease to consist of a cataloguing of mistakes and errors of various sorts" (17) and consider instead the translated text as a new text, is appealing. The translation can then be analysed according to the parameters that Discourse Analysis Studies have established, taking into account not only the style but also cultural and sociological aspects in the receiving culture. If studied in this manner, translations appear as "extensions," in which "the story of the literary text is taken up, reshaped, and continued by readers"—the translators—"who function very consistently as rewriters" (O'Neill 6).

The parameters useful for this paper are described by Martin Momha citing Roulet:

L'hypothèse scientifique qui sous-tend la démarche rouletienne est fondée sur le fait que la construction et l'interprétation du discours sont soumises à trois types de contraintes : *situationnelles* (liées à l'univers de référence et à la situation d'interaction) ; *linguistiques* (liées à la syntaxe et au lexique de la (ou des) variété(s) de langue(s) utilisée(s)) et *textuelles* (liées à la structure hiérarchique du texte). Ce postulat permet à Roulet d'élaborer un dispositif de cinq modules définissant cinq types d'informations de base qui peuvent être décrites de manière indépendante : les modules *interactionnel* et *référentiel* (qui relèvent de la composante

situationnelle), le module *hiérarchique* (qui relève de la composante textuelle), et les modules *syntaxique* et *lexical* (qui relèvent de la composante linguistique). (Roulet et al. 2001: 44)[30]

Before engaging in the proposed analysis, certain terms need to be clarified. The first is "retranslation". The traditional meaning of the term is "creating a new translation" (Washbourne 621, note 1). However, the term has also been used for translations done from another translation, which Clifford E. Landers (130) and Kelly Washbourne (621, note 1) call "indirect translations", whereas Cay Dollerup distinguishes "indirect translation" from "relay translation" as follows: "The term *indirect translation* should be reserved [...] for situations where two parties must communicate by means of a third intermediary realisation which has no legitimate audience" (19) and should not be confused with relay translation for the following reasons:

> Translations of the same text can continue indefinitely, not only between the same binary language pair, but also between languages and cultures. This is why *relay* is a better term than *indirect translation*, which implies not only that intermediary realisations are ephemeral, but also that the translation in hand is the only end product imaginable. (23)

In this paper, *retranslation* will be used for the realization of a new translation from the original source language into a target language in which a translation already exists, and *relay translation* for translations done from a translated source. However, the term *translation* will be extended to include *adaptations* such as movies, TV series, or even graphic novels (Aubin 2011), in any language, because adaptations, whatever the medium, are subjected to the same constraints as translations, effectively creating a new "language" to transfer the author's story and message. Moreover, adaptations generally suffer the same type of criticisms as translations do, as can be seen in Andrew Watts' following statement:

> Often derided for their supposed mediocrity, or labelled inferior to their prestigious source material, adaptations of Balzac can appear as richly complex works of art which engage both with the possibilities and constraints of their own media, and with the ideological concerns of their time. Equally, they can help us to explore aspects of *La Comédie humaine* that critics have frequently overlooked or neglected. (157)

Just like adaptations, translations may highlight some aspects of the source text that remained unexplored or overlooked by literary critics. There are many similarities between both types of *re*creations of an original creative work. In Mathew Reynolds' words, they are "translations that do not attempt to conceal the changes that they are bringing to their sources, and try to show

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[30] "Roulet's argument is founded on the scientific hypothesis that the construction and interpretation of any discourse are subject to three constraints: *situational* constraints (related to a referential universe as well as to a specific interaction situation); *linguistic* constraints (related to the syntactic or lexical norms of the language or linguistic variety that is being considered); and *textual* constraints (related to the hierarchical structure of the text). From this hypothesis, Roulet establishes five modules defining five basic types of information that can be characterized independently: the *interactional* and *referential* modules (which fall within the situational component), the *hierarchical* module (which belongs to the textual component), and the *syntactic* and *lexical* modules (which belong to the linguistic component)" (my translation).

that the crossing of languages can be as much of a stimulus to the imagination as the crossing of media" (2013, 8).

In literature authors may be introduced to a new culture via a direct translation from the source language to the target one, or via a relay translation. Balzac for instance was first introduced to Chinese (Aubin 2017, 137) and Japanese (Hakata 2017, 178) readers via an English translation. Some stories also reached some foreign audiences via relay translations. Balzac's *Elixir de longue vie* thus found its way into an anthology created by Italo Calvino in Italy titled *Racconti fantastici dell'Ottocento* (1983). Lee Hyun Kyung, a professor of Italian in a Korean university, read the book and decided to translate it into Korean (2010), and this is how that particular story, which had never been introduced in Korea before, reached, very indirectly indeed, a Korean audience.

In this paper I would like to focus on how Balzac's novels have been extended, in the sense that Patrick O'Neill uses this term (6), when translated and/or adapted to other media, taking into consideration the *hierarchical* constraints related to the text structure; the *linguistic* constraints related to the syntactic or lexical norms of the language or linguistic variety that is being considered; and the *situational* constraints of the receiving culture. I will then wonder what the impact of these constraints might be on what O'Neil calls the author's macrotext. In that macrotextual model, the author is indeed "neither a unique and unchanging individual nor a serial proliferation of variable individual readings but instead the sum of an entire shifting *system* of potentially endless variable readings, the sum ultimately, that is to say, of *all* the translations and readings [of the author] that exist (or indeed *will* ever exist) in any language" (8). Such a model thus induces a different style of reading, which O'Neill calls *transtextual*, that implies to read across languages, but also, at a time when new medias are developing exponentially, to read across medias. This paper will provide an example of this type of reading and will consider what consequences arise from reading and/or viewing an author's work in a variety of languages and medias, adapted for a variety of cultures.

Hierarchical Constraints

Whether adapting a novel for the screen or translating it into another language, the translator needs to decide on their source text. Many writers rework their original text several times, and Balzac was well-known for adding long stretches of text to each proof that his printers sent him. Even after a text was first published, changes were made for all sorts of reasons. This was the case of *La Cousine Bette* which first appeared in *Le Constitutionnel*, a newspaper that claimed to be "political, literary, and universal". Its literary pages, printed at the bottom of the newspaper, could be cut and assembled day after day to create a book. The length of the text for each issue had to be precisely four pages, which was an initial constraint for the author. It is often believed that Balzac was at ease with this constraint, using the formula of the *feuilleton* to make his readers eager to read on. But this does not appear in the case of *La Cousine Bette*. Even though he did plan some chapters, thirty-eight in that first edition, these commonly were too short or too long for the daily delivery. In fact, the novel was published in 41 deliveries, which shows that the number of chapters did not match the number of deliveries. One delivery even finished with a colon, announcing a letter that Hortense was preparing to write:

Elle passa dans sa chambre, se mit à sa table, et écrivit la lettre suivante[31] :

(*Le Constitutionnel*, journal du 7 novembre 1846)

Subscribers had to wait till the next day to know what Hortense's letter contained.

Following that very first publication of *La Cousine Bette*, Balzac went back to *Le Cousin Pons*, which became a long novel as well. The two novels were published together in 1847 under the title *Les parents pauvres* by Louis Chlendowski first, and then by Louis Pétion. That version was geared to public reading rooms' customers. These publishers thought that this type of readership needed shorter chapters, so ninety-four chapters were added to the thirty-eight initial ones of *La Cousine Bette* for a total of one hundred and thirty-two. Initial chapter titles were also improved (Meininger VII 1227). Then another version of *Les Parents pauvres* was published in *Musée littéraire du Siècle – Série 2* in 1847. This *Musée littéraire du Siècle* was meant to be a compilation of literary works that would create "une bibliothèque universelle où trouveront un accueil empressé toutes les œuvres contemporaines qui auront mérité l'attention soit en France soit à l'étranger[32] " (Perrée and Desnoyers 186). From 1847 to 1876 the *Musée littéraire du Siècle* proposed to its readers "[un] choix de littérature contemporaine française et étrangère[33]," from Léon Gozlan to Marat to Walter Scott, Victor Hugo or Émile Zola. Its *Série 2* contained Balzac's *Parens pauvres* [sic] in two episodes (*La Cousine Bette* and *Le Cousin Pons*) without any division. In all, the *Musée littéraire du Siècle* published forty-six titles from *La Comédie humaine.* Finally, a volume entitled *Parents pauvres* was added to *La Comédie humaine* in 1848 by Alexandre Houssiaux (Édition Furne). That version had no division either. That is the version that Pierre-George Castex chose to publish for Balzac's *Comédie humaine* in the 1977 Éditions de La Pléiade, volume VII, and which is reproduced on the eBalzac website.

With such an array of variations to choose from, translators and screenwriters had to make decisions. *La Cousine Bette* was translated seven times into English in book format and adapted for the television once in French in 1964 and once in English by the BBC in 1971 (Aubin 2019a, 358). The novel was also translated in a variety of languages (Spanish, Italian, German, as well as Chinese, to mention only a few). What structure did these translators/screenwriters choose? Katharine Prescott Wormeley chose the version from *Le Constitutionnel*. Her translation has thirty-eight chapters whose titles correspond to those of the newspaper. Clara Bell, who worked for the Dent Edition that published the "centenary edition" of the *Human Comedy* in 1899, chose the Furne edition as a source text and used no division at all. In the most recent retranslation of the novel in 1992, the translator, Sylvia Raphael, explains clearly, in her "Note on the text", that she translated the Furne edition text, "but [that] the chapter and paragraph divisions of the Chlendowski edition, which were suppressed in the Furne edition to save space, are reintroduced for the convenience of the reader" (XI). María Teresa Gallergo Urritia, who translated *La Cousine Bette* into Spanish, also explains how she chose to proceed:

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[31] She went into her bedroom, sat at her table and wrote the following letter: (my translation).

[32] …to create a universal library in which all the contemporary works that attracted positive attention either in France or abroad will receive a warm welcome (my translation).

[33] a choice of French or foreign contemporary literary works (my translation).

> Para la traducción, hemos utilizado la versión de la colección Folio de Gallimard, de 1972, con presentación y notas de Pierre Barbéris, que conserva la división en 132 capítulos aunque incorpora las modificaciones de la edición siguiente, y hemos consultado los comentarios de Roger Pierrot a la edición de *Le Livre de Poche* de 1984, así como la presentación y las notas de Maurice Allen para la edición que, en 1959, apareció en Classiques Garnier.[34] (14)

Not all translators explain their choices. Kathleen Raine's translation (1948) is divided into thirty-eight chapters with no titles. Ives and Walton's translation (1896) only has thirty-five divisions, which may or may not correspond to the chapters of the initial text. Marion Ayton Crawford's translation (1965) only has sixteen divisions with no titles and no explanation why the text was divided in this manner.

Though we tend to think hierarchical constraints are less common in translation than adaptation, the translator's choices may still impact the author's reception in the language and culture of the country where the translation will be published. As for retranslation projects, they may or may not happen with very definite structural goals.

When adapted, though, hierarchical constraints are demanded mostly by time limits. Whereas translations can be just as long as the original text, movies are expected to last between 90 minutes to 2 hours, though in the case of series, that could be somewhat extended. To keep the storyline between time limits, some scenes might need to be deleted, and the whole story may have to be reshaped.

In *La Cousine Bette*, the use of chapters or not is in fact unessential for the structure of the story. To structure his novel, Balzac mostly uses two techniques: the flashback technique, which later proved to be essential for film directors in the 20th century; and letters, which appear as the driving force behind the unwrapping of the story.

The story starts in 1838 showing a very heated discussion between M. Crevel and Mme Hulot, Baron Hulot's wife, who in the end expels Crevel from her home and feels devastated by what he has just proposed to her. The reader learns how dissolute a life Baron Hulot is leading, thus putting his family in severe financial strain and jeopardizing his daughter's marriage. Then comes a series of flashbacks concerning the characters' origins. Some go back as far as the Napoleonic era, and even further, at the time when Adeline (Mme Hulot) grew up in Alsace with her cousin Lisbeth Fischer (Bette). Then we return to 1838 with Bette and Hortense discussing Hortense's marriage, which has just been cancelled because of Crevel, and Bette talks to Hortense about her *amoureux* (lover), though Hortense refuses to believe she has one. A new flashback to 1833 details how Bette became friends with Wenceslas, a sculptor and a Polish refugee, and how she helped him when he was just about to kill himself. Back to 1838 and to Hortense's marriage

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[34] For the translation, we have used the version published by Gallimard for the Folio collection in 1972, with an introduction and notes by Pierre Barbéris, which keeps the 132 chapters but incorporates the modifications of the edition that followed. We have also used Roger Pierrot's comments in the 1984 *Le Livre de Poche* edition, as well as Maurice Allen's introduction and notes written for the 1959 edition which was published by Classiques Garnier (my translation).

with Wenceslas, and then the story jumps to 1841, which is, according to Balzac, where the story really begins (VII, 186: "Ici se termine en quelque sorte l'introduction de cette histoire,"[35]) and continues until 1846.

Apart from playing with time with the flashback technique, Balzac also structured his novel around letters. As Ewa Szypula mentions in her article on Balzac's correspondence, "Balzac makes the most of the purported 'failings' of the epistolary medium" (48-49). With or without divisions into chapters, the twenty letters that are invented, written, received, misunderstood or used by the characters are the threads that weave the story together. They appear as the plot's backbone and are, as can be expected, faithfully reproduced in all the translations. Further, their importance did not escape the directors who adapted the novel for television.

The two adaptations of *La Cousine Bette* that are of interest here are Yves-André Hubert's 1964 film adapted for French television by Jean-Louis Bory, with Alice Sapritch as Bette; and the 1971 BBC Series realized by Gareth Davies with Margaret Tyzack as Bette.

Both adaptations reshaped some of the scenes of the novel but maintained the letters's critical role. The French film lasts two hours, whereas the BBC series lasts altogether three hours and forty-five minutes (including the musical presentation, which is repeated 10 times, at the beginning and at the end of each episode). The French film starts with Bette seeing her protégé Wenceslas entering the house of her cousin Adeline, whom she envies and hates, and a voice-over summarizes what Wenceslas in fact meant to her. As for the BBC series, it starts with Bette finding Wenceslas half dead in a room close to her own where she went after detecting a smell of carbonic acid gas: a letter left on a table informs her that the young man has just tried to commit suicide, but she rescues him. The first episode details at length their relationship and how important it is for Bette while the Hulot family, her cousins, are briefly, though very accurately, introduced.

Both solutions are logical and make sense, and the story develops afterwards in a similar way as the book, with the use of letters. Differences in their use highlight either the screenwriters' interpretation of the story, or their care of the current circumstances. The French adaptation for instance completely ignores the references to Algeria, which is understandable two years after Algeria became independent. Many letters disappear in the process, so the number of letters is reduced to seven, all crucial.

In the BBC show, fourteen letters structure the text. Whereas some letters or messages are ignored, others are added. A letter written by Valérie in the first episode of the BBC series informs the reader that she indeed had a lover before Baron Hulot, a Brazilian who had to return to Brazil to wrap up his affairs there and get his money before returning to her and Paris. Meanwhile a flashback of Valérie and her Brazilian lover's farewell date presents the man who talks with a strong Brazilian accent, in keeping with Balzac's common use or mention of foreign accents in many of his novels (Aubin 2019b). Another letter, dictated by Valérie's husband, shows the role he plays and how he uses his wife's looks to get money for himself.

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[35] "Here ends what is, in a way, the introduction to this story." (Sylvia Raphael's translation)

In the French film, the voice over of the first scene is a flashback summarizing how the situation got to that point. Then the audience has an example of Bette's ability to manipulate people: she goes to her cousins' and makes Adeline and Hortense believe Wenceslas received a letter from his wife and needs to go back to Poland. Hortense faints and when Wenceslas shows up, has to explain to Bette how she managed to steal her *amoureux* from her. Then the letters written by Valérie to the potential fathers of the child to be born,—mostly the Baron and Wenceslas,—bring a new scene in which Hortense leaves her husband and Hector is trapped into writing incriminating letters to Valérie. Marneffe, Valérie's husband, has those letters in his possession and partially reads them to Hector as the police officers investigate the building where Hector and Valérie have been found guilty of adultery.

What is particularly remarkable in these adaptations is that both manage to highlight the importance of the letters to induce new developments and lead to the tragic outcome of the story.

Thus, we can see how the hierarchical constraints were taken into consideration in all the retranslations and adaptations, while the story was "reshaped and continued" in a way that fits the time and the circumstances in which these were produced. Each of them thus appears "chaque fois, ni tout à fait la même, ni tout à fait une autre[36]" as Verlaine would put it (2006/1867), yet incredibly creative and efficient. We will now see if the same can be said of linguistic constraints.

Linguistic Constraints

Linguistic constraints are generally speaking quite well-known to translators and even to the general public, whether they are syntactic (related to the structure of a sentence, for instance the need to move the verb at the end of a subordinate clause in German, which is different from many other European languages); or lexical (false cognates are well-known to be one of the first translation issues newcomers to the profession have to face even between languages that are fairly close like French and Italian).

Two types of linguistic constraints will be considered here: the translation of gender, and the presence of oral features in Balzac's novels and their translation.

a) *Sarrasine* and the Translation of Gender

Balzac often uses the "mise-en-abyme technique" in which stories are embedded in other stories to either explain a character or a situation. This is the case in *Sarrasine,* which takes place in Paris in the 19th century while a narrator tells Sarrasine's story which takes place in 18th century Italy. Sarrasine was a young French sculptor who was awarded a prize which allowed him to go to Italy to study his art. In Italy, Sarrasine falls in love with Zambinella, often called *La Zambinella* in the story, an opera singer who possesses the perfect figure the sculptor needs to create his

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[36] "who's never, each time, the same exactly, Nor, exactly, different" (Translation by A.S. Kline)

masterpiece—the sculpture that would embody his ideal of feminine beauty. One evening, they are invited by the French Ambassador, but when Sarrasine gets there, he is in for a big surprise:

> Le palais de l'ambassadeur étant plein de monde, ce ne fut pas sans peine que le sculpteur, inconnu à tous les assistants, parvint au salon où dans ce moment Zambinella chantait. « C'est sans doute par égard pour les cardinaux, les évêques et les abbés qui sont ici, demanda Sarrasine, *qu'elle* est habillée en homme, qu'elle a une bourse derrière la tête, les cheveux crêpés et une épée au côté ? — Elle ! Qui elle ? répondit le vieux seigneur auquel s'adressait Sarrasine. — La Zambinella. — La Zambinella ? reprit le prince romain. Vous moquez-vous ? D'où venez-vous ? Est-il jamais monté de femme sur les théâtres de Rome ? Et ne savez-vous pas par quelles créatures les rôles de femme sont remplis dans les États du pape ? C'est moi, monsieur, qui ai doté Zambinella de sa voix. J'ai tout payé à ce drôle-là, même son maître à chanter. Eh ! bien, il a si peu de reconnaissance du service que je lui ai rendu, qu'il n'a jamais voulu remettre les pieds chez moi. Et cependant, s'il fait fortune, il me la devra tout entière. (VI, 1072)

Using the feminine article or omitting it creates an ambiguity in the French text, as the reader wonders about the character's gender. In this excerpt, the ambiguity disappears: Zambinella is the name of the man whereas *La Zambinella* is the name of the castrato who plays women's roles and sings in operas.

In English, the translation of this excerpt might be challenging since the article is the same, whether it is masculine or feminine. *Sarrasine* was translated four times into English: the first translation was done by Clara Bell for Dent's centenary edition, though it was not published until Project Gutenberg put it on its website (2016). Richard Miller appended his own to his translation of Roland Barthes' 1974 structural analysis of *Sarrasine* titled *S/Z*. Another translation was done by David Carter in 2007, and the most recent one was done by Jordon Stump in 2014.

In the three versions that were analysed, Clara Bell's, Richard Miller's and Jordon Stump's, the translators all chose to keep the full Italian name with the article, as if the article was part of the name. Thus, Clara Bell consistently refers to *La Zambinella*, in a fashion contrary to Balzac who sometimes uses the article, and sometimes not. In the excerpt we are considering, Clara Bell chose to emphasize the feminine pronoun using italics:

> "It must be in deference to all the cardinals, bishops, and *abbes* (sic) who are here,' said Sarrasine, 'that *she* is dressed as a man, that *she* has curly hair which *she* wears in a bag, and that *she* has a sword at her side?"

Only in Prince Chigi's answer is the *La* article removed from the castrato's name. In Jordon Stump's translation, though, the article is only affixed to the name when it is in French, creating a similar ambiguity. His translation of the excerpt is as follows:

> A great crowd crammed the ambassador's palace; only with difficulty did the sculptor, a stranger to all present, fight his way into the salon where Zambinella was singing. "I suppose

it's for the sake of the cardinals, bishops, and abbots in attendance, asked Sarrasine, that she is dressed as a man, that she has a snood behind her head, crimped hair, and a sword at her side?" "She? What she is that?" replied the old lord to whom Sarrasine was speaking. "La Zambinella." "La Zambinella?" the Roman prince snorted. "Are you joking? Where do you come from? Has any woman ever set foot on the stages of Rome? And do you not know what sort of creatures play women's roles in the Papal States? It is I, monsieur, who gave Zambinella his voice. I paid that rogue's every expense, down to his singing master. And do you know, the ingrate never so much as set foot in my house again! And to think: If he makes a fortune, he will owe it entirely to me." (137-138)

A strategy such as is used by all three translators—the use of the Italian name with the Italian article—would be easily understood by an English reader even though it is a form of foreignization. In some languages, however, such a strategy would be completely impossible. In Chinese, there is no article at all. So, the name of Zambinella is transcribed as 藏比内拉 (Cáng bǐnèi lā). To create this name, the translator, Lu Binghui, used the sounds corresponding to the characters, depriving those of their common meaning. Consequently, the name could only be perceived as foreign, not only because of its length, but also because it had no meaning. And it could not be perceived as masculine or feminine either. The only way to translate the gender ambiguity would be by using a pronoun: 她 (tā) for a woman, 他 (tā) for a man. If spoken, though, the gender of the character remains ambiguous. In the paragraph mentioned, the translator makes Sarrasine (萨拉金 Sà lā jīn) add the mention "miss" (藏比内拉小姐Cáng bǐnèi lā xiǎojiě), which is a very smart way of adapting the text to this Chinese linguistic constraint. In the last two lines, the use of the masculine pronoun 他replaces the feminine 她of the three first ones to talk about Cáng bǐnèi lā:

他好不容易来到大厅，藏比内拉正在那里演唱。'她怎么身着男装，脑后系一个发网，盘起了头发，腰间挎一把剑？大概是为了尊重在座的红衣主教、大主教和神甫们吧？'萨拉金问。'她？谁是她？'被问的那位年迈的贵族老爷道。'藏比内拉小姐呀！''藏比内拉小姐？'这位罗马亲王说，'您在开玩笑吗？您是哪儿来的？罗马各个剧院何曾有女人上台表演过？而且难道您不知道，在教皇统治的罗马，女人的角色是由什么样的人来扮演的吗？是我让他具备了这副嗓子，先生。这怪人所有的一切全是我给付的钱，包括他的音乐教师。哼，结果呢？我帮了这么多忙，他却并不感激，从来不肯进我的家门。

Back translation:

He finally came to the hall, where Cáng bǐnèi lā was singing. 'How come she wears men's clothing, a hair net behind her head, and a sword at her waist? It must be to respect the cardinals, archbishops and abbots here? asked Sà lā jīn. "She"? Who is "she"?" The old aristocrat who was asked answered. "Miss Cáng bǐnèi lā!" "Miss Cáng bǐnèi lā?" The Roman

Prince said, "Are you kidding? Where do you come from? Have women ever performed on stage in the various theaters of Rome? And don't you know, in Rome, where the pope rules, what kind of person plays the role of the woman? I gave ==him== this voice, sir. I paid everything for this weirdo, including his music teacher. And, what is the result? I helped him so much, but ==he== is not grateful and does not even want to visit me at home. (my translation)

The reader can see how the translator managed to transfer Sarrasine's sexual ambiguity into her translation despite the linguistic constraints of the Chinese language. Another example will be presented below of both constraints and translators' creativity.

b) The Translation of Oral Features

Balzac, as the "chief precursor of realism" (Augustyn), could not ignore the way his characters were supposed to speak in real life. Balzac's readers can find all kinds of accents, registers, idiolects and sociolects that give authenticity to his characters (Aubin 2019b). Madame Vauquer, for instance, consistently mispronounces the word *tilleul,* which she pronounces « *tieuilles,* malgré les observations grammaticales de ses hôtes » (*Le Père Goriot*, III 52). Balzac also has fun imitating the German (Alsacian) accent of Baron de Nucingen, a recurring character in the *Human Comedy*, and he also reproduces the very special language of rogues and convicts in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*. Such particularities of Balzac's style are a challenge for any translator, and it is interesting to see what happens to those features in translation.

Some translators simply ignore those features, whereas others try to find creative solutions. In the case of Mme Vauquer, Ellen Marriage translates as follows: "lime-trees at the further end of it; *line*-trees, as Mme Vauquer persists in calling them..." (*Father Goriot*, online). This works, even if lime-trees, though of the same family as linden-trees, could be confused with the trees that produce limes, which don't grow in Paris. More creative even, Henry Reed, in *Père Goriot*, finds a different plant to illustrate Mme Vauquer's idiolect:

The centerpiece of the garden is a large bed of artichokes, a word that Madame Vauquer, in spite of being formerly Mademoiselle de Conflans, and in defiance of pedantic comments from her guests, persists in calling "artlechokes" (8).

In the case of Nucingen, translators generally tried to reproduce his accent, though some languages like Chinese make this impossible. The following excerpt from *La Cousine Bette* was often adapted, though not always:

— *Et si fus edes testidué* ? ... dit le baron millionnaire en riant.
L'autre baron, anti-millionnaire, devint soucieux.
— *Rassirez fus, che ne fus ai vait l'opjection que bir fus vaire abercevoir que chai quelque méride à fus tonner la somme. Fus edes tonc pien chêné, gar la Panque à fôdre zignadire.* (VII 178).

Here are a few examples of how this paragraph was translated in English and some other languages:

Adapted	**Not adapted**

Adapted

Katharyne Prescott Wormeley (1888)

" Subbose you lose your siduation?" said the millionnaire baron, <u>with his horrible German accent.</u>

The non-millionnaire baron became thoughtful.

" Oh! I only make dat opjection to show you dat I run some dancher in gifing you dat sum. You moost be hard-up, for der pank has your zignadure." (180-181)

Ives and Walton (1896)

"And subbose you were dizmisd? – "queried the millionaire baron, with a laugh.

The other baron, anti-millionaire, became thoughtful.

"Don'd pe alarmed. I vould not haf made the opjection egzept to zhow you dat I am endidled to zome credit vor gifing you der money. You moost pe fery hart bressed, for der Pank has your zignadure." (213-216)

Marion Ayton Crawford (1965)

'And subbose you are tismissed?' said the German-Jewish millionaire Baron with a laugh.

The other Baron, the reverse of a millionaire, knitted his brow.

'Ton't worry. I only raised the opjection to show you that it's rather goot of me to gif you the money. You musd pe hart bressed, for the Pank has your signadure?' (146)

Sylvia Raphael (1992)

'*Put subbose you're tismissed,*' said the millionaire Baron, with a laugh.

The other Baron, the contrary of a millionaire, became thoughtful.

'*Ton't worry. I only raise the opjection to boint out to you dat id's rather goot of me do gif you ze money. You bust pe very hart ub, for the Pank has your signadure.*' (146)

Not adapted

Clara Bell/James Waring (1896)

"But if you should lose your place?" said the millionaire Baron, laughing. The other Baron—not a millionaire—looked grave.

"Be quite easy; I only raised the question to show you that I was not devoid of merit in handing you the sum. Are you so short of cash? For the Bank will take your signature." (X 99-100)

Kathleen Raine (1948)

"And what if you are dismissed?" said the millionaire Baron <u>in his inimitable German-Jewish accent</u>, with a smile.

The other Baron, non-millionaire, became thoughtful.

"But do not worry, I didn't raise the objection except only to point out to you that I have some merit in giving you the money. You must be in great straits, then, for the bank has your signature. (140)

In German:

Arthur Schurig (1920)

»Wenn nun aber Ihre Stellung <u>hops geht</u>?« wandte der Millionenbaron lachend ein.

Der andere Baron, der Nichtmillionär, wurde nachdenklich.

»Berühigen Sie sich! <u>Will</u> damit nur gesagt haben, daβ es ein Dienst ist, wenn ich die Summe gebe. Sie sind in Verlegenheit, denn die Bank hat <u>'n</u> Wechsel von Ihnen.« (117)

In Chinese:

傅雷, Fu Lei

"你丢了差事怎么办呢？……"百万富翁的男爵笑着说。

那一个非百万富翁的男爵立刻上了心事.

"放心吧，我这么提一句，无非表示我借这笔款子给你还是有交情的。大概你真是手头紧得很，银行里有你的背书呢。"(Online)

In Italian:
Francesco de Simone (1983)
«E se *foi* foste *testituito?*» disse il barone milionario ridendo.
L'altro barone, il non milionario, divenne pensieroso.
«*Rassicuratefi, fi ho fatto l'opiezione zolo per farfi federe che ho qualche merito a dare a foi la zomma. Ziete tunque brobrio in tifficoltà, berghé la panca ha la fostra firma.*» (136)

In Spanish:
María Teresa Gallergo Urrutia (2010)
-¿Y si lo cesan a *ustet?* – dijo, sonriendo, el millonario barón.
El otro barón, el antimillonario, puso cara de alarma.
-*Tganquilicese,* que no le he hecho este *comentagio* más que *paga hacegle fer* que tengo *ciegto mégito* en *tarle* esa *cantitat. Tepe te estag ustet* en un *apugo consitegaple, pogque* el *Panco* tiene su *figma.* (183)

"Nǐ diūle chāi shì zěnme bàn ne?……" Bǎi wàn fùwēng de nánjué xiàozhe shuō.
Nà yígè fēi bǎi wàn fùwēng de nánjué lìkè shàngle xīnshì.
"Fàngxīn ba, wǒ zhème tí yíjù, wúfēi biǎoshì wǒ jiè zhè bǐ kuǎn zi gěi nǐ háishì yǒu jiāoqing de. Dàgài nǐ zhēnshi shǒutóu jǐn de hěn, yínháng lǐ yǒu nǐ de bèishū ne."

In English, it is obvious that the decision of translating or not translating the accent is a matter of choice. In both Chinese and German, the fact that the translators did not translate the accent is understandable. In Chinese, characters correspond to ideas, and though there are sounds to say them, these sounds may vary according to the area where the speaker comes from. Yet the character remains the same, and there is no way to indicate how one person pronounces it; thus, people from different parts of China may have difficulty understanding each other, but if writing the characters, they can communicate perfectly. The only possibility Fu Lei had was to say explicitly that Nucingen spoke with a German accent, but he did not do it. As for German, it would seem quite absurd to represent a German accent as foreign. Yet the translator did try to make Nucingen speak in an unusual way for a man of his social status. In fact, Nucingen speaks in a very colloquial register using familiar idioms such as *hopsgehen* (to vanish, blow up) and by using 'n instead of "den" or omitting the subject pronoun *Ich* in "Will damit nur gesagt haben". This demonstrates that the translator has considered what he should do with the accent, and since he couldn't change the German accent in German, he chose to change Nucingen's sociolect to make him appear of a lower social status.

In English, by choosing not to translate Nucingen's accent, the translators make him appear as a rich businessman of the City and lose the effect of contrast between the dramatic situation of Hulot and the banker's hard-to-read accent which acts in this excerpt as comic relief.

This shows how difficult it is for translators to make decisions when facing linguistic constraints of this kind. Faced with this challenge, they rely on their linguistic competence as well as creativity.

Let us see now what happens with situational constraints. Are these more difficult to transfer into a culture than hierarchical or linguistic ones?

Situational Constraints of the Receiving Culture

a) The Victorian Era and the Translation of Balzac into English

Balzac was not received in the same way in every country. Little time passed between the publication of his works in France, whether they were in newspapers or in book format, and their translations in Italy. Paul Arrighi explains that the proximity of the two countries, "une certaine affinité spirituelle, et surtout une longue tradition, expliquent le fait, depuis longtemps noté, que la pénétration française fut particulièrement intense dans l'Italie du Nord, et notamment à Milan."[37] (234)

Yet, England did not receive Balzac with such expediency. Michael Tilby explains: "The translation of Honoré de Balzac's novels was slow to take place, their perceived immorality being thought to render them unsuitable for Victorian readers" (100). The Victorian era was well-known for its puritanism and systematic censorship. Michael Tilby continues: "There was general agreement that only *Eugénie Grandet, Le Curé de Tours, Le Médecin de campagne* and certain of the early short stories could safely be put in female hands" (100).

Thus, the first nearly exhaustive version of Balzac's novels in English were not done in England but in the USA, as late as the 1880s. Ironically, the translator was a woman, Katharyne Prescott Wormeley. Because her work was considered substandard by well-known writers such as Oscar Wilde and Henry James, Dent Editions of London found a new translator to *retranslate* Balzac. That new translator was also a woman, Ellen Marriage (Lesser). Even though Dent's plan was to publish all the novels of Balzac's *Comédie humaine*, some were thought too crude to allow a woman to translate them. Thus a James Waring was invented, the pen name of both Ellen Marriage or Clara Bell who came later to help with the project. Finally, in 1899, Balzac's "complete" *Comédie humaine* was published, in time for the centenary of his birth. Some stories were omitted for fear of the editor being arrested for publishing such shocking books.

Thus political and social censorship hindered the introduction of Balzac to England. At the turn of the century though, English readers had two versions to choose from if they wanted to read Balzac: the sixty-two titles translated by Wormeley, or the eighty-three titles published by Dent out of the 91 written by Balzac for *La Comédie humaine*.

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[37] "It has long been noted that French culture had a strong presence in Northern Italy, especially around Milan, not only because these areas experienced a sort of spiritual affinity, but also because they shared a long tradition." (my translation)

b) The fall of the Qing Dynasty in China and the Relevance of Balzac's *Réquisitionnaire* to the Political Situation in that Country

However incomplete these two English versions were, they served as *relay* for the translation of Balzac into both Chinese (Jiang Fang) and Japanese (Kaoru Hakata). One of the first four stories introduced in China was *Le Réquisitionnaire*, translated as *The Recruit* by Wormeley, and as *The Conscript* by Marriage (Aubin 2016). It is hard to know which version was used, since the translator, Lin Shu, actually used an interpreter, Chen Jialin, whose interpretation into colloquial Chinese was not recorded (a case of *indirect translation* in Cay Dollerup's terminology), then transformed into classical Chinese by Lin Shu who knew no foreign language but was a very respected man of letters, and an expert in classical Chinese (Lung 163).

The historical context around the translation of *Le Réquisitionnaire* in Chinese is especially interesting since it was published in 1915, four years after the fall of the Qing Dynasty. The reason for choosing that particular story was obviously political. China was then going through a number of drastic changes, transitioning from the traditional aristocratic system into a Republic. Moreover, because those changes took time to implement, a group of former aristocrats created a political party, the *Zong She Dang*, Party of the Ancestral Shrine of the Ruling Household (Geng 191), that aimed to re-establish the Qing Dynasty in China. This was just like the French *Chouans* who were trying to return to the *Ancien Régime* political system and re-establish the Bourbons as kings of France. One sentence in the Chinese translation is key to understanding the similarities between France after 1789 and China after 1911:

Balzac's original text:

> L'accusateur public imaginait tout un drame pour amener nuitamment le fils de Mme de Dey chez elle. Le maire croyait à un prêtre insermenté, venu de la Vendée, et qui lui aurait demandé un asile; mais l'achat du lièvre, un vendredi, l'embarrassait beaucoup. Le président du district tenait fortement pour <u>un chef de Chouans ou de Vendéens vivement poursuivi</u>. D'autres voulaient un noble échappé des prisons de Paris. Enfin tous soupçonnaient la comtesse d'être coupable d'une de ces générosités que les lois d'alors nommaient un crime, et qui pouvaient conduire à l'échafaud. (X, 1110)

Ellen Marriage's translation:

> The public prosecutor spun out a whole drama to bring Mme. de Dey's son to her house of a night. The mayor had a belief in a priest who had refused the oath, a refugee from La Vendée; but this left him not a little embarrassed how to account for the purchase of a hare on a Friday. The president of the district had strong leanings towards <u>a Chouan chief, or a Vendean leader hotly pursued</u>. Others voted for a noble escaped from the prisons of Paris. In short, one and all suspected that the Countess had been guilty of some piece of generosity that the law of those days defined as a crime, an offence that was like to bring her to the scaffold. (*The Conscript,* 254-255)

Lin Shu's Translation:

將入檢之。　鎮人防有宗社黨伏匿其中。

Pinyin:
Zhèn rén fáng yǒu zōng shè dǎng Fú nì qízhōng. Jiāng rù jiǎn zhī.

Back Translation:
In case there are Zong She Dang rebels hiding in there, the people of the town would like to go inside and check.

Certainly the content of the source text has been greatly reduced since there is no mention of who these "people of the town" are, and what each of them thinks, yet that reduction, as well as the extension introduced by the mention of the *Zong She Dang rebels* aim at making the translated text relevant to Chinese people. This shows to what extent the translation *is* a political commentary on the original text: as the *Chouans* and the *Zong She Dang rebels* have the same goal in both countries, therefore they are interchangeable. For Lin Shu and Chen Jialin, it makes sense to use the Chinese *equivalent group* to bring the story closer to the Chinese reader. In Venuti's terminology, the translator chose to *domesticate* the story (41) and make it relevant to the current Chinese situation, and in O'Neill's terms, it *extends* the story so that it becomes meaningful in the receiving country. Thus we see how Balzac's macrotext expands in the process, as the receiving culture is making sense of an author whose readership was initially expected to be only the people who could read French.

Conclusion

Translations, retranslations, relay translations and adaptations all expanded Balzac's aura, but in the process, they required that the message be discussed, or even questioned. Each new retranslation is a commentary on the source text. Through this the voice of the translator is heard. As Hakata mentions, reading a novel or a poem in a translated version has its charms, since the reader may experience a feeling of exoticism. But there may be frustration too:

> Traduire, placer un texte dans un autre système d'écriture et dans un autre contexte social, accentue parfois certains charmes et ajoute des saveurs. La distance spatiale et temporelle, la dissonance entre les différents pays et cultures peuvent renforcer l'impact de la lecture, bien qu'elles risquent aussi quelquefois de l'estomper. [38] (177)

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[38] Transcribing a text in a new writing system and translating it into a new social environment may enhance its charm and add flavour to the reading experience. Distance, whether of space or time, as well as the differences between some countries and cultures may also intensify the impact of what we read, though they may also erode it sometimes. (my translation)

Translation, retranslations, relay translations and adaptations all contribute not only to a writer's fame, but also to his works' extensions within new cultures and societies. Whatever the times or the places described in the original, extensions created by translators and re-translators contribute to extending the meaning of the original to respond to the oneiric and social needs of the receiving culture. Each culture will make foreign authors its own, seeing them through the prism of its own experience, history and values. Balzac, who has often been hijacked for political purposes by right-wing extremists in France, was viewed by communist countries, particularly the USSR and Mao's China, as the writer who best disclosed the inherent flaws of capitalism (Marx and Engels were both enthusiastic readers of Balzac). Reading across languages induces a "prismatic" view of the author's works, a view that includes the many interpretation variables that any text contains:

> In the Prismatic view of translation, a source text is in itself multiple, able to be interpreted in different ways. Translations too are open to interpretation and are re-translated in their turn in the mind of every reader. (Reynolds 2019)

Each new interpretation expands the author's macrotext. In the process, the source text is reshaped and continued, opening up new paths of interpretation and taking on a renewed and deeper meaning that makes it not only all the more relevant to the original reader, but also to readers of other areas of the world, thus making the author, his works and his views universal. Fu Lei perhaps sums it up best in an article dedicated to Balzac in 1924:

> Si nous sommes profondément touchés par des incidents et des histoires qui ont eu lieu dans le passé et dans un pays étranger, c'est parce que les sentiments, bons ou mauvais, qui règnent dans les cœurs des êtres humains et qui les font agir, restent éternels et représentent l'universalité de la nature humaine. Seule la nature humaine sert de norme éternelle pour mesurer les œuvres d'art.[39] (quoted and translated by Yang Zhen 2017, 149)

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[39] The reason why we are so deeply moved by stories and events that took place abroad and in the past is that human feelings, whether good or bad, that pervade the human heart and make humans act, are eternal and embody the universal character of human nature. Human nature is the only eternal norm by which Art can be measured. (my translation of Yang Zhen's translation)

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With the Bald Ibis
2009
Mixed media on canvas
40x40 cm
© Beyza Boynudelik

Discourses on *Hamlet*'s Journey in Turkey

Hilal Erkazanci Durmus
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Introduction

The retranslation of a literary text is in effect "not only the translation of a text which is already translated, yet a way of thinking about translation" (Samoyault 233).[40] Therefore, emphasis on dialogic intertextual relationships that any post-translation rewriting may establish with the rather complex web of texts can ultimately yield more productive and creative ways of thinking about retranslation. The term *post-translation studies* was coined by Siri Nergaard and Stephano Arduini and was later more fully developed by Edwin Gentzler as a way of demonstrating how source texts transform into new and unique images within the minds of those people recontextualizing the texts for other cultures and languages. For the sake of clarity in this investigation, it might be fruitful to briefly review the notions of rewriting, post-translation rewriting, and retranslation.

To start, rewriting refers to any discursive activity, including translation, anthologizing, editing and so forth, which ultimately contributes to the construction of an "image" of the source text (Bassnett and Lefevere 10).[41] Following Bassnett and Lefevere, who believe that in today's global world, a text's image is in effect more influential than the written text itself (9-10), Gentzler calls for a post-translational turn in translation studies which concentrates on the image created by the rewriters who have played with source texts and remoulded them into their own novel images rather than the image that was created by the source text or even by the paratextual and/or extratextual materials regarding the source text (199).[42] In this context, the social narrative theory framework encourages the researcher to consider the text more deeply, reading between the lines so to speak, and as a result, looking beyond the text that is presented, and to consider the text within the greater social and cultural framework. As Mona Baker suggests, "every story is a narrative and every experience is a narrative experience" (17).[43] Hence, every time a source text is rendered into new image(s), the narratives embedded in the text become reframed in elusive or radical ways.[44] Therefore, the reframing of source texts can serve a significant role in the

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[40] Translations of all quotations are mine unless otherwise stated.

[41] Throughout the present study, the notion of image refers to the projection of a source text in a given society within the context of rewriting; however, when used in the context of imagology, the notion refers to "the mental silhouette of the other, who appears to be determined by the characteristics of family, group, tribe, people or race" (Beller 4).

[42] The notion of paratext refers to peritextual elements within a text and/or epitextual elements outside a text which serve an introductory and presentational role to shape the reader's approach to the text (Genette 3), whereas extratext which refers, in the words of Tahir-Gürçağlar (*Politics and Poetics* 203), to "the general meta-discourse" about a text does not necessarily have to play a role in the reception of a text.

[43] Narratives are classified into four categories: personal, public, conceptual, and meta-narratives (for a detailed discussion of narratives, see Somers and Gibson).

[44] Framing is a methodological tool of narrative theory that serves to construct the way a narrative is presented to the receiving culture. Narratives can be presented through temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation of textual material, paratextual framing, and through the use of visual elements such as colour and image (Baker 105-141).

exploration of rewriters' embeddedness within particular narratives and can ultimately aid them in maintaining and elaborating as well as contesting and challenging the source text's narrative.

In addition, following Jean Baudrillard, Gentzler points out that source texts "do not simply originate, but rather circulate, moving internationally and intersemiotically into new media and forms" (ii). As a result, (re)translations might actually be less pertinent in the variety of multi-media versions they are presented in, such as, film, theatre, musicals, video games, and so forth, than the images that have been created to represent the source text within a receiving culture. Worthy of note here is the study by Inez Okulska, who focuses on particular cases where interlingual translation acts as an impulse that incites numerous "transmedial derivatives" which were based on differing cases of post-translation rewriting that in their own way reinterpret and reorient the source text's image (58). In this sense, post-translation rewriting appears to be more related to "thinking less in terms of [re]translating words" and more with the rendering of an image that can be presented to illuminate if not incite the reader (Gentzler 134). Hence, the emphasis of the post-translational turn on the "speaking-after" rather than the "carrying across" dimension of translation, to use Gentzler's words (226), would expand retranslation studies into a wider spectrum and into an age of new technologies.

Against the backdrop of these aforementioned points, the impetus for choosing *Hamlet* (1992) for the present study is threefold: First, as Gentzler notes within the Chinese context, *Hamlet*, a freely adaptable work in transmedial rewriting, constitutes fertile ground to examine numerous ways through which texts reread and rewrite each other. Second, *Hamlet* is significant in the Turkish literary system by virtue of its historical position (as a symbol of Turkey's western and modern image), as testified by the numerous versions that have been translated and rewritten in Turkish. Third, a post-translation analysis would be fruitful because the cinematic and various theatrical versions of *Hamlet* produced in Turkey provide key and distinctive images (e.g., classical Turkish songs, Kurdish songs, Atatürk's address to Turkish youth, political party slogans, Islamists in green jackets, the headscarf, an Ottoman palace, a nargile, Hamlet in a parka and combat boots, Hamlet as a powerful Turkish woman, and so forth) which are meant to stimulate the Turkish audience's imagination as well as enable them to better participate within the imaginative process of the collective Turkish identity in a variety of ways and over differing periods of time.

Therefore, the focus of this analysis will be on how various extratextual discourses frame the retranslations and post-translation rewritings of *Hamlet* within the Turkish cultural milieu (e.g., what narratives frame the Turkish versions and how they differ from or concur regarding such framing). In doing so, also being explored is why particular renderings of this dramatic play ultimately sparked discourse, which played a significant role in the (trans)formation of Turkey's self-image(s). This analysis thus benefits from imagology in an aim "to understand a discourse of [national] representation" (Leerssen 27). Ultimately, the focus will be on how the implications of various extratextual discourses affected the expansion of the boundaries of retranslation studies (e.g., how multiple artistic and creative works born out of prototypical interlingual translation are approached as well as how the post-translation effects of *Hamlet* are discussed in Turkey).

Hamlet in Turkey

The universal themes that can be found throughout William Shakespeare's dramatic work *Hamlet* (e.g., revenge, love, power struggles, and family tragedy) have enabled this famous work of English

dramatic literature to easily penetrate the realms of Turkish literature and cinema. The translation of *Hamlet* has been a strategic means in the pursuit of the transformation of Turkish society and culture in line with westernization and modernization movements. Among the various versions of *Hamlet* in Turkey, the translations that fall under the domain of translation proper remain faithful in their attempt to recreate the play's storyline as well as maintain the aesthetic and historical resonances of the source text. However, various Turkish rewritings for both stage production and also cinematic appropriation reveal how a literary text can flourish in its own unique way beyond the printed page.

As Kathryn Grossman points out, a literary text can be subject to a metamorphosis in certain cases where it is transposed into a different medium and in doing so it can be "tailored to local values, tastes, and interests by inflecting it with distinct cultural flavours" (49). As a result of the varying approaches that can be taken with a literary text, it is necessary to compare different versions of a literary text "in ways that extend beyond the sole criterion of fidelity to the text" (Grossman 491), and as a result, it is possible to explore three unique interconnections between a literary text and its redactions and transformations: (i) representation (mimesis) which clings to the source text by observing fidelity to its storyline and characters (Grossman 488), (ii) extrapolation which "permits creative enterprises only loosely connected to the text" and uses one of its characters who "is plucked from his or her literary context and placed in a new situation […]", and (iii) commodification which is based on a commercial use of the character(s) and/or cultural attributes of the source text (Grossman 489).

Since *Hamlet* has been acknowledged in the Turkish literary system as a prestigious and canonical work of western literature, its status has required some level of fidelity from translators. This is important because *Hamlet* has had significant influence on the Turkish literary system, inspiring a plethora of dramatic texts and stage productions. At this point, it is necessary to focus on the notion of "re-memberment", which Julie Tarif utilized in association with both human memory and the body as a way of demonstrating how retranslation can remind readers of "the literary legacy" of the source culture by ensuring the survival of the source text within the memory of the receiving culture as well as how the retranslation of a literary text can mould the latter's literary system by stimulating further translations and even further original writings (38). Furthermore, as Tarif points out, whereas the representation of a literary work is aligned with "re-memberment", its extrapolation and commodification tie in with this idea of "dis-memberment" (40). As will be seen in the following discussion, *Hamlet* has been re-membered through a variety of retranslations that both preserve the source text's style and respect its quasi-sacred status, yet *Hamlet* has also been dis-membered through a variety of other post-translation rewritings that have in some way or another appropriated the source text to more fully align with the local socio-political circumstances of the time and/or situation.

These circumstances can be recognized within even the first translation of *Hamlet* into Ottoman Turkish that was carried out by Mehmed Nâdir in 1881. Since the Ottoman Sultan at the time, Abdülhamid II, prohibited the performance of Shakespeare's tragedies that included any form of political theme (e.g., power struggle, rebellion, injustice, and so forth) because these works were viewed as a potential threat to the monarchical reign (Paker 91), Mehmed Nâdir only translated the first act along with a few pages of the second act of the dramatic play in which the king was not seen being murdered (Şengel 1). The partial translation by Mehmed Nâdir, which was published in *Hazine-i Evrak*, the first Ottoman scientific and literary journal, was followed by

Abdullah Cevdet's full translation which was published in 1908 following the declaration of a constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. Abdullah Cevdet, who was an opponent of monarchy, was an ardent supporter of modernization and westernization, and as a result, he created his version of *Hamlet* for "an educated readership, in its adherence to the norms of heavily Persianized poetic diction, current in his time" (Paker 94). Being a word for word translation which sought to reflect Shakespeare's poetic language, Abdullah Cevdet's rendering was difficult to comprehend by a majority of uneducated readers for whom the Persianized and Arabicized Ottoman literary style tended to be alienating (Paker 94). Naturally, at first glance it may seem contradictory to ascribe a modernizing role to a translation that maintained stylistic and discursive characteristics of an old literary system which only an elite group could appreciate (Paker 92); however, a second glance reveals that it was a significant step towards modernization of the Turkish literary system in general, and in particular the Turkish theatre, to produce a dramatic translation which attained what could be "considerable adequacy" (Paker 92).

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, Abdullah Cevdet retranslated *Hamlet* in line with the plain language movement that was initiated in the late 19th century, acknowledging that his previous grandiloquent style had caused some level of inconvenience even for the educated readership (Cevdet, *Hamlet'in Tahlili* 5511). Interestingly, the Ministry of Education chose to publish Kamuran Şerif Saru's translation in 1927. Saru's rendering was a summarized version published as part of the series titled *Examples from the World Literature* which had been commissioned for educational purposes. In that same year, Muhsin Ertuğrul, the founder of what has become known as modern Turkish theatre, produced a new Turkish *Hamlet* based on a performance-oriented *Hamlet* previously produced in German. His rendering differed from the past translations in that it prioritized stage production over poetic-language use (Paker 95).

Next, the year 1928 was monumental for the modernization of the Turkish language because this year ushered in the reform of the Turkish alphabet, which had been based on an Ottoman script alphabet and was now to be based on the adoption of the Latin-based alphabet, launched to create and educate a more western-oriented Turkish society. Years later in 1941 two professors from Istanbul University, Halide Edip Adıvar, a republican activist, along with Vahid Turan, composed a translated version of *Hamlet* that was believed to better comply with the language reforms set forth by the new Turkish republic. Also, another academic in 1944, Professor Orhan Burian of Ankara University, retranslated *Hamlet*. Paker underlines that the 1941 and 1944 translations seemed to focus on "adequacy though both were entirely in prose, ostensibly for the reason that there was no equivalent of blank verse" found in Turkish literature (99). In terms of language purism, however, the 1944 translation utilized what can be considered a purer language. This is why Paker highlights that the 1944 version was perceived as a "more acceptable" translation (99). For instance, Burian translated the word "king" as "kıral", adding a "ı" to the commonly used form of 'kral' (the Turkish word for king), which is highly likely an outcome of his objection of using foreign spellings.

Given that "during the 1940s, translations of certain classics were prepared with explanatory notes in order to be used in high schools" (Berk 8), it appears that the 1941 and 1944 translations include an unusually rich amount of peritextual elements. Adıvar and Turan's translation includes a preface, a great many footnotes as well as a section dedicated to the author, along with a section for the historical context of the work and the characters. Likewise, Burian's translation includes a

preface, footnotes as well as questions which were placed at the end of the translation in order to persuade the reader to more deeply inquire about his/her comprehension of each act within the Shakespearean drama.

Later, in 1965, came a translation by Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, who noted that he benefited not only from the Turkish translations of the previous retranslations, but also from the French translations of Yves Bonnefoy and Victor Hugo, admitting that his English skills were inadequate to translate the entire play (Eyüboğlu 3). Though Eyüboğlu's version seems to be an indirect translation, Paker points out that it can be characterized by "its free-flowing poetic prose, akin to free verse, which follows the lineation of the original, the diction being the same as that of contemporary Turkish poetry rooted in a simple and natural use of the language" (100).

As for Beklan Algan's 1970 adaptation, *Hamlet 70*, it was staged as a criticism of the degeneration of republican reforms that had taken place in Turkey. Algan recontextualized the source text to fit the social and cultural milieu of 1970s Turkey. In the Algan rewriting of *Hamlet*, the prince of Denmark was transposed into a realist and socialist republican younker who struggled to survive in his country. Algan used an epidiascope that displayed the protests from leftist activists' and workers' demonstrations as well as police arrests. His prologue transformed the soldiers from the play into the Turkish people themselves instead, who were to stand guard in front of Atatürk's bust, the Ghost speech into Atatürk's address to the Turkish youth, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern into American collaborators, Fortinbras into an imperialist, and Polonius into an oppressive police officer. Carrying revolutionary books and wearing a parka and combat boots, which were once viewed as the political symbols of left-wing groups, Hamlet battled against the imperialist powers and right-wing groups within Turkey.

Metin Erksan's 1976 film adaptation *İntikam Meleği: Kadın Hamlet* [The Angel of Vengeance: Lady Hamlet] depicts Hamlet as a modern and powerful female character who graduated from theatre school in the United States. Suspicious about her father's accidental death, Hamlet returned to Turkey and vehemently denounced her mother's marriage with her uncle Kasım (Claudius), a voracious landowner. After she was informed by a ghost that her father had been murdered by Kasım, Hamlet sought revenge. Hamlet's friends Rezzan and Gül (Rosencrantz and Guildenstern) recommended she stage a play to alleviate her sorrow and together organized an improvizational theatre group. Staring at her uncle, Hamlet implied, during the play-within-a-play scene, that he had murdered her father in order to take possession of the father's wife and riches. Erksan's film adaptation of *Hamlet* frequently questioned important touchstone issues that affect society and politics, namely, wickedness and corruption.

In 1982 Professor Bülent Bozkurt of Hacettepe University composed a poetic prose translation of *Hamlet* which prioritized the idea of performability. As Bozkurt underscored in his preface, he did not seek to create a fluent translation that provided the reader with a smooth reading experience, nor was his intention to reshape the text to align with the current state of Turkish culture and language (*Hamlet* 19-21). Instead, his primary intention was to preserve Shakespeare's work "intact" and to abstain from "distorting" its textual properties (*Hamlet* 19). Bozkurt further pointed out that in his opinion some of the earlier renderings of *Hamlet* in Turkish created a deficient and misleading image of the Shakespearean text (*Shakespeare'in Bütün Sözcükleri*, 5). However, Bozkurt's views on the quasi-sacred status of Shakespeare's text were ultimately

criticized by Neslihan Demirkol. According to Demirkol, Shakespeare's works are regarded by many academics and critics as static and unalterable literary texts; however, it is necessary to consider that theatre texts are instead dynamic texts that should be open to modification in order to be in line with the changing social and temporal conditions of any time period (7-8).

In Can Yücel's 1992 *Hamlet* version, Yücel positioned himself against the dominant ideology and literary canons of the time by creating a counter-discourse that allegedly fed upon "communism" and "obscenity" (Demirkol 55). Since Yücel composed a performance-oriented text, he did not hesitate to remove excerpts of the source text that he believed did not fit into his text's performability. Also worth noting is that Yücel did not see himself as a translator; he instead characterized himself as a teller in Turkish. Ironically, his adaptation included several words of Arabic and Persian origin, which from time to time appear to run the risk of alienating modern Turkish readers. Even though his version is imbued with allusions of modern Turkey's connection to its Ottoman roots (e.g., 'king' translated as 'padişah'), Yücel does ultimately contribute to the promotion of the source text's image by recreating a struggle against the dominant power, the opposition to royalty as well as the desire to write for and speak on behalf of common Turkish folks. Fatih Özgüven points out that Yücel's translation owes its success to the realization of the use of vulgar language intrinsic to Shakespeare's style (8). As a result, this appears to allow Yücel to abstain from both indemnifying *Hamlet* as well as consecrating its language (Demirkol 144).

With Müjdat Gezen's 1995 adaptation, *Hamlet Efendi*, the story is told of an improvizational theatre group comprised of Turkish and Armenian actors who stage a play at the time of the promulgation of the Turkish republic. Since their original play did not receive acclamation, one of the Armenian actors suggested staging *Hamlet*, which he believed would promote the modernization of the newly founded state. Gezen's version emphasizes that a shift from the traditional Turkish theatrical style to western theatrical forms is in harmony with the republican quest of westernization, and in doing so this adaptation went on to praise such republican reforms as the adoption of the Latin alphabet and western-style clothing.

Further retranslated versions of *Hamlet* proceeded; for example, Tolga Sağlam in 1999, Esen Genç in 2002 and Orhan Akıcı in 2004 as well as Müjdat Gezen, who produced a translation in 2000 by purportedly simplifying Burian's translation.[45] Next, in 2004, Semih Çelenk produced *Hamlet Renkli Türkçe* [Hamlet in Colour in Turkish], in which *Hamlet*'s characters came together with the local characters (e.g., İbiş, a puppet theatre character, and Keloğlan, a fairytale character) from classic Turkish folktales and traditional Turkish theatre. Even though the main plot and dramatic structure of *Hamlet* were maintained in Çelenk's rewriting, particular Muslim practices were foregrounded (e.g., Gertrude's headscarf, non-alcoholic beverages, Islamic greetings, and so forth) in order to depict the prevailing socio-political landscape in Turkey at the time. Divergent symbols of political Islam such as the wearing of a green jacket, men having small and neatly trimmed moustaches, and use of some slogans from the ruling Justice and Development Party seemed to emphasize that Islam had become a major reference point within Turkish politics.

The Kurdish *Hamlet*, Cemil Toksöz's 2012 version, was produced by an Amsterdam-based theatre group RAST in cooperation with the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipal City Theatre. Based on dengbêj (storyteller), the Kurdish narrative art, Tokgöz's rewriting embellishes the

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[45] Therefore, this version can be seen as an intralingual translation.

western dramatical work with Anatolian and Middle Eastern folkloric features (e.g., Gertrude's headscarf, Claudius' nargile, Kurdish songs and customs). As Verstraete suggests, "the reimagining of the dengbêj culture through this *Hamlet* production could be seen as feeding the nostalgia for this [old] storytelling tradition in a time when even some of the actors had to (re)learn how to pronounce certain words" (65).

In addition, *Hamlet* was successively retranslated by various others such as Can Doğan in 2012, Vedii İlmen in 2013, Özdemir Nutku in 2013, Yeşim Mısırcı in 2014, Dilek Topal in 2017, Ahmet Gözler in 2017 and Seçil Akın in 2019. These successive retranslations of *Hamlet* over the years appear to point out, in Anthony Pym's words that, "a good index of public demand" continued for this work (79). The retranslations highlighted the above attempt to follow the more poetic prose style of the source text. It is necessary to note here that owing to these retranslations' close temporal proximity, one may disregard the need for updating any so-called ageing translation. Instead, one may consider that Turkish publishers wished only to invest in the repeated retranslation of *Hamlet* in order to capitalize upon its canonical status and as a result its marketability.

Also of note is Halit Erdem Oksaçan's 2017 version, which is presented in the book cover as a transliteration. Oksaçan's intralingual translation sought to introduce the modern Turkish reader to Abdullah Cevdet's *Hamlet*, which had become a symbol of opposition in the late Ottoman era. Since Cevdet's translation had coincided with the Constitutional Revolution, abolishing absolute monarchy, Oksaçan emphasized that it was necessary in this version to continue using the historical period's language, style, and discourse in order to introduce it to today's readership (qtd. in Uluşahin n.p.). Therefore, he did not pursue the simplification and/or purification strategies taken in a variety of previous retranslations; however, Oksaçan did include numerous footnotes in his translation, taking into consideration the alienating effect archaic words may have on modern Turkish readers who are less acquainted with the diction of the Ottoman era.

Discourses on Turkish *Hamlet*

This section focuses on how extratextual discourse portrays the various Turkish renderings of *Hamlet* to those in academia as well as the audience from the general public. Similarly to translators' and rewriters' active reframing of a source text, any extratextual material regarding a dramatic work can ultimately frame the translated version in a certain light and thus socialize the reading public into the wider narratives circulating in the receiving culture. As will be demonstrated, the discourse around the Turkish retranslations of *Hamlet*, including post-translation rewritings, are indicative of how Turkey's identity has been renegotiated over time to be in line with its shifting context and historicity.

Since *Hamlet* is a dramatic play driven by both social and political considerations, the reframing of this play through a variety of Turkish renderings is not free from its own political motivations. Saliha Paker underscores that the Turkish renderings of *Hamlet* tend to coincide with significant transitional periods that have taken place within Turkish culture and political history (89). The first translation, composed by Mehmed Nâdir three years after Sultan Abdülhamid II suspended the first ever constitution of the Ottoman Empire, has frequently been associated with the theme of censorship (see Şengel 1). In order not to offend the sensibilities of the reigning monarchical regime of the day, Nâdir was not able to translate the entirety of the dramatic work

because of a scene involving the character of the king being killed as well as other scenes that presented various power struggles.

Hence, it is necessary to note here that the initial literary import of *Hamlet* into the Ottoman literary system has been framed within the broader narrative of Hamidian absolutism. For instance, İnci Enginün points out that various attempts to perform *Hamlet* were turned down by Abdülhamid II in his bid to root out any attempt which would debilitate the absolute monarchy (16). Along similar lines, Sevda Ayluçtarhan highlights that Abdullah Cevdet's 1908 translation of *Hamlet* was a "critical text" produced by a prominent culture-planner of the time in opposition to Abdülhamid II's absolutist regime (33). Ayluçtarhan further points out that Cevdet's *Hamlet* was motivated by his perception of the "parallels between Hamlet's step-father and Abdulhamid II, who had been brought to the throne (1876) on the condition that he would promulgate the Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*) but did not really keep his promise" (46).

Cevdet's translation was introduced to the Turkish audience at a time when the discourse of westernization was prevalent. The translation coincided with the announcement of a Constitutional Revolution that led to the dethronement of Abdülhamit II and ultimately to the promotion of western-inspired reforms. Since Cevdet was one of the ardent supporters of an Ottoman Renaissance through westernization, his translation has been framed as a symbol of the western canon within the Turkish context. For instance, Demirkol regards Cevdet's translation as an object of culture-planning which was sought to promote westernization (125). In the same vein, Paker suggests that Cevdet's *Hamlet* plays a "stimulating if not revolutionary role in the intellectual re-awakening of the Ottoman political and cultural milieu" (91).

Efforts at westernization were accelerated in 1923 following the proclamation of the Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his reformers. As a result, the cultural and religious traditions of the Ottomans were being eliminated in order to encourage the Turkish citizenry to identify with Kemalist principles.[46] Atatürk and his reformers placed a special mission on theatre in general, and to *Hamlet*, in particular. As And points out, Atatürk believed that theatre "should further state politics" (216). As a result, it was utilized as a form of "subterfuge to propagate" republican reforms (219) and, to use Tahir-Gürçağlar's words, to "transform the habitus of the people" (*Politics and Poetics* 59). In order to elicit a change in the Turkish people's dispositions, it was necessary to purge the Turkish language of vocabulary from Arabic and Persian origin. Even though the narrative of language purism, which constructs Turkish otherness in the face of the Arabic and Persian languages, dates back to the 1910s within the framework of the so-called "New Language" (plain language) movement (Tahir-Gürçağlar, *Politics and Poetics* 52), it was not until 1928 when the Arabic type script was replaced with a hybridized Latin alphabet in order for the Turkish citizenry to attain a higher level of literacy as well as familiarize the general public with western culture. As a result, the national theatre in the newly formed Turkish republic was conceived as "the purest and most aesthetic expression" of Turkish (And 224). Since Atatürk wished to disseminate pure Turkish words among the general population, he replaced Arabic and Persian words in the plays with his own suggestions (And 224).

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[46] *Kemalism* denotes a philosophy of modernization which directed the transformation of the multi-religious, multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire into the secular, unitary Turkish republic in line with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's social, political, and economic reforms (for further reading, see Metin Heper's "Kemalism/Atatürkism").

In this context, the subsequent retranslations of *Hamlet* have been framed in line with the overarching grand narrative of Turkish nationalism. Hence, the discourse regarding several *Hamlet* retranslations have centred on the narrative of language purism in parallel with the language reform. For instance, Ayluçtarhan points to the ensuing need for a retranslation owing to Cevdet's "heavy style" imbued with Arabic and Persian words (66). Particularly noteworthy is the point that Cevdet's translation was ignored by the republican reformers (for a more detailed analysis of Cevdet's rendering, see Ayluçtarhan). Even though Cevdet acknowledged that his grandiloquent language caused inconvenience even for the educated readership (Cevdet, *Shakespeare ve Hamlet* 4323), and ultimately carried out a retranslation, the Ministry of Education went ahead with the publication of Kamuran Şerif Saru's translation in 1927.

Hamlet was retranslated in line with the requirements (e.g., fidelity to the source text's form and content as well as natural and fluent language use) of the Translation Bureau (1940-1966), which was established as a state-sponsored institution to carry out the translation of western classics in a systematic manner to achieve Turkish humanism, westernization, and cultural transformation. Given that Shakespeare's works were seen as a significant narrative source that would construct national culture and literature and that Shakespeare's use of political, historical, and mythical elements functioned as "an innovative model" for Turkish theatre (Paker 101), *Hamlet* was not only a source text that took up a place on the Translation Bureau's list, but it was also a text which would have a much more transformative impact on Turkish society as a whole. Therefore, Demirkol accentuates the narratives of "sacredness" and "immunity" associated with the Turkish translations of *Hamlet* and other Shakespearean works (45), reminding us that translations were expected to be loyal to Shakespeare's wording and style in the early republican era of Turkey.

The early-republican era versions of *Hamlet* were also framed within the official public narrative of secularism that emerged as a key principle of the new Turkish state. As Thomas Smith argues,

> Turkish identity (Türkçülük) was defined in opposition to the rest of the Islamic world, and Turks remain cool toward pan-Islamic movements. The mechanics of nation-building – rehabilitating the 'Turk' (which had been a pejorative under Ottoman rule), closing the Caliphate, Turkifying the history of Anatolia, cleansing the Turkish language of Arabic and Persian words, adopting the Roman alphabet in place of Arabic script, banning the fez and other manifestations of 'the Orient' – distanced Turkey from the Arab world in particular (309).

In this context, Paker associates Muhsin Ertuğrul's *Hamlet* translation with his particular narrative vantage point that privileged secularism (25). By the same token, Howard points out that the Turkish people were acquainted with *Hamlet* within the framework of the Kemalist programme of "create[ing] a secular literature" (211). The ensuing translations carried out by Adıvar and Turhan, Burian and Eyüboğlu have also been associated with the Kemalist objective of establishing a secular literary system (see Paker 94). In line with this point, Arslan frames Adıvar and Turhan's translation within the framework of an ideologically charged narrative, arguing that their translation respected "the republican reform programmes by conforming to a 'pure' Turkish and also to humanistic ideas fostered by the government-supported Translation Bureau […]" (160). In a

similar vein, Muhsin Ertuğrul views Burian's retranslation as a linguistic update, promoting the narrative that the retranslations symbolize the unceasing advancement of the Turkish language towards purity (145).

Howard argues that *Hamlet* "had particular point in Turkey because of its history of coups and the frequent failure of democracy" (214). By virtue of the broader public narrative of military coups which surface in various discourses regarding Turkish versions of *Hamlet*, the text attained a symbolic status as a historiographic work, contributing to the narration of military takeovers in the Turkish context. As background to the previous point just stated, it is significant to highlight the causational elements behind the coups that have taken place in Turkey.

After the single-party rule of the Republican People's Party founded by Atatürk in 1923, Turkey's multi-party regime began with the establishment of the Democrat Party, which came to power in 1950. The Democrat Party's sympathy towards religion and adoption of conservative policies (e.g., return of Islamic values, dismissal of several modernization reforms introduced by the Republican People's Party, and so forth) led to the amplification of religious practices and to the rise of the Islamic sects (Karpat 353). Furthermore, its attempt to pressure opposition, and in particular left-wing extremism, ultimately resulted in a serious rift between the left-wing and right-wing groups. In response to the growing social strife, anarchy, and economic unrest, the Turkish military, which was a vanguard of Kemalism, took over the nation's political power and subsequently toppled the Democrat Party government in 1960. The ensuing 1961 Constitution's tolerance for social democrat and liberal activities enabled leftist ideologies to find their place in Turkey's agenda (Ciddi 1), which led to the establishment of private publishing houses, "whose leftist orientations gave rise to a recontextualization of the social role of translation" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, *Tercüme Bürosu Nasıl Doğdu* 11).

In 1965, a new government was set up by the Justice Party, which, as a successor of the Democrat Party, was again sympathetic towards Islamic values. However, due to currency devaluation and student movements which intensified the social unrest, the ruling party received the 1971 military memorandum. In order to restore order, a cabinet of technocrats was established as an interim government under the auspices of the country's military forces. In this context, *Hamlet* 70 was produced by Algan as part of the leftist discourse, which situates *Hamlet* on the larger narrative of the differences between the left and right-wing factions of 1970s Turkey. Savaş Arslan's discourse regarding this issue serves to illustrate particular points which establish a link between Algan's version of *Hamlet* and the military interventions taking place in Turkey. Exploring how Algan modified *Hamlet*'s immediate narrative into a leftist narrative of anti-imperialism, Arslan focuses on Algan's addition of a prologue that projected the original storyline onto Turkey's real-life setting. He also underlines that Algan's use of certain excerpts from Atatürk's address to the Turkish youth (e.g., "your first duty is to preserve and defend Turkish independence and the republic forever") presents a narrative that defends and rationalizes the actions of the leftist youth (Arslan 161). Analysing Algan's cumulative use of specific elements (e.g., certain parts of the *Address* that replace Hamlet's soliloquy) from the narrative world of the Turkish people, Arslan emphasizes that the Turkish version maintains "the anti-Islamist and secular overtones of Kemalism, which had long characterized translations of the play" (161).

Focus now is placed on reviewing the discourse related to the Turkish film version of *Hamlet* released in 1976, titled *Lady Hamlet*. It is important to note that the traditional Turkish theatre excluded women until the foundation of modern Turkey in 1923. Since Atatürk prioritized women's liberation, he required modern dramatists to, "include at least one major female role of great character and virtue in every work" (And 224). In line with this point, Tony Howard notes that Erksan's repositioning of *Hamlet* is in complete harmony with the Kemalist principles (211). Hence, Howard frames the Turkish version within the larger narrative of Turkey's modernization project. Likewise, Bilgin points out that Erksan's reframing of the play within "a feminist context" in a way which "decolonizes" women and defies "the male-centred readings of the play" constructs an image of modernity that challenges patriarchal values (Bilgin 68-70). However, Sayın argues that Erksan's version only responds to "the demands of the film market" (29). Sayın both rejects the argument that *Lady Hamlet* has feminist overtones and implies that the cinematographic adaptation was a form of the commodification of *Hamlet*, to use Grossman's word.

On the other hand, Bilgin, who deals with *Lady Hamlet* as a form of transcultural appropriation, embeds the rewriting within the narrative of "Easternization" given that Erksan injects culture-specific elements (e.g., folk tales) of the East into a work from the canon of western literature (69). Bilgin argues that Erksan deconstructs *Hamlet*, which she refers to as an act of defying the cultural authority of the canonized West (70). Her review reveals the difficulty in identifying the image of Turkey that oscillates between being simultaneously European and Asian. Hence, her comments disclose that such cultural hybridity signifies an ambivalent Turkish image in which the Occident and the Orient meet and in the end complement the other.

It was not only Bilgin, who underlines that *Lady Hamlet* builds upon an eastern identity (72) and, to use Hutcheon's word (150), "indigenizes" Turkey's western other. Sayın also notes that a western cultural icon has been "indigenized, hybridized and reconstructed by the resources of Eastern European or Middle Eastern and Islamic codes of Turkish culture" (35). A particular example that is featured in the film version is Hamlet's motivation for vengeance that is reframed in the narrative of blood vengeance which still endures as a social practice in some areas of eastern Turkey.[47] This is why, as Arslan also argues (160), the film version deviates from the earlier renderings' inclination to observe the Kemalist project of modernization and westernization.

At this point, it is safe to assume that the extratextual comments collaborate within a more general narrative of moulding Turkey's imagination of itself as a country positioned between Europe and Asia, so as a result vacillating between the discourses of westernization and easternization. Within this context, Erksan's rewriting of *Hamlet* seems to fit the image of Turkey, which permanently reshapes its western self and western other within its own shifting socio-political contexts. In order to thoroughly consider Erksan's rewriting of *Hamlet*, Sayın produces a very productive discourse by drawing on Yuri Lotman, who underlines that "*Hamlet* is not just a play by Shakespeare, but it is also the memory of all those historical events which occurred outside the text but with which Shakespeare's text can evoke association" (18-19). Sayın associates Erksan's rewriting of *Hamlet* particularly with the stage of transformation (20) where "the imported texts are entirely dissolved in the receiving culture" which then begins to generate its own texts

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[47] Blood vengeance is an old tradition that requires the male members of a family to kill any male member of another family that damaged the former's unity and peace.

(Lotman 147). In this context, *Hamlet* can be seen both as a "meaning-generating mechanism", in the words of Lotman (9), and as "a condenser of cultural memory" that can retain "the memory of its previous contexts" (Lotman 18).

Before we proceed to Yücel's and Gezen's versions of *Hamlet*, it is significant to scrutinize Turkey's socio-political landscape which potentially served as background to them. A potentially significant point to bear in mind is that the street clashes between the left-wing and right-wing factions that occurred in late 1970s Turkey were subsequently followed by the 1980 military coup of the country. The process of apoliticization which went along with the process of economic liberalization was a significant outcome of the coup. In 1983, the Motherland Party swept to power by receiving the support of the liberal, nationalist, and pro-Islamic circles. Although the government's integration of the Turkish economy into the global market led the country towards modernization (Bakan and Bırdışlı 372), conservative Islamic values became prevalent after the coup owing to the significant role attributed to Sunni Islam to achieve public morality and social order (Mecham 165), to eliminate leftist radicalism, and to impede the return of the ideological clashes and political violence of the 1970s.

Hence, Demirkol suggests that Yücel's reframing of *Hamlet* within a different temporal and spatial setting (e.g., Turkey's Ottoman past) provided him the freedom of criticism since he maintained a "secure distance" from the politics of his time (126). Given that the narrative of Turks as "apolitical consumers of global market" was then prevalent (Lüküslü 33), Yücel might have tried to seem disengaged from the current politics of the time. Demirkol argues that Yücel might have wished to refrain from breaching the counter-terrorism laws that came into force following the 1980 military coup (128-132). Yücel's *Hamlet*, which had a sort of alienating effect on modern Turkish readers due to its "Ottomanized style", to use Shissler's words (240), was composed as a counter-narrative contesting the dominant narratives of the time (Arslan 163); however, the excessive use of obsolete Ottoman cultural elements and repositioning of the characters in the Ottoman palace ran counter to the narrative positioning of previous translations that had strived to construct a modern image of Turkey compatible with Atatürk's visionary reforms. In relation to this point, Demirkol foregrounds the separation between the Orientalized Turkish image constructed by Yücel's translation and the image of modernity constructed by several previous translations. Furthermore, Arslan suggests that Yücel's version raised the eyebrows of the "Kemalist circles that hold that Western classics should not be so altered" (163). Yücel's version is identified in Arslan's review as being a "free or adaptational translation" that distorts "semantic fidelity" and "politicizes" a western piece, which went against the grain of the early republican norms set for translation (163).

Gezen's 1995 version *Hamlet Efendi* portrays the tension between Islamism and secularism in the context of popular culture. The play promotes significant Kemalist narratives (e.g., the significance of education for the youth) in order to display that the rewriter recreated *Hamlet* in line with the narrative position that had considerable currency in relation to the ideas of the early republican era in Turkey (162). At this point, the timing of Gezen's version also deserves notice; even though it was acknowledged that secularization was firmly established in Kemalist Turkey, the Islamist movement which followed the 1980 coup contested the fundamental principles of Kemalism by promoting Islamic identity in the social and public arena (Hemmati 58). This is why

Arslan viewed Gezen's version as the "secularist and Kemalist rendering" of *Hamlet* that "reconfigured the secularist and Islamist opposition" (162).

Germane to the points just discussed is Çelenk's *Hamlet Renkli Türkçe*. In order to trace the motivation behind the construction of a link between Çelenk's version and the wider narrative of the Islamist-secular rift from various discourses, it is necessary to provide some background for Çelenk's rewriting. The 1999 Helsinki Summit's inclusion of Turkey in the European Union enlargement process turned Turkey's bid to westernization into a process of Europeanization. The Justice and Development Party, which came to power in 2002, committed itself to achieve the political reform process of the Copenhagen criteria and establish a European model of democracy through harmonization laws. However, despite its earlier pro-European and liberal-democratic stance, the ruling party has long been criticized for promulgating the *conservative* traditions of Turkey's Ottoman heritage and *Islamic* identity (Öniş 29). The party's claim for neo-ottomanism also added to the criticisms (Göçek 1-21). As a result, the secularist segments of the Turkish republic have tended to question the "party's loyalty to the founding principles of the Turkish Republic" (Çağlıyan-İçener 596).

In this respect, Çelenk's *Hamlet Renkli Türkçe* can be considered to have been framed through a variety of discourses as a narrative that indigenizes a western classic into the current Turkish political milieu in order to portray Islamism as a political movement that objects to a secular western identity. For example, Arslan focuses on how the Justice and Development Party government is portrayed as the Danish court in Çelenk's rewriting, and suggests that it idealizes "a contemporary, urban, intellectual strand of Kemalism," which champions Turkey's westward outlook against Islamism (164). Furthermore, Partovi Tazeh Kand foregrounds the creolizing role of Çelenk's rewriting (204), through the utilization of the concept of creolization in reference to "the appropriation of discourses or practices into a new context where they become naturalized" (Mooney and Evans 48). Kand notes that Çelenk's *Hamlet* creates a "mutual intermingling" by bringing together Turkish and western (anglophone) cultures (205), which marks the Justice and Development Party's representation of the Islamic cultural other both against the western world and against Turkey's secular establishment (Kand 113-115).

As for the Kurdish version, the play is framed on the basis of Kurds' vigorous reclaiming of cultural otherness and break from the Turkish identity, since it revives the old Kurdish tradition of dengbej (i.e. a melodious way of telling stories), which is complemented with traditional instruments such as the daf, davul (tupan), zurna (a woodwind instrument), and saz. The Kurdish songs, customs, and folkloric features that dominate the play from beginning to end provide an opportunity to foreground Kurdish culture and language. As a result, Kurdish *Hamlet* is framed within the narrative of a distinct Kurdish ethnic identity. For example, Bilgin focuses on the othering of Kurds in Turkish society (73), highlighting in the words of Sanders (19), that the Kurdish version presents a "revised point of view from the original, […] voicing the silenced and marginalized".

At this point, one should note that Law No. 2932, which was put into place after the 1980 coup, interdicted both a separate Kurdish identity and a separate language (Kurdish) in Turkey. Therefore, according to Verstraete, the Kurdish version calls for "international visibility and awareness for Kurdish theatre and culture and its historical circumstance, particularly concerning

the recognition of the Kurdish language in Turkey" (65). In the same vein, Bilgin argues that the Kurdish rewriting of *Hamlet* "calls for recognition of Kurdish culture and its own presence within the Western literary canon, signifying both Turkey and the rest of Europe" (71).

Verstraete also focuses on the rewriter's counter-discourse to the larger narrative that Kurdish is not poetic and hence not sufficient to reproduce a canonized western play (54). Therefore, it is safe to assume that the Kurdish version was conceived as a means of (re)imagining the Kurdish identity in order to contribute to the differentiation of Kurdish culture from its Turkish and western counterparts on both poetological and ideological grounds. The Kurdish rewriting of *Hamlet* further demonstrates that a western dramatic work can be reproduced in a Kurdish context (Bilgin 71) provided that Hamlet's mania with revenge is transformed into the eastern feud through the larger narrative of blood vengeance as circulated in some parts of eastern and south-eastern Turkey. Judging by these aforementioned points, it is reasonable to suggest that Tokgöz's version of *Hamlet* contests the canonization and sacredness of a western other by weaving a narrative dedicated to the idea of the eastern self.

Discourses regarding various versions of *Hamlet* reveal that the narratives elaborated through retranslations and post-translation rewritings of a work, and in this case a canonical western literary work, may ultimately shift alongside the ever changing socio-political atmosphere within a receiving culture such as Turkey. As viewed from the angle of the extratextual materials presented in this paper, what seems telling is that the Turkish image is ever torn between the dualities of modernity and tradition, secularism and religion, easternness and westernness, which ultimately not only stem from the country's historical roots, but also from its often amorphous geopolitical position.

Concluding remarks

This study set out to explore various discourses regarding the Turkish retranslations and post-translation rewritings of *Hamlet*, and did so in an attempt to demonstrate how these individual discourses can circulate broader narratives that ultimately feed into the renegotiation of national self-image(s). It can be posited that reviews on the various versions of *Hamlet* in Turkish have in effect led to the construction of an image of Turkey, which is based solely on a dialectical opposition to a set of particular images and conceptions. Stated differently, almost all discourses regarding the Turkish renderings of *Hamlet* have been predicated upon the ontology of the idea of the other within the construction of Turkey's self-image. The creation and fostering of the idea of the other is a dynamic process, so a closer scrutiny of the related discourse has also foregrounded concepts of new others across a set of divergent lines (e.g., ideological, religious, ethnic, and so forth) in relation to changing political contexts which encompass the retranslations and rewritings of *Hamlet*.

It appears that the theme of cultural and social modernity has been the most frequently utilized narrative to position the earlier versions of *Hamlet* within the Turkish literary system. For example, the reviews of the retranslations and rewritings composed between 1927 and 1970 placed emphasis on how each broke free from the constraining ties associated with the country's Ottoman imperial heritage. They accentuate the narrative of Kemalism to frame the *Hamlet* versions within the context of Turkey's historical secular-Islamist divide. In addition, western identity has long been projected in opposition to the eastern other, that is to say, in opposition to the Islamic Orient.

These reviews have also foregrounded the translators' and rewriters' efforts at constructing, strengthening, and disseminating the so to speak western identity through their renderings of *Hamlet*. Also, the terms of Turkification and Turkifying, which have been used interchangeably in most of these reviews, have been the most frequently circulated frames of reference to identify the translational practices given that transfer of western attributes onto the self were inevitable within the process of westernization of a nation which was not western. As a result, as Arslan suggests, new forms of Turkification can be observed in each retranslation and rewriting, notwithstanding its assertion of faithfulness to the source text (166).

Several reviews relating to Turkish versions of *Hamlet*, for example, the 1927, 1941, 1944, and 1965 versions, directly focused on the narrative of language purism. In this context, it has been pointed out that the language of *Hamlet* has become purer in each successive retranslation and post-translation rewriting. However, it is important to briefly point out that the 1992 version is an exception because it is permeated with several Ottoman words. On the one hand, the 1992 version was framed as promoting the Kemalist narrative of secularism, yet it is argued that the inclusion of Ottoman references as well as allusions to the Ottoman era are neither congruous with the official narrative of Kemalism nor rest squarely within the narrative position to which its rewriter was presumed to have subscribed.

Next, discourses regarding the 1976, 1992, 2004 and 2012 versions of Turkish *Hamlet* took on a narrative position considerably different from the others. In a sense, these versions were considered to have essentially reread *Hamlet*, once a trope of modernization, and instead offered an eastern-oriented alternative Turkish image associated with Turkey's eastern self. For example, the reviews presented antiquated yet still surviving eastern traditions such as blood vengeance in the 1976 version, the image of the Ottoman palace in the 1992 version, and Islamic references in the 2004 version which ultimately perpetuated the Orientalist image of Turkey. Furthermore, the 2012 version has become what is considered a full-fledged Kurdish rewriting of a Shakespearean text and in the process ostensibly disputes the western text's canonical status. The 2012 rewriting has also been viewed as a challenge to the Turkish canon of literature since the Turkish other has become a steady point of reference within various conceptions of Kurdish identity.

This research has not yielded any extratextual comment regarding the other retranslations (e.g., two retranslations published in 2012, one in 2013, one in 2014, two in 2017, one in 2018, and one in 2019). The close temporal proximity of these retranslations implies that *Hamlet*'s status as a classic has called for successive retranslations given that canonicity and retranslation often go hand in hand. Some of these retranslations may be commercially-motivated because representing a canonical play as a result of its canonicity guarantee some market demand and it is, in the words of Venuti, "cheaper to publish than copyrighted texts, which require the purchase of translation rights from the source-text author or his assignees" (100).

This study has ultimately revealed that the way *Hamlet* has been both re-membered and dis-membered throughout the Turkish literary landscape in line with the narratives that accompany it influenced the nation's image of itself. As evidenced through this analysis, extratextual discourses have dealt with the Turkish versions of *Hamlet* within the framework of three prominent socio-political issues: (i) westernization that later evolved into Europeanization within the Turkish context, (ii) secularism, and (iii) nationalism (e.g., Turkish versus Kurdish identity) which have

remained at the forefront of Turkey's cultural, political, and social agenda from the onset of the Turkish republic.

Finally, it appears that Gentzler's elaboration in relation to post-translation rewriting, which illuminates how texts circulate, "not just source to target" but instead "to target and beyond", and from "texts to images" (112), has been very productive for the present study's attempt at researching beyond retranslation in order to more comprehensively unpack *Hamlet*'s post-translation reverberations as they occur within the Turkish cultural milieu. The variety of Turkish versions reviewed in this study revealed that a majority of *Hamlet* was in effect translated into images, for example, dress (e.g., Hamlet in a parka and combat boots in the 1970 version), sound (e.g., a famous classical Turkish song "Makber", meaning grave, in the 1972 version), setting (e.g., the Ottoman palace in the 1992 version), and dance (e.g., Anatolian and Middle Eastern folkloric dance in the 2012 version) have contributed to much of the work's meaning within the Turkish context. In the end, those images in turn play an extremely important role in the imagining of the collective Turkish identity over a variety of time periods. Therefore, closer scrutiny of the various extratextual discourses in relation to the Turkish post-translation rewritings of *Hamlet* can be seen as justifying Gentzler's contention that "more than the influence of the *translated* text, it is the influence of the *images* of that text upon the stage or in the film that enhances reception" (217).

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With the Plane
2008
Mixed media on canvas
45x60 cm
© Beyza Boynudelik

"Once, Twice and Again!"
Kipling's Works in the Russian Twentieth Century Retranslations

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St. Petersburg

And a wolf stole back, and a wolf stole back
To carry the word to the waiting pack,
And we sought and we found and we bayed on his track
Once, twice and again!
Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book*

Introduction

Throughout the 20ᵗʰ century, Rudyard Kipling and his works attracted the attention of the Russian readership despite social change, political disapproval of Kipling, and the Soviet ban on most of the writings of the "bard of imperialism" in the 1930–70s. In the context of the political and social constraints, the Russian readership, however, had good access to some parts of *The Jungle Book* and a certain degree of access to Kipling's poetry. This article will dwell upon two co-existing tendencies displayed by retranslations of the works by one and the same author (Kipling) in the same cultural and temporal location (Russia, 20ᵗʰ century). The first tendency is demonstrated by the retranslations of *The Jungle Book*; it consists in the change of the target audience and the constant growth of the gap between the original and every subsequent retranslation. As we shall see, the angle of divergence of retranslations from the original text was such that retranslations started to be perceived as inborn cultural elements, which gave grounds to further reinterpretations. The other tendency is demonstrated by the retranslations of Kipling's poetry, which were affected by the expectations of the target audience, political and social conditions in the country, as well as the protest moods which some translators were guided by. In Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva's words, "[r]etranslations may have more to do with the needs and attitudes within the receiving system than any inherent characteristics of the source text which supposedly makes it 'prone to' retranslations" (Susam-Sarajeva 138). Such was the case of Kipling's poetry retranslations: the Russian readership had an emotional demand for Kipling's poetry, and the Russian culture possessed an unoccupied slot to assimilate this poetry as part of its own. The concept of a cultural "slot" that accelerates the appropriation of works of literature was suggested by a Russian literary critic and translator Viktor Toporov who translated, among others, a considerable number of Kipling's poems. Toporov insisted that "to create something of interest in translation one has to make sure that there is an unoccupied place for it in the Russian treasury of poetry" (Toporov

184). The interest towards Kipling in Russia was, indeed, strong; it went far beyond fascination, as Kipling's works got modified and implanted in the Russian culture.

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar highlights the ability of retranslations to introduce new interpretations of source texts, "sometimes addressing a different readership or creating a new readership altogether" (Tahir-Gürçağlar 235). In the case of Kipling, the degree of cultural appropriation of his works in Russia was such that it consisted not only in the adoption of images and the effacement of the original sources, but also in the emotional claim for Kipling and the attempts to assign him to Russian culture. Russian editors, anthologists, and critics of the twentieth century regularly pointed out the phenomenon of "the Russian Kipling," whose role in Russian culture and whose perception by the Russian readership was different, if not contradictory, to those in the West (Betaki 10; Dymshits 6, 17-23; Witkowsky 9-11).[48] In 1994, critic and Kipling's translator Valerii Dymshits called Kipling "a Russian poet… much more a Russian than an English poet" (Dymshits 17). This cultural claim on Kipling owes its existence to the century-long history of retranslations of his works, especially of *The Jungle Book*, which was destined to become a survivor of the ban on Kipling, and of Kipling's poetry, much affected by the ban, but absorbed and eventually appropriated by the Russian culture of the twentieth century.

The Metamorphoses of *The Jungle Book*

The history of *The Jungle Book* retranslations in the Russian Empire and later in the Soviet Union can be described as a story of recycling of existing translations. As we shall see, some translations were recycled by the way of text abridgement and the target audience shift (Zaimovskii's translation made before the revolution turning into a version for children in the Soviet Russia). Other translations later came to be mixed and matched, *The Jungle Book* editions taking shape of compilations of Kipling's stories by different translators, each story provided with the best existing translation in the opinion of the editor for the volume.

Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki rightfully call recycling a feature of factory translation (Koskinen and Paloposki "Retranslations" 26). When Kipling's translations first appeared in the Russian Empire, its two biggest cities—St. Petersburg and Moscow—had a well-developed publishing industry. Russian publishers eagerly engaged in reprinting existing translations in new formats driven by their cost-effectiveness. The initial orientation of the translations of *The Jungle Book* towards the child readership guaranteed sales: exciting books of exotic content for children invariably found new buyers. The advent of the Soviet system, the subsequent nationalization of publishing houses, and the orientation of literature towards educational purposes increased the demand in high-quality books for children. The overly use of *The Jungle Book* in the Soviet Union

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[48] All translations of quotes from Russian sources including literal translations of poetry are mine. – N.K.

as a book for children eventually resulted in its absolute domination over other works by Kipling. Regular re-editions of different combinations of stories and their translations also contributed to the perception of Kipling as an author of only one big book, whilst other works by Kipling were not available, and the broader context of Kipling's literary legacy therefore remained obscure to the new generations of Russian readers. Retranslations and re-editions of *The Jungle Book* were preconditioned by a set of factors, including the political and social context, readability standards, and the governing publishing policy (Gambier 65-66). Quite notably, the same factors guided the behaviour of the readership and its willingness to accept retranslations circulated at given historical periods.

As registered by the Russian National Library[49] of St. Petersburg, the first publication of a work by Kipling in Russia took place in 1893, when his story "In Flood Time" appeared in a collection of short stories by contemporary writers (Kipling "V razlive"). At present time, the RNB holds 144 titles by Kipling published before the 1917 October Socialist revolution. Out of these 144 titles, sixteen are included in collections of different writers and 128 are volumes by Kipling only.[50] Out of these 128 editions, one third is related to *The Jungle Book* (39 titles), within which only fourteen editions in six different translations are complete or almost complete texts published under the titles "Jungle" or "The Jungle Book." This means that two-thirds (25 editions) of the publications related to *The Jungle Book* were either abridged or adopted.

128 editions of Kipling's works published before the revolution also include eighteen editions of *Captains Courageous*, nine editions of different collections entitled "fairy-tales," and no less than eight[51] collections of short stories published for children or in children's series. Thus, the share of children's books in the total number of Kipling's editions made up almost half: 60 out of 128. At the same time, *The Light That Failed* was published five times (albeit in three different translations), *The Naulahka* – also five times, and *Kim* – only twice. This proportion contributed to the gradual shift in the readership's perception of Kipling as a writer for children and youth. The preponderance of children-oriented retranslations from *The Jungle Book* was also in line with the general tendency of publishers.

Quite notably, *The Jungle Book* was seldom published in pre-revolutionary Russia under its original title. The titles the book went by included such wordings as "Jungle," "Man-Wolf," or "Indian Stories." It was regularly published in parts by two or three stories together, or even as single-story editions, hence the titles, "Wolves' nursling (From *The Jungle Book*)," "The adventures of the little animal Rikki-Tikki," and "Little Toomai." These titles are also indicative of the books' orientation towards children.

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[49] Henceforth: RNB

[50] The statistics listed in the article were collected on the basis of the catalogues of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation www.nlr.ru/. The Russian National Library possesses one of the biggest collections of literature published in the Russian language; however, I am aware of the fact that some titles could me missing from its collection despite the Library's practiced right of the first copy. This is why in listing numbers and statistics here, I regularly resort to phrases like "no less than," "the average of," or "at least," thus admitting that the quoted data remain subject to further corrections.

[51] Judging by their content, there are more than eight; however, I hereby count only those editions that clearly indicate their orientation towards children or that are published by a children's publisher.

The first two translations of *The Jungle Book* appeared in 1895. One of them was published by Aleksandra Rozhdestvenskaia in the journal *Detskoie chtenie* [Children's Reading] under the title "Jungle;" the other was the translation by Mariia Korsh published as a separate book under the title "Stories from the Life of Children and Animals in India" (Kipling "Dzhungli;" Kipling *Rasskazy iz zhizni*). Both translations targeted children. Rozhdestvenskaia's translation was published in a children's periodical, hence the incompleteness of the translation and the focus on purely "jungle" stories: "Mowgli's Brothers" and "Tiger! Tiger!" in 1895 and "How Fear Came," "Letting in the Jungle," and "The Spring Running" in 1896. The title of "How Fear Came" was altered into "Elephant Hathi's Story"—clearly so as not to alarm the young readers. Despite the changes made in order to cater for the expectations of children and their parents, Rozhdestvenskaia's translation preserved the stylistic features of the original including all the verse. In the translation, the stories were preceded by poetic epigraphs, like in the original; the July edition of 1895 also contained the complete translation of "Mowgli's Song that he Sang on the Council Rock when he Danced on Shere Khan's Hide," in which even the translation of a lengthy title was rendered completely. In general, Rozhdestvenskaia's translation gives the impression of a long-term project, which the translator tested out in a children's journal while planning to publish it as a separate edition.

Mariia Korsh's translation published in the same year demonstrated a different approach to rendering *The Jungle Book* (Kipling *Rasskazy iz zhizni*). The book was children-oriented: the title and the brightly-colored, elaborately painted cover clearly targeted young readers. The translation was an abridged adaptation of *The First Jungle Book*; all the poetry was omitted, the sequence of stories was confused, new pieces were added: thus, the story "Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick" was located between "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" and "The White Seal," which, in its turn, ended the volume. This liberal rendering of *The Jungle Book* marked the beginning of the domesticating tendency in its translation which we shall study here.

It was also the translations by Rozhdestvenskaia and Korsh that introduced an important change in the text that would become canonical in the Russian translations: it was the transformation of Bagheera from male into female. This metamorphosis was clearly made for the sake of simplification of the text for the new target audience. Indeed, full forms of Russian male names mainly end in a consonant and female—in a vowel, which formally makes the name *Bagheera* sound like a female name. However, the Russian language has exceptions to this general tendency, possessing several full male names ending in 'a' and referring to the first grammatical declension: Nikita, Danila, Savva, Gavrila. Thus, the proper name alone could not be a sufficient reason for the gender change. The decisive factor in this case was the combination of the feminine-sounding proper name with the name of the species, namely, panther, which is also feminine in the Russian language. The reduplication of the female form—*pantera Bagira*—is so misleading for a Russian speaker that the child readers were spared the effort and provided with a modification. This substitution taken alone is not as surprising as the fact of its canonization in the subsequent retranslations and even screen versions of *The Jungle Book* made at different times and for target audiences of different ages. The sole attempt to infringe on the canonicity of Bagheera's image in the Russian culture was the decision of the recording studio Pifagor to give Bagheera a male voice-

over. This happened in 2007 when the 1967 Disney animation of *The Jungle Book* was officially presented to the Russian video market.

It was in the very beginning of the twentieth century that the first two translations of *The Jungle Book* were followed by the retranslation by Varvara Koshevich. Her translation was published in three small books, each including two or three stories, which came out in 1901 and 1902 (Kipling 1901, 1902, 1902). Koshevich's translation also targeted children, albeit the methodology applied by the translator was different. Like Rozhdestvenskaia, Koshevich preserved and rendered all the original verse; at the same time, she chose the technique of text simplification and adjustment to the demands of the age-restricted readership. A considerable number of cultural realia were omitted in Koshevich's translation alongside with some proper names which were also either omitted or changed beyond recognition. Thus, Baloo appeared in Koshevich's translation under the name *Mishka*, which is a word for a bear in the Russian children's language; it is also used as a diminutive of the proper name *Mikhail* in colloquial speech and functions as the most common name for bears in fairy-tales. Bagheera got renamed as *Chernukha*, a name artificially derived from the Russian adjective *chernyi (=black).* The book also had attractive illustrations including a scary albeit zoologically ludicrous picture of a tiger.

The first complete translation of *The Jungle Book*, which preserved the style, the sequence of chapters, the verse, and the target readership of the original, was the 1908 translation by Nadezhda Giliarovskaia (Kipling *Dzhungli: Rasskazy*). The two-volume edition entitled *The Jungle: Stories* contained an almost complete unabridged translation. *The First Jungle Book* in Giliarovskaia's translation was missing the story "Her Majesty's Servants," which can be explained by the fact that it was not always included in all printings of the original standard edition either.

The 1909 translation of *The Jungle Book* by Avgusta Gretman returned *The Jungle Book* to the domain of children's literature (Kipling *Dzhungli. Ocherki i rasskazy*). The book entitled *The jungle. Sketches and Stories from Indian Nature* also abounded in attractive illustrations. Gretman's translation included both *The First* and *The Second Jungle Book*; all the verse, however, was removed, which also catered to the expectations of younger readers.

In 1911, a complete translation of *The First Jungle Book* was presented by Semion Zaimovskii (Kipling *Kniga dzhunglei: Rasskazy*). Quite strikingly, this was the first time that a male translator joined the list of *The Jungle Book* translators since it had first been introduced into the Russian language sixteen years earlier. The intention of the translator was clearly in line with the publisher's plan: the book was published in pocket format with minimal graphic effects which clearly spoke to its orientation towards grown-up intellectuals who would want to carry the book around during the day. This was also the first time the title of Kipling's work was rendered directly—it was published under the title *The Jungle Book [Kniga dzhunglei].*

A new children-oriented translation—this time by translator Mariia Blagoveshchenskaia—came out in 1913; the orientation of the retranslation towards children was indicated on the cover and in the preface (Kipling *Dzhungli: Rasskazy dlia detei*). The version did not preserve the original chapter division, poetry, or sequence of events. This translation was followed by the translation of *The First Jungle Book* made by a famous translator and children writer Evgeniia Chistiakova-Ver in Petrograd in 1915 (Kipling *Kniga dzunglei*). This translation was destined to enjoy a long life. Chistiakova-Ver's translation became known for a naturalness of expression which ensured a good dynamics of the narration comparable to that of the original. The omission of poetic pieces, however, simplified the text, thus making it more fit for children.

The revolution of 1917 created new conditions for revisions of existing translations and their new editions, as the main function of literature came to be seen as educational. Thus, in 1918 writer and literary activist Maksim Gor'kii founded the World Literature Publishing House which was supposed to fulfill the ambitious plan of translating the entire world literature classics into the Russian language. "The Russian nation in its mass," wrote Gor'kii in 1919, "must know the historical, sociological, and psychological characteristics of those nations, with which it is now striving towards the construction of the new forms of social life" (Gorkii 66). Special attention in the Soviet Union was given to the education of children and youth, and in this regard Kipling's works were especially attractive for publishers: they had already been carefully selected, frequently translated and duly adopted for children in tsarist times, and therefore were ready for use under new social circumstances.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Kipling's works were regularly used for children and youth editions. The RNB possesses twenty-eight editions based on *Todd's Amendment* and *Just So Stories* in different combinations published between 1918 and 1930. Another twenty-one editions were based on *The Jungle Book*, and all of them were oriented towards children. They came out as single-story books entitled *Rikki-Tikki-Tavi*, *The White Seal*, or *Kotuko*, or as short stories collections entitled *Jungle* or *Man-Wolf*. An important title under which the editions based on *The Jungle Book* came out was *Mowgli*. It is notable that this title seems to have been first used not by a translator, but by a playwright: the play entitled *Mowgli* for children theatres in five acts was published in 1923 by Vladimir Volkenshtein (Volkenshtein). Ironically, the first time this title was used for a translation was the 1926 illustrated abridged translation by Zaimovskii—the translator who had presented the readership with the most complete and adult-oriented version of *The Jungle Book* fifteen years earlier (Kipling *Maugli: Iz "Knigi dzhunglei"*). No less than twenty-two editions appeared under the title *Mowgli* between 1926 and 1976, which makes it one in every three editions based on *The Jungle Book*.

The only complete text of *The Jungle Book* on the RNB catalogue published between 1918 and 1991 is *The First Jungle Book* edition in the translation of Mikhail Vasil'ev, which came out in Prague in 1921 and did not see re-editions (Kipling *Pervaia*).Therefore, already in the 1920s we are witnessing a tremendous decline in the publications of "grown-up" editions of Kipling's works in the Soviet Union. For example, *Captains Courageous* appeared in Soviet print five times between

1918 and 1930 (as compared to eighteen times between 1897 and 1916). Between 1918 and 1930, *The Light That Failed* was published three times, *Stalky and Co*—only once, and *Kim* was not published a single time until 1990. This tendency increased with the advent of the 1930s, at the turn of which all private publishers were either forcefully closed or taken over by the state. State publishers continued to publish Kipling's tales for children and abridged excerpts from *The Jungle Book*. The only "grown-up" editions of Kipling that appeared between 1931 and 1941 were a 1936 volume of prose, a 1936 volume of selected poetry, and a 1937 edition of *The Light That Failed*, all of which were published in Leningrad (former St. Petersburg) (Kipling *Rasskazy*; *Izbrannye stikhi*; *Svet)*. This dramatic decline took place in the light of a series of anti-Kipling articles which appeared in the 1930s in several widely circulated literary editions.

One of the first attacks on Kipling was launched by critic Teodor Levit in his chapter "Kipling" in a solid multi-volume edition of *Literary encyclopedia* in 1931, in which he characterized Kipling as a racially biased colonist. Levit wrote:

> The ideological baggage of Kipling is the diehard imperialistic conservatism, racial pride, Anglo-Saxon selectiveness. The political position of Kipling—the destiny of the Empire is above all, and anyone infringing on its integrity is a criminal. Hence the hatred for the possible claimers for India—the tsarist Russia (novel *Kim*, "The Truce of the Bear," story "The Man Who Was*"*), hence the frenzy about the Germans during and after the world war (202).

It is notable that all the works mentioned by Levit would form the core of Kipling's most banned titles in the Soviet Union. Indeed, all three are related to Russia and the image of the Russians in the west. Kipling's undisguised dislike of the Russians, Russia, and later of the Soviet Union became the starting point for the official resentment of him and his works. Kipling, however, had made his views known long before the Soviet Union came into being. As early as 1889, Kipling started his story "The Man Who Was" with an unflattering description of the Russian person, charming "as an Oriental" but who is, in fact, "a racial anomaly extremely difficult to handle" (Kipling *Selected* 137).

The subsequent Soviet critique of Kipling contributed to the disfavor of Kipling in the Soviet Union. A special role in this regard was played by the influential Soviet literary critic Rashel' Miller-Budnitskaia who prefaced the 1936 volume of Kipling's poetry edited in Leningrad by a famous translator and critic, Valentin Stenich. The traditional Soviet rhetoric of the 1930s required a substantial amount of criticism in both journal and book prefaces in order to ensure objectivity and to engage the readers in critical thinking. The preface by Miller-Budnitskaia, however, went beyond traditional criticism, turning it into sheer slander. Over twenty-five pages, Miller-Budnitskaia described Kipling's poetry as the "apotheosis of pillage, murder, violence, atrocity" and the legacy of Kipling in general—as that "bearing the seeds of English fascism," as the

"complete, highly artistic incorporation of ideas and moods of our enemy" (Miller-Budnitskaia, 4, 9, 28). Such characteristics automatically placed Kipling on the list of unwanted writers.

Quite notably, 1936 was marked by another publication of Kipling's works with a preface by Dmitrii Sviatopolk-Mirskii, who, unlike Miller-Budnitskaia, equipped the volume with very impartial characteristics of Kipling's works, paying much attention to Kipling's literary method and insisting that "Kipling's imperialistic hero is no realistic generalization, but a lyrical theme" (Mirskii 17). As fate would have it, both Sviatopolk-Mirskii and Stenich were arrested at the end of the 1930s; Mirskii died in a labour camp, and Stenich was shot for counterrevolutionary activity.

The officially unpronounced but socially accepted ban on Kipling, thus gradually imposed in the 1930s, was broken a couple of times during World War II. The most striking in these publications was the engagement of Voenmorizdat—a publisher directly supervised by the Ministry of Defense—which published *Captains Courageous* in 1944, clearly in order to boost the morale of soldiers at the fronts (Kipling *Otvazhnye moreplavateli*). *Captains Courageous* was published again in a school edition in 1948 by a civilian publisher (Kipling *Otvazhnye kapitany*), after which the next publication of the novel in translation took place only in the 1980s.

The post-war publications of Kipling were mainly reduced to variations on *The Jungle Book*. However, the 1950s were marked by a significant event, namely, the arrival of a new retranslation of *The Jungle Book* for children. It was entitled *Mowgli* and was made by the leading Soviet translator Nina Daruzes, who had by then gained her fame through her translations of *The Good Earth* and *The Mother* by Pearl Buck, *Autobiography* by Mark Twain, and *Martin Chuzzlewit* by Charles Dickens. Daruzes's translation included only those pieces of *The Jungle Book* that were related directly to the story of Mowgli: "Mowgli's Brothers," "Kaa's Hunting," "Tiger! Tiger!" "How Fear Came," "Letting in the Jungle," "The King's Ankus," "Red Dogs," and "The Spring Running" (Kipling *Maugli*). All poetry in the translation was omitted. The edition was equipped with drawings by a famous Soviet artist Vasilii Vatagin, who had illustrated the 1926 edition of *Mowgli* by Zaimovskii (Kipling *Maugli: Iz "Knigi dzhunglei"*). Daruzes's highly readable text and Vatagin's illustrations started a new epoch in the life of *The Jungle Book* in the Soviet Union which consisted of the further narrowing of focus and bringing Kipling's work down to Mowgli stories and children's reading, albeit exciting and highly memorable.

The popularity of "Mowgli" increased in 1967 – 1971 with the arrival of the eponymous animated feature-story (later known to the English-speaking audience as *Adventures of Mowgli*). It was filmed by Roman Davydov at Soyuzmultfilm, the main animation studio of the Soviet Union. The success of the series was such that it was soon transformed into a full screen feature film in 1973. Made by the best animators and voiced by the most popular actors of the time, the film became the source of numerous aphorisms, which remain alive till the present day. Among the

aphorisms from the film that are still frequently employed in everyday conversation are the exclamation of Tabaqui the Jackal, "And we shall go north and wait it through" (used in describing extreme cowardice), the dialog of Kaa and Bagheera, "They called me also "yellow fish," was it not? – "Worm – worm – earth-worm"" (for undisguised provocations), and the remark "Good hunting" (employed in all sorts of contexts related to success from a good day's work to a pleasant trip to a shopping mall). The film-inspired image of Wolf Akela became the symbol of the Izhevsk zoo in 2008, and Bagheera has remained a popular name for black female cats.

At this point, we can observe that, whereas Kipling's works remained under a ban for forty years in the Soviet Union, the complete translations of *The Jungle Book* did not enjoy any publications for a longer period. The Prague edition of 1921 marked the beginning of a seventy-year-long gap: the next complete retranslation of *The Jungle Book* in the possession of the RNB is dated as late as 1991. That year saw two simultaneous publications of *The Jungle Book*—in a volume published in the city of Perm' and in a five-volume collection of Kipling's works published in Moscow (Kipling *Kim, Sobranie*).The multivolume edition made in the Russian capital relied on the complete translation of *The Jungle Book* by Chistiakova-Ver. This classical approach to rendering *The Jungle Book* was contested by the Perm' edition, which presented the readers with a unique blend of old and new translations of *The Jungle Book*'s prose and poetry, thus bringing together the efforts of several generations of the best translators of the twentieth century: Semion Zaimovskii, Nina Daruzes, Kornei Chukovskii, Samuil Marshak, Irina Komarova, and Mikhail Iasnov. This approach to *The Jungle Book* has been practiced by publishers to the present day: thus, a beautiful gift-book edition with colorful illustrations by Robert Ingpen published in St. Petersburg in 2016 was also a compilation of different translations by Chukovskii, Chistiakova-Ver, Lunin, Daruzes, Chukovskii, Marshak, and Komarova (Kipling *Kniga dzunglei*).

Kipling's Poetry: The True Romance

While *The Jungle Book* got gradually transformed into purely children's literature and alongside *Just So Stories* became the sole survivor of literary restrictions on Kipling's prose, Kipling's poetry managed to find its way to the readers despite the gap in its Russian publications between 1936 and 1976. By the end of the 1930s, Kipling's poetry had seen two editions in the Russian language. The first volume came out in Petrograd in 1922 and consisted of 22 Kipling poems translated by Ada Onoshkovich-Iatsyna (Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia*). This groundbreaking edition introduced the Russian readership to "Tomlinson," "The Truce of the Bear," "Danny Deever," "Sappers," "Boots," and "The *Mary Gloster*." This initial selection of poetry by Onoshkovich-Iatsyna worked towards the construction of an image of the poet different from that known and discussed in the west: a traveler, a nomad, and a romantic dreamer. This image remained alive till the end of the twentieth century. Thus, in 1998 critic and translator Evgenii Witkowsky described Kipling as the last romantic of the British Empire (Witkowsky 11).

The second volume of poetry—the aforementioned Stenich volume of 1936 prefaced by Miller-Budnitskaia—included almost all translations from the Onoshkovich-Iatsyna volume, as well as her new translations, like "The Glory of the Garden" and "Soldier an' Sailor Too." Among other translations included in the volume were "The Ballad of East and West" by Elizaveta Polonskaia, "The White Man's Burden" by Mikhail Froman, and "If" by Mikhail Lozinskii. At two instances, Stenich included two translations of one poem: thus, "The Song of the Banjo" and "Mandalay" were given in translations by Polonskaia, who was an already recognized translator and person of letters, and by Mikhail Gutner, a young and daring literary specialist. These two poems and their translations also contributed to the further construction of the romantic image of Kipling's poetry. Indeed, both "The Song of the Banjo" and "Mandalay" give an account of travels in distant countries across exotic landscapes and contain a note of nostalgia for the beauty of the world beyond the grayness of the home-land. This explains the Russian translators' interest in these poems: several decades later, "Mandalay" was retranslated by Vera Potapova (Wilde and Kipling, 401), Isidor Gringol'ts (Kipling *Izbrannoe* 369-71), and Vasilii Betaki (Kipling *Stikhi* 43-45), and "The Song of the Banjo" by Andrei Sergeev (Wilde and Kipling, 349-351) and Betaki (Kipling *Stikhi* 23-27). This interest in retranslations and their regular re-editions (see, for instance, Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia* 1994 85-91, 101-105) was particularly notable given the considerable number of poetic works by Kipling which had not been translated by the 1980s.

After the 1936 volume edited by Stenich, Kipling's poetry was difficult to access. As during my RNB catalogue search established, Stenich's volume was not removed to the restricted area section but was registered in the library in such a way that made it impossible to find and borrow. The next publication of Kipling's poetry after 1936 was a 1976 edition of Kipling's short stories and poems published in one volume with Oscar Wilde (Wilde and Kipling). This striking mismatch of authors was accounted for by the editor for the volume, Dmitrii Urnov, in his preface, entitled "The Rise and Fall of a Talent," where he identified similarities between the lives and careers of Wilde and Kipling with amazing skill: both writers, in his view, shared the same epoch, social standing, publishers, and neo-romantic tendencies; both of them witnessed their glories wane (Urnov 1976). The publication of Wilde and Kipling side by side can only be explained through the ban on Kipling and the cautious attitude of publishers to Wilde whose works, however, enjoyed several substantial publications in the 1960s.

The 1976 volume included twenty-two short stories and fifty-four poems by Kipling in translations published in 1922 and 1936, as well as in first-time translations and fifteen retranslations of such Kipling's poems as "The Ballad of the 'Bolivar'" by Alev Ibragimov, "Tomlinson" by Asar Eppel', "Danny Deever," "Tommy," and "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" by Gringol'ts, "South Africa" by Witkowsky, "Cholera Camp" by Anatolii Sendyk, and "When the Earth's Last Picture Is Painted" by Toporov. It also included new retranslations of "The Song of the Banjo" and "The White Man's Burden" by Sergeev and "Mandalay" by Potapova. It was also in 1976 that Potapova contested Polonskaia's translation of "The Ballad of the East and West," which did not, however, affect the canonicity of the latter (Wilde and Kipling 366-9). Another contestation of canonicity in the volume was the publication of Marshak's translation of "If," which, unlike

Potapova's translation, joined the list of the Russian readership's most favorite translations and continues to be widely quoted alongside Lozinskii's translation to date. The volume also included retranslations of the poems from *The Jungle Book* ("The Law of the Jungle," by Arkadii Steinberg and "The Road-Song of the Bandar-Log" by Viktor Lunin).

The next important publications of Kipling's works were edited in the 1980s by two professors from Leningrad State University, Nina Diakonova and Aleksandr Dolinin, both of whom continued to restore Kipling in the memory of the Russian readership throughout the subsequent years (Kipling *Izbrannoe* 1980 and 1983). The 1980 volume contained a retranslation of *The Light That Failed* by Viktor Khinkis, new translations of short stories, including "The White Seal" from *The Jungle Book* and a collection of 52 works of poetry, most of which were translations reprinted from older volumes, mainly from the one published in 1976; it also included some first-time translations and several retranslations ("The Dykes" by Erik Gorlin, "Gethsemane," "The Law of the Jungle," and "The White Man's Burden" by Toporov, "The Widow's Party" and "Soldier an' Sailor Too" by Aleksandr Shcherbakov, "Ford o'Kabul River" by Sergei Tkhorzhevskii, and "Mandalay" – this time by Gringol'ts). The editors also included a new retranslation of "If" by Toporov and the earlier retranslation by Marshak into the commentaries, thus giving the palm to the translation by Lozinskii, which got published in the main body of the book.

Another significant publication of translations of Kipling's poetry into Russian was made in Paris in 1986 by two Leningrad-born translators Georgii Ben and Vasilii Betaki, both of whom had emigrated in 1973. The preface by Betaki elaborated upon the social and political situation in the Soviet Union and the restrictions upon literature as a natural consequence of the political course of the country. "Political enemy number one"—this is the official status of Rudyard Kipling in the USSR," stated Betaki on the first page of the preface, thus implying the social need for translations of Kipling's works that had not made it to the Russian readership (Betaki 5). Ironically, the Paris volume consisted almost purely of retranslations and very few translations of Kipling's poems unknown to the Russian readers. Ben and Betaki retranslated "Tomlinson," "The Song of the Banjo," "Mandalay," "The Law of the Jungle," "If," and others, which again maintained the image of Kipling as a traveler and a romantic. One of the few translations which appeared in the Paris volume for the first time was Betaki's translation of "Russia to the Pacifists 1918"—a sardonic political poem written in the form of a dirge for the former empire torn by the revolution and the civil war (Kipling *Stikhi* 89-90). Alongside other Kipling's works depicting Russia in an unflattering light, like *A Man Who Was* and "The Truce of the Bear," "Russia to the Pacifists 1918" was an absolute taboo in the Soviet Union. Its final line alone—"So do we bury a Nation dead"—made the publication of the poem politically impossible. However, Betaki's translation turned out to be a retranslation. "Russia to the Pacifists" had by then already been translated into Russian by the Soviet literary critic and poetry specialist Mikhail Gasparov who made the translation without any hope for publication. By force of circumstances, the translation by Gasparov also became

known in 1986, when Gasparov himself ventured to recite his translation in public—to be precise, during the official celebration of his own fiftieth anniversary in the Central House of Literature Specialists in Moscow (Witkowsky 9-10). This reckless feat could have had grave consequences for Gasparov but for the rapid change of the political situation and the nuclear disaster which also took place in 1986 and diverted the attention of officials from Gasparov's political escapade. Gasparov's translation of "Russia to the Pacifists" was first published only in 1998, twelve years after it had first been read in public (Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia. Roman* 167-8).

The translations by Betaki and Gasparov look especially interesting in comparison. Both translations, as we know, were made public in 1986 but the social context and the purpose of the translations were strikingly different: Betaki was an emigrant working at radio "Freedom," Gasparov – a reputed Soviet scholar, philologist, and specialist in ancient classics, who was supposed to work in conformity with official restrictions. Betaki's translation is more colloquial both in the use of vocabulary and grammar; the references he makes allude to Soviet rhetoric. Thus, for instance, he translates the line "Break bread for a starving folk" as "Bread, bread for the hungry!" which for a Russian reader is clearly reminiscent of the famous 1917 revolutionary slogan, "Land for the peasants, factories for the workers, bread for the hungry!" The translation of the immediately following line, "Give them their food as they take the yoke" as "Give them their fodder as they take the yoke" shifts the focus from the death of the nation to the people who are part of this nation. Gasparov's translation is more elevated in tone; however, its text is full of hidden protest. For example, the line "And the shadow of a people that is trampled into mire" was rendered by Gasparov as "And only a shadow of a people which does not exist anymore"—a formula which relates much more to the times when Garsparov's translation was created than to the times when Kipling's original was written. But the most impressive change to the original made by Gasparov was in the rendering of the lines "Arms and victual, hope and counsel, name and country lost!" which was modified into "Not a slice, not a home, not a faith, not a name, not a country!" (Kipling *Stikhi* 89-90; Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia. Roman* 167-8) The sharp crescendo in translation was created by the enumeration of all human values which had by the 1980s been defied in course of Soviet history: life, property, religion, and dignity. The enumeration ends with the word "country," thus making the violation of human rights end with the destruction of the state. The translation by Gasparov therefore gave the impression of a social statement, and it is not surprising that it was almost immediately branded anti-Soviet (Witkowsky 9).

Limited publications of Kipling's poetry and the general ban on his works lent Kipling a special romantic allure. Under restrictions and surveillance, poetry as a genre tends to circulate faster than prose, as it can be rewritten more easily, learnt by heart, and recited. This was the way Kipling's poetic images gradually got incorporated into Russian culture, taking part in the construction of new images. Thus, for instance, in 1937, Pavel Kogan wrote a poem entitled "Brigantine" which contained all archetypical features associated with Kipling's poetry in the Russian culture: a ship, a longing for travel, a farewell to the sickening boredom (*Sovetskaia poeziia,* 311-312). Kogan died when leading a reconnaissance mission during World War II at the age of twenty-four; his poem outlived him, becoming a song in the 1960s. Yet the first poem by Kipling directly turned into a Russian song became the translation of "Boots" by Onoshkovich-Iatsyna, which became the lyrics for the song composed by Evgenii Agranovich in 1941, as he volunteered to the Western Soviet Front and took part in the Battle for Moscow. Agranovich's song reverberated several times in the so-called author's songs or bard's songs—non-mainstream and non-professional genre which consisted in the individual performance of self-written songs to a seven or six string guitar self-accompaniment and enjoyed its highest popularity in the Soviet Union in the third quarter of the twentieth century. One of the first bard-performers to allude to Agranovich's song written to Kipling's words was Bulat Okudzhava, who in his 1957 song "Do you Hear Boots Trample?" not only referred to the original poem by Kipling, but also used its signature feature—the hyphened multiple repetitions of single words (Okudzhava). In 1965, bard Iurii Kukin wrote the song entitled "Kipling's Soldier" in which he speculated on the consequences of long journeys away from home (Kukin).

The influence of Kipling over the Soviet poetry and music extended far beyond the aforementioned cases. Among Kipling's poems that in different years became lyrics for songs of different genres are "I've Never Sailed the Amazon," "The Gypsy Trail," and "The Servant when he Reigneth." The effect of Kipling's banned poetry on the individual perception of literature and the surrounding world was well described by Aleksandr Gorodnitskii in his 1988 song "Lloyd's Bell" where he gave a direct reference to the 1922 Onoshkovich-Iatsyna's thin volume, hidden on the shelf among unbanned books (Gorodnitskii).

Conclusion and research perspectives

Kipling's influence on Russian literature and arts, as we can see, was tangible throughout the 20th century. The effect it made on the Russian readership was preconditioned by the decisions of publishers in their selection of parts of *The Jungle Book* and translators and editors in their choice of poetry. Soviet literary restrictions aggravated the distortion of Kipling's image. Limited access to Kipling's works forced the readers to form their judgment on the basis of what was available. The readership's opinion was determined by two main corpora of Kipling's texts which the readers had access to. The first one consisted of the variations on *The Jungle Book*—multiply retranslated, reinterpreted, and retold to the degree that it eventually lost its stylistic features, poetic components, and even its size, thus becoming a children's book. The reasons for the reluctance of

Soviet publishers to produce "grown-up" editions of *The Jungle Book* are related to the ban on Kipling but are not reduced to it. Indeed, the ban was not total, and since the children's versions of *The Jungle Book* were widely circulated, one could wonder why a "grown-up" version, be it an abridged one, did not appear till the 1990s. It is a fact, for instance, that *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* were widely circulated in the Soviet Union in both adult and children versions. And even though such parts as "Mowgli's Song That He Sang on the Council Rock When He Danced on Shere Khan's Hide" would have been found improper by censors for the potential risk of undesirable political interpretations, most of *The Jungle Book* could have been seen quite appropriate. Therefore, we are not dealing here with censorship as a single factor; there are also other parameters involved, which include the habitual behaviour of publishers and the technical difficulties of finding a single translator to engage in a lengthy project of translating a complex text comprised of both prose and poetry.

The second corpus of texts that determined the readership's opinion of Kipling was composed of translations of poetry, different selections of which made the readership see Kipling as a traveler and a person of absolute freedom. Every subsequent generation of readers shaped its views on Kipling based on what it had access to; and every new generation of translators produced retranslations of the same pieces of Kipling's poetry ("The Song of the Banjo," "Mandalay," "The Law of the Jungle," "If"), as they naturally tried to match strength with their predecessors. The poems which got selected for translation in 1922 and 1936 formed the core of Kipling's poetry for the Russian readership. Other translations of Kipling's poetry were built around and in concordance with this core. The response of poets and songwriters to Kipling's poetry was very strong yet limited to what was available in the Russian language, and hence determined by the personal choices of translators and editors engaged in the selection of single poems. However, even when the publishing constraints were lifted, the translators continued to be attracted by the same poems, despite there being a great scope of Kipling's poems waiting to be translated for the first time. It is also striking that despite the clear interest of the Russian readership towards Kipling, his poetry continued to be published in random selections rather than in poetry collections in accordance with Kipling's arrangements. In this regard, the question of "non-retranslation," as well as "non-translation" remains to be explored. As well as in the case of *The Jungle Book*, we cannot ascribe this imbalance in the translations of poetry to political conditions, individual choices, or censorship only; it originated, as Koskinen and Paloposki would put it, "in a web of multiple causation" (Koskinen and Paloposki, "Retranslation," 296). Answers are yet to be found in course of research into official regulations on print and culture, publishers' archives, as well as personal accounts and memoirs of Soviet translators and editors.

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Difficult Journey
2006
Mixed media on canvas
100x150 cm
© Beyza Boynudelik

(Re)Framing Gay Literature through Translations, Reprints and Cross-Medium Retranslations: With Reference to Pai Hsien-yung's *Crystal Boys*

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Introduction

Pai Hsien-yung (白先勇) is a giant in Chinese culture in terms of his creative writing, his role in performing arts, the cinematic adaptation of his works, as well as his non-fiction. He has had an indelible impact on the cultural life of the Chinese people, both in Chinese mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas. Of all the artistic media that Pai has ventured into, from *Kunqu* operas, novels, to non-fiction, he is first thought of as a preeminent stylist of fiction. Pai's most celebrated gay-themed novel is *Nie Zi* [孽子], which vividly portrays the gay subculture. A-qing, a high school student, is caught *in flagrante delicto* by a security guard in the school lab and expelled from his school and subsequently kicked out of his dysfunctional family by his screaming father. A-qing wanders into the New Park (now called 228 Park) in Taipei, where gay people and gay hustlers cruise at night. He joins them and is befriended by several gay sex workers, Little Jade, Wu Min and Mousy, who all share a similar family background and sexual orientation.

The novel was translated into English and published by Gay Sunshine Press in the U.S.A. in 1990 (Pai, *Crystal Boys*), reprinted in 1995. The novel was also made into a film in Taiwan in 1986[52], and was released the next year in the USA for the Reeling Chicago Gay Lesbian Film Festival. *The Outsider/Outcasts*/Nie Zi (1986) is considered to be the first gay-themed Taiwan film, and the blurb from *San Francisco Sentinel* introduces it as "powerfully erotic!" The novel was later made into a critically and popularly acclaimed 20-episode television serial drama by Jui Yuan Tsao in 2003. In 2014, the novel was adapted into a stage performance by Jui Yuan Tsao and the author himself. Both the TV series and the stage performance are fansubbed online.

Year	Title	Medium	Publisher/producer/director
1983	*Nie Zi* (Chinese)	book	Horizon Publishing (Taiwan)
1986	*Nie Zi / The Outsiders/Outcast* (Chinese with English subtitles)	film	Yu Kan-ping

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[52] The film was reviewed by Timothy Liu as well in 2000, and unfortunately the author of the source text and the English translation by Howard Goldblatt go entirely unmentioned in Liu's essay.

1990/1995	*Crystal Boys* (English)	English book translation by Howard Goldblatt	Gay Sunshine Press in U.S.A. The reprint of this translation came out in 1995.
2003	*Nie Zi* (Chinese; fansubbed available on www.youtube.com)	20-episode TV series	Public Television Station (Taiwan)/ Jui Yuan Tsao
2014	*Nie Zi* (Chinese; fansubbed in English)	Stage performance	Jui Yuan Tsao
2017	*Crystal Boys* (English)	English book translation by Howard Goldblatt	The Chinese University Press (Hong Kong)

The table shows that the Chinese literary piece was first adapted into a Chinese movie with English subtitles, which is a diagonal translation in terminology by audio-visual translation scholars (Gottlieb 101). The novel is then translated into English, which is a translation *per se.* The English translation is a success, which leads to two reprints with a time span of more than two decades. During these two decades, the literary work is adapted to TV as a series and as a theatre performance, with English subtitles for their online editions. We might ask a series of questions: What will happen to the Chinese literary piece when it is translated from a homosexuality-sensitive, if not homophobic, society into a more tolerant cultural context? Will the target text be a "gayed translation" (Harvey *Gay Community*, 158)? What are the motives behind the two reprints and what reframing strategies have been applied in the reprints? What role does the tempo-spatial context play in the reframing of these reprints? How does the literary translation influence the fansubbed English subtitles for the TV and stage adaptations? The study will look at these translations, reprints of translations, and fansubbed subtitles within the framework of retranslation.

Retranslation, Reprints and Cross-Medium Retranslation

The term "retranslation" refers to "either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself" (Tahir Gürçağlar 233). In Almberg's terms, retranslations are also called "new translation" or "multiple translations" ("Retranslation" 927), which refers to a text that is translated more than once into the same target language or different target languages. Retranslation has been in existence in different regions and periods in human history.

Feng (71) attempts to describe assumptions about the retranslation of literary works from three perspectives, "the necessity of retranslation," "motives for retranslation," and "the relation between the first or initial translation and the 'new' translation(s)." As for motives for retranslation, translation scholars have recognized various reasons. Brownlie (150) suggests that "changing social context and the evolution of translation norms" contribute greatly to the motives for retranslation; when discussing the surge of retranslation in Turkey since the 2000s, Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar argue that the phenomenon is "connected to ideological, economic, and marketing-related reasons, as well as institutional intervention (in the form of government-issued recommended readings lists), and legal and copy-right related developments" (*Perspectives on Retranslation* 225). Translation might involve the same translator or different translators over a short

time span or an appalling long period. Given that, the social and cultural context in which these retranslations are produced matters a lot.

Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen take issue with the reductionist "binary categorization into first and retranslations" and "the categorization into revision and retranslations", and they point out that "It is more a question of a continuum where different versions seamlessly slide together or even coalesce" (Paloposki and Koskinen, "Reprocessing Texts" 47). They pay attention to the study of reprints for the reprints "seemed the obvious first alternative for retranslation" (Paloposki and Koskinen, "A Thousand and One Translations"). Reprints, for them, can be "interpreted, not negatively as a lack of the will to retranslate, but positively as a desire to keep a stock of works available for the readers" (Paloposki and Koskinen, "Reprocessing Texts" 34).

Meanwhile, out of Pai's cultural influence and the importance of his literary piece, the TV and stage adaptations of Crystal Boys are gaining popularity with Chinese audience. With the modern technology and international interest in this gay-themed Chinese classic, fansubbers manage to provide English subtitles online for these adaptations. These adaptations keep most of the lines from the literary piece, and the translation into English can be considered as cross-medium retranslation since they translate the same lines that have been previously been translated into English. Bogucki (52) pinpoints the specificity of cross-medium translation as "having to go from the spoken of the original to the written of the translation". I will elaborate on this with ample textual evidence in the following discussion. However, before we move on to the textual analysis, I would like to give some background information about translating gay literature and the (re)framing theory by Mona Baker.

Translating Gay Literature and (Re)Framing Theory

Homosexuality has been a sensitive topic, sometimes a taboo, in many parts of the world, and gay literature has accordingly been marginalized as a peripheral literary genre. In Fone's terms, gay literature is the "writing that represents, interprets, and constructs the experience of love, friendship, intimacy, desire and sex between men, that is, what most readers would call gay male literature" (Fone xxvii). McCallum and Tuhkanen suggest the chapters in their edited book, *The Cambridge History of Gay and Lesbian Literature*, aim to "focus on the works of identifiably gay or lesbian authors (Christopher Marlowe, Audre Lorde, Constantine Cavafy) and on works featuring same-sex eroticism no matter what the orientation of the author" (4). Brian James Baer points out, "I am using 'gay' here as an umbrella term to refer to the marketing of literary works and authors to an LGBTQ audience. Gay literature may be authored by individuals who are not openly gay, such as Walt Whitman, or who lived in a time before the emergence of a totalizing 'gay' identity, such as Sappho or Michelangelo, but who are packaged for a contemporary gay-identified audience" (139). In the Chinese context, similar notions to the abovementioned definitions can be observed (Chi; Chu).

Though translation of gay literature has gained increasing academic attention in the West (Baer and Kaindl; Baer; Baker, *In Other Words*; Harvey, "Describing Camp Talk", "Gay Community", *Intercultural Movements;* Linder; Mazzei; Mira), the Chinese academia has neglected this issue, intentionally or not. Translation never happens in a vacuum. Ideology, the invisible

hand, plays its role now and then during the whole translation process: the choice of the source text, the translation strategies adopted, the marketing strategies, etc. Keith Harvey "explores the multiple intersections of the notion 'gay community' and 'gay identity' with the problematic of translation" (Harvey, "Gay Community" 164) and he also "uses literary examples from English-language and French-language post-war fiction to elaborate a descriptive framework for representations of camp talk" (Harvey, "Describing Camp Talk" 240). Daniel Linder studies the Spanish translations of *The Maltese Falcon* by the US hard-boiled author Dashiell Hammett with the focus on the terms used by homosexuals like *queer*, *fairy*, *gunsel* and *gooseberry lay*, and how they are handled in the target texts spanning over half a century when the social attitude toward homosexuality changes over time (337-360).[53] Actually, Linder's study is an interesting case of retranslation of gay literature with the change of political and cultural contexts.

There is limited scholarship on the theme of translation and homosexuality in the Chinese context. Sun Xiaoya studies the translation of homosexuality with reference to the Chinese renditions of *The Color Purple* by American author Alice Walker. Her research findings show that "while most readers of the original book consider the two women in a homosexual relationship, those of the Chinese versions mostly talk about them as sisters", and that "under the influence of both translators' subjectivity and social and cultural factors which translators are not able to control, homosexuality has to be adapted to Chinese context" (Sun v-vi). Yu Jing and Zhou Yunni examine the Chinese translation of *Brokeback Mountain* in 2006, and their study reveals "a mixture of conflicting translation strategies which accentuate, suppress and interfere with different homosexual elements in the novel" (1).

From the above-mentioned analysis, it is easy to understand that the translation of gay-themed literature between different cultures indispensably involves the handling of ideological and cultural difference, conflict to be more specific. Therefore, it is worthwhile to explore the experience of the first modern Chinese gay-themed fiction translated into a less hetero-normative cultural environment. What happens to the reprints in the USA and Hong Kong when the temporal and spatial contexts change? What happens when the fansubbers volunteer to provide English subtitles for the cinematic, TV and stage productions adapted from the literary piece? Translation is a rewriting process, and for Mona Baker, "framing narratives in translation are expected". Baker points out that "The same set of events can be framed in different ways to promote competing narratives, with important implications for different parties to the conflict; this often results in frame ambiguity" (Baker, *Translation and Conflict* 107). Baker points out that "translators and interpreters – in collaboration with publishers, editors and other agents involved in the interaction – accentuate, undermine or modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance" (*Translation and Conflict* 5). In terms of practice, Baker suggests,

> Processes of (re)framing can draw on practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resources, from paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as

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[53] For more discussion about the translation of gay literature, please refer to Mazzei; Alvstad; Santaemilia; Baer; Baer and Kaindl.

> colour and image, to numerous linguistic devices such as tense shifts, deixis, code switching, use of euphemisms, and many more. (*Translation and Conflict* 5)

She further proposes four major strategies, namely "temporal and spatial framing", "selective appropriation of textual material", "framing by labelling", and "repositioning of participants" (*Translation and Conflict* 112-140). By labelling, Baker refers to "any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in narrative" (*Translation and Conflict* 122). This approach can be widely used and identified in translation of book titles, movie titles and many other names of things. The realization of (re)framing can be done through repositioning in paratextual commentary, "Introductions, prefaces, footnotes, glossaries and—to a lesser extent, since translators do not normally control these—cover design and blurbs are among the numerous sites available to translators for repositioning themselves, their readers and other participants in time and space" (*Translation and Conflict* 133). Against this background, this paper aims to study the translation of a founding work of modern gay literature, *Nie Zi* [孽子] (Crystal Boys). The English translation of the first modern Chinese gay novel *Nie Zi* will be discussed against the theoretical framework proposed by Mona Baker, namely the reframing narratives. The subtitle translation for the cinematic and stage adaptations of this literary piece will also be studied to reveal the influence of the book translation on the subtitle translation when the literary piece is canonized in the source language and in the English target language respectively.

The English Book Translation and Its Reprints

Western academia has long been interested in homosexuality and gay literature in China (Hinsch; Vitiello). In the past two to three decades, the reading market has witnessed increasing publication of gay-themed literary works. As Shi Ye points out, Taiwanese writer Pai Hsien-yung pioneered modern Chinese gay literature, and his masterpiece, *Nie Zi*, is the founding work of gay-themed literary works" (7). Scholarship witnesses increasing interest in the novel from different perspectives, such as national allegory and gender relationship. (Huang, "From Glass Clique to Tongzhi Nation", *Queer Asia*; Martin; Zeng). This novel was translated into English under the title of *Crystal Boys* by Howard Goldblatt in the USA in 1990. There has been some scholarship on the English translation (Yin et al; Xie). The following paragraphs study the English translation from the perspective of narrative reframing. Mona Baker suggests using all resources accessible to the translators and editors in one's analysis of reframing in narratives, for example "visual resources such as colour and image" (Baker, *Translation and Conflict* 5), which I will consider in the following discussion.

When the novel was first published in 1983, the social attitude towards homosexuality in the Chinese context was still quite conservative, and accordingly, the novel did not highlight the gay-theme. Martin points out, instead,

> [I]n martial-law-period (pre-1987) literary criticism of the novel in Taiwan, *Crystal Boys* was in fact not usually interpreted as primarily a "homosexual novel" in the way Le Mu described it in 1986. The readings that I consider here instead see the novel either as centrally

concerned with father-son-relationships, or as a political allegory for the relations between the Republic of China on Taiwan and the People's Republic on the Chinese mainland. (Martin 57)

While the story is mainly about the male sex workers in the New Park in Taipei, earlier literary reviews focused on the patriarchal relationship between the father and the son instead, or the allegorical relationship between the Mainland and the Taiwan island. However, the first edition and the first revised edition used the following painting for the front cover, and the back-cover blurbs mentioned nothing about homosexuality (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).
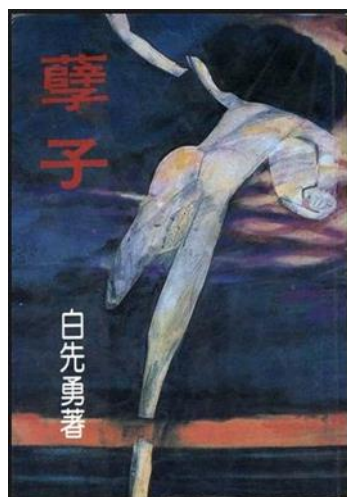

Figure 1: Chinese ST 1983 (Taipei)

Figure 2: Chinese ST 1990 (Taipei)

Goldblatt's translation was published by the American Gay Sunshine Press, a publisher exclusively devoted to gay-themed literature. Gay men are assumed to have attributes stereotypically associated with the other gender, and the book cover design for the first edition (See Figure 3) is an obvious testimony to such an assumption. The feminine posture of the man in the portrait stereotypes Chinese gay men to a large extent. However, in the book review by Charles Solomon for Los Angeles Times the author associates the work by Pai with John Rechy's *City of Night*, a gay-themed novel. The English translation, *Crystal Boys*, was very popular with the readers, and the publisher produced the new edition, the reprint, five years later. This time, the biggest change took place in the cover design. On the front cover, there is a half-naked Asian young man with his jeans unzipped. Apart from the book title and the author's name, there is a line at the bottom of the front cover, which reads "The first modern Asian gay novel' (See Figure 4).

Secondly, the blurbs from *World Literature Today* on the back cover also changed in the new edition. While the first edition in 1990 reads "Pai Hsien-yung is arguably the most accomplished contemporary writer in Chinese" (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 1990 back-cover), the reprint in 1995 shifted onto the translator and the gay-theme of this novel,

> Howard Goldblatt's translation [of Crystal Boys] is excellent, managing to capture the bittersweet tone, the uneven bursts of poetic and prosaic narrative, and the pervasive imagery of the original. The first modern Chinese novel on the lives of homosexuals is often moving and always thought-provoking. The English translation is most welcome in light of the continued homophobia in our societies. (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 1995 back-cover)

McCormack points out that "Although gains were made by LGBT activists in the 1960s and 1970s, and identity politics continued to be used to context homophobic oppression, homophobia greatly increased in US and UK cultures in the 1980s" (58), and Anderson argues that the AIDS epidemic was the primary reason for the spike in homophobia (93-104). This blurb quotation is deleted in the new edition of the translation published by the Centre for Translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2017. The Hong Kong edition also changed the front cover design from the half-naked young man back to the cover paint chosen by Pai Hsien-yung, the author, for the Chinese version in 1990 (See Figure 5). This painting was by the gay artist Ku Fu-sheng, who is remotely related to Pai.
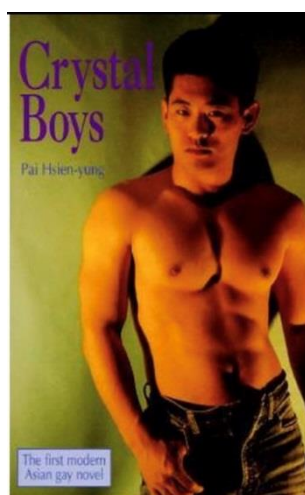

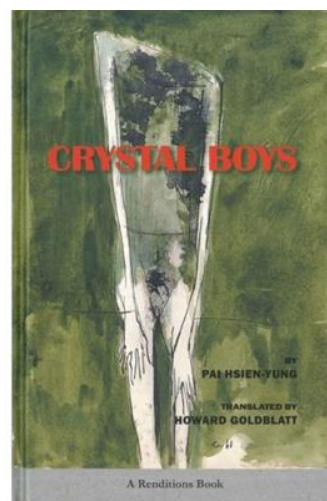| Figure 3: English 1990 (USA) | Figure 4: English 1995 (USA) | Figure 5: English 2017 (Hong Kong) |

The back-cover blurbs for the 2017 edition reiterates that the novel is "widely known as the first gay novel in the twentieth-century literature written in Chinese", and the 1995 blurbs about homophobia is not included. Instead, the Hong Kong edition quotes *Encyclopaedia of Modern Literature in the 20th Century* to highlight that the novel "presents vividly the oppressive power of the Chinese patriarchy and its torturous effects on its sons" (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 2017 back-cover).

Apart from visual resources, Baker elaborates on framing by labelling (Baker, *Translation and Conflict* 122), and this strategy is frequently used in translating titles of movies and books. The translation of the title of this first Asian gay novel serves as case in point for Baker's labelling strategy. In Chinese, the title is *Nie Zi*, literally translated as unfilial sons with negative associations and a criticism of homosexuality. The English title for the 1986 cinematic adaptation with the same Chinese title *Nie Zi* [孽子] is *The Outsiders/Outcasts*. This English title highlights the social identity of this group of youngsters, who are expelled from their families because of their sexual

orientations. Actually, Howard Goldblatt acknowledged the cinematic adaptation of this literary piece in 1986 and mentioned this in his notes in the 1990/1995 book translation. Pai, the author, was involved in both the film production in 1986 and in the book translation by Goldblatt, which was mentioned by Goldblatt at the seminar at Hong Kong Baptist University on December 19, 2005. That is to say, the author himself acknowledged the change from *The Outsiders/Outcasts* into *Crystal Boys*.

Howard Goldblatt translated the title as *Crystal Boys* in English, for "In Taiwan, the gay community is known as the *boliquan*, literally 'glass community,' while the individuals are referred to as 'glass boys'" (Pai, *Crystal Boys 1995* 7). The English title evokes more positive associations connected with glass as pure and strong, while boys clearly designate gay men and acknowledges the presence of a minority group in Chinese society. This relabelling also serves as a form of reframing and reconstructs the whole narrative from a different perspective than the original, in which the Chinese author was suppressed by the social attitude towards homosexuality and could not create positive identification. Since the English translation of *Nie Zi* was such a success, with a second edition published in 1995, the English title *Crystal Boys* has become the established translation for this literary piece, and the 20-episode TV series in 2003 and the theatre play in 2014 both use *Crystal Boys* as the English title for the two Chinese adaptations. The TV series *Crystal Boys* was debuted in 2003, and the TV series made ground-breaking impact on the social attitude when they reached all living rooms in Taiwan. Since then, there have been literary pieces and films on homosexuality in Taiwan, Ta-wei Chi (紀大偉), Tien-wen Chu (朱天文), Ang Lee (李安), Ming-liang Tsai (蔡明亮) to name a few[54]. Homosexuality is no longer a social taboo in Taiwan entering the 2010s and same-sex marriage is legalized there in 2019.

Different from the 1990/1995 editions, the translator used the past tense in the 2017 reprint in Hong Kong instead of the present tense in the previous editions. "In Taiwan, the gay community **was** known as the *boliquan*, literally "glass community"; while the individuals **were** referred to as "glass boys." (Pai, *Crystal Boys 2017*) This is a typical case of temporal reframing. *Boliquan* is a derogatory term for the gay community in the 1970s and 1980s. However, since the 1990s, the gay right movement has been active, leading to the legislation of same-sex marriage in the island in 2019. It must have seemed inappropriate to use the present tense to frame the general perception of the gay community 30 years after the publication of the first edition of the English translation in the early 1990s. This is what Mona Baker has categorized as "temporal framing" ((Baker, *Translation and Conflict* 112).

In *Nie Zi*, there is a dialogue between the male sex workers:

「那個**騷東西**嗎？」
楊教頭用扇子遙點了紅衣少年一下，歪過頭去，湊到盛公耳下，報告了一段少年的履歷：華國寶，人都叫他華**騷包**，一天到晚愛亮出他身上那幾斤健身房練出來的肌肉來……

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[54] For more information about queer writing in Taiwan, please refer to Martin and Chi; for more information about gay and lesbian films in Taiwan, please refer to Lee 163-169.

(Pai, *Nie Zi* 107)

The term "騷包" (Sao Bao, literally means slut) is used between male sex workers in the New Park. This discourse creates a challenge for the translator(s), as mentioned by Howard Goldblatt during his seminar talk at the Baptist University of Hong Kong in 2005. Goldblatt and Pai Hsien-yung went to a gay bar in New York and they observed how gay people communicated with each other there. All of a sudden, he overheard the phrase "butch queen" in the bar and asked the author about this term for translating "騷包". Pai nodded and agreed, and here goes the translation:

> 「You mean that **butch queen**？」
> Chief Yang pointed to the boy in red with his fan, then leaned over and gave
> Lord a whispered account of his history: Hua Guobao, but everybody calls him
> the **butch queen**. All he ever does is prance around showing off his muscles…
> (Pai, *Crystal Boys 1990/1995* 100)

Butch is defined as "A lesbian whose appearance and behaviour are seen as traditionally masculine" in the Oxford dictionary[55]; However, the word "queen" was added by the translator to imply that Hua Guobao is homosexual. By this domesticated rendering, the translation serves as another supporting case of what Baker terms "labelling" for reframing the narrative.

From the above analysis, it is easy to observe that, through non-linguistic resources of visual images and labelling strategies, the first modern Asian gay novel was reframed to address the assumed expectations of the target readership in the English world.

TV and Stage Adaptations and Cross-Medium Retranslations

Although the English title for the 1986 cinematic adaptation, *Outcast*, did not establish itself as a canonized label, the blurbs introduce the film as "powerfully erotic", and the half-naked men on the cover have drawn great attention to the movie from the audience. Definitely, the story itself was found attractive, which facilitated the translation of this novel for the American market. There is no immediate evidence to support the influence of Howard Goldblatt's translation on the subtitle translations for the TV and stage adaptations. The lines in the TV and stage adaptation, either monologues or dialogues, match the literary piece to a large extent; therefore, it is safe to assume it is a retranslation, though it is marked by cross-medium characteristics. Be it Gottlieb's "diagonal translation" or Bogucki's "cross-medium translation", the specificity of adaptation between literary pieces and other mediums of artistic production like films, TV programmes or stage performances has been expounded by researchers, Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (1999), Timothy Corrigan (2012), Phyllis Zatlin (2005), to name a few.

The "corrected and new" translation was released by the Chinese University Press in Hong Kong in 2017. To a large extent, Howard Goldblatt's *Crystal Boys* has acquired the status of a "classic". The French version is titled as *Garçons de Cristal*, which can be easily interpreted as the

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[55] https://www.lexico.com/definition/butch last retrieved on 28 May 2020.

impact of the English translation. The influence of Goldblatt's translation can be found in the subtitles made available for the 20-episode TV series by Taiwan Public Broadcasting Station. When the TV series was first released, there were no English subtitles. However, the TV series is now available on youtube.com with English subtitles by fansubbers. Compared to the movie adaptation in 1986, the 2003 production presents the full original work. Of course, the screen writer has had to rewrite some of the original story into dialogues, and there are lines which are not in the novel. However, most of the conversations in the literary piece have found their way in the TV production. The fansubber(s) also acknowledged the English book translation by Howard Goldblatt, though not for the beginning instalment. "A big thanks to Howard Goldblatt's translation of this novel! That helped me a lot!" [56] The help from the book translation can be easily discerned in the subtitles. For instance, Chapter 25 starts with the newspaper report on the reporter's visit to the new gay bar, Cozy Nest, and the whole report is adapted into lines by A-qing, Little Jade and Wu Min. They take turns to read the report from the newspaper. The subtitle translation makes full reference to the book translation, while there are still some minor revisions and changes. In the Chinese original, Cozy Nest is called the "男色大本營" (Pai, *Nie Zi* 341), and Howard Goldblatt renders it into "the watering hole of our fair city's boys of the night" (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 2017, 303), while the subtitle in English is "the watering hole of Taipei's gay men"[57]. In the Chinese report, it reads "來這裏吃禁果（分桃）的人", and there is an intertextual reference to homosexuals by the term "分桃". The book translation misses this reference in "the people who gather here to taste the forbidden fruit…" (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 2017, 304). However, for the 2014 stage performance, the Chinese line goes as "到這裏分桃吃禁果的", and the English subtitle by a fansubber is "It's said that homosexuals come here to taste the forbidden fruit"[58]. The English subtitles for the TV series and the stage performance accentuate the gay identity of these sexual minorities.
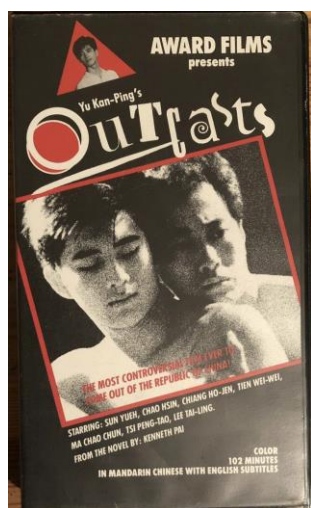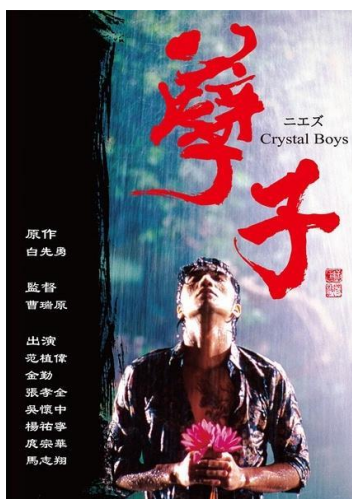

Figure 6 Film 1986 Figure 7 TV Series 2003 Figure 8 Stage Performance 2014

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[56] https://subcrystalboys.fandom.com/wiki/Episode_13#WikiaArticleComments last retrieved on 18Feb. 2020.
[57] https://subcrystalboys.fandom.com/wiki/Episode_18#WikiaArticleComments last retrieved on Feb 18, 2020.
[58] https://subcrystalboys.fandom.com/wiki/The_Play_Part_2 last retrieved on Feb 18, 2020.

While the influence of Howard Goldblatt's translation can be seen through the fansubbed subtitles in English, the fansubbers' hesitation can be detected from the textual evidence. In the Chinese story, the gay hustlers are taken to the police station for interrogation. A chubby police officer asks Wu Min: "你是〇號麼？" (Pai, *Nie Zi* 221). Literally, this means "Are you number zero?" In the gay community, number zero is referred to as the passive one in gay sex, while number one the active one. This binary categorization leans too heavily on heteronormativity, since it can be seen in terms of number zero being "the woman" and number one being "the man". These sexual roles are most readily associated with gay men, and such categorization is rooted in notions of gender, masculinity and femininity that are really outdated. Actually, for the police officer, number zero has become a sneering synonym for "camp" or "femme-presenting", and even among the gay community, they feel like being zero makes you the submissive or "the woman". Instead of using bottom, the term for the submissive party in gay sex, Howard Goldblatt translates "〇号" into "the fuckee" (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 2017, 202). This abusive and aggressive rendition lays bare that the relationship between these sex hustlers with their patrons is based on sex only. To make it worse, the English translation accentuates the sexual intercourse by adding one phrase there: "'You must be the fuckee, not the fucker,' he commented. The two guards snickered." (Pai, *Crystal Boys* 2017, 202) In the Chinese original, it is a question by the police officer, while in the English translation, the police officer just comments. He seems to be very sure about his conclusion. Wu Min is a very sensitive young man, and he even commits suicide after being kicked out by his ex-patron. The translator immediately associates this character with the femme figure in a gay relationship. In the TV series, the playwright changes Wu Min to A-qing in the interrogation, for the TV series is more centered on A-qing as the narrator. The police officer asks A-qing, "〇號還是一號?" (literally as number zero or number one). In the English subtitle, the fansubbers render it as "Number zero or number one?" However, a line in bracket is added afterwards, "[The fuckee or the fucker?]"[59]. For the stage performance in 2014, the English subtitle for this line goes as "You... look like a number zero [The fuckee]. Aren't you?"[60] It seems that the fansubbers for the TV series and for the stage performance make reference to Goldblatt's translation; meanwhile, they want to present the local flavor of this labelling culture for different roles played by gay members in sex.

It can be easily seen that Goldblatt's English translation of the literary piece shed light on the subtitle translations for the TV and stage adaptation of this story. With the time and space constraints marking audio-visual translation, the English subtitle production can be safely considered as cross-medium retranslation. The motives behind such retranslation are definitely different from retranslation in the traditional sense. The translators make reference to the previous, in this case, the established translation while producing the English subtitles for the Chinese artistic adaptations by incorporating the existing translation in their translation. Meanwhile, they also make use of the limited screen space to express their disagreement with the previous translation. In this case, the translation of culturally loaded camp terms serves as a good example.

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[59] https://subcrystalboys.fandom.com/wiki/Episode_13#WikiaArticleComments last retrieved on 8 March 2020.
[60] https://subcrystalboys.fandom.com/wiki/The_Play_Part_2 last retrieved on 8March 2020.

Concluding Remarks

Through textual analysis, we can find out that paratexual devices like cover design, blurbs, translator's notes and footnotes facilitate the translator's "repositioning themselves, their readers and other participants in time and space" (Baker, *Translation and Conflict* 133). It is easy to see that translation is beyond linguistic transference. The mainstream ideology will show its influence on the translation, and translators, as well as other subjects involved in the production and consumption of translation works, all play their roles in this publication, revising, reprint and cross-medium retranslation process. The translation of gay literature between Chinese and English serves as a good example, and the above analysis against Mona Baker's "reframing narrative" approach reveals the complexity of translation, reprints and cross-medium retranslation of gay-themed novels.

The filmic adaptation was accentuated as "powerfully erotic", though the literary piece is a clean one. The change of cover design for the first translation and the subsequent reprints in the USA and Hong Kong is in accordance with the positioning of the literary piece in different social and cultural contexts. The blurbs vary between the reprints for the social attitude towards homosexuality is evolving diachronically. The translation of the title from *The Outsiders/ Outcasts* to *Crystal Boys*, a labelling framing strategy by Mona Baker, shows how the sexual minority is defined and conceived in a different social space. The canonization of *Crystal Boys* sees its impact on subsequent artistic adaptation of the literary work into a TV series and a stage performance. The fansubbed subtitles from the TV and stage adaptation of this literary master piece also manifest the influence of the book translation by the first English translator, Howard Goldblatt, though their hesitation and attempt to challenge the established translation can be discerned in the textual traces. Through the English translation, the reprints in two cultural spaces, and the cyber fansubbing of the subtitles for the cross-medium adaptations, it can be summarized as "gayed translation" by Harvey (*Gay Community*, 158). As the above textual analysis reveals, the TV and the stage adaptations of the literary piece fully follow the lines in the original Chinese story. While the book translation by Howard Goldblatt is a full and to some extent gayed translation, the English subtitles for the two cross-medium productions can be safely assumed as retranslations. The subtitle translators acknowledge Goldblatt's work. On the one hand, they attempt to explicate cultural references, despite the time and space constraints imposed by subtitling, and accentuate the gay identities of the group of young people near the New Park. On the other hand, the influence of the book translation can be seen when the fansubbers keep Goldblatt's rendition in brackets while offering their interpretation and version in the English subtitles. The current case study offers a perspective on the tempo-spatial change as revealed by the reprints of the book translation and cross-medium retranslations as demonstrated by the subtitle translations for TV and stage adaptations.

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That Photo of a Gathering Over Rakı
By Gökçenur Ç.

Translated by Saliha Paker and the poetry group, attended by the poet, CWTTL, 13 September 2014

If I die, and I may,
bury me in a violin case
in a geranium evening, under a pear tree
If I die, and I may,
don't set up a poetry prize in my name

If I die, though I never have,
bury me in the great vowel harmony of Turkish,
in its docile rhymes
in a gazel's refrain ,"won't go, will stay,"
If I die, though I never have,
don't publish my selected poems

If I die, for dying's the fashion this year,
bury me in that photo of a gathering over rakı
look, how thrilled we appear
as if about to bring out a magazine
as if arguing over its name
If I die, for dying's the fashion this year
the commemoration should be cancelled due to rain

One can't transcend poetry when alive
if possible, no street should be named after me,
and if it's absolutely a must to set up
a statue, place it in a seaside park
so that seagulls may freely shit on my head
beaten by the salty winds
let the rusty plaque blacken underneath:

Gökçenur Ç.: Poet

Date of Birth: unknown
Date of Death: don't tell him, he doesn't know he's dead

Bir Rakı Sofrası Fotoğrafı

Ölürsem, ki ölebilirim
bir keman kutusuna gömün beni
bir sardunya akşamına, bir armutun altına
ölürsem, ki ölebilirim
adıma şiir ödülü düzenlemeyin
Ölürsem, ki hiç ölmedim
"gitmez kalır" redifli bir gazele gömün beni
Türkçe'nin büyük ünlü uyumuna, uysal uyaklarına
ölürsem, ki hiç ölmedim
 yayınlanmasın seçme şiirlerim
Ölürsem, ki bu yıl modaymış ölüm
bir rakı sofrası fotoğrafına gömün beni
heyecanlı çıkmışız hepimiz, bak!
yeni bir dergi çıkaracakmışız da
tartışıyormuşuz gibi adını,
ölürsem, ki bu yıl modaymış ölüm
yağmur nedeniyle iptal edilsin anma günüm
Şiir yaşarken aşılmıyor anladım
hiç bir sokağa verilmesin mümkünse adım
ve illa dikilicekse
heykelim bir sahil parkına dikilsin
martılar kafama rahatça pislesin
kararsın altında tuzlu deniz rüzgârlarının
aşındırdığı paslı bir levha:

Gökçenur Ç.: Şair

Doğum tarihi : Bilinmiyor
Ölüm tarihi   : Söylemeyin öldüğünü bilmiyor

Gökçenur Ç. is a poet, translator, editor and poetry activist based in Istanbul.

A note about Translating at the Cunda International Workshop for Translators of Turkish Literature by Poet and Translator Gökçenur Ç.

When I was first invited to CIWTTL, I was already doing a lot of poetry translation from English to Turkish and participating in different poetry translation workshops. It was the first time I was invited to a workshop where poets translate each other over a bridge language, usually English. While it was a shocking experience, I was thrilled to see a room full of brilliant translators who were also translation scholars or poets, working together to translate my poems. The discussions over the translation of a verse or even a single word sometimes took hours. I must say that, on the one hand, I felt flattered as a poet and, on the other hand, I realized how much I had to learn about translation. I had my doubts about the translatability of "That Photo of a Gathering Over Rakı" since I knew it was a complicated poem with local irony difficult to preserve for a translator, perhaps even an impossible task. More than that, the first line of the poem would be a challenge. The speaker—taking his death not as a certainty but only a possibility—expresses this as such an "ordinary" thing that you need to identify the arrogance—the parody of the arrogance—behind it. Besides, it's a short, rhythmic, melodic line. Saliha managed to translate the poem perfectly and when I first heard the translation, I felt like I had written the poem in English myself.

As a Poet
He has seven poetry books in Turkish and was awarded the Arkadaş Z. Özger Best Debut Poetry Book Prize with his first book. His latest book received the Sabahattin Kudret Aksal Literature Prize and the Metin Altıok Poetry Prize. His selected poetry books are published in Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Italian and his poems have been translated into 30 languages. A handwritten bilingual book in French and Turkish was published as a single exhibition copy for the Lettres Capitales Project of a European Capital of Culture, Marseille, in 2012.

As an Editor
He is the editor of the Turkish magazine *Çevrimdışı İstanbul* (*İstanbul Offline*). He is the co-editor of the Turkish domain in Poetry International and is on the editorial board of the Macedonian-based international literary magazine *Blesok*. He has also edited countless poems in translation books.

As a Translator

He has translated into Turkish selected poetry books by Wallace Stevens, Paul Auster, Ursula Le Guin and many other poets. He is a member of the Cunda International Workshop for Translators of Turkish Literature.

As a Poetry Activist

He has participated and/or organized poetry translation workshops and festivals in many countries. He is the curator and co-director of Word Express; co-director of international poetry festivals Offline Istanbul, Mosaic of Metaphors Gaziantep, and Turkish American Poetry Days; and a board member of the Nilüfer International Poetry Festival, the Crete International Poetry Festival and the Kritya International Poetry Movement.

Saliha Paker a is retired professor of Translation Studies in Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, who continues to teach her PhD course course on History of Translation in Ottoman and Modern Turkish society. Also involved in translating modern Turkish poetry and fiction for 30 years, she ran the Cunda International Workshop for Translators of Turkish Literature (CIWTTL) from 2005 to 2016. She co-edited (with Mel Kenne and Amy Spangler) a book of translations produced by the Cunda workshop *Aeolian Visions / Versions. Modern Classics and New Writing from Turkey* (Milet Publishing 2013). Her English editions of Enis Batur's poetry in *Ash Divan* (2006) and Gülten Akın in *What Have You Carried Over* (2014, co-edited with Mel Kenne) were both published by Talisman House. She served as an editor with Mel Kenne and Idil Karacadağ, of *Turkish Poetry Today 2016*, published by Red Hand Books. More recently, she co-edited (with Mel Kenne and Caroline Stockford) and translated a selection of poems by Haydar Ergülen, *Pomegranate Garden*, published by Parthian in 2019.

Yusuf Atılgan and "Ticking of the Clocks"

Introduction

**Nefise Kahraman and
Karolina Dejnicka, Translators**

Born in 1921 in Manisa, a former agricultural town in Aegean Region of Turkey that developed over time into a city, Yusuf Atılgan studied Turkish literature at Istanbul University during World War II. Following his graduation, he briefly worked as a teacher in a public school, although his time there was cut short due to his communist affiliations. At different points in his life, he was a farmer, translator, and literary consultant. Atılgan made his debut as a fiction writer with short stories that he began to publish in 1955 but achieved critical acclaim as the author of two novels. He published his first novel, *Aylak Adam* (The Loiterer), in 1959, followed by his second novel, *Anayurt Oteli* (Motherland Hotel), in 1973. Published fifteen years apart, these two novels earned him a reputation as one of the notable figures of modern Turkish literature. Both novels remain relevant today and continue to receive critical attention. *Aylak Adam* has been translated into Italian, Dutch, French, Spanish, and—most recently, in 2019—German, but has yet to be translated into English. *Anayurt Oteli* is available in French, German, and English translations. The novel was also adapted into a movie by the eminent Turkish director, Ömer Kavur, in 1986.

The story we translated at the workshop, "The Ticking of the Clocks," comes from Atılgan's collection of short stories, *Bodur Minareden Öte* (Beyond the Short Minaret), published in 1960. The story is told in the first-person by an unnamed narrator who, as later becomes clear, is an author. Intrigued by a newly-painted sign drying outside a signboard shop that says "A. Yayladan, the Watchmaker," the narrator crosses the street towards the watchmaker that he believes commissioned the sign, deciding along the way that he wants to write this man's story. The story begins as if it will consist of the narrator telling the story of a watchmaker. However, it instead quickly devolves into a series of interior monologues as the narrator thinks of how things would go if he were to try and tell the watchmaker's story. Overcome by fear at failing in this task, he continues to find fault with the details he imagines about the watchmaker's life. These instances of metanarrative commentary draw attention to the text's own fictionality, as they also produce challenges in translation. The narrator switches between tenses often, as he reminiscences (past), states an opinion or fact (present), and speculates (conditional) about what the watchmaker might think or say. While translating, we preserved Atılgan's choice of tense, as it provides the narrative with a stream-of-consciousness effect.

The story ends with the narrator deciding not to tell the story of the watchmaker after all. He grows fond of the character he conjures up in his mind and is worried that the reality would fall short of his imagination. Eventually, his fear of failing as an author overtakes his initial inspiration to write. While passing by another shop in the vicinity, this time that of a cobbler, the narrator notes that he cannot see what is inside the shop. The darkness inside hints at the beginning

of yet another cycle of attempts at storytelling, this time a story revolving around a cobbler. The narrator-author's never-ending attempts and subsequent failures at storytelling can be seen as a reflection of autobiographical cues. A hopeless perfectionist himself, Yusuf Atılgan has revealed in his interviews that he had torn up a few of his unpublished novels when he felt dissatisfied with his style. "Of course, I regret it now," he would say.

Because our workshop's focus is on producing translations as a group, discussions on how to translate lexical items can get very lively and prolonged. One of the issues we came across in this story that was the source of much discussion was regarding the job titles of skilled professionals and their social status. In Turkish: "saatçi" is a tradesperson who makes and repairs both watches and clocks, forcing us to choose between "watchmaker" and "clockmaker." We also discussed the translation of "tabelâcı dükkanı" at length before settling for "signboard shop," as referenced above. This word in particular offered its own challenges, as, since this particular trade has become increasingly rare in the modern age, we were not sure about what the most commonly used term for someone who makes signs by hand would even be.

Additionally, there are cultural differences that may not be immediately obvious to the modern-day audience reading this story in English. The story alludes to how someone like the mayor would never have their watch serviced by someone in a neighborhood such as this, opting instead for a brand name store somewhere on the high street. In a modern-day city in a place like the United States or Canada, going to a specific brand's store in a shopping mall may well be the cheapest and most convenient way to have a watch repaired for many people, while seeking out an independent craftsman with decades of experience—like the subject of our narrator's musings—would be associated more with luxury, custom-made goods.

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Ticking of the Clocks

Yusuf Atilgan

Translated at the University of Toronto Workshop in Literary Translation[61]: Turkish-English
by
Nefise Kahraman
Karolina Dejnicka
İlayda Gündüz
Almina Gündüz
Shayan Salehi
Orhan Gazi Kandemir
Çağdaş Dedeoğlu

In front of the signboard shop, there were two wet boards resting against the wall to dry. One of them read "A. Yayladan the Watchmaker." I was overwhelmed by a moment of melancholy. It belonged to the watchmaker across the street. I knew that for a fact as if I had asked around. I would feel the same melancholy every time I walked past this small shop. Like I was the one sitting there all day. The shop was located at the end of the bazaar where the houses began. It was very narrow. It must be dark inside, I would think. I wanted to write the story of the watchmaker.

I crossed the road. I pressed my nose against the glass of the shop door and peered inside. It was dimly lit. The watchmaker was sitting behind a desk. He was wearing glasses. I was surprised he didn't have a moustache. I had imagined him with one. He was staring at me over his glasses. This pleased me. I stepped back. If I were someone else, maybe I would go into the store, take off my watch and say "Sir, this loses three minutes every day." As he was setting the watch, I would explore the ins and outs of the store. I would also ask him a few questions. From the very beginning, the plot of the story would be ready in my mind. Every time, it would go like this: The mayor sends his errand boy to the shop with his watch. The watchmaker polishes each piece. As luck would have it, he drops one of the gears. It falls through the cracks between the floorboards. The watchmaker is ready to pay for the watch, but the mayor has already made an enemy of him. His every move is cause for offence. Eventually, the mayor forces him to close the shop.

I do not like this kind of story; it feels unrealistic to me. Why would the mayor even send his watch to this shop all the way at the end of the bazaar? He would instead send it to the shop of whatever brand with green bars on the windows, on the grand avenue across from the newly

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[61] Launched by Nefise Kahraman in January 2015, the University of Toronto Workshop in Literary Translation: Turkish-English runs weekly and is attended by those who are interested in translation and literature at the University of Toronto. To this point, the workshop has translated several short stories as well as poems by prominent Turkish authors and poets, such as Refik Halit Karay, Aziz Nesin, Gülten Akın, Ferit Edgü, and Selçuk Baran. The workshop is currently working on publishing a collection of short stories by Turkish authors.

opened bank. That store wouldn't have rough floorboards, but hardwood. If a gear fell, it would be found. That watchmaker who polished the librarian's watch for four lira would ask two from the mayor.

I don't feel the need to ask the watchmaker any questions, either. I know he would lie. If I asked, "How's business, sir?" he would look over his glasses suspiciously. He would think, "Who is this guy? Why does he keep asking questions? What if they've sent him to raise my taxes?" He would say, "not good, not good at all." What would I even ask him? I would already know that he was married, that he didn't have kids, that he didn't even want kids. Like all daydreamers, he was also a bit selfish. And what would there be to see in the shop anyway? It is enough for me to know that there are clocks on the walls, ticking constantly. I don't want to know his name either. The contrast between his surname, Yayladan, meaning someone from a mountain pasture, and the narrowness of his shop upsets me. I think of the hyena at the Izmir Fair. The concrete floor of its cage has been worn out from its walking around. The worn-out area was the longest path in the cage. I am afraid to learn his name. It says "A. Yayladan" on the board in front of the signboard shop. I think to myself, "A. must stand for either Ali or Ahmet." Should I ask someone? I don't. If they said "Abdülkerim," I would get upset.

Tonight, the watchmaker would think about me in his bed. "Today a man came by, pressed his nose against the glass of the door," he would say. It would be dark in the room. His wife's breathing would remain unchanged; she would be asleep. (How quickly she fell asleep!) As if talking to himself, the watchmaker would say in a lowered voice: "His nose pressed against the glass. I stared at him. Why? I don't even know. Now I regret it. I'm thinking I should have called him in and spoken to him."

I suddenly turned back. I was going to go talk to the watchmaker. I barely managed to hold myself back. The night had not fallen yet. He was not how I had imagined him to be. Besides, there was one more important thing I needed to learn to write my story. I could not ask him for it. I would ask one of his neighbors. But who? The shopkeeper across the street? No, I don't trust him. He sees people from his own point of view. If I ask him, "I want to have my watch fixed at the watchmaker's across the street, what is he like? Do you think he would swap out a valuable part for a cheaper one?" "Eh, I haven't heard anything, but who knows. He's human after all," he might say, making me suspicious for no reason. I might as well ask the signboard painter. He was, after all, a type of artist. You could take him at his word. I kept walking. The same freshly painted signboards were still out on the sidewalk. Suddenly, some signs with Thuluth-style calligraphy in the display window of the shop caught my eye. *Bismillah*s, "Put your trust in God," and "Those who work are loved by God" were all there. If only there was one "In the name of love," the one with tears coming from the eyes of the letters. How could I trust such a man? I turned back. I was going to ask the cook. 'Cooks are good people. They feed everyone, even giving leftovers to the needy,' I thought to myself. I looked through the shop door. Sitting at the table was a young man peeling potatoes. It was early in the day. There was no one else inside. He must have been the kitchen hand.

"Hi!" I said.

"Hi."

"My watch broke. I want to get it fixed at the watchmaker's across the street. I thought I should ask. What's he like? I want to make sure he wouldn't steal a part."

"No, mister," he said, "He is not such a man. Don't worry."

The lad had long, dirty nails. It was clear that a razor had never touched his face. In place of a beard, he had soft-looking, longish hair. His face was plumb yet yellowish, with bright eyes. I believed this lad; he would not lie. I was relieved. "You're at his mercy, mister." If he had said that, would I have believed him? How would I know? After all, he didn't say that. I thought about asking someone else. Next to the cook's shop was a hardware store. I didn't ask. I went to a coffeehouse and sat down. I ordered tea.

Now, the watchmaker must be getting tired of being surrounded by the ticking of the clocks. (I too feel the same here). He must have taken off his glasses and put on the loupe, looking for where the watch was broken. As if there was a connection between the ticking away of his own patience and that of the watch. This never-ending ticking is like the order of the world. It never changes. Maybe if it stopped, his weariness would go away. But he brought this weariness onto himself. Winding each clock is the first thing he does every morning when he walks into his store. He does this with disdain. What if he didn't wind them? Impossible! Otherwise, he would stop being the watchmaker, being himself. It must be done. Just as every night he goes home, eats, sits down, and goes to bed, he winds the clocks. Even Sundays have their own routine. Going to the coffeehouse, playing backgammon. Lying in bed with his wife at night. In the winter, when they toss and turn in their sleep, the duvet slides off, and they get cold. They cannot sleep in separate beds. Reluctantly, occasionally, they cuddle out of obligation, that's all there is to it. "I should raise a rooster for fighting," he thought last night. This rooster would be a true source of excitement. But there's no space at home for a coop.

The shopkeeper across the street calls out to the coffeehouse owner for two cups of tea. "He is going to rip someone off again," the watchmaker thinks to himself. Then, he turns back to the clocks. Most of them are made in Switzerland. Based on what he has heard, it is apparently a mountainous place. And there is snow on the mountains. A sense of yearning grows within him. "One day, I won't wind these clocks," he says. He shivers, as he feels his confidence grow.

I know that one day the watchmaker just won't wind the clocks. He will storm out of the shop. "To the place where the clocks are made!" he will shout. People in the neighborhood will catch hold of him tightly; they won't let go; they'll say he's gone mad. All this I will hear from the kitchen hand, whom I will ask why the watchmaker's shop is shuttered. There will be no trace of sadness or pity in his face. Nor in mine…

Now I feel a deep fondness for the watchmaker. It's so deep that I wouldn't even meet him and wouldn't even go to his shop if my watch was broken and would instead take it to the

shop of that brand lest my thoughts about him should change. I'm not going to write his story; I changed my mind. I'm afraid I would fail and tell it wrong.

I left the coffeehouse. I realized that I needed to go to the washroom. I started walking to a public one. I turned towards the street and saw a cobbler shop to my right. It was dark inside.

Saatlerin Tıkırtısı

Yusuf Atılgan

Tabelâcı dükkânının önünde yaş yaş, kurusunlar diye duvara dayanmış iki levha vardı. Baktım birinde "Saatçi A. Yayladan" yazılı. İçimi bir hüzün bürüdü. Karşıdaki saatçınındı bu levha, sormuş öğrenmiş gibi biliyordum bunu. Küçücük dükkânın önünden her geçişimde hep aynı hüzün kaplardı içimi. Bütün gün orada oturan benmişim gibi. Yolun çarşılığından kurtulup evlerinin başladığı uçundaydı dükkân. Daracıktı. İçi karanlıktır diye düşünürdüm. Saatçının hikâyesini yazmak istiyordum.

Karşıya geçtim. Saatçının kapısındaki cama dayadım burnumu, içeriye baktım. Loştu. Saatçı bir masanın ardında oturuyordu. Gözlüklüydü. Bıyıksız oluşuna şaştım. Kafamdaki bıyıklıydı. Gözlüklerinin üstünden dik dik bakıyordu bana. Hoşuma gitti. Çekildim. Başka biri olsaydım belki dükkâna girer, saatımı çıkarır, "Usta, günde üç dakika geri kalıyor bu derdim." O saati ayarlarken ben dükkânın girdisine çıktısına bakardım. Birkaç soru da sorardım saatçıya. Hikâyenin olayı daha baştan kafamda hazır olurdu. Değişmezdi bu: Belediye Başkanı, onarsın diye saatini gönderecek odacıyla. Saatçı parçaları silecek. Aksilik bu ya, silerken çarklardan biri elinden düşecek. Tabandaki tahta yarıklarından aşağı girecek. Saatçı saatı ödemeye hazır; ama başkan düşman kesilecek ona. Sağa baktın suç, sola baktın suç. Sonunda dükkânı kapattıracak saatçıya.

Sevmem bu çeşit hikâyeyi, yalanmış gibi gelir bana. Belediye başkanı saatını hiç bu çarşı ucundaki saatçıya gönderir mi? Büyük caddede, pencereleri yeşil demir parmaklıklı, yeni açılan bankanın karşısındaki bilmem ne acentası saatçıya gönderir. O dükkânın tabanı tahta değil, parkedir. Düşen çark bulunur. Genel Kitaplık memurunun saannı dört liraya silen o saatçi başkandan iki lira ister.

Ben saatçıya soru sormak gereğini de duymuyorum. Yalan söyleyeceğini biliyorum. "İşler nasıl ustam?" desem gözlüklerinin üstünden kuşkuyla bakar bana. "Kim bu herif? Neden soruşturup duruyor? Vergimi arttırmak için mi gönderdiler bunu?" diye düşünür. "Kötü, kötü" der. Ne soracağım ona? Evli olduğunu, çocuğu olmadığını, çocuk istemediğini de biliyorum. Bütün uyanık düş görenler gibi o da az bencildir. Dükkânın içini göreceğim de ne olacak? Duvarlarda durmadan işleyen saatler asılı olduğunu bilmek bana yeter. Adını da bilmek istemiyorum. Soyadıyla dükkânı arasındaki zıtlık içimi burkuyor. İzmir fuarındaki sırtlanı düşünüyorum. Kafesinin beton tabanı çepeçevre aşınmış; gezinmekten. Aşınan yer kafesin en uzun yolu. Adını öğrenmekten korkuyorum. Tabelâcının önündeki levhada. 'A. Yayladan' yazılı. "Ali ya da Ahmet'tir" diyorum içimden. Birisine sorsam? Sormam. Abdülkerim deyiverir de üzülürüm.

Bu gece saatçı yatağında beni düşünecek. "Bugün bir adam geldi, kapının camına burnunu dayadı diyecek." Oda karanlıktır. Yanında yatan karısının soluk alışında bir değişiklik yok; uyumuş. Başını çevirip bakacak karısına. Sıkıntılı acıyan bir bakış olacak bu. (Ne çabuk uyumuş.) Saatçı daha alçak bir sesle, kendi kendine anlatır gibi anlatacak: "Burnu camda yassılmış. Dik dik baktım yüzüne. Neden? Ne bileyim. Şimdi pişmanım. Çağırıp konuşsaydım onunla diyorum."

Birden döndüm. Gidip saatçıyla konuşacaktım. Güç tuttum kendimi. Gece olmamıştı daha. Benim kendisini götürdüğüm kıvamda değildi o. Hem hikâyemi yazmam için öğrenmem gereken önemli bir şey daha vardı. Bunu ondan soramazdım. Komşularından birine soracaktım. Ama kime? Karşıki bakkala mı? Olmaz güvenim yok ona. Kendi açısından görür insanları, "Saatımı karşı saatçıya onartmak istiyorum. Nasıl adamdır? İçinden değerli bir parçayı değiştirir mi dersin?" diye sorsam, "Eh, hiç duymadım ama belli olmaz. Kişioğlu bu" falan deyip kuşkulandırır beni yok yere. İyisi mi şu tabelâcıya sorayım. Ne de olsa bir çeşit sanatçıdır o. İnanılır sözüne. Yürüdüm. Deminki yaş tabelâlar gene kaldırımın üstündeydi. Birden camın ardında vitrine asık, sülüs yazısıyla yazılmış levhalar takıldı gözüme. Besmeleler, "Tevekkeltü al-Allah"lar "El Kasibü habibul-lah"lar vardı. Hiç olmazsa bir tane "Ah, minelaşk" olsaydı aralarında, hani "he"nin iki gözünden iki damla yaş akan soyundan, yoktu. Nasıl güvenirdim böylesi bir adama! Döndüm. Aşçıya soracaktım. "Aşçılar iyi kişilerdir. Kişi oğlunu doyururlar, yoksullara parasız artık yemekler yedirirler, diyordum. Dükkânın kapısından baktım. Bir delikanlı masanın önünde oturmuş patates soyuyordu. Erkendi. Başka kimse yoktu içerde. Bu çocuk aşçının çırağı olacaktı.

 ___ Merhaba! dedim.

 ___ Merhaba.

 ___Saatim bozuldu da. Şu karşıki saatçıya yaptırmak istiyorum. Bir sorayım dedim. Nasıl adamdır, ha? İçinden bir parçasını çalmasın?

 ___ Yok abi, dedi, öyle adam değildir o. Korkma.

Kirli uzun tırnakları vardı çocuğun. Yüzüne ustura değmediği belliydi. Yumuşak, uzunca tüyler vardı sakal başlarında. Yüzü toplu ama sarımsı, gözleri parlak. İnandım bu çocuğa, yalan söylemez o. İçim rahatladı. "Ocağına düştün abi." Deseydi inanacak mıydım ona? Ne bileyim ben, demedi işte. Birine daha sormak geçti içimden. Aşçının yanında elektrik araçları satan bir dükkân vardı. Sormadım. Gittim bir kahveye oturdum. Çay istedim.

Şimdi tıkır tıkır işleyen saatların arasında saatçının canı sıkılıyordur (Ben de sıkıntılıyım burda.) Gözlüğünü çıkarmış, gözüne büyükteni yerleştirmiş, bir saatin bozuk yerini arıyordur. Saatların tıkırtısıyla içinin sıkıntısı arasında bir ilgi vardır sanki. Bu durmayan tıkırtı dünyanın düzeni gibi bir şeydir. Değişmez. Dursa sıkıntısı geçecek belki. Oysa bu sıkıntıyı yaratan kendisidir. Her sabah dükkâna girdi mi ilk işi birer birer bu saatları kurmaktır. İğrene iğrene yapar bu işi. Kurmayıverse olmaz mı? Olmaz? O zaman kendi kendisi olmaktan, saatçı olmaktan çıkar. Zorunludur bu. Nasıl her akşam eve gider, yemek yer, oturur, yatarsa bunu da yapacak. Pazar günlerinin bile bir kurulu düzeni vardır. Kahveye çıkılır, tavla oynanır. Geceleri yatakta yatarlar karısıyla. Kışın, uykuda döndükçe yorgan kayar, üşürler. Ayrı yatakta yatamazlar. İsteksiz, ara sıra, ödev yapar gibi

sarılmalar, tümü. "Bir güreşken horoz beslesem" diye düşündü dün gece. Gerçek bir heyecan kaynağı olurdu bu horoz. Ama evde kümeslik yer yok.

Karşıdaki bakkal köşedeki kahveciye iki çay bağırıyor. "Birini kazıklıyacak yine" diyor saatçi kendi kendine. Sonra yeniden saatlara dönüyor. Bunların çoğu İsviçre'de yapılır. Duyduğuna göre dağlık bir yermiş orası. Dağlarında kar varmış. Bir özlem kabarıyor içinde. "Bir gün kurmayacam şunları" diyor. Ürperiyor, daha bir büyümüş sanıyor kendini.

Ben yakında saatçının bir gün saatları kurmayıvereceğini biliyorum. Dükkândan fırlayacak. "Saatların yapıldığı yere!" diye bağıracak. Konu komşu sımsıkı yakalayacaklar onu; bırakmayacaklar; delirdi diyecekler. Bana bunları dükkânın önünden geçeceğim zaman kepenkleri inik görüp sebebini soracağım deminki aşçı çırağı anlatacak. Yüzünde bir üzüntü, bir acıma izi olmayacak. Benim de...

Şimdi büyük bir sevgi duyuyorum saatçıya. Onunla tanışmayacak kadar, saatim bozulsa ona değgin düşüncelerim değişir korkusuyla saatımı ona değil gidip o acenta saatçısına onartacak kadar büyük bir sevgi. Yazmayacağım onun hikâyesini, vazgeçtim. Beceremem, yanlış anlatırım diye korkuyorum.

Kahveden çıktım. Sıkışmışım. Genel ayakyoluna doğru yürüdüm. Sokağa saptım. Baktım sağımda bir ayakkabı onarıcısının dükkânı vardı. İçerisi görünmüyordu.

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